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Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola, c.1780-1867

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Abstract

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By Daniel Barros Domingues da Silva

The origins of slaves leaving Angola provide a way for understanding who Africans regarded as eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic. Historians have long attributed the large number of slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century to wars waged by rulers living in the interior of West Central Africa, especially from the Lunda Empire. According to them, these rulers participated in the trade to exchange prisoners of war for foreign commodities, which they used to create alliances, raise armies and expand their influence throughout the region. This generated a vicious cycle of violence, with rulers seeking more captives in areas increasingly located farther from the coast. As a consequence, these scholars argue, Angolans lived in a constant state of warfare that served as a continuous source of slaves to the Americas.

However, archival records show that slaves came from regions much closer to the coast than previously thought. This dissertation traces the origins of slaves leaving Angola based on lists of liberated Africans compiled in Havana, Cuba and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil between 1832 and 1849 in addition to slave registers made by Portuguese colonial officials in Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo, in Angola between 1854 and 1856. It shows that the slaves embarked belonged to 21 linguistic groups and 116 ethnicities spread throughout the interior of West Central Africa. The majority were Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu speakers, who came from places outside the influence of the Lunda Empire.

This dissertation also examines the demographic profile of the slave population leaving Angola, the patterns of consumption of Africans who participated actively in the trade, and the stories of those who survived the transatlantic passage and reported their experiences of enslavement. It shows that African perceptions of gender and age as well as taste for foreign goods played an important role in the trade, affecting decisions about who was eligible for enslavement and sale on the coast and who was not. Additionally, it demonstrates that prisoners of wars were not the only victims of the trade. Slaves leaving Angola also included people convicted of crimes, debts, and witchcraft, or simply kidnapped.

Finally, this dissertation throws light on the issue of the impact of the slave trade on Africa. It shows that, during the nineteenth century, the incidence of military conflicts in the region was lower than previously thought, as wars of imperial expansion were not the primary means of enslavement in Angola. It also shows that the goods used to purchase slaves in the interior did not undermine the local economy and that the demographic impact of the trade was unevenly distributed, with some ethnic and linguistic groups more affected than others. These findings have profound implications for the history of Angola and for current knowledge about impact of the transatlantic slave trade on Africa.

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Abbreviations

AHNA   Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola, Luanda, Angola

AHI   Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

AHU   Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Portugal

ANRJ   Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

BNA   British National Archives, Kew, England

BNRJ   Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, Brazil

Cod.   Codice

CU   Conselho Ultramarino, Lisbon, Portugal

Doc.   Document

FO   Foreign Office Series, London, England

SEMU   Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar, Lisbon, Portugal

Introduction

A Quest for Origins

Angola, in West Central Africa, was the principal source of slaves for the transatlantic slave trade. Estimates suggest that, from the sixteenth century until the suppression of the trade in the mid-nineteenth century, more than 5.6 million Africans embarked on slave vessels on the coast of West Central Africa.[1] As a result of European economic development and the suppression of the trade in the North Atlantic, the majority of these Africans were carried to Brazil, in South America, between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. Researchers have focused on the number and destination of slaves shipped but the inland origins of slaves carried from Angola remains a largely neglected field of study. However, a detailed analysis of archival sources located in Angola, Brazil, England, and Portugal sheds new light on the origins of thousands of slaves shipped from Angola. It questions long held assumptions about who was eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic.

Scholars have often associated the huge number of slaves sold into the trade with major political developments in the interior of Africa; notably with processes of state formation and imperial expansion. They believe that the enslavement and subsequent sale of slaves required such great resources that only individuals who commanded significant numbers of followers could perform

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[1] See estimates available in David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/.

these activities. J. D. Fage, for example, suggests that the slave trade tended to integrate, strengthen and develop political authority, but to weaken or destroy more segmentary societies in Africa.[2] A. A. Boahen claims that the slave trade constituted the principal source of income for many rulers and military leaders, who had a monopoly over the sale and enslavement of individuals on the African coast.[3] Similarly, Patrick Manning argues that most of the slaves sold into the trade were captured by rulers, who succeeded in profiting and expanding at the expense of their neighbors.[4] Finally, Martin Klein, stresses that the trade required such large resources that rulers and raiding bands of professional warriors dominated the enslavement and sale of slaves across the Atlantic.[5]

In Angola, the origins of slaves sold into the trade are frequently associated with the expansion of the Lunda Empire and the formation of the Imbangala Kingdom of Kasanje. Based on oral traditions collected in the mid-nineteenth century, in addition to Portuguese documentary evidence, Jan Vansina, David Birmingham and Joseph Miller argue that the Lunda expansion began long before the eighteenth century. According to them, Lunda dissidents led by a man named Kinguri acting in accordance with Imbangala traditions left their country after Luba hunters assumed control over the government. En route to a new environment, they encountered Portuguese soldiers, who were themselves at war with their neighbors on the coast of Angola. Since the Portuguese were short of manpower, they welcomed the arrival of and recruited

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[2] J. D. Fage, "Slavery and the Slave Trade in the Context of West African History," *Journal of African History* 10, no. 3 (1969): 402.

[3] A. A. Boahen, "New Trends and Processes in Africa in the Nineteenth Century," in *General History of Africa*, ed. J. F. A. Ajayi, vol. 6 (London: Heinemann, 1989), 61.

[4] Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 132.

[5] Martin A. Klein, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on the Societies of the Western Sudan," *Social Science History* 14, no. 2 (1990): 237.

the newcomers, who proved to be great warriors. Further, they offered to exchange their prisoners of war for rare commodities imported from Europe, Asia, and the Americas. The Lunda expatriates regarded this exchange as an opportunity to amass wealth and power. As a consequence, they continued to provide military support for the Portuguese. Over time, the Lunda expatriates named themselves Imbangala and founded a new state, the Kingdom of Kasanje, at the confluence of the Lucala and Kwango rivers. The Portuguese regarded this newly formed kingdom as the principal supplier of slaves shipped from Angola.[6]

However, recent research suggests that the supply of slaves sold on the coast did not necessarily depend on processes of state formation and imperial expansion within Africa. David Northrup, for example, notes that the sale of slaves in the Bight of Biafra, a major source of slaves for the transatlantic trade, was conducted mostly without the participation of African rulers. According to him, decentralized societies such as the Aro, Efik, Igbo and Ibibio dominated the slave trade in the Bight of Biafra.[7] These societies were generally organized in clans or lineages headed by one or more individuals who had a vote in decisions affecting the entire society. Walter Hawthorne and Andrew Hubbell also question the emphasis scholars have traditionally placed on the role of state formation and imperial expansion in the transatlantic slave trade. In their view, scholars have underestimated the ability of decentralized societies to organize themselves and

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[6] This is evidently a summary of a major debate Jan Vansina, David Birmingham and Joseph Miller had in the pages of the *Journal of African History*. The principal references to this debase include Jan Vansina, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje," *Journal of African History* 4, no. 3 (1963): 355-374; David Birmingham, "The Date and Significance of the Imbangala Invasion of Angola," *Journal of African History* 6, no. 2 (1965): 143-152; Jan Vansina, "More on the Invasions of Kongo and Angola by the Jaga and the Lunda," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 421-429; Joseph C. Miller, "The Imbangala and the Chronology of Early Central African History," *Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (1972): 549-574.

[7] David Northrup, *Trade without Rulers: Pre-Colonial Economic Development in South-Eastern Nigeria* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1978), 89-100.

participate actively in the supply of slaves from Africa.[8] Similarly, David Eltis has suggested that processes of state formation and imperial expansion did not necessarily result in more slaves being sold into the trade. In an analysis of the slave trade, he noted that the number of slaves shipped from the Bight of Benin declined immediately after the Dahomean annexation of Allada and Ouidah in 1724 and 1727, respectively.[9] In short, an event commonly regarded as a major factor in the expansion of the slave trade may actually have resulted in fewer slaves.

Additionally, more recent studies of the Lunda expansion cast doubt on the role of the slave trade in processes of state formation and imperial expansion in West Central Africa. They show that the Lunda expansion began much later than previously thought and may not have been responsible for the large number of slaves sold on the coast of Angola. Based on an extensive study of kings' lists, Jean Luc Vellut claims that the Lunda expansion began in the late seventeenth century or at the beginning of the eighteenth century.[10] John Thornton dates the Lunda expansion from the same period, but he believes that it reached its maximum size, both geographically and demographically, only in 1852 with the death of Mwant Yav Nawej II, the first event recorded in writing in Lunda history.[11] Jeffrey Hoover, using linguistic data, argues that Imbangala traders

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[8] Walter Hawthorne, "The Production of Slaves where There Was No State: The Guinea-Bissau Region, 1450–1815," *Slavery and Abolition* 20, no. 2 (1999): 97-98; Andrew Hubbell, "A View of the Slave Trade from the Margin: Souroudougou in the Late Nineteenth-Century Slave Trade of the Niger Bend," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 28. See also Martin A. Klein, "The Slave Trade and Decentralized Societies," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 49.

[9] David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 34.

[10] Jean-Luc Vellut, "Notes sur le Lunda et la Frontière Luso-Africaine (1700-1900)," *Études d'Histoire Africaine* 3 (1972): 68.

[11] John K. Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion to the West, c.1700-1852," *Zambia Journal of History* 1 (1981): 1.

introduced the figure of Kinguri into Lunda traditions, probably in the nineteenth century, to elevate the status of their own founding ancestors, who were not originally Lunda.[12] In other words, the frequently mentioned Lunda expansion, said to have begun long before the eighteenth century, may not have happened as previously believed. Jan Vansina, after revising his original position, went even further. Although he believes that the Lunda spread north of Angola, he claims that until 1846 there are no records of Lunda conquest to the south in what is now eastern Angola.[13] As a result, the slave trade would have offered little stimulus for Lunda expansion and the formation of many states in West Central Africa, including the Kingdom of Kasanje. As Vansina reflected upon the implications of this finding, "if the Kinguri story had only been subjected to critical appraisal from the outset, we historians would now be much more advanced than we are today."[14]

Despite these studies, many scholars still regard the trade as the principal cause and effect of the Lunda expansion. Joseph Miller, for instance, argues that in the nineteenth century the source of slaves shipped from Angola moved further east, as successive Lunda kings raided and plundered the populations living near the borders of their territories.[15] Achim von Oppen claims that the search for slaves to export was the principal motivation behind the eastward movement of the trading frontier.[16] Jan Vansina, in spite of his revision, believes

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[12] Jeffrey J. Hoover, "The Seduction of Ruweej: Reconstructing Ruund History (The Nuclear Lunda: Zaire, Angola, Zambia)" (Ph.D., New Haven: Yale University, 1978), vol. 1, 213-214.

[13] Jan Vansina, "It Never Happened: Kinguri's Exodus and Its Consequences," *History in Africa* 25 (1998): 401.

[14] Ibid., 403.

[15] Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 146-147.

[16] Achim von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1994), 59-61.

that the Lunda expansion north and the spreading of the Lunda influence in eastern Angola was undoubtedly linked to the slave trade.[17] Finally, John Thornton argues that, in the eighteenth century, the Lunda became increasingly attracted to the western lands, because it brought them closer to their trading partners and shortened the routes to the coast; as well as increasing the potential number of prisoners of war. According to him, "one might see the Lunda expansion as something of an extended slave raid which ultimately turned much of the land between the Lunda homeland and the Kwango River into a systematically pillaged source of slaves."[18] In sum, despite the new research, the association of the slave trade from Angola with the Lunda expansion remains deeply ingrained in scholarly wisdom.

This dissertation argues that scholars have overstated the relationship between the transatlantic slave trade and the Lunda expansion in the interior of West Central Africa. It traces the origins of slaves carried across the Atlantic at the peak of the slave trade and demonstrates that the majority of the Africans sold as slaves on the coast were victims of internal conflicts within their own societies, rather than victims of the imperial expansion of states situated in the remote interior of Angola. Chapter One provides an assessment of the volume and distribution of slaves shipped from West Central Africa in the age of abolition based on data available in "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database;" much of which I have added to that source through my own archival research.[19] It shows that the number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa increased between the late eighteenth and the first half of the nineteenth century as a result

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[17] Vansina, "It Never Happened," 403.

[18] Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion," 7.

[19] Eltis et al., "Voyages."

of the demand for primary commodities in Europe and the suppression of the slave trade in the North Atlantic. Although scholars usually argue that the Lunda expansion was behind the massive number of slaves shipped from Angola in this period, an analysis of the slave trade from West Central Africa clearly shows that the number of slaves shipped varied mostly as a result of events taking place across the Atlantic. The driving force shaping the transatlantic slave trade from Angola was demand rather than supply.

Chapter Two provides an analysis of the organization of the transatlantic slave trade from West Central Africa. It shows that the transportation and sale of slaves from the interior of Angola across the Atlantic depended essentially on three categories of commercial agents: merchants, brokers, and traders. All three worked independently of the military power of both the Lunda and the Imbangala. The first operated at the ports of departure for slave vessels, especially in Brazil, from where they collated all the commodities used to purchase slaves and coordinated the shipment of slaves across the Atlantic. The second comprised a very diverse group, based on the coast of West Central Africa. It included Portuguese and Brazilian subjects living in Angola, descendents of mixed relations between Portuguese and Africans, as well as subjects and rulers of various African polities located on the coast of West Central Africa. They acted as brokers responsible for exchanging slaves brought from the interior for the commodities imported overseas. Finally, the third group included traders who served as middlemen between brokers and slave suppliers in the interior of Angola. They were mostly Africans and the progeny of unions between Africans and Portuguese expatriates. Although some individuals had multiple roles, the slave trade from Angola depended largely on these three central groups.

Chapter Three traces the inland origins of slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century based on two sets of documents. The first are lists of liberated Africans compiled between 1832 and 1849 by the courts of mixed commission in Havana, Cuba, and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. These lists were created to inhibit the re-enslavement of Africans rescued from slave vessels by anti-slave trade naval cruisers. They provide details on 4,601 individuals, including their name, age, sex, height and place of origin. The second set of documents is the slave registers of Angola compiled by Portuguese colonial officials in Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo between 1854 and 1856. These registers, which were also compiled to prevent freed Africans from being re-enslaved, contain identical information to the lists of liberated Africans in Havana and Rio de Janeiro. The registers record details for 11,264 individuals. These documents, in addition to the records available in the "Voyages Database," show that slaves shipped from Angola came from regions much closer to the coast than previously thought; namely the Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu speaking regions.

Parallel research on the origins of slaves shipped from Angola confirms the findings of Chapter Three. Mariana Cândido, in an analysis of the slave registers of Benguela and Caconda, notes that the majority of the slaves living under Portuguese rule in these regions came mostly from the Umbundu speaking people, located in the central plateau of Angola.[20] José Curto, analyzed on records of runaway slaves published in the *Boletim Oficial de Angola* between 1850 and 1876, shows that slaves living under Portuguese rule in Luanda hailed from a wide range of places, with the majority coming from the neighboring regions of

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[20] Mariana P. Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780-1850" (Ph.D., Toronto: York University, 2006), 230-241.

Luanda and the Kwanza River.[21] In short, although these studies focus on the second half of the nineteenth century, they confirm in large measure the findings of Chapter Three, suggesting that the majority of Africans captured for the slave trading markets of Angola originated not in the deep interior of West Central Africa, but rather in regions located much closer to the coast.

Chapters Four, Five, and Six seek to understand the transatlantic slave trade from an African perspective. Chapter Four provides a demographic profile of the men, women and children sold as slaves on the coast of Angola based on archival records in addition to data available in the "Voyages Database." It shows that the slave trade from Angola was largely shaped by African conceptions of gender and age. David Eltis and Stanley Engerman note that, in contrast to the conventional wisdom, men were not the dominant demographic category in the transatlantic slave trade. Their work suggests that adult male slaves comprised much less than half of the total number of slaves carried across the Atlantic.[22] Herbert Klein and Ugo Nwokeji also argue that African conceptions of gender and age played a critical role in the slave trade. They show that slaves sold into the transatlantic trade varied according to gender and age, suggesting that African enslavers and traders had specific criteria for determining who remained a captive on the continent and who was sold on the coast.[23] The slave trade from Angola was no exception; it followed similar patterns as these other regions of slave embarkation.

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[21] José C. Curto, "The Origin of Slaves in Angola: The Case of Runaways, 1850-1876" (presented at the Seventh European Social Science and History Conference, Lisbon, 2008), 6-9.

[22] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 2 (1992): 240-246.

[23] Herbert S. Klein, "African Women in the Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 35-37; G. Ugo Nwokeji, "African Conceptions of Gender and the Slave Traffic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 52.

Chapter Five provides an analysis of the motivations of Africans for enslaving other Africans and selling them into the trade, based on prices of slaves from Luanda, the principal port of slave embarkation in Angola. It shows that Africans who enslaved and sold other Africans into the trade were motivated primarily by economic factors. Philip Curtin suggested that Africans were driven by political motives to sell other Africans into the slave trade. He argued that the number of slaves embarked from the coast between the Senegal and Gambia rivers did not correspond to the demand for slaves overseas, since an increase in price did not result in more slaves being shipped. He attributed the variation in the number of slaves carried from Senegambia to the political situation in the region's hinterland, which was often characterized by widespread violence and warfare.[24] Curtin's argument clearly favored the association of the slave trade with processes of state formation and imperial expansion, and it directly connected the two phenomena. However, Philip Le Veen, David Richardson, and David Eltis, among others, challenged this position based on various series of prices of slaves shipped from different African regions. Their work shows that the supply of slaves on the coast did respond to variations in demand as measured by price.[25] In Angola, the available evidence indicates that the supply of slaves also responded to variations in price, suggesting that Africans were economically motivated to participate in the slave trade, which in turn undermines the

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[24] Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), vol. 1, 156-168.

[25] E. Philip Le Veen, "The African Slave Supply Response," *African Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (1975): 9; David Richardson, "Prices of Slaves in West and West Central Africa: Toward an Annual Series, 1698-1807," *Bulletin of Economic Research* 43, no. 1 (1991): 43-48; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 15 and 182-183.

association of this activity with processes of state formation and imperial expansion.

One can also study African motivations for engaging in the slave trade by looking at the commodities for which they traded slaves. David Richardson and George Metcalf, for example, argue that African patterns of consumption shed new light on the motives of Africans for enslaving other Africans and selling them into the transatlantic slave trade.[26] Hence, in addition to price series, Chapter Five analyzes lists of imports at Luanda and Benguela for several years between 1777 and 1866. These lists show that Africans traded slaves for a wide variety of commodities imported from Europe, Asia, and the Americas. Although weapons formed a significant percentage of the commodities for which slaves were traded, textiles and alcoholic beverages were in fact of greater value. The fact that Africans imported more trade commodities than war commodities, indicates that economic gains were the primary motivation for their participation in the slave trade. This questions the assumption that the slave trade was a major cause and effect of political developments in the interior of Africa.

Finally, Chapter Six analyzes specific cases of enslavement in the interior of Angola found in both primary and secondary sources to examine further the question of who was eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic. Because the slave trade has been commonly associated with processes of state formation and imperial expansion, scholars have tended to see slaves shipped from Africa merely as victims of war. However, wars and raids were not the only means of

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[26] David Richardson, "West African Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth Century English Slave Trade," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 304-305; George Metcalf, "A Microcosm of Why Africans Sold Slaves: Akan Consumption Patterns in the 1770s," *Journal of African History* 28, no. 3 (1987): 377-378.

enslavement. Africans could also become slaves by trickery, judicial proceedings or even voluntary enslavement. Causes of the last phenomenon included catastrophic events such as famine and drought. In any event, recent research suggests that enslavement and the sale of slaves on the coast depended primarily on Africans perceptions of who was eligible for enslavement. David Eltis and Nathan Huggins, for example, argue that identity was a crucial element in determining who remained captive on the continent and who was sold into Atlantic markets.[27] Robin Law calls attention to the juridical nature of African slavery, stressing differences between legal and illegal enslavement in the interior of the continent.[28] Chapter Six provides an analysis of different processes of enslavement to explore what induced Africans to enslave and sell other Africans into the transatlantic slave trade.

The slave trade from Angola was one of the largest and longest waves of coerced migration in history. Many scholars have long believed that the majority of the slaves sold on the coast came from the deep interior of West Central Africa, victims of wars waged by the Lunda Empire. However, this dissertation shows that Africans sold as slaves from Angola came from regions much closer to the coast than previously thought. They were enslaved by other Africans in various ways and shipped to the coast by individuals linked to a complex trading network created to carry thousands of men, women and children as slaves across the Atlantic. Clearly economics motivated Africans to enslave and sell other Africans, but these individuals acted according to their own dictates and mores to

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[27] David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 57-61; Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Black Odyssey: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 20.

[28] Robin Law, "Legal and Illegal Enslavement in West Africa, in the Context of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Ghana in Africa and the World: Essays in Honor of Adu Boahen*, ed. Toyin Falola (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 513-514.

determine who was and was not eligible for enslavement. In the final analysis, these conventions fitted well with the overall operation of the transatlantic slave trade and made Angola the principal source of slaves for the Americas well into the nineteenth century.

Chapter One

Old Trade, New Age

The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola

in the

Century of Abolition

In the late eighteenth century, the slave trade from Angola entered a new age of social, political, economic and ultimately ideological change. Economic growth and industrialization in Europe, particularly in Britain, increased the demand for primary commodities imported from the Americas, such as sugar, cotton, rice and tobacco. These commodities were produced with slave labor brought from Africa. As the demand for these primary commodities increased, so did the demand for slaves carried across the Atlantic. Ironically, although slavery was wide spread in the Americas, some Europeans had begun to question the morality of an institution that deprived some individuals of their liberty for the benefit of others.[1] Moreover, they became increasingly persuaded that slave labor was inferior to free labor, because slaves were not motivated to work as hard as free laborers.[2] As a consequence, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the

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[1] David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2006), 231-249.

[2] Seymour Drescher, *The Mighty Experiment: Free Labor versus Slavery in British Emancipation* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002), 9-23. The main source for this argument is Adam Smith, *An Inquiry into the Nature and Causes of the Wealth of Nations* (London: W. Strahan and T. Cadell, 1776), vol. 1, 471-472.

transatlantic slave trade declined as some nations began to retreat from the business. In 1807, for example, both the US congress and the British parliament prohibited their citizens from participating in the slave trade. Soon after the British initiated a campaign to suppress the entire trade from Africa.[3]

This new era of antislavery sentiment had a profound impact on the slave trade from Angola. Despite British efforts to suppress the trade, the number of slaves embarked from the coast of West Central Africa remained high, as the center of gravity in the commerce shifted from the North to the South Atlantic. During the eighteenth century, the transatlantic slave trade expanded largely because of the demand for slaves in the British and French Caribbean. British and French slave traders were the principal suppliers of slaves for the Caribbean. They purchased the majority of their slaves on the coast of West Africa, north of the Equator. However, as these nations withdrew from the business at the beginning of the nineteenth century, the slave traffic in the North Atlantic declined. Other nations sought to tap the sources of slaves previously dominated by British and French slave traders; notably Portugal, Spain and Brazil. In order to prevent this from happening, Britain signed treaties with these nations restricting their subjects from carrying on the slave trade. In 1815, for example, an Anglo-Portuguese treaty prohibited Portuguese slave traders from carrying slaves north of the Equator.[4] Brazil, independent from Portugal since 1822, tacitly agreed to the terms of this 1815 treaty, and Brazilian slave traders were legally banned from purchasing slaves from African regions located north of the

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[3] Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1975), 396-398; Paul Finkelman, "Regulating the African Slave Trade," *Civil War History* 54, no. 4 (2008): 379.

[4] Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 13-14; João Pedro Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio: O Portugal de Oitocentos e a Abolição do Tráfico de Escravos* (Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais, 1999), 103-104.

line.[5] In 1817, Britain signed a similar treaty with Spain, except that the prohibition was to apply to both sides of the Equator.[6] Moreover, Britain sent warships to patrol the coast of West Africa to intercept vessels violating these agreements. It further established mixed commission courts around the Atlantic to adjudicate vessels accused of illegal slave trading.[7] In sum, as the British increased their efforts to suppress the slave trade in the North Atlantic, the number of slaves in the South Atlantic continued high well into the nineteenth century, making Angola a major source of slaves for the Americas.

Some major figures in the field believe that in the nineteenth century a rising demand for slaves in the Americas pushed the sources of slaves shipped from Angola deeper into the interior of West Central Africa. Joseph Miller, for example, argues that the shifting origins of slaves formed a kind of frontier zone, which he termed slaving frontiers. He has claimed that since the sixteenth century the slaving frontiers of Angola moved gradually from the coast to the interior of West Central Africa. In the nineteenth century, Miller argues, these frontiers had reached the populations living beyond the valley of the Kwango River, forcing thousands of Africans into slavery.[8] Paul Lovejoy also believes that in the nineteenth century the slave trade pushed the source of slaves to the interior of West Central Africa. According to him, the demand for slaves in the Americas required many Lunda and Luba warlords to adjust to the new demands

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[5] Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 13-14.

[6] David R. Murray, *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain, and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1980), 70-71.

[7] Leslie Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 1 (1966): 79-83; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 85-103.

[8] Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 140-146 and Map 5.1.

on the coast and search for slaves deep in the interior of West Central Africa.[9] Patrick Manning claims that the journey of a slave coffle from the interior of Angola doubled as the slave trade continued to expand in the nineteenth century, resulting in a sharp decline in the populations living in the interior of West Central Africa.[10] In short, many scholars believe that the nineteenth century slave trade from Angola pushed the slaving frontiers deep into the interior of West Central Africa.

However, an analysis of the slave trade shows that there is insufficient evidence to support the idea of a nineteenth century expansion of the slaving frontiers of Angola. After the abolition of the British and American slave trades, Portuguese, Brazilian, and Spanish traders increased their activities along the coast of West Central Africa. Stimulated by the demand for primary products in Europe and the demand for labor in the Americas, they tapped slave sources previously dominated by their competitors. As a result, the number of slaves shipped from Angola increased temporarily, especially after 1815, with the suppression of the slave traffic in the North Atlantic. In 1830, Brazil, the principal market for slaves shipped from Angola, enacted a law abolishing the slave trade, a requirement of a treaty signed four years earlier with Great Britain. This treaty established that Britain would recognize Brazilian independence from Portugal if Brazil took affirmative action to abolish the slave trade.[11] Since the Brazilian economy was largely dependent on slave labor, the government signed the treaty but turned a blind eye to the activities of many slave traders. As a

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[9] Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 149.

[10] Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70.

[11] Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 60-61; Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio*, 153-154.

consequence, the 1830 law was never really enforced, and Brazil continued to receive captives from Africa.

After 1830, the number of slaves shipped from Angola fell to levels below those that pertained in the years prior to the prohibition of the slave traffic in the North Atlantic. In this period, Brazil and the Spanish Americas challenged British efforts to suppress the trade. They remained open to slaves brought from regions north of the Equator, as well as to new sources of captives such as Mozambique, in Southeast Africa. Thus, contrary to the conclusions of many scholars, in the nineteenth century Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish traders did not expand their activities along the coast of West Central Africa but continued to purchase there avoiding the British naval forces and using both traditional as well as new ports of embarkation. However, the size of the Iberian trade along the coast of Angola was insufficient to move the slaving frontiers further into the interior of West Central Africa. At least in this respect, the trade from Angola between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century followed a pattern of continuation rather than expansion. This pattern can be better explained with the help of "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database."[12]

"Voyages" is the most complete database of slaving voyages available to the public. It contains information on almost 2 million slaves shipped from Angola between 1781 and 1867, the last year a vessel was reported to have embarked slaves on the coast of West Central Africa.[13] However, "Voyages" provides not only a database of shipping records but also estimates of slaves shipped according

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[12] David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/.

[13] David Eltis, "The Nineteenth Century Transatlantic Slave Trade: An Annual Time Series of Imports into the Americas Broken Down by Region," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 67, no. 1 (1987): 128-129.

to both national carriers and regions of embarkation and disembarkation. These estimates were built using the information from the database itself and secondary sources to supplement periods for which the database lacks information about the number of slaves embarked and disembarked. "Voyages" estimates that approximately 2.8 million Africans embarked as slaves from the coast of West Central Africa between 1781 and 1867, 29 percent more than the number of slaves embarked available in the database of shipping records. However, this figure can certainly be modified further.

"Voyages" drew on records of maritime activity in the Americas. After the prohibition of the slave trade in the North Atlantic, many slave traders from Bahia, in Northeast Brazil, asked the Portuguese and later Brazilian authorities for licenses to purchase slaves at Cabinda or Molembo, on the coast of West Central Africa, instead of their traditional ports of slave embarkation at the Bight of Benin, in West Africa. However, most of them did in fact purchase their slaves at the Bight of Benin and used the licenses to deceive British naval officers should the latter interfere with them while carrying a slave cargo loaded north of the Equator.[14] As a consequence, from 1816 until 1830, when the trade from Brazil became illegal, this bias in the sources was transferred to the shipping records available in "Voyages." David Eltis was the only historian to address this problem by reallocating to the Bight of Benin all slaves originally recorded to have been

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[14] Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "O Tráfico Atlântico de Escravos e a Praça Mercantil de Salvador, c.1680-1830" (M.A., Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2005), 58, 61 and 137; Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo: O Tráfico de Escravos entre o Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos dos Séculos XVII a XIX* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1987), 414-419.

shipped from the ports north of the Congo River to Bahia.[15] However, the resources now available provide an alternative interpretation of this issue.

The "Voyages" database allows users to fine tune their search. In order to improve the accuracy of the estimates, the share of slaves carried in Portuguese and Brazilian vessels from Cabinda and Molembo to Bahia between 1816 and 1830 can be discounted from the remaining ports and subtracted from the total number of slaves carried from West Central Africa. The database shows that in the fifteen years prior to 1816 Bahia purchased only 2,237 slaves from Cabinda, while between 1816 and 1830, this number increased to 41,059. Further, it shows that Bahia did not purchase a single slave from Molembo in the fifteen years before 1816, but between 1816 and 1830, there are records indicating some 46,333 slaves leaving Molembo for Bahia. As the 1815 treaty may have indeed forced some Bahian slave traders to purchase slaves in West Central Africa, it seems plausible that, between 1816 and 1830, only a fraction of the slaves recorded in the database actually embarked from Cabinda and Molembo to Bahia. Hence, the number of slaves leaving these ports for Bahia between 1816 and 1830 in the estimates was reduced to approximately 63 percent of the observable totals. This percentage represents the midpoint between the share of the number of slaves carried from West Central Africa to Bahia from 1801 to 1815 and those from 1816 to 1830. Similarly, the number of slaves shipped from Cabinda and Molembo in the database was reduced to 63 percent to correct for the overrepresentation of these ports in the total estimated number of slaves embarked from West Central Africa in these fifteen years on the "Voyages"

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[15] David Eltis, "Slave Departures from Africa, 1811-1867: An Annual Time Series," *African Economic History*, no. 15 (1986): 146.

estimate page. The final results of these adjustments are available in Appendix A and summarized below in Table 1.1.

Table 1.1 – Slaves Leaving West Central Africa, 1781-1867

Periods	Number of slaves embarked	Average of slaves embarked per year
1781-1807	974,190	36,081
1808-1830	913,884	39,734
1831-1850	730,474	36,524
1851-1867	156,779	9,222
All Years	2,775,327	31,900

Source: Appendix A, Table A.1.

Table 1.1 shows the number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century using four key periods. The first begins in the 1780s, with the expansion of the demand for slaves in the Americas and ends in 1807, with the abolition of the British slave trade. The second period begins in 1808, with the transference of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, in Southeast Brazil, and the opening of the Brazilian ports for direct trade. This period ends in 1830, with the proclamation of the first Brazilian law abolishing the slave trade. This was a critical period in the trade from Angola, since the center of gravity of the trade shifted from the North to the South Atlantic, where Angola is located. The third period begins in the following year, when the slave trade from Angola became increasingly regarded as an illegal activity, and ends in 1850, when Brazil did in fact close its ports to all vessels carrying slaves from Africa. Finally, the fourth period represents the period of decline of the slave trade from Angola, between 1851 and 1867, the last

year in which there are records of slaves being shipped from the coast of West Central Africa.

Although the slave trade varied widely within each of these periods, the supply of slaves from West Central Africa remained relatively constant from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth century. In the first period, ships belonging to various nationalities embarked an average 36,080 slaves per year from the coast of West Central Africa. This figure increased approximately 9 percent in the following period, to 39,735 slaves per year, as a result of the suppression of the trade in the North Atlantic. However, in the third period, the average number of slaves embarked declined to levels similar to those found in the years prior to the abolition of the British trade. Between 1831 and 1850, the average number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa declined to 36,525 per year. The traffic from Angola declined significantly only after the abolition of the Brazilian trade in 1850. After this year the average number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa declined 75 percent to about 9,220 slaves per year. It is thus apparent that from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, West Central Africa served as steady source of slaves for the Americas.

The slave trade from Angola varied mostly as a result of the demand for slaves in the Americas and the British efforts to suppress the transatlantic slave trade. In the late eighteenth century, demand from the Americas had increased the competition for slaves along the coast of West Central Africa. The Portuguese were the principal traders in this region. They had been present in Angola since the sixteenth century and controlled two ports of slave embarkation, Luanda and Benguela. British and French traders used to purchase most of their slaves in West Africa, but as the demand for slaves across the Atlantic increased, they extended their activities to the coast of West Central Africa. However, in contrast

to the Portuguese, they embarked most of their slaves at ports controlled by independent African polities such as Cabinda, Molembo, Loango and other ports around the mouth of the Congo River. In the late eighteenth century, the presence of British and French slavers on the coast of Angola increased so much that the Portuguese began to report their activities to the Colonial Office in Lisbon. In 1782, for example, Manoel da Silva Ribeiro Fernandes, a slave trader in the service of the Portuguese colonial government, sailed for the ports north of Luanda and reported that the French conducted a lively trade at Cabinda and Loango.[16] In 1793, the Portuguese governor of Angola, Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, noted that the British trade at Ambriz had significantly reduced the supply of slaves at Luanda from the north of Angola.[17] In short, in the late eighteenth century, the competition for slaves on the coast of Angola increased, with British and French traders threatening the activities of the Portuguese.

However, from the last decade of the eighteenth to the first decade of the nineteenth century, the competition for slaves in Angola tended to decline as a result of first, the Haitian Revolution and second, the abolition of the British slave trade. In 1791, the slaves of Saint Domingue, a French colony in the Caribbean, rebelled against their masters because of the brutal conditions that they endured. The rebellion spread throughout the island to reach an unprecedented scale culminating with the rebels' independence in 1804. They renamed Saint Domingue, Haiti, the first modern state founded by people of African ancestry in the Americas. Before the rebellion, Saint Domingue was the major sugar producer

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[16] *Relação de uma viagem à costa ao norte de Luanda por Manoel da Silva Ribeiro Fernandes ao Senhor Ajudante de Ordens Pedro José Corrêa Quevedo*, 15 August 1782, AHU, CU, Angola, box 65 doc. 64.

[17] Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 25 April 1793, AHU, CU, Angola, box 78 doc. 57.

in the Americas and served as the principal destination for slaves embarked in French vessels from the coast of West Central Africa. However, with the independence of Haiti, the French slave trade almost collapsed, significantly reducing the number of slaves shipped in French vessels from West Central Africa. In the ten years preceding the slave rebellion, for example, French slave traders shipped about 128,840 from the coast of West Central Africa but, in the ten years following the rebellion, this figure declined to 32,615 slaves, almost all of whom arrived in the 1791-1793 period. Particularly after 1793, the Haitian Revolution clearly reduced the competition for slaves on the coast of West Central Africa.

The abolition of the British slave trade in 1807 further reduced the international competition for slaves on the Angolan coast. After the Haitian Revolution, the British represented the only real competition for the Portuguese in the slave trade from the region. The British expanded their slaving activities along the coast of West Central Africa by shipping many of the captives who were previously carried in French vessels. In the ten years preceding the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue, for example, British slave traders shipped 16,710 slaves from the coast of West Central Africa, but in the following ten years this figure increased massively to 115,720 slaves. Thus, the British slave trade from West Central Africa increased as a result of the Haitian Revolution and the subsequent collapse of its French counterpart. However, with the abolition of the British trade in 1807, the slaving activities of the British along the coast of West Central Africa came to a complete halt. Overall, the international competition for slaves on the coast of West Central Africa declined significantly, resulting in a new phase in the exodus of captives from Angola.

After the abolition of the British slave trade, Iberian carriers increasingly dominated the shipment of captives from Angola. Iberian carriers consisted of vessels belonging to Portugal and Spain, as well as the Iberian America – Cuba, Brazil, Puerto Rico and Uruguay. However, between 1808 and 1830, Portuguese and Brazilian slave traders carried the majority of the slaves shipped in Iberian vessels from Angola. In 1808, the Prince Regent Dom João VI transferred the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro to escape the invasion of Lisbon by Napoleonic troops under command of General Junot. After arriving in Brazil, Dom João opened Brazilian ports for the first time to international trade, especially with the British, who had escorted the Portuguese royal family across the Atlantic.[18] The transference of the Portuguese court and the opening of the Brazilian ports increased the population of Rio de Janeiro significantly. Census data for Rio de Janeiro shows that the city's population increased 14 percent in this period, from 46,944 in 1803 to 54,255 in 1808.[19] As the city's inhabitants depended largely on slave labor, the increase in the population of Rio de Janeiro also stimulated the expansion of the slave trade from Angola.

However, the major source of increased demand for slaves from Angola was the growth of Brazilian commercial agriculture. Since the late eighteenth century, Brazilian agriculture benefited from the decline of gold production in Goiás and Minas Gerais, two captaincies situated in the interior of Brazil. Gold had been the principal commodity exported from Brazil but, in the mid-

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[18] Alan K. Manchester, "The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro," in *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society*, ed. Henry H. Keith and S. F. Edwards (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 148-163.

[19] Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750-1808," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 605, Table 3; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 61, Table 3.1.

eighteenth century, production in Goiás and Minas Gerais gradually declined.[20] Many individuals sought to invest in other activities such as the production of sugar, rice and cotton. Sugar producers in Brazil, in particular, also benefited from the Haitian Revolution, which had ruined their competitors in Saint Domingue. Sugar exports from Bahia, for example, increased from about 480,000 *arrobas* in 1788 to 746,600 *arrobas* in 1798. Sugar exports from Pernambuco also increased, from about 275,000 *arrobas* in 1790 to 560,000 *arrobas* in 1807. Similarly, sugar exports from Rio de Janeiro expanded from 200,000 *arrobas* in 1790 to 487,200 in 1800.[21] Thus, as gold exports from Goiás and Minas Gerais declined, the traditional centers of sugar production in Brazil ensured that demand for Angolan captives remained high.

The expansion of Brazilian agricultural exports was not limited to sugar. Exports of rice and cotton, for instance, also increased during the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. The majority of the rice and cotton exported from Brazil was produced in the captaincies of Maranhão and Pará, located in the Amazon Basin. Rice was produced mostly for consumption in Portugal, while cotton was grown for export to the larger European market. By 1781, rice exports from Pará and Maranhão, as well as from Rio de Janeiro, were sufficiently large to allow Portugal to ban the entry of all foreign rice.[22] Cotton production in Pará and Maranhão also increased significantly, spreading quickly to other captaincies. In 1799, for example, the Bishop of Olinda, a meticulous observer of the Brazilian economy of that time, noted that in Pernambuco cotton

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[20] Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português: Uma Contribuição aos Estudos da Economia Atlântica no Século XVIII*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979), 114.

[21] Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil," 627-631.

[22] Ibid., 641; Manuel Nunes Dias, *Fomento e Mercantilismo: A Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão (1755-1778)* (Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 1970), vol. 1, 431-452.

exports "almost equaled the value of sugar and all other products combined."[23] As a consequence, between 1780 and 1800, Brazil emerged as a major cotton supplier for the Lancashire factories during the Industrial Revolution in England, ranking just after the British West Indies and the Mediterranean.[24]

Table 1.2 below confirms that Brazil was the principal market for slaves embarked from West Central Africa. Brazil alone served as the destination for about 74 percent of all slaves shipped between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century. The remaining slaves were carried to different areas of the Caribbean, Mainland North America and British enclaves in Africa, where naval cruisers conducted many detained slave vessels. The Africans rescued by British naval forces were generally liberated at a mixed commission court established in Sierra Leone, West Africa, for the adjudication of vessels accused of illegal slave trading. However, these individuals were rarely repatriated. In Brazil, the majority of the slaves shipped from West Central Africa disembarked in Rio de Janeiro, Southeast Brazil. Table 1.2 shows that over 1.4 million slaves were shipped to Southeast Brazil alone. Pernambuco was the second principal market for slaves, serving as destination for about 312,200 slaves embarked from the coast of West Central Africa to Brazil. Bahia appeared in third place, receiving approximately 243,300 slaves, and the captaincies of Pará and Maranhão, in Amazonia, served as the destination for about 47,600 slaves shipped from West Central Africa to Brazil. In short, from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth century, Brazil had a profound connection to Angola, serving as the principal market not only for slaves shipped from West Central Africa, but also for

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[23] Cited in Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil," 637.

[24] Thomas Ellison, *The Cotton Trade of Great Britain* (London: Effingham Wilson, 1886), 86; William Henry Johnson, *Cotton and Its Production* (London: Macmillan, 1926), 190-191.

captives carried off all African regions that supplied captives to the Americas, including Southeast Africa.

Table 1.2 – Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Region of Disembarkation (in Thousands), 1781-1867

Regions	Sub-regions	1781-1807	1808-1830	1831-1850	1851-1867	Total
Brazil	Amazonia	25.0	21.4	1.3	-	47.7
	Bahia	94.1	127.0	20.9	1.1	243.1
	Pernambuco	103.6	144.8	63.8	0.0	312.2
	SE Brazil	336.6	514.8	565.6	3.1	1,420.1
	Other	11.9	15.8	6.4	-	34.1
British Caribbean		142.8	4.6	2.5	-	149.9
French Caribbean		173.3	2.4	-	-	175.7
Spanish Caribbean		26.7	78.6	48.2	135.3	288.8
Other		60.2	4.5	21.7	17.2	103.6
All regions		974.2	913.9	730.5	156.8	2,775.4

Note: Other regions include Mainland North America, the Dutch Caribbean, the Danish West Indies and Africa.

Source: Appendix A, Table A.2.

Those slaves shipped from Angola were employed in several regions in the interior of Brazil. Studies focusing on the Brazilian internal slave trade are in their infancy, but the first results show that slaves disembarked in Brazil from Africa were distributed to several places. Between 1760 and 1779, for example, about 30 percent of all slaves landed at Bahia were transported to regions far into the interior of Brazil.[25] The majority of this group continued to be sent to the former gold districts of Minas Gerais, which received 18 percent of all slaves shipped to the interior of Brazil.[26] However, in the nineteenth century, Maranhão became the major destination for all slaves sent from Bahia. Between 1811 and 1820, for example, about 30 percent of all captives sold from Bahia, both Africans and descendents of Africans born in Brazil, went to Maranhão.[27] Slaves arriving in Rio de Janeiro were also sold to several regions in the interior of Brazil. Between 1819 and 1830, for instance, approximately 43 percent of Rio de Janeiro landings were redirected from the city to other Brazilian markets.[28] The majority of them were sent to Minas Gerais, which received 59 percent of the total shipped from Rio de Janeiro. By this time, Minas Gerais had become a major producer of food for the internal market.[29] A further 24 percent went mostly to São Paulo, in Southeast Brazil, where they were employed in sugar and coffee plantations.[30] Most of the remainder, about 10 percent, went to Rio Grande do

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[25] Ribeiro, "O Tráfico Atlântico," 101.

[26] Ibid., 107.

[27] Ibid., 115.

[28] Roberto Guedes and João Luís Fragoso, "Alegrias e Artimanhas de uma Fonte Seriada: Os Códices 390, 421, 424 e 425: Despachos de Escravos e Passaportes da Intendência de Polícia da Corte, 1819 – 1833," in *Tráfico Interno de Escravos e Relações Comerciais no Centro-Sul do Brasil, Séculos XVIII e XIX*, ed. IPEA (Brasília: Instituto de Pesquisa Econômica Aplicada, 2000), calculated from Table 3.

[29] Ibid., calculated from Table 4; Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins, "Slavey in a Non-Export Economy: Nineteenth Century Minas Gerais Revisited," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 63, no. 3 (1983): 556-565.

[30] Guedes and Fragoso, "Alegrias e Artimanhas de uma Fonte Seriada," calculated from Table 4.

Sul, in South Brazil, where they were used in various activities but particularly in jerk beef production.[31]

The opening of the Brazilian ports meant that foreign shipping, especially British shipping, was able to transport plantation produce at lower costs. This, in turn, stimulated the Brazilian slave trade from Angola. The *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* shows that, after the British abolished their slave trade, they redeployed their slaving fleet to the commodity trade in the tropics. Since these vessels were originally designed to sail in the warm waters of Africa, they had their hulls covered with copper sheets, which better protected them from sea worms and made them both faster and more durable. British ex-slavers sailed for several places in the Caribbean and South America, such as Jamaica, Bahamas, Antigua, Dominica, Havana, and Lima. However, at the beginning of the nineteenth century, Brazil served as the single major destination for all British ex-slavers. *Lloyd's Register of Shipping* indicates that 33 percent of all voyages undertaken by British ex-slavers between 1808 and 1811 went to Brazil.[32] Although Angola represented just one, albeit the major, source of slaves for Brazil, slaves brought from this region probably produced a significant percentage of the commodities that these British ex-slavers carried to Europe. Thus, the opening of the Brazilian ports meant lower costs for Brazilian commerce and a higher demand for slaves.

The British connection to the slave trade from Angola was not limited to the transportation of produce cultivated by Angolan slaves in Brazil. The spread of British credit following the opening of the Brazilian ports for international trade also fueled the slave trade from Angola. David Eltis examined trade cargoes

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[31] Ibid.

[32] David M. Williams, "Abolition and the Re-Deployment of the Slave Fleet, 1807-11," *Journal of Transport History* 11, no. 2 (1973): 106-111.

used to purchase slaves brought to Cuba and Brazil, in addition to reports of naval officers and British consuls, and estimated the size of the British participation in the transatlantic slave trade after 1807. He found that British subjects contributed significantly to the nineteenth century slave trade. According to him, they "owned, managed, and manned slaving adventures; they purchased newly imported Africans in the Americas; they supplied ships, equipment, insurance, and most important of all trade goods and credit to foreign slave traders."[33] British firms could wait up to two years to receive the returns of their investments. This was particularly useful to Brazilian traders, given the scarcity of credit available in most financial centers in Brazil. [34]

Iberian carriers dominated the slave trade from Angola only after the suppression of the slave traffic in the North Atlantic. Figure 1.1 shows that Iberian slave traders increased their activities along the coast of West Central Africa in the aftermath of Portugal and Spain ratifying the treaties of 1815 and 1817 with Britain. These treaties in fact prohibited them from carrying slaves north of the Equator, although in the case of the 1817 Anglo-Spanish treaty this ban was to extend to the whole of the Atlantic (north and south) from May, 1820. Many Iberian slave traders, who had been purchasing slaves on the coast north of the Equator, now began to search for alternative sources of slaves south of the Equator. This shift increased the Portuguese slave trade from Angola significantly. The estimates available show that the number of slaves shipped in Iberian vessels from the coast of West Central Africa increased from an average of

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[33] David Eltis, "The British Contribution to the Nineteenth Century Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," *Economic History Review* 32, no. 2 (1979): 211.
[34] Ibid., 220. See also David Eltis, "The British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade after 1807," *Maritime History* 4, no. 1 (1974): 8-9; Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 58-59; Miller, *Way of Death*, 505-508.

26,090 slaves per year between 1806 and 1815 to an average of 43,340 slaves per year between 1816 and 1825.

A large number of these slaves were embarked from ports controlled by several independent African polities situated north of Luanda. These ports had been selling most of their slaves to non-Iberian carriers, such as the British and the French. However, with the abolition of the British slave trade and the Haitian Revolution, Iberian carriers extended their slaving activities to these ports, especially after 1815, when many slave traders who did not have commercial connections at the Portuguese controlled ports, such as Luanda and Benguela, began to purchase slaves from ports previously dominated by British and French carriers, mainly north of the Congo River. Additionally, Portuguese slave traders based in Brazil found it more economical to purchase slaves at the African controlled ports than at the Portuguese ports on the coast of Angola, because Africans collected lower taxes on slaves embarked than their Portuguese competitors further south.[35] Therefore, after 1815 the Iberian slave trade from the ports north of Luanda increased. The shipping records available in the "Voyages" *Database* indicate that after 1815 Iberian carriers shipped almost all their Angolan slaves from ports north of Luanda, even after adjusting for the bias available in the sources documenting the slave trade from Cabinda and Molembo to Bahia.

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[35] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A., Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 86-89.

Figure 1.1 – Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by National Carriers, 1781-1867
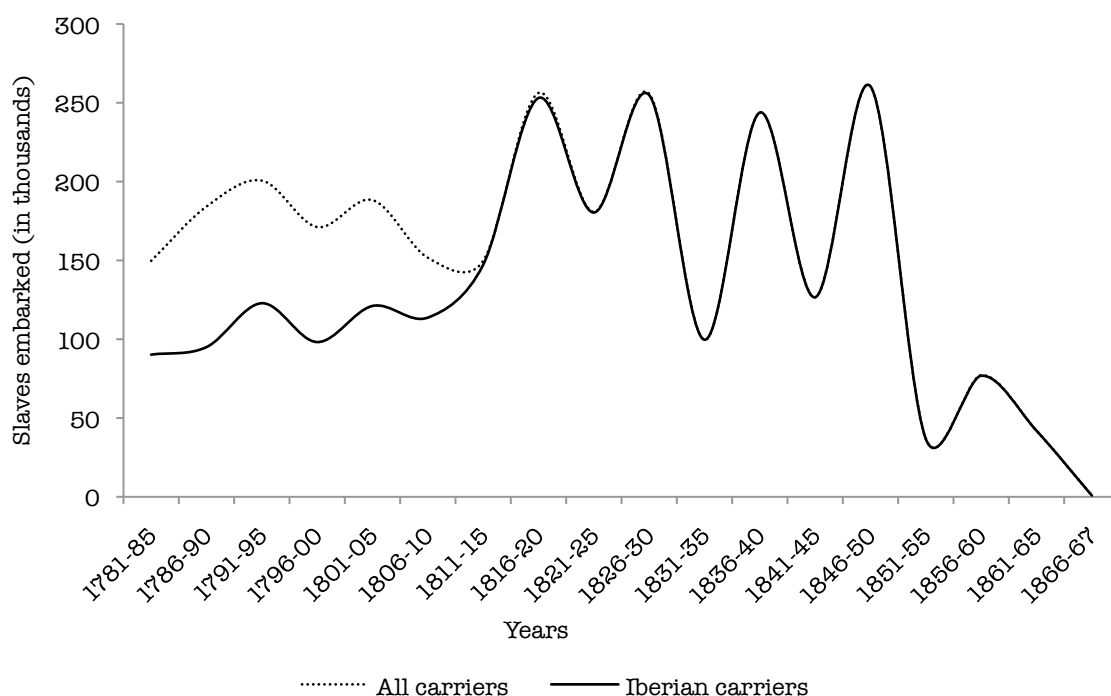
Source: Appendix A, Table A.1.

After the prohibition of the Portuguese slave trade north of the Equator and the total ban of the Spanish slaving activities, the supply of captives from Angola fluctuated mostly according to the British efforts to suppress the slave trade. Figure 1.1 shows that the slave trade from West Central Africa peaked three times after 1815. Each of these peaks was related to the British attempts to suppress the slave trade. The first was between 1826 and 1830. In 1826, an Anglo-Brazilian treaty determined that Brazil would abolish the transatlantic slave trade three years after its ratification in 1827, making the Brazilian slave trade illegal after 1830. Although Brazil agreed to the terms of the treaty, it never really closed its ports to the slave trade until the mid-nineteenth century. In fact, the 1826 treaty encouraged slave traders to expand their activities in Angola in

the interlude before it took effect. Many slave traders invested heavily prior to the government's anticipated closing of the African slave trade. The number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa increased from about 180,380 slaves embarked between 1821 and 1825 to 254,860 slaves between 1826 and 1830.

Between 1836 and 1840 the trade from Angola peaked for a second time as a result of two important events in Europe. The first was the abolition of the Portuguese slave trade. In 1836, the Portuguese government published a law prohibiting the slave trade from all Portuguese possessions in Africa, including Luanda and Benguela.[36] However, at that time the government lacked the means to enforce the law, and once again many slave traders expanded their activities before the ban could be implemented in Luanda and Benguela. The second event was the passage of Lord Palmerston's bill in 1839 by the British Parliament. When this bill became law it allowed the British navy to capture any vessel flying Portuguese colors suspected of trading slaves on the African coast and take it before a British domestic court.[37] The act was a clear violation of international law, but it signaled to slave traders that their active days were coming to an end. In anticipation, many traders again rushed to Angola, increasing the number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa from approximately 99,660 between 1830 and 1835 to 243,800 slaves between 1836 and 1840.

None of these measures was in fact entirely effective, so that there is a yet a third peak in the Angolan traffic, this time between 1846 and 1850, when the British changed their focus from the Portuguese to the Brazilian slave trade. In 1845, the British Parliament approved Lord Aberdeen's act, a measure similar to the 1839 legislation but applicable to Brazilian vessels as well as vessels carrying

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[36] Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio*, 203-214.
[37] Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 156-164.

no registration papers and thus without any national affiliation. Once more the British navy could seize such vessels and have them condemned in British courts.[38] In the same year, the British and Portuguese established a mixed commission court as well as a naval station at Luanda, from where they could better patrol the coast of West Central Africa.[39] Additionally, in 1850 British naval interventions at two Brazilian ports had a huge impact throughout the country.[40] These actions were a major violation of Brazilian sovereignty, and they served as a final call for Brazilian authorities to pass and enforce new legislation against the slave trade. These measures prevented Iberian traders from using traditional ports of embarkation, and led them to expand their activities north and south of Luanda. As a result, the number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa increased from about 126,600 between 1841 and 1845 to 260,400 between 1846 and 1850.

The supply of slaves from Angola also varied in response to important events in the Atlantic. Figure 1.2 shows the estimated numbers shipped from West Central Africa by place of embarkation. In the late eighteenth century, ports situated north of Luanda shipped the majority of the slaves carried from West Central Africa. These ports included Ambriz, Cabinda, Loango, Molembo and the mouth of the Congo River, in addition to some other smaller places like Kilongo and Mayumba. Independent African polities such as the kingdoms of Kongo, Kakongo, Loango and Ngoyo controlled these ports and had sold most of their slaves to non-Iberian slave traders. British and French slave traders, in particular, conducted such a lively trade in these ports that the Portuguese tried

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[38] Ibid., 259-266.
[39] Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions," 79.
[40] Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 215-216.

to halt this commerce by attacking and occupying some of them. In 1783, for example, the Portuguese occupied Cabinda and built a small fort on the coast to prevent the sale of slaves to foreign traders. However, in the following year, a French squadron arrived at Cabinda and formed an alliance with the local rulers that forced the Portuguese to destroy their own fort and leave the area.[41] In 1788, the Portuguese government at Luanda made another attempt to reduce the competition for slaves from the northern ports by waging a war against the Marquis of Musulu, a dissident of the Kingdom of Kongo. The Marquis of Musulu controlled the port of Ambriz, where British slave traders purchased many of the slaves they carried from Angola. The Portuguese sought to intercept this commerce from the interior and built a fort at the mouth of the River Loge. In view of what had happened in Cabinda, however, the colonial office in Lisbon ordered the governor of Angola to recall his forces and destroy the fort two years after the war.[42] The ports north of Luanda thus remained open for international commerce throughout the late eighteenth century.

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[41] Governmental Board of Angola to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 11 July 1783, AHU, CU, Angola, box 66 doc. 68, 69, 70 and 74; Pedro Álvares de Andrade to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 12 February 1784, AHU, CU, Angola, box 68 doc. 29; Pedro Álvares de Andrade to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 24 March 1784, AHU, CU, Angola, box 68 doc. 54; António Máximo de Sousa Magalhães to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 8 October 1784, AHU, CU, Angola, box 69 doc. 34.

[42] Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 23 April 1791, AHU, CU, Angola, box 76 doc. 18; Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 31 December 1791, AHU, CU, Angola, box 76 doc. 102; Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos to Martinho de Melo e Castro, 17 March 1792, AHU, CU, Angola, box 77 doc. 31. See also David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 157-158; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna: A History of Central African States until European Occupation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 182 and 191; Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 137-138; Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), 211.

Figure 1.2 – Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Port of Embarkation, 1781-1867
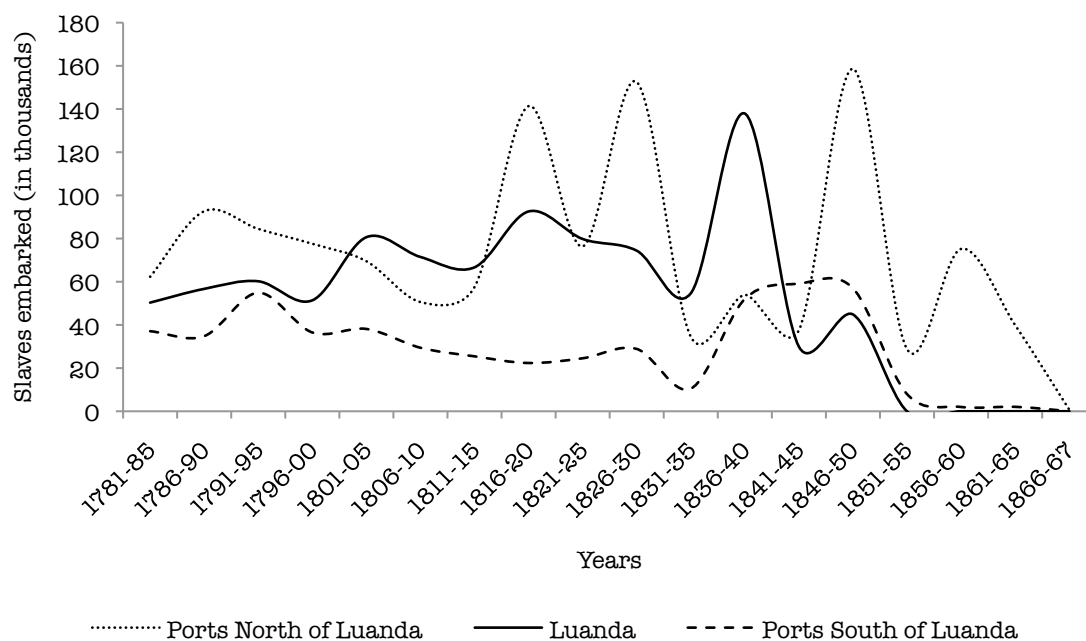
Source: Appendix A, Table A.3.

Although African controlled ports encouraged international commerce, the number of slaves shipped from the ports north of Luanda declined in the late eighteenth century in the face of the transatlantic developments described above. The British expansion was not sufficient to offset the decline, and when that nation pulled out of the business, further decline occurred north of Luanda. The estimates show that the number of slaves shipped from these ports by all carriers fell in the five years prior to the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue from 92,650 to 84,500 in the five years immediately after the rebellion. Between 1801 and 1805, with the independence of Haiti, this number fell further to approximately 69,500. After the abolition of the British slave trade, the number of slaves shipped from

the ports north of Luanda declined further to 50,590, a figure barely half the number shipped before the slave rebellion of Saint Domingue.

In contrast, the slave trade from Luanda increased during the late eighteenth century. Luanda was the single largest port of slave embarkation on the coast of Angola. It shipped about 34 percent of all slaves embarked from West Central Africa between 1781 and 1867. The Portuguese had dominated this port since the sixteenth century, except for a brief period between 1641 and 1648, when the Dutch captured Luanda from the Portuguese. In the late eighteenth century, the number of slaves shipped from Luanda increased as Brazilian plantations, supplied by Portuguese traders, took advantage of first the Haitian Revolution and second the abolition of the British trade that supplied Brazilian competitors in the British Caribbean. Luanda and the northern ports shared some internal supply routes. Thus, as the activities of British and French slave traders in the northern ports declined, many of the slaves that were previously sold through these ports were diverted for sale at Luanda. The estimates show that, compared to the late eighteenth century, the slave trade from Luanda increased significantly at the beginning of the nineteenth century. In the first ten years of the nineteenth century, for example, the number of slaves shipped from Luanda increased approximately 27 percent from what it had been in the last ten years of the eighteenth century.

South of Luanda, on the other hand, slave departures declined continuously from the late eighteenth century until the mid-1830s. Benguela and Novo Redondo were the principal ports of embarkation in this region. Benguela alone shipped almost all of the slaves embarked from these ports. Lesser ports of embarkation south of Luanda included Benguela Velha, Quicombo, Salinas and the mouth of the Kwanza River, which slave traders used occasionally as clandestine

ports of slave embarkation during the era of slave trade suppression. The majority of the slaves shipped from such ports originated from different regions than those embarked at Luanda and the ports north of Luanda. They came from the central plateau of Angola, an area dominated by several African polities in conflict with one another, such as the kingdoms of Kakonda, Mbailundu, Viye and Wambu. Although wars between African polities generally produced large numbers of slaves, the conflicts in the Angolan highlands did not have had the same effect, as the trend line for the southern ports in Figure 1.2 clearly shows.

In any event, in the nineteenth century the supply of slaves on the coast of Angola varied greatly with efforts to suppress the transatlantic slave trade. Figure 1.2 shows that soon after the tightening of restrictions on the slave trade north of the Equator, the number of slaves shipped from both Luanda and the ports north of it increased. Portuguese traders shipped the majority of the slaves embarked from these ports. Many of these traders may never have previously purchased slaves in this part of the continent. They had probably trading slaves in regions north of the Equator, such as the Bights of Benin and Biafra. However, as the pressure on the slave trade in those areas increased, they sought to purchase slaves in other regions, such as Angola or Mozambique. The African controlled ports north of Luanda emerged as an ideal alternative for many such traders. They did so because they probably had a surplus of slaves to sell as a result of the Haitian Revolution and the abolition of the British slave trade, and second, because their competitors who regularly traded at Luanda and Benguela had few connections in the northern ports. Finally, African rulers taxed the trade less than their Portuguese competitors at Luanda and Benguela. As late as 1847, the British commissioner at Luanda noted that "the abandonment of the port of Luanda for that of Ambriz, the resort now of almost all the foreign vessels, is

partly accounted for... by their having no duties to pay at the latter."[43] Hence, the number of slaves shipped from the ports north of Luanda increased sharply after 1816.

The outflow from the northern ports of Angola peaked again between 1826 and 1830, as a result of Brazilian independence and the Anglo-Brazilian treaty of 1826. Following the independence of Brazil in 1822, many Brazilian traders had further expanded their activities in these ports, reducing the revenue that they generated at Luanda and the ports south of Luanda, which still remained part of the Portuguese Empire.[44] Rumors that a fleet commanded by Lord Cochrane, in the service of the Brazilian government, was departing from Pernambuco to capture Luanda led the Portuguese authorities there to strengthen their defenses.[45] Given the political conflict between Portugal and Brazil, many traders preferred to send their vessels to purchase slaves at the African controlled ports north of Luanda. The Anglo-Brazilian treaty of 1826 further induced traders to expand their activities in these ports because it specified a date for the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade. Hence, many traders rushed to the northern ports in order to purchase slaves before Brazil closed its ports to slaves arriving from Africa. These developments explain the 1826-1830 peak in the volume of the trade.

After 1830, the number of slaves embarked from ports north of Luanda declined, while exports from Luanda and the ports south of Luanda increased. In

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[43] H.M.'s Commissioners to Viscount Palmerston, 14 February 1848, in Great Britain, *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers: Slave Trade* (Shannon: Irish University Press, 70), vol. 36, 105.

[44] José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 62), vol. 3, 165-168.

[45] Nicolau de Abreu Castelo Branco to Count of Sub-Serra, 23 February 1825, AHU, CU, Angola, box 147 doc. 34. See also Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 8th ed. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2000), 144.

1825, Portugal recognized Brazilian independence, provided that Brazil would compensate the Portuguese for financial losses and would not support the independence of any other Portuguese colony.[46] This agreement favored slave traders, because it allowed them to resume their activities at Portuguese ports on the African coast. Many traders based in Brazil, notably in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, developed commercial relations with their counterparts based in Luanda and Benguela, thereby increasing the number of slaves shipped from these ports at the beginning of the 1830s.[47] However, the expansion of the trade from Luanda and the ports south of it was short lived. In 1836, the Portuguese government banned trading from its possessions in Africa.[48] Additionally, British policymakers began to pursue the suppression of the transatlantic trade more aggressively, following the passage of the previously mentioned Palmerston and Aberdeen acts of 1839 and 1845, respectively, as well as the establishment of a mixed commission court at Luanda.[49] Furthermore, Britain in addition to France, Portugal and the United States of America increased the number of warships patrolling the African coast to discourage the transatlantic trade.[50] As a result, the number of slaves shipped from Luanda and the ports south of Luanda declined in the 1840s.

Even so, as long as Brazil remained open for the trade and African rulers continued to supply slaves, captive departures from Angola remained high.

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[46] Paulo Bonavides and Roberto Amaral, *Textos Políticos da História do Brasil*, 3rd ed. (Brasília: Senado Federal, 2002), vol. 1, 812-815.

[47] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 82-85; Mariana P. Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780-1850" (Ph.D., Toronto: York University, 2006), 101-113; Mariana P. Cândido, "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade in Benguela c. 1750-1850," *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 4-11.

[48] Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio*, 203-214.

[49] Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 156-164 and 259-266; Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions," 79.

[50] Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 94-95.

Between 1846 and 1850, the trade from Angola reached its highest level in the nineteenth century. Approximately 260,000 enslaved Africans were sold into the transatlantic trade from Angola in that period alone. The majority of them embarked at the African controlled ports north of Luanda. Despite aggressive legislation and the reinforcement of warships patrolling the African coast, the trade from Angola declined significantly only after 1850, when Brazil finally closed its ports to all vessels carrying slaves from Africa.[51] Following the abolition of the Brazilian trade, some traders continued to sail to Angola to purchase slaves. Most of these exports were shipped to Cuba, the principal destination for the last victims of the transatlantic trade. However, the numbers shipped from Angola after 1850 never came close to matching those taken to Brazil prior to that year.

From the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth century, Angola was a major source of slaves for the Americas. The slave rebellion in Saint Domingue and the abolition of the British trade decreased the number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa. However, with the growing restrictions on the trade north of the Equator, the average numbers shipped from West Central Africa recovered to levels matching those of the years when British and French slave traders were still engaged in the commerce from Angola. In this period, Iberian carriers expanded their activities on the coast of West Central Africa by tapping sources previously dominated by British and French traders north of Luanda. The expansion of Brazilian commercial agriculture, the transference of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, the opening of the Brazilian ports to international trade and the spread of British capital in Brazilian markets all

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[51] Bonavides and Amaral, *Textos Políticos da História do Brasil*, vol. 2, 212-214.

contributed to the expansion of the Iberian trade from Angola. The number of slaves shipped from West Central Africa remained high well into the nineteenth century.

Changing opinion about the morality and viability of slavery in Europe and the Americas had a profound impact on the Angolan trade. At first glance, it appears that this shift was particularly negative in Angola. Yet, when suppression of the trade focused initially on the North Atlantic, Angola emerged as the principal source of captives for the Americas. That said, the slave rebellion in Saint Domingue and the abolition of the British trade spared the population of Angola from the effects of an even more rapidly expanding trade. Had the French recovered Saint Domingue from the insurgents and the British remained active in the trade, the numbers shipped from Angola would probably have been higher than they actually were. In that case, the demand for slaves might indeed have expanded the slaving frontiers deep into interior of West Central Africa, as many scholars have posited. However, these developments did not occur. The slave rebellion of Saint Domingue, the abolition of the British trade, and the campaign for the suppression of the transatlantic trade checked, in large measure, the expansion of the Iberian trade. The impact of the trade on the interior of Angola was thus less extensive than scholars have generally believed, as will be seen in the following chapters.

Chapter Two

Merchants, Brokers and Traders

The Organization of the Slave Trade from

Angola in the Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, a complex network of merchants, brokers and traders governed the trade from Angola. Merchants based in Portugal and Brazil organized most of the shipments to the Americas. They financed these voyages individually or in groups, which sometimes included captains of slave ships. Merchants purchased their captives from brokers located along the coast of West Central Africa. These brokers controlled the supply of human cargo on the coast, but they depended on traders who transported captives from the interior to the coast. Although these categories are analyzed separately, in reality they frequently overlapped. Brokers, for example, often tried to break into the shipping business and finance transatlantic voyages themselves. Traders, on the other hand, had to work hard to accumulate sufficient contacts and resources to operate as brokers on the coast of Angola. Nevertheless, these categories will be examined separately to provide a better understanding of how slaves left Angola in the final years of the traffic across the Atlantic. This chapter will also examine environmental factors and their effects on the trade

Patterns of wind and sea currents prevailing in the Atlantic largely shaped the direction of the Angolan trade. Both wind and sea currents flow in the same

direction throughout the year, changing little from one season to the next.[1] However, the Atlantic gyres, to use the correct term, differ north and south of the Equator. Figure 2.1 shows these movements in schematic perspective. In the North Atlantic, the wind and sea currents move clockwise like a giant wheel, while in the South Atlantic they move counterclockwise. The gyres on either side of the Atlantic are separated by the doldrums, which are calm waters flowing around the Equator. Captains, who had to sail from one part of the ocean to another, had to cross the doldrums, which greatly prolonged the length of voyage.

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[1] Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000), 57-63; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 104-132; Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Maranhão, 1680-1846: Volume, Routes and Organisation," *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 4 (2008): 485-487; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 318-324.

Figure 2.1 – Wind and Sea Currents of the North and South Atlantic
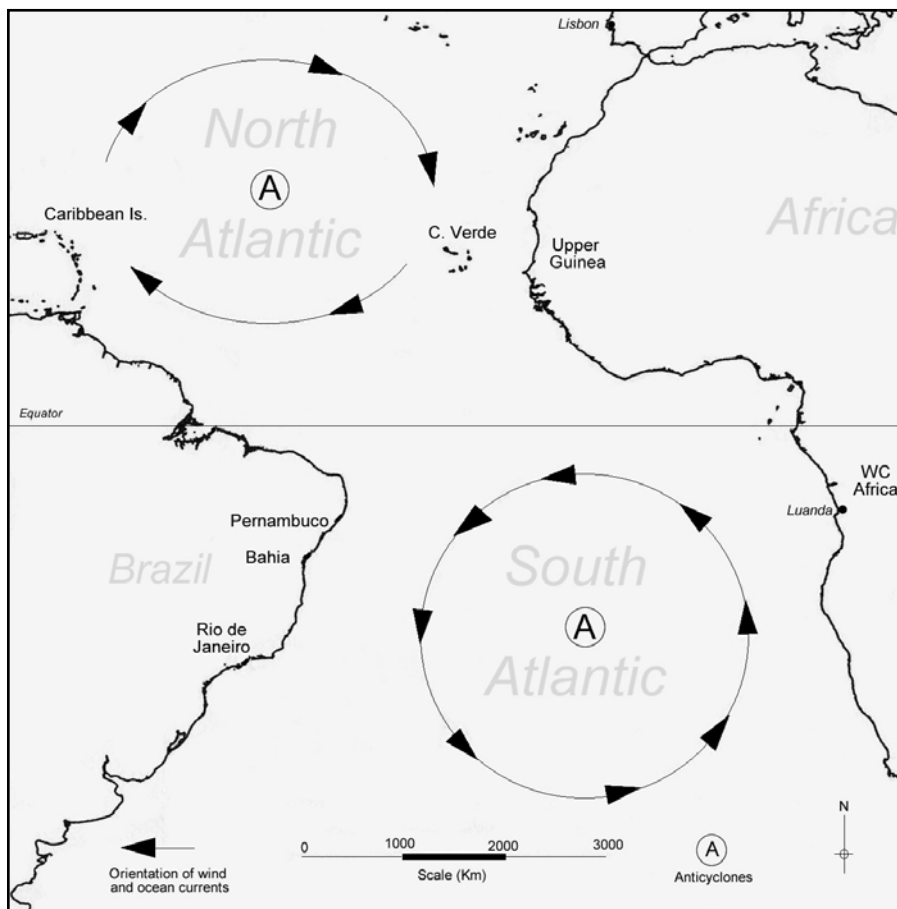
Source: Adapted from Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade to Maranhão, 1680-1846: Volume, Routes and Organization," *Slavery and Abolition* 29, no. 4 (2008): 486.

Gyres determined the trade routes, and those in the North Atlantic differed significantly from those in the South Atlantic. In the former, the wind and sea patterns facilitated the shipment of slaves through the classic triangular trade in which vessels sailed from Europe to Africa and then to the Americas, from where they returned to their homeports in Europe. In the latter, the wind and sea currents facilitated a bilateral trading system, in which vessels departed from the Americas to Africa, and returned directly to their homeports in the Americas. The

trade between Angola and Brazil provides a clear example of how the Atlantic gyres shaped the routes of the trade. Portuguese and Brazilian vessels loading slaves in Angola sailed both north and south of the Equator. However, as Table 2.1 shows, the majority of the slaves shipped to regions north of the Equator, in this case Amazonia, were carried in vessels that had departed from Portugal. The majority of the slaves shipped from Angola to regions south of the Equator, such as Bahia, Pernambuco and Southeast Brazil, were carried in vessels that had departed from Brazilian ports.

Table 2.1 – Percentage of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa Distributed by Region of Departure and Home Port of the Vessels that Carried Them, 1781-1867

Regions where slaving venture organized	Regions of disembarkation			
	Amazonia	Bahia	Pernambuco	SE Brazil
Portugal	54.6	1.7	6.8	2.6
Amazonia	8.2	0.0	0.0	0.0
Bahia	10.1	88.8	2.2	1.5
Pernambuco	12.2	1.8	81.7	1.0
SE Brazil	15.0	7.5	8.6	94.6
Others	0.0	0.2	0.7	0.3
Totals	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Note: Others in regions of departure include Cuba, Rio de la Plata, India, Southeast Africa, and unspecified regions in Brazil.

Source: David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1781&yearTo=1866&mjbyptimp=60700

Compared to other regions in the Americas, the patterns of wind and sea currents of the South Atlantic allowed merchants based in Brazil to supply their

own regions with slaves. Table 2.1 shows that about 89 percent of the captives shipped from Angola to Bahia were carried in vessels that had departed from Bahia. This pattern is also evident in other Brazilian regions situated south of the Equator. In Pernambuco, for example, about 82 percent of the slaves embarked in Angola came in vessels that had departed from Pernambuco and about 95 percent of the slaves shipped to Southeast Brazil had embarked in vessels whose homeport was also in Southeast Brazil. Vessels leaving from any of these regions sailed southwards propelled by the Brazilian Current running along the coast of Brazil until they were able to catch the West Wind Drift that would take them across the Atlantic. When they were in sight of the African coast, they sailed northwards along the coast of Angola propelled by the Benguela Current until they reached their destination in Africa. To return, vessels leaving Angola to Brazil re-entered the Benguela Current sailing northwards until they were able to switch to the South Equatorial Current and cross the Atlantic to Brazil. As soon as they reached the Brazilian coast, they sailed southwards propelled by the Brazilian Current until arriving at their final destination.

The voyage between Angola and Brazil was one of the shortest of the trade. Vessels leaving Angola for Pernambuco between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century crossed the Atlantic on average in 47 days. To Bahia they took a little over a month, 37 days on average, and to Southeast Brazil they took about 51 days.[2] These ships were amongst the largest carriers in the trade. The average number of slaves carried per vessel from Angola to Pernambuco was

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[2] Calculated based on a sample of 41 records of vessels sailing from West Central Africa to Bahia, 19 to Pernambuco and 236 to Southeast Brazil between 1781 and 1842 available in the *Voyages Database*.

about 450; to Bahia, 377; and to Southeast Brazil, 451.[3] Although ships carried such large numbers of slaves, the mortality rate during the voyage was surprisingly low. From the late eighteenth century until the end of the trade, deaths at sea averaged about 5 percent of the total number of slaves shipped from Angola to Bahia and about 7 percent to Pernambuco and Southeast Brazil.[4] The pattern of wind and sea currents in the South Atlantic provided merchants based in Brazil with an advantage over their European counterparts in the slaving business from Angola.

The connections between the eastern Brazilian ports and Angola were not only based on ecological features. These two regions were also connected historically. In 1630, when the Dutch invaded Pernambuco, they discovered that the majority of the slaves used in the Portuguese sugar plantations came from Angola. Johannes de Laet, drawing from Portuguese records collected after the occupation, noted that "from Angola alone in the years 1620, 21, 22, 23, being four years, to the Captaincy of Pernambuco have been disembarked 15,430 Blacks."[5] The Dutch, like most Europeans at that time, regarded the sugar industry of Pernambuco as a highly profitable, and they sought to continue supplying the plantations there with Angolan slaves, using similar trading routes as the Portuguese. In 1641, the Dutch sailed for Angola and captured Luanda,

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[3] Calculated based on a sample of 146 records of vessels sailing from West Central Africa to Bahia, 94 to Pernambuco and 1,209 to Southeast Brazil between 1781 and 1849 available in the *Voyages Database*.

[4] Calculated based on a sample of 129 records of vessels sailing from West Central Africa to Bahia, 30 to Pernambuco and 1,161 to Southeast Brazil between 1781 and 1847 available in the *Voyages Database*.

[5] Joannes de Laet, *Iaerlijck Verhael van de Verrichtingen der Geoctroyeerde West-Indische Compagnie in derthien Boecken. Tweede Deel: Boek IV-VII (1627-1630)*, ed. S. P. L'Honoré Naber ('s-Gravenhage: Martinus Nijhoff, 1932), 139. I would like to thank Rik van Welie for this reference.

which then, as later, served as the major port of embarkation and the capital of the Portuguese government in Angola.[6]

However, the Dutch occupation of Luanda was shortlived. In 1648, Salvador Corrêa de Sá e Benevides recaptured Luanda with a fleet assembled in Rio de Janeiro. Salvador de Sá was governor of Rio de Janeiro, where he owned land and slaves. After retaking Luanda, he reorganized the Portuguese colony in Angola appointing members of his expedition to key offices in the government.[7] Through this process, he created strong ties between Brazil and Angola. Another factor strengthening links between Brazil and Angola was the appointment of Brazilian officers, such as João Fernandes Vieira and André de Vidal Negreiros, to positions in the government of Angola. Both men had distinguished themselves in the 1650s during the reconquest of Pernambuco.[8] They had the distinction of being among the longest serving governors in Angola. Governors of Angola were generally appointed for a three year period, but João Fernandes Vieira served for about four years, between 1658 and 1661, and André de Vidal Negreiros served for almost six years, between 1661 and 1666.[9]

The discovery of gold in the interior of Brazil in the 1690s had a similar impact on Brazilian-Angolan ties. The development of gold production attracted a

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[6] Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes*, 210-215; C. R. Boxer, "Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides and the Reconquest of Angola in 1648," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 28, no. 4 (1948): 489-492; C. R. Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686* (London: University of London Press, 1952), 240-242; Ralph Delgado, *História de Angola* (Lisbon: Banco de Angola, 1970), vol. 2, 215-224.

[7] Carlos Dias Coimbra, ed., *Livro de Patentes do Tempo do Sr. Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides* (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1958), passim.

[8] Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes*, 221-238; Boxer, "Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides and the Reconquest of Angola in 1648," 504-511; Boxer, *Salvador de Sá and the Struggle for Brazil and Angola, 1602-1686*, 261-269; Delgado, *História de Angola*, vol. 2, 376-393; Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *Olinda Restaurada: Guerra e Açúcar no Nordeste, 1630-1654* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Forense-Universitária, 1975), 171-208.

[9] "Catálogo dos Governadores do Reino de Angola," *Arquivos de Angola* 3, no. 34-36, 1 (1937): 497-500; Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola*, ed. Manuel Múrias (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937), vol. 1, 275-284.

large number of Portuguese immigrants to Brazil.[10] They settled not only in the mining centers but also on the coast, especially in Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro, which served as the main ports of entry to the gold producing areas. Moreover, they expected to tap some of the wealth coming in and out of the interior by engaging in trading activities in these regions. In Pernambuco, the arrival of these immigrants caused great conflicts with the local community, because gold exports had increased the prices of commodities imported from abroad, including slaves.[11] Sugar planters, for example, became increasingly indebted to traders who had migrated from Portugal. However, in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro the local community was able to accommodate the newcomers with less friction. Planters in Bahia and Rio, on the one hand, regarded the arrival of Portuguese immigrants as an opportunity both to build commercial alliances and raise the status of their families by creating direct links with the metropolis. The immigrants, on the other, viewed the planters as an important means of getting access to local power and prestige, and they began to marry daughters of planter families.[12] A strong community of local merchants emerged in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, which increasingly dominated the Angolan trade.

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[10] C. R. Boxer, *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750: Growing Pains of a Colonial Society* (Berkeley: University of California, 1962), 35-36; Virgílio Noya Pinto, *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português: Uma Contribuição aos Estudos da Economia Atlântica no Século XVIII*, 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1979), 51-53.

[11] Evaldo Cabral de Mello, *A Fronda dos Mazombos: Nobres Contra Mascates, Pernambuco, 1666-1715* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1995), 177-180.

[12] Rae Jean Flory, "Bahian Society in the Mid-Colonial Period: The Sugar Planters, Tobacco Growers, Merchants and Artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680-1725" (Ph.D., Austin: University of Texas, 1978), 98-109; João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, "A Nobreza da República: Notas sobre a Formação da Primeira Elite Senhorial do Rio de Janeiro (Séculos XVI e XVII)," *Topoi*, no. 1 (2000): 58-60; John Norman Kennedy, "Bahian Elites, 1750-1822," *Hispanic American Historical Review* 53, no. 3 (1973): 423-424; Antônio Carlos Jucá Sampaio, "Famílias e Negócios: A Formação da Comunidade Mercantil Carioca na Primeira Metade do Setecentos," in *Conquistadores e Negociantes: Histórias de Elites no Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. América Lusa, Séculos XVI a XVIII*, ed. João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Antônio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio, and Carla Maria de Carvalho de Almeida (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 234-260; David Grant Smith, "The Mercantile Class of Portugal and Brazil in the Seventeenth Century: A Socioeconomic Study of the Merchants of Lisbon and Bahia, 1620-1690" (Ph.D., University of Texas, 1975), 288-290 and 400-402.

In the mid-eighteenth century, the Portuguese government tried to limit the control of Brazilian merchants over the trade from Angola. In 1755 and 1759, the Portuguese Prime Minister, Sebastião José de Carvalho e Melo, created two trading companies based in Lisbon; the *Companhia Geral do Comércio do Grão Pará e Maranhão* and the *Companhia Geral do Comércio de Pernambuco e Paraíba*. The minister granted the two companies a monopoly over all maritime trade, including the slave trade, to the northern captaincies of Brazil as well as to Pernambuco and its neighboring captaincies, Alagoas, Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte and Ceará.[13] In Bahia, the government also tried to limit the control of local merchants over the slave trade by terminating the *Mesa do Bem Comum*, the trading board of the Bahian merchants.[14]

A further government initiative reformed the taxes on slaves shipped from Angola in 1758. Although this revision was couched in the language of free trade, it in fact provided the state with more control over the commerce. Before 1758, slaves shipped from Angola were taxed on the basis of a measurement of a potential unit of labor called *peça da Índia*, which implied a healthy adult slave, male or female, of a certain height. Children, people with disabilities and adults shorter than the designated height were considered for purposes of tax collection as a fraction of a *peça da Índia*.[15] However, following the 1758 reform, officials

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[13] António Carreira, *As Companhias Pombalinas de Navegação, Comércio e Tráfico de Escravos entre a Costa Africana e o Nordeste Brasileiro* (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1969), 31-33 and 249-252; Manuel Nunes Dias, *Fomento e Mercantilismo: A Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão (1755-1778)* (Belém: Universidade Federal do Pará, 1970), vol. 1, 207-225; José Ribeiro Júnior, *Colonização e Monopólio no Nordeste Brasileiro: A Companhia Geral de Pernambuco e Paraíba (1759-1780)* (São Paulo: HUCITEC, 1976), 82-83.

[14] Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "A Cidade de Salvador: Estrutura Econômica, Comércio de Escravos e Grupo Mercantil (c.1750-c.1800)" (Doctorate, Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 2009), 375-377; Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo: O Tráfico de Escravos entre o Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos dos Séculos XVII a XIX* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1987), 105-108.

[15] Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 22-23; Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica y el Comercio de Esclavos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977), 189-190. Curtin implied that only male slaves could be

began to collect taxes on each individual embarked, rather than on the basis of *peça da Índia*. Merchants consequently faced increased taxation. The reform created a single unified tax rate, which comprised, more or less, the sum of all taxes previously levied over the *peças de Índia*.[16] This measure was especially harmful to merchants who shipped slaves in vessels carrying *efeitos próprios*, that is, carrying commodities belonging to the vessels' owners. In 1684, a law limiting the carrying capacity of slave vessels also imposed a ranking on the departure of vessels from Luanda carrying slaves purchased with *efeitos próprios*. Merchants who wished to go to the front of the departure queue had to pay an additional fee, called *preferências*, of 2,000 *réis* for each slave embarked, but merchants who declined the opportunity were exempt from this fee.[17] As the 1758 tax reform unified all taxes, it forced those who opted for the regular departure schedule to pay an additional fee without obtaining any benefit.

Another way that the Portuguese government tried to reduce Brazilian control over the slave trade was to appoint individuals loyal to Lisbon to major offices in the government of Angola. In 1764, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho assumed the governor's position in Angola and introduced a series of measures, such as the development of the wax and ivory trade, aimed at reducing the colony's dependence on the human trafficking. He was also responsible for the first attempt to build a European iron factory in the interior of Angola in a place called Nova Oeiras, between the Lukala and Luina rivers. Sousa Coutinho

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considered *peças da Índia*, but the documents cited by Vila Vilar clearly state that female slaves could also be considered *peças da Índia*.

[16] Dom José I, "Ley para Ser Livre, e Franco o Commercio de Angola, e dos Portos, e Sertões Adjacentes," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 13-15, 1 (1936): 532-533; Dom José I, "Ley sobre a Arecadação dos Direitos dos Escravos, e Marfim, que Sahirem do Reino de Angola, e Pórtos da sua Dependencia," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 13-15, 1 (1936): 538-539.

[17] Dom Pedro II, "Ley sobre as Arqueações dos Navios que Carregarem Escravos, 28 de Março de 1684," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 11-12, 1 (1936): 315.

governed Angola for almost eight years, between 1764 and 1772.[18] His successors were loyal to the central administration in Lisbon, and those who tried to maintain Sousa Coutinho's policies did so more or less successfully. Miguel António de Melo, for example, governor between 1797 and 1802, was able to continue some of these policies, founding another iron factory at Trombeta, in the present day province of Cuanza Norte.[19] Despite these efforts, merchants based in Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro still maintained large control over the trade from Angola.

Brazilian based merchants organized shipments from Angola through individual enterprises or in partnership with others. The "Voyages Database" provides an indication of the frequency with which they engaged in the trade by listing the names of individuals and firms that sponsored slaving voyages across the Atlantic. The data are particularly rich for the period from the late eighteenth century until 1830, when the trade to Brazil became illegal. The database names those who financed slaving expeditions for 43 percent of all voyages to Bahia between 1781 and 1830; 64 percent to Pernambuco; and 52 percent to Southeast Brazil. In the Bahia sample, there are 130 individuals who sponsored slaving voyages in this period, 21 of whom are also named as ship captains. In addition to these individuals, the Bahia sample contains references to 24 firms or partnerships organized under the names of individual dealers.[20] The Pernambuco sample identifies 105 merchants, of whom 20 were also captains, as well as 23

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[18] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, vo. 2, 29-44; "Catálogo dos Governadores do Reino de Angola," 526-531; Ana Madalena Trigo de Sousa, "Uma Tentativa de Fomento Industrial na Angola Setecentista: A 'Fábrica do Ferro' de Nova Oeiras (1766-1772)," *Africana Studia* 10 (2007): 293-305.

[19] Miguel António de Melo to Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, 18 March 1800, in *Arquivos de Angola* ser. 1, vol. 4, nos. 52-54 (1939): 295-300; Miguel António de Melo to Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, 5 April 1800, in *Arquivos de Angola* ser. 1, vol. 4, nos. 52-54 (1939): 307-308.

[20] These records appear in the database with a star (*) next to the name of the partnership representative.

firms. Finally, the sample for Southeast Brazil includes 196 merchants, 35 of whom also appear as captains, in addition to 18 firms organized under the names of individual entrepreneurs.

The trade between Angola and Brazil generated some degree of concentration of ownership. Table 2.2 shows that the traffic was largely concentrated in the hands of a few individuals and companies. In Bahia, 3 merchants financed 10 or more voyages to Angola. They represented about 2 percent of all traders, but their names appear associated with 44 voyages, or about 14 percent of all voyages that had embarked slaves in Angola. In Pernambuco, 6 merchants, representing about 5 percent of all dealers, appear associated with 112 voyages, or approximately 32 percent of all voyages. Finally, in Southeast Brazil the slave trade from Angola was also considerably concentrated, with 23 merchants and companies financing 10 or more voyages. They represented about 11 percent of all traders, and their names were associated with 520 voyages, or about 57 percent of all those that shipped slaves from Angola to Southeast Brazil.

Table 2.2 – Concentration of Ownership of Vessels Embarking Slaves at West Central Africa,

1781-1867

Regions	Range of voyages	Number of merchants	Percentage of merchants	Number of voyages	Percentage of voyages
Bahia	1 to 3	138	89.6	187	60.9
	4 to 6	8	5.2	41	13.4
	7 to 9	5	3.2	35	11.4
	10 and over	3	1.9	44	14.3
	Total	154	100	307	100
Pernambuco	1 to 3	109	85.2	146	42.2
	4 to 6	6	4.7	30	8.7
	7 to 9	7	5.5	58	16.8
	10 and over	6	4.7	112	32.4
	Total	128	100	346	100
SE Brazil	1 to 3	161	75.2	218	24.1
	4 to 6	21	9.8	101	11.2
	7 to 9	9	4.2	65	7.2
	10 and over	23	10.7	520	57.5
	Total	214	100	904	100

Source: Same as Table 2.1.

Small investors, defined here as financing on average 1 to 3 voyages, also played an important role in the trade from Angola. They were the majority of the individuals engaged in the commerce. Public acceptance of slavery and the slave trade was so widespread that anyone who had some capital available could participate in the business without questioning its morality. In Bahia, small investors numbered 138 individuals, who comprised about 89 percent of all merchants, and their names appear associated with 187 voyages, or approximately 61 percent of all voyages. In Pernambuco, 109 individuals invested in 1 to 3 voyages, comprising about 85 percent of all merchants, but they financed 146 voyages, or about 42 percent of the total. In Southeast Brazil, the participation of small investors was less important than in Bahia and Pernambuco. There were 161 of them engaged in the Angolan trade. They made

up about 75 percent of all dealers, but their names were associated with a mere 218 voyages, or about 24 percent of all voyages.

In the period of the legal trade, before 1831, the activities of experienced entrepreneurs are easier to trace than those of small investors. Slave traders who participated frequently in the traffic were usually members of the social, political and economic elite of Brazil. Abundant records of their lives survive in the archives, which historians have used to reconstruct the careers of some. These big traders generally had prestigious titles granted by institutions like the *Ordem de Cristo* or Order of Christ.[21] They also had a seat at the administration of relevant institutions like the *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, an important source of credit in many cities in Portugal and Brazil.[22] These individuals included men such Elias Coelho Sintra in Pernambuco, Pedro Rodrigues Bandeira in Bahia, and the well known Elias Antônio Lopes in Rio de Janeiro, who donated the palace at the Quinta da Boa Vista to the Portuguese royal family, who lived there during their residence in Brazil between 1808 and 1821.[23] The activities of the masses of small investors are more difficult to unearth, because they left few records of their lives. Although the names of hundreds of them survive, historians have not been able to collect sufficient information to establish profiles of these individuals.

After 1830, the activities of traders in general are more difficult to trace because the traffic to Brazil became illegal. Individuals continued to finance

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[21] Manolo Florentino, *Em Costas Negras: Uma História do Tráfico Atlântico de Escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 204-208; Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, "O Comércio de Escravos e a Elite Baiana no Período Colonial," in *Conquistadores e Negociantes: Histórias de Elites no Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. América Lusa, Séculos XVI a XVIII*, ed. João Luís Ribeiro Fragoso, Carla Maria de Carvalho de Almeida, and Antônio Carlos Jucá de Sampaio (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2007), 332-334.

[22] Flory, "Bahian Society in the Mid-Colonial Period: The Sugar Planters, Tobacco Growers, Merchants and Artisans of Salvador and the Recôncavo, 1680-1725," 262; Ribeiro, "O Comércio de Escravos e a Elite Baiana," 333-334.

[23] Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, *Liberdade: Rotinas e Rupturas do Escravismo no Recife, 1822-1850* (Recife: Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2002), 118; Florentino, *Em Costas Negras*, 207; Ribeiro, "O Comércio de Escravos e a Elite Baiana," 330-331.

slaving voyages by forming partnerships for specific voyages. However, the prominence achieved by some merchants suggests that during these years the trade was becoming increasingly concentrated in the hands of a few individuals, who had developed the necessary contacts to bypass the authorities and assure the successful delivery of large numbers of slaves annually to Brazil. Such merchants included Joaquim Pereira Marinho in Bahia, Gabriel José Antônio in Pernambuco, and Manoel Pinto da Fonseca in Rio de Janeiro, who promoted their major trading status to remind the Brazilian slave owning class of their services.[24] Public acceptance of slavery and the associated trade was such that traders had no need to cover up their activities. Dependency on the trade gave merchants access to important centers of decision making in national politics.[25] Additionally, it allowed them to mix with the Brazilian aristocracy, largely consisting of planters and slave owners.[26] Major traders had considerable standing in Brazilian society.

Although these merchants organized the logistics of the trade and took much of the credit for the successful disembarkation of slaves, they were not acting alone. They relied on an extensive commercial network that linked not only Brazil, Portugal and Angola, but also involved the United States and Great Britain. Until the beginning of the nineteenth century, much of the merchandise used to purchase slaves was produced in Portugal and Brazil. Some of it was textiles imported from the Portuguese colonies in Asia. Merchants in Brazilian ports then assembled these commodities and exchanged them for slaves in

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[24] Carvalho, *Liberdade: Rotinas e Rupturas do Escravismo no Recife, 1822-1850*, 118; Mary C. Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851" (M.A., Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1967), 12-15; Cristina Ferreira Lyrio Ximenes, "Joaquim Pereira Marinho: Perfil de um Contrabandista de Escravos na Bahia, 1828-1887" (M.A., Salvador: Universidade Federal da Bahia, 1999), 1-21.
[25] Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851," 14-15.
[26] Ibid.

Angola. After the opening of the Brazilian ports to international trade in 1808, Brazilian traders increasingly used British goods, particularly textiles, to buy slaves because they knew that Africans in Angola found the quality of the British textiles to be superior to those of the Portuguese.[27] Additionally, the industrial revolution in Britain reduced the production costs of some goods, which was reflected in their price in the international market.[28] Finally, reductions in customs duties granted in 1810 to British commodities imported into Brazil made their prices more competitive with locally produced goods and those imported from other places in Europe or Asia.[29] Slave merchants based in Brazil began to rely on British traders to assemble most of the manufactured goods destined for Angola.

After 1830, the organization of the trade from Angola became increasingly internationalized. Roquinaldo Ferreira notes that as the British increased their efforts to abolish the slave trade, merchants expanded their trading networks to places outside Brazil, especially to Cuba and the United States.[30] From those places, they organized slaving expeditions free from interference by the Brazilian authorities as well as the British navy. These merchants contracted with Portuguese and Spanish traders located in these countries to obtain vessels, goods, documents, as well as the American flag to use in their slaving expeditions.[31] American registration papers, in particular, served as an

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[27] Miller, *Way of Death*, 349; Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851," 27-35.

[28] David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 47.

[29] Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 8th ed. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2000), 122-124.

[30] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A., Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 100-103.

[31] David Eltis, "The British Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade after 1807," *Maritime History* 4, no. 1 (1974): 9; Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*, 134 and 157;

important factor in the illegal trade because, in contrast to the Brazilian government, the United States had not granted the British the right to search American vessels.[32]

Merchants based in Brazil were not the only businessmen using international networks to organize slaving expeditions. Planters in the southern United States willing to re-open the transatlantic trade also tapped these networks to organize clandestine voyages. Charles Lamar from Georgia provides perhaps the most emblematic case. In 1858, Lamar made a deal with Captain William Corrie. They purchased a racing yacht built in Long Island, fitted it with the help of Portuguese traffickers based in New York, and sent it to Angola.[33] The *Wanderer* embarked 350 slaves at Ambriz and 47 days later it arrived at Jekyll Island, Georgia.[34] The slaves brought in the yacht were quickly sold to planters in Georgia, South Carolina and Florida.[35] Eventually, the American authorities discovered Lamar's plot and arrested him and his associates in Georgia. They were charged with piracy and slave trading, but none was convicted. Lamar's slaving expedition was one of the last successful disembarkations of slaves from Africa in the United States, but it clearly shows that after 1830 the organization of the Angolan trade extended far beyond Brazil.

The Portuguese connection to the trade between Cuba and Angola was more important than that to the United States. William Gervase Clarence-Smith

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Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851," 27-35; Miller, *Way of Death*, 505-509.

[32] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 176.

[33] Erik Calonius, *The Wanderer: The Last American Slave Ship and the Conspiracy that Set Its Sails* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 2006), 45-52 and 66-82.

[34] David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, voyage id 4974, www.slavevoyages.org/. See also Emory University, Robert W. Woodruff Library, Manuscripts, Archives and Rare Book Library, Mss 172, Wanderer (Ship) Records, Logbook of the yacht "Wanderer."

[35] Calonius, *The Wanderer*, 125-133; Tom Henderson Wells, *The Slave Ship Wanderer* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1967), 24-29.

has long called attention to the participation of Portuguese merchants in this business. According to him, Cuban slave traders often relied on the commercial expertise of Portuguese merchants in order to obtain false documents, colors, and provisions to carry slaves from Angola as well as other regions controlled by the Portuguese. In fact, as Clarence-Smith notes, Cuban dependence on Portuguese trading networks stemmed not only from a need for commercial expertise but also from a "lack of internationally recognized and occupied colonial possessions in Sub-Saharan Africa."[36] More recently, Roquinaldo Ferreira has pointed out that Portuguese merchants based in Angola played a key role in the supply of slaves to Cuba during the illegal period of the traffic. These merchants included men like António Severino de Avellar and Guilherme José da Silva Correia, also known as Guilherme do Zaire. They lived in Luanda but usually assisted Cuban vessels to load slaves at ports located north of Luanda, especially at Ambriz and at the mouth of the Congo River.[37] The Cuban trade from Angola increased significantly in this period, from an annual average of 1,400 captives embarked in the 1840s to 10,200 in the 1850s.[38] The demand for labor on the Cuban sugar plantations was the principal factor responsible for this increase, but the Portuguese commercial networks no doubt facilitated the process.

The trade from Angola depended on merchants established on the coast of West Central Africa. Some of them were Africans who acted as brokers or middlemen responsible for purchasing slaves in the interior and selling them to transatlantic traders. At embarkation ports such as Cabinda, Molembo and Loango, rulers regulated the supply of slaves by nominating a representative to

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[36] William Gervase Clarence-Smith, "The Portuguese Contribution to the Cuban Slave and Coolie Trades in the Nineteenth Century," *Slavery and Abolition* 5, no. 1 (1984): 26-27.

[37] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 100-106.

[38] Calculated from the estimates available in Appendix A, Table A.2.

collect taxes before granting traders the right to purchase them. These individuals could not enforce a monopoly so they seldom left their capitals unattended to interfere in commercial affairs on the coast. In return for captives, rulers sought a mix of foreign commodities, such as firearms, gunpowder, textiles and alcohol. They distributed these goods to loyal followers to consolidate their own power, and they provided them on credit to traders supplying slaves from the interior to the coast.[39] In this way, rulers maintained a nexus of commercial power on the coast, as a counter to the interior, where the centers of political life were generally located.

The agents of African rulers on the coast held titles directly connected to their functions. In Loango, they were known as *mafuco* or *mafouk* and in Cabinda and Molembo as *mambuco* or *mambouk*. These agents were usually the first people traders met when they arrived at these northern Angolan ports. They collected taxes from traders either at their vessels or in tents on the shore. The negotiations were usually lengthy and they involved displays of power with no little amount of rum consumed on both sides. Generally, traders from Europe and the Americas sponsored this feast alone. Once an agreement was reached with the tax collectors, however, they set up shop on the shore and began to negotiate with anyone interested in selling slaves.[40] Such negotiations could take a long time, but they usually involved lower costs for traders than their encounters with royal officials. The price paid for slaves was negotiated with each seller separately.[41]

The trade at ports dominated by decentralized states was similar to that at ports controlled by centralized states, except in two respects. At the former,

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[39] Miller, *Way of Death*, 40-70 and 94-103.

[40] Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 97-99; Miller, *Way of Death*, 184-185.

[41] Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast*, 100-103; Miller, *Way of Death*, 175-180.

rituals and processions commonly preceded commercial exchanges. Additionally, the transatlantic merchants usually bartered one on one with the community leaders, rather than their representatives. In 1782, for example, Manoel da Silva Ribeiro Fernandes sailed to the ports north of Luanda and described his encounter with a prince of Nsoyo, a former province of the old Kingdom of Kongo, which by that time was no longer the centralized society that it had been in previous centuries. His description provides a vivid account of how decentralized societies conducted the slave trade.

> The prince came with about three hundred men carrying drums, flutes and lugubrious instruments as well as firearms; most of them were no longer working and neither had gunpowder of quality. Others were carrying wooden clubs, knives, cassava roots and corn stalks. They were all wearing dresses made of straws. The prince looked like a woman, wearing the same dress as the princess when I met her, and the headdress of a grenadier, in addition to a large sword on his side, and a Crucifix of the Lord in his hands. He then entered the Church between six blacks holding knives, marched through the sacristy, passed around a gate in front of the altar, knelt before the principal chapel [...] shouted and all the people in front of the Church's door entered, knelt and began to sing a song. After they finished, the prince left the sacristy, marched around the Church, re-entered the sacristy, and then left the building through its main door towards a square, where he ordered two chairs to be placed, distant a fathom from each other, one for him and another for me. He then sat and summoned me. I sat and dealt directly with him.[42]

From the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, a number of families with historic connections to the trade dominated the supply of slaves at

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[42] *Relação de uma viagem à costa ao norte de Luanda por Manoel da Silva Ribeiro Fernandes ao Senhor Ajudante de Ordens Pedro José Corrêa Quevedo*, 15 August 1782, AHU, CU, Angola, cx. 65 doc. 64.

the principal embarkation points north of Luanda. Phyllis Martin notes that this was the case at Cabinda, in the Kingdom of Ngoyo. Some of these families had famous ancestors or connections to the royal court at Mbanza Ngoyo. Others, such as the Franque family at Cabinda, gained prominence because of wealth garnered during the trade.[43] The family's founder, Kokelo, was a servant of a French trader who had died at Cabinda and left his possessions to his African employee. Kokelo continued to participate in the trade, rising from a minor figure in the community to a successful broker and merchant.[44] His descendents followed him into the trade, and expanded the family's influence. Perhaps, the most important such man was Francisco Franque, who at the age of eight was sent to be educated in Brazil. At the beginning of the nineteenth century, Francisco Franque returned to Cabinda and assumed the family's business just as the Dutch, French, and British traders were withdrawing from Cabinda. Francisco Franque of course remained in business on the basis of his connection with Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, and the Franque family became one of the principal slave suppliers on the whole West Central African coast.[45]

The supply of captives at the Portuguese ports of embarkation was different. At Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo, individuals from many different backgrounds dominated the supply. Some of them were Portuguese expatriates while others were Luso African Creoles, that is descendents of unions of Portuguese expatriates and Africans. Traders originally from Brazil also operated at these ports, working as representatives of trading houses at Bahia, Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro. Finally, some of the traders operating at these

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[43] Phyllis M. Martin, "Family Strategies in Nineteenth Century Cabinda," *Journal of African History* 28, no. 1 (1987): 71.
[44] Ibid.
[45] Ibid., 73.

ports were African, who had assimilated Portuguese language, manners and costumes. Perhaps, the most notable example was that of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva, a woman who emerged in the nineteenth century as one of the wealthiest merchants in Luanda.[46] Some sources claim that she was the daughter of a Portuguese trader with a *mestiça* woman from Luanda, but others suggest that she was born an African slave.[47] In either way, collectively these individuals made up just a small percentage of the total population living in the Portuguese ports of slave embarkation. Census records from Benguela, for example, show that merchants comprised less than 2 percent of the total population living in the port between 1796 and 1815.[48] However, since the trade was the principal economic activity in Benguela, they were also the wealthiest residents.

The central administration in Lisbon regulated the trade from Portuguese Angola. It established customs houses at the principal ports called *feitorias* or *alfândegas*, where colonial officials supervised both the disembarkation of merchandise brought from abroad and the embarkation of slaves to the Americas. These bureaucrats were also responsible for collecting taxes levied on slave departures.[49] The 1758 tax law, as we have seen, allowed vessels carrying *efeitos próprios* to load slaves and depart as soon as they were ready, instead of leaving

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[46] Carlos Alberto Lopes Cardoso, "Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva: Industrial Angolana da Segunda Metade do Século XIX," *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Luanda* 37 (1972): 5; Júlio de Castro Lopo, "Uma Rica Dona de Luanda," *Portucale* 3, no. 16-17, 2 (1948): 126-127.

[47] Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means: D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva, Mid-Nineteenth Century Luso-African Merchant-Capitalist of Luanda," *Santa Barbara Portuguese Studies Review* 3 (1996): 284-285.

[48] *Mapa das Pessoas Livres e Escravos...* 15 June 1796, AHU, CU, Angola, box 83 doc. 66; *Mapa das Pessoas Livres e Escravos...* 1797, AHU, CU, Angola, box 85 doc. 28; *Ocupação dos Habitantes da Paróquia de São Felipe de Benguela*, 1809, AHU, CU, Angola, box 121 doc. 32; *Ocupação dos Habitantes da Paróquia de São Felipe de Benguela*, 1810, AHU, CU, Angola box 121A doc. 36; *Ocupação dos Habitantes da Paróquia de São Felipe de Benguela*, 1815, AHU, CU, Angola, box 131 doc. 45. Mariana Cândido believes that the merchant community of Benguela comprised between 3 and 17 percent of the total population of this port, but her calculations clearly included traders operating between Benguela and the interior. See Mariana P. Cândido, "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade in Benguela c. 1750-1850," *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 9.

[49] António Miguel de Mello, "Regimento da Alfandega da Cidade de Saõ Paulo d'Assumpçaõ Capital do Reino de Angola, 21 de Outubro de 1799," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 11-12, 1 (1936): 410-414.

by order of arrival. The new regulation also specified age specific taxes. Adult slaves, males or females, were taxed 8,700 *réis*, small children 4,350 *réis*, and nursing infants were tax free, if embarked with their mothers.[50] This system of tax collection remained in effect until 1836, when the Portuguese prohibited all transatlantic trading from their African possessions. When the traffic banned, traders increasingly moved their activities to African controlled or clandestine ports north and south of Luanda.

Portuguese export duties were collected from merchants rather than captains of slave vessels. The trade from Angola was an expensive and risky business. Capital always seems to have been scarce and the purchase of slaves in the interior was made possible by merchandise advanced on credit from overseas. This arrangement was necessitated by the fact that African traders in the interior demanded payment at the moment of the exchange. As a consequence, merchants in Portuguese Angola became indebted to their counterparts in Portugal and Brazil.[51] Yet they bore most of the risks until slaves were sold in the Americas. Above all, these merchants had more to lose from deaths of captives in transit than their counterparts in Portugal or Brazil, on whose ships they dispatched their captives.

High risks ensured that only a few individuals would become major slave merchants. A successful career in Portuguese Angola required several years of experience in trading slaves. The service records of Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho provide insight into just how much experience a slave merchant had to accumulate before he or she became a major supplier. In 1806, the Governor and Captain General of Angola, Fernando António de Noronha, submitted these

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[50] Dom José I, "Ley sobre a Arecadação," 537-538.

[51] Miller, *Way of Death*, 298-300; José Carlos Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland no Século XVIII: Um Estudo de Sociologia Histórica* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1996), 175-178.

records to the Portuguese Regent Prince, showing Coutinho's contribution to the colony's royal revenue. They included two lists of his trading activities spanning a period of almost 40 years, from 1768 until 1806, and thus comprise the most extensive record available of slaves shipped by a single merchant based in Luanda.[52] More important, they provide a rare opportunity to trace the career of a successful merchant.

Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho, son of António da Fonseca Coutinho, Knight of the Order of Christ, was born in Luanda.[53] Little is known about Coutinho's early years at this point, but as an adult he was clearly ambitious and climbed to the top of Luanda's social ladder by accumulating titles and high military rank. In 1784, the Portuguese Queen Dona Maria confirmed Coutinho in the rank of Colonel of the Auxiliary Troops of Massangano, in the interior of Angola.[54] Two years later, the queen made him knight of her own house and granted him a symbolic stipend of 600 *réis* per month.[55] Coutinho was then promoted to Colonel of the Militia of Luanda. In 1799, he followed in his father's footsteps and became Knight of the Order of Christ; the most distinguished title in the Portuguese Empire.[56] He was able to apply for this title thanks to his sister, Dona Ana Maria. She had declined to inherit the remuneration and recognition of all services performed by their father for the Crown in favor of her brother, who had brought

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[52] *Certidão de António José Manzoni de Castro*, 31 May 1796, enclosed in the *Petição de Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45 and *Certidão de António Martiniano José da Silva e Sousa*, 10 March 1806, enclosed in the *Petição de Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

[53] *Atestação de Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos*, 7 February 1793, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45. *Instrumento em Pública Forma Sobrescrito por Felipe Benício e Rosa Mascarenhas*, 8 June 1795, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

[54] ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês*, Dona Maria I, Book 16, f. 126.

[55] Idem.

[56] ANTT, *Registo Geral de Mercês*, Dona Maria I, Book 29, ff. 224v and 243.

her up from childhood.[57] Finally, sometime between 1807 and 1810, Governor and Captain General of Angola, António Saldanha da Gama, promoted Coutinho to commander of the Militia of Luanda.[58]

Clearly the governors of Angola had a favorable opinion of Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho. The Baron of Moçâmedes (1784-1790), for instance, referred to him as "the most trustworthy merchant in Luanda."[59] Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos (1790-1797) called Coutinho "one of the most condign vassals of His Majesty," and Fernando António de Noronha (1802-1806) said that Coutinho was a "credit worthy and useful inhabitant of Angola."[60] All these comments derived from the commercial power of Coutinho. In fact, between 1768 and 1806, Coutinho alone embarked about 5 percent of all slaves shipped from Luanda. As the slave trade was the principal economic activity of this port, this ratio impressed the highest authorities in Angola. [61]

Coutinho's records suggest that the career of a successful merchant required many years to build capital and access internal sources of slaves. Table 2.4 shows the number of slaves shipped by Coutinho over a period of approximately 40 years, drawn from the two aforementioned lists copied from the customs books of Luanda. It indicates that he took almost half of this 40 year period to become a major merchant, shipping slaves only occasionally during the first 12 years of activity. Coutinho became a major merchant only after 1785,

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[57] *Instrumento em Pública Forma Sobrescrito por Felipe Benício e Rosa Mascarenhas*, 8 June 1795, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

[58] João de Oliveira Barbosa to Conde das Galvêas, 2 December 1810, AHU, CU, Angola, box 121A doc. 31.

[59] *Atestação do Barão de Moçâmedes*, 6 October 1790, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

[60] *Atestação de Manuel de Almeida Vasconcelos*, 2 January 1796, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45. *Atestação de Fernando António de Noronha*, 27 February 1806, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

[61] Calculated based on records of slaves shipped from Luanda available in José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Reassessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830," *African Economic History*, no. 20 (1992): 20-25. Note that Curto's figures may include untaxed slaves, while part of Coutinho's lists of shipment does not, so this percentage is likely to be higher.

when he was able to load a couple of vessels per year with captives, assuming 350 as the average carrying capacity of each vessel. The first list of shipments includes no dates of embarkation, but both followed the books' chronological order, allowing distribution of Coutinho's shipments according to the opening and closing dates of each book. Although the first book is dated 9 May 1767, the first list begins in the following year, presumably when Coutinho shipped his first slaves, and ends 31 May 1796. The second list continues from this date until 10 March 1806.

Table 2.3 – Number of Slaves Shipped by Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho, 1768-1806

Lists	Periods	Number of years	Number of slaves	Number of slaves per year
1	1 January 1768 to 11 January 1780	12.0	478	40
	12 January 1780 to 4 February 1785	5.1	733	145
	5 February 1785 to 31 May 1796	11.3	7,933	701
2	31 May 1796 to 16 October 1798	2.4	1,865	787
	17 October 1798 to 10 March 1806	7.4	5,833	789
	Total	38.9	16,842	433

Sources: *Certidão de António José Manzoni de Castro*, 31 May 1796, enclosed in the *Petição de Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45 and *Certidão de António Martiniano José da Silva e Sousa*, 10 March 1806, enclosed in the *Petição de Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45.

Coutinho's records also shed light on the commercial strategies that Luandan merchants employed. As already noted their profits were vulnerable to

shipboard mortality, so they devised ways to reduce this risk. One means was to distribute their slaves across several vessels. Luanda was a busy slaving port with a large number of vessels arriving and leaving annually. The frequency of vessels calling at the port allowed merchants to make small shipments of slaves in several different vessels. Stanley Engerman and others have noted that mortality at sea was very unevenly distributed. Most vessels had very low mortality, but a few had a very high number of deaths.[62] Coutinho's strategy reduced the risk of losing an entire cargo at sea in the event a vessel was captured, destroyed, or sank. It also allowed Luandan merchants to dispose quickly of a highly vulnerable commodity. Slaves often arrived from the journey to the coast exhausted, undernourished and, as a consequence, susceptible to disease. Their condition tended to deteriorate further while on the coast, as merchants often had too many slaves on their properties. Crowded barracoons increased the risks of famine and contagious diseases. This reality put a premium on selling slaves as soon as possible. Table 2.5 shows the size of Coutinho's shipments between 1768 and 1806. It indicates that this major merchant typically shipped his slaves in small numbers per vessel. In fact, Coutinho rarely shipped a full cargo of slaves at any one time. The majority of his shipments consisted of no more than 50 slaves per vessel, but in fact almost half of all his shipments, 48 percent, ranged between 1 and 10 slaves only. No doubt other merchants followed a similar strategy.

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[62] Stanley L. Engerman et al., "Transoceanic Mortality: The Slave Trade in Comparative Perspective," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 100-102.

Table 2.4 – Size of Coutinho's Slave Shipments, 1768-1806

Size of shipments	Number of vessels
1-50	207
51-100	10
101-150	2
151-200	7
201-250	5
251-300	4
301-350	3
351 over	17
Total	255

Source: Same as Table 2.4.

Partnering with other merchants, not only in Europe and the Americas but also in Africa, also reduced risk. Such business arrangements meant that individuals invested less capital in a voyage than they would if they undertook the entire enterprise alone. Table 2.6 shows the structure of ownership of the slaves Coutinho dispatched between 1768 and 1806. It indicates that almost 60 percent of his shipments were made in partnership with others. He sent only about 30 percent of the slaves on his own account in addition to 10 percent on behalf of others. However, the table also indicates that partnerships became possible only after a merchant had gained experience and developed a sound reputation. At the beginning of his career, from 1768 through 1785, Coutinho owned outright the majority of the slaves he embarked. This long period of apprenticeship in the slave trade eventually provided him with sufficient experience and resources to attract other merchants as partners. As the man succeeded in his career, his joint ventures widened to include shipments made on behalf of others. Since slaves were at risk of dying before they reached markets in

the Americas, well established merchants in Luanda were willing at times to offer their services as agents for others in the business.

Table 2.5 – Structure of Ownership in Coutinho's Shipment of Slaves (in Row Percentages), 1768-1806

List	Approximate years of shipment	On Coutinho's account	In partnership	On behalf of others
	1768-1780	90.4	9.6	-
1	1780-1785	78.2	21.8	-
	1785-1796	33.8	66.2	-
	1796-1798	16.5	43.1	40.4
2	1798-1806	24.0	61.3	14.8
	Total	32.2	58.4	9.4

Source: Same as Table 2.4

Luandan and Benguelan merchants understood that owning the vessels that shipped their goods reduced their exposure to risk. To increase their control over the itineraries of voyages and the conditions under which slaves were carried, they often tried to break into the shipping business after accumulating sufficient resources. Coutinho's records show that he owned three vessels, which he used both to ship slaves and to rent out to the government: the *Curveta Rainha dos Anjos*, the *Bergantim Flor do Mar*, and the *Sumaca Santo António e Almas*.[63] Coutinho used the first two in the slave trade, although in 1799 he loaned the second one out for a military expedition to Benguela organized by Governor and

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[63] *Carta de Ofício de Miguel António de Melo*, 9 May 1799, AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45. *Petição de Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho a Miguel António de Melo*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 115 doc. 45. The Voyages Database provides information on only two records of slaving voyages with Coutinho's name as owner; one for an unnamed ship, which set sail in 1799, and the other for the *Bergantim Flor do Mar*, which sailed between 1810 and 1811. Eltis et al., "Voyages," voyage id 46,313 and 49,898.

Captain General of Angola, Miguel António de Melo. Coutinho always seems to have reserved the *Sumaca Santo António e Almas* for state activities but, at some point in the government of Miguel António de Melo (1797-1802), French privateers captured the *Curveta Rainha dos Anjos* while it was delivering slaves to Rio de Janeiro. Coutinho thereupon asked the governor to release his *sumaca* from the royal service so he could use it in the trade.

Luandan merchants like Coutinho were, of course, responsible for the sustenance of their slaves until the moment of embarkation. During the period of the legal trade, they kept them in *quintais*, that is, in the backyard of their properties at the major ports, where the supply of water and food was frequently a major concern.[64] Luanda had only one well, in addition to the city cisterns at the fort of São Miguel and the Public Granary of Luanda. It was located at some distance from the coast, in the neighborhood of Maianga. Moreover, it was not very reliable because of its brackish water and the high demand placed on it.[65] During periods of water shortage, colonial officials entertained the idea of building a canal that would connect Luanda to the Kwanza River, but it was never pursued.[66] As a consequence, merchants had to import potable water from the Bengo River, about 20 kilometers north of Luanda. African traders dominated this thriving trade in water from the Bengo River. They loaded barrels with the precious liquid, transported them along the coast in canoes, and distributed them to Luandan residents. Unfortunately, slave merchants sometimes stored these barrels in poor conditions, which allowed the water to become contaminated.[67] As

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[64] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 66-70; Miller, *Way of Death*, 390.

[65] Miller, *Way of Death*, 395-396; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 60-61.

[66] See, for example, José de Oliveira Barbosa to Conde das Galvêas, 31 July 1813, AHU, CU, Angola, box 125 doc. 46.

[67] Miller, *Way of Death*, 396-397; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 61.

a result, slaves contracted diarrhea and dysentery, two of the principal causes of death in the trade.

Food was another major concern. Until the mid-eighteenth century, most slave provisions were produced on Jesuit farms near Luanda or brought from Brazil.[68] However, with the expulsion of the Jesuits from the Portuguese Empire in 1759, Africans and Luso-Africans became increasingly responsible for food supplies.[69] In Luanda, for example, African and Luso-African food producers sold their grains at the Public Granary of Luanda, founded in 1764 by Governor Sousa Coutinho.[70] These grains included cassava, maize and beans. They were produced mostly in *arimos* or farms near Luanda, located along the Bengo, Icolo, Zenza, and Dande rivers. In 1844, Commander Lopes de Lima noted that this region "could well be called the granary of Luanda."[71] Although Luanda was situated near rich sources of grains, they did not save the city from periodic shortages. As Jill Dias and Joseph Miller have observed, Angola suffered prolonged periods of drought and famine.[72] In 1792, one of these famines was so severe that the governor was compelled to allow food producers in Luanda to sell cassava flour at the Public Granary according to the market price as opposed to the price established by the government.[73] In 1841, another period of severe drought struck the city, followed by an invasion of locusts originating northwest of Luanda. George Tams, a

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[68] Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, "Os Jesuítas em Angola nos Séculos XVI e XVII: Tráfico de Escravos e 'Escrúpulos de Consciência'," *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Articulações com o Poder Político, Revista do Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto* 3 (2007): 59; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 83-88.
[69] Miller, *Way of Death*, 270-271, 297-298 and 351-355.
[70] "Catálogo dos Governadores do Reino de Angola," 527; Miller, *Way of Death*, 352; Corrêa, *História de Angola*, vol. 2, 31; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 65.
[71] José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 62), vol. 3, 194.
[72] Jill R. Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola, c.1830-1930," *Journal of African History* 22, no. 3 (1981): 350-359; Joseph C. Miller, "The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 23, no. 1 (1982): 20-22.
[73] Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, 5 October 1792, AHU, CU, Angola, cod. 1634, 11.

German physician who had traveled to Angola in that year, witnessed this event and noted that it "was the second swarm that had threatened Luanda within six years; the preceding one took the same direction, and evidently sought the more luxuriant regions to the south."[74] Severe periods of famine usually followed such invasions, exacting a huge toll on slaves awaiting passage to the Americas.

Problems with supplies could trigger contagious diseases, especially smallpox, often associated with the large number of men, women, and children held in the slave yards. In 1782, the Portuguese government addressed this issue by creating quarantine stations at the principal ports of disembarkation in the Americas.[75] However, at the point where slaves boarded the vessel this problem remained largely neglected. In 1804, Governor Noronha considered inoculating slaves to prevent the spread of smallpox in Luanda and reduce slave mortality at sea. This idea came from an experiment conducted on a French vessel, which reputedly lost only one captive at sea after transporting 250 inoculated slaves. The governor ordered the city physician to replicate the experiment in Luanda, but there is no evidence that he did so.[76] In 1814, the Governor of Benguela, João de Alvelos Leiria, informed his superior at Luanda, that he allowed vessels to embark more slaves than their legal capacity, because the city was overcrowded with captives awaiting embarkation. "There are 1,400 slaves in this situation," he wrote, "with many more arriving from the interior, but we can already feel the

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[74] Georg Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa* (London: T. C. Newby, 1845), vol. 2, 39.

[75] Jaime Rodrigues, *De Costa a Costa: Escravos, Marinheiros e Intermediários do Tráfico Negreiro de Angola ao Rio de Janeiro, 1780-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2005), 284.

[76] Fernando António de Noronha to Visconde de Anadia, 2 August 1804, AHU, CU, Angola, box 110 doc. 33.

consequences with the spread of smallpox and famine."[77] The threat of epidemics was constant.

During the period of the illegal trade, traffickers in Portuguese Angola faced an additional challenge. In 1836, Portugal prohibited the embarkation of slaves from all of its African possessions. A few years later, in 1844, the British increased their antislave trade patrols off West Central Africa, and the Portuguese allowed them to establish a naval station as well as a mixed commission court at Luanda. Slave merchants responded by moving their operations to clandestine points away from the traditional ports of embarkation, such as Kilongo, Mayumba, and Penido, situated north of Luanda, and Quicombo, Salinas, Benguela Velha and the mouth of the Kwanza River, to the south of the city. The exact location of some of these places, for example, Alecuba, Ambona, Bomara, Cape Mole and Grenada Point, remains unclear.

By this time, slave merchants could no longer rely on their *quintais*, official sources of provisions, and other infrastructure that had previously formed the basis of their operations. They now had to transport slaves rapidly to more remote locations prearranged with captains of slave vessels, where slaves were held in barracoons, a word meaning shelter or warehouse derived from the Portuguese *barracão* or the Spanish *barracón*.[78] These barracoons were built at some distance from the shore in order to conceal their presence from antislave trade cruisers patrolling the coast.[79] Some of the merchants engaged in the illegal

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[77] João de Alvelos Leiria to José de Oliveira Barbosa, 19 October 1814, AHU, CU, Angola, box 129 doc. 63. See also João de Alvelos Leiria to José de Oliveira Barbosa, 26 October 1814, AHU, CU, Angola, box 129 doc. 63; João de Alvelos Leiria to António de Araújo de Azevedo, 18 November 1814, AHU, CU, Angola, box 129 doc. 63; and *Abaixo Assinado dos Negociantes de Benguela*, s.d., AHU, CU, Angola, box 129 doc. 63.

[78] "Merriam-Webster Dictionary Online", 2011, barracoon, http://www.merriam-webster.com/.

[79] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 38-42. Joseph Miller equates the barracoons of the illegal period of the slave trade from Angola to the *quintais* of the legal period. See Miller, *Way of Death*, 387-401.

slave trade went to great lengths to secure a successful dispatch, even shipping slaves at night. George Tams met Arsênio Pompeu Pompílio de Carpo, one of the greatest Luandan slave merchants active during the period of the illegal trade, and described his strategy to bypass the authorities and secretly embark slaves for the Americas.

> A rapid mode of traveling was indispensable to Mr. Arsênio, for he was often obliged to take very long journeys on horse back during the night, when his personal presence was suddenly required at the place where his slaves were embarked. Considerable and repeated losses had induced him to adopt the plan of embarking the slaves during the night at a distance from Luanda. One morning, when I paid him a professional visit on account of a chronic disorder of the liver, to which he had become subject by his long residence in different parts of Brazil, he told me that; although he was so ill, he had ridden sixteen leagues during the preceding night, in order to be present at the embarkation of his slaves to the south of the river Dande.[80]

Traders from the interior who supplied Arsênio and his fellow merchants were mostly Africans or Luso-Africans. Merchants and colonial officials on the coast called them by different terms that changed over time, but usually derived from the regions where they purchased slaves or the community from which the traders themselves originated. One of the earliest terms used to designate these traders was *Pombeiros*, from the Kikongo *Pumbu*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, many slaves shipped from Angola came from regions near Malebo Pool, which Kikongo speakers called *Pumbu*. The coastal merchants incorporated the word *Pumbu* into their vocabulary as *Pombo*, and began calling

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[80] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa*, vol. 1, 251-252.

all traders travelling between the interior and the coast *Pombeiros*.[81] This term was still widely used in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, even though Malebo Pool was no longer an important source of slaves.

Another term commonly applied to traders was *Ambaquista*, which emerged in the eighteenth century and was widely used in the nineteenth, when traders operating from Ambaca began to dominate the supply chain. Ambaca was a major slave trading post located about 220 kilometers southeast of Luanda. Traders operating at this post usually obtained slaves in the immediate interior of Luanda, between the rivers Dande and Kwanza. However, in the nineteenth century, there are references to *Ambaquistas* trading in regions as far south as the central plateau of Angola.[82] Eventually, *Aviados, Volantes, Ambulantes, Sertanejos, Feirantes, Quimbares* or *Kimbares* also became synonyms for *Pombeiros*.[83] Initially, each term referred to a specific aspect of the trade, but by the nineteenth century they all were used to designate traders operating in the interior.

Traders operating between the interior and the coast numbered in the hundreds, if not the thousands. In 1809, the census returns of Benguela show that there were about 412 "traders who traveled to the interior with commodities

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[81] Willy Bal, "Portugais Pombeiro, Commerçant Ambulant du 'Sertão'," *Annali dell'Istituto Universitario Orientalis, Naples* 7 (1965): 148-151; David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 17, note 1; Mariana P. Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780-1850" (Ph.D., Toronto: York University, 2006), 99; Miller, *Way of Death*, 189-190.

[82] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 215-216; Beatrix Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos: Caravanas de Carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental entre 1850 e 1890* (Lisbon: Caminho, 2002), 229-259; Miller, *Way of Death*, 644.

[83] Bal, "Portugais Pombeiro," 152-161; Manolo Florentino, "The Slave Trade, Colonial Markets, and Slave Families in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, ca.1790-ca.1830," in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis and David Richardson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 283-284; Jan Vansina, "Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade c.1760-1845," *Journal of African History* 46, no. 1 (2005): 8-9.

of merchants from this port".[84] This number would have been much larger if porters used in the caravans had been included in the count. The average size of the caravans is unclear, but it must have varied significantly. Joseph Miller says that *Pombeiros* usually organized small scale caravans with five or eight porters at most, but "twenty to one hundred slaves would not have been an uncommon range of sizes for commercial expeditions in the eighteenth century."[85] In the nineteenth century, the size of caravans increased to accommodate the overseas demand for products in addition to slaves. Miller believes that in this period the largest caravans included about 1,000 porters.[86] Isabel Castro Henriques argues that such caravans averaged about 1,500 people.[87] Maria Emília Madeira Santos claims that they were larger still. According to her, they "always had over a thousand people but many included three thousand or more."[88] This last view seems implausible.

The recruitment of porters also varied significantly. Traders from Kasanje and Lunda typically recruited them from within their own families, viewing the caravan trade as a family enterprise.[89] Africans and Luso-Africans from Portuguese Angola usually recruited porters from the various chiefdoms subjected to Portuguese suzerainty. These chiefdoms were obliged by vassal contracts to provide the Portuguese ports of slave embarkation with a certain number of porters to carry commodities in caravans between the coast and the

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[84] *Ocupações dos Habitantes da Paróquia de São Felipe de Benguela*, 1809, AHU, CU, Angola, box 121 doc. 32. A copy of this document is also available in AHU, CU, Angola, box 121A doc. 32.

[85] Miller, *Way of Death*, 191.

[86] Ibid.

[87] Isabel Castro Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola: Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX*, trans. Alfredo Margarido (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical; Instituto da Cooperação Portuguesa, 1997), 408.

[88] Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Nos Caminhos de África: Serventia e Posse (Angola, Século XIX)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1998), 18.

[89] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 405-406.

interior of Angola.[90] These porters received little or no payment, and they were subject to mistreatment and abuse by caravan leaders. In 1839, the Portuguese government in Lisbon attempted to prohibit the use of porters recruited by force, but traders continued to use coercion to recruit from chiefdoms under Portuguese rule. Many chiefs barred recruitment in their own territories because they viewed the work as humiliating or wanted to exploit such labor for their own benefit. Roquinaldo Ferreira notes that some chiefs used porters in their own caravans, while others took bribes from their subjects in exchange for exemption from this service.[91]

Merchandise from the coast was exchanged for slaves at different places in the interior, according to where the best prices or trading terms could be found. Traders usually purchased slaves directly from African suppliers in the interior of Angola, but in the eighteenth century the Portuguese colonial government designated a number of *feiras* or fairs where traders were supposed to exchange wares for slaves. Most of these fairs were located in the Kingdom of Kasanje, with which the Portuguese entertained regular diplomatic relations.[92] The Portuguese government created these fairs to undermine the effects of the *reviro*, a commercial strategy that traders in the interior used to maximize their purchasing power. The *Pombeiros* used the Portuguese commodities they had obtained in Luanda to purchase captives that they then sold to British and French traders operating north of Luanda. The *Pombeiros* subsequently returned to the

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[90] Carlos Couto, *Os Capitães-Mores em Angola no Século XVIII: Subsídios para o Estudo da sua Actuação* (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1972), 245-256; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 195-197 and 213-220; Beatrix Heintze, "Luso-African Feudalism in Angola? The Vassal Treaties of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 18 (1980): 123-124.

[91] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 214-220.

[92] Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 126; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 198-220; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 109-115; Miller, *Way of Death*, 582-589; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 156-162.

interior taking with them the British and French goods, considered by local peoples superior to the Portuguese commodities from Luanda. Once back in the interior, they bargained for a greater number of slaves than the first transaction had yielded. The *reviro* thus allowed *Pombeiros* to accumulate significant resources, which may have rivaled those of the coastal merchants based in Luanda.[93]

A trading board based at Luanda, called *Junta de Comércio,* was responsible for organizing the slave fairs in the interior of Angola, which were intended to prevent practices such as the *reviro*. The board appointed both directors and clerks to check the items exchanged for slaves. This practice limited the activities of *Pombeiros*. Furthermore, it provided merchants on the coast with a clearer idea of the destination of their commodities and the number of slaves for which they were exchanged.[94] The slave fairs remained important centers of slave supply until the beginning of the nineteenth century. Moreover, when the British and French withdrew from West Central Africa, traders in the interior could no longer use the *reviro* to maximize their purchasing power. The *Pombeiros* then gradually abandoned the fairs and resorted to trading directly with African suppliers in the interior of Angola.

Assessments of the supply of slaves from the interior to the coast must take into account the seasons and the agricultural calendar of the populations living inland from the coast. Generally, historians have argued that seasonal variations in the slave trade occurred as a function of the demand for labor in the Americas. They have viewed the crop cycle of the slave plantations in the

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[93] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 198; Miller, *Way of Death*, 276-279.

[94] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 199; Miller, *Way of Death*, 586-589; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 156-157.

Americas as shaping the seasonal variations in the trade to the Americas.[95] However, records of vessels arriving at Luanda compiled by Portuguese customs officials between 1736 and 1808 suggest a different interpretation.[96] They show that the slave trade varied according to the climate, as well as the agricultural calendar of the populations living in the interior of Angola. These records include the name of the vessels and date of their arrival at Luanda. The compilers of the "Voyages Database" compared this information with documents produced in the Americas showing the number of slaves carried in each vessel and added it to their database of slaving voyages. Combined, this data allows us to calculate the number of slaves leaving Luanda monthly between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Angolans calculated the seasons according to variations in rainfall, which served as an important indication of the optimal time to plant, harvest and process food. Further, rainfall determined the most suitable periods to wage wars and organize long distance trade expeditions. However, climate figures are meaningless for large areas because of variations in topography and latitude from region to region. Figure 2.2 shows that the patterns of rainfall in Angola vary significantly between the coast and the interior. As Jill Dias noted, the irregularity in precipitation increases in a southwesterly direction from the

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[95] Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade From Angola in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Economic History* 32, no. 4 (1972): 900. In another version of this article, Klein acknowledges that the number of slaves shipped from Angola varied significantly throughout the year, but dismissed the climatic evidence as having any influence on this variation. According to him, "while the rainy season can be said to have been of some influence, it does not appear to be the predominant factor." He then attributes the seasonal variation of the Portuguese slave trade from Angola to American demands. One should note, however, that gold was the principal commodity exported from Portuguese America during the mid-eighteenth century, and it did not require seasonal imports of labor force. See Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 33-34.

[96] These records are described in detail at Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola," 894-905; Klein, *The Middle Passage*, 23-37; Corcino Medeiro dos Santos, "Relações de Angola com o Rio de Janeiro (1736-1808)," *Estudos Históricos*, no. 12 (1973): 5-66.

central plateau towards the coast, reaching an extreme near Moçâmedes.[97] Given the irregular distribution of rainfall throughout Angola, the number of slaves shipped from Luanda has to be measured against the levels of rainfall in their regions of provenance.

Figure 2.2 – Lines of Equal Coefficient of Variability of Rainfall in Angola
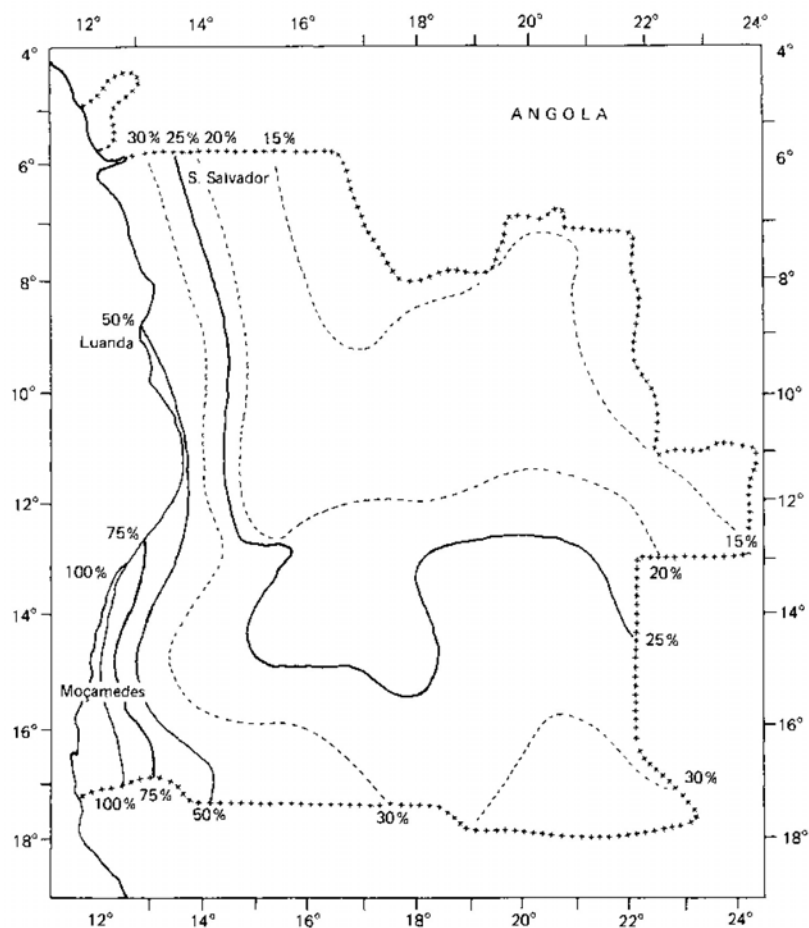
Source: Dario X. de Queirós, *Variabilidade das Chuvas em Angola* (Luanda: Serviço Meteorológico de Angola, 1955). Reproduced from Jill Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola, c.1830-1930," *Journal of African History* 22, no. 3 (1981): 351.

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[97] Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola," 350.

As will be seen in the following chapter, most slaves leaving Luanda came from regions within 400 kilometers of the coast. The majority were Kimbundu and Kikongo farmers, who planted most of their crops along the main rivers of the region, such as the Kwanza to the south and the Bengo and Dande to the north. However, because they did not use irrigation, they depended heavily on the rain. Fortunately, the patterns of rainfall in this region are dependable compared to other places, varying only between 15 and 25 percent of the country's average. Malanje is located within the region of provenance of the majority of the slaves shipped from Luanda. Meteorologists have recorded the levels of precipitation there for 396 months between 1951 and 1984.[98] This data can be compared to the number of slaves embarked and used to determine the seasonal variations in the trade from Luanda.

Figure 2.3 shows that the number of captives leaving Luanda peaked during the middle of the year, between May and August. This corresponds with the region's driest season of the year, known as *cacimbo*. In this season, about 47,200 slaves on average were shipped whereas, in the other seasons, the average number of slaves embarked was considerably lower; 35,400 between January and April, and 34,000 between September and December. The seasonality of the slave trade from Luanda also aligns with the agricultural calendar of the populations living in the hinterland. Italian Capuchins, who traveled widely throughout Kimbundu and Kikongo territories during the seventeenth century, noted that Africans in this region experienced two agricultural cycles. The first began at the end of January, with the cultivation of

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[98] Robert Hoare, "WorldClimate: Weather and Climate Data Worldwide," Online database, 1996, www.worldclimate.com/.

the land, and ended with the harvest at the end of April. The second cycle, which started in September, after the dry season ended in December. The Capuchins further noted that between May and August Africans neither sowed nor harvested.[99]

Figure 2.3 – Seasonal Variations in the Slave Trade from Luanda, 1736-1808

Slaves embarked from Luanda ·········· Average rainfall in Malanje
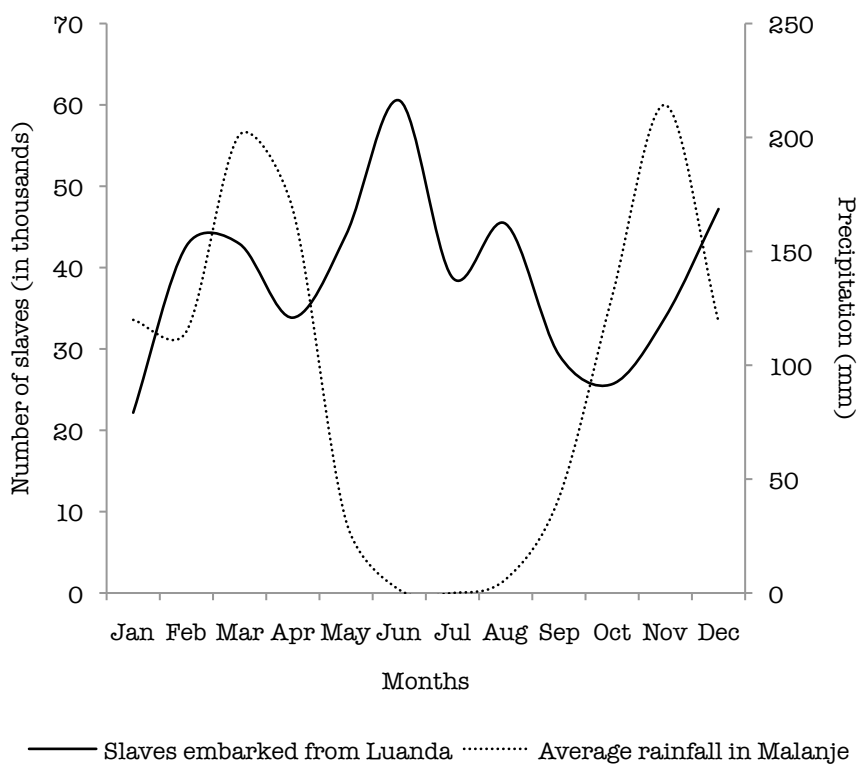
Sources: David Eltis et al., "Voyages," www.slavevoyages.org/ and Robert Hoare, "WorldClimate," www.worldclimate.com/.

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[99] Mário José Maestri Filho, *A Agricultura Africana nos Séculos XVI e XVII no Litoral Angolano* (Porto Alegre: Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 1978), 52-56; Adriano Parreira, *Economia e Sociedade em Angola na Época da Rainha Jinga, Século XVII* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1990), 29-31.

Traders in Portugal and Brazil knew that the number of slaves available for sale at Luanda peaked between May and August, so they increased the number of vessels available for the trade during these months, keeping the average number of slaves embarked per month constant throughout the year. The records available in the "Voyages Database" show that, between 1736 and 1808, 371 vessels embarked slaves at Luanda between January and April, 499 between May and August, and 348 between September and December. In other words, the number of vessels loading slaves between May and August was at least 26 percent higher than in the other months. Nevertheless, the average number of slaves embarked per month remained relatively constant throughout the year, with 382 between January and April, 378 between May and August, and 391 between September and December.

The constant flow of slaves leaving Luanda provided the Brazilian plantations and mines with a regular supply of coerced labor throughout the year. The sugar plantations greatly benefited from this steady supply of slaves because of the lengthy agricultural cycle. As Stuart Schwartz noted, the pace of labor on the Brazilian sugar plantations continued incessantly for about eight to nine months, beginning in late July or August and ending in May of the following year.[100] Since the trade from Luanda peaked just before the beginning of the harvesting season, it would appear that it was oriented to provide these plantations with a fresh contingent of labor from Africa. However, given the diversification of the Brazilian exports at this time, sugar was clearly not the only force driving the demand for slaves. Rice, cotton, and tobacco were also produced with slave labor, but were not necessarily grown and processed at the same time

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[100] Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550-1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 100-101.

as sugar cane.[101] Moreover, during the eighteenth century, gold rather than sugar was the principal commodity exported from Brazil, and gold was not produced in cycles.[102] Service, another important sector of the Brazilian economy, also employed large numbers of slaves, especially in the cities, and it operated independently of the calendar on the sugar plantations.[103] Finally, Portuguese policies aimed at controlling inflation and protecting monopolistic rights also shaped the traffic.[104] Overall these factors combined indicate that the seasonal fluctuations in the number of slaves leaving Luanda varied more according to supply than demand.

Merchants, brokers and traders played a central role in the transatlantic slave trade from Angola. They bought ships, imported commodities, and mobilized many other resources to secure the transportation of slaves from the interior of Angola to the Americas, especially Brazil. They came from different backgrounds but had similar interests, such as the accumulation of wealth, power and prestige. To achieve their goals, they employed several commercial strategies aimed at reducing risks and maximizing profits. Some of these strategies included partnerships and the transportation of small numbers of slaves in different vessels. Traders had to factor in environmental issues that determined certain aspects of the trade. The most relevant were no doubt the gyres of the South Atlantic and the patterns of rainfall in the interior of Angola. Additionally, as the

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[101] Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750-1808," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 627-653; José Jobson de A. Arruda, *O Brasil no Comércio Colonial* (São Paulo: Editora Ática, 1980), 604-630.

[102] Pinto, *O Ouro Brasileiro e o Comércio Anglo-Português*, 112-117; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil: The Gold Cycle, c.1690-1750," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 593-600.

[103] Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil," 606-607.

[104] In this sense, the law of 1684 and the tax reform of 1758 are particularly important. One should also note the period of activity of the trading companies of Grão Pará and Maranhão, and Pernambuco and Paraíba, which had the monopoly of the slave trade to these areas between the 1750s and 1770s. See the discussion above.

trade became increasingly illegal, they had to devise ways to avoid antislave trade cruisers patrolling the coasts of Africa and the Americas. Despite these limitations, merchants, brokers and traders successfully carried out their activities well into the nineteenth century.

Chapter Three

Slaving Frontiers

The Origins of Slaves Leaving Angola

in the

Nineteenth Century

Scholars of the transatlantic trade have in general suggested that the origin of slaves shipped from Angola during the nineteenth century was deep in the interior of West Central Africa. According to this view, the demand for slaves in the Americas stimulated the expansion of the slaving frontier to the border of present day Angola with the Democratic Republic of the Congo and the majority of slaves shipped were prisoners of wars waged by the Lunda Empire. However, lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil, in addition to slave registers made by Portuguese colonial officials in Angola, reveal a different pattern. Analysis of these new sources shows that in the nineteenth century slaves came from several places, with the majority coming from regions much closer to the coast than previously thought. Furthermore, these records suggest that slaves and enslavers were not unknown to one another. They came from different ethnic groups, but often spoke the same language and shared similar values. Additionally, these records show that the impact of the trade on the African populations was more localized than commonly assumed, with the majority of the those shipped originating from a few specific areas near the ports of embarkation.

Scholars' knowledge of the origins of the slaves shipped from Angola derives largely from oral traditions collected in the second half of the nineteenth century. These traditions suggest that a group of Lunda dissidents left their country at the beginning of the sixteenth century after Luba hunters assumed control over their territory, located at the Upper Kasai River. These Lunda dissidents moved west and met many people en route with whom they founded new polities such as the Imbangala Kingdom of Kasanje, located at the confluence of rivers Kwango and Lui. Inevitably, some of these encounters were violent and the thousands who became prisoners of war were made available for sale to European slave traders coming from Europe or the Americas. African rulers soon realized what they had to gain from the sale of slaves on the coast of Angola. The slave trade provided them with rare commodities such as guns, textiles and alcohol that they used to build alliances, raise armies and expand their power throughout the interior of West Central Africa.[1]

According to the prevailing view, in the nineteenth century this practice of exchanging foreign merchandise for prisoners of war continued with disastrous consequences for the populations of Angola and beyond. Africans searched for slaves in regions further and further away from the coast. Joseph Miller has stated:

> Because the richest returns from converting goods into people came from
> spreading textiles and imports widely into areas where they remained rare, or
> from employing guns to capture slaves in the regions farthest from home, the

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[1] This paragraph summarizes a long debate about the foundation of the kingdoms of West Central Africa. Important references to this debate include Jan Vansina, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje," *Journal of African History* 4, no. 3 (1963): 355-374; David Birmingham, "The Date and Significance of the Imbangala Invasion of Angola," *Journal of African History* 6, no. 2 (1965): 143-152; Jan Vansina, "More on the Invasions of Kongo and Angola by the Jaga and the Lunda," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 3 (1966): 421-429; Joseph C. Miller, "The Imbangala and the Chronology of Early Central African History," *Journal of African History* 13, no. 4 (1972): 549-574.

transformation of the African political economies acquired an expansive geographical momentum that drove its violence off toward the east. From the earliest period of slave exporting in western central Africa, the political revolutions thus moved toward the interior, leaving behind them a growing commercialized area under new regimes oriented toward the Atlantic trade.[2]

Miller concludes that in the nineteenth century the slave trade had spread to the deep interior of West Central Africa resulting in dramatically disruptive changes to those living in this region.

The lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil and the slave registers of Angola provide evidence that calls for a revision of this view. Both sources were created to protect freed Africans from re-enslavement. In 1819, the British, in association with other powers, established mixed commission courts in Havana, Cuba and Rio de Janeiro, Brazil to adjudicate vessels suspected of violating international treaties restricting the sale of slaves across the Atlantic.[3] The courts confiscated the slave traders' property and freed all Africans found on board. Clerks of the courts then recorded information about all surviving recaptives in bound registers, including names, age, sex, and height, as well as country or nation of origin. The lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil contain information about 454 Africans shipped from the Congo River, 922 from Loango, 94 from Mayumba, 1,235 from Ambriz, 1,059 from Luanda, and 837 from Benguela. In total, the lists provide information on 4,601 Africans shipped from West Central Africa between 1832 and 1840.[4]

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[2] Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 140.

[3] Leslie Bethell, "The Mixed Commissions for the Suppression of the Transatlantic Slave Trade in the Nineteenth Century," *Journal of African History* 7, no. 1 (1966): 79-81.

[4] The lists of liberated Africans from Cuba are available on line at David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/. The originals

By contrast, Portuguese colonial officials compiled the slave registers of Angola between 1855 and 1856. These records were part of a process undertaken by the Portuguese colonial administration in Lisbon for the gradual emancipation of slaves and continued freedom of Africans living under Portuguese rule in Africa.[5] They provide the same kind of information as the lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil, and indeed they may have been modeled on their Mixed Commission counterparts. Colonial officials registered slaves living under Portuguese rule on the coast as well as in the interior of Angola. However, since the registers listed the slave population that remained in Angola, as opposed to those sold across the Atlantic, not all of them provide information adequate for tracing the origins of slaves shipped to the Americas. Moreover, the continued presence of the Portuguese in the interior of Angola during the mid-nineteenth century further biased this source because it incorporated into the registers vast numbers of people that were previously outside Portuguese influence, such as the Kasanje, whose kingdom the Portuguese invaded in 1850. This invasion resulted later in the construction of the Portuguese forts of Duque de Bragança and Tala Mungongo, where many Kasanje were listed in the slave registers of Angola.[6] Therefore, only the registers compiled at the coastal settlements seem reliable for tracing the origins of slaves sold overseas.

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are kept in the BNA, FO 313, vols. 58 (*Aguila*), 60 (*Joven Reyna* and *Marte*) and 61 (*Marte, Amália, Diligencia, Empresa,* and *Matilde*). The lists of liberated Africans from Brazil are available in the ANRJ, cod. 184, vol. 4 (*Especulador, Leal,* and *Paquete de Benguela*), cod. 471 (*Duque de Bragança, Rio da Prata, Órion, Brilhante, Feliz,* and *Carolina*), and in the AHI, lata 4, maço 3 (*Brilhante* and a vessel without name).

[5] Visconde d'Athoguia, "Decreto de 14 de Dezembro de 1854," *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon, December 28, 1854), 305 edition, sec. Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, Seção do Ultramar.

[6] António Rodrigues Neves, *Memoria da Expedição à Cassange Commandada pelo Major Graduado Francisco Salles Ferreira em 1850, Escripta pelo Capitão Móvel d'Ambriz António Rodrigues Neves* (Lisbon: Imprensa Silviana, 1854), passim; Douglas L. Wheeler, "The Portuguese in Angola, 1836-1891: A Study in Expansion and Administration" (Ph.D., Boston: Boston University, 1963), 126-180; René Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola: Resistência e Revoltas, 1845-1941* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), vol. 1, 107-144; Jill R. Dias, "Angola," in *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Africano, 1825-1890*, ed. Valentim Alexandre and Jill R. Dias, vol. 10 (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 98), 408-412.

The Angolan registers do, however, include a large number of slaves who were originally intended for sale into the transatlantic trade. The rapid growth of the slave populations of the coastal settlements before and after the abolition of the Brazilian trade confirms this hypothesis. In Luanda, for example, the slave population increased from 2,749 in 1844 to 6,020 in 1850 and to 14,294 in 1856, when Governor José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral reported in summary the total number of slaves registered in Angola to the colonial office in Lisbon.[7] In Benguela, the slave population increased from 2,438 in 1844 to 2,634 in 1850 and to 5,566 in 1856.[8] Figures on the size of the slave population of Novo Redondo are not available, but they must have followed a similar upward trend, culminating with a population of 1,154 in 1856.[9] Slave registers for Luanda survive for 7,522 Africans, about 53 percent of the total slave population registered at that port.[10] Records of captives registered at Benguela are available for 2,588 Africans, or 46 percent of the total slave population originally registered.[11] Finally, the slave registers of Novo Redondo appear to be complete, with 1,154 registered.[12] In short, the slave registers of Luanda, Benguela and

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[7] Angola, *Almanak Estatístico da Província d'Angola e suas Dependências para o Anno de 1851* (Luanda: Imprensa do Governo, 1852), 8; José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 62), vol. 3, mapa no. 1; José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32, no. 2/3 (1999): 402-403; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History*, no. 29 (2001): 58-59. José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral to the State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Affairs, 11 February 1856, AHU, Angola, Papéis de Sá da Bandeira, sala 12, maço 822.

[8] Angola, *Almanak Estatístico da Província d'Angola*, 9; Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas*, vol. 3, mapa no. 1; Mariana P. Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780-1850" (Ph.D., Toronto: York University, 2006), 135. José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral to the State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Affairs, 11 February 1856, AHU, Angola, Papéis de Sá da Bandeira, sala 12, mç 822.

[9] José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral to the State Secretary of the Navy and Overseas Affairs, 11 February 1856, AHU, Angola, Papéis de Sá da Bandeira, sala 12, mç 822.

[10] AHNA, cod. 2467, 2482, 2524, 2784, 2846, 2862, 3186, 3254, 3260 (Luanda), and box 135 (Luanda).

[11] AHNA, cod. 3160 (Benguela).

[12] AHNA, cod. 2830 (Novo Redondo).

Novo Redondo provide information on 11,264 enslaved Africans, most of whom were originally intended for sale into the transatlantic trade.

When combined, the lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in addition to the slave registers of Angola provide information about 15,864 Africans who were enslaved in the interior of West Central Africa during the nineteenth century. However, only about 50 percent of them provide information useful for tracing origins of slaves. In the nineteenth century, Africans had differing concepts of origins and identity, They responsed to questions such as "where did you come from?" or "what is your nationality?" in different ways. Hence, most of the 15,864 individuals gave replies that are not useful for the purposes of this study. For example, 814 did not specify a place of origin; 120 referred to places outside West Central Africa, such as Mozambique, São Tomé, and Zanzibar, and 223 individuals mentioned what seem to be names of places no longer known. Additionally, 456 individuals referred to rivers such as Kwanza or Kwango as their country of origin but, since they did not provide any clues about where they had come from along these rivers, it is impossible to infer their origins. A further 2,432 Africans did provide a known place of origin, but most of them referred to major slave trading posts situated on the coast or in the interior of Angola, such as Ambaca, Benguela, Boma, Cabinda, or Encoje. Finally, 4,207 individuals indicated a broad and vague country of origin such as Angola or Congo.

Despite the number of records with no geographic information, 7,612 Africans, close to half of all individuals listed, gave an ethnonym as an answer. Scholars have normally hesitated to use ethnonyms to trace the origins of slaves carried across the Atlantic. They have worried that slaves may have actually identified themselves according to the ethnonyms listed in the European

documents. In addition, traders may have imposed ethnonyms on slaves carried across the Atlantic, or slaves themselves may have adopted new ethnonyms as they left Africa and sought to blend into a new milieu in the Americas.[13] Also, enslaved Africans could have been captured and owned by different masters in Africa before they were sold into the Atlantic markets. They may have assimilated the identity or ethnicity of their previous owners before they arrived in the Americas.[14] All these concerns have made historians very cautious about using ethnonyms to trace the origins of captives leaving Africa.

Although these are serious issues, we can have some confidence in the ethnonyms available in the lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil as well as in the slave registers of Angola. Both sources were created soon after Africans landed in the Americas or, in the case of the Angolan registers, while they were

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[13] Robert W. Slenes, "'Malungu, Ngoma Vem!:' África Coberta e Descoberta no Brasil," *Revista USP* 12 (92): 51-54; Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: 'Lucumi' and 'Nago' as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa* 24 (1997): 205-209; Michael Angelo Gomez, *Exchanging Our Country Marks: The Transformation of African Ties in the Colonial and Antebellum South* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 2-4 and 144; Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *Devotos da Cor: Identidade Étnica, Religiosidade e Escravidão no Rio de Janeiro, Século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000), 224-230; D. B. Chambers, "Ethnicity in the Diaspora: The Slave-Trade and the Creation of African 'Nations' in the Americas," *Slavery and Abolition* 22, no. 3 (2001): 26-27; Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, "To Be a Liberated African in Brazil: Labour and Citizenship in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D., University of Waterloo, 2002), 46-47; Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, "African Ethnicities and the Meanings of 'Mina'," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (New York: Continuum, 2003), 64-66; Edward A. Alpers, "'Mozambiques' in Brazil: Another Dimension of the African Diaspora in the Atlantic World," in *Africa and the Americas: Interconnections during the Slave Trade*, ed. José C. Curto and Renée Soulodre-La France (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005), 43-68; Robin Law, "Ethnicities of Enslaved Africans in the Diaspora: On the Meanings of 'Mina' (Again)," *History in Africa* 32 (2005): 248.

[14] Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), vol. 1, 34-35; Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, "African 'Slavery' as an Institution of Marginality," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 10-24; Miller, *Way of Death*, 225; Slenes, "Malungu, Ngoma Vem!," 54-55; Joseph C. Miller, "Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c.1490s-1850s," in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 42-43; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Ethnic Designations of the Slave Trade and the Reconstruction of the History of Trans-Atlantic Slavery," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (New York: Continuum, 2003), 15; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 169-170; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Transatlantic Transformations: The Origins and Identities of Africans in the Americas," in *Africa, Brazil, and the Construction of Trans-Atlantic Black Identities*, ed. Boubacar Barry, Elisée Soumonni, and Livio Sansone (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2008), 97-98.

still in Africa. Additionally, both sets of documents were created with the assistance of people familiar with the languages and cultures of the individuals recorded. The lists of liberated Africans from Cuba, for instance, include the names of the translators who assisted the court commissioners in registering the recaptives. They were often slaves or freed Africans who had previously come from Angola and become fluent in Spanish and Portuguese. The Brazilian lists are less clear, but they must also have been created with the help of African translators, since the courts there followed the same guidelines as in Cuba. Furthermore, Rio de Janeiro had such a large slave population that many of the languages spoken in Angola were also spoken in the city. As Mary Karasch notes, travelers visiting Rio often remarked on the babble of tongues spoken in the streets.[15]

In Angola, Portuguese colonial officials registered slaves under similar circumstances. Given the lengthy presence of the Portuguese on the coast of Angola, they were well acquainted with neighboring populations. Also, they had been compiling censuses of the populations living under Portuguese rule in Angola since the late eighteenth century, and colonial officials had considerable experience with the bureaucratic requirements of such activities.[16] Furthermore, the guidelines for slave registration encouraged slave owners to present all their slaves to colonial officials, since in theory they automatically freed unregistered slaves.[17] They also specified that an inspector should be present at the moment of

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[15] Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 214-215.

[16] Curto and Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," 4-26; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "A Dinâmica Demográfica de Luanda no Contexto do Tráfico de Escravos do Atlântico Sul, 1781-1844," *Topoi*, no. 4 (2002): 86-97.

[17] Visconde d'Athoguia, "Decreto de 14 de Dezembro de 1854," Title 1, Article 2, 1574.

the registration.[18] There are few reasons to doubt the capacity of local officials and inspectors to engage with African slaves. Although Portuguese was the dominant language of the administration, the every day languages spoken by the local population of Portuguese Angola were usually West Central African. In fact, Kimbundu was the dominant language spoken in Luanda well into the nineteenth century.[19] This fact is all the more important given that at that time Luanda was the largest European center in Africa south of the Sahara, with the possible exception of Cape Town.

Africans had no reason to hide their ethnicity when questioned by court or Portuguese officials. The lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil were created to protect Africans from re-enslavement. The slave registers of Angola had a similar purpose. They were created to inhibit the enslavement of free Africans, as well as the re-enslavement of Africans who had gained their freedom after registration. Furthermore, as will be seen below, the ethnonyms available in the lists of liberated Africans and the slave registers align with data from the analysis of other documents used to measure the impact of the slave trade on Africa. The number and proportion of Nsundi or Ndongo slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century from the registers, for example, match reports about warfare, predatory trade, and depopulation in the areas where these ethnic groups lived. The form in which some of these ethnonyms appear in the documents also attests to their authenticity. Designations such as "Muxicongo" and "Camundongo" literally mean "I am Kongo" and "I am an inhabitant of

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[18] The guidelines specify that the inspection of the slaves should follow the "Regulamento de 25 de Outubro de 1853." See Ibid., Title 1, Article 1, 1574; Visconde d'Athoguia, "Regulamento que Faz Parte do Decreto de 25 de Outubro de 1853, Publicado no Diário do Governo no. 268, de 14 de Novembro de 1853," *Diário do Governo* (Lisbon, November 29, 1853), 281 edition, sec. Ministério dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, Seção do Ultramar, Article 7, 1601.
[19] Jan Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu: Language Use in the Colony of Angola (1575-c.1845)," *Bulletin des Séances de l'Academie Royale des Sciences d'Outre Mer* 47 (March 2001): 276-278.

Ndongo," in Kikongo and Kimbundu, respectively. Therefore, they are not inventions of slave traders or colonial officials, but real expressions of African identity. Finally, although slaves may have been traded several times before they entered the transatlantic traffic, it is doubtful whether the majority of them spent sufficient time enslaved in Africa to adopt the ethnicity of their owners. As will be seen in the next chapter, slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century were relatively young, suggesting that they were first generation slaves sold across the ocean soon after their enslavement. All in all, the ethnonyms available in the lists of liberated Africans as well as the slave registers provide reliable information about the origins of slaves leaving Angola in this period.

While ethnonyms often appear with different spellings, they can be organized into modern ethnic and linguistic groups and located on a map of West Central Africa. Research suggests that the ethnolinguistic map of West Africa, another region that served as a major source of slaves for the transatlantic slave trade, shows remarkable continuity throughout the years from the beginning of the slave trade to the present.[20] Preliminary analyses of the Bantu languages of Southeast Africa, also a region deeply affected by the slave trade, yield similar results.[21] Furthermore, Portuguese colonial records, in addition to field studies and historical research, provide scholars with a number of maps, lists and other resources that have enabled them to reconstruct the ethnolinguistic map of Angola for the nineteenth century.[22] The ethnonyms available in the lists of

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[20] P. E. H. Hair, "Ethnolinguistic Continuity on the Guinea Coast," *Journal of African History* 8, no. 2 (1967): 247-249.

[21] P. E. H. Hair, "From Language to Culture: Some Problems in the Systemic Analysis of the Ethnohistorical Records of the Sierra Leone Region," in *The Population Factor in African Studies*, ed. R. P. Moss and R. J. A. R. Rathbone (London: University of London Press, 1975), 74.

[22] These resources include but are not limited to João Carlos Feo Cardoso de Castello Branco e Torres, *Memórias Contendo a Biographia do Vice Almirante Luis da Motta Feo e Torres, a História dos Governadores e Capitaens Generaes de Angola desde 1575 até 1825, e a Descripção Geographica e Politica dos Reinos de Angola e Benguella* (Paris: Fantin, 1825), Map; Lopes de Lima,

liberated Africans and the slave registers of Angola have been compared with these sources and organized into modern ethnic and linguistic groups. Africans who claimed they came from or were affiliated with the Lunda, Muatianvo and Muatianbo, for example, were considered as belonging to the Lunda ethnic group – part of the Ruund linguistic group, located east of the Upper Kasai River. After adjusting for the variations in spelling, the records show that slaves shipped from Angola in these years came from 116 ethnicities belonging to 21 linguistic groups spread throughout the interior of West Central Africa.

The records also provide the means to estimate the number of slaves shipped by linguistic and ethnic groups. In 1969, Philip Curtin noted that the number of captives leaving from Angola varied according to ports of embarkation, and he suggested that different regions in the interior supplied these ports with slaves. Curtin argued that captives embarking at ports north of Luanda usually came from the basin of the Congo River; slaves leaving from ports south of Luanda originated from the central plateau of Angola; and slaves shipped from Luanda itself came not only from its immediate interior but also from the central

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Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas, vol. 3, Maps; José de Oliveira Ferreira Diniz, *Populações Indígenas de Angola* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1918), Maps; Mário Milheiros, *Notas de Etnografia Angolana*, 2nd ed. (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1967), Lists; Mário Milheiros, *Índice Histórico-Corográfico de Angola* (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1972), Lists; José Redinha, *Distribuição Étnica de Angola* (Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1962), Lists and Map; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna: A History of Central African States until European Occupation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), Maps and Index; Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), Maps and Index; Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), Maps and Index; Robert W. Harms, *River of Wealth, River of Sorrow: The Central Zaire Basin in the Era of the Slave and Ivory Trade, 1500-1891* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1981), Maps and Index; Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850*, Appendix A; Gladwyn Murray Childs, *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu: Being a Description of the Social Structure and Individual Development of the Ovimbundu of Angola, with Observations Concerning the Bearing on the Enterprise of Christian Missions of Certain Phases of the Life and Culture Described* (London: Reprinted for the International African Institute & for the Witwatersrand U.P. by Dawson, 1969), Maps and Index; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), Maps and Index; Paul M. Lewis, "Ethnologue: Languages of the World", 2009, http://www.ethnologue.com/.

plateau and the basin of the Congo River.[23] Indeed, Luanda was a case apart, because it was by far the largest singe departure point in the history of the transatlantic trade.[24] It is now possible to use estimates of the number of slaves shipped from Luanda and the ports north and south of it to arrive at the approximate numbers of slaves leaving Angola by ethnic and linguistic origins.[25]

Recent studies show that between 1831 and 1855, the period covered by the lists of liberated Africans and the slave registers of Angola, the ports north of Luanda shipped 313,375 slaves. The ports south of it shipped approximately 186,510, while Luanda alone shipped about 267,330.[26] Since the lists of liberated Africans and the slave registers provide information on the port of departure or, in the case of the slave registers, the places of registration of the Africans listed, data have first been grouped according to these three regions of embarkation. Next, the ratio of linguistic and ethnic groups for each of these three regions have been multiplied by the estimated numbers shipped from Luanda and the ports north and south of it. This operation is important because, for example, five percent shipped from Luanda who were Kongo is considerably more than five percent shipped from any of the ports north of Luanda who were Kongo. After this operation was complete, the resulting ethnolinguistic subtotals for the three regions have been aggregated and projected on a map of West Central Africa.

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[23] Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 260-262.

[24] An up to date ranking of the largest ports of slave embarkation is available in David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010), Table 5, 90.

[25] The estimates are available in Appendix A, Table A.3.

[26] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Coastal Origins of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa, c.1780-1867" (Paper presented at the 124th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Diego, 2010), Appendix A.

Figure 3.1 – Estimated Number of Slaves Leaving Angola by Linguistic Groups, 1831-1855
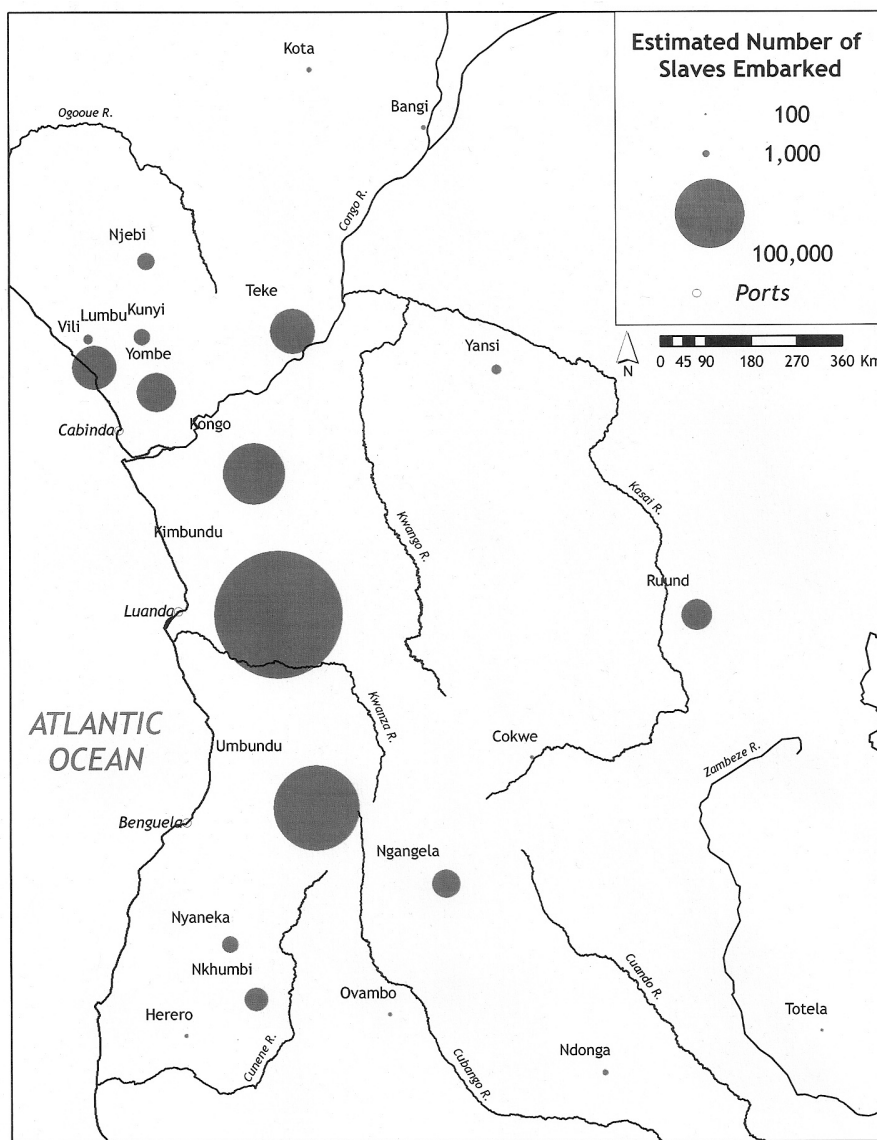
Source: Appendix B, Table B.24.

Figure 3.1 shows the result of this procedure. It displays the estimated number of slaves shipped from Angola between 1831 and 1855 by linguistic groups. The map makes immediately apparent that slaves came from a wide variety of places across West Central Africa. As scholars have already stressed, in

the nineteenth century slaves were drawn into the trade from regions situated increasingly farther from the coast.[27] Certainly, Figure 3.1 shows that the enslavement zone at that time covered a vast area of approximately 2.5 million square kilometers; a region larger than the territory of the United States east of the Mississippi River. Moreover, captives came from different ecological environments ranging from the Equatorial forest in the north to the arid lands around the Cunene River in the south. In the east, they came from places as distant as the Kasai or Zambeze rivers. Scholars have rightly stressed the extent to which the transatlantic trade expanded throughout the interior of West Central Africa during the nineteenth century.

However, Figure 3.1 shows that most of the slaves shipped from Angola during this period did not come from these remote regions. It clearly indicates that the majority belonged to the Kikongo, Kimbundu, and Umbundu linguistic groups, all of whom lived west of the Kwango River. By the nineteenth century, these groups had long served as sources of slaves for the transatlantic trade. Kikongo slaves first appeared in the historical record in the early sixteenth century, when Portuguese traders sailed for Angola to purchase slaves for their sugar plantations at São Tomé, in the Bight of Biafra.[28] Kimbundu slaves are first mentioned shortly thereafter, as Portuguese traders expanded their activities in Luanda, where they founded a colony in 1576.[29] Umbundu slaves began to appear in the records somewhat later, around the late seventeenth century, just before

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[27] See, for example, Miller, *Way of Death*, 146-147; Achim von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1994), 59-61; Jan Vansina, "It Never Happened: Kinguri's Exodus and Its Consequences," *History in Africa* 25 (1998): 403; John K. Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion to the West, c.1700-1852," *Zambia Journal of History* 1 (1981): 7.

[28] David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 24-25; Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*, 55-59; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 52-54; Miller, *Way of Death*, 140-146.

[29] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 32-33 and 46-51; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 125-130; Miller, *Way of Death*, 140-146.

the Portuguese built the first military garrisons in the Angolan highlands.[30] By the nineteenth century Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu speakers were well established targets of the transatlantic trade.

Slaves shipped from Angola traveled the longest distances between the point of enslavement in the interior and the port of embarkation compared to all African regions. However, these distances were shorter than most scholars claim. Patrick Manning, for instance, contends that in the nineteenth century slaves shipped from Angola came from places situated between 600 and 700 kilometers from the coast.[31] Joseph Miller argues that slaves shipped from Angola at this time traveled in caravans departing from Lunda, 500 kilometers distant from Kasanje, which in turn is located about 300 kilometers from the coast.[32] However, Table 3.1 suggests slaves shipped from Angola in the nineteenth century traveled much shorter distances than this. It shows the percentage of Africans with known ethnonyms available in the lists of liberated Africans and the slave registers of Angola by ports of embarkation and the distances they traveled between the interior and the ports from which they embarked (or where they were registered). It demonstrates that the majority traveled distances no greater than 400 kilometers, with the average distance traveled ranging between 200 and 300 kilometers.

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[30] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 140-141; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 197-200; Miller, *Way of Death*, 140-146; Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650-1800" (Ph.D., Los Angeles: University of California, 2003), 71-80; Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 21-22.
[31] Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 70.
[32] Miller, *Way of Death*, 195.

Table 3.1 Percentage of Slaves Leaving Angola by Distance Traveled between Their Origins in the Interior and Their Ports of Embarkation (in Kilometers), 1831-1855

Distances (Km)	Ports North of Luanda	Luanda	Ports South of Luanda	Total
0-100	10.4	0.2	21.2	11.0
101-200	5.4	15.7	10.5	11.8
201-300	7.8	33.5	21.3	24.1
301-400	20.3	15.1	17.9	17.1
401-500	6.9	2.0	11.8	7.1
501-600	12.8	24.5	13.2	17.8
601-700	34.9	0.6	0.7	6.0
701-800	0.9	1.1	0.3	0.7
801 over	0.7	7.2	3.0	4.3
Total	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

Source: Appendix B, Tables B.21, B.22, and B.23.

Yet even this average range of 200 to 300 kilometers is probably biased upwards. The distances that form the basis of Table 3.1 are measured from the heartland of the specified linguistic group. However, many Lunda slaves probably originated from areas close to the Kwango River, whereas they were counted in this study as coming from beyond the Kasai River, the traditional heartland of the Ruund speaking people to which the Lunda belong. This attribution explains the high percentages of Africans coming from regions situated between 500 and 700 kilometers from the coast. Additionally, many Africans who embarked at Luanda but claimed to have come originally from the basin of the Congo River or the Angolan highlands probably did not travel overland from these regions directly to Luanda. They must have traveled first to one of the ports north or south of Luanda and then completed their journey to Luanda by sea. As a consequence, Table 3.1 is biased towards greater distances, suggesting that the journey between the interior and the coast was longer than it actually was in reality.

One of the major implications of the above argument is that it is likely that Africans shipped from Angola became slaves more as a result of internal conflicts within their own societies than as victims of large scale wars waged throughout the interior. Scholars claim that in the nineteenth century the majority of the slaves shipped from Angola were prisoners of wars waged by Ruund speakers from the Lunda Empire. They argue that Lunda rulers were responding to the demand for slaves on the coast of Angola by extending their military activities throughout the interior of West Central Africa. This aggression gave them control over the flow of foreign commodities introduced in the interior via trade to the Americas. Rulers could use these commodities as an important source of revenue and a way of building dependency and loyalty among their subjects.[33]

The thesis of connecting the origins of slaves shipped from Angola to the expansion of the Lunda Empire received further support from research focusing on slavery in Africa. Scholars have long stressed that outsiders were usually the principal targets of enslavement and sale into the trade. Orlando Patterson claims, for example, that natal alienation of slaves was a key component of slave status in any given society.[34] Claude Meillassoux argues that Africans regarded outsiders as the principal candidates eligible for enslavement. He maintains that the slave was above all "the alien *par excellence*, if not the alien in an absolute sense."[35] In short, the idea that outsiders were perfect candidates for enslavement has shaped much of the current scholarship focusing on the question of who was eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic. These

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[33] Ibid., 78-94 and 146-147; Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust*, 59-61; Vansina, "It Never Happened," 403; Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion," 6-8.

[34] Orlando Patterson, *Slavery and Social Death: A Comparative Study* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1982), 44.

[35] Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 28.

views fit well with the idea that the majority of the slaves shipped from Angola in the nineteenth century were prisoners of wars.

However, the data presented in this chapter suggest that the majority of the captives shipped from Angola during the nineteenth century had more in common with their captors than historians have commonly assumed. Figures 3.2, 3.3 and 3.4 show the estimated number of slaves shipped from Angola by ethnic group for each of the three principal language groups from which slaves were drawn in the interior of West Central Africa: the Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu speaking peoples. Together these three language groups account for 72 percent of the men, women, and children registered in the Brazilian, Cuban and Angolan sources as leaving West Central Africa. The Lunda Empire subjugated none of them. They were enslaved mostly as a result of internal conflicts within their own language communities. Figure 3.2, for example, shows the estimated number of Kikongo speaking slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century broken down by ethnic group. The majority came from the former Kingdom of Kongo, which in the nineteenth century was largely fragmented as a result of years of civil wars. However, smaller numbers also came from neighboring polities, such as the kingdoms of Ngoyo, Kakongo, and Yaka.

Figures 3.2 – Estimated Number of Kikongo Slaves Leaving Angola by Ethnic Groups,

1831-1855
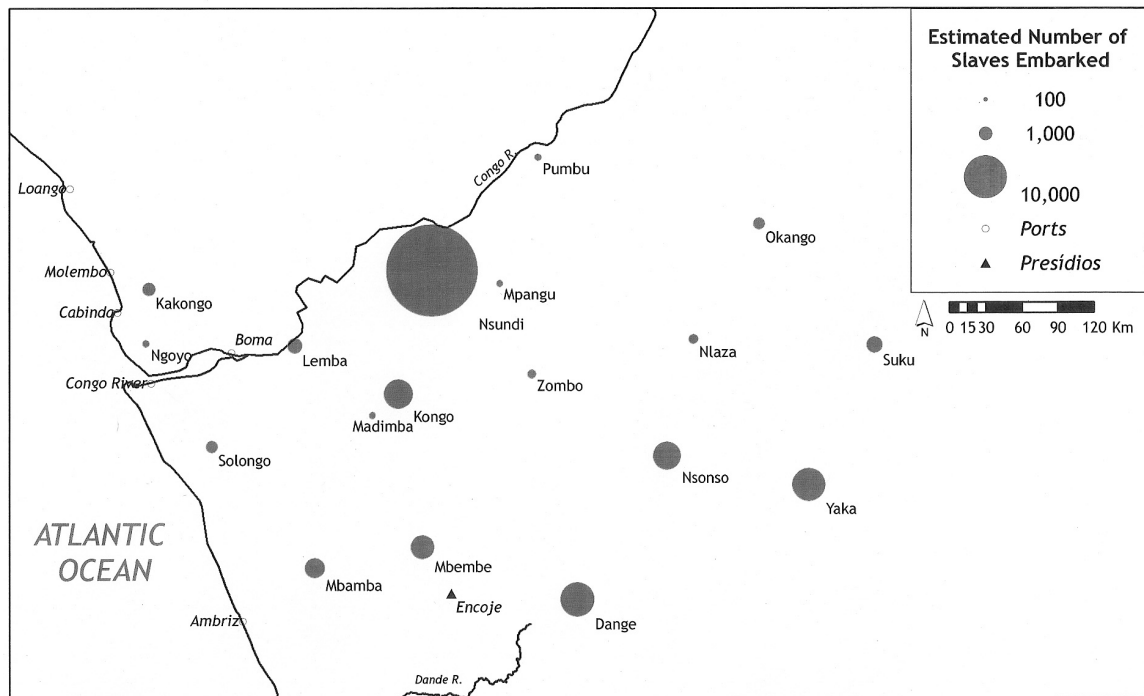
Source: Same as Figure 3.1.

The majority of the Kikongo speaking captives shipped from Angola in the nineteenth century belonged to the Nsundi ethnic group. The Nsundi inhabited a province of the old Kingdom of Kongo that went by the same name. In the nineteenth century, the Nsundi became victims of a sophisticated trading network dominated by Kikongo speakers at Boma, at the mouth of the Congo River. Norm Schrag points out that Boma elders believed that the Nsundi, as well as the Yombe, situated north of the Congo River, were "enemies against whom they should not to make war but [rather] kidnap through deception."[36] These "enemies" were then sold into the Atlantic commerce through the *dingizi* trading system, a commercial network that allowed certain individuals to travel safely

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[36] Norm Schrag, "Mboma and the Lower Zaire: a Socioeconomic Study of a Kongo Trading Community, c.1785-1885" (Ph.D., Bloomington: Indiana University, 1985), 62-63.

through the interior using special insignias belonging to a corporation of healing cults called *Lemba*. Most of these individuals were graduates of the *Khimba* schools for youth initiation, organized by chiefs who introduced young free men to the magical knowledge of their culture. The graduates used a secret language that was unintelligible to Kikongo speakers and promoted special bonds among the initiates that transcended lineage, territorial domain, and ethnicity.[37] As a result, Boma traders were able to enslave and sell members of the Nsundi ethnic group even though both spoke the same language.

The impact of the slave trade on the Kikongo speakers in the nineteenth century is difficult to determine, but it must have been distributed unevenly across different regions. John Thornton, for example, measured the demographic impact of the slave trade on the Kikongo population living within the boundaries of the old Kingdom of Kongo between 1780 and 1789. He argued that in this period about 600,000 people lived in the Kingdom of Kongo and that the slave trade carried an average of 6,180 slaves per year from the kingdom, or approximately 1 percent of the total population.[38] This estimate does not include Africans who died during the process of enslavement, transport, and sale on the coast, which if included would increase this percentage significantly.

The majority of the slaves shipped came from the kingdom's capital, Mbanza Kongo, which at that time served as the principal stage for the kingdom's civil wars. These slaves were supplemented with other Kikongo speakers captured in different parts of the kingdom, especially Mbrize, Kibangu, and Mbamba Lubota, all three south of Mbanza Kongo.[39] Not all of these slaves were

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[37] Ibid., 64-65.

[38] John K. Thornton, "As Guerras Civis no Congo e o Tráfico de Escravos: A História e a Demografia de 1718 a 1844 Revisitadas," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997): 67 and Table 1.

[39] Ibid., 67.

prisoners of war. According to Thornton's estimates, at least 27 percent of all slaves shipped from the Kingdom of Kongo were enslaved through raids or judicial proceedings.[40] The impact of the slave trade was particularly destructive in the capital. In 1780, the population of Mbanza Kongo numbered about 27,600, but by 1789 it had fallen to 18,950; a decline of 31 percent in just ten years.[41] Nevertheless, the overall impact on the kingdom's population was reduced by the importation of slaves from neighboring regions.[42] In the nineteenth century, the impact of the slave trade on the Kikongo speaking population likely followed a similar pattern of geographic concentration, but with the majority of the slaves coming from Nsundi rather than Mbanza Kongo.

Kimbundu speakers shipped from Angola in the nineteenth century were also enslaved as a result of internal conflicts stimulated by the trade. In fact, they were victims of the trade from as early as the sixteenth century, when the Portuguese established a colony at Luanda.[43] Figure 3.3 shows the estimated number of Kimbundu slaves leaving Angola between 1831 and 1855 by ethnic group. The majority of them came from decentralized societies organized around clans or lineages headed by one or more individuals who had a voice in decisions affecting the entire society. These societies included the Kisama, Libolo, Ndembu, and Ndongo. However, captives also came from centralized states generally ruled by a chief or king such as Holo, Hungo, Kasanje, Njinga Shinje, and Songo.

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[40] Ibid., calculated from Table 1.

[41] Ibid., calculated from Table 2.

[42] Ibid., 68.

[43] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 32-33 and 46-51; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 125-130; Miller, *Way of Death*, 140-146.

Figure 3.3 – Estimated Number of Kimbundu Slaves Leaving Angola by Ethnic Groups, 1831-1855
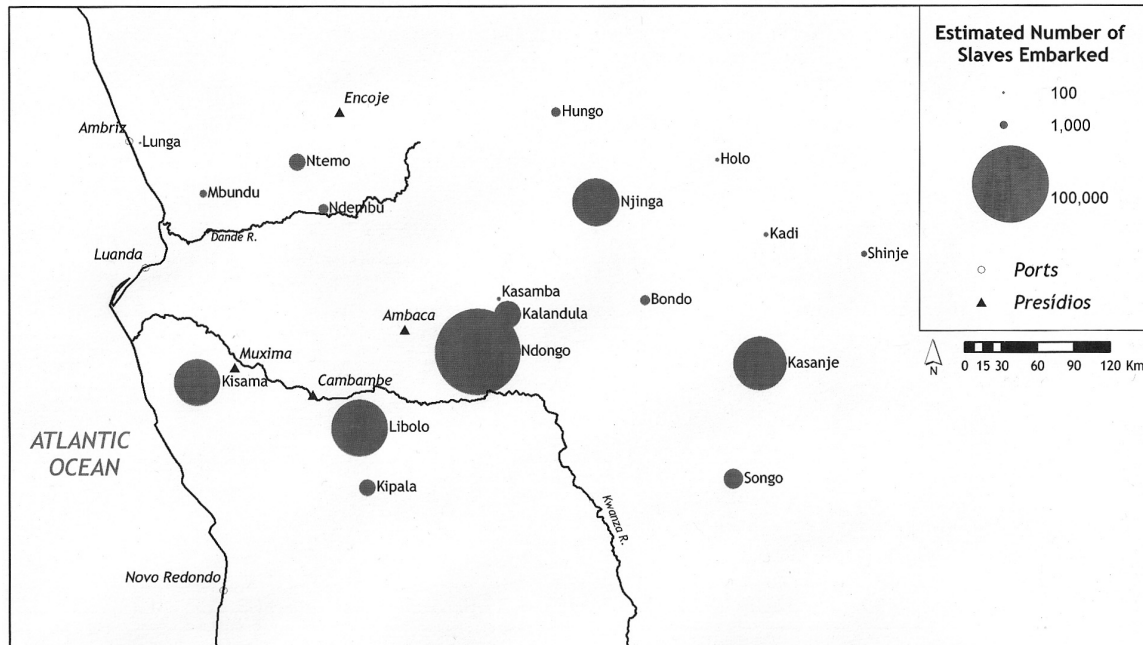
Source: Same as Figure 3.1.

The political impact of the trade on the Kimbundu was particularly destructive. In the sixteenth century, the Ndongo were on the verge of becoming a centralized society ruled by a king with of the title of *ngola*, with the increasing demand for slaves on the coast, however, the Ndongo fell prey to the Portuguese and other Kimbundu societies, notably Kasanje, who raided them for slaves.[44] As a result, the Ndongo fragmented into a number of chiefdoms called *sobados* by the Portuguese, which established suzerainty over local peoples by building a number of forts along the Kwanza River, such as Muxima, Cambambe, and Ambaca. These forts were called *presídios*, and they are identified on Figure 3.3 by dark

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[44] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 17-20 and 91-96; David Birmingham, *Central Africa to 1870: Zambesia, Zaïre and the South Atlantic* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1981), 75-83.

triangles. The Portuguese then collected tributes from the *sobados* in slaves and other commodities, stimulating rivalry among competing *sobas*.[45]

The slave trade also had a significant demographic impact on the Ndongo. In 1844, Commander Lopes de Lima traveled to Luanda and consulted the censuses of Portuguese Angola then available in the colonial archives. These censuses began in the late eighteenth century and, because the Ndongo were the largest ethnic group living under Portuguese rule in Angola, they provide valuable evidence about the size of the Ndongo population. According to Lopes de Lima, the censuses indicated that the black population of Portuguese Angola "had grown so little, that it had increased no more than one percent in an interval of twenty years."[46] Modern research supports this assessment, at least for an earlier period. John Thornton, for example, notes that the slave trade not only reduced the rate of growth among the black population of Portuguese Angola, but also caused a dramatic imbalance between the number of males and females. He concludes that, in the late eighteenth century, Angola was very much a female world, since females outnumbered males in different age and social categories by as much as 60 percent.[47] In short, the slave trade had a profound demographic impact on the Ndongo.

Umbundu speakers of the central plateau of Angola, the third major linguistic group represented in the registries, exhibited patterns similar to the Kikongo and Kimbundu populations. The slave trade from their region began in

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[45] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 32-33, 50, and 78-79; Beatrix Heintze, "Luso-African Feudalism in Angola? The Vassal Treaties of the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Century," *Revista Portuguesa de História* 18 (1980): 123; Beatrix Heintze, "Angola nas Garras do Tráfico de Escravos: As Guerras do Ndongo (1611-1630)," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1 (1984): 11-15. Carlos Couto, however, asserts that tributes were paid mostly in goods. See Carlos Couto, *Os Capitães-Mores em Angola no Século XVIII: Subsídios para o Estudo da sua Actuação* (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1972), 124-133 and 252-256.

[46] Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas*, vol. 3, 6-7.

[47] John K. Thornton, "The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Angola: Effects on Demographic Structures," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14, no. 3 (1980): 421-423.

the mid-seventeenth century, after the Portuguese attempts to find copper mines in the interior of Benguela had failed.[48] In the eighteenth century, the slave trade from the central plateau increased with the opening of Benguela in 1716 to the direct slave trade with Brazil.[49] The majority of Umbundu speaking captives came from centralized states such as Mbailundu, Viye, Wambu, Kiyaka, Ngalangi, Kivula, Ndulu, Kingolo, Kalukembe, Sambu, Ekekete, Kakonda, and Kitata. These kingdoms collected tributes from other Umbundu kingdoms, such as Kasongi, Ngalangi, Kivanda, Namba, Sanga, Kenge, Kipeyo, Mbongo, and Elende.[50] However, many of the slaves also came from decentralized societies, such as the Mbui, Hanya, and Ndombe. In the nineteenth century, violence and warfare spread throughout the central plateau as a result of political conflicts, demographic growth, and resource scarcity.[51] Figure 3.4 presents an estimated ethnic breakdown of Umbundu speaking slaves leaving Angola similar to the Kimbundu and Kikongo analysis in Figures 3.2 and 3.3. It suggests that the pattern of widespread violence and warfare continued to ravage the central plateau of Angola. The Portuguese exploited this situation by channeling prisoners of war through a series of forts that they had built along the Coporolo River and on the slopes of the Angolan highland, such as Quilengues, Dombe Grande, and Caconda. However, they had little control over these conflicts.

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[48] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 140-141; Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Viagens de Exploração Terrestre dos Portugueses em África* (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, 1978), 138-141; Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving," 71-80; Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 22-24.

[49] Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving," 112-121; Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 21-22.

[50] Childs, *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu*, 168; Merran McCulloch, *The Ovimbundu of Angola* (London: International African Institute, 1952), 2.

[51] Childs, *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu*, 190-207; Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola*, vol. 1, 69-72; Linda Heywood and John Thornton, "African Fiscal Systems as Sources for Demographic History: The Case of Central Angola, 1799-1920," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 222-225; Dias, "Angola," 345-348; Cândido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 43-50.

Umbundu slaves too were victims of internecine conflicts rather than prisoners of Lunda wars.

Figure 3.4 – Estimated Number of Umbundu Slaves Leaving Angola by Ethnic Groups, 1831-1855
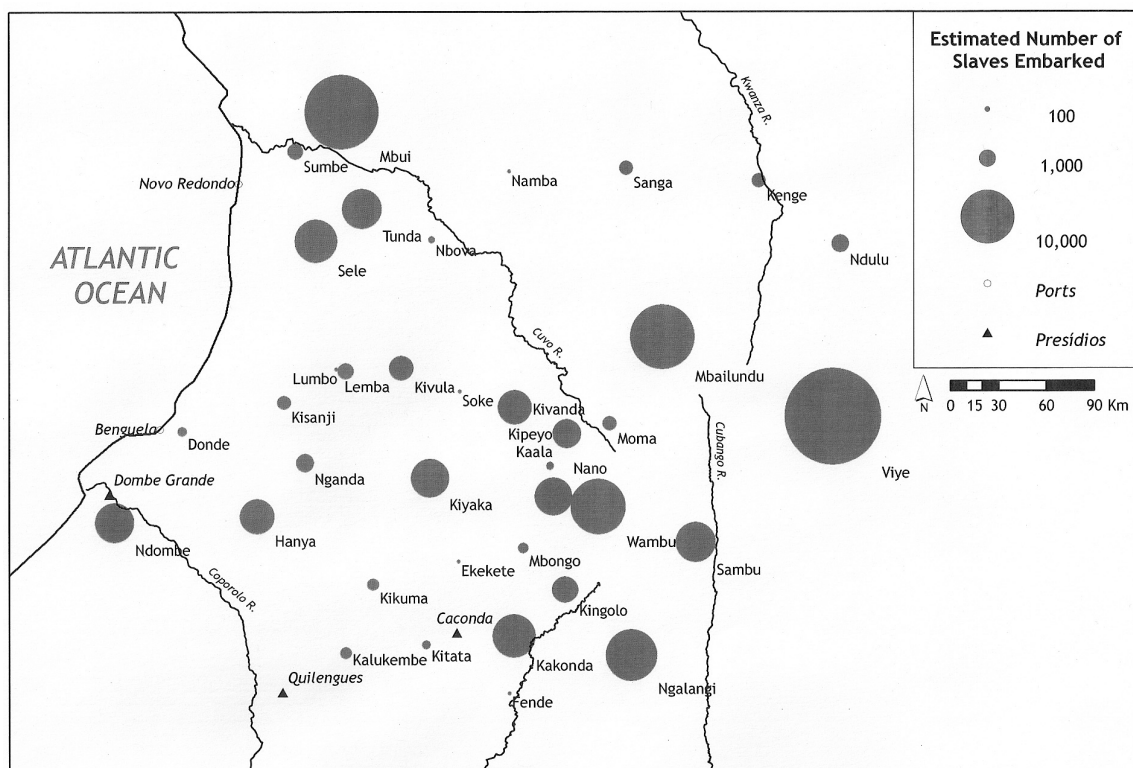
Source: Same as Figure 3.1.

Despite the importance of the Umbundu as a source of slaves, the Atlantic commerce had little impact on the total number of Umbundu speakers living in the central plateau of Angola. In the mid-nineteenth century, László Magyar, a refugee of the Hungarian revolutions of 1848, moved to the Angolan highlands. He married the daughter of an Umbundu aristocrat and lived in the Kingdom of Viye for almost ten years, from 1849 to 1858, leaving detailed records of his

interactions with the several Umbundu kingdoms on the central plateau. John Thornton and Linda Heywood accessed Magyar's accounts and estimated the size of the Umbundu population based on his knowledge of African systems of tax collection. They argue that the total Umbundu population in this period numbered approximately 1,680,150 individuals, living in Kakonda, Kenge, Kisanji, Kiyaka, Mbailundu, Mbui, Ndulu, Ngalangi, Nganda, Sambu, Sele, Sumbe, Viye, and Wambu.[52] The estimates of slaves shipped from the same ethnic groups between 1831 and 1855 include 116,324 individuals, or an average of 4,652 per year. This figure suggests that the proportion of Umbundu slaves sold into the trade each year during the nineteenth century was approximately 0.3 percent of the entire Umbundu population.

The Umbundu population increased during the nineteenth century thanks to the incorporation of slaves belonging to other linguistic groups into their own societies. The Umbundu kingdoms of the central plateau shared borders with a number of peoples from whom they drew slaves, especially females who could contribute to high rates of natural population growth. These peoples included the Nyaneka, Nkhumbi, Ovambo, and notably the Ngangela, a group whose name was originally derived from a derogatory term that Umbundu speakers gave to the people living east of the central plateau.[53] The Umbundu sold some of these slaves down to the coast, but they also kept some of them within their kingdoms. Thornton and Heywood note that despite the continuation of the slave trade from their area from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, the Umbundu

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[52] These do not include the Massongo, Kubala, Libolo, and Haku, listed in Thornton and Heywood's Chart 1, since they were actually Kimbundu speakers. See Heywood and Thornton, "African Fiscal Systems as Sources for Demographic History," 213-219.

[53] According to Gladwin Childs, the Ngangela included the Luimbi, Cimbandi, Lucazi, Cyemba, Ngonzelo, Chokwe and other peoples who lived east of the central plateau. See Childs, *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu*, 173, footnote 1.

population increased.[54] This increase no doubt resulted in part from the introduction and retention of females coming from other linguistic groups in West Central Africa. Once more, the pattern of slaves generated by internal conflicts and political unrest rather than wars of imperial expansion is evident.

In conclusion, the analysis of the lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in addition to the slave registers of Angola challenges current interpretations of the origins of slaves and the ways they entered the transatlantic traffic. It shows that slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century came from regions adjacent to the coast, rather than from deep in the interior of West Central Africa as Lunda prisoners. It also draws attention to an important aspect of the history of the transatlantic trade. Africans enslaved and sold one another into the trade for nearly four hundred years. However, it should be noted that these individuals did not regard themselves as Africans. In fact, the documentary evidence suggests that they defined themselves on the basis of ties to localized polities, lineages, or ethnic groups. While they spoke the same language as their captors, they were neighbors and, in some senses, "outsiders." This restricted sense of localized identity had disastrous consequences for some communities, such as the Nsundi and the Ndongo. Others were able to minimize the impact of the trade on them by incorporating slaves from other linguistic groups into their own societies, as did the Umbundu of the central plateau of Angola. It is clear that these localized forms of identity were an essential prerequisite for the continuation of the transatlantic slave trade well into the nineteenth century.

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[54] Heywood and Thornton, "African Fiscal Systems as Sources for Demographic History," 223-225; Linda M. Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 2-3, 10-11, and 17.

Chapter Four

Of Men, Women and Children

A Demographic Profile of Slaves Leaving Angola

in the

Nineteenth Century

In the nineteenth century, British efforts to suppress the transatlantic trade increased the demand for slave women in Brazil and the Spanish Americas. Planters in these regions feared that if Britain succeeded in abolishing the trade the captive population on their plantations would decline rapidly. Planters sought to increase the ratio of women on their properties, in the expectation that the captive population would soon need to increase by natural means as opposed to relying on arrivals from Africa. Indeed, until the abolition of the trade, the growth of the captive population in Brazil and the Caribbean depended largely on the transatlantic trade. The work conditions on the Brazilian and Cuban sugar plantations were so demanding that planters often preferred purchasing able bodied slaves from Africa rather than raising slave children to adulthood.[1] Furthermore, mortality rates among slaves working on sugar plantations were particularly high, inhibiting the natural growth of slave populations in many

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[1] Carlos Augusto Taunay, *Manual do Agricultor Brasileiro*, ed. Rafael de Bivar Marquese (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2001), 76-80; Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence There during Part of the Years 1821, 1822, 1823* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, Brown, and Green, 1824), 289; Alexander Humboldt, *The Island of Cuba*, trans. J. S. Thrasher (New York: Derby and Jackson, 1856), 187, 213-216 and 227-229.

parts of the Americas.[2] Finally, the Industrial Revolution in Europe reduced the cost of commodities used to exchange for slaves in Africa, making it possible for planters to buy more able bodied individuals.[3]

However, planter preferences had little impact on the demographic profile of the slave population leaving Angola in the nineteenth century. Although planters tried to increase the number of females on their plantations, males continued to predominate among Angolan departures. Moreover, captives sold into the Angolan trade during the nineteenth century were on average younger than those sold in previous centuries. All this suggests that planter preferences were probably not the most important factor shaping the demographic profile of the traffic from Angola. African enslavers, traders and owners were also primary agents determining the sex and age patterns of the export trade. This finding has profound implications for the history of the transatlantic trade, because it fundamentally challenges accepted wisdom about who shaped the trade and decided which individuals were eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic.

Scholars in the past have generally claimed that planter preferences were the principal factor shaping the demographic profile of captives embarked from Africa. They have argued that the majority of slaves embarked were men because planters believed that males were more able than females to endure the intense

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[2] B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807-1834* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1984), 314-317 and 374-378; Herbert S. Klein and Francisco Vidal Luna, *Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 167-168; Manuel Moreno Fraginals, *The Sugarmill: The Socioeconomic Complex of Sugar in Cuba, 1760-1860* (New York: Monthly Review Press, 1976), 55, 142-143 and 148.

[3] David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987), 47-48; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 496-502 and 635-636.

labor routine of cash crop plantations in the Americas.[4] Additionally, in most European societies, men usually performed most of the heavy labor in agriculture, such as clearing, plowing and harvesting, while women generally worked on household chores, such as food processing and clothes manufacturing as well as on the sale of homegrown produces in neighboring markets.[5] When Europeans migrated, they took with them their perceptions of the gender division of labor, which they sought to replicate on the cash crop plantations of the Americas. It long seemed obvious to scholars that the proportion of approximately two males for every female exported in the overall traffic stemmed from planters demanding more slave men than women.

However, in recent decades a number of studies have challenged this interpretation. According to this new view, the majority of slaves sold into the transatlantic trade were men not because planters believed that males could support the labor regime of plantation agriculture better than females, but because Africans valued female labor more highly than male labor. Ester Boserup, for example, called attention to women's participation in African economic development. According to her, women played a central role in both agriculture and trade in Africa.[6] Claire Robertson and Martin Klein then noted the importance of women's labor in Africa, stressing that most slaves as well as their owners on the continent were women rather than men.[7] Finally, Joseph Miller, in

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[4] Jacob Gorender, *O Escravismo Colonial* (São Paulo: Ática, 1978), 321-324; Fernando Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos* (Havana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1975), 196-199; Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1994), 38.

[5] Carlo M. Cipolla, *Before the Industrial Revolution: European Society and Economy, 1000-1700* (New York: Norton, 1976), 59-60; Louise Tilly and Joan W. Scott, *Women, Work, and Family* (New York: Holt, Rinehart and Winston, 1978), 32-37 and 44-47; Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 108-111.

[6] Ester Boserup, *Woman's Role in Economic Development* (London: Allen & Unwin, 1970), 16-24.

[7] Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, "Women's Importance in African Slave Systems," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 3-5.

a recent publication with Gwyn Campbell and Suzanne Miers, has also emphasized the importance of women in African economies by showing not only that they outnumbered men in earlier times but also "that they played crucial roles in the politics of the men who brought them into their households, and sometimes also the economies of the women in them."[8]

Such findings have prompted new research into the gender component of the slave trade. Herbert Klein, for example, has examined the sexual distribution of slaves shipped from Africa by different European carriers and argued that Africans exercised a direct control over this movement by keeping what for them were more highly valued women off the market. Klein held that the preferences of planters in the Americas and Africans were complementary.[9] David Eltis and Stanley Engerman analyzed sex and age data of slaves sold into the trade between the seventeenth and nineteenth centuries and discovered that men made up less than half of all slaves embarked from Africa. They noted that the proportion of women dropped markedly from a relatively high level in the seventeenth century, while the shares of both boys and girls rose strongly into the nineteenth century, with the increase in the ratio of girls undergoing the most dramatic change of any of the four categories. They concluded that men were not the dominant sex and age category in the trade and that their relative importance probably declined over time.[10] Finally, Ugo Nwokeji analyzed the trade from the Bight of Biafra and noted that the sexual distribution of slaves embarked from

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[8] Joseph C. Miller, "Women as Slaves and Owners of Slaves: Experiences from Africa, the Indian Ocean World, and the Early Atlantic," in *Women and Slavery: Africa, the Indian Ocean, and the Medieval North Atlantic*, ed. Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, vol. 1 (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 1.

[9] Herbert S. Klein, "African Women in the Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Women and Slavery in Africa*, ed. Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983), 34-37.

[10] David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, "Was the Slave Trade Dominated by Men?," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 23, no. 2 (1992): 241.

this region differed significantly from other regions of embarkation in Africa. According to him, economic factors alone cannot account for this difference either in Africa or the Americas. Rather, he argues that in this particular region "African conceptions of gender shaped the sex and age structure of the overseas slave trade."[11] All in all, recent studies of the trade have suggested that Africans may have been the primary agents shaping the demographic profile of slaves carried across the Atlantic.

What was the situation in nineteenth century Angola? Data on the sex and age of slaves embarked from the region in this period is fragmentary at best. However, they indicate that Africans had a major influence on determining the demography of slave departures. Table 4.1 shows the percentage of males leaving West Central Africa between 1781 and 1867 by region of disembarkation based on 316 records of voyages available in the "Voyages Database." It confirms the traditional opinion about the sexual distribution of individuals sold into the trade, with males comprising about 68 percent of all captives embarked. This ratio did not vary much according to region of disembarkation. About 66 percent of those embarked to the British and French Caribbean were males, while to Cuba and Brazil they comprised 67 percent. This proportion was slightly higher to other regions of disembarkation, 72 percent, but not very far from the average. Overall, the majority of the captives leaving West Central Africa were males independent of their final destination in the Americas.

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[11] G. Ugo Nwokeji, "African Conceptions of Gender and the Slave Traffic," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 66.

Table 4.1 – Percentage of Male Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Region of Disembarkation, 1781-1867

Years	British and French Caribbean	Cuba	Brazil	Other	Total
1781-1805	149 (65.0)	24 (70.4)	3 (69.7)	13 (64.3)	189 (65.7)
1806-1830	5 (71.4)	24 (61.2)	1 (50.0)	7 (70.0)	37 (64.0)
1831-1855	7 (81.5)	8 (79.0)	13 (67.1)	43 (74.3)	71 (74.2)
1856-1867	1 (91.1)	1 (42.6)	-	17 (74.1)	19 (73.3)
Total	162 (66.1)	57 (67.3)	17 (66.5)	80 (72.3)	316 (67.9)

Note: Numbers in brackets represent percentage of males embarked.

Source: David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org.

The proportion of males embarked increased significantly during the period of the illegal trade. Table 4.1 shows that between 1781 and 1805 about 66 percent of those shipped were males. This proportion decreased to 64 percent between 1806 and 1830, probably as a reaction of Cuban and Brazilian planters to British efforts to abolish the trade. They expected to use the females they had brought to expand the slave population on their plantations, in case the British succeeded in their endeavors. However, the ratio of males embarked increased sharply to 74 percent between 1831 and 1855 and to 73 percent between 1856 and 1867. As a consequence, the captive population embarked from West Central Africa continued to be predominantly male despite planter demands for more females.

Planters in general valued males more highly than females but, as we have seen, in the first decades of the nineteenth century there was an increased demand for females. This demand narrowed the price differential between males

and females at the main slave markets of the Americas. Manolo Florentino, for example, accessed probate records of slave owners who had lived in rural areas of Rio de Janeiro between 1790 and 1830, then the principal destination for slaves leaving West Central Africa.[12] These records list the value of each individual by age, sex and origin, that is, whether the slaves were Africans or Creoles. They indicate that planter attitudes towards females were shifting as the British pressed to end the slave trade.

Among African slaves aged 12 to 55 years old, the price differential between males and females decreased from 25 percent between 1810 and 1812 to 14 percent between 1815 and 1817. In the following years, this figure continued to decline, from 11 percent between 1820 and 1822 to 9 percent between 1825 and 1827. In 1830, the last year of the legal trade to Brazil, and also the final year for which price data is available, the price difference for captives brought from Africa was slightly under 9 percent.[13] Among Creoles in the same age group there was a similar price pattern between males and females, but the difference increased again in the final years of the legal trade. The price differential between male and female Creoles decreased sharply from 22 percent between 1815 and 1817 to 11 percent between 1820 and 1822 and then increased again to 14 percent in 1825 to 1827 and to 17 percent in 1830.[14] Nevertheless, these numbers suggest that planters had changed their attitudes toward females, especially those from Africa.

Pictorial representations of plantation labor in the Americas suggest that planters had no compunction about working slave women side by side with slave

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[12] Manolo Florentino, *Em Costas Negras: Uma História do Tráfico Atlântico de Escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 59-60.
[13] Ibid., 220.
[14] Ibid.

men in the most demanding tasks. Jerome Handler and Michael Tuite have grouped into a single website images of plantations scenes and agriculture labor published in periodicals, as well as travelers' accounts from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century. These images are a rich source for our understanding of the sexual division of labor in the plantations and cities of the Americas.[15] William Clark's *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua*, published in 1823, contains the most revealing images. It shows clearly women working in every stage of sugar production, including digging, cutting, fetching, and transporting sugar cane.[16]

Planters in nineteenth century Brazil were no different. Henry Koster, who lived in Pernambuco between 1809 and 1815, reported that it was common for slave women to work alongside men in the Brazilian sugar mills. Figure 4.1 is a copy of an image published in Koster's account showing two women working in a sugar mill; one is carrying cane while the other is feeding it to the sugar mill. According to Koster, in general "two men and two women are employed in feeding the mill with cane."[17] Maria Graham also noted the use of women in sugar production in Brazil. She travelled throughout the interior of Rio de Janeiro between 1821 and 1823 and saw slave women working in one of the first steam powered mills then existing in Brazil.[18] Steam powered milling of sugar cane was a key technological innovation on nineteenth century plantations. In 1854, the *Illustrated London News* published an article about the application of this new technology in Brazil, and the image illustrating the article shows three slave

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[15] Jerome S. Handler and Michael L. Tuite Jr., "The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record," Online database, 2008, http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/.

[16] William Clark, *Ten Views in the Island of Antigua* (London: T. Clay, 1823). Reproduced in Handler and Tuite Jr., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas*, image reference NW0051, NW0052, NW 0054 and NW0065.

[17] Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil* (London: Longman, Hurst, Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), 348.

[18] Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil*, 282-283.

women milling sugar cane in one of De Mornay's steam powered mills on the Caraúna plantation, Pernambuco.[19]

Figure 4.1 – A Sugar Mill, Brazil, 1816

A Sugar Mill.

Source: Henry Koster, Travels in Brazil (London: Longgam, Hurst Rees, Orme, and Brown, 1816), 336. Reproduced from Jerome Handler and Michael L. Tuite Jr., The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas: A Visual Record (Charlottesville: University of Virginia, 2008), image reference KOSTER2, http://hitchcock.itc.virginia.edu/Slavery/.

Milling sugar cane may not seem as exacting as toiling in the fields, but it was in fact hard work. Since the sixteenth century, travelers often described the

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[19] "Sugar Manufacture in Brazil," *The Illustrated London News* 25 (September 9, 1854): 232. A copy of this article's image is available in Handler and Tuite Jr., *The Atlantic Slave Trade and Slave Life in the Americas*, image reference pg232.

labor routine in Brazilian sugar mills as a hell for blacks.[20] Because the juice had to be extracted from the cane as soon as it was cut, the sugar mill had to operate almost continually from August to the beginning of May of the following year.[21] Moreover, in Brazil the boiling house was commonly located next to the mill. As a consequence, in addition to the stress of milling cane, workers also had to endure the heat coming from the caldrons of the boiling house.[22]

Work at the sugar mills was particularly dangerous because of the risk of slaves losing a limb while feeding cane between the sugar mill rollers. Henry Koster witnessed such accidents and reported planters' precautions to avoid them. He also noted that some planters began using oxen instead of horses to run their mills, because the screams of the blacks caught in the rollers sometimes caused horses to draw the mill with increased velocity. Oxen, by contrast, moved more slowly and tended to stop rather than speed up when such accidents occurred.[23] The flames heating the caldrons, intense work routine and horrendous accidents were enough to evoke the image of hell in the minds of European travelers.[24]

Slave women's work was not restricted to planting and milling sugar. Historians have noted that women were employed in a wide variety of activities

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[20] André João Antonil, *Cultura e Opulência do Brasil* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1982), 92-93.

[21] Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society, Bahia, 1550-1835* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985), 99-106. In Cuba, sugar mills could operate up to sixteen hours per day during the peak of the harvest seasons. See Ortiz, *Los Negros Esclavos*, 189.

[22] Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society*, 115-118.

[23] Koster states that the "negros who thrust the cane in between the rollers have sometimes allowed their hands to go too far, and one or both of them having been caught, in some instances, before assistance could be given, the whole limb and even the body has been crushed to pieces. In the mills belonging to owners who pay attention to the safety of their negroes, and whose wish it is to have every thing in proper order, a bar of iron and a hammer are placed close to the rollers upon the table which supports the cane. The bar is intended to be violently inserted between the rollers in case of an accident, so as to open them, and this set at liberty the unfortunate negro. In some instances I have seen lying by the side of the bar and hammer, a well tempered hatchet, for the purpose of severing the limb from the body if judged necessary," Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 348-349.

[24] Ibid., 348.

located in the countryside as well as urban centers. They typically worked as servants, maids, cooks, porters, weavers, sewers, hucksters, washers, midwives and in many other capacities. Some activities were the strict domain of female slaves, such as wet nursing and prostitution.[25] All the evidence from nineteenth century Brazil points to female slaves being just as useful to planters as male slaves. Forces shaping the demographic profile of slaves leaving Angola were thus more likely to have originated in Africa than in the Americas.

The sex ratio of slaves leaving West Central Africa by port of departure further supports the idea of African influence. Table 4.2 shows that on average 69 percent of the slaves embarked taken from these ports were males. However, the proportion of males shipped varied significantly from port to port. In the African controlled ports located north of Luanda, about 70 percent were males. Most of them came from the Kimbundu, Kikongo and Vili speaking peoples, who lived in matrilineal societies where women had a prominent role in relations of production and reproduction. By contrast, the ratio of males embarked from the Portuguese ports was considerably lower; only 63 percent of those leaving Luanda and the ports south of Luanda were males. The populations inhabiting the interior of these ports also lived in matrilineal societies, such as the Kimbundu and Umbundu. Since planters in the nineteenth century demanded slaves of both sexes, the variation in the ratio of males shipped from these ports is clearly a result of African conceptions of who could be enslaved and who could not. Some societies were simply more open to selling females into the trade than others.

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[25] Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 203-210 and 230-231.

Table 4.2 – Percentage of Male Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Port of Embarkation, 1781-1867

Years	Ports North of Luanda	Luanda	Ports South of Luanda	Total
1781-1805	88 (65.7)	2 (68.2)	2 (74.7)	92 (65.9)
1806-1830	19 (68.9)	13 (53.8)	-	32 (62.8)
1831-1855	38 (81.0)	9 (75.6)	21 (62.2)	68 (74.5)
1856-1867	19 (73.3)	-	-	19 (73.3)
Total	164 (70.5)	24 (63.2)	23 (63.3)	211 (68.9)

Note: Numbers in brackets represent percentage of males embarked.

Source: Same as Table 4.

The sexual distribution of slaves embarked from each of these ports also varied considerably over time. In the ports north of Luanda, the proportion of males embarked increased continuously between 1781 and 1855, from 66 to 81 percent, declining thereafter to 73 percent between 1856 and 1867. By contrast, the ratio of males shipped from Luanda declined initially from 68 percent between 1781 and 1805 to 54 percent between 1806 and 1830. However, it increased again to 76 percent between 1831 and 1855. Data for the ports south of Luanda are incomplete, but the evidence available suggests that the proportion of males shipped declined between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, from 75 percent between 1781 and 1805 to 62 percent between 1831 and 1855. This data indicates that the populations living in the central plateau were inclined to sell more females into the trade than other populations living in the interior of Angola.

Angolans in general had several reasons for selling more males than females into the trade. Many males were trained soldiers who had been captured

in wars waged by different polities within West Central Africa. As prisoners of war, they were expensive to maintain and at the same time potentially rebellious. Many of these prisoners came from the central plateau of Angola. They were soldiers of the Nano Wars waged by several Umbundu polities during the first half of the nineteenth century, especially Viye, Mbailundu and Wambu.[26] African masters, enslavers, and traders in general usually looked to sell these slaves on the coast as soon as they could. This outlet gave them a convenient way of reducing maintenance costs, avoiding potential rebellions, and making a profit from an undesirable "commodity."

Africans also preferred to sell more males than females into the trade because, in West Central Africa in particular, women were an integral part of the work force, especially in food production. Women digging, planting, harvesting and processing grains with their children strapped on their backs was a common sight in West Central Africa. Father Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi de Montecuccolo, for example, travelled throughout the kingdoms of Ndongo, Kongo and Matamba between 1654 and 1667 and noted that "women performed almost all agricultural work."[27] One of the images illustrating his writings clearly shows a woman with a child strapped on her back preparing the soil for cultivation with a hoe. Over two hundred years later, the Portuguese explorers Hermenegildo Capelo and Roberto Ivens, travelling overland from Benguela to Yaka, remarked on the food produced

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[26] Bernardino Freire de Figueiredo Abreu e Castro, "Colonia de Mossamedes," *Annaes do Conselho Ultramarino (Parte Não Oficial)* ser. 1 (1855): 152; Joachim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (New York: Macmillan and Co., 1876), 289; René Pélissier, *História das Campanhas de Angola: Resistência e Revoltas, 1845-1941* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1997), vol. 1, 173-175 and 187-192; José Redinha, *Distribuição Étnica de Angola* (Luanda: Centro de Informação e Turismo de Angola, 1962), 16-17; Catarina Madeira Santos, "Um Governo 'Polido' para Angola: Reconfigurar Dispositivos de Domínio (1750-c.1800)" (Doctorate, Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2005), 299-308.

[27] João António Cavazzi de Montecuccolo, *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos de Congo, Matamba e Angola*, trans. Graciano Maria Leguzzano (Lisbon: Junta de Investigações do Ultramar, 1965), vol.1, 38-39.

in the region and recorded the same scene near the Kwango River, reproduced here in Figure 4.2.[28] Women's work was essential to the economies of West Central African societies, so much so that African masters, enslavers, and slave traders often considered it more important to keep female slaves in the continent than selling them across the Atlantic.

Figure 4.2 – African Women Working the Fields Near the Kwango River, 1881

AS LAVRAS PERTO DO CU-ANGO

Source: Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, De Benguella às Terras de Iácca: Descripção de uma Viagem na Africa Central e Occidental (Lisbona: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), vol. 1, 177.

A further reason why Africans preferred to retain females lies in the importance of their role in the distribution of wealth and power within West Central African societies. Although power was usually in the hands of men, most

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[28] Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, *De Benguella às Terras de Iácca: Descripção de uma Viagem na Africa Central e Occidental* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), vol. 1, 53-54 and 177.

of these societies were matrilineal, in which wealth and power were distributed according to maternal lines of succession. This practice often led men who wanted to protect inherited wealth and power to marry kinless women, so that their inheritance would neither be dispersed among their brothers in law nor among their own children, who were the legal heirs of their mothers and maternal uncles. As a consequence, many African men sought to marry slave women to avoid the dispersal of their wealth and power to the families of their spouses.[29] Moreover, in West Central African societies, the number of dependents a man had commonly served as an important indicator of his status.[30] Marrying slave women ensured that the fruits of this marriage legally belonged to their fathers instead of their mothers and uncles. All these reasons clearly underscore Africans' preference for female over male slaves.

Angolan preferences also influenced the age profile of individuals sold into the trade. Traditionally, planters and slave owners in the Americas purchased more adults than children from Africa, because they expected to recover their investments by employing them as soon as they arrived. However, in the nineteenth century, slaves leaving Angola were younger than in previous centuries, suggesting that despite the planter preference for adults the number of

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[29] Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (New York: Clarendon Press, 1985), 85-90; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 12-15; Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 76-79; Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 118-122; Joseph C. Miller, "Imbangala Lineage Slavery," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives*, ed. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 211-215; Miller, *Way of Death*, 94-103; Jan Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna: A History of Central African States until European Occupation* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1966), 219.

[30] Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 12-15; Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City*, 79-81; Manning, *Slavery and African Life*, 122-125; Miller, *Way of Death*, 42-53; Alberto da Costa e Silva, *A Manilha e o Libambo: A África e a Escravidão de 1500-1700* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2002), 370; John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 91; Vansina, *Kingdoms of the Savanna*, 194-196.

children shipped tended to increase over time. Explanations for such a trend are more likely to be found either in Africa or in attempts to suppress the slave trade on the African coast than in Europe.

Comparing age categories of persons sold into the trade is considerably harder than comparing sexual categories. The age an individual enters adulthood differs from culture to culture and is subject to many interpretations. Europeans often recorded the age of slaves purchased in Africa according to their own perceptions of age. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Europeans believed that individuals entered adulthood when they became eligible for marriage. In southern Europe, females were generally eligible for marriage when they reached puberty at about twelve years old. Males were commonly eligible for marriage about the time they could bear arms and serve in the army. As a consequence, European females usually reached adulthood before males. The Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia, which guided moral conduct in the Portuguese empire, ruled that females were eligible for marriage when they reached twelve years old, while males were eligible for marriage only after they turned fourteen years old.[31] Thus, by our standards many of the individuals that Europeans recorded as adult slaves were probably teenagers.

Perception of adulthood among West Central Africans during the period of the trade was not very different from those of Europeans previously described. However, in Africa both sexes generally had to undergo rituals of initiation before being considered as adults. Because physical signs of adulthood are less clear in males than in females, males had to undergo extensive rituals of initiation that culminated with circumcision. These rituals were frequently carried out in camps

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[31] Sebastião Monteiro da Vide, *Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia* (São Paulo: Typographia de António Louzada Antunes, 1853), 109-110, Title 64.

outside the home villages, towns and cities from which the initiates came. Additionally, these rituals introduced young males to techniques of hunting, warfare, and other responsibilities associated with manhood in their societies. In some societies, these rituals could be exceedingly cruel. Galdwyn Murray Childs noted that among the twentieth century Umbundu speakers of the central plateau of Angola the "hardship and the cruelty of the initiation camps have their parallel in the trading and slave trading expeditions of the past."[32] In any event, Portuguese and West Central Africans probably had similar notions of when individuals reached adulthood.

However, the specifics of carrying slaves across the Atlantic sometimes influenced the way Europeans distinguished children from adults. From the sixteenth to the mid-eighteenth century, for example, Portuguese and Spanish traders identified slave children not by their approximate age but by their height. They counted slaves in terms of *peças da Índia*, or in *piezas de Índia* in Spanish. This term, literally a piece of Asian cloth, referred to one of the most popular commodities used to purchase slaves on the African coast. In the seventeenth century, a *peça* in Spanish contracts for the slave trade equaled the value of a healthy adult, male or female, measuring seven or more quarters of a *vara*.[33] The *vara* was a medieval form of measurement of length that varied over time from region to region. The Seville *vara* was the standard used in the Angolan-Brazilian maritime trade. In the nineteenth century, the length of a Seville *vara* was

[32] Gladwyn Murray Childs, *Kinship and Character of the Ovimbundu: Being a Description of the Social Structure and Individual Development of the Ovimbundu of Angola, with Observations Concerning the Bearing on the Enterprise of Christian Missions of Certain Phases of the Life and Culture Described* (London: Reprinted for the International African Institute & for the Witwatersrand U.P. by Dawson, 1969), 116-117.
[33] Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamerica y el Comercio de Esclavos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977), 189-190.

approximately 83.59 centimeters or 32.9 inches, so the height of a *peça da Índia* in the nineteenth century was about 146 centimeters or 57 inches.[34]

This was rather short for a healthy adult, male or female. David Eltis showed that, in the nineteenth century, adult males shipped from any part of the African coast south of the Sahara measured on average between 157 and 166 centimeters, while females measured between 151 and 157 centimeters.[35] In any event, Portuguese slave traders between the sixteenth and the mid-eighteenth century calculated the carrying capacity of their vessels by adding the heights of their slaves in *peças da Índia* and dividing it by a *vara craveira*, which measured about 525 centimeters.[36] In general, three *peças* were allowed for each ton, so that Portuguese and Spanish traders could in fact write contracts for the trade specifying the volume of the cargo to be shipped across the Atlantic.[37] Additionally, this practice allowed customs officials to collect taxes on the basis of able-bodied equivalencies, rather than on the actual number of captives. The contract of the Companhia da Guiné, for example, specified that it had to deliver "ten thousand tons of slaves" from Africa to the Spanish Americas between 1699 and 1705.[38] As a consequence, until the eighteenth century, references to children in documents related to the Portuguese and Spanish trades are rare.

In the eighteenth century, the term *peça da Índia* was increasingly replaced by a new term, *cabeça*, indicating a single adult. Because a *cabeça* did not

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[34] Converted according to the "Real Orden del 9 de Diciembre de 1852," in Cárlos Sanguineti, *Diccionario Jurídico-Administrativo* (Madrid: Imprensa de la Revista de Legislacion y Jurisprudencia, 1858), 643-655.

[35] David Eltis, "Nutritional Trends in Africa and the Americas: Heights of Africans, 1819-1839," *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 12, no. 3 (1982): 459, Table 1.

[36] J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Épocas de Portugal Económico*, 4th ed. (Lisbon: Livraria Clássica, 1988), 75-76.

[37] Ibid.

[38] "Assento para a Introdução dos Negros das Índias Espanholas, Feito entre o Conselho Real das Índias e um Sócio da Companhia Real da Guiné, em Madrid a 12 de Julho de 1699," in António Carreira, *As Companhias Pombalinas de Navegação, Comércio e Tráfico de Escravos entre a Costa Africana e o Nordeste Brasileiro* (Bissau: Centro de Estudos da Guiné Portuguesa, 1969), 309.

necessarily imply the same limit of labor power as a healthy adult, the Portuguese government began to tax slaves according to different age categories. These categories, however, were also based on the height of the slaves rather than their actual age. The trade contract that the Portuguese government awarded to Manuel Barbosa Torres in 1753 to carry slaves from Angola, for example, stated that "the duties for *cabeças* and children who do not fit the established requirements of *peças da Índia* will be paid relative to the *peças da Índia* with the proviso that the children must not be more than four *palmos* tall."[39] *Palmos* was a measurement of length equivalent approximately to 22 centimeters in the nineteenth century. Therefore, slaves considered children could not be taller than 88 centimeters, a very short stature compared to 146 centimeters of a *peça da Índia*.[40]

In the eighteenth century, the Portuguese began to separate children embarked from Angola into two different categories. The first category they called *crias de pé* or children able to stand. The second category they called *crias de peito* or nursing infants. The distinction between *crias de pé* and *crias de peito* resulted from a conflict over how to tax children put on board Portuguese ships on the coast of Angola. Until the eighteenth century, the heights of children were added to those of adults and taxes were then collected in *peças da Índia*. However, as traders and customs officials began to count slaves in *cabeças*, they had to create a new way of taxing children. Thus, in 1758 the Portuguese government settled the conflict with a tax reform that levied different taxes on children and adults embarked. *Crias de pé* measuring four *palmos* or less were charged half the

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[39] Dom José I, "Carta de Sua Mag. sobre a Remataçam do Contrato dos Direitos Novos que a Rematou Manoel Barbosa Torres dos Direitos dos Escravos q' se Embarcam desta Cid. de Loanda p. os Portos do Brazil," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 13-15, 1 (1936): 521.

[40] Fortunato José Barreiros, *Memória sobre os Pesos e Medidas de Portugal, Espanha, Inglaterra e França* (Lisbon: Typographia da Academia Real das Sciencias, 1838), 20.

taxes paid on adults, while *crias de peito* were tax free and, when shipped together with their mothers, the two counted as only one *cabeça*.[41]

After the Portuguese began to count slaves in *cabeças*, children appeared in the documentation more frequently. Most of them were probably nursing infants and toddlers. Since tax procedures at the Portuguese ports of slave embarkation in Angola stipulated such a short height for children embarked, there were many individuals classified as adults but would be considered children by our own standards and, indeed, may have been by the standards of Europeans and Africans of that time. Nevertheless, tax records of slaves embarked from Luanda provide us with some idea of their age distribution.

In the eighteenth century, children comprised a significant percentage of the total number of slaves shipped from Luanda. Horácio Gutiérrez analyzed records of taxes collected from vessels carrying slaves from Luanda and estimated the proportion of children shipped for 17 years between 1734 and 1769. These records provide the total number of slaves as well as the number of *crias de pé* and *crias de peito* embarked for the years 1740-1742, 1744, 1747-1749, 1762-1767, and 1769. Gutiérrez also found records showing only totals embarked for the years 1734, 1738 and 1754, but he estimated the proportion of *crias de pé* and *crias de peito* embarked in these years using the average percentage rate of children shipped according to each category in the following four years for which he had data. In total, Gutiérrez calculated that 143,848 slaves were embarked from Luanda in these 17 years. Approximately 9,220 of the total were children; 7,003 *crias de pé* and 2,217 *crias de peito*. According to

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[41] Dom José I, "Ley sobre a Arecadação dos Direitos dos Escravos, e Marfim, que Sahirem do Reino de Angola, e Pórtos da sua Dependencia," *Arquivos de Angola* 2, no. 13-15, 1 (1936): 538.

his estimates, about 6 percent of the slaves embarked from Luanda in those years were children.[42]

Although Gutiérrez recognized the different categories of children embarked, he did not realize that these categories included only individuals measuring up to four *palmos* tall. In fact, the proportion of children shipped could have been much higher according to both European and African perceptions of age during the period of the trade. A more realistic proportion is probably double the percentage Gutiérrez estimated. This is important to emphasize because shipping records with age data available for slaves embarked in West Central Africa during the nineteenth century were not based on Portuguese tax records. Rather, they were created by other institutions in different countries that recorded the age of enslaved individuals according to European and African perceptions of age during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. One example of these institutions is the mixed commission courts for the adjudication of vessels accused of illegal trading, which form the basis for much of the age data available in the "Voyages Database."

The database contains records of 365 vessels with age data for slaves shipped from West Central Africa by region of disembarkation between the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries. Table 4.3 shows that about 17 percent of all individuals carried were children. Further, the proportion of children embarked varied widely across time. Between 1781 and 1805, about 11 percent of those shipped were children. This ratio increased to 16 percent between 1806 and 1830. However, during the period of the illegal trade, the proportion of children sold increased sharply to 53 percent between 1831 and 1855 and 36

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[42] Horácio Gutiérrez, "O Tráfico de Crianças Escravas para o Brasil durante o Século XVIII," *Revista de História, São Paulo* 120 (1989): 60-63.

percent between 1856 and 1867. Traders had never shipped such a large percentage of children before, but the causes for this increase are difficult to determine. On the one hand, planters in the Americas were not interested in receiving so many children. On the other, Africans were often reluctant to sell children across the Atlantic. Given these positions, it appears that the British efforts to abolish the slave trade created a situation to which both sides had to adjust.

Table 4.3 – Percentage of Slave Children Leaving West Central Africa by Region of Disembarkation, 1781-1867

Years	British and French Caribbean	Cuba	Brazil	Other	Total
1781-1805	130 (15.2)	10 (21.4)	111 (3.2)	7 (27.8)	258 (10.6)
1806-1830	3 (33.4)	22 (19.2)	22 (4.0)	7 (39.7)	54 (16.5)
1831-1855	7 (55.4)	7 (53.1)	13 (56.8)	21 (49.6)	48 (52.9)
1856-1867	-	-	-	5 (42.9)	5 (35.7)
Total	140 (17.5)	39 (25.9)	146 (8.1)	40 (43.2)	365 (17.4)

Note: Numbers in brackets represent percentage of children embarked.

Source: Same as Table 4.1.

Table 4.3 confirms that the ratio of children embarked increased in all regions of disembarkation, especially during the period of the illegal trade. In the British and French Caribbean, it increased from 15 percent between 1781 and 1805, to 33 percent between 1806 and 1830, and 55 percent between 1831 and 1855. The proportion of children shipped to Cuba initially decreased from 21 percent between 1781 and 1805 to 19 percent between 1806 and 1830. However,

from 1831 to 1855 it increased sharply to 53 percent. The proportion of children embarked to Brazil also increased significantly during the nineteenth century, from a range of 3 to 4 percent between 1781 and 1830 to an impressive 57 percent between 1831 and 1855. The ratio of children embarked to other destinations though always relatively high, also increased during the nineteenth century, from 28 percent between 1781 and 1805 to 40 percent between 1806 and 1830, culminating at 50 percent between 1831 and 1855. After this period, the ratio of children shipped to other destinations declined to 43 percent.

The ratio of children shipped varied significantly by port of embarkation. Table 4.4 shows that the ports north and south of Luanda shipped relatively more children than Luanda. In total, children comprised about 26 percent of the slaves leaving the ports north of Luanda, 47 percent from the ports south of Luanda, and only 6 percent from Luanda itself. However, these numbers may be misleading. The "Voyages Database" contains too few records of voyages with age data for slaves leaving Luanda between 1831 and 1855, when the proportion of children sold into the slave trade is likely to have increased. If the data were more complete, the ratio of children embarked from Luanda would have been probably higher and indeed closer to the average of those shipped from the ports north and south of Luanda.

Table 4.4 – Percentage of Slave Children Leaving West Central Africa by Port of Embarkation,

1781-1867

Years	Ports North of Luanda	Luanda	Ports South of Luanda	Total
1781-1805	69 (16.0)	110 (3.2)	3 (3.4)	182 (8.0)
1806-1830	17 (28.3)	34 (8.1)	-	51 (14.8)
1831-1855	26 (50.5)	6 (53.4)	15 (55.4)	47 (52.5)
1856-1867	6 (35.7)	-	-	6 (35.7)
Total	118 (26.4)	150 (6.3)	18 (46.8)	286 (17.1)

Note: Numbers in brackets represent percentage of children embarked.

Source: Same as Table 4.1.

Despite the lack of data, the records available do indicate important variations in the ratio of children exported across time from the various ports of embarkation. Between 1781 and 1805, for example, the percentage of children leaving the ports north of Luanda was considerably higher than the percentage of those leaving Luanda and the southern ports. In that period, about 16 percent of the slaves leaving the northern ports were children. In contrast, in the same period, only 3 percent of slaves leaving Luanda and the southern ports were children. This suggests that the societies living in the hinterland of these ports were less open to selling children into the trade than the societies located in the port areas north of Luanda. However, during the period of the illegal trade, the ratio of children embarked from all ports increased significantly. Between 1831 and 1855, children comprised about 51 percent of the slaves shipped from the ports north of Luanda, 53 percent from Luanda itself, and 55 percent from the ports south of Luanda.

The increase in the proportion of children embarked from West Central Africa is surprising in view of the current understanding of who was eligible for enslavement and sale into the transatlantic slave trade. Scholars generally stress that African enslavers and traders commonly preferred to sell adults into the external trade and keep children for sale into the domestic market. This interpretation implies that the demand for slave children in Africa was higher than the demand for adult slaves, because African slave owners believed that purchasing and owning slave children involved fewer risks than those associated with adults. Children could be easily integrated into their masters' society through cultural assimilation. Adults, on the other, were potential escapees, capable of inciting rebellion, or murdering their masters, sometimes employing poison and even witchcraft.[43] Scholars of African slavery need to take on board the increasing proportion of children sold from West Central Africa between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth century. Perhaps our current understanding of African slavery in this period needs reassessing, particularly ideas about who was eligible for sale across the Atlantic.

Kikongo speakers living in the interior of the ports north of Luanda were probably more open to selling children into the trade than Kimbundu or Umbundu speakers who lived in the interior of Luanda and the ports south of Luanda. Table 4.4 shows that the proportion of children leaving the northern ports was 4 to 5 times higher than at the other ports. This trend may be related to the methods of enslavement among the Kikongo. As previously noted, kidnapping was one of the primary forms of enslavement among Kikongo speakers, especially at Boma, and

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[43] Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 16-17; Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, "African 'Slavery' as an Institution of Marginality," in *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 53.

children could easily fall victim to such abductions.[44] Kimbundu speakers living in the interior of Luanda were more conservative in determining who could be sold into the trade. Many of them had long suffered the demographic impact of the trade, especially the Ndongo who lived under direct influence of the Portuguese. Consequently, Kimbundu societies could not afford to sell women and children into the trade, as these categories were crucial to the very survival of their societies.[45] In the mid-nineteenth century, the ratio of children shipped from Luanda increased, but it should be noted that at this time the overall numbers embarked from this port had declined significantly.[46] Finally, the Umbundu also seemed very conservative in their sale of slaves, as the percentage of captives leaving the southern ports was similar to that leaving Luanda. However, the Umbundu populations of the central plateau of Angola were expanding between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries.[47] As a consequence, it may be possible that they shipped more adults during the legal period of the trade not because they were coping with the demographic impact of the trade, but rather because they could best supply the demand for adult slaves overseas. The proportion of children shipped from the southern ports also increased in the mid-nineteenth century but this was more an adjustment to the period of the illegal trade than a shift in Umbundu conceptions of who could be sold across the Atlantic.

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[44] Norm Schrag, "Mboma and the Lower Zaire: a Socioeconomic Study of a Kongo Trading Community, c.1785-1885" (Ph.D., Bloomington: Indiana University, 1985), 62-63.

[45] John K. Thornton, "The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Angola: Effects on Demographic Structures," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 14, no. 3 (1980): 421-423.

[46] See Chapter One, Figure 1.2.

[47] Linda Heywood and John Thornton, "African Fiscal Systems as Sources for Demographic History: The Case of Central Angola, 1799-1920," *Journal of African History* 29, no. 2 (1988): 223-225; Linda M. Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 2-3, 10-11 and 17.

Two important factors contributed to the increase in the percentage of children embarked from West Central Africa during the nineteenth century. Neither had much to do directly with developments on plantations in the Americas or within African societies; rather they were a function of efforts to suppress the trade. First, as British antislave trade activity increased, traders had to find new outlets through which to sell captives across the Atlantic. These outlets assumed the form of clandestine ports of slave embarkation spread along the coast of West Central Africa. British naval cruisers often guarded traditional ports of embarkation, so slave traders had to move their operations to different places agreed upon in advance with captains of slave vessels. In most of them, slaves were maintained not on the coast, but in barracoons located at some distance from the shoreline, in order to disguise their presence from antislave trade cruisers patrolling the coast. These barracoons were built for the sole purpose of housing slaves until the moment of embarkation.[48] Since traders had to constantly change location and run their activities as clandestinely as possible, they could not afford to face resistance from their slaves. This may have meant that slave traders began to buy more children than adults.

Second, as the demand for slaves in the Americas declined, the number of slaves available for sale in the African domestic market increased. This created a surplus of slave children on the continent, which African owners could not support to adulthood, so they began to sell them on the coast. Although large numbers of slaves continued to be shipped from West Central Africa until 1850, their real price on the coast began to decline from the beginning of the nineteenth century. Real prices of slaves sold at Luanda, for example, remained constant

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[48] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A., Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 38-42; Miller, *Way of Death*, 299-308.

form the 1800s to the 1810s, varying between 110,395 *réis* to 110,008 *réis*. It declined significantly in the 1820s to approximately 66,901 *réis*, increasing again only at the eve of the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade in the 1830s to 149,123 *réis*.[49] These data indicate that, although large numbers continued to be shipped from Angola until the mid-nineteenth century, the demand for slaves on the coast was losing momentum. Africans who were previously enslaved and sold into the external trade were now being sold into the domestic market. Enslavement in the interior must have declined with time, and the temporary effect of more slaves on the domestic market probably increased the slave population in many societies of West Central Africa, perhaps resulting in many African owners holding a surplus of young captives that they could not afford to raise to adulthood.

All in all, slaves shipped from Angola included individuals from every sex and age category but, in the nineteenth century, they tended to be mostly boys. The demographic profile of slaves transported shows that African conceptions of gender and age helped shape the trade by determining who was eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic. In the nineteenth century, planters in the Americas became more interested in purchasing slave women in response to the British efforts to abolish the trade. Africans, on the other hand, were often reluctant to sell women into the trade. Additionally, they preferred to keep children within the continent, rather than selling them overseas. However, given the pressures to suppress the trade, Africans adjusted to the new circumstances and began selling more children into the trade than in previous years. Children were easier to transport and keep at barracoons situated at remote places along the coast of Angola. As the slave trade declined, it is also possible that African

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[49] See Appendix C, Table C.2.

traders found themselves with a surplus of captives, including children, that they were disposed to sell across the Atlantic. African conceptions of gender and age combined with the impact of attempts to suppress the trade were thus important factors determining who could be enslaved and sold into the transatlantic slave trade from Angola.

Chapter Five

On Goods and People

African Patterns of Consumption in Angola

in the

Nineteenth Century

Africans exchanged slaves on the coast of Angola for a variety of goods imported from several regions around the world. In terms of value, the majority of the slaves embarked were exchanged for Asian textiles, sugar cane rum produced in the Americas, and weapons brought largely from Europe. Historians of Angola believe that Africans distributed these goods among their loyal followers in order to accumulate power, increase their number of dependents, and raise armies to capture more slaves and expand their influence throughout the interior of West Central Africa. This interpretation implies that the supply of captives on the coast was in the hands of just a few rulers, who competed against one another for power and access to foreign imports. This process generated a vicious cycle of violence and warfare, which led to the destruction of some societies and the imperial expansion of others, such as the Lunda Empire. Some scholars have seen Africans as politically motivated to participate in the trade, with the economic gains resulting from sales being secondary.[1]

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[1] The main supporter of this view is, of course, Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 51-61.

However, prices of slaves leaving Luanda between the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries show that Africans did respond to economic incentives. Philip Curtin devised a model to examine the participation of Africans in the trade from Senegambia, which measured their political and economic motivations to sell slaves based on variations in the value and number of captives sold across the Atlantic. If the number of individuals shipped varied according to the price for which they were sold, it signified that Africans were economically motivated to participate in the trade. In contrast, if the number of individuals shipped did not respond to variations in price, it meant that Africans engaged in the trade for political reasons, such as wars waged in the interest of establishing a state and imperial expansion. These are extreme examples, of course. The actual motivations must have been diverse, but they probably varied within these parameters, making the analysis of the price and number of slaves embarked a useful indicator of the primary reason Africans participated in the trade.[2]

Because the number of slaves shipped from the Senegambia did not vary according to price, Curtin concluded that in this particular region Africans were more politically than economically motivated to participate in the trade.[3] Since the publication of his study, many historians have begun collecting data on the price and number of captives sold from other African regions and subjecting it to similar analyses but sometimes drawing different conclusions. Philip Le Veen, for

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But see also David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 148-149; Jill R. Dias, "Angola," in *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa: O Império Africano, 1825-1890*, ed. Valentim Alexandre and Jill R. Dias, vol. 10 (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 98), 335-339; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000), 149-150; John K. Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion to the West, c.1700-1852," *Zambia Journal of History* 1 (1981): 6-7; Achim von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Münster: LIT Verlag, 1994), 59-61.

[2] Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1975), vol. 1, 156-157.

[3] Ibid., vol. 1, 166-168.

example, collected price data on slaves sold from all regions and argued that Africans were motivated more by economic than political gains to sell slaves. According to him, as the price of captives sold on the coast increased, the number of slaves shipped increased; when prices declined, the number of captives embarked declined. Le Veen claimed that, in general, Africans sold other Africans on the coast not because of their desire to accumulate power, but because of the economic rewards they derived from the trade.[4]

The paucity of the price data for slaves embarked from Angola makes similar analyses difficult. However, the custom records of Luanda provide price information about captives shipped from there between 1780 and 1830, which serves as an indicator of the fluctuations in the prices of slaves leaving Angola. Customs officials reported the prices of slaves embarked from Luanda annually, but they did not record the value for which each captive was sold. Rather, they listed the annual average price of adult slaves embarked. Unfortunately, the custom records are not complete, but the data available do allow us to calculate the average price by decade and compare it with the number of slaves leaving Luanda. The prices listed in the records were deflated to reflect real prices and to allow comparison across time. The original data is reproduced together with the deflated prices in Appendix C, Tables C.1 and C.2. The comparison between the price and the number of slaves shipped from Luanda between the 1780s and 1830s is indicated below in Figure 5.1.

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[4] E. Philip Le Veen, "The African Slave Supply Response," *African Studies Review* 18, no. 1 (1975): 18-21.

Figure 5.1 – Comparison between Price and Number of Slaves Leaving Luanda by Decades, 1780s-1830s

Sources: Appendix A, Table A.3 and Appendix C, Table C.2.

Figure 5.1 shows that the number of captives embarked varied directly with the prices for which they were sold in Luanda. The fluctuations in the number of slaves and the annual average price almost coincide. The only exception is in the 1820s, when the average price of slaves sold declined significantly compared to the number of captives embarked. Otherwise, the lines representing the value and number of slaves transported fluctuated at the same rhythm. When prices increased, the number of captives shipped also increased, when prices declined, the number of slaves embarked declined. This variation shows that traders in the interior were sensitive to changes in demand on the coast. Since Africans dominated the supply of slaves, the variation in the price

and number of captives embarked indicates that they were more economically than politically motivated to participate in the trade. It also suggests that more than a handful of despotic rulers were willing to participate in this activity.

Slavery had existed in Angola long before the nineteenth century. Historians still debate whether or not Africans regarded slavery as a system of exchange and economic exploitation before the rise of the transatlantic slave trade. John Thornton, for example, argues that Africans viewed slaves as the only form of private, revenue-producing property recognized by law. As such, they were subject to exchange for other slaves as well as for commodities.[5] "When Europeans came to Africa and offered to buy slaves," Thornton notes, "it is hardly surprising that they were almost immediately accepted."[6] Joseph Miller, on the other hand, believes that Africans began to sell slaves as commodities gradually because of the transatlantic trade. According to him, although Africans had long exchanged material goods, such as copper, iron, wax and salt, among themselves, they regarded the exchange of slaves for goods as something qualitatively different, as gifts among people who had personal obligations to one another. Miller argues that the transatlantic trade changed this form of exchange by adding a new variable, people without previous personal obligations meeting at trading centers with goods to be exchanged exclusively for slaves.[7]

In the nineteenth century, Africans in Angola were very familiar with the concept of slavery as a system of exchange and economic exploitation and their desire to obtain consumer goods was the primary reason they enslaved and sold other Africans. These goods circulated widely throughout Angola, and they

[5] John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*, 2nd ed. (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 74.
[6] Ibid., 94.
[7] Miller, *Way of Death*, 47-58.

served as an important medium of exchange, especially when the sum involved was high. Historians of Africa often claim that rulers somehow monopolized these goods and used them to raise armies and finance wars.[8] However, most of the goods imported were destined for personal use, including adornment. Furthermore, they were not a substitute for similar items produced locally. Moreover, they were introduced in such large quantities, that the net effect was to reduce their value as luxury items. As a result, the goods brought to Angola generated large numbers of slaves and were dispersed among the wider public, who would participate in the trade as long as foreign imports were accessible to them.

African economic interest in the trade is not difficult to explain. Historians of the slave trade have long challenged the assumption that Europeans purchased slaves with gewgaws or trinkets. Scholars have collected lists of goods used to exchange for captives in several regions and they have noted that Africans had a sophisticated taste for goods imported from places as far away as Asia and the Americas.[9] As previously mentioned, the majority of the slaves shipped were

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[8] Joseph E. Inikori, "Introduction," in *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, ed. Joseph E. Inikori (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982), 41-51; Martin A. Klein and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Slavery in West Africa," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 201; Martin A. Klein, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on the Societies of the Western Sudan," *Social Science History* 14, no. 2 (1990): 235-241; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 110; Claude Meillassoux, "The Role of Slavery in the Economic and Social History of Sahelo-Sudanic Africa," in *Forced Migration: The Impact of the Export Slave Trade on African Societies*, ed. Joseph E. Inikori, trans. R. J. Gavin (New York: Africana Publishing Company, 1982), 80-81; Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold*, trans. Alide Dasnois (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1991), 44-54; Richard L. Roberts, *Warriors, Merchants, and Slaves: The State and the Economy in the Niger Valley, 1700-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1987), 18-19.

[9] See, for example, Richard Bean, "A Note on the Relative Importance of Slaves and Gold in West African Exports," *Journal of African History* 15, no. 3 (1974): 351-356; George Metcalf, "A Microcosm of Why Africans Sold Slaves: Akan Consumption Patterns in the 1770s," *Journal of African History* 28, no. 3 (1987): 377-394; Joseph C. Miller, "Imports at Luanda, Angola: 1785-1823," in *Figuring African Trade: Proceedings of the Symposium on the Quantification and Structure of the Import and Export and Long-Distance Trade of Africa in the Nineteenth Century, c.1800-1913 (St. Augustin, 3-6 January 1983)*, ed. Gerhard Liesegang, Helma Pasch, and Adam Jones (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1986), 162-244; David Richardson, "West African

exchanged for textiles, alcohol and weapons, but these were not the only merchandise used to purchase captives. Since a successful deal depended largely on being able to present the right assortment of goods, traders combined these goods with a wide variety of other items, such as tobacco, beads, and clothing. Commodities used to purchase slaves can therefore provide us with important clues to understanding why Africans participated in the trade.

As with data on slave prices, lists of commodities imported into Angola during the nineteenth century are rare. Only a few records of the merchandise imported at Benguela, for example, have survived. Moreover, Africans who controlled the trade in the ports north of Luanda did not keep written records of the goods imported there, or at least none has ever been located. For this reason, historians have generally used lists of articles exported from Europe or the Americas to Africa in order to trace African patterns of consumption.[10] After 1807, with the increasing illegality of the slave trade, these lists gradually became scarce. Brazil and Cuba remained the principal markets, with their traders purchasing slaves at the ports north of Luanda, but records of the commodities exported from these countries to those ports are missing.

Customs records from Luanda, by contrast, are more complete, and they allow us to trace the consumption patterns of the populations living in the interior of Angola in the nineteenth century. In the late eighteenth century, customs officials began to report the amount, value and price of all merchandise legally imported per year, but this information did not reflect the current value of the goods exchanged for slaves. Rather the figures were estimates that members of

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Consumption Patterns and Their Influence on the Eighteenth Century English Slave Trade," in *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade*, ed. Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 303-330.

[10] See, for instance, Richardson, "West African Consumption Patterns," 305-311.

the trading board at Luanda calculated by multiplying the amount of goods imported by the annual average price of these goods. By 1823, the records became more accurate, reflecting the value of the merchandise as it entered the port. Joseph Miller has published summaries of these records for the years 1785-1799, 1803-1805, 1809-1810, 1812, 1815-1819, and 1823.[11] The eighteenth century lists are no longer extant in the Portuguese colonial archives, but the nineteenth century lists are. A review of them reveals higher values than those Miller found in his study. Since these values are more complete, the following analysis was based on them.

Furthermore, new lists of imports at Luanda are now available for the years 1837 and 1861-1864, and they allow us to extend our analysis to the period of the suppression of the trade. Although the Portuguese prohibited the sale of slaves from their African possessions in 1836, many vessels continued to visit Luanda after that year. As Roquinaldo Ferreira noted, these vessels arrived with goods commonly used to purchase slaves, unloaded them at Luanda, from and then departed in ballast to neighboring ports, where they loaded captives out of sight of the authorities.[12] This strategy enabled captains to continue using Luanda as a major slaving port, despite the prohibition on selling captives overseas. The customs house at Luanda therefore continued recording most commodities used to purchase slaves in the interior close to the end of the trade.

Table 5.1 shows the total value of the merchandise imported at Luanda for the years available between the late eighteenth and the nineteenth centuries in thousands of *réis* distributed across eight different categories. These categories

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[11] Miller, "Imports at Luanda," 211-241.

[12] Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A., Rio de Janeiro: Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996), 221-222.

are the same ones that Miller used in his study, and they were adopted here to facilitate a comparison to the eighteenth century data with that of the legal and illegal period of the slave trade in the nineteenth century. The first category includes all commodities: namely alcohol, followed by Asian textiles, European textiles, foodstuffs, ironware and other metals, weapons, and a category comprising miscellaneous items, such as beads, shells, raw cotton and tobacco.

Table 5.1 – Commodities Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), Selected Years, 1785-1864

Years	Alcohol	Apparel and notions	Asian textiles	European textiles	Foodstuff	Ironware and other metals	Miscellany	Weapons	Total
1785-1799	1,761,864.0	86,325.0	2,357,306.0	1,397,317.0	428,277.0	22,668.0	178,317.0	276,992.0	6,509,066.0
	(27.1)	(1.3)	(36.2)	(21.5)	(6.6)	(0.3)	(2.7)	(4.3)	(100.0)
1802-1823	2,906,446.2	398,148.7	5,761,577.5	3,044,294.3	725,288.5	352,467.8	718,651.4	939,389.0	14,846,263.4
	(19.6)	(2.7)	(38.8)	(20.5)	(4.9)	(2.4)	(4.8)	(6.3)	(100.0)
1837-1864	828,056.0	152,860.5	418,816.6	2,207,894.5	486,628.7	124,255.8	885,624.4	277,338.7	5,381,475.2
	(15.4)	(2.8)	(7.8)	(41.0)	(9.0)	(2.3)	(16.5)	(5.2)	(100.0)
Total	5,496,366.1	637,334.2	8,537,700.0	6,649,505.9	1,640,194.2	499,391.6	1,782,592.7	1,493,719.7	26,736,804.4
	(20.6)	(2.4)	(31.9)	(24.9)	(6.1)	(1.9)	(6.7)	(5.6)	(100.0)

Note: Numbers in brackets represent row percentages of the commodities imported.

Sources: Appendix D, Tables D.1 and D.2.

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The most striking feature about the commodities used by Africans for trading slaves is that the majority of them consisted of articles that did not address the primary needs of the populations living in the interior of Angola. John Thornton, for example, noted that Africans had a strong textile manufacturing industry during the period of the slave trade. Although their technology was not comparable to that in Europe, Africans wove excellent cloth from raffia fibers as well as bark and palm trees. Some of these textiles were so fine and delicate that only nobles could afford to wear them. In fact, European visitors frequently compared the cloth produced by Kikongo and Vili weavers to the best produced in Europe.[13] Nevertheless, Asian and European textiles together accounted for approximately 57 percent of Luanda imports between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries.

Asian textiles alone comprised about 32 percent of all goods brought to Luanda. These fabrics were the most important items used to purchase slaves in the interior. Materials most in demand included *baés*, *cadeás*, *carlagalines*, *chitas*, *garrazes*, *longuins*, and *zuartes*. They were dyed white, red, yellow and blue and came in different patterns such as stripes or checks.[14] The names associated with some of them give us a hint about their place of origin. Names such as *cambaia*, *jambuseiro*, and *surrate* can be clearly identified with the ports of Cambay, Jambusar and Surat, on the western coast of India, also known as the Malabar Coast. In fact, many of the textiles imported through Luanda were simply called

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[13] John K. Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry and the Atlantic Trade, 1500-1800," *African Economic History*, no. 19 (1990): 10-12.

[14] Luís Frederico Dias Antunes, "Têxteis e Metais Peciosos: Novos Vínculos do Comércio Indo-Brasileiro (1808-1820)," in *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: a Dinâmica Imperial Portuguesa (Séculos XVI-XVIII)*, ed. João Fragoso, Maria Fernanda Baptista Bicalho, and Maria de Fátima Silva Gouvêa (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), 410; Pedro Machado, "Cloths of a New Fashion: Indian Ocean Networks of Exchange and Cloth Zones of Contact in Africa and India in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," in *How India Clothed the World: The World of South Asian Textiles, 1500-1850*, ed. Giorgio Riello and Tirthankar Roy (Leiden: Brill, 2009), 68.

panos da costa, that is, "fabrics of the coast," meaning the Malabar Coast, which should not be confused with the *panos da costa* from West Africa, which were brought from the Bights of Benin and Biafra for sale in Brazil.[15]

These ports were located near the principal centers of textile production in India, such as Gujarat, Punjab, and Sindh. Some of the fabrics, termed *coromandéis*, came from the Coromandel Coast, on the eastern Indian seaboard, which was also a major production center, along with Bengal, further north in the same region. Local Hindi traders known as *baneanes* transported these cloths overland from the production centers to the coast, where they embarked them on small vessels to be taken for sale at the principal Portuguese ports in Asia, such as Damão, Diu and Goa in India, and Macau in China.[16] From there, the textiles were shipped overseas in larger vessels to Portugal and Brazil.

Traditionally, the Portuguese crown held the monopoly over the transportation of goods from its Asian possessions. Since the sixteenth century, all commodities carried from Portuguese Asia had been shipped in a fleet system made up of royal vessels that sailed once or twice per year. These vessels were supposed to deliver the merchandise to Portugal, but they often stopped at Bahia to refurbish before crossing the North Atlantic, selling part of their cargo there illegally. As a consequence, Bahia became a major center of distribution of Asian textiles in Brazil.[17] The crown tried to suppress this contraband but the practice became so common that in 1672 it made Bahia an official stop in the famous *Carreira da Índia* or the India Route.[18] From there, Asian textiles were taken to

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[15] Antunes, "Têxteis e Metais Peciosos," 410; Machado, "Cloths of a New Fashion," 58-59.

[16] Antunes, "Têxteis e Metais Peciosos," 390-391; Machado, "Cloths of a New Fashion," 58-59.

[17] José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia*, Estudos Históricos, 42 (São Paulo: Hucitec, Unicamp, 2000), 1-4.

[18] Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dinâmica do Comércio Intracolonial: Geribitas, Panos Asiáticos e Guerra no Tráfico Angolano de Escravos (Século XVIII)," in *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: a Dinâmica*

other Brazilian ports, such as Recife and Rio de Janeiro, and traded for slaves in Angola.

In 1765, the crown abolished the fleet system, allowing private traders to purchase textiles in Asia. It tried to restrict the agency of these entrepreneurs by limiting the sale of cloth in certain ports, including Luanda, before it reached Portugal.[19] However, Asian textiles were so crucial for the slave traffic at Angola that Brazilians dominated this branch of the trade even in Portugal. According to Ernestina Carreira, in the final years of the fleet system, about 90 percent of all cloth shipped from Portugal to Brazil was Asian, which traders used to purchase slaves.[20] In the late eighteenth century, Asian textiles comprised approximately 36 percent of the commodities imported at Luanda, and in the nineteenth century, while the trade was still legal, this figure increased slightly to about 39 percent. The huge amount of Asian textiles imported into Luanda no doubt widened consumer choice by increasing the variety of cloth available for sale.

During the period of the illegal slave trade, the proportion of Asian textiles brought to Luanda declined significantly to about 8 percent of the total value as European textiles replaced them as the major import. Europeans always brought some cloth produced in their countries to purchase slaves in Angola, but Africans found this cloth inferior to the Asian variety. The principal European fabrics introduced in Luanda included *baetás*, *bretanhas*, *brins*, *calamanhas*, *crês*, *lenços*, *panos*, and *riscadinhos*. Despite the European technological advancements in textile production at the turn of the nineteenth century, these fabrics were still

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Imperial Portuguesa (Séculos XVI-XVIII), ed. João Fragoso, Maria Fernanda Baptista Bicalho, and Maria de Fátima Silva Gouvêa (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001), 352.

[19] Ibid., 354.

[20] Ernestina Carreira, "Os Últimos Anos da Carreira da Índia," in *A Carreira da Índia e as Rotas dos Estreitos: Actas do VIII Seminário Internacional de História Indo-Portuguesa*, ed. Artur Teodoro de Matos and Luís Filipe F. Reis Thomaz (Angra do Heroísmo: Barbosa e Xavier, 1998), 826.

very rough and had less color variety than the Asian. European textiles were mostly dark and too thick to be worn in the tropics. Since this cloth was more appropriate for temperate climates, the principal consumers of European textiles in Angola were probably the Umbundu, who lived in the central highlands, where the temperature was cooler than any other region in West Central Africa.

Most of the European cloth imported through Luanda came originally from England, but the names associated with some fabrics also indicate other regions of provenance. Names like *irlanda*, *holanda* and *alemanha*, for example, suggest that Luanda also imported cloth from Ireland, the Netherlands, and Germany, especially Hamburg. These names also imply that such cloths had different styles. Europeans sold their textiles in Lisbon or Porto, from where Portuguese traders loaded them onto transatlantic vessels and resold them to merchants in Brazil. Merchants then exchanged them in Luanda for slaves.

In 1808, with the transfer of the Portuguese court to Rio de Janeiro, European traders were allowed to sell their textiles directly to Brazil. This reduced the costs of using European textiles in the slave trade, as well as shipping and freight costs for the merchandise carried from Portugal to Brazil. British textiles, in particular, benefitted significantly from the opening of the Brazilian ports. Since the British navy had escorted the Portuguese royal family to Brazil, the king granted tax privileges to all British imports.[21] This made British textiles used in the slave trade far cheaper than most other cloth imported from Europe.

Despite these incentives, during the period of the legal trade in the nineteenth century, Africans still preferred Asian materials to European textiles. The percentage of Asian textiles imported at Luanda between 1802 and 1823 was

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[21] Boris Fausto, *História do Brasil*, 8th ed. (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 2000), 122-124.

almost double that of European cloth. During the illegal period, this percentage changed dramatically. The value of European fabrics increased to about 41 percent while that of Asian textiles declined to mere 8 percent. In the nineteenth century, European technology finally caught up with Asian production techniques. Europeans also had copied the patterns of Asian textiles and were now producing similar fabrics at much cheaper prices.[22] As a consequence, textile designs that had typically been produced in India, such as *cadeás*, *chitas* and *zuartes*, began to arrive in Luanda from Europe, especially England.

Brazilian independence in 1822 was another important factor leading to the expansion of European textiles imported through Luanda. Before independence, textiles brought to Brazil from Portuguese possessions in Asia were taxed at the usual domestic import and export rates. However, after independence, Brazil and Portugal treated each other as foreign countries, whose merchandise was subject to international tax rates, which were generally higher than domestic rates. This charge inevitably increased costs for Brazilian traders, thus making European textiles the principal cloth brought to Luanda.

Alcohol was the third most imported commodity, constituting about 21 percent of the value of all goods brought to Luanda between 1785 and 1864. The customs records show that Africans were particularly interested in *geribita*, *aguardente* and wine. *Geribita* was a sugar based rum produced in Brazil, which accounted for 39 percent of all alcoholic beverages imported at Luanda during the nineteenth century.[23] *Aguardente*, a distilled by product of sugar or wine production in Portugal and Brazil, comprised 31 percent, while wine, which came mostly from the banks of the Douro and Tagus rivers in Portugal, contributed 28

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[22] Miller, *Way of Death*, 74.
[23] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.3.

percent.[24] The remaining imported beverages included beer, brandy, cognac, liquor, and a highly aromatic bitter gin called *genebra* or geneva, originally produced in the Netherlands.

African interest in *geribita* and *arguadente* derived in large part from their high alcoholic content. According to Roquinaldo Ferreira, the alcohol content of the sugar rum that traders used to purchase slaves in the interior could be as high as 60 percent.[25] Joseph Miller believes that it could reach up to 90 percent, though it may have been mixed with water before consumption.[26] The alcoholic content of the wine must have been much lower, between 10 and 13 percent. Although traders also purchased slaves with wine, most of the wine imported at Luanda was probably sold at the numerous taverns that flourished throughout the city. The 1850 census return for Luanda, for example, reported that the port had about 90 taverns, which addressed the needs of both the local population and the community of sailors, soldiers and visitors from abroad.[27]

The influx of rum and wine through Luanda offered consumers greater variety when compared to the locally produced alcoholic beverages. José Curto claims that Africans living in the hinterland of Luanda produced two types of fermented beverages: *malafu* or *malavu*, a sort of wine made primarily from raphia or extractions from the palm tree, and another, known as *ovallo* or *walo*, a type of beer made of grains such as millet or sorghum.[28] Neither one had a high alcoholic content so, after they were produced, both had to be drunk within a

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[24] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.3.

[25] Ferreira, "Dinâmica do Comércio Intracolonial," 348.

[26] Miller, *Way of Death*, 465.

[27] "Estatísticas dos Edifícios, Estabelecimentos e Oficinas da Cidade de Luanda Relativa ao Ano de 1850" reproduced in José de Almeida Santos, *Vinte Anos Decisivos de uma Cidade* (Luanda: Câmara Municipal de Luanda, 1970), 167-168.

[28] José C. Curto, *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and Its Hinterland, c.1550-1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2004), 21-22.

short period of time. In contrast, the imported beverages, especially the *geribita* and *aguardente*, could be stored for much longer periods, making them more suitable for sale in the long distance trade than the local variety.[29]

Despite this, Africans continued consuming and producing both *walo* and *malafu*. As late as the 1880s, European travelers commented on the local production and consumption of liquor in the hinterland of Luanda. Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, who traveled extensively throughout Angola between 1877 and 1886, observed the production of palm wine. Near the Kwango River, in the Kimbundu speaking region, they estimated that the production reached "thousands of liters per habitation, judging from the quantity that we have seen consumed in the places we visited."[30] Moreover, the value of imported alcoholic beverages declined during the period of the suppression of the slave trade, from an annual average of 242,200 *réis* between 1802 and 1823 to 165,610 *réis* between 1837 and 1864. This decline further encouraged the production and consumption of local alcoholic beverages.

Let us consider the remaining imports by category and their relative importance to the trade. Despite all of the debate about the introduction of firearms to the continent, the customs records of Luanda show that weapons made up only 6 percent of the value of goods imported. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the Portuguese tried to restrict the use of weapons to purchase slaves because they feared Africans might turn them against their colonies in Angola. However, in the face of foreign competition at the ports north

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[29] Ferreira, "Dinâmica do Comércio Intracolonial," 346.

[30] Hermenegildo Capello and Roberto Ivens, *De Benguella às Terras de Iácca: Descripção de uma Viagem na Africa Central e Occidental* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1881), vol. 2, 143-144.

of Luanda and pressure from Lisbon's arms dealers, the government relaxed this prohibition.[31]

The customs records do not specify the origins of the firearms introduced in Angola. Most of them were probably inexpensive flintlock guns known as "Angola muskets," produced notably in Birmingham, England. According to Joseph Inikori, firearms were a key component in the British slave trade, and the majority of the guns used to purchase slaves were sold in West Central Africa.[32] Until 1807, when the British retreated from the business, these guns were distributed through the ports north of Luanda but, after that year, they were shipped to Luanda from Brazil, as a result of the opening of the Brazilian ports to international commerce in 1808.

Portuguese guns were also used to purchase slaves, and they circulated widely in the interior of Angola. In 1852, David Livingston traveled across West Central Africa, from Cape Town to Luanda, and noted that Africans living near the Upper Zambezi River traded Portuguese guns for slave children. He examined one of these guns and saw the inscription *Legítimo de Braga*, meaning "Made in Braga," Portugal. Livingston observed that Makololo chiefs bought these guns from the Mambári, traders of Portuguese and African ancestry who lived near the Kingdom of Viye, in the central plateau of Angola. The Mambári accepted only boys about fourteen years of age in exchange for their guns. Livingstone further noted that the children who the Makololo sold to the Mambári were not their own, but "captives of the black races they had conquered."[33]

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[31] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 146-147; Miller, *Way of Death*, 607-608.

[32] Joseph E. Inikori, "The Import of Firearms into West Africa, 1750-1807: A Quantitative Analysis," *Journal of African History* 18, no. 3 (1977): 352.

[33] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa* (New York: Harper & Bros., 1858), 105-106.

Africans no doubt used guns in wars and raids, but firearms never replaced traditional weapons in military conflicts in Angola. In fact, John Thornton argues that during the period of the slave trade, weapons such as swords, knives, spears, clubs, axes, and shields, as well as bows and arrows figured prominently in most armies across West Central Africa. Firearms served only as an additional military resource that Africans used in conjunction with more traditional weapons.[34] Joseph Miller claims that only a small percentage of the guns survived the first few attempts to fire them, and many were unusable from the start.[35] Nevertheless, the potential of these guns to cause death and destruction was intimidating, and African warlords could easily harness that potential in raids and military conflicts.

Most of the guns imported through Luanda were probably used for hunting, a necessary activity in many societies in Angola. Guns had a revolutionary impact on Cokwe speakers, for example, who lived near the Upper Kasai River. In the nineteenth century, they began using guns to hunt elephants and to break into the ivory trade from Angola. Historians believe that this activity caused a significant decline in the number of elephants in the region, but it also inaugurated an age of prosperity for the Cokwe, who spread throughout the interior of West Central Africa.[36] In the mid-nineteenth century, Cokwe influence in the region became so strong that it rivaled that of their more powerful neighbor, the Lunda Empire. Cokwe art also reflects the central importance of firearms in their culture, as is well illustrated by the guns decorated with hunter

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[34] John Kelly Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500-1800* (New York: University College London Press, 1999), 107-110.

[35] Miller, *Way of Death*, 88.

[36] Isabel Castro Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola: Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX*, trans. Alfredo Margarido (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical; Instituto da Cooperação Portuguesa, 1997), 448.

charms which can be seen in many museums, as well as sculptures of their famous hunter hero, Chibinda Ilunga, who nineteenth century artists began to represent as holding a gun instead of a bow and arrow.[37]

Although Europeans considered the Angolan muskets cheap, Africans had good reason for preferring them to the more sophisticated firearms. The construction of these muskets involved less complicated technology, so blacksmiths in Angola could easily repair them using their own tools and knowledge. According to Isabel de Castro Henriques, European travelers in Angola often remarked on the ability of local blacksmiths to repair firearms.[38] Similarly, historians have noted that Europeans considered the British and French gunpowder superior to the Portuguese, because of its higher saltpeter content, which made it more powerful. Africans, on the other hand, preferred the Portuguese gunpowder because it caused less damage to their weapons, which in turn resulted in fewer deaths to users.[39]

The customs records of Luanda reflected these preferences. While Africans could repair their muskets, they had to be more selective about the gunpowder they used, so the value of gunpowder imported at Luanda was far greater than that of firearms. Gunpowder comprised about 73 percent of the value of all of the weapons imported at Luanda, while firearms made up only 19 percent.[40] The remaining weapons imported included shot lead and blade weapons, such as spears, swords, and knives, especially *facas flamengas* or Flemish knives.

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[37] See the images available in Marie Louise Bastin, *Statuettes Tshokwe du Héros Civilisateur "Tshibinda Ilunga"* (Arnouville-les-Gonesse: Arts d'Afrique Noire, 1978), 63-97; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 322.

[38] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 320-323.

[39] Phyllis M. Martin, *The External Trade of the Loango Coast, 1576-1870: The Effects of Changing Commercial Relations on the Vili Kingdom of Loango* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1972), 111; Miller, *Way of Death*, 91-92. A similar observation for other African regions see Raymond A. Kea, "Firearms and Warfare on the Gold and Slave Coasts from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History* 12, no. 2 (1971): 204-205.

[40] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.10.

Africans also traded slaves for a number of miscellaneous items, which accounted for approximately 7 percent of the value of all imports. Some of these goods were important for the slave trade, such as tobacco, which accounted for about 10 percent of the miscellaneous items.[41] Most of the tobacco brought to Luanda came from Bahia, Sergipe, Pernambuco and Alagoas, in Brazil, which were also major suppliers of tobacco to Europe and West Africa, especially the Bight of Benin, where tobacco was used to purchase slaves. Brazilian tobacco differed from its main competitors because it was covered with molasses, which rendered a sweet and intense flavor well suited to African taste.[42]

Although Angolans appreciated Brazilian tobacco, it encountered strong competition from local production. Capello and Ivens, for example, observed that tobacco abounded in the lands of the Bondo, Kikongo speakers who lived near the Kwango River. They once stopped there on the way to Yaka and noted that the Bondo smoked their own tobacco in pipes that passed from hand to hand among a group of smokers. After a short period, this pipe was replaced by another type of pipe made of horn called *mutopa*, with which they smoked *liamba*, an herb Capello and Ivens identified with hemp of the species *Cannabis sativa*. They observed that, though the Bondo appreciated their own tobacco, they viewed the *liamba* as one of their "greatest delights."[43]

Beads, which accounted for about 15 percent of the miscellaneous items imported through Luanda, were also used to buy slaves.[44] It is difficult to tell the

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[41] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.9.

[42] Dauril Alden, "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750-1808," in *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, ed. Leslie Bethell, vol. 2 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1984), 631-635; Pierre Verger, *Fluxo e Refluxo: O Tráfico de Escravos entre o Golfo de Benin e a Bahia de Todos os Santos dos Séculos XVII a XIX* (São Paulo: Corrupio, 1987), 20-26.

[43] Capello and Ivens, *De Benguella às Terras de Iácca: Descripção de uma Viagem na Africa Central e Occidental*, vol. 2, 26-27.

[44] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.9.

exact provenance of these beads. Most of them appear to have originated in Portugal. They were made of glass or porcelain and came in different shapes, sizes and colors. They appear listed in the records as *missangas*, *avelórios*, *contas*, *contarias*, *granadas* and *roncalhas*. In Angola, Africans used these beads to make necklaces, bracelets, and earrings. They also used them to decorate their hair, clothes, and various utensils, including works of art and religious artifacts.[45]

The customs records include two additional items worth mentioning under the miscellaneous category. The first is shells, listed in the records as *conchas*, *búzios* and *zimbo*. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, shells were valued as medium of exchange at Luanda as well as in other African ports, especially in West Africa, such as Ouidah, Cape Coast and Lagos.[46] In Luanda, shells served as currency for small exchanges but, with the expansion of the slave trade, the value of the shells declined sharply, leading traders to barter rather than relying on commodities as currencies.[47] The customs records show that this trend continued from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, with the value of the shells declining to insignificance.[48]

The second item worth mentioning is raw cotton, which comprised about 24 percent of all miscellaneous items brought to Luanda, or less than 2 percent of total imports.[49] The reason for such imports is not clear. Perhaps, it was destined for sale to the population living in the Portuguese colonies, but it may have been

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[45] Miller, *Way of Death*, 86.

[46] Jan S. Hogendorn and Marion Johnson, *The Shell Money of the Slave Trade*, African Studies Series (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1986), 109-113; Marion Johnson, "The Cowrie Currencies of West Africa. Part II," *Journal of African History* 11, no. 3 (1970): 17-27; Robin Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa, 1550-1750: The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on an African Society* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991), 48-50, 57-58 and 176-181.

[47] Carlos Couto, *O Zimbo na Historiografia Angolana* (Luanda: Instituto de Investigação Científica de Angola, 1973), 37-42; Miller, *Way of Death*, 86.

[48] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.9.

[49] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.9.

used to purchase slaves in the interior of Angola. If so, this suggests that Africans were modifying their textile industry to spin and weave cotton cloth for local consumption and export, a move that could have had important consequences for the relationship between Africans and Europeans. The development of a local cotton cloth industry might have reduced textile importation from Asia and Europe and, as a result, the export of slaves from Angola.

In 1780, Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa noted that a type of wild cotton grew widely in Angola, especially in Ambaca, Kimbundu land. Africans spun this cotton into yarn, which they used as currency. They also wove it on double stick looms placed next to the walls of their habitations and made cloth and mats on which many people in Angola, including Portuguese colonizers, slept. According to Corrêa, the fabrics made with this cotton, especially in Kikongo country, "exceeded in perfection and beauty those produced in India."[50] However, the use of imported cotton appears to have spread during the nineteenth century. European travelers believed that the region's climate favored the cultivation of imported cotton varieties. David Livingston, for example, travelling across Kimbundu country saw "cotton growing luxuriantly all around the market places from seeds dropped accidentally. It is seen also about the native huts, and, so far as I could learn, it was the American cotton, so influenced by climate as to be perennial."[51]

The remaining commodities imported were not used exclusively in the slave trade. Foodstuffs, for example, were imported mostly for consumption in the Portuguese colonies. The principal articles brought included wheat flour,

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[50] Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola*, ed. Manuel Múrias (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937), vol. 1, 155-158.
[51] Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa: Including a Sketch of Sixteen Years' Residence in the Interior of Africa*, 433.

sugar, rice, olive oil, butter, and salt. None of these items, with the exception of salt, was part of the African diet. Wheat flour and sugar alone made up 40 percent of the value of all food imports, and both were essential to the Portuguese diet.[52] Wheat flour was used in bread, cakes and other food items, but also in the eucharistic bread for Catholic mass. Sugar was also a central ingredient in the various sweets, desserts and pastry for which the Portuguese were and remain famous throughout the world. The diet of the African population was based essentially on maize, cassava and beans, which made up an insignificant percentage of the value of the food imports.[53] They were probably brought to help traders supplement local food supplies for their slaves, because most of the food consumed in the colonies and exported in slave vessels was produced locally and stored at the public granary.[54] Although food was not used to purchase slaves, it comprised about 6 percent of all goods imported at Luanda.

Apparel and notions also served a dual purpose: to purchase slaves and for use in Portuguese Angola. As clothing was used to denote social hierarchy among Africans, traders often included it in their bundles of European and Brazilian goods destined for sale in the interior. Traders usually gave these clothes to Africans as gifts to begin negotiations or seal a deal rather than to purchase captives. Africans were particularly interested in caps, hats, and jackets, which they combined with their own attire, creating a unique sense of fashion and

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[52] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.7.

[53] Calculated from Appendix D, Table D.7. See also José Carlos Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland no Século XVIII: Um Estudo de Sociologia Histórica* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1996), 57-59.

[54] Miller, *Way of Death*, 86; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 63-67.

style.[55] Early photographs from the mid-nineteenth century have a wealth of images showing West Central Africans wearing European clothing.[56]

The apparel and notions, however, were not only employed in the slave trade. A large part of them was destined for sale at the Portuguese colonies, especially Luanda and Benguela. These colonies had a significant population of Europeans or people of European ancestry, who wished to maintain contact with their culture and traditions. One way of doing so was to wear clothes from their country of origin and follow the latest trends in European fashion. Apparel and notions for both uses made up only 2 percent of the total value of the commodities imported at Luanda between the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

Ironware could also be used to buy slaves, as well as sold to Portuguese colonists living in Angola. Iron, in particular, was an important commodity used to purchase slaves in other African regions. Indeed, in places like the Upper Guinea coast and the Bight of Benin, the value of a slave was measured in terms of iron bars.[57] However, in Angola, iron as well as other metals played a relatively minor role in the trade. Although Africans had a thriving iron industry, the domestic supply of iron in Angola was sufficient to satisfy the local demand.[58] In fact, Angola had such rich deposits of iron ore that the Portuguese tried to build two foundries there during the period of the slave trade; one in Oeiras and another in Trombeta. The ruins of the former remain, but neither one operated for

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[55] Miller, *Way of Death*, 79-83.

[56] See, for example, the images available in Beatrix Heintze, *Pioneiros Africanos: Caravanas de Carregadores na África Centro-Ocidental entre 1850 e 1890* (Lisbon: Caminho, 2002), between pages 96-97, 128-129, 160-161, 192-193, 225-226, and 288-289; Maria Emília Madeira Santos, *Nos Caminhos de África: Serventia e Posse (Angola, Século XIX)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1998), 272.

[57] See, for example, Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400-1900* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003), 96-98; Law, *The Slave Coast of West Africa*, 50-51.

[58] Miller, *Way of Death*, 85-86.

long, because the working conditions the Portuguese imposed were not compatible with those to which African blacksmiths were accustomed.[59]

Portuguese colonists in Luanda and Benguela, by contrast, depended heavily on the ironware imported at Angola. Metals like iron, copper and zinc were crucial for the construction of houses, maintenance of public buildings and, of course, the operation of ports and military facilities. They also needed metals to make tools and a number of other articles essential to every day life, such as cups, plates, knives, forks, spoons, hooks, etc. Thus, most of the metals imported at Luanda, which constituted less than 2 percent of the value of all imported goods, were consumed by Europeans, not Africans.

The customs records of Luanda show that Africans sold other Africans into the trade for consumer goods, especially textiles, alcohol and weapons imported from Asia, the Americas and Europe. These goods were not the prime necessities of African life but could and did add to the variety of similar items produced locally. Although Africans had clear preferences for some imported commodities, such as Asian textiles, they continued to produce their own goods, like cloths made of raffia and palm trees. Even though they used the opportunity to experiment with new materials, as indicated by the use of imported cotton for textile production, the local industry remained largely independent of foreign imports during the period of the slave trade, raising doubts about the latter's potential to undermine the local economy.

Additionally, the customs records show that most of the goods imported were destined for personal use and adornment. They were not primarily intended to fund raids and wars. Asian and European textiles could indeed have been

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[59] Ana Madalena Trigo de Sousa, "Uma Tentativa de Fomento Industrial na Angola Setecentista: A 'Fábrica do Ferro' de Nova Oeiras (1766-1772)," *Africana Studia* 10 (2007): 295-305; Venâncio, *A Economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 113-123.

employed to raise armies. However, they accounted for such a large percentage of the imported goods that their very abundance in the interior casts doubt on their exclusive status, which indicates they would not have power to finance raids and wars. Africans enslaved other Africans in the nineteenth century more from their material desire than from a thirst for power. Foreign goods would only generate large numbers of slaves as long as they were spread among the African population and not concentrated in the hands of rulers. Warfare was far from being the single method of enslavement. The experiences of enslavement of captives leaving Angola, subject of the following chapter, will show that Africans were captured in several ways, violent as well as non-violent.

Chapter Six

Embracing Dependants,

Releasing Slaves

Experiences of Enslavement in Angola during the

Nineteenth Century

Although outsiders were the main target group for capture and sale into the slave trade, a smaller group of insiders were also inadvertently or purposefully taken for the same purpose. This chapter will examine records and stories of both groups enslaved in the interior of Angola. By the nineteenth century, Angolan societies had long been familiar with the institution of slavery, defined as a system of economic exploitation in which people were regarded as valuable properties that could be exchanged for cash or its equivalent in goods. Not all captives were sold into the trade; some remained in bondage on the continent. As previously noted, such captives were mostly women and children, who could be easily integrated in the families of their masters as spouses or dependents. Africans sold into the trade had little to offer in this respect, but they were valuable as barter. They were enslaved under specific circumstances, varying from violent conflicts to judicial proceedings. The experiences of these individuals provide important insights into the question of whom nineteenth century Angolans considered as eligible for sale into the slave trade.

One way that contemporaries learned about the experiences of captives was to interview them. In 1847, Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle disembarked at Freetown, Sierra Leone, as an agent of the Church Missionary Society. He became a linguist at the Fourah Bay Institute where research into African languages was conducted. In 1854, he published his findings in *Polyglotta Africana*, a well known book which is essentially a collection of sample vocabularies of languages spoken by Africans rescued from ships condemned for illegal trading by the Freetown courts.[1] These vocabularies cover almost all African regions involved in the trade, and they were collected directly from liberated Africans. The *Polyglotta Africana* is more than a collection of words; it also provides information about the people Koelle interviewed, such as their names, ages, countries of origin, and the number of their fellow countrymen living in Sierra Leone, as well as about how they were taken from their original homelands.[2]

Koelle's work is especially valuable for our understanding of the experiences of Angolan captives. In contrast to those from other regions of slave embarkation, Angolan captives left little information about their lives and experiences. There are no autobiographies of Africans enslaved in the interior of Angola.[3] Reconstructed stories about Angolan slaves in the Americas likewise contain little information on how they were captured and sold in Africa.[4] Apart

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[1] Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, ed. P. E. H. Hair and David Dalby (Graz: Akademische Druck, U. Verlagsanstalt, 1965); P. E. H. Hair, "Koelle at Freetown: An Historical Introduction," in *Polyglotta Africana*, ed. P. E. H. Hair and David Dalby, by Sigismund Wilhelm Koelle (Graz: Akademische Druck, U. Verlagsanstalt, 1965), 7.

[2] Philip D. Curtin and Jan Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Atlantic Slave Trade," *Journal of African History* 5, no. 2 (1964): 186; P. E. H. Hair, "The Enslavement of Koelle's Informants," *Journal of African History* 6, no. 2 (1965): 193.

[3] José C. Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," *Social History* 41, no. 82 (2009): 383-388.

[4] Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family* (New York: Ballantine Books, 1999), 134-137, 147, 174-176, 184, 228, 250-251; Cheryll Ann Cody, "There was No 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave-Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865," *American Historical Review* 92, no. 3 (1987): 563-596; Melinde Lutz Sanborn, "Angola and Elizabeth: An African Family in the

from Koelle's book, all we have are some fragments reporting the experiences of a few individuals taken from the interior. These fragments, which are available in print as well as in archival documents, together with Koelle's research provide a valuable record of the experiences of individuals deprived of their freedom in Angola.[5]

Koelle interviewed 18 liberated Africans from West Central Africa to build his inventory of words for this region, which he termed Congo Angola. Although this is a very small number compared to the thousands of individuals embarked, it includes representatives from almost every major linguistic group involved in the Angolan trade. The demographics of Koelle's informants further support the use of his data for an assessment of how Africans were enslaved in Angola. All interviewees were male, with ages ranging from fourteen to twenty-eight. Except for three men who remained in Africa for several years, those captured had been sold immediately. When Koelle interviewed these individuals, they were well established in Sierra Leone, having been there for at least seven years. In fact, one of them, a Kongo man named Mugádu, also known as Thomas Tob, had been living in Freetown for about 40 years when Koelle contacted him. Koelle noted that by the time he interviewed Mugádu, given man's age, he had held the "office of Kongo headman," an institution found around the Atlantic wherever there was

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Massachusetts Bay Colony," *New England Quarterly* 72, no. 1 (1999): 119-129. Two notable exceptions are John K. Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55, no. 3 (1998): 421-434; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007), 1-9.

[5] Louis Jadin, "Rapport sur les Recherches aux Archives d'Angola du 4 Juillet au 7 Septembre 1952," *Bulletin des Séances de l'Institut Royal Colonial Belge*, no. 24 (1953): 167; Luiz António de Oliveira Mendes, *Memória a Respeito dos Escravos e Tráfico da Escravatura entre a Costa da África e o Brasil*, ed. José Capela (Porto: Escorpião, 1977), 61-62; Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, "Memória de Brant Pontes sôbre a Comunicação das Duas Costas 9/9/1800," in *Apontamentos sobre a Colonização dos Planaltos e Litoral do Sul de Angola*, ed. Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, vol. 1 (Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940), 248-251.

a substantial Kongo population in the nineteenth century.[6] Koelle's informants provide us with reliable information about the experiences of West Central Africans sent to the Americas.

They report two broad methods of enslavement; kidnapping and judicial proceedings. One of the informants said that he was sold by his relatives, but did not give reasons for the transaction.[7] Kidnapping included not only victims of abduction and trickery but also prisoners of either wars or raids. Given the emphasis historians have placed on the role of wars in the slave trade, this method of capture deserves considerable discussion. Scholars generally agree that the majority of slaves sold into the slave trade were prisoners of wars. The question is what kind of wars generated these slaves? Were they large-scale wars that required the mobilization of significant resources and manpower? Or were they local conflicts more accurately described as raids and skirmishes?

The Angolan Wars of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries have led many historians to believe that large-scale conflicts were the primary method of enslavement in the interior. After the Portuguese founded Luanda in 1575, they formed an alliance with bands of itinerant warriors known as the Jaga. This alliance added further instability to a region that was already very politically fragile because of the independence of Ndongo from Kongo. The Portuguese found the Ndongo ruler unwilling to conform to their trading terms, so they invaded his realm with the help of the Jaga, replacing him with a ruler more amenable to Portuguese interests. This move unleashed a series of military confrontations between claimants to the throne of Ndongo and their rivals supported by the

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[6] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 13. On the office of Kongo headman see Marina de Mello e Souza, *Reis Negros no Brasil Escravista: História da Festa de Coroação de Rei Congo* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2002), 159-208.
[7] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 13-14.

Portuguese and the Jaga, who founded a new polity in the region known as the Imbangala Kingdom of Kasanje.[8] These confrontations resulted in a vast number of prisoners being sent to the Americas during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. The Portuguese governors often provoked these conflicts because their income depended largely on the traffic from Luanda.[9] Many people were sold into the Atlantic commerce because of this warfare, which in conjunction with the resulting political instability, contributed to an atmosphere of destruction, violence and insecurity in the hinterland of Luanda. As a local observer noted, the Angolans Wars led to "carnage on such a large-scale that rivers became polluted with numerous corpses and multitudes of innocent people were captured without cause."[10] Not only soldiers but also many civilians became victims of these conflicts.

In the eighteenth century, Portuguese participation in large-scale African wars began to decline. In 1720, administrative reforms established a salary for high ranking administrators and prohibited them from engaging in private commercial activities in the colonies.[11] As a consequence, Portuguese governors based on the coast of Angola were in theory no longer able to participate in the trade. Nevertheless, historians continue to view large-scale wars as the primary method of enslavement of Angolans sent to the Americas. The difference is that now they locate these conflicts in the deep interior of West Central Africa, at the frontiers of the Lunda Empire. Historians have good reasons to trace the origins

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[8] The traditional account about the Angolan Wars is António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas, 1680*, ed. José Matias Delgado (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972).

[9] Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 541-542.

[10] Bishop of Angola to the King, 7 September 1619 in Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, *Angola: Apontamentos sobre a Ocupação e Início do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Congo, Angola e Benguela Extraídos de Documentos Históricos* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1933), 452-456. As quoted and translated by Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 390.

[11] Miller, *Way of Death*, 543.

of slaves shipped from Angola in the eighteenth century to the Lunda Empire. During this period, the Portuguese governors in Luanda informed the Colonial Office in Lisbon that the Lunda were conducting a number of military activities deep in the interior of Angola.[12] Additionally, slave traders operating inland reported casualties from the Lunda wars in the interior of West Central Africa. Manoel Correia Leitão, for example, traveled to the valley of the Kwango River between 1755 and 1756 and noted that a few years before his arrival the Lunda had waged a war that resulted in 200,000 casualties. He further remarked that the Lunda and their neighbors "wage war merely in order to take people for sale, and as many die, not even a tenth of those who die [sic, survive] come up for sale."[13]

Lunda military activities along the Kwango River may have been highly destructive, but they did not result in large numbers of captives sold on the coast as Leitão argued. Moreover, customs records of slaves shipped from Luanda suggest that large-scale wars inhibited the slave trade rather than stimulated it. David Birmingham, a major proponent of the Lunda origins of slaves embarked from Angola, accessed records of slaves shipped from Luanda during the mid-eighteenth century. He noted that, despite the ongoing conflicts along the Kwango River, the number of slaves shipped from Luanda declined in comparison to previous years.[14] In contrast to the conventional wisdom, large-scale wars were not the primary method of enslavement in the interior. This conclusion is not without parallel in other African regions. David Eltis, for example, has noted that

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[12] David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 152-154.

[13] Manoel Correia Leitão, "Angola's Eastern Hinterland in the 1750s: A Text Edition and Translation of Manoel Correia Leitão's 'Voyage' (1755-1756)," ed. Eva Sebestyen and Jan Vansina, *History in Africa* 26 (1999): 341-342.

[14] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 154.

the number of slaves shipped from the Bight of Benin actually declined in the first half of the eighteenth century as a result of the Dahomean wars, which culminated with the annexation of Allada and Ouidah, the two principal ports of slave embarkation on the Bight of Benin.[15]

Large-scale wars were not the only type of military conflict in the interior. Minor wars were frequent and widespread in the interior of West Central Africa. In the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, there were essentially two types of small-scale wars, one waged by Portuguese colonial officials, the other conducted by different African groups and polities. Although Portuguese governors were no longer allowed to trade slaves, it was part of their duty to launch punitive expeditions against Africans who they considered disruptive or insufficiently loyal to the Crown. Portuguese governors could also wage "just wars" against Africans who attacked, or threatened to attack, the Portuguese settlements in Angola. José Curto considers these expeditions large-scale wars, but the number of captives usually reported clearly indicates that they were minor conflicts. There are many examples of these military operations, but few reported in printed literature show the size of these conflicts.

In 1736, the Portuguese launched a military expedition from Benguela against Kakonda in the central plateau of Angola. The expedition records list 77 captives for the royal fifth, a tax equivalent to a fifth part of all goods produced in the Portuguese colonies, which was due to the government's treasury. These records indicate that some 385 individuals were captured overall. In 1744, the Portuguese mounted another expedition, but this time against the Ndembu in the interior of Luanda. The expedition resulted in 62 female slaves for the royal fifth.

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[15] David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *William and Mary Quarterly* 58, no. 1 (2001): 34.

The total number of individuals captured must have numbered five times that or approximately 310 captives. In 1761, the Portuguese governor dispatched a small army from Luanda to fight the Hungu, who presumably invaded Portuguese territory while escaping from a Lunda attack. António de Vasconcelos, Governor of Angola, estimated that this encounter resulted in 15,000 dead or captured among the Hungu. Yet, the official figures show that only 803 were allocated to the royal fifth, from a total of 4,015 individuals seized during this campaign. These examples were among the largest expeditions launched by the Portuguese during the eighteenth century, and they include only the successful campaigns. The Portuguese military expeditions were undermanned, lacked sufficient weapons and were somewhat intermittent. Clearly, they were not the principal force behind the 20,000 or so slaves shipped annually from Luanda and Benguela. Nevertheless, based on these examples José Curto concludes, "warfare remained far from a trivial mechanism for the production of slaves."[16]

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, prisoners taken in small-scale conflicts between the different African polities frequently became slaves. Because these conflicts took place in regions outside European influence, we have little information about their causes, how they unfolded, or what was the number of prisoners seized in them. However, our current knowledge of military logistics in West Central Africa suggests that these conflicts were seasonal, marked by intense action and rapid retreat, and typically involved only a few thousands combatants. John Thornton notes that the Angolan savannah was the land of infantry. He argues that horses were unable to survive the region's climate and, although its main rivers supported a considerable boat traffic, the local population never developed a marine culture similar to other African regions,

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[16] Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 391-392.

such as the West African coast or along the Niger River.[17] As a consequence, in Angola, African warlords typically employed fleet footed soldiers to resolve military disputes.

The armies were usually made up of a combination of conscript and professional warriors. The chain of command varied according to the level of centralization within each society, but soldiers' loyalty to their commanders was generally beyond question.[18] Battles occurred mostly during the dry seasons, when men and women were free from farming and armies could move more easily in the interior. The savannah was sparsely populated, making the distribution of food supplies problematic. When mobilized, armies were required to report with rations. They often took food with them in large baggage trains packed by their wives, who were the principal agricultural workers in most societies of the savannah. These baggage trains were positioned in the middle of marching formations, when armies were on the move, and carefully stationed at a secure place during battles.[19] Given the limited food supplies, and the mobilization of significant productive sectors of the population, these small-scale campaigns usually involved fierce battles in wars that could last up to three years.[20] As previously mentioned, the variations in the climate and agricultural calendar of the region resulted in a seasonal variation in the number of slaves embarked.[21]

The number of people captured in individual conflicts was probably small. However, given the frequency of such conflicts and their dispersal in the interior, they generated large numbers of captives for the trade. These prisoners of war

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[17] John K. Thornton, "The Art of War in Angola, 1575-1680," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30, no. 2 (1988): 367-368; John Kelly Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa, 1500-1800* (New York: University College London Press, 1999), 99.
[18] Thornton, "The Art of War in Angola," 362-363; Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa*, 113.
[19] Thornton, "The Art of War in Angola," 369-371; Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa*, 119-120.
[20] Thornton, "The Art of War in Angola," 368-369; Thornton, *Warfare in Atlantic Africa*, 120-124.
[21] See Chapter Two.

were taken to the nearest markets in the interior, where traders from the coast came to purchase them. Sometimes these small-scale conflicts produced so many captives that they flooded inland markets, and African traders needed to take them directly to the ports of embarkation for sale. In 1791, for example, Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, Governor of Angola, noted that Kongo slave traders brought 120 slaves from the interior in one shipment for sale at Ambriz.[22] These captives were probably prisoners of the civil wars at the old Kingdom of Kongo. They were sufficient to fill about half the average carrying capacity of a vessel loading slaves at Ambriz.

Although wars were a common method of enslavement, records of specific individuals enslaved through wars or raids are surprisingly rare. There are in fact only three such records. The earliest refers to the involuntary servitude of Angela who, according to John Thornton and Linda Heywood, was captured during the wars Portugal waged against the Kingdom of Ndongo or in a civil war in the old Kingdom of Kongo. They found she sailed in the same vessel as the "20 and odd Negroes" who disembarked in Virginia in 1619, from the *São João Batista*. This vessel had departed from Luanda in that year with some 350 slaves on board. A Dutch privateer, operating in conjunction with an English vessel, intercepted the *São João* off the coast of present day Venezuela. The Dutch privateer seized slaves from the *São João* and transferred some of them, including Angela, to the English vessel, the *Treasurer*. The Dutch privateer then sailed ahead and delivered the "20 and odd Negroes" to Virginia, while Angela arrived at the same destination four days later in the *Treasurer*. Interestingly, Angela made two more trips in this ship. She went to Bermuda, finally returning

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[22] Manoel de Almeida e Vasconcelos to Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, 29 January 1791, AHU, CU, Angola, cod. 1627, 79-81.

to Virginia where she spent the rest of her life working as a servant on the estate of Captain William Pierce at Jamestown.[23]

The second record of particular prisoners of war is to be found in the list of 77 captives representing the royal fifth of the military expedition that the Portuguese launched from Benguela against the Kingdom of Kakonda in 1736. This list includes the names of the individuals allocated to the royal fifth and the estimated value of each individual in *réis*.[24] This information was organized into three categories by age and sex; "Negroes," "girls," and "women and children." Of the 77 individuals, 14 were males, including two boys, one of whom was listed separately from his mother; 18 were girls; and 32 were women, including nine with one child each. Finally, a further small group was made up of one young child, two girls, and a male captive of unspecified age. The total value of these slaves at Benguela amounted to 901,000 *réis*.[25] As José Curto noted, excluding the nine children listed with their mothers and the last group, who were dying and consequently deemed worthless, the average value of the remaining 64 was only 14,708 *réis*, less than half the average price of a prime slave sold at Luanda

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[23] Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas,*, 1-9. See also Engel Sluiter, "New Light on the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia, August 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly* 54, no. 2, 3 (1997): 397; Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes' Arriving in Virginia in 1619," 421-434.

[24] Isabel Castro Henriques believes that the names available in this document do not belong to the individuals listed but to their African rulers. She claims that the abbreviations "Mle. pelo da terr" and "Ma. pelo da terra" means *moleque* or *moleca proveniente da terra*, that is, boy or girl from the land. However, the preposition "pelo" used in both terms implies that the names belonged to the individuals listed, as in the expression *moleque* or *moleca pelo nome da terra*, that is, how they were called in their lands, because the Portuguese commonly changed the African names of the individuals that they captured for Christian names in Portuguese form. See Isabel Castro Henriques, "A Organização Afro-Portuguesa do Tráfico de Escravos (Séculos XVII-XIX)," in *A Rota dos Escravos: Angola e a Rede do Comércio Negreiro*, ed. João Medina and Isabel Castro Henriques (Lisbon: Cegia, 1996), 164, note 1.

[25] *Avaliação das Cabeças que Chegaram de Benguela em ... Abril de 1738*, enclosed in João Jacques de Magalhães, 29 April 1738, AHU, CU, Angola, box 30 doc. 90. This documents is reproduced in Ibid., 162-164; Miller, *Way of Death*, xii-xiii.

or Benguela.[26] These individuals arrived in Benguela two years after being captured, but their subsequent fate remains unknown.

Koelle's *Polyglotta Africana* provides the third record of individual Africans who forfeited their freedom through wars or raids in Angola. Two of his informants said that neighboring populations kidnapped them in their hometowns. Further, at the time of their enslavement, both were old enough to bear arms and serve in the armies of their countries. Dsíku, for example, also known as Isaac Manners, was a Kikongo speaker from Nsundi, a former province of the Kingdom of Kongo located on the lower Congo River. He said he was born in the town of Kaimatúba, where the Yombe, who lived across the river, kidnapped him when he was twenty-three.[27] Dsíku was probably captured in a raid that the Yombe launched from across the Congo River. Nkóngal, or James Mafoi, was a Ruund speaker from the Lunda Empire. According to Koelle, the "Kásas" kidnapped him at his hometown when he was the same age as Dsíku. These "Kásas" were most likely the Kasanje, who lived across the Kwango River and often engaged in military conflicts with the Lunda.[28] Nkóngal may also have been captured in a raid or war, rather than being simply abducted from his hometown by members of a foreign ethnolinguistic group.

Although most kidnappings may have occurred during raids and wars, many Africans were enslaved through abductions, trickery or simply because of greed. Two of Koelle's informants seem to have been taken from their hometowns. Kadióngo or John Morrison, a Kimbundu speaker from Kisama, said he had been kidnapped in his hometown when he was sixteen. He was sold at Luanda and

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[26] Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 392-393.
[27] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 15.
[28] Ibid.

remained there for about five years before being sold into the Atlantic.[29] Muséwo or Toki Petro, a Kimbundu speaker from Songo, related that he had been kidnapped when he was fifteen and sold in Luanda, where he lived for approximately 21 years working for a Portuguese trader named Henrique Consale or Gonçalves. This slave trader sometimes purchased slaves at Songo, and Muséwo was able to maintain contact with his former home by working as a translator. Nevertheless, he assimilated much of the Portuguese culture, for his alternate name was a corruption of the Portuguese António Pedro. Although Muséwo claimed he was kidnapped, there is probably more to his story. He may have upset his people in some way, because at his master's death he was freed, yet he did not return home, as one might expect. Rather, he moved to Brazil, where another Portuguese trader employed him in the trade. Muséwo crossed the Atlantic seven times in six years as a free crewmember on a slaving vessel. On the eighth voyage, an antislave trade cruiser captured his ship and took him to Sierra Leone, where he lived for the next 28 years. Muséwo was about seventy when Koelle interviewed him.[30]

Young men were routinely abducted for sale into the slave trade. Commander Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, on his voyage from Angola to Bahia on April 17, 1800, met an African sailor who told him a story similar to those of Koelle's informants. According to Brant Pontes, the sailor Domingos was born in a village called Quissuca Quialaceta near the source of the Zambeze River. Local countrymen kidnapped him when he was about fifteen. They took him to a place called Massango Nangumbe, from whence Domingos traveled to the lands of Quirimbo Quiandua, near the port of Novo Redondo. Domingos was then shipped

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[29] Ibid.
[30] Ibid.

from this port to Benguela. He reported that his journey in the interior lasted three lunar months and that he was sold to a brother of the captain who commanded the ship in which Brant Pontes was traveling to Bahia. Although the evidence is not clear, Domingos seems to have been working as a sailor on a vessel belonging to this captain's family. On one of his trips to Brazil, he met his former kidnapper working on the galleys of Rio de Janeiro. This man said that Domingos' father had captured him along with five of his companions after discovering that he was to blame for Domingos' plight. Domingos' response was that his father's actions were legal, because he had acted with the chief's permission. Two of the five captives remained enslaved in the interior, while Domingos' abductor and three others were taken to Mbailundu, in the central plateau of Angola, where a trafficker from Benguela purchased them and shipped them to Rio de Janeiro.[31] Domingos was about thirty-nine, when he told his story to Brant Pontes, and he was still working as a sailor.

Trickery was often used to enslave the unsuspecting. Nbena, an Umbundu speaker from Ndombe, had high status in her community as a freeborn owner of both goods and slaves. She was related, moreover, to male leaders within her community and thus linked through them to males of other Ndombe communities around Benguela.[32] Early one morning in May or June 1817, Nbena and her daughter set out on a journey to Benguela. On the way, they met an old slave woman who worked on the nearby estate of her owner, Lieutenant Colonel António Leal do Sacramento, a black man of means in Benguela. This woman

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[31] Brant Pontes, "Memória de Brant Pontes sôbre a Comunicação das Duas Costas 9/9/1800." A copy of this documents is also available in Felisberto Caldeira Brant Pontes, "Memoria de Brant Pontes sobre a Comunicação da Costa Oriental com a Ocidental de Africa," *Arquivos de Angola* 1, no. 1, 1 (1933): doc. 18. See also Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 402; Miller, *Way of Death*, 1-7.

[32] José C. Curto, "The Story of Nbena, 1817-20: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola," in *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman (New York: Continuum, 2003), 44.

convinced Nbena to interrupt her trip and follow her to Sacramento's house. Once there, she introduced Nbena to Sacramento's wife saying that, as she was too old and tired to work, she had found her master a much younger replacement.[33] Nbena and her daughter were coerced into working without compensation on the estate.

Before that enforced labor could begin, however, Nbena and her daughter escaped, returning to their village where they remained for the next five to six months. In November or December of the same year, they traveled again from their village to Benguela. The journey went smoothly until they arrived at their destination. There Sacramento's men recognized the "runaways" and promptly recaptured them. The mother and daughter were taken to Sacramento, who branded Nbena and sold her, along with her daughter, for 70,000 *réis* to João de Oliveira Dias, captain of the *Astréa*, a vessel that was about to depart for Luanda. News of this sale reached Nbena's village fast, and her relatives soon mobilized and headed for Benguela. A large crowd surrounded the port's military headquarters, among them five or six Ndombe *sobas*, one of them an uncle of Nbena. These men claimed that Nbena had been illegally enslaved, and they demanded her back, but they were too late as she had already left for Luanda.[34]

The situation of Nbena and her daughter raised serious concerns because it overstepped established boundaries as to who could be forced to forfeit their free status and who could not. In a place like Benguela, where slaves usually outnumbered free people and the economy depended largely on the slave trade, this transgression could have profound consequences. It gave the impression that people could take their free status for granted. The unrest threatened the

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[33] Ibid., 49; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 409-410.
[34] Curto, "The Story of Nbena," 49-50; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 410-411.

foundations of many societies in Angola, including the Portuguese colonies, which had a class system based on status – a lower class of slaves, a serving class of commoners and, at the top of the social pyramid, the nobility. Alarmed by the crowd, the Governor of Benguela, Manuel de Abreu de Melo e Alvim, decided to adjudicate the case in court. He summoned the plaintiffs, including Nbena's family, the Ndombe *sobas*, and a number of other witnesses, who were unanimous in their opinion. Nbena was born free and lived as a free woman until she was enslaved at Sacramento's estate. Sacramento, on the other hand, claimed that Nbena was a slave who had escaped from his estate after being brought there by an old slave woman as her replacement. In response to such a delicate situation, the governor decided in favor of Nbena and ordered Sacramento to return her to Benguela.[35]

Fortunately, Nbena and her daughter were still in Luanda when the governor decided the issue. They were taken back to Benguela but could not return to their village because Sacramento had petitioned for the case to be reopened. The two women were then placed in the custody of a local merchant, Manuel Pereira Gonçalves. Sacramento requested the help of the Governor of Angola at Luanda, Luiz da Mota Feo e Torres, and initiated a judicial challenge against Melo e Alvim that lasted for three years, during which time Nbena and her daughter remained in Benguela. As the authorities could not reach an agreement, Melo e Alvim decided unilaterally to free Nbena and her daughter. Sacramento again pressed the authorities to have the two women returned to him, on the grounds that their successful flight from slavery would set a bad example for the slaves living on his estate. The term of service for both governors

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[35] Curto, "The Story of Nbena," 50; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 411-412.

then ended and subsequent officials showed little interest in supporting Sacramento's cause. As a consequence, he unwillingly dropped the case.[36] Nbena and her daughter returned to their home to enjoy freedom surrounded by their family, friends and, ironically, their own slaves.

These two women retained their freedom thanks to their family, friends and political connections and local authorities learned a valuable lesson from the incident. Those who lacked insider status or were subject to speedy sale were not so fortunate. Catherine Mulgrave Zimmermann survived exportation on the *Heroína*, a vessel that left Angola for Cuba in 1833 with 303 slaves on board, but was shipwrecked off the Jamaican coast.[37] Catherine had been captured when only eight and immediately put on board a slave vessel. In Jamaica, she grew up as a free woman and married twice. Johannes Zimmermann, her second husband, says in his letters that Catherine's African name was Gewe and that she was descended from a family of chiefs on her father's side. He claimed that she belonged to a prominent family of mulattos on her mother's side. However, the location of Catherine's hometown remains unclear. Zimmermann mentions that she remembered it as a major seaport where several Europeans lived. Luanda fits this description but since she also referred to snow covered mountaintops, Cape Town is another possible location. Catherine recalled being on the way to school with her friends when a group of sailors offered them candies, and enticed them onto the *Heroína*, which subsequently set sail across the Atlantic. With the shipwreck of the *Heroína*, Catherine escaped what would otherwise have been a life of harsh work on one of the many sugar plantations of Cuba. She never

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[36] Curto, "The Story of Nbena," 51-59; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 412-413.

[37] David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, voyage id 41890, www.slavevoyages.org/.

returned to her hometown, but traveled to Africa with her second husband as a teacher to conduct missionary work in Ghana.[38]

Walter Hawthorne, in his recent study about the slave trade between Brazil and Upper Guinea, argues that Africans enslaved other Africans from necessity. The Balanta, he argues, participated in the trade from Upper Guinea because they needed iron to make tools and weapons. The tools they used in rice production, and the weapons to defend themselves. Rice was an important component of the Balanta diet, and Upper Guinea was a region with just as many conflicts as Angola. The Balanta could obtain iron only by participating in the trade. They imported iron ore from Europeans who, until the mid-nineteenth century, were interested in only one commodity from Upper Guinea. These factors clearly support Hawthorne's thesis, which is further bolstered by the social structures of the Balanta.[39]

Hawthorne argues that the Balanta were a decentralized society that valued ideologies of egalitarianism.[40] However, in Angola as well as in Upper Guinea decentralized societies were not the only suppliers of slaves. Moreover, decentralized societies were not totally immune from greed, which no doubt tempted many Africans. An example can be found in the letters of the King of Kongo, Dom Afonso I. In the sixteenth century, the Kingdom of Kongo was a centralized society but, in spite of his powers, the king was unable to curtail the avarice of some of his subjects, who continued their illegal activities. In 1526,

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[38] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "Catherine Zimmermann-Mulgrave: A Slave Odyssey," in *Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, ed. David Eltis et al. (Atlanta: Emory University, 2008), www.slavevoyages.org.

[39] Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010), 64-80.

[40] Ibid., 64 and 77-79; Walter Hawthorne, "Nourishing a Stateless Society during the Slave Trade: The Rise of Balanta Paddy-Rice Production in Guinea-Bissau," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 1-3.

Dom Afonso I wrote to the Portuguese king saying that "every day the [Portuguese] merchants carry away our people, sons of our soil and sons of our nobles and vassals, and our relatives, whom thieves and people of bad conscience kidnap and sell to obtain the coveted things and trade goods of the [Portuguese] Kingdom."[41] A few months later, he wrote again about "thieves and people of bad conscience." The king claimed that they were "*nossos naturaes,*" that is, "our people who kidnapped and secreted them [e.g. slaves] away at night for sale to white men."[42]

As a centralized society, the Kingdom of Kongo had laws prohibiting the enslavement and sale of free subjects and vassals. Some more avaricious inhabitants ignored the laws. By the nineteenth century, the Kingdom of Kongo was no longer a centralized society. The new kings had little power over their subjects.[43] In this environment, it was easier to capture and sell fellow Africans. The King of Kongo, Dom Garcia V, annually dispatched an ambassador with three slaves for sale at Luanda to cover the expenses of the education of his son and nephew. They were studying Latin at Luanda's seminary in order to become priests. The sum available to Prince Pedro and his cousin seems to have been sufficient, but in 1812 the prince decided to supplement it by selling his father's ambassador into the slave trade, along with the usual three slaves.[44] Alarmed by this transaction, the Governor of Angola, João de Oliveira Barbosa, sent Prince

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[41] Dom Afonso I to Dom João III, 6 July 1526, in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 1 (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952), 470–471. As quoted and translated by Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 389.

[42] Dom Afonso I to Dom João III, 18 October 1526, in Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*, 489–490. As quoted and translated by Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 389.

[43] Susan Herlin Broadhead, "Trade and Politics on the Congo Coast, 1770-1870" (Ph.D., Boston University, 1971), 17-18 and 26-31; Susan Broadhead, "Beyond Decline: The Kingdom of Kongo in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 12, no. 4 (1979): 619-620; Jelmer Vos, "The Kingdom of Kongo and Its Borderlands, 1880-1915" (Ph.D., London: School of Oriental and African Studies, 2005), 33-36.

[44] Jadin, "Rapport sur les Recherches aux Archives d'Angola," 167.

Pedro and his cousin back to Kongo. Then he set out to search for the ambassador in Brazil. This was a most difficult task, since official figures show that, in 1812, 10,704 slaves were shipped from Luanda to five different regions in Brazil; Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, Pernambuco, Maranhão and Pará.[45] This search was extremely important because the ambassador's sale challenged the accepted norms of eligibility for enslavement. After all, as an envoy from Dom Garcia V, the ambassador was a nobleman who belonged to the Kongo diplomatic corps. Portuguese authorities eventually succeeded in locating the ambassador in Brazil. They made amends by returning him to Luanda from where he travelled back to Kongo. There he could enjoy life again as a free man in the company of his kidnappers.[46] Greed does not recognize ideology or political organization. It can thrive in centralized as well as decentralized societies.

The motives for kidnapping someone and selling him or her into the infamous trade were not always clear. The last two interviewees in Koelle's inventory did not state clearly how they were captured or by whom. They only mentioned that they were kidnapped and sold on the coast. Tut or Charles Wilhelm, a Teke speaker from Tsaye, related that at twenty he was kidnapped and hurried to the sea. Tut had lived in Sierra Leone for 17 years by the time Koelle interviewed him. He lived in Lomley, near Freetown, with his wife, who had also

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[45] José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Reassessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830," *African Economic History*, no. 20 (1992): 17 and 24; Joseph C. Miller, "The Political Economy of the Angolan Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," *Indian Historical Review* 15 (September 1988): 179; Joseph C. Miller, "The Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century Angolan Slave Trade," *Social Science History* 13, no. 4 (1989): 396-397; Joseph C. Miller, "The Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves in the Eighteenth-Century Angolan Slave Trade," in *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economics, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas and Europe*, ed. Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, 2nd ed. (Durham: Duke University Press, 1998), 92-93.

[46] Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 403-404; Jadin, "Rapport sur les Recherches aux Archives d'Angola," 167.

come from the same land.[47] Ngónga or John Wilhelm, a Kimbundu speaker from Kasanje, said that he was abducted at twenty-eight. He spent two years in the hands of the Portuguese before being sold into the trade, but did not mention who had originally enslaved him. Ngónga was about forty-three when Koelle contacted him, and he knew some five other countrymen living in Sierra Leone, but he left no further details about his life.[48]

Judicial proceedings also generated captives. As previously noted, in many African societies slavery was an integral part of prescribed punishments, even for full members of these societies. It is not surprising to find victims of the slave trade who were originally enslaved as criminals sentenced to banishment or perpetual exile. This plight could occur for several reasons. The available records list misconduct, adultery, debt and witchcraft as warranting involuntary servitude in the Americas.

Koelle's linguistic inventory provides three examples of individuals sentenced to exile because of misconduct or adultery. Mútomp or William Francis, a Kanyok speaker from the Katanga Plateau, in present day Congo Kinshasa, said that he grew up at Mámunyikáyint, a day's journey from the Lualaba River, and had one child who could not yet walk when he was "sold on account of bad conduct." He did not specify the nature of his misconduct, but he mentioned that he was sold to Mbundu dealers, who took him to Kasanje, where he was resold to Portuguese traders. Mútomp spent two years and a month enslaved in Angola before he was transported to the Americas. He had lived in Sierra Leone for 12 years when Koelle interviewed him.[49]

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[47] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 14.
[48] Ibid.
[49] Ibid.

Okiri or Andrew Park from Mbeti, in present day Congo Brazzaville, said that he was enslaved at Akuara, when he was about sixteen, because his mother took him with her after fleeing from his father.[50] It is significant that Okiri suffered the consequences of his mother's flight from the matrimonial home. West Central African societies were generally matrilineal, so inheritance and the distribution of wealth normally followed maternal lines of succession.[51] Moreover, women were the primary agricultural producers in this region.[52] Okiri was neither his father's heir nor an important addition to the household so his father used the justice system to exact revenge. Okiri became a victim of the trade. Family dynamics in West Central Africa have changed overtime, but they could clearly have contributed to the enslavement process that fed captives to plantations and mines of the Americas.

Bunsála or Thomas Pratt from Obamba, in present day Gabon, said that he had been married four years when he was enslaved because of adultery. The nature of his punishment is significant for our understanding of the role of gender in the process. Although Bunsála did not say whether the person with whom he committed adultery received the same punishment, it is clear that he paid a steep price for violating the rules of marriage in matrilineal societies. This example is all the more revealing, in view of the incidence of polygyny in West Central Africa. Bunsála journeyed five months to the coast, where he was taken to a slave vessel.

[50] Ibid.

[51] Anne Hilton, "Family and Kinship among the Kongo South of the Zaire River from the Sixteenth to the Nineteenth Centuries," *Journal of African History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 190; Wyatt MacGaffey, "Lineage Structure, Marriage and the Family amongst the Central Bantu," *Journal of African History* 24, no. 2 (1983): 173; A. Richards, "Some Types of Family Structure amongst the Central Bantu," in *African Systems of Kinship and Marriage*, ed. A. R. Radcliffe-Brown and Cyril Daryll Forde (London: Oxford University Press, 1964), 208. For a different point of view see Kajsa Ekholm, "External Exchange and the Transformation of Central African Social System," in *The Evolution of Social Systems*, ed. Jonathan Friedman and Michael J. Rowlands (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1978), 115-118.

[52] Hilton, "Family and Kinship among the Kongo South of the Zaire River," 193; MacGaffey, "Lineage Structure, Marriage and the Family amongst the Central Bantu," 173-177.

He had been living in Sierra Leone for 15 years, with some ten other countrymen, when Koelle interviewed him.[53]

Under the legal systems of many West Central African societies, debtors were liable to be sentenced to slavery and banishment. Dsíngo or James Job, another of Koelle's interviewees, was sold into the trade because of unpaid debts. He was taken from his hometown, Gílibe or Boõõ, near the Congo River when his eldest son was ten.[54] This penalty for debt was so common that even in the Portuguese colonies freeborns were apt to suffer such consequences. According to Portuguese law, enslavement for debt was illegal but there is archival evidence to prove that it fact happened. José Curto tells the story of a militia soldier named José Manuel, who was in danger of losing his freedom because of some merchandise he had borrowed to cover debts he had incurred with African authorities in the interior. The man who had lent him the items was no other than Lieutenant Colonel António Leal do Sacramento, the very man who had tried to sell Nbena and her daughter.

In 1816, José Manuel set out from Benguela to purchase slaves in the central plateau of Angola. Such activity was common among militiamen, who supplemented their income by engaging in the slave trade, the principal export activity of Benguela. However, Manuel's trip did not go well. Somewhere in the interior, local countrymen stole his merchandise. Additionally, for reasons that remain obscure, he was arrested and subjected to a fine of 46 *panos*, or small pieces of cloth, each valued between 18,000 and 20,000 *réis* in Benguela. Alone and imprisoned in the interior, he had no one to turn to, but a *soba* offered to pay

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[53] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 14.
[54] Ibid.

his fine if he agreed to repay him the 46 *panos*. José Manuel promptly accepted the terms of the offer so that he could return home immediately.[55]

Once there, José Manuel tried to repay the *soba* as soon as possible. As someone who depended on the trade to supplement his income, he knew that he had to maintain good relations with African authorities in the interior of Angola. He contacted his superior, António Leal do Sacramento, and asked for a loan of 46 *panos* to cover his debts with the *soba*. As Curto noted, Sacramento was a rich man who owned a number of properties in the region as well as a vast retinue of slaves. He hesitated to help his subordinate for a moment, but reconsidered the request in view of the unusual terms Manuel offered. José Manuel proposed offering Sacramento his personal services for the time it took to repay the debt. According to Curto, Sacramento found this proposal particularly interesting because the value of the debt was not specified. He closed the deal with Manuel, gave him the 46 *panos*, one coat of arms and one bottle of sugar rum, which Manuel in turn forwarded to the *soba* who honored the settlement. Free of one debt, Manuel had incurred a worse one. He had become the personal servant of António Leal do Sacramento.[56]

José Manuel worked in this role for almost three years, performing all kinds of chores for his superior. He even carried him in a palanquin, a task usually reserved for slaves. In 1818, José Manuel discovered that Sacramento still thought his services fell short of the original value of the goods loaned and consequently was thinking about selling him. Alarmed by this discovery, José Manuel mobilized his family and contacted the Governor of Benguela, Melo e

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[55] José C. Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement: The Case of José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-20," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39, no. 1 (2005): 101-102; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 405-406.

[56] Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement," 102-104; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 406-407.

Alvim. They argued that José Manuel, in spite of having chosen to become a servant, was a free man and therefore was ineligible to be forced into slave status with all the inevitable consequences. Curto claims that José Manuel and his family petitioned for the privilege of "original freedom," a right granted to Africans by the Portuguese Crown early on in the trade, which protected those unlawfully enslaved from serving a life of bondage. Melo e Alvim decided to oppose the sale and gave José Manuel and his family more time to arrange the goods necessary to settle his debt.[57]

José Manuel and his family began to assemble the required items to give to Sacramento, who then refused reimbursement of the original debt, demanding instead a *peça da Índia*, a prime adult slave valued at about 90,000 *réis* at that time in Benguela. José Manuel and his family found yet another official in the regiment who, willing to help, gave them a young female slave valued at 64,000 *réis*. Governor Melo e Alvim ordered Sacramento to accept this payment to resolve the issue. Sacramento took the young woman, and sold her, but he did not honor the agreement, as he still refused to release Manuel. The governor, unaware the new owner had paid 70,000 *réis* for the woman, ordered her to be returned to Manuel's family which eventually persuaded Sacramento to take her in exchange for their kinsman.[58] However, Sacramento, not a man to give up easily, petitioned the Governor of Angola, Feo e Torres, to intervene in his favor, initiating a judicial battle between the two governors, as in the case of Nbena. This battle had a similar outcome with one exception. José Manuel remained free but his advocate, Melo e Alvim, was arrested for insubordination and transported to

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[57] Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement," 104-105; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 407.

[58] Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement," 106-107; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 408-409.

answer for his actions before His Majesty.[59] This outcome illustrates the strange twists that justice could and did take.

The use of human pawns to secure goods against the delivery of slaves was yet another ploy. African slave traders usually borrowed merchandise from Europeans to purchase slaves in the interior because of the scarcity of credit at the ports of embarkation. In order to secure these loans, they pledged human pawns that they redeemed after exchanging the merchandise advanced for slaves in the interior. These pawns could be slaves, but many were free people with family ties to those borrowing the goods. When Africans were unable to redeem their human warranties, Europeans kept them for their own trading purposes. Paul Lovejoy and David Richardson argue that pawning was present mostly in West Africa, especially at Old Calabar.[60] However, records of Africans enslaved in the interior of Angola show that the practice was also common in West Central Africa.

In 1793, Luiz António de Oliveira Mendes presented his memoirs of the trade to Brazil to the Scientific Academy of Lisbon. He lived in Bahia while writing the manuscript, which was for the most part based on testimonies collected from people who had lived in Angola during the eighteenth century. One of these individuals was Raimundo Jalama, who had worked at Luanda between 1760 and 1770 as an agent of the well known *Companhia Geral de Comércio do Grão Pará e Maranhão* and its sister *Companhia Geral de Comércio de Pernambuco e Paraíba*. Jalama told Mendes several stories about the Angolan trade, one of which

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[59] Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement," 107-112; Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 409.

[60] Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade," *American Historical Review* 104, no. 2 (1999): 335-336; Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The Business of Slaving: Pawnship in Western Africa, c.1600-1810," *Journal of African History* 42, no. 1 (2001): 67-69.

concerned two unredeemed pawns who were sold at Luanda, a mother and her daughter, the latter identified by historians as Lucrécia.[61] According to Mendes, Jalama only discovered the women's misfortune after he had bought them. Lucrécia's mother was suffering from what the Portuguese at that time called *banzo*, a psychological condition associated with depression. Jalama initially thought that she missed home and he tried to help by giving her familiar food, but that did not work. He then investigated Lucretia's mother's situation further and discovered that her husband had pledged both his wife and daughter for a debt that he had incurred in the interior. When the husband defaulted on the debt, both human guarantees were forfeited.[62]

The suffering that followed being enslaved as a result of debts could be devastating, and the examples of it in the records available attract attention precisely because they are extreme. One of Koelle's informants was sold into the trade as an unredeemed pawn. Nanga or John Smart, was a Kimbundu speaker, a member of the Libolo ethnic group who lived south of the Kwanza River.[63] Koelle states that Nanga's mother pawned her twenty-four year old son to free one of her brothers, who had been sold because of adultery. Before his mother could redeem him, he was placed in the hands of the Portuguese at Luanda, who immediately shipped him to the Americas. However, an antislave trade cruiser intercepted Nanga's vessel on the high seas and took him to Sierra Leone, where he lived for

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[61] Curto, "Experiences of Enslavement in West Central Africa," 401.

[62] Mendes, *Memória a Respeito dos Escravos e Tráfico da Escravatura entre a Costa da África e o Brasil*, 61-62.

[63] Philip Curtin and Jan Vansina believe that Nanga belonged to the Lwena ethnic group, but Koelle's remarks clearly indicate that he was a Libolo, neighbors of the Kisama. The Libolo lived a week's journey from the Kwanza River and two weeks from Luanda. The Lwena lived much farther from Luanda, near the central plateau of Angola. See Curtin and Vansina, "Sources of the Nineteenth Century Atlantic Slave Trade," 204; Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 15.

seven years before Koelle interviewed him.[64] The family dynamics in Nanga's case are also worthy of note. Although most societies in West Central Africa were matrilineal, power was usually in the hands of men.[65] This reality helps explain why Nanga's mother pledged her son as collateral.

In transactions involving pawns, the terms were usually implicit in the negotiation between the two parties, creditors and debtors. The former advanced merchandise needed to buy slaves; the latter used relatives as guarantees. The terms were of part of a moral economy based on traditional rights or customs supported by the consensus of the community engaged in slaving on the coast.[66] As long as both parties abided by the terms, everyone would benefit but, if one or other violated the agreement, the consequences could be disastrous. The revolt of Burra Bene, an African chief who lived at Cape Lopez, in present day Gabon, provides insights into these agreements and the consequences of their violation for the trade.

In 1810, Luís Joaquim Lisboa, Governor of the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, located in the Bight of Biafra, reported to the Portuguese Crown that António José Corrêa, Captain of the *Bergantim Boa Sorte* from Pernambuco, arrived at São Tomé with pawns entrusted to him by Burra Bene. This event caused great concern among the island's traders, because those pledged were free people directly related to the chief of Cape Lopez. Two were women, one of whom was the chief's spouse. According to Lisboa, the captain broke a "very ancient custom" between slave traders from Gabon and São Tomé, because he did not return the pawns after loading his vessel with slaves and leaving the coast of

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[64] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 15.

[65] MacGaffey, "Lineage Structure, Marriage and the Family amongst the Central Bantu," 173-177.

[66] Edward Palmer Thompson, *Customs in Common* (New York: The New Press, 1991), 187-189.

Gabon.[67] The island's traders were very familiar with the institution of pawnship in this region. They frequently visited Gabon to purchase slaves. Customs records from São Tomé and Príncipe, for example, indicate that between 1799 and 1811 about 55 percent of the vessels arriving with slaves came from the coast of Gabon.[68] Corrêa was clearly not cognizant of the customs governing the slave trade in this region, but the island traders understood only too well what was at stake as a result of his violation.

António José Corrêa's seizure of Burra Bene's pawns threatened a commercial system based on trust. Because of the scarcity of credit available to purchase slaves, Africans needed to be sure that their human bonds would be safe until they returned from the interior. Corrêa did not appreciate that important point, so the island's traders petitioned the governor to order him to return Burra Bene's pawns. Corrêa initially resisted the petition but later a judicial order filed with the Crown forced him to comply. Corrêa tried to return the individuals, but it was too late to repair the damage caused to commercial relations between Gabon and São Tomé. Governor Lisboa reported that three days after the arrival of the *Boa Sorte*, Burra Bene retaliated for the loss of his pawns by capturing and destroying the vessels of traders from São Tomé and Príncipe on the coast of Gabon.[69] Pawning was an important bargaining tool subject to customary laws governing commercial relations, including the norms that determined who could be enslaved and taken to the Americas.

Finally, this chapter will consider accusations of witchcraft. In contrast to the conventional wisdom, Africans in Angola deplored witchcraft as something

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[67] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "O Tráfico de São Tomé e Príncipe, 1799-1811: Para o Estudo de Rotas Negreiras Subsidiárias ao Comércio Transatlântico de Escravos," *Estudos de História, Franca* 9 (2002): 47.

[68] Ibid., 39-41.

[69] Ibid., 48.

aimed against the canons of their own religions. Religion played a central role in African societies during the period of the slave trade. It was essentially one of the principal means of justifying political power, establishing norms of moral conduct, and making sense of the world in which they lived. As a consequence, African authorities usually regarded witchcraft as subject to judicial proceedings. Individuals found guilty of practicing witchcraft could be sentenced to death or have their sentence commuted to slavery. Walter Hawthorne, for example, notes that many slaves sold on the coast of Upper Guinea in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries were Africans convicted of practicing witchcraft. Hawthorne states that the African populations living in that region considered witchcraft one of the most serious of all transgressions.[70]

In West Central Africa, witchcraft also led to the enslavement and transportation of many Africans to the Americas. Two of Koelle's informants from this region, for example, claimed that they had been enslaved because members of their families were accused of practicing witchcraft. Kúmbu or Thomas Parker, a Kikongo speaker from the Yombe region, situated north of the Congo River, said that he was enslaved because his sister was accused of practicing witchcraft. He did not give his age at enslavement, but he was already a married man and the father of a five-year-old child.[71] Kúmbu's family paid dearly for his sister's crime, because the price of adult males sold into the slave trade was higher than that of adult females.

The case of Bémbe or William Davis provides a further example of enslavement because of witchcraft. Bémbe was an Umbundu speaker from Pangéla, a place Koelle insists is different from Benguela. He grew up in

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[70] Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil*, 81.
[71] Koelle, *Polyglotta Africana*, 14-15.

Wodsimbúmba, a day's journey from the sea. According to Koelle, Bémbe was enslaved because his family was accused of using witchcraft to kill the king of his hometown.[72] Apparently, he was not directly involved in the king's murder, but his family may have decided to let him pay for their crimes, since he would fetch a high price on the coast. Bémbe was about twenty-eight when he was enslaved.[73] As witchcraft was considered a serious offense in Angola, those caught practicing it endangered their entire families, as the case of Kúmbu and Bembe clearly demonstrates.

Judicial procedures also allowed members of a society to enslave their own countrymen. This route to enslavement contrasted widely with that resulting from wars or raids, because it was aimed at insiders rather than outsiders. It resulted from internal affairs decided by the community and sanctioned with its support. The demand for slaves on the coast may have loosened the laws determining which types of offenses could result in enslavement and sale. How this process occurred is still not entirely clear. Linda Heywood offers some clues, pointing out that from the sixteenth century Kongo elites tried to manipulate the kingdom's laws in order to increase the number of criminals sentenced to exile. Elites behaved this way, she argues, because slaves had become the principal exchange currency in the region. Kongo rulers tried to control such abuse of the laws by creating offices specifically responsible for determining the legality of the states of slaves sold on the coast.[74] The Portuguese also had similar bureaucratic positions at Luanda and Benguela. The Governor of Angola, Miguel António de Melo, for example, reported that such offices still existed in Luanda at the turn of

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[72] Ibid., 15.

[73] Ibid.

[74] Linda Heywood, "Slavery and its Transformation in the Kingdom of Kongo,1491-1800," *Journal of African History* 50, no. 1 (2009): 9-12.

the eighteenth century.[75] As the trade increased, African elites felt particularly tempted to manipulate the laws governing the sale of criminals on the coast of Angola.

The experiences of Africans embarked from Angola in the nineteenth century show that, as Robin Law has demonstrated for West Africa, West Central African societies had specific laws governing who was eligible for sale into the trade.[76] Enslaved Africans were usually people situated at the bottom of the social hierarchy of most societies in the interior of Angola. They included prisoners of war, as well as civilians captured in armed conflicts. Although large-scale wars yielded significant numbers of slaves, most Africans captured in warfare came from small-scale conflicts. Enslaved Africans shipped from Angola in the nineteenth century also included victims of abductions, trickery and greed. These forms of enslavement were primarily aimed at outsiders but, though illegal, they extended to insiders. As we have seen, insiders could be legally enslaved via judicial proceedings that ended in their banishment or perpetual exile via the slave trade. These crimes included, but were not limited to, unpaid debts, adultery, and witchcraft. In the nineteenth century, Africans were enslaved through several means; some legal, some not. The fact that both outsiders and, to a lesser extent, insiders were eligible for enslavement and sale helps explain the longevity of the slave trade.

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[75] António Miguel de Mello, "Angola no Fim do Século XVIII - Documentos," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa* 6, no. 5 (1886): 287-288.

[76] Robin Law, "Legal and Illegal Enslavement in West Africa, in the Context of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," in *Ghana in Africa and the World: Essays in Honor of Adu Boahen*, ed. Toyin Falola (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003), 514.

Conclusion

Redefining the Frontiers

The origins of slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century provide us with an opportunity to understand whom Africans regarded as eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic. The data also illuminate the impact of the slave trade on West Central Africa. Historians have long claimed that the majority of the slaves embarked were prisoners of wars waged by rulers who participated in the trade to exchange captives for foreign commodities, which they then used to cement alliances, raise armies and expand their power throughout the interior. This process, the argument goes, had a devastating impact on the region, with rulers seeking captives in places increasingly farther from the coast. As Joseph Miller writes, "the entire series of local transformations, viewed over three centuries of the Angolan slave trade resembled a moving frontier zone of slaving violence."[1]

However, lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil, in addition to slave registers made by Portuguese colonial officials in Angola, show that slaves came from regions much closer to the coast than previously thought. In the nineteenth century, with British efforts to suppress the trade in the North Atlantic, Angola emerged as the principal source of captives for the Americas. The majority was brought to work on the plantations of Cuba and Brazil. Historians believe that the number of slaves leaving Angola in this period increased

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[1] Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 141.

significantly, leading Africans to search for captives in regions more distant from the coast. The analysis in this dissertation of the estimates of slaves embarked from West Central Africa, however, shows that the numbers remained stable from the late eighteenth until the mid-nineteenth century.

Despite the British efforts, traders continued to purchase slaves in regions situated north of the Equator, such as the Bights of Benin and Biafra. Moreover, though Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish traders increased their activities along the coast of Angola, they were able to do so because British, American, and Dutch traders had retreated from the business early in the nineteenth century, allowing the former to buy slaves in ports previously dominated by the latter. Additionally, traders began to search for other sources of slaves in the South Atlantic, such as Mozambique, in Southeast Africa. These other sources of slaves helped ensure that the numbers of those leaving Angola remained stable from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth century, contradicting the view of historians who believe that the expansion of the Portuguese, Brazilian and Spanish activity increased the volume of the trade and the incidence of warfare in the interior of West Central Africa.

Slaves leaving Angola were transported to the Americas by a complex network of merchants, brokers and traders. These individuals might specialize in a specific function or segment of the trade, but they usually took on several roles. Brokers, for example, could become merchants and finance their own slaving expeditions after they accumulated sufficient resources. This network of merchants, brokers and traders was flexible, but it operated within environmental conditions that helped shape the trade. The gyres of the South Atlantic, for instance, contributed significantly to the development of a bilateral slaving system, with voyages beginning in the Americas as opposed to Europe.

The rainy seasons in Angola also influenced the trade by helping Africans determine the best seasons of the year to plant, harvest, conduct long distance trade and wage wars.

Although these environmental conditions helped shape the trade, merchants, brokers and traders had plenty of opportunities for individual agency. Until 1830, during the period of the legal trade, they carried slaves from traditional ports of embarkation and relied on official facilities and administration available on both sides of the Atlantic. However, after 1830, during the illegal period, they had to develop ways to bypass antislave trade cruisers in order to continue shipping slaves from Angola. Traders went to great lengths to secure fake papers and flags from different countries, including the United States, in order to avoid inspection or capture. They also had to find new ports to load slaves, some of which were located in remote places, where slaves were maintained in shelters called barracoons. Despite these difficulties, the network of merchants, brokers and traders continued shipping slaves regularly from Angola well into in the nineteenth century.

Slaves came from approximately 21 linguistic groups and 116 ethnicities spread throughout the interior of West Central Africa. The majority came from regions relatively close to the coast, especially from the Kikongo, Kimbundu and Umbundu linguistic groups. None of these were invaded much less conquered by the Lunda Empire in this period and the origins of those embarked give little indication of a slaving frontier moving deeper into the interior. Rather, slaves came mostly from within their own linguistic groups and were criminals condemned to banishment, victims of kidnappings, and prisoners of wars between neighboring societies. These forms of enslavement did not depend on the will of

rulers or their thirst for power, and they involved far less violence than large-scale wars between different linguistic groups.

The origins of slaves leaving Angola also show that the demographic impact of the trade on the populations living in the interior was unevenly distributed and that Africans coped with it in different ways. As we have seen, the trade had a profound effect on the Ndongo, Kimbundu speakers who lived in the hinterland of Luanda. By the mid-nineteenth century, the Ndongo population had declined substantially as a result of years of slave trading, and it contained far fewer males than females. In contrast, Umbundu speakers, who lived in the central plateau of Angola, had a very different experience. Although they served as a major source of slaves, the trade's impact on the Umbundu populations was less harsh than on the Kimbundu, because the annual average number of Umbundu speakers sold into the trade comprised a smaller percentage of the total population. This comparison was made possible by an analysis of the lists of liberated Africans from Cuba and Brazil in addition to the slave registers of Angola.

Africans were not only victims of the slave trade but also perpetrators of it. In fact, the transatlantic trade depended largely on African traders and enslavers, who captured the majority of the slaves in the interior and sold them on the coast. However, the use of the term "African" in this context is something of a misnomer given that Africans did not regarded each other as Africans. Rather, they identified themselves more with their ethnicity, polity, ruler or religion than with the fact that they lived in the same continent. As Nathan

Huggins posited many years ago, Africans who participated actively in the trade "saw themselves as selling people other than their own."[2]

Africans participated in the trade according to their own conceptions of who could be enslaved and sold on the coast and who could not. Gender and age played an important role in this determination. Africans were often reluctant to sell adult women into the trade. Even when prices of female slaves in the Americas increased, such as on the eve of the Brazilian abolition in 1830, Africans continued selling more males than females. They considered women too important in their own societies to sell them on the coast in the same proportion as men. Women were regarded as the primary food producers in many Angolan societies. They were also valued for their reproductive roles. Further, most societies in Angola were matrilineal and practiced polygyny, so free men often married slave women in order to avoid dispersing their inheritance to the lineage of their wives. This stress on the importance of women in society shaped the demographic profile of the slaves leaving Angola.

Africans enslaved one another more for economic than political gains. Some historians believe that the number of slaves shipped from Africa bore no relationship to fluctuations in price, since most captives shipped were prisoners of wars captured in political conflicts between African rulers. However, prices of slaves sold from Luanda, the principal port of embarkation in the region, show that Africans responded positively to the demand for captives in the Americas. The more prices increased in Luanda, the greater the number of slaves embarked. This relationship between prices and slaves embarked clearly indicates that the trade did not depend exclusively on the thirst for power of African rulers. Many

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[2] Nathan Irvin Huggins, *Black Odyssey: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1977), 20.

Africans participated in the trade in order to obtain foreign commodities imported from Europe, Asia and the Americas.

The principal commodities used to purchase slaves in Angola were textiles, alcohol and weapons. None of these commodities supplied the primary needs of the populations living in the interior. They were mostly consumer goods, which added variety to what was produced locally but did not displace the local produced manufactures. Africans continued producing their own cloth and alcohol and fighting with their traditional weapons until late in the nineteenth century. Foreign imports brought to West Central Africa during the slave trade era were not among the principal causes of the later underdevelopment of the region. Additionally, these goods were introduced in such large quantities that they lost their luxury status.

The experience of those who survived enslavement and sale into the trade confirms that warfare was not the only way of producing slaves. Although raids and wars generated large numbers of captives, Africans had many other ways of enslaving other Africans, such as legal proceedings, pawning, trickery or simply kidnapping. These forms of enslavement were not exclusive to outsiders. Africans also enslaved and sold people from their own linguistic and ethnic groups into the trade, a fact frequently overlooked in the history of slavery. This practice reveals that Africans were familiar with the notion of slavery as an institution for economic exploitation and that this institution did not exclude insiders from being enslaved and sold across the Atlantic.

The origins of slaves leaving Angola cannot be traced on a map as a moving frontier of violence. The range of interests, people and forms of enslavement involved in the trade were so diverse that it is impossible to represent the origins as a single wave moving from the coast to the interior. Causes of enslavement and

sources of slaves were clearly multiple and must have overlapped with each other, but, more important, they depended ultimately on the values, customs and beliefs of the populations engaged in the trade. Thus, a close study of the origins of the slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century offers new insights into whom Africans regarded as eligible for enslavement and sale across the Atlantic as well as the impact of the transatlantic trade on West Central Africa.

Appendix A

Volume of the Transatlantic Slave Trade from West Central Africa, 1781-1867

The tables below were generated based on the estimates available in "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," www.slavevoyages.org/. These estimates were adjusted to reduce a bias in the data that the website editors used when creating them. This bias derives from documents related to the Portuguese and Brazilian slave trades to Bahia between 1816 and 1830. In this period, Bahian traders were prohibited from loading slaves at their traditional ports of slave embarkation in the Bight of Benin, located north of the Equator. They asked Portuguese and Brazilian authorities for passports to load them at Cabinda and Molembo, on the coast of West Central Africa. However, instead of sailing to these assigned destinations, they continued to trade slaves at their traditional ports of embarkation. They used the passports granted to load captives at Cabinda and Molembo only to conceal the origins of them in the event antislave trade cruisers intercepted them on the high seas north of the Equator. Because the website estimates were largely based on these documents, the estimates below were adjusted to allow for the bias available in this particular segment of the trade from West Central Africa. Further details about the

methodology used to generate the estimates below are available in Chapter One and in a paper presented at the *124th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association.*[1]

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[1] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Coastal Origins of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa, c.1780-1867" (Paper presented at the 124th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, San Diego, 2010).

Table A.1 – Estimated Number of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by National Carrier (in Thousands), 1781-1867

Years	Spain / Uruguay	Portugal / Brazil	Great Britain	Netherlands	U.S.A.	France	Denmark / Baltic	Totals
1781-85	-	90.2	12.7	2.5	0.6	43.7	-	149.7
1786-90	-	95.0	4.0	-	-	85.1	-	184.2
1791-95	1.3	121.6	43.5	1.8	-	32.6	-	200.6
1796-00	0.3	97.9	72.3	-	0.2	0.1	0.5	171.2
1801-05	0.2	120.9	55.7	0.6	4.2	4.9	1.8	188.3
1806-10	1.4	112.3	21.2	0.3	16.5	-	-	151.7
1811-15	8.3	138.9	-	-	0.9	1.5	-	149.6
1816-20	58.5	194.5	-	-	1.5	1.7	-	256.3
1821-25	-	180.4	-	-	-	0.3	-	180.7
1826-30	2.2	252.7	-	-	-	0.9	-	255.8
1831-35	19.5	80.1	-	-	-	-	-	99.7
1836-40	15.9	227.9	-	-	-	-	-	243.8
1841-45	12.3	114.3	-	-	-	-	-	126.6
1846-50	13.1	247.3	-	-	-	-	-	260.4
1851-55	32.5	4.3	-	-	-	-	-	36.7
1856-60	76.8	-	-	-	0.4	-	-	77.2
1861-65	42.0	-	-	-	-	-	-	42.0
1866-67	0.9	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9
Total	285.4	2,078.1	209.3	5.2	24.3	170.8	2.3	2,775.3

Sources: David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/; Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Coastal Origins of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa, c.1780-1867," presented at *124th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association*, San Diego, 2010).

Table A.2 – Estimated Number of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Region of

Disembarkation (in Thousands), 1781-1867

Years	Brazil				
	Amazonia	Bahia	Pernambuco	SE Brazil	Brazil unspecified
1781-85	0.7	21.0	13.1	55.4	-
1786-90	3.8	12.1	15.5	63.6	-
1791-95	2.5	26.5	18.7	69.7	4.2
1796-00	3.7	11.3	20.5	59.4	2.4
1801-05	10.8	15.7	24.7	66.2	3.5
1806-10	3.4	8.3	19.7	75.0	4.2
1811-15	0.4	7.9	26.1	97.2	4.8
1816-20	11.3	35.9	41.2	99.8	4.7
1821-25	4.8	29.1	35.0	106.0	3.1
1826-30	4.9	53.5	34.0	159.0	0.7
1831-35	0.6	4.2	8.9	65.5	-
1836-40	0.7	7.6	32.1	185.4	0.8
1841-45	-	4.1	13.9	88.5	2.8
1846-50	-	5.0	9.0	226.3	2.9
1851-55	-	1.1	-	3.1	-
1856-60	-	-	-	-	-
1861-65	-	-	-	-	-
1866-67	-	-	-	-	-
Total	47.6	243.3	312.2	1,420.1	34.1

Table A.2 (Cont.)

| Years | British Caribbean | | | | |
	Jamaica	Barbados	Antigua	St. Kitts	Grenada
1781-85	4.2	-	0.4	-	0.4
1786-90	-	-	-	0.3	0.7
1791-95	25.8	2.3	-	0.6	8.9
1796-00	27.3	7.7	0.3	1.6	1.0
1801-05	12.3	0.7	0.4	1.4	0.6
1806-10	3.7	0.9	-	0.3	-
1811-15	-	-	1.7	-	-
1816-20	-	-	-	-	-
1821-25	-	-	-	-	-
1826-30	-	-	-	-	-
1831-35	0.3	-	-	-	-
1836-40	-	-	-	-	-
1841-45	-	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-
1851-55	-	-	-	-	-
1856-60	-	-	-	-	-
1861-65	-	-	-	-	-
1866-67	-	-	-	-	-
Total	73.6	11.6	2.8	4.2	11.6

Table A.2 (Cont.)

| Years | Dominica | British Guiana | British Caribbean | | | | |
			St. Vincent	Montserrat / Nevis	Trinidad / Tobago	Other British Caribbean
1781-85	1.3	-	0.3	-	0.4	2.8
1786-90	1.9	-	-	-	-	0.2
1791-95	1.3	-	0.7	-	-	0.6
1796-00	1.3	10.6	1.4	-	0.8	1.8
1801-05	-	4.2	-	0.1	3.7	5.6
1806-10	0.6	1.9	-	0.1	0.9	0.8
1811-15	-	-	-	-	-	0.3
1816-20	-	-	-	-	-	-
1821-25	-	-	-	-	-	0.3
1826-30	-	-	-	-	-	-
1831-35	-	-	-	-	-	0.7
1836-40	-	-	-	-	-	1.2
1841-45	-	0.4	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-	-
1851-55	-	-	-	-	-	-
1856-60	-	-	-	-	-	-
1861-65	-	-	-	-	-	-
1866-67	-	-	-	-	-	-
Total	6.4	17.1	2.3	0.2	5.8	14.2

Table A.2 (Cont.)

Years		French Caribbean			
	Saint Domingue	Martinique	Guadeloupe	French Guiana	French Caribbean unspecified
1781-85	42.4	0.4	0.4	-	-
1786-90	84.2	-	-	-	0.3
1791-95	20.3	3.2	5.3	-	0.5
1796-00	0.6	7.0	-	1.7	-
1801-05	-	2.4	2.8	0.3	-
1806-10	-	0.4	0.8	0.3	0.3
1811-15	0.2	-	-	-	-
1816-20	0.4	1.3	-	-	-
1821-25	-	-	-	-	-
1826-30	-	-	-	-	-
1831-35	-	-	-	-	-
1836-40	-	-	-	-	-
1841-45	-	-	-	-	-
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-
1851-55	-	-	-	-	-
1856-60	-	-	-	-	-
1861-65	-	-	-	-	-
1866-67	-	-	-	-	-
Total	148.1	14.8	9.3	2.4	1.2

Table A.2 (Cont.)

| Years | Cuba | Puerto Rico | Spanish Americas | | |
			Spanish Central America	Río de la Plata	Other Spanish Americas
1781-85	1.0	-	-	-	0.8
1786-90	0.3	-	-	-	0.8
1791-95	5.2	-	-	1.3	0.4
1796-00	1.3	-	-	0.9	-
1801-05	9.6	-	-	3.0	-
1806-10	4.5	-	-	1.2	-
1811-15	9.3	0.6	-	-	-
1816-20	58.8	0.6	0.4	-	-
1821-25	1.7	-	-	-	-
1826-30	2.2	-	-	1.5	-
1831-35	17.3	-	-	1.9	-
1836-40	14.9	-	-	-	-
1841-45	8.1	-	-	-	-
1846-50	6.0	-	-	-	-
1851-55	32.3	-	-	-	-
1856-60	69.9	-	-	-	-
1861-65	32.2	-	-	-	-
1866-67	0.9	-	-	-	-
Total	275.6	1.2	0.4	9.7	2.0

Table A.2 (Cont.)

Years	Mainland North America		Dutch Americas		Danish West Indies	Africa	Totals
	Carolinas / Georgia	Gulf states	Dutch Caribbean	Dutch Guianas			
1781-85	2.8	0.2	0.4	1.4	-	-	149.7
1786-90	-	-	0.4	-	-	-	184.2
1791-95	-	0.4	-	2.1	0.4	-	200.6
1796-00	0.5	-	-	1.0	6.9	-	171.2
1801-05	9.4	1.0	-	5.6	4.3	-	188.3
1806-10	22.0	0.8	-	0.7	0.6	-	151.7
1811-15	-	-	-	-	-	1.2	149.6
1816-20	-	1.5	-	0.4	-	-	256.3
1821-25	-	-	-	0.6	-	0.1	180.7
1826-30	-	-	-	-	-	-	255.8
1831-35	-	-	-	-	-	0.4	99.7
1836-40	-	-	-	-	-	1.3	243.8
1841-45	-	-	-	-	-	8.8	126.6
1846-50	-	-	-	-	-	11.3	260.4
1851-55	-	-	-	-	-	0.1	36.7
1856-60	0.4	-	-	-	-	7.0	77.2
1861-65	-	-	-	-	-	9.8	42.0
1866-67	-	-	-	-	-	-	0.9
Total	35.1	3.9	0.8	11.8	12.2	39.9	2,775.3

Sources: Same as Table A.1.

Table A.3 – Estimated Number of Slaves Leaving West Central Africa by Port of Embarkation (in Thousands), 1781-1867

Years	Ambriz	Cabinda	Congo River	Loango	Molembo	Others
			Ports North of Luanda			
1781-85	-	13.4	-	7.0	32.5	9.4
1786-90	10.4	12.0	1.1	8.8	59.3	1.1
1791-95	19.2	6.6	25.9	8.3	18.4	6.1
1796-00	15.6	7.3	27.6	10.7	16.1	0.3
1801-05	-	6.8	41.4	7.8	7.1	6.3
1806-10	-	15.7	23.4	7.5	1.4	2.5
1811-15	1.8	47.8	5.9	1.2	-	0.9
1816-20	3.3	123.6	6.4	1.7	5.9	0.5
1821-25	14.3	37.8	1.2	-	23.1	-
1826-30	38.0	73.1	15.4	-	26.0	-
1831-35	7.5	13.2	3.9	9.0	-	0.9
1836-40	12.4	25.5	15.7	-	-	0.3
1841-45	10.7	24.6	2.2	-	-	-
1846-50	79.9	18.6	17.0	20.1	-	22.9
1851-55	4.1	-	23.3	-	-	1.4
1856-60	8.8	9.4	41.3	4.0	1.3	10.5
1861-65	1.0	5.3	30.3	-	1.6	1.7
1866-67	0.1	0.1	0.4	-	0.1	0.1
Total	227.1	440.8	282.3	86.1	192.7	65.1

Other ports north of Luanda include: Congo North, Kilongo, Mayumba and Penido.

Table A.3. (Cont.)

Years	Luanda	Ports South of Luanda			Unknown Ports	Total
		Benguela	Novo Redondo	Others		
1781-85	50.3	37.1	-	-	-	149.7
1786-90	56.7	34.8	-	-	-	184.2
1791-95	60.2	54.9	-	-	1.0	200.6
1796-00	51.4	36.5	-	-	5.7	171.2
1801-05	80.6	38.1	-	-	-	188.3
1806-10	71.5	29.4	-	-	0.2	151.7
1811-15	66.7	25.5	-	-	-	149.6
1816-20	92.6	22.4	-	-	-	256.3
1821-25	79.8	24.5	-	-	-	180.7
1826-30	74.4	28.3	0.5	-	-	255.8
1831-35	54.6	10.5	-	-	-	99.7
1836-40	137.9	51.1	0.8	0.1	-	243.8
1841-45	29.9	54.3	1.6	3.2	-	126.6
1846-50	44.8	47.2	4.5	5.2	-	260.4
1851-55	-	8.0	-	-	-	36.7
1856-60	-	2.0	-	-	-	77.2
1861-65	-	2.1	-	-	-	42.0
1866-67	-	0.1	-	-	-	0.9
Total	951.5	506.8	7.5	8.5	7.0	2,775.3

Unknown ports include: Alecuba, Ambona, Bomara, Cape Mole and Grenada Point.

Other ports south of Luanda include: Benguela Velha, Kwanza River, Quicombo and Salinas.

Sources: Same as Table A.1.

Appendix B

Origins Data of Slaves and Liberated Africans from Angola, 1832-1856

The origins of slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century were traced using two sets of documents. The first were the lists of liberated Africans compiled by the mixed commission courts of Havana and Rio de Janeiro; the second, the slave registers of Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo. Tables B.1 to B.17 include the designations of origins available in the lists of liberated Africans compiled for each vessel and distributed by port of embarkation. The ports of embarkation of the *Bergantim Rio da Prata* were imputed according to the designations of origins, because this vessel purchased slaves at two ports of embarkation, Benguela and Luanda. Slaves whose designation of origin referred to the central plateau of Angola were considered as embarked in Benguela and those whose designation of origin referred to places in the hinterland of Luanda were considered as embarked from that port. Since slaves usually came from places situated in the hinterland of their port of embarkation, this measure was adopted to mantain integrity with the data available in the other lists of liberated Africans.[1]

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[1] Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969), 260-261.

In the bundle of documents related to the *Bergantim Brilhante* at the Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, in Rio de Janeiro, there is a list of Africans very similar to the lists of liberated Africans compiled by the mixed commission courts for the adjudication of vessels accused of illegal slave trading. It differs from the *Brilhante* inventory in that it has 209 Africans registered by their Christian name in Portuguese, while that of the *Brilhante* contains 245 individuals listed by their African names. Both vessels embarked slaves at Ambriz and both lists were created in 1839. The Rio court records indicate that, in the same year, the mixed commission condemned four other vessels. All four vessels, the *Carolina*, the *Leal*, the *Paquete do Sul*, and the *César*, embarked slaves at Ambriz. Lists of liberated Africans survive for the first two vessels; that of the *Carolina* contains 211 individuals and the list of the *Leal* 315, all of which are Christian names, but the designations of origin are far more diverse than those of the *Brilhante* and the unknown vessel. It is possible that the additional list included in the documents of the *Brilhante* belongs either to the *Paquete do Sul*, which disembarked 444 recaptives, or more likely to the *César*, which disembarked 207 recaptives. Unfortunately, the lack of further evidence does not allow us to identify to which of these ships the unidentified list belongs. Nevertheless, it was used to trace the origins of slaves leaving Angola.

Tables B.18 to B.20 show the origins of the individuals noted in the slave registers of Luanda, Benguela and Novo Redondo between 1855 and 1856. The estimated number of slaves leaving Angola by linguistic and ethnic origins was calculated based only on the ethnonyms available in these documents. They do not include other designations of origin, such as places, regions, rivers, etc. Tables B.21 and B.22 summarize the final results. Further details about the methodology used to develop these estimates are available in Chapter Three and in a paper

presented at the *53rd Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association*.[2] Readers who wish to generate their own estimates, or who would like to provide a different interpretation about the ethnonyms selected, are advised to use the raw data available in the previous tables.

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[2] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "Inland Diasporas: Tracing the Origins of Slaves Leaving Angola in the Nineteenth Century" (Paper presented at the 53rd Annual Meeting of the African Studies Association, San Francisco, November 18, 2010).

Lists of Liberated Africans from Havana, Cuba, 1832-1837

Table B.1 – Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Brigantine Aguila*, 1832**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Loango	Congo Luango	118
	Congo Mondongo	355
	Congo Mullombe	7
	Congo Musundi	116
Total		596

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 58, ff. 43-102 and David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database," Online database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.2 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Brigantine Marte*, 1835**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Loango	Congo	326
Total		326

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 60, ff. 134-137 and David Eltis et al., "Voyages," www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.3 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Goleta Amalia*, 1835

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Congo River	Congo Boma	177
	Congo Lavinda	1
	Congo Luango	6
	Congo Mondongo	6
	Congo Moyoni	2
	Congo Mullombe	1
	Congo Musundi	5
	Congo Real	2
Total		200

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 61, ff. 71-91 and David Eltis et al., "Voyages," www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.4 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Goleta Diligencia*, 1835

Port of embarkation	Designation of origin	Number of recaptives
Mayumba	Congo Boma	1
	Congo Borida	1
	Congo Lemba	2
	Congo Luango	31
	Congo Manba	1
	Congo Moyombe	2
	Congo Mulimba	1
	Congo Mullombe	42
	Congo Musimba	1
	Congo Musundi	11
	Congo Muyala	1
Total		94

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 61, ff. 92-141 and David Eltis et al., *"Voyages,"* www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.5 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Goleta Empresa*, 1836

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Luanda	Congo	407
Total		407

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 61, ff. 190-230 and David Eltis et al., *"Voyages,"* www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.6 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Goleta Joven Reyna*, 1835

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Congo Antpaango	1
	Congo Ausange	3
	Congo Baca	1
	Congo Baco	2
	Congo Bafo	1
	Congo Bamba	2
	Congo Bandechendi	1
	Congo Bangola	1
	Congo Bansa	1
	Congo Bencha	1
Congo River	Congo Biabo	1
	Congo Bimba	1
	Congo Bimgo	2
	Congo Binda	2
	Congo Binga	1
	Congo Biri	2
	Congo Boco	2
	Congo Bomgoma	33
	Congo Bongo	7
	Congo Buchimpe	1
	Congo Buco	2

Table B.6 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Congo Buere	2
	Congo Bullonde	2
	Congo Cai	1
	Congo Camba	3
	Congo Canga	1
	Congo Cango	3
	Congo Cansa	2
	Congo Cay	2
	Congo Chiongo	1
	Congo Chita	1
	Congo Chocho	3
	Congo Cimchi	1
	Congo Cimgo	1
	Congo Cocumbe	1
	Congo Cola	1
	Congo Conche	1
	Congo Cuma	1
	Congo Cumi	2
	Congo Cuno	1
Congo River	Congo Cusa	1
	Congo Cutuide	1
	Congo Damba	8
	Congo Danval	1
	Congo Decolo	1
	Congo Densuco	1
	Congo Emagebo	1
	Congo Enchi	2
	Congo Enlasa	1
	Congo Ensadi	1
	Congo Ensuca	1
	Congo Ensumga	1
	Congo Ensuso	1
	Congo Esombe	1
	Congo Febo	1
	Congo Femba	1
	Congo Fete	1
	Congo Fula	2
	Congo Ganda	1

Table B.6 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designation of origin	Number of recaptives
	Congo Ganga	2
	Congo Gimse	1
	Congo Ginga	3
	Congo Gongo	1
	Congo Guaguana	1
	Congo Guele	1
	Congo Guembo	1
	Congo Jali	1
	Congo Laba	1
	Congo Lano	2
	Congo Lemba	3
	Congo Lenida	1
	Congo Leque	1
	Congo Llanga	1
	Congo Lombo	1
	Congo Lonica	1
	Congo Lotala	1
Congo River	Congo Lucuti	2
	Congo Lufo	1
	Congo Lumbi	2
	Congo Lungo	3
	Congo Lusanda	1
	Congo Lusanga	1
	Congo Macara	1
	Congo Maganie	1
	Congo Mansa	1
	Congo Matendi	2
	Congo Melele	1
	Congo Mesa	1
	Congo Mesara	1
	Congo Moache	1
	Congo Moamba	1
	Congo Moboma	4
	Congo Mobomesa	1
	Congo Mocanda	1
	Congo Mondongo	1

Table B.6 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Congo Mongo	1
	Congo Mongoma	12
	Congo Monlaso	1
	Congo Mopaco	1
	Congo Moyombe	8
	Congo Mucinga	1
	Congo Mudimba	1
	Congo Muedi	1
	Congo Muema	1
	Congo Mullombe	4
	Congo Mumba	1
	Congo Musicongo	1
	Congo Musundi	2
	Congo Niense	1
	Congo Noca	3
	Congo Ocama	1
	Congo Ofo	1
	Congo Pesa	1
Congo River	Congo Puya	1
	Congo Queta	1
	Congo Quiama	1
	Congo Quisa	2
	Congo Quisadonga	1
	Congo Sacala	1
	Congo Sande	1
	Congo Sasa	2
	Congo Say	1
	Congo Sese	1
	Congo Simba	1
	Congo Sita	1
	Congo Solon	1
	Congo Sombo	2
	Congo Somo	2
	Congo Sozo	1
	Congo Suca	1
	Congo Sucuti	1
	Congo Suma	2

Table B.6 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Congo Tamba	2
	Congo Tando	3
	Congo Tibo	1
Congo River	Congo Timga	1
	Congo Totela	1
	Congo Untacala	1
	Musicongo	3
Total		254

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 60, ff. 84-110 and David Eltis et al., *"Voyages,"* www.slavevoyages.org/.

Table B.7 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Goleta Matilde*, 1837

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Ambriz	Congo	255
Total		255

Sources: BNA, FO 313, vol. 61, ff. 231-257 and David Eltis et al., *"Voyages,"* www.slavevoyages.org/.

Lists of Liberated Africans from Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1834-1839

Table B.8 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Bergantim Brilhante*, 1838**

Port embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Angola	11
	Biomba	1
	Cassanje	9
	Coango	1
	Congo	161
	Meinbo	1
	Miombo	6
	Moiange	8
Ambriz	Moiomba	2
	Moiombe	1
	Moiombo	11
	Moionbo	1
	Monjolo	20
	Mosimbo	1
	Mossorongo	1
	Rebola	2
	Rebolo	8
Total		245

Sources: AHI, Coleções Especiais, *Brilhante*, lata 4, maço 3, pasta 1.

Table B.9 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Bergantim Carolina*, 1839**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Ambriz	1
	Angola	7
	Baca	13
	Bacal	1
	Bamba	1
	Bié	1
	Cabinda	5
	Cabonda	1
	Cacoma	1
	Caré	1
	Cassange	4
	Conda	1
	Congo	121
	Cuange	1
Ambriz	Cumba	2
	Curamba	1
	Cusolongo	1
	Dange	2
	Domba	1
	Gomba	1
	Gombé	1
	Guisamá	1
	Lomba	1
	Luanda	1
	Malanba	1
	Malemba	1
	Malliava	1
	Maolo	1
	Mauza	2

Table B.9 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Miange	10
	Mizi	1
	Monjolo	14
	Nobamba	1
	Oio	1
Ambriz	Quibombo	1
	Quiçamá	1
	Quisamá	1
	Soso	2
	Soyo	1
	Unspecified	1
Total		211

Sources: ANRJ, *Carolina*, cod. 184, vol. 3, ff. 90-96v.

Table B.10 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Bergantim Órion*, 1835**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Angola	29
	Baca	19
	Benguela	49
	Cabinda	1
	Cabundá	1
Luanda	Cassange	21
	Congo	11
	Ladino	4
	Loanda	2
	Monjolo	1

Table B.10 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Quisama	3
	Quisamá	8
Luanda	Rebola	5
	Rebolo	90
	Songo	3
Total		247

Sources: ANRJ, *Órion*, cod. 184, vol. 3, ff. 43v-51v.

Table B.11 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Bergantim Paquete de Benguela*, 1840**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Benguela	Benguella	266
	Unspecified	4
Total		270

Sources: ANRJ, *Paquete de Benguela*, cod. 184, vol. 4, ff. 19v-23v.

Table B.12 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the

***Bergantim Rio da Prata*, 1834**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Benguela	3
Benguela	Benguella	87
	Bié	1
Total		91

Table B.12 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Angola	56
	Baca	6
	Cabinda	1
	Cassange	13
Luanda	Congo	42
	Monjolo	1
	Rebollo	7
	Songa	2
	Songo	1
Total		129

Sources: ANRJ, *Rio da Prata*, cod. 471, ff. 9v-16v.

Table B.13 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Brigue Escuna Feliz*, 1838

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Abarundo	1
	Alonjonba	1
	Anbuera	1
	Anga	1
	Anganba	1
	Angola	1
	Atunduvele	1
	Barundo	1
Benguela	Benguela	5
	Bundo	1
	Cababo	1
	Cabarundu	1
	Cabinda	1
	Cabunba	1
	Cabunge	1
	Cachonga	1

Table B.13 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Caconda	1
	Calenbi	1
	Calenda	2
	Calunda	3
	Camame	1
	Camanga	1
	Camungo	1
	Canano	1
	Candonde	1
	Candunbo	1
	Canhiacuto	1
	Canosse	1
	Caponga	1
	Carangue	1
	Caromoxingo	1
	Carova	1
	Cassamba	1
	Cauia	1
Benguela	Cavinja	1
	Caxito	1
	Coanha	1
	Coca	1
	Cochinjomba	2
	Cochiurai	1
	Cocunha	1
	Cogangote	1
	Cojoco	1
	Colembe	1
	Comanga	1
	Combaungo	1
	Conane	1
	Congola	2
	Congonga	1
	Congongo	1
	Congulo	1
	Cossumbe	1

Table B.13 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Cotinde	1
	Cuaitele	1
	Cuanbo	2
	Cubangola	3
	Cuchipea	2
	Cucoetá	1
	Cucuale	1
	Cucuando	2
	Cucuito	1
	Cudelonga	1
	Cugulumbo	1
	Cussanba	1
	Cussanbo	2
	Cussanga	1
	Cussobe	1
	Cuxijaca	1
	Cuxipé	3
Benguela	Engoa	1
	Garoseque	1
	Gogunga	1
	Izua	1
	Maguaza	1
	Massango	1
	Mativangue	1
	Mexicongo	2
	Monjolo	1
	Mossongo	1
	Mossuma	1
	Muchiengue	1
	Mudungo	1
	Mutimoma	1
	Muvales	1
	Nanpinda	1
	Ongó	1
	Ongonga	1
	Pulonda	1

Table B.13 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Redondo	1
	Sungo	1
	Tipea	1
	Tipeo	1
	Uamba	4
	Uambo	3
	Uanba	4
	Uanbo	6
	Uango	1
	Uanha	3
	Uanima	1
	Ubarunda	2
	Ubarundu	1
	Ubia	1
	Ubiá	1
	Ucandé	1
	Ucanganda	1
	Ucanjonga	1
Benguela	Ucarista	1
	Uchipea	2
	Uculema	1
	Udandiba	1
	Uembe	1
	Ueteca	1
	Ufendi	1
	Ugamba	1
	Uganda	1
	Ugaranga	1
	Ugarangue	6
	Uguambo	1
	Ugunha	1
	Uiango	1
	Uitequé	1
	Uitera	1
	Uiva	1
	Ulimba	1

Table B.13 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Umama	1
	Umanga	2
	Unana	1
	Unane	23
	Unané	2
	Unanga	1
	Unbarunda	1
	Unbarundu	1
	Unbonga	1
	Unbuim	1
	Unbungo	1
	Unduim	1
	Undunba	1
Benguela	Unganda	1
	Ungarangue	2
	Ungarengue	1
	Ungoa	1
	Ungonga	1
	Unhangue	1
	Unlungo	1
	Unspecified	1
	Urebo	1
	Uronga	1
	Ussamba	1
	Ussanba	2
	Utanba	1
	Uttere	1
Total		217

Sources: ANRJ, *Feliz*, cod. 184, vol. 3, ff. 72-81.

Table B.14 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Brigue Leal*, 1839

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Benbe	2
	Bobenbe	1
	Bongo	7
	Cabinda	15
	Caponbo	1
	Congo	13
	Cubenba	1
	Cunhe	2
	Loango	13
	Lunbo	1
	Maionbe	19
	Marinba	1
	Miaca	2
	Micunhe	2
	Mionbe	3
	Miteca	1
	Miteque	25
	Mobenbe	2
	Mobende	1
	Mocanhe	1
	Mocanina	1
	Mocenbe	1
Ambriz	Mocunhe	15
	Mocuta	2
	Mojolo	2
	Molembo	3
	Molombo	1
	Molumbo	1
	Molunbo	2
	Monjolo	1
	Mossangue	4
	Mossunde	16
	Mozabe	24
	Mozeco	1

Table B.14 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Ambriz	Mozeniga	1
	Mucunhe	2
	Muiaca	18
	Muinda	1
	Mussenbe	1
	Muteca	52
	Muteque	4
	Mutiniga	1
	Nocoso	1
	Ocarango	1
	Quilunga	3
	Quinteque	4
	Quiteque	9
	Sunde	25
	Tiaca	2
	Unspecified	3
Total		315

Sources: ANRJ, *Leal*, cod. 184, vol. 4, ff. 14-19 and Luciano Raposo, *Marcas de Escravos: Listas de Escravos Emancipados Vindos a Bordo de Navios Negreiros, 1839-1841* (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1990), *facsimile* copy.

Table B.15 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Escuna Duquesa de Bragança*, 1834

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
Luanda	Angola	44
	Baca	3
	Bamba	9
	Benguela	6
	Benguella	40
	Bié	3

Table B.15 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Cabinda	10
	Cabundá	2
	Calabar	4
	Calunda	3
	Camba	1
	Camondongo	1
	Camundongo	1
	Cassange	10
	Comba	16
	Conga	2
	Congo	78
	Congoa	1
	Dondo	2
	Dúlu	1
Luanda	Inhambane	1
	Inhoé	4
	Mina	2
	Moange	12
	Moçambique	2
	Monjollo	3
	Monjolo	1
	Quissama	3
	Rebola	2
	Rebollo	3
	Rebolo	1
	Songo	1
	Yarra	1
	Unspecified	3
Total		276

Sources: ANRJ, *Duquesa de Bragança*, cod. 471, ff. 1-9.

Table B.16 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the *Patacho*

***Especulador*, 1839**

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Angola	4
	Baca	2
	Banba	1
	Barando	1
	Barangongo	1
	Barundo	20
	Benguella	20
	Bié	18
	Bonba	1
	Bongo	1
	Cabundo	1
	Cacunde	1
	Caíra	1
	Camama	1
	Candunbe	2
	Candunbo	4
Benguela	Canduro	1
	Carembe	1
	Caronbo	1
	Caveta	1
	Chamaco	1
	Cocangange	1
	Cocuje	1
	Coma	1
	Comonguera	1
	Congori	1
	Coqueto	1
	Coquina	1
	Cuanbo	1
	Cuango	1
	Cuanha	1
	Cugange	1
	Culongo	1
	Cumba	1

Table B.16 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Cumbundo	1
	Cunane	1
	Cunhanba	1
	Cunhema	1
	Cunhemba	1
	Cuquipera	1
	Cussambo	1
	Cutepeio	1
	Cuxibanba	1
	Cuxiundo	1
	Damba	1
	Danba	1
	Donbo	1
	Donde	2
	Dulo	4
	Dunbo	1
	Duro	1
	Gamguella	1
Benguela	Ganda	3
	Gande	1
	Ganguela	2
	Ganguella	41
	Garanga	3
	Garangue	18
	Gavanga	1
	Hipeio	1
	Inhangue	1
	Moma	3
	Mongo	1
	Mungo	2
	Muximanga	1
	Nema	1
	Oanba	17
	Oanbo	4
	Ogijunba	1
	Onana	1
	Oribindo	1

Table B.16 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Peió	1
	Pumbo	1
	Pungo	1
	Quanbe	1
	Quequibula	1
	Querendé	1
	Quibanda	1
	Quibura	1
	Quicuma	1
	Quingoa	1
	Quingolo	1
	Quiovanda	1
	Quirombo	2
Benguela	Quironbo	2
	Quita	1
	Quitete	1
	Quivanda	1
	Samba	2
	Sanba	4
	Soco	1
	Sonbe	1
	Songo	3
	Tiaca	2
	Tiegue	1
	Vanda	1
	Unspecified	3
Total		259

Sources: ANRJ, *Especulador*, cod. 184, vol. 4, ff. 1-5 and Raposo, *Marcas de Escravos*, *facsimile* copy.

Table B.17 - Designations of Origin Available in the List of Liberated Africans from the Unknown Vessel, c.1840

Port of embarkation	Designations of origin	Number of recaptives
	Angola	18
	Benguela	1
	Congo	136
	Miombe	14
Ambriz	Moange	8
	Monjolo	19
	Rebola	1
	Rebolo	9
	Unspecified	3
Total		209

Sources: AHI, Coleções Especiais, enclosed with the list of the *Brilhante*, lata 4, maço 3, pasta 1.

Slave Registers of Angola, 1855-1856

Table B.18 – Designations of Origin Available in the Slave Register of Benguela, 1855-1856

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Ambaca	20
Ambriz	5
Ambrizete	1
Andulo	3
Arui ou Lui	1
Bacusso	1
Bailundo	199
Bengo	5

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Benguela	126
Bie	253
Biscuco	1
Blungo	1
Bonge	1
Bongo	2
Bulo	3
Bulu	2
Bumba	1
Bumbo	1
Busaeo	2
Buy	1
Cabinda	1
Cabongo	1
Cabunda	2
Cabundau	1
Cacaquesa	1
Cacate	1
Cacoco	10
Cacombo	1
Caconda	86
Cacondo	2
Cacovo	2
Cadumbo	3
Cagongo	1
Caguingue	2
Cahila	1
Calambe	1
Calemba	1
Calembe	1
Caloeio	1
Caluceque	1
Caluguembe	2
Calumbo	1
Calundula	1
Calundura	1

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Caluquemba	1
Caluquembe	4
Caluquimba	1
Cambunda	1
Cambundo	1
Candala	2
Candumbo	6
Candundo	1
Candungo	1
Canela	1
Cangande	1
Caoumbo	1
Capeia	1
Capira	1
Caquengue	1
Caquinge	1
Caquingua	1
Caquingue	7
Carazando	1
Cassanje	29
Cassendi	1
Cassoco	1
Cassoleca	1
Cassongo	1
Cassongue	3
Cassungo	1
Casumbo	1
Catara	1
Catumbela	54
Caula	1
Caumbiza	1
Cauombe	1
Cazenda	1
Cazengo	1
Cazonda	1
Celes	7
Chindumbula	1

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Co-Bissolela	1
Combule	1
Congo	14
Congoia	2
Corioco ou Cohioco	1
Cuacango	1
Cubala	1
Cucaiba	1
Cumbe	1
Cumbile	2
Cumbira	6
Cunano	2
Cuteia	1
Dande	6
Daquela	1
Demba	1
Dembos	1
Dombe	36
Dombe Grande	22
Dombe Pequeno	6
Dongo	2
Dula	1
Dulo	1
Duro	1
Ecumbiza	2
Egito	14
Embimbi	1
Endulo	1
Galanga	20
Galange	1
Galangue	67
Galangues	45
Galengue	1
Gamba	2
Gambos	4
Ganda	11

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Gandaveia	1
Ganguela	146
Ganguelas	5
Gania	1
Genga	1
Genge	1
Gerolo	1
Ginga	13
Goia	9
Golungo	1
Golungo Alto	12
Gonga	1
Gongo	2
Guaca	1
Guademba	1
Guengere	1
Guilenges	1
Guilengues	11
Guingolo	8
Guiolo	1
Gumbui	1
Gunga	2
Gungia	1
Gungolo	3
Guri	1
Hambe	1
Hambo	147
Hamboim	2
Hambuim	16
Hanha	48
Hanha da Caconda	2
Hanha de Caconda	2
Hanherriba	2
Heles ou Celes	1
Hilunda	1
Hombe	14

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Hongui	1
Huambe	1
Huambo	1
Huande	1
Huila	1
Humbe	5
Humbi	2
Humbo	1
Hungoia	1
Icolo e Bengo	1
Imemba	1
Jamba	1
Lembo	1
Libolo	11
Loboelo	2
Lobolo	1
Luanda	96
Lubar	25
Lubiri	1
Lubolo	7
Lucala	1
Lucegue	1
Luceque	4
Lui	4
Lumbo	1
Lunda	5
Luvemba	1
Luvenda	1
Mango	1
Mangosa	1
Massangano	5
Matiamvo	3
Moçambique	1
Molemo	1
Moma	5
Mongoca	2

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Mongoia	11
Monjolo	1
Mossoquel	1
Mucangula	1
Mucanio	1
Mucele	1
Mucerra	1
Mucuanhama	1
Mucusso	1
Mugaguela	1
Muganguela	5
Mugangula	1
Muhumbe	1
Muimbo	1
Mulua	1
Mulue	1
Muncombe	1
Mungeria	1
Mungo	3
Mungoia	13
Munguese	1
Mussambe	1
Mussumbe	4
Mutende	1
Mutumbe	1
Nalende	1
Nambua	1
Nando	1
Nano	44
Nbala	1
Nbondo	1
Nbui	1
Ndombe	1
Ndonde	1
Ndungo	1
Nete	1

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Ngala	1
Ngambe	1
Ngoia	5
Ngola	22
Nhanha	4
Nhemba	1
Niatianhe	1
Noguengue	1
Nondolo	1
Novo Redondo	31
Numbulo	1
Nutibe	1
Pambagala	1
Pedra de Encoje	1
Pirama	3
Pungo Andongo	11
Quangasi	1
Quanza	3
Quecuombe	1
Quengolo	1
Quengue	1
Quiaca	88
Quiambula	1
Quianhama	1
Quibala	8
Quibanda	69
Quibinda	1
Quibombo	1
Quibula	28
Quibulo	1
Quibumba	1
Quibumbo	1
Quibunda	2
Quica	2
Quicangue	2
Quicombo	2

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Quicuma	3
Quicumba	1
Quicunga	1
Quihumbe	1
Quilenguas	1
Quilengues	52
Quilombo	15
Quiluanje	1
Quiluza	1
Quimbanda	1
Quimbundo	8
Quimoma	1
Quimuma	1
Quincoela	1
Quindumbo	1
Quingolo	26
Quinono	1
Quinza	1
Quioco	1
Quiogo	1
Quipeio	36
Quipeo	1
Quipepa	1
Quipingo	1
Quipipa	3
Quipungo	1
Quirono	1
Quisanje	1
Quiseca	1
Quisesa	1
Quissama	8
Quissamba	1
Quissandala	1
Quissandura	1
Quissanje	11
Quitata	2

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Quitato	1
Quitumba	1
Quitumbo	1
Quiuama	1
Quivava	1
Quizamba	1
Quogoma	1
Qusaca	1
Rebolo	1
Rio	3
Saca	1
Sacabuqueste	1
Samba	1
Sambo	20
Sambos	2
São Tomé	1
Seles	24
Sertão	2
Sertão de Benguela	14
Sertão de Luanda	3
Silamba	1
Songo	7
Soulo	1
Suboelo	1
Sumbe	4
Sumbo	1
Talagoce	1
Tende	1
Tendi	1
Tenguere	1
Ucongae	1
Uhande	1
Uhembo	1
Uhila	2
Umbe	1
Ussoque	1

Table B.18 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Utona	3
Utono	2
Zanzimbar	1
Zenza	1
Zucaca	1
Zuibula	1
Unspecified	35
Total	2588

Sources: AHNA, Registro de Escravos de Benguela, cod. 3160.

Table B.19 – Designations of Origin Available in the Slave Register of Luanda, 1855-1856

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Ambaca	331
Ambris	1
Ambriz	60
Ambrizete	1
Andulo	3
Angola	60
Anguille	1
Bailundo	17
Bambo	1
Bangla	3
Bembe	6
Bengo	80
Benguela	60
Benguela Velha	1
Benguella	24
Bie	99
Bihé	71
Bimba	1

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Bimbe	8
Bimbi	1
Boma	4
Bombe	1
Bondo	21
Bongo	1
Bumbe	1
Bumbo	2
Cabinda	21
Cabocassa	1
Caboco	2
Caboco Cabiri	4
Cabunda	3
Caconda	1
Caconje	2
Cacuaco	2
Caculo	4
Cadumbe	1
Caenda	1
Caginga	3
Calambo	1
Calanaula	1
Calandula	102
Calandule	3
Calandulo	1
Calumbo	38
Calunda	3
Calundo	1
Calundula	30
Cambambe	13
Cambande	3
Cambe	5
Cambua Pungo Andongo	1
Cancuye	1
Candambe	1
Cande	2

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Candumbe	1
Capanga	4
Caquango	1
Caquila	1
Casanga	5
Casongo	1
Cassane	1
Cassange	160
Cassanje	279
Cassongo	1
Catandula	6
Catinda	1
Catumba	1
Catumbo	1
Cauige	1
Caxillo	1
Cazanga	6
Cazengo	286
Cazengue	1
Chinge	2
Chovi	1
Colunda	1
Congo	1641
Corobala	1
Criolo	1
Cuango	4
Cuanza	1
Cubinga	1
Culonde	1
Cuque	1
Cuquim	1
Cuso	1
Dambe	2
Dande	49
Demba	1
Dembos	13

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Dombe	2
Donde	2
Dondo	8
Dongo	2
Dulo	1
Duque	8
Duque de Bragança	2
Encoge	14
Encoje	34
Funda	1
Galenga	1
Gangahé	1
Ganguela	5
Ganguella	1
Geja	1
Ginga	393
Ginge	11
Gola	1
Golungo	8
Golungo Alto	28
Guibala	1
Guilenges	1
Guilengues	5
Gumba	1
Hairy	1
Hambo	1
Hari-Huiga	1
Hojol	2
Holo	1
Huengo	1
Hungo	1
Icollo e Bengo	1
Icolo	30
Icolo e Bengo	4
Ilha	75
Ilha de Cazanga	3

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Ilha de Mussulo	1
Ilha do Cabo	8
Ilha do Desterro	4
Ilhas	3
Ilhas Adjacentes	1
Lacunda	1
Lemba	1
Lembe	1
Libollo	41
Libolo	365
Libongo	9
Loanda	241
Loango	1
Lovar	1
Luanda	421
Luango	1
Lubale	6
Luballe	4
Lucala	4
Lucunda	1
Lucuye	1
Lumbe	1
Lunda	73
Luvalle	1
Luvar	1
Luxime	1
Mabamba	1
Mabuco	2
Mabumbo	14
Macoca	1
Maçongo	1
Macuta	1
Magomba	1
Mahungo	11
Malanje	1
Malumbo	1

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Malunga	1
Mambumbo	1
Manengo	1
Mapuco	1
Massangano	47
Massango	2
Massongo	3
Matemo	2
Matiambo	3
Matiamvo	5
Matianvo	8
Matumbo	2
Maungo	1
Mobumba	1
Mobumbo	5
Moçambique	1
Moçâmedes	2
Moceque	13
Molembo	1
Molua	2
Molue	4
Moluz	12
Monengo	1
Mongolo	2
Monjolo	4
Morro da Cruz	5
Mossamedes	1
Mosseque	1
Motembo	3
Motemo	9
Mubomba	1
Mubumba	1
Mubumbo	17
Mucenie	1
Muenge	1
Mugenga	1

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Mugongo	1
Muhuo	1
Muicanga	1
Mujol	1
Mujolo	4
Mulua	58
Mulue	20
Mulumbo	1
Muluz	1
Mungulo	1
Munjollo	1
Munta-a-Gombe	1
Mussango	1
Musseque	5
Mussonyemo	1
Mussulo	1
Mutamo	3
Mutembo	1
Mutemo	42
Mutumbo	2
Mutumo	2
Muxiconga	3
Muxicongo	24
Muxima	6
Nbumbo	1
Ngala	1
Ngola	316
Ngola Calunga	1
Ngolagumba	1
Ngolla	3
Ngolo	1
Ngonga	1
Novo Redondo	23
Pedra de Encoje	4
Pernambuco	1
Pungo Andongo	27

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Quango	6
Quanza	21
Quiaca	1
Quibala	10
Quibale	3
Quiballa	1
Quibele	1
Quiconda	1
Quiengue	2
Quifangondo	1
Quilamba	1
Quilemba	1
Quilengues	7
Quilunda	2
Quimbe	1
Quinania	1
Quingale	1
Quioco	1
Quisembi	1
Quissama	387
Quissamba	2
Quissengue	2
Quitala	1
Rio de Janeiro	1
Rio Ginga	1
Salvador	1
Samba	9
Sangi	1
São José de Encoge	1
São Tomé	1
Sarra	1
Seiye	3
Selle	1
Senge	1
Senha	1
Seniye	2

Table B.19 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Soco	1
Songa	1
Songo	48
Songue	1
Sosso	2
Subala	1
Sumbo	1
Sunde	1
Sunje	1
Tala Mugongo	2
Talla Maxingo	1
Tambo	1
Tombo	7
Ungo	3
Xinge	5
Zaire	1
Zenco	1
Zenza	14
Zenza do Golungo	7
Zombo	2
Zuaze	1
Zubala	1
Zulunda	1
Zunza	1
Unspecified	740
Total	7522

Sources: AHNA, Registro de Escravos de Luanda, cod. 2467, 2482, 2524, 2845, 2862, 3186, 3254, 3260 and box 135.

Table B.20 – Designations of Origin Available in the Slave Register of Novo Redondo, 1855-1856

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Ambaca	19
Ambriz	2
Ambuim	322
Ambuima	1
Anambo	1
Angola	13
Bailundo	5
Bamangala	1
Benguela	3
Benguela Velha	2
Bié	43
Buto Curinde	1
Cahi	1
Cai	1
Calundula	1
Calungo	1
Caqui	1
Cassambe	1
Cassambo sem Peles	1
Cassanje	34
Cassenda	1
Cassuca	1
Cassucia	1
Catumbe	1
Caucia	1
Ceiro	1
Coango	1
Coanza	1
Columba	1
Congo	13
Copanza	1
Cuso	1
Cuvo	1
Dande	3

Table B.20 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Dembo	1
Dombo	1
Donga	1
Duque de Bragança	1
Egito	1
Encoje	3
Ganguela	5
Ginga	20
Gola	7
Golungo Alto	1
Gonga	1
Gongo	1
Gunza	2
Himba	6
Hombe	125
Humbe	3
Humbe a Hengue	2
Libolo	56
Libongo	2
Luanda	26
Lubar	3
Mahombe	2
Mahungo	1
Maiombe	1
Massangano	1
Mationgo	1
Mohambe	7
Mohumbe	6
Mossambe	10
Mossule	1
Mossumba	1
Mossumbe	28
Moxicongo	1
Muambe	1
Mucambo	1
Mucile	1

Table B.20 (Cont.)

Designations of origin	Number of slaves
Muhombe	3
Mulua	3
Mulue	2
Mussambo	1
Muxicongo	5
Nano	15
Novo Redondo	28
Poaia	1
Pungo	1
Pungo Andongo	4
Quatar	1
Quibala	3
Quibingula	1
Quibussinta	1
Quicombo	16
Quilengues de Benguela	2
Quilunda	12
Quimbundo	1
Quipala	4
Quissama	20
Quissaquesa	2
Quissaquina	1
Seles	83
Songo	4
Sumbe	5
Tanda	1
Tunda	99
Zenzua	1
Unspecified	21
Total	1154

Sources: AHNA, Registro de Escravos de Novo Redondo, cod.

2830.

Estimates

Table B.21 – Estimated Number of Slaves Embarked from the Ports North of Luanda by Linguistic and Ethnic Groups, 1831-1855

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Holo	Maolo	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kadi	Caré	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kasamba	Curamba	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Cassange	13	3,412
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kisama	Guisamá	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quiçamá	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quisamá	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebola	3	787
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebolo	17	4,462
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cabonda	1	262
Ambriz	Kimbundu	Pende	Mobende	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Dange	Dange	2	525
Ambriz	Kikongo	Dange	Miange	10	2,625
Ambriz	Kikongo	Dange	Moange	8	2,100
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbamba	Bamba	1	262

Table B.21 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbamba	Nobamba	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbamba	Quibombo	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbembe	Benbe	2	525
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbembe	Bobenbe	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbembe	Cubenba	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Mbembe	Mobenbe	2	525
Ambriz	Kikongo	Ngoyo	Oio	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Nsonso	Soso	2	525
Ambriz	Kikongo	Nsundi	Mossunde	16	4,199
Ambriz	Kikongo	Nsundi	Sunde	25	6,561
Ambriz	Kikongo	Pumbu	Caponbo	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Solongo	Cusolongo	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Solongo	Mossorongo	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Solongo	Soyo	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Suku	Mozeco	1	262
Ambriz	Kikongo	Yaka	Miaca	2	525
Ambriz	Kikongo	Yaka	Muiaca	18	4,724
Ambriz	Kikongo	Yaka	Tiaca	2	525
Ambriz	Kota	Okota	Mocuta	2	525
Ambriz	Kunyi	Kunyi	Cunhe	2	525
Ambriz	Kunyi	Kunyi	Micunhe	2	525
Ambriz	Kunyi	Kunyi	Mocanhe	1	262
Ambriz	Kunyi	Kunyi	Mocunhe	15	3,937

Table B.21 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Ambriz	Kunyi	Kunyi	Mucunhe	2	525
Ambriz	Lumbu	Lumbu	Lomba	1	262
Ambriz	Lumbu	Lumbu	Lunbo	1	262
Ambriz	Lumbu	Lumbu	Molombo	1	262
Ambriz	Lumbu	Lumbu	Molumbo	1	262
Ambriz	Lumbu	Lumbu	Molunbo	2	525
Ambriz	Ndonga	Nkusu	Nocoso	1	262
Ambriz	Njebi	Nzabi	Mozabe	24	6,299
Ambriz	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Cumba	2	525
Ambriz	Ruund	Lunda	Malliava	1	262
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Miteca	1	262
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Miteque	25	6,561
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Mojolo	2	525
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Monjolo	54	14,173
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Muteca	52	13,648
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Muteque	4	1,050
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Quinteque	4	1,050
Ambriz	Teke	Tio	Quiteque	9	2,362
Ambriz	Teke	Tsintsege	Mozeniga	1	262
Ambriz	Teke	Tsintsege	Mutiniga	1	262
Ambriz	Umbundu	Kakonda	Conda	1	262
Ambriz	Umbundu	Kikuma	Cacoma	1	262

Table B.21 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Ambriz	Umbundu	Ndombe	Domba	1	262
Ambriz	Umbundu	Viye	Bié	1	262
Ambriz	Yansi	Muyanji	Moiange	8	2,100
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Biomba	1	262
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Maionbe	19	4,987
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Malanba	1	262
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Meinbo	1	262
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Miombe	14	3,674
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Miombo	6	1,575
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Mionbe	3	787
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Moiomba	2	525
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Moiombe	1	262
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Moiombo	11	2,887
Ambriz	Yombe	Yombe	Moionbo	1	262
Congo River	Bangi	Kanga	Congo Canga	1	262
Congo River	Bangi	Ngele	Congo Guele	1	262
Congo River	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Congo Bangola	1	262
Congo River	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Congo Cola	1	262
Congo River	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Congo Mondongo	7	1,837
Congo River	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Congo Quisadonga	1	262
Congo River	Kimbundu	Njinga	Congo Ginga	3	787

Table B.21 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Congo River	Kimbundu	Njinga	Congo Mucinga	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Kakongo	Congo Conche	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Kakongo	Congo Gongo	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Kongo	Congo Bansa	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Kongo	Congo Musicongo	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Kongo	Congo Real	2	525
Congo River	Kikongo	Kongo	Musicongo	3	787
Congo River	Kikongo	Lemba	Congo Lemba	3	787
Congo River	Kikongo	Madimba	Congo Mudimba	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Mbamba	Congo Bamba	2	525
Congo River	Kikongo	Mpangu	Congo Antpaango	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Nlaza	Congo Enlasa	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Nlaza	Congo Monlaso	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Nsonso	Congo Chocho	3	787
Congo River	Kikongo	Nsonso	Congo Damba	8	2,100
Congo River	Kikongo	Nsonso	Congo Ensuso	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Nsonso	Congo Sozo	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Nsundi	Congo Musundi	7	1,837
Congo River	Kikongo	Okango	Congo Cango	3	787
Congo River	Kikongo	Suku	Congo Densuco	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Suku	Congo Ensuca	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Suku	Congo Ensumga	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Suku	Congo Suca	1	262

Table B.21 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Congo River	Kikongo	Yaka	Congo Llanga	1	262
Congo River	Kikongo	Zombo	Congo Esombe	1	262
Congo River	Lumbu	Lumbu	Congo Lombo	1	262
Congo River	Totela	Totela	Congo Totela	1	262
Congo River	Vili	Loango	Congo Biri	2	525
Congo River	Vili	Loango	Congo Luango	6	1,575
Congo River	Yombe	Yombe	Congo Moyombe	8	2,100
Congo River	Yombe	Yombe	Congo Mullombe	5	1,312
Loango	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Congo Mondongo	355	93,173
Loango	Kikongo	Nsundi	Congo Musundi	116	30,445
Loango	Vili	Loango	Congo Luango	118	30,970
Loango	Yombe	Yombe	Congo Mullombe	7	1,837
Mayumba	Kikongo	Lemba	Congo Lemba	2	525
Mayumba	Kikongo	Nsundi	Congo Musundi	11	2,887
Mayumba	Vili	Loango	Congo Luango	31	8,136
Mayumba	Yombe	Yombe	Congo Moyombe	2	525
Mayumba	Yombe	Yombe	Congo Mullombe	42	11,023
Total				1,194	313,375

Note: See Chapter Three for further details on the estimates procedures.

Sources: Tables B.1 to B.20.

Table B.22 – Estimated Number of Slaves Embarked from Luanda by Linguistic and Ethnic Groups, 1831-1855

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Cokwe	Cokwe	Chovi	1	87
Luanda	Cokwe	Cokwe	Quioco	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Bondo	Bondo	21	1,818
Luanda	Kimbundu	Holo	Holo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Hungo	Hungo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Hungo	Mahungo	11	952
Luanda	Kimbundu	Hungo	Maungo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Hungo	Ungo	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kadi	Hairy	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kadi	Hari-Huiga	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calanaula	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calandula	102	8,830
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calandule	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calandulo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calundula	30	2,597
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Catandula	6	519
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Bangla	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Cassane	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Cassange	483	41,813

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Corobala	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Guibala	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quibala	10	866
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quibale	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quiballa	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Subala	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kipala	Zubala	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quisama	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quisamá	8	693
Luanda	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quissama	390	33,763
Luanda	Kimbundu	Libolo	Libollo	41	3,549
Luanda	Kimbundu	Libolo	Libolo	365	31,598
Luanda	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebola	7	606
Luanda	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebollo	10	866
Luanda	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebolo	91	7,878
Luanda	Kimbundu	Lunga	Malunga	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cabunda	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cabundá	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Camba	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Demba	1	87

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Dembos	13	1,125
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Gumba	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Mabamba	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Magomba	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Camondongo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Camundongo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Dongo	2	173
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Gola	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Mongolo	2	173
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Mungulo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngola	316	27,356
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngola Calunga	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngolagumba	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngolla	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngolo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Njinga	Caginga	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Njinga	Cambande	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Njinga	Ginga	393	34,022
Luanda	Kimbundu	Njinga	Ginge	11	952
Luanda	Kimbundu	Njinga	Mugenga	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ntemo	Matemo	2	173
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ntemo	Motemo	9	779

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ntemo	Mutamo	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Ntemo	Mutemo	42	3,636
Luanda	Kimbundu	Shinje	Chinge	2	173
Luanda	Kimbundu	Shinje	Xinge	5	433
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Casongo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Cassongo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Maçongo	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Massango	2	173
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Massongo	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Mussango	1	87
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Songa	3	260
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Songo	53	4,588
Luanda	Kimbundu	Songo	Songue	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Dange	Moange	12	1,039
Luanda	Kikongo	Kakongo	Mugongo	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Kongo	Congoa	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Kongo	Muxiconga	3	260
Luanda	Kikongo	Kongo	Muxicongo	24	2,078
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbamba	Bamba	9	779
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbamba	Bambo	1	87

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbembe	Bembe	6	519
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbembe	Bimba	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbembe	Bimbe	8	693
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbembe	Bimbi	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Mbembe	Quimbe	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Nsonso	Sosso	2	173
Luanda	Kikongo	Nsundi	Sunde	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Nsundi	Sunje	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Suku	Soco	1	87
Luanda	Kikongo	Zombo	Zombo	2	173
Luanda	Kota	Okota	Macuta	1	87
Luanda	Lumbu	Lumbu	Malumbo	1	87
Luanda	Lumbu	Lumbu	Mulumbo	1	87
Luanda	Ndonga	Nkusu	Cuso	1	87
Luanda	Ndonga	Nyengo	Huengo	1	87
Luanda	Ndonga	Nyengo	Manengo	1	87
Luanda	Ndonga	Nyengo	Monengo	1	87
Luanda	Ngangela	Luvale	Lovar	1	87
Luanda	Ngangela	Luvale	Lubale	6	519
Luanda	Ngangela	Luvale	Luballe	4	346
Luanda	Ngangela	Luvale	Luvalle	1	87
Luanda	Ngangela	Luvale	Luvar	1	87

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Ngangela	Ngangela	Gangahé	1	87
Luanda	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguela	5	433
Luanda	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguella	1	87
Luanda	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Comba	16	1,385
Luanda	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Guilenges	1	87
Luanda	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Guilengues	5	433
Luanda	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Quilengues	7	606
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Calunda	6	520
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Calundo	1	87
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Columda	1	87
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Lunda	73	6,320
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Matiambo	3	260
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Matiamvo	5	433
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Matianvo	8	693
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Molua	2	173
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Molue	4	346
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Moluz	12	1,039
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Mulua	58	5,021
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Mulue	20	1,731
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Muluz	1	87
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Quilunda	2	173

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Ruund	Lunda	Zulunda	1	87
Luanda	Teke	Mbe	Cambe	5	433
Luanda	Teke	Tio	Monjollo	3	260
Luanda	Teke	Tio	Monjolo	7	606
Luanda	Teke	Tio	Mujol	1	87
Luanda	Teke	Tio	Mujolo	4	346
Luanda	Teke	Tio	Munjollo	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Donde	Donde	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Kakonda	Caconda	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Kakonda	Quiconda	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Kenge	Muenge	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Kenge	Quiengue	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Kenge	Quissengue	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Kenge	Senge	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Kiyaka	Quiaca	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Lemba	Lemba	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Lemba	Lembe	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Lemba	Lumbe	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Lemba	Quilemba	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Bailundo	17	1,472
Luanda	Umbundu	Nbova	Lacunda	1	87

Table B.22 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Luanda	Umbundu	Nbova	Lucunda	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndombe	Cadumbe	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndombe	Candambe	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndombe	Candumbe	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dambe	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dombe	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndulu	Andulo	3	260
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndulu	Dulo	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ndulu	Dúlu	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galenga	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Sambu	Quissamba	2	173
Luanda	Umbundu	Sambu	Samba	9	779
Luanda	Umbundu	Sambu	Sumbo	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Sanga	Casanga	5	433
Luanda	Umbundu	Sele	Selle	1	87
Luanda	Umbundu	Viye	Bie	99	8,570
Luanda	Umbundu	Viye	Bié	3	260
Luanda	Umbundu	Viye	Bihé	71	6,147
Luanda	Umbundu	Wambu	Hambo	1	87
Total				3,088	267,330

Note: See Chapter Three for details on the estimates procedures.

Sources: Tables B.1 to B.20.

Table B.23 – Estimated Number of Slaves Embarked from the Ports South of Luanda by Linguistic and Ethnic Groups, 1831-1855

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Cokwe	Cokwe	Cojoco	1	56
Benguela	Cokwe	Cokwe	Corioco ou Cohioco	1	56
Benguela	Cokwe	Cokwe	Quioco	1	56
Benguela	Cokwe	Cokwe	Quiogo	1	56
Benguela	Herero	Hiimba	Muimbo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Hungo	Biungo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Hungo	Combaungo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Hungo	Ongó	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kadi	Caromoxingo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calundula	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calundura	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Quissandala	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Quissandura	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Cassange	29	1,624
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Congoia	2	112
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Cubala	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Goia	9	504
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Hungoia	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Mongoia	11	616

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Mungoia	13	728
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Nbala	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Ngoia	5	280
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quibala	8	448
Benguela	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quissama	8	448
Benguela	Kimbundu	Libolo	Caula	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Libolo	Libolo	11	616
Benguela	Kimbundu	Libolo	Lobolo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Libolo	Lubolo	7	392
Benguela	Kimbundu	Libolo	Rebolo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cabunda	2	112
Benguela	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cabundau	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Cambundo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Mbundu	Nbondo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Demba	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Dembos	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Dongo	2	112
Benguela	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Ngola	22	1,232
Benguela	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Quiluanje	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Njinga	Congola	2	112
Benguela	Kimbundu	Njinga	Congori	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Njinga	Congulo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Njinga	Genga	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Kimbundu	Njinga	Ginga	13	728
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Cassongo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Cassongue	3	168
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Cassungo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Mossongo	1	56
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Songo	10	560
Benguela	Kimbundu	Songo	Sungo	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Barangongo	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Cagongo	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Congonga	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Congongo	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Ongonga	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kakongo	Ungonga	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Kongo	Mexicongo	2	112
Benguela	Kikongo	Mbamba	Banba	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Mbamba	Cuxibanba	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Mbembe	Embimbi	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Ngoyo	Cauia	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Nsonso	Damba	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Nsonso	Danba	1	56
Benguela	Kikongo	Pumbu	Pumbo	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Ndonga	Ndundo	Candundo	1	56
Benguela	Ndonga	Nkusu	Bacusso	1	56
Benguela	Ndonga	Nkusu	Mucusso	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Kangala	Cabunba	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Luio	Arui ou Lui	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Luio	Caloeio	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Luio	Lui	4	224
Benguela	Ngangela	Luvale	Carova	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Luvale	Cucuale	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Luvale	Lubar	25	1,400
Benguela	Ngangela	Luvale	Muvales	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbande	Huande	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbande	Uhande	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbunda	Cambunda	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbunda	Quibunda	2	112
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbwela	Anbuera	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbwela	Cumbile	2	112
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbwela	Cumbira	6	336
Benguela	Ngangela	Mbwela	Suboelo	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Ndungo	Candungo	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Ndungo	Mudungo	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Ndungo	Ndungo	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Gamguella	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguela	148	8,289
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguelas	5	280
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguella	41	2,296
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Mugaguela	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Muganguela	5	280
Benguela	Ngangela	Ngangela	Mugangula	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Nyemba	Cunhanba	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Nyemba	Cunhemba	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Nyemba	Imemba	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Nyemba	Luvemba	1	56
Benguela	Ngangela	Nyemba	Nhemba	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Cauombe	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Cumba	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Cumbe	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Hombe	14	784
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Humbe	5	280
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Humbi	2	112
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Muhumbe	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Quecuombe	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Quihumbe	1	56
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Uhembo	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Umbe	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Guilenges	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Guilengues	11	616
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Quilenguas	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Quilengues	52	2,912
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kipungu	Caponga	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kipungu	Quipingo	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kipungu	Quipungo	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Kwankua	Cocunha	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Lenda	Luvenda	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Ngambo	Gambos	4	224
Benguela	Nyaneka	Ngambo	Ugamba	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Ngambo	Uguambo	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Nyaneka	Pungo	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Wila	Huila	1	56
Benguela	Nyaneka	Wila	Uhila	2	112
Benguela	Ovambo	Kwanyama	Cunhema	1	56
Benguela	Ovambo	Kwanyama	Mucuanhama	1	56
Benguela	Ovambo	Kwanyama	Nema	1	56
Benguela	Ovambo	Kwanyama	Quianhama	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Calenda	2	112
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Calunda	3	168

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Cucoetá	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Cuxiundo	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Guademba	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Hilunda	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Lunda	5	280
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Matiamvo	3	168
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Mativangue	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Mulua	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Mulue	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Pulonda	1	56
Benguela	Ruund	Lunda	Quiluza	1	56
Benguela	Teke	Teke	Uttere	1	56
Benguela	Teke	Tio	Cuaitele	1	56
Benguela	Teke	Tio	Monjolo	2	112
Benguela	Teke	Tio	Ueteca	1	56
Benguela	Teke	Tio	Uitequé	1	56
Benguela	Teke	Tio	Uitera	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Donde	Donde	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Donde	Ndonde	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ekekete	Coqueto	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Fende	Ufendi	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Anga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Atunduvele	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Camanga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Caveta	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Chamaco	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Coanha	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Coca	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Cocangange	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Comanga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Comonguera	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Cuanha	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Cugange	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Gania	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Hanha	48	2,688
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Hanha de Caconda	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Hanherriba	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Muximanga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Nhanha	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Uanha	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Hanya	Ugunha	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Kaala	Cahila	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kaala	Caíra	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Cachonga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Caconda	87	4,873
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Cacondo	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Cacunde	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Caronbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Quilombo	15	840
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Quirombo	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kakonda	Quironbo	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kalukembe	Caluguembe	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kalukembe	Caluquemba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kalukembe	Caluquembe	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Kalukembe	Caluquimba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kalukembe	Uembe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kenge	Caquengue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kenge	Caquinge	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kenge	Muchiengue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kenge	Quengue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kikuma	Coma	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Kikuma	Quicuma	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Cubangola	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Guingolo	8	448
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Guiolo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Gungolo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Quengolo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kingolo	Quingolo	27	1,512
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Capeia	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Cuchipea	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Cuquipera	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Cutepeio	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Cuxipé	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Hipeio	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Peió	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Quipeio	36	2,016
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Quipeo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Quipepa	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Tipea	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Tipeo	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Kipeyo	Uchipea	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kisanji	Quisanje	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kisanji	Quissanje	11	616
Benguela	Umbundu	Kitata	Quita	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kitata	Quitata	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kitata	Quitato	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kitata	Quitete	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivanda	Quibanda	70	3,921
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivanda	Quimbanda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivanda	Quiovanda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivanda	Quivanda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivanda	Vanda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Bulo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Bulu	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Chindumbula	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Quequbula	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Quiambula	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Quibula	28	1,568
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Quibulo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Quibura	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Kivula	Zuibula	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kiyaka	Cuxijaca	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Kiyaka	Quiaca	88	4,929
Benguela	Umbundu	Kiyaka	Tiaca	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Anganba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Calambe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Calemba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Calembe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Calenbi	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Carembe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Colembe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Gamba	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Lembo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lemba	Ulimba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Lumbo	Lumbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Abarundo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Bailundo	199	11,146
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Barando	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Barundo	21	1,176
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Cabarundu	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Ubarunda	2	112

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Ubarundu	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Unbarunda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Unbarundu	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Bongo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Cabongo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Uiango	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Unbonga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Unbungo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbongo	Unlungo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Buy	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Gumbui	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Hamboim	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Hambuim	16	896
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Nbui	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Unbuim	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Mbui	Unduim	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Camama	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Camame	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Moma	8	448
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Mutimoma	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Quimoma	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Quimuma	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Moma	Umama	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Namba	Utanba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Canano	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Conane	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Cunane	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Cunano	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Nano	44	2,464
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Onana	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Quinono	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Unana	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Unane	23	1,288
Benguela	Umbundu	Nano	Unané	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Cadumbo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Candumbo	6	336
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Candunbe	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Candunbo	5	280
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dombe	36	2,016
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dombe Grande	22	1,232
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dombe Pequeno	6	336

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Donbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Dunbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Ndombe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndombe	Undunba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Andulo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Canduro	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Dula	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Dulo	5	280
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Duro	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Ndulu	Endulo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Carangue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galanga	20	1,120
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galange	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galangue	67	3,753
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galangues	45	2,520
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Galengue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Garanga	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Garangue	18	1,008
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Gavanga	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Quicangue	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Ugaranga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Ugarangue	6	336
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Ungarangue	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Ngalangi	Ungarengue	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Cangande	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Ganda	14	784
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Gandaveia	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Gande	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Ucandé	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Ucanganda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Uganda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Nganda	Unganda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Bundo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Cabundo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Candonde	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Cumbundo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Quindumbo	9	504
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Cassamba	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Casumbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Cussambo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Cussanba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Cussanbo	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Mussambe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Quissamba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Samba	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Sambo	20	1,120
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Sambos	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Sanba	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Sumbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Ussamba	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sambu	Ussanba	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Sanga	Cussanga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sanga	Massango	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sanga	Umanga	2	112
Benguela	Umbundu	Sanga	Unanga	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sele	Celes	7	392
Benguela	Umbundu	Sele	Heles ou Celes	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sele	Mucele	1	56

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Sele	Mucerra	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sele	Seles	24	1,344
Benguela	Umbundu	Soke	Ussoque	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sumbe	Cossumbe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sumbe	Mussumbe	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Sumbe	Nanpinda	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sumbe	Sonbe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Sumbe	Sumbe	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Viye	Bie	253	14,170
Benguela	Umbundu	Viye	Bié	19	1,064
Benguela	Umbundu	Viye	Ubia	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Viye	Ubiá	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Viye	Uiva	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Caoumbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Cuanbo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Hambe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Hambo	147	8,233
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Huambe	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Huambo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Humbo	1	56
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Oanba	17	952

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Oanbo	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Uamba	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Uambo	3	168
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Uanba	4	224
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Uanbo	6	336
Benguela	Umbundu	Wambu	Uango	1	56
Benguela	Vili	Loango	Lubiri	1	56
Benguela	Yombe	Yombe	Alonjonba	1	56
Benguela	Yombe	Yombe	Cochinjomba	2	112
Novo Redondo	Herero	Himba	Himba	6	336
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Hungo	Mahungo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kalandula	Calundula	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Bamangala	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kasanje	Cassange	34	1,904
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quibala	3	168
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kipala	Quipala	4	224
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Kisama	Quissama	20	1,120
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Libolo	Libolo	56	3,137
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Ndembu	Dembo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Donga	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Ndongo	Gola	7	392

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Njinga	Ginga	20	1,120
Novo Redondo	Kimbundu	Songo	Songo	4	224
Novo Redondo	Kikongo	Kongo	Moxicongo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Kikongo	Kongo	Muxicongo	5	280
Novo Redondo	Ndonga	Nkusu	Cuso	1	56
Novo Redondo	Ngangela	Luvale	Lubar	3	168
Novo Redondo	Ngangela	Ngangela	Ganguela	5	280
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Hombe	125	7,001
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Humbe	3	168
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Humbe a Hengue	2	112
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Mahombe	2	112
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Mohambe	7	392
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Mohumbe	6	336
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Muambe	1	56
Novo Redondo	Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	Muhombe	3	168
Novo Redondo	Nyaneka	Kilenge	Quilengues de Benguela	2	112
Novo Redondo	Ovambo	Dombondola	Dombo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Ovambo	Ovambo	Anambo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Ruund	Lunda	Mationgo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Ruund	Lunda	Mulua	3	168
Novo Redondo	Ruund	Lunda	Mulue	2	112

Table B.23 (Cont.)

Port of embarkation	Imputed linguistic group	Imputed ethnic group	Ethnonym recorded	Number of individuals listed	Estimated number of slaves
Novo Redondo	Ruund	Lunda	Quilunda	12	672
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Kaala	Cahi	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Kaala	Cai	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Mbailundu	Bailundo	5	280
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Mbui	Ambuim	322	18,035
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Mbui	Ambuima	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Nano	Nano	15	840
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Ovimbundu	Quimbundo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Cassambe	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Cassambo sem Peles	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Mossambe	10	560
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Mossumba	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Mossumbe	28	1,568
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sambu	Mussambo	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sele	Mucile	1	56
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sele	Seles	83	4,649
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Sumbe	Sumbe	5	280
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Tunda	Tunda	99	5,545
Novo Redondo	Umbundu	Viye	Bié	43	2,408
Novo Redondo	Yombe	Yombe	Maiombe	1	56
Total				3,330	186,510

Note: See Chapter Three for details on the estimates procedures.   Sources: Tables B.1 to B.20.

Table B.24 – Estimated Number of Slaves Leaving Angola by Linguistic and Ethnic Groups,

1831-1855

Linguistic groups	Ethnic groups	Estimated number of slaves
Bangi	Kanga	262
Bangi	Ngele	262
Cokwe	Cokwe	397
Herero	Himba	392
Kimbundu	Bondo	1,818
Kimbundu	Holo	349
Kimbundu	Hungo	1,609
Kimbundu	Kadi	492
Kimbundu	Kalandula	12,660
Kimbundu	Kasamba	262
Kimbundu	Kasanje	49,156
Kimbundu	Kipala	4,807
Kimbundu	Kisama	37,070
Kimbundu	Libolo	54,059
Kimbundu	Lunga	87
Kimbundu	Mbundu	1,062
Kimbundu	Ndembu	1,726
Kimbundu	Ndongo	126,213
Kimbundu	Njinga	38,759
Kimbundu	Ntemo	4,848
Kimbundu	Pende	262
Kimbundu	Shinje	606
Kimbundu	Songo	6,890
Kikongo	Dange	6,288
Kikongo	Kakongo	948
Kikongo	Kongo	4,709
Kikongo	Lemba	1,312
Kikongo	Madimba	262
Kikongo	Mbamba	2,290
Kikongo	Mbembe	3,102
Kikongo	Mpangu	262
Kikongo	Ngoyo	318
Kikongo	Nlaza	525

Table B.24 (Cont.)

Linguistic groups	Ethnic groups	Estimated number of slaves
Kikongo	Nsonso	4,222
Kikongo	Nsundi	46,103
Kikongo	Okango	787
Kikongo	Pumbu	318
Kikongo	Solongo	787
Kikongo	Suku	1,399
Kikongo	Yaka	6,037
Kikongo	Zombo	436
Kota	Okota	611
Kunyi	Kunyi	5,774
Lumbu	Lumbu	2,010
Ndonga	Ndundo	56
Ndonga	Nkusu	517
Ndonga	Nyengo	260
Ngangela	Kangala	56
Ngangela	Luio	336
Ngangela	Luvale	2,862
Ngangela	Mbande	112
Ngangela	Mbunda	168
Ngangela	Mbwela	560
Ngangela	Ndungo	168
Ngangela	Ngangela	12,200
Ngangela	Nyemba	280
Njebi	Nzabi	6,299
Nkhumbi	Nkhumbi	11,880
Nyaneka	Kilenge	4,878
Nyaneka	Kipungu	224
Nyaneka	Kwankua	56
Nyaneka	Lenda	56
Nyaneka	Ngambo	336
Nyaneka	Wila	168
Ovambo	Dombondola	56
Ovambo	Kwanyama	224
Ovambo	Ovambo	56
Ruund	Lunda	19,501
Ruund	Ndemba	56

Table B.24 (Cont.)

Linguistic groups	Ethnic groups	Estimated number of slaves
Teke	Mbe	433
Teke	Monjolo	16,195
Teke	Teke	56
Teke	Tio	25,157
Teke	Tsintsege	525
Totela	Totela	262
Umbundu	Donde	341
Umbundu	Ekekete	56
Umbundu	Fende	56
Umbundu	Hanya	4,257
Umbundu	Kaala	224
Umbundu	Kakonda	6,653
Umbundu	Kalukembe	504
Umbundu	Kenge	743
Umbundu	Kikuma	543
Umbundu	Kingolo	2,408
Umbundu	Kipeyo	2,912
Umbundu	Kisanji	672
Umbundu	Kitata	280
Umbundu	Kivanda	4,145
Umbundu	Kivula	2,184
Umbundu	Kiyaka	5,183
Umbundu	Lemba	962
Umbundu	Lumbo	56
Umbundu	Mbailundu	14,522
Umbundu	Mbongo	448
Umbundu	Mbui	19,379
Umbundu	Moma	784
Umbundu	Namba	56
Umbundu	Nano	5,153
Umbundu	Nbova	173
Umbundu	Ndombe	5,573
Umbundu	Ndulu	1,161
Umbundu	Ngalangi	9,552
Umbundu	Nganda	1,176
Umbundu	Ovimbundu	784

Table B.24 (Cont.)

Linguistic groups	Ethnic groups	Estimated number of slaves
Umbundu	Sambu	5,688
Umbundu	Sanga	713
Umbundu	Sele	6,696
Umbundu	Soke	56
Umbundu	Sumbe	896
Umbundu	Tunda	5,545
Umbundu	Viye	33,050
Umbundu	Wambu	10,952
Vili	Loango	41,262
Yansi	Muyanji	2,100
Yombe	Yombe	32,769
Total		767,215

Sources: Tables B.21 to B.23.

Appendix C

Prices of Slaves Leaving

Luanda, 1780-1830

Information on prices of slaves leaving Angola in the nineteenth century is extremely rare. The prices used here were originally collected from reports of commodities imported and exported from Luanda, the principal port of slave embarkation on the coast of Angola. Colonial officials began to issue these reports in the late eighteenth century, following administrative reform in the Portuguese Empire.[1] They dispatched these reports annually to Lisbon and, during the French occupation of Portugal, to Rio de Janeiro. Unfortunately, only a few of these reports survive to the present day.[2] They give the quantity, price and total value of all merchandise, including slaves, imported and exported from Luanda.

Colonial officials reported the price of slaves in terms of annual averages calculated on the number of adult slaves embarked. Although they were generally purchased with imported commodities, colonial officials communicated the cost of slaves embarked in *réis* (sing. *real*), the Portuguese currency in Angola. Table C.1

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[1] José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History*, no. 29 (2001): 4-12; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "A Dinâmica Demográfica de Luanda no Contexto do Tráfico de Escravos do Atlântico Sul, 1781-1844," *Topoi*, no. 4 (2002): 86-90.

[2] Manolo Florentino, *Em Costas Negras: Uma História do Tráfico Atlântico de Escravos entre a África e o Rio de Janeiro, Séculos XVIII e XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 160; Joseph C. Miller, "Slave Prices in the Portuguese Southern Atlantic, 1600-1830," in *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1986), 67. References to surviving reports are listed in the sources of Table C.1.

shows the prices of slaves leaving Luanda as they appear in the reports available between the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Because the value of the *real* changed significantly with inflation, these prices were deflated using an index built with prices of 35 domestic and foreign articles traded in pounds in Britain between 1779 and 1850.[3] Table C.2 shows these prices deflated by decade between 1780 and 1830.

Table C.1 – Prices of Slaves Leaving Luanda as Reported by Colonial Officials, 1780-1830

Years	Prices in *réis*	Years	Prices in *réis*
1780	53,000	1813	75,000
1790	59,000	1815	70,000
1802	67,940	1816	68,000
1803	69,550	1817	75,000
1804	72,500	1818	75,000
1805	75,000	1819	75,000
1808	67,000	1820	75,000
1809	72,000	1823	60,000
1810	70,000	1824	65,000
1811	70,000	1825	70,000
1812	69,000	1830	150,000

Sources: 1808, 1811 and 1820: Manolo Florentino, *Em Costas Negras*, 160. 1780, 1790 and 1830: Joseph C. Miller, "Slave Prices in the Portuguese Southern Atlantic," 67. 1802-1805, 1809-1810, 1812-1819, 1823-1825: AHU, CU, Angola, box 106 doc. 5; box 109 doc. 54, box 112 doc. 47; box 115 doc. 14; box 121 doc. 6; box 121A doc. 35; box 127 doc. 1; box 128 doc. 26; box 131 doc. 11; box 132 doc. 26; box 133 doc. 3; box 134 doc. 24; box 138 doc. 56; box 144 doc. 92; and box 159 doc. 13.

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[3] Norman J. Silbering, "British Prices and Business Cycles, 1779-1850," *Review of Economics and Statistics* 5 (1923): 232-233.

Table C.2 – Prices of Slaves Leaving Luanda Deflated by Decades, 1780-1830

Years	Nominal prices in *réis*	Silbering indices	Reindex to 1780s	Real prices in *réis*
1780s	53,000	102.6	100.0	53,000
1790s	59,000	128.4	125.1	73,836
1800s	70,570	160.5	156.4	110,395
1810s	72,444	155.8	151.9	110,008
1820s	65,000	105.6	102.9	66,901
1830s	150,000	102.0	99.4	149,123

Sources: Table C.1 and Norman J. Silbering, "British Prices and Busyness Cycles," 232-233.

Appendix D

Imports at Luanda, 1785-1864

The following tables were built with data originally compiled from the customs records of Luanda. They show the value of the commodities imported through that port in thousands of *réis*. It should be noted that customs officials did not record the current value of the merchandise brought there. Rather, the numbers available are estimates that members of the trading board calculated multiplying the amount of goods imported by their annual average price. As a consequence, they should not be regarded as accurate numbers but only as approximations. Nevertheless, they provide a reliable indication of the principal commodities used to purchase slaves in the interior of Angola.

Tabled D.1 and D.2 show the total value and percentage of the commodities imported by categories: alcohol, apparel and notions, Asian textiles, European textiles, foodstuff, ironware and other metals, miscellany articles, and weapons. Tables D.3 to D.10 provide the value of the principal articles imported within each of these categories. They do not include information about the goods introduced during the late eighteenth century because the data for this period was compiled from Joseph Miller's study on the imports at Luanda, which for reasons of space does not itemize all the articles listed in the original sources.[1] Hence, Tables D.3

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[1] Joseph C. Miller, "Imports at Luanda, Angola: 1785-1823," in *Figuring African Trade: Proceedings of the Symposium on the Quantification and Structure of the Import and Export and Long-Distance Trade of Africa in the Nineteenth Century, c.1800-1913 (St. Augustin, 3-6 January 1983)*, ed. Gerhard Liesegang, Helma Pasch, and Adam Jones (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1986), 211-237.

to D.10 provide only data available to the nineteenth century, derived directly from archival sources.

Table D.1 – Commodities Imported at Luanda by Categories (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1785-1864

Years	Alcohol	Apparel and notions	Asian textiles	European textiles
1785-94	1,043,639.0	70,916.0	1,526,555.0	890,592.0
1795-97	560,298.0	-	468,318.0	326,857.0
1798	72,557.0	8,067.0	130,452.0	68,025.0
1799	85,370.0	7,342.0	231,981.0	111,843.0
Subtotal	1,761,864.0	86,325.0	2,357,306.0	1,397,317.0
1802	192,336.6	22,029.3	300,082.6	233,887.1
1803	175,375.6	32,599.6	275,553.1	251,838.8
1804	206,530.8	54,022.0	205,334.3	248,868.4
1805	255,923.0	20,965.0	547,632.9	183,086.5
1809	165,992.0	9,391.3	197,990.1	128,371.2
1810	155,576.6	20,263.5	349,795.8	245,166.1
1812	167,173.0	22,380.0	385,228.8	158,175.4
1813	195,513.2	9,768.5	371,850.6	194,316.2
1815	173,378.1	22,495.0	413,354.8	172,739.7
1816	172,854.0	30,016.4	419,699.7	219,380.7
1817	271,646.6	45,998.9	588,723.2	355,531.2
1818	294,448.7	31,833.5	621,998.7	216,496.8
1819	223,443.4	49,757.6	900,710.2	320,925.1
1823	256,254.6	26,628.4	183,622.8	115,511.3
Subtotal	2,906,446.2	398,148.7	5,761,577.5	3,044,294.3
1837	150,628.6	66,656.4	129,679.1	798,510.4
1861	212,468.8	34,611.8	157,790.7	625,411.1
1862	202,003.8	20,247.9	68,396.3	332,427.2
1863	158,309.4	16,965.1	26,802.6	247,315.2
1864	104,645.3	14,379.3	36,147.8	204,230.6
Subtotal	828,056.0	152,860.5	418,816.6	2,207,894.5
Total	5,496,366.1	637,334.2	8,537,700.0	6,649,505.9

Table D.1 (Cont.)

Years	Foodstuffs	Ironware and other metals	Miscellany	Weapons	Total
1785-94	259,087.0	19,690.0	100,623.0	192,901.0	4,104,003.0
1795-97	126,218.0	-	52,058.0	62,247.0	1,595,996.0
1798	15,662.0	1,206.0	9,566.0	3,257.0	308,792.0
1799	27,310.0	1,772.0	16,070.0	18,587.0	500,275.0
Subtotal	428,277.0	22,668.0	178,317.0	276,992.0	6,509,066.0
1802	43,121.2	19,462.8	97,701.8	25,827.9	934,449.4
1803	69,105.4	35,513.9	81,305.1	76,928.2	998,219.7
1804	94,403.9	33,492.3	77,620.4	62,309.9	982,582.0
1805	-	-	5,875.8	49,514.0	1,062,997.2
1809	33,591.1	24,927.4	18,921.9	6,500.9	585,685.9
1810	35,720.3	18,370.6	42,068.4	12,994.5	879,955.7
1812	46,498.9	14,704.3	34,356.2	33,484.2	862,000.6
1813	32,551.5	10,700.4	29,687.1	691.4	845,079.0
1815	54,789.6	18,426.0	43,136.2	50,693.2	949,012.6
1816	55,357.2	18,267.1	46,815.1	62,029.4	1,024,419.5
1817	48,038.5	50,993.9	69,642.0	153,903.4	1,584,477.6
1818	56,840.2	34,906.1	60,167.0	233,349.6	1,550,040.6
1819	60,329.0	24,945.2	72,613.7	119,560.4	1,772,284.4
1823	94,941.8	47,757.9	38,740.6	51,602.0	815,059.3
Subtotal	725,288.5	352,467.8	718,651.4	939,389.0	14,846,263.4
1837	55,741.3	28,039.0	95,883.5	182,086.4	1,507,224.9
1861	159,587.8	29,433.9	376,533.7	59,687.3	1,655,525.1
1862	96,340.9	21,207.1	178,347.1	8,279.1	927,249.5
1863	93,085.8	28,857.1	114,282.9	11,784.7	697,402.8
1864	81,872.8	16,718.7	120,577.2	15,501.3	594,072.9
Subtotal	486,628.7	124,255.8	885,624.4	277,338.7	5,381,475.2
Total	1,640,194.2	499,391.6	1,782,592.7	1,493,719.7	26,736,804.5

Sources: 1785-1799: Joseph C. Miller, "Imports at Luanda," Table VI.1; 1802-1823: AHU, CU, Angola, box 106 doc. 5; box 109 doc. 54; box 112 doc. 47; box 115 doc. 14; box 121 doc. 6; box 121A doc. 35; box 127 doc. 1; box 128 doc. 26; box 131 doc. 11; box 132 doc. 26; box 133 doc. 3; box 134

doc. 24; box 138 doc. 56; box 144 doc. 94; 1837: AHU, SEMU, Angola, box 593 folder 4; 1861-1864: AHU, SEMU, Angola, box 629, folder 28 and box 638 folder 37.

Table D.2 – Commodities Imported at Luanda by Categories (in Row Percentages), 1785-1864

Years	Alcohol	Apparel and notions	Asian textiles	European textiles
1785-94	25.4	1.7	37.2	21.7
1795-97	35.1	-	29.3	20.5
1798	23.5	2.6	42.2	22.0
1799	17.1	1.5	46.4	22.4
Subtotal	27.1	1.3	36.2	21.5
1802	20.6	2.4	32.1	25.0
1803	17.6	3.3	27.6	25.2
1804	21.0	5.5	20.9	25.3
1805	24.1	2.0	51.5	17.2
1809	28.3	1.6	33.8	21.9
1810	17.7	2.3	39.8	27.9
1812	19.4	2.6	44.7	18.3
1813	23.1	1.2	44.0	23.0
1815	18.3	2.4	43.6	18.2
1816	16.9	2.9	41.0	21.4
1817	17.1	2.9	37.2	22.4
1818	19.0	2.1	40.1	14.0
1819	12.6	2.8	50.8	18.1
1823	31.4	3.3	22.5	14.2
Subtotal	19.6	2.7	38.8	20.5
1837	10.0	4.4	8.6	53.0
1861	12.8	2.1	9.5	37.8
1862	21.8	2.2	7.4	35.9
1863	22.7	2.4	3.8	35.5
1864	17.6	2.4	6.1	34.4
Subtotal	15.4	2.8	7.8	41.0
Total	20.6	2.4	31.9	24.9

Table D.2 (Cont.)

Years	Foodstuffs	Ironware and other metals	Miscellany	Weapons	Total
1785-94	6.3	0.5	2.5	4.7	100.0
1795-97	7.9	-	3.3	3.9	100.0
1798	5.1	0.4	3.1	1.1	100.0
1799	5.5	0.4	3.2	3.7	100.0
Subtotal	6.6	0.3	2.7	4.3	100.0
1802	4.6	2.1	10.5	2.8	100.0
1803	6.9	3.6	8.1	7.7	100.0
1804	9.6	3.4	7.9	6.3	100.0
1805	-	-	0.6	4.7	100.0
1809	5.7	4.3	3.2	1.1	100.0
1810	4.1	2.1	4.8	1.5	100.0
1812	5.4	1.7	4.0	3.9	100.0
1813	3.9	1.3	3.5	0.1	100.0
1815	5.8	1.9	4.5	5.3	100.0
1816	5.4	1.8	4.6	6.1	100.0
1817	3.0	3.2	4.4	9.7	100.0
1818	3.7	2.3	3.9	15.1	100.0
1819	3.4	1.4	4.1	6.7	100.0
1823	11.6	5.9	4.8	6.3	100.0
Subtotal	4.9	2.4	4.8	6.3	100.0
1837	3.7	1.9	6.4	12.1	100.0
1861	9.6	1.8	22.7	3.6	100.0
1862	10.4	2.3	19.2	0.9	100.0
1863	13.3	4.1	16.4	1.7	100.0
1864	13.8	2.8	20.3	2.6	100.0
Subtotal	9.0	2.3	16.5	5.2	100.0
Total	6.1	1.9	6.7	5.6	100.0

Sources: Same as Table D.1.

Table D.3 – Alcohol Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Aguardente	Geribita	Wine	Other	Total
1802	77,520.0	50,150.0	63,352.6	1,314.0	192,336.6
1803	5,813.0	112,125.0	56,528.3	909.3	175,375.6
1804	8,906.8	134,880.0	61,359.2	1,384.8	206,530.8
1805	179,177.0	-	76,160.0	586.0	255,923.0
1809	155,737.2	-	9,769.2	485.6	165,992.0
1810	1,000.0	102,520.0	51,045.0	1,011.6	155,576.6
1812	-	123,440.0	41,819.4	1,913.6	167,173.0
1813	-	154,594.0	39,838.2	1,081.0	195,513.2
1815	200.0	138,073.6	33,714.5	1,390.0	173,378.1
1816	1,310.0	115,240.0	54,280.0	2,024.0	172,854.0
1817	1,235.0	155,292.0	114,448.0	671.6	271,646.6
1818	600.0	199,033.5	94,352.0	463.2	294,448.7
1819	1,072.1	184,090.0	32,834.0	5,447.3	223,443.4
1823	196,312.0	-	58,929.2	1,013.4	256,254.6
1837	85,788.6	-	57,295.1	7,544.9	150,628.6
1861	111,924.3	-	93,396.0	7,148.5	212,468.8
1862	151,027.5	-	41,038.7	9,937.6	202,003.8
1863	108,141.1	-	37,860.5	12,307.7	158,309.4
1864	60,150.8	-	36,917.7	7,576.8	104,645.3
Total	1,145,915.4	1,469,438.1	1,054,937.8	64,210.9	3,734,502.1

Sources: AHU, CU, Angola, box 106 doc. 5; box 109 doc. 54; box 112 doc. 47; box 115 doc. 14; box 121 doc. 6; box 121A doc. 35; box 127 doc. 1; box 128 doc. 26; box 131 doc. 11; box 132 doc. 26; box 133 doc. 3; box 134 doc. 24; box 138 doc. 56; box 144 doc. 94; 1837: AHU, SEMU, Angola, box 593 folder 4; 1861-1864: AHU, SEMU, Angola, box 629, folder 28 and box 638 folder 37.

Table D.4 – Apparel and Notions Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Caps	Hats	Jackets	Other	Total
1802	1,217.1	7,167.8	3,095.8	10,548.7	22,029.3
1803	1,202.7	6,788.6	680.0	23,928.3	32,599.6
1804	8,152.4	10,432.6	1,164.0	34,273.0	54,022.0
1805	1,186.5	11,533.4	376.0	7,869.1	20,965.0
1809	155.0	1,346.0	386.0	7,504.3	9,391.3
1810	954.4	5,007.8	1,205.4	13,095.9	20,263.5
1812	1,695.6	6,243.4	1,101.2	13,339.9	22,380.0
1813	1,085.8	2,181.6	304.8	6,196.3	9,768.5
1815	2,604.0	6,937.0	456.8	12,497.2	22,495.0
1816	4,092.0	8,095.0	508.0	17,321.4	30,016.4
1817	6,600.0	7,094.0	900.0	31,404.9	45,998.9
1818	3,534.0	6,236.7	320.0	21,742.8	31,833.5
1819	1,895.9	19,691.5	631.2	27,539.0	49,757.6
1823	3,776.4	3,268.5	-	19,583.5	26,628.4
1837	5,604.0	37,242.5	-	23,809.9	66,656.4
1861	3,716.6	10,885.0	-	20,010.2	34,611.8
1862	2,899.1	5,905.7	3.3	11,439.8	20,247.9
1863	719.2	3,669.3	-	12,576.6	16,965.1
1864	1,366.7	2,492.4	13.5	10,506.8	14,379.3
Total	52,457.3	162,218.7	11,146.0	325,187.2	551,009.2

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.5 – Asian Textiles Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Cadeás	Chitas	Coromandéis	Garrazes	Longuins	Zuartes	Other	Total
1802	18,874.3	22,415.4	39,721.0	4,058.0	3,322.5	65,165.7	146,525.8	300,082.6
1803	49,742.4	36,834.7	56,975.5	1,836.8	1,740.8	29,017.4	99,405.5	275,553.1
1804	36,990.0	28,655.2	27,200.0	1,990.0	1,002.0	33,992.0	75,505.1	205,334.3
1805	93,406.0	43,190.1	67,325.0	5,417.5	13,868.0	155,504.0	168,922.3	547,632.9
1809	35,620.0	12,245.4	26,585.0	6,180.0	2,944.0	40,665.0	73,750.7	197,990.1
1810	28,009.0	12,101.9	35,524.0	17,257.5	8,953.2	115,099.3	132,850.9	349,795.8
1812	30,420.1	5,617.5	53,486.4	13,446.0	7,296.0	113,469.0	161,493.8	385,228.8
1813	39,186.6	6,527.4	52,083.0	23,428.0	10,328.0	93,988.5	146,309.1	371,850.6
1815	36,852.0	6,425.5	51,847.5	20,790.0	6,070.0	114,402.0	176,967.8	413,354.8
1816	46,035.0	7,317.0	59,490.0	12,600.0	3,715.0	129,385.0	161,157.7	419,699.7
1817	142,720.0	27,224.0	79,750.0	15,975.0	1,650.0	64,195.0	257,209.2	588,723.2
1818	177,084.8	2,724.0	228,904.0	18,292.5	-	58,982.0	136,011.4	621,998.7
1819	79,343.0	95,370.3	105,088.0	56,756.0	10,738.0	193,626.0	359,788.9	900,710.2
1823	8,948.0	22,842.0	33,468.0	17,989.2	6,830.0	33,016.0	60,529.6	183,622.8
1837	-	36,422.5	-	-	-	62,313.1	30,943.5	129,679.1
1861	-	9,928.0	-	-	-	92,855.9	55,006.8	157,790.7
1862	-	-	-	168.0	-	35,231.5	32,996.8	68,396.3
1863	-	-	-	-	-	14,382.7	12,419.9	26,802.6
1864	-	-	-	105.0	-	17,541.5	18,501.3	36,147.8
Total	823,231.2	375,840.9	917,447.4	216,289.5	78,457.5	1,462,831.6	2,306,296.1	6,180,394.0

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.6 – European Textiles Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Baetás	Bretanhas	Crês	Lenços	Panos	Biscadinhos	Other	Total
1802	40,457.3	10,959.5	22,327.9	4,643.6	38,684.5	14,276.3	102,538.1	233,887.1
1803	38,066.0	14,055.1	28,974.0	7,074.4	33,072.9	4,968.6	125,627.8	251,838.8
1804	60,104.2	21,876.6	26,820.0	6,748.6	26,131.3	4,900.0	102,287.7	248,868.4
1805	39,083.7	7,032.5	28,482.0	1,965.0	28,147.2	3,344.0	75,032.1	183,086.5
1809	30,393.6	4,869.0	1,515.0	1,195.2	14,536.2	280.0	75,582.2	128,371.2
1810	34,146.4	10,078.4	1,975.5	15,495.3	47,365.4	1,901.5	134,203.6	245,166.1
1812	23,083.7	2,344.0	1,160.0	12,880.8	27,937.3	2,478.2	88,291.4	158,175.4
1813	39,176.5	1,053.5	160.0	20,298.6	49,810.1	839.3	82,978.3	194,316.2
1815	34,289.3	1,845.0	1,072.0	16,458.8	38,681.8	2,044.0	78,348.9	172,739.7
1816	74,087.8	1,490.0	1,230.0	13,095.0	35,396.0	1,226.0	92,855.9	219,380.7
1817	92,706.4	2,350.0	1,480.0	29,774.0	75,844.0	1,963.0	151,413.8	355,531.2
1818	13,577.6	1,218.0	1,784.0	26,670.6	49,692.2	1,295.3	122,259.2	216,496.8
1819	66,017.9	2,820.0	840.0	18,813.9	109,357.5	6,848.7	116,227.1	320,925.1
1823	11,856.0	852.0	-	56,665.6	15,887.8	7,831.0	22,418.9	115,511.3
1837	31,408.4	-	-	67,380.8	73,068.0	36,597.4	590,055.9	798,510.4
1861	42,800.0	-	-	85,963.1	3,995.0	257,421.7	235,231.3	625,411.1
1862	4,760.8	-	-	57,330.3	1,189.1	149,318.1	119,828.9	332,427.2
1863	3,707.4	-	-	33,680.0	2,649.5	82,807.7	124,470.6	247,315.2
1864	4,476.3	-	-	54,051.2	410.0	74,770.5	70,522.6	204,230.6
Total	684,199.1	82,843.6	117,820.4	530,184.7	671,855.6	655,111.1	2,510,174.4	5,252,188.9

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.7 – Foodstuff Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Butter	Olive oil	Rice	Sugar	Wheat flour	Other	Total
1802	3,211.6	7,210.0	5,556.0	6,188.4	4,594.0	16,361.2	43,121.2
1803	6,669.0	6,265.0	4,624.0	8,773.5	24,572.4	18,201.5	69,105.4
1804	7,680.0	5,400.0	9,366.0	19,172.5	27,891.6	24,893.8	94,403.9
1809	6,588.9	3,450.0	1,755.0	2,234.0	8,335.7	11,227.6	33,591.1
1810	1,176.2	782.0	3,318.0	5,307.7	7,902.0	17,234.4	35,720.3
1812	5,798.4	2,750.0	5,400.0	7,906.2	10,587.5	14,056.8	46,498.9
1813	3,158.4	1,250.0	3,180.0	5,838.9	11,089.8	8,034.4	32,551.5
1815	4,300.8	3,200.0	4,320.0	13,916.6	13,875.0	15,177.2	54,789.6
1816	4,224.0	4,500.0	6,000.0	15,402.0	8,250.0	16,981.2	55,357.2
1817	4,352.0	1,150.0	960.0	20,184.0	1,750.0	19,642.5	48,038.5
1818	3,238.4	1,900.0	7,200.0	31,840.4	1,680.0	10,981.4	56,840.2
1819	5,060.0	4,588.5	3,060.0	10,639.2	14,022.0	22,959.3	60,329.0
1823	3,360.0	9,393.6	7,125.0	11,717.6	18,360.0	44,985.6	94,941.8
1837	3,293.4	3,079.6	3,389.3	10,889.9	6,498.0	28,591.2	55,741.3
1861	9,175.9	4,416.3	7,463.9	24,031.0	27,843.3	86,657.4	159,587.8
1862	5,136.4	3,991.5	6,091.9	24,361.8	18,256.9	38,502.4	96,340.9
1863	8,018.6	3,978.2	5,286.1	16,072.1	18,424.3	41,306.7	93,085.8
1864	6,222.3	3,014.4	4,169.2	7,738.2	21,999.6	38,729.2	81,872.8
Total	90,664.3	70,319.0	88,264.4	242,213.9	245,932.0	474,523.7	1,211,917.2

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.8 – Ironware and Other Metals Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Cutlery	Ironware	Nails	Wire	Other	Total
1802	1,300.1	1,381.6	4,497.3	142.8	12,140.9	19,462.8
1803	1,100.3	2,852.6	15,942.2	105.8	15,513.0	35,513.9
1804	2,362.8	3,366.8	6,265.1	975.0	20,522.7	33,492.3
1809	1,338.8	34.8	22,354.2	44.4	1,155.2	24,927.4
1810	1,830.0	366.2	1,827.3	314.5	14,032.5	18,370.6
1812	5,298.7	1,315.2	3,950.0	34.0	4,106.4	14,704.3
1813	3,497.2	433.6	1,096.5	80.4	5,592.7	10,700.4
1815	8,684.1	1,187.0	3,944.0	70.0	4,540.9	18,426.0
1816	5,763.8	1,521.0	5,688.0	120.0	5,174.3	18,267.1
1817	10,050.2	454.0	30,560.0	300.0	9,629.7	50,993.9
1818	8,170.6	1,885.2	10,806.0	600.0	13,444.3	34,906.1
1819	6,900.5	50.0	2,147.0	7,315.8	8,531.9	24,945.2
1823	5,396.8	-	416.0	24,569.6	17,375.5	47,757.9
1837	100.0	8,356.6	-	12,212.5	7,369.9	28,039.0
1861	4,763.5	12,753.5	140.1	35.2	11,741.7	29,433.9
1862	4,490.4	14,354.1	-	218.6	2,144.0	21,207.1
1863	3,807.9	17,052.7	2,097.0	639.6	5,259.9	28,857.1
1864	2,212.5	10,697.8	423.0	734.4	2,651.0	16,718.7
Total	77,068.3	78,062.7	112,153.7	48,512.5	160,926.3	476,723.6

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.9 – Miscellany Articles Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Beads	Cotton	Tobacco	Other	Total
1802	54,060.3	-	6,586.4	37,055.2	97,701.8
1803	33,685.2	-	11,708.8	35,911.1	81,305.1
1804	20,082.0	-	16,956.6	40,581.8	77,620.4
1805	-	-	3,734.0	2,141.8	5,875.8
1809	180.0	130.0	8,364.5	10,247.4	18,921.9
1810	14,771.2	865.4	879.7	25,552.1	42,068.4
1812	3,322.0	1,474.0	5,984.9	23,575.3	34,356.2
1813	1,779.0	1,504.5	8,119.3	18,284.3	29,687.1
1815	3,039.0	125.0	14,160.2	25,812.1	43,136.2
1816	4,466.0	150.0	8,418.2	33,780.9	46,815.1
1817	8,288.0	250.0	13,170.4	47,933.6	69,642.0
1818	11,907.0	381.3	168.4	47,710.4	60,167.0
1819	26,864.0	72.2	869.8	44,807.7	72,613.7
1823	4,800.0	179.5	9,315.5	24,445.6	38,740.6
1837	11,857.5	7,070.0	8,093.4	68,862.6	95,883.5
1861	19,787.0	252,982.8	9,280.7	94,483.1	376,533.7
1862	9,151.7	68,250.7	20,753.8	80,190.9	178,347.1
1863	8,369.9	30,118.6	11,718.9	64,075.6	114,282.9
1864	9,293.1	29,727.7	11,484.7	70,071.7	120,577.2
Total	245,702.8	393,281.7	169,768.1	795,523.1	1,604,275.7

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

Table D.10 – Weapons Imported at Luanda (in Thousands of *Réis*), 1802-1864

Years	Blade weapons	Firearms	Gunpowder	Other	Total
1802	14,218.5	4,429.4	7,020.8	159.2	25,827.9
1803	8,657.2	31,391.0	28,304.0	8,576.0	76,928.2
1804	6,009.9	27,800.0	22,500.0	6,000.0	62,309.9
1805	-	7,464.0	42,050.0	-	49,514.0
1809	50.9	200.0	6,250.0	-	6,500.9
1810	834.0	274.0	11,750.0	136.5	12,994.5
1812	1,272.2	639.0	31,400.0	173.0	33,484.2
1813	552.4	75.0	-	64.0	691.4
1815	1,607.2	606.0	48,300.0	180.0	50,693.2
1816	656.4	668.0	60,500.0	205.0	62,029.4
1817	1,481.4	1,540.0	150,500.0	382.0	153,903.4
1818	699.6	3,206.0	228,800.0	644.0	233,349.6
1819	6,839.6	10,972.8	101,560.0	188.0	119,560.4
1823	2,008.0	11,334.0	24,080.0	14,180.0	51,602.0
1837	16,522.5	86,941.0	78,392.4	230.6	182,086.4
1861	240.0	30,902.7	28,544.6	-	59,687.3
1862	-	8,248.1	12.0	19.0	8,279.1
1863	-	3,212.6	8,394.1	178.0	11,784.7
1864	-	2,210.0	13,291.3	-	15,501.3
Total	61,649.8	232,113.5	891,649.2	31,315.3	1,216,727.7

Sources: Same as Table D.3.

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