“THE *DONAS* OF LUANDA, c. 1770-1867: FROM ATLANTIC SLAVE TRADING TO ‘LEGITIMATE’ COMMERCE”

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Abstract

The *Donas* of Luanda, c. 1770-1867: From Atlantic Slave Trading to "Legitimate" Commerce.

By the late eighteenth century, African and Luso-African women in Luanda were already key agents in the development of local, regional, and long distance trade, supplying foodstuffs and trading in captives. Nevertheless, most foreign observers were silent about women's participation in domains beyond agriculture and household chores. This dissertation examines the involvement of women in commercial activities in Luanda between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries. This port town was the most important of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, attracting foreign merchants seeking quick enrichment. Incoming traders relied on local intermediaries with knowledge of indigenous languages and cultures, many of whom were women with whom they entered into commercial and intimate relationships. Despite the importance of these unions, primary sources confirm that women were able to accumulate their own independent capital which they invested in commercial activities.

Women with capital acquired land and captives, which allowed them to produce foodstuffs for subsistence and to supply urban markets, caravans, and slave ships. Nevertheless, few women were able to enter the highly competitive slave trade due to limited access to credit. Those who did so were wealthy women who engaged in the Atlantic market alone or in partnership with foreign husbands and associates. The retail trade, in turn, created opportunities for women of modest means who became shop and tavernkeepers, while poor and enslaved females peddled edibles and imported goods in the markets and streets. The development of "legitimate" commerce in the mid-nineteenth century created more opportunities for female

entrepreneurship in commercial agriculture, the trade in tropical products and the supply of foodstuffs for the growing population of Luanda.

In this study, I argue that women played a fundamental role in the socio-economic fabric of Luanda through their involvement in local, regional and long distance trade, as well as agents of a cultural hybridization. There, despite the prevalence of a gendered and racialized structure, women were able to operate as traders in various instances, contributing to increase their household incomes and establishing a degree of independence relative to men.

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Introduction

Unveiling a History of Female Traders in West Central Africa

Between 1514 and 1867, an estimated 12.5 million enslaved individuals forcibly left the African continent destined for the Americas. About 45 percent of these captives originated from West Central Africa. [1] The Portuguese colony of Angola was the place of departure of approximately 4,435,000 enslaved Africans between 1701 and 1867 alone. Of this total, about 1,633,000 embarked in Luanda, which turned this city into the most important port of the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[2] The slave trade led to a great deal of interaction between local and foreign peoples, mainly Portuguese and Brazilian-born men, who sojourned or eventually settled in the

[1] See estimates available in David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online Database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/. See also Paul E. Lovejoy, "West Central Africa and the Trans-Atlantic Traffic in Enslaved Africans," in Carlos Liberato, Mariana Candido, Paul Lovejoy and Renée Soulodre-La France, eds., *Laços Atlânticos: África e africanos durante a era do comércio transatlântico de escravos* (Luanda: 2016), who I thank for sharing his unpublished work.

[2] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola: A Port-by-Port Estimate of Slaves Embarked, 1701-1867," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 46, n. 1 (2013): 105-122. For more information on the slave trade from Luanda, see Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the 18th Century," *Journal of Economic History*, XXXII (1972): 849-918; Joseph C. Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," in Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds. *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., and London: Harvard University Press, 1976), 75-113; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Joseph C. Miller, "Legal Portuguese slaving from Angola. Some preliminary indications of volume and direction", *Revue Franfaise d'Histoire d' Outre Mer,* 62, n. 226-227 (1975): 135-176; Joseph C. Miller, "The Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves in the Eighteenth Century Angolan Slave Trade," *Social Science History*, 13, n. 4 (1989): 381-419; José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830," *African Economic History*, 20 (1992): 1-25; David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 58, n. 1 (2001): 17-46; David Eltis, Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Slave-Trading Ports: Towards an Atlantic-Wide Perspective," in Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt, eds., *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)* (Stirling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999), 12-35; David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A. Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996); Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade and Slave Departures from Angola, 1830s-1860s," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 313-334. For further information, see Eltis et al., "Voyages".

colonial capital of Angola. While many of the locals became victims of this interaction, others profited from it. For male African elites, the selling of enslaved individuals provided access to European, Asian and American goods such as textiles, gunpowder, firearms, horses, tobacco and alcohol, which increased their capacity to enslave more people and further the control of rulers over dependents.[3]

The development of the Atlantic slave trade was no less beneficial for some African women, especially those in the emerging coastal slaving *entrepôts*. Foreign traders adventuring onto the African coast generally relied on local intermediaries who had knowledge of indigenous languages and cultures to establish commercial networks, which facilitated the exchange of their products for African commodities such as gold, pepper, and ivory, wax, among other items, including captives. Many of these intermediaries were women with whom they established commercial and, sometimes, intimate relationships. While some relationships were casual others ended up in marriage, whether celebrated according to Catholic or African traditions. Soon local women became indispensable to their foreign husbands and partners, acting as commercial agents and translators and providing the comforts of a household.[4]

Historians have long ago established the importance of West Central Africa, particularly colonial Angola in the trans-Atlantic slave trade;[5] however, they have only more recently begun to appreciate the importance of women in this enterprise. According to Margaret Jean Hay, scholarly interest in African women prior to c. 1970 was limited to the study of queens,

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[3] Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* 3rd edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Miller, *Way of Death*.

[4] George Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth Century to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohoio University Press, 2003), xx-xxi.

[5] Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969).

prostitutes, and peasants.[6] Scholars then relied on primary sources penned by foreigners, especially European men, which created an ethnocentric and male view of African societies.[7] Meanwhile, the frameworks which influenced the study of African history tended to neglect women and gender as categories of analysis, prioritizing Africa's great states and leaders, as well as class and underdevelopment as the central problematic of historical studies.[8]

In recent decades, the number of studies that have focused on the participation of women in local and long distance trade along the western coast of Africa have experienced a remarkable increase. Since the mid-1970s, a new generation of scholars has located different types of documents which provide evidence for the variety of roles played by females in the African past. A case in point is the literature on African women as slave traders, merchants and slave owners. [9]

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[6] Margaret J. Hay, "Queens, Prostitutes and Peasants Historical Perspectives on African Women, 1971-1986," *Canadian Journal of African History*, 24 (1983): 431-447. See also Iris Berger, "Feminism, Patriarchy, and African Women's History," *Journal of Women's History*, 20, n. 2 (2008), 130-135. For the case of Angola, see the extensive literature on Njinga: Domingos Gonçalves, *Notícia memoravél da Vida e Acçoeens da Rainha Ginga, Ginga Amena natural do reino de Angola* (Lisbon: Oficina de Domingos Gonçalves, 1749); Antonio Brandão de Melo, "Breve História da Rainha Jinga Mbandi, D. Ana de Sousa," *Boletim da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa*, 63,. n. 314, (1945): 134-146; José Redinha, "A Famosa Rainha Ginga," *Boletim Cultural do Camara Municipal de Luanda*, 24 (1969):13-16; Selma Pantoja, *Nzinga Mbandi: mulher, guerra e escravidão* (Brasília: Editora Thesaurus, 2000); Jean-Louis Castilhon, *Zingha, reine d'Angola* (Paris: Hachette, 1972); Alberto Mussa, *O trono da rainha Jinga: romance* (Nova Fronteira: Rio de Janeiro, 1999); Manuel Pedro Pecariva, *Nzinga Mbandi* (Lisboa: Ed. 70, 1979); Adriano Parreira, *Economia e sociedade em Angola na Época da Rainha Jinga* (Lisboa: Editorial Estampa, 1989); Roy Arthur Glasgow, *Nzinga: resistência africana à investida do colonialismo português em Angola, 1582-1663* (São Paulo: Perspectiva, 1982); John K. Thornton, "Ideology and Political Power in Central Africa: The Case of Queen Njinga (1624-1663)," *Journal of African History*, 32 (1991): 25-40; Joseph C. Miller, "Nzinga of Matamba in a new perspective," *The Journal of African History*, 16, n.2 (1975): 201-216. Linda M. Heywood is preparing a book under the tentative title "Queen Njinga of Angola in History and Memory."

[7] Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women: a Modern History* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1987), 3.

[8] Paul Zeleza, "Gender Bias in African Historiography," in A. Imam, A. Mama, and F. Sow, eds., *Engendering African Social Sciences* (Dakar: Council for the Development of Economic and Social Research in Africa [CODESRIA], 1997), 81-115; Berger, "Feminism, Patriarchy, and African Women's History," 130. For an overview of developments in the field of African women's history, see Kathlen Sheldon, "Writing about Women: Approaches to a Gendered Perspective in African History," in John Edward Philips, ed., *Writing African History* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2005), 465-489; Margaret Strobel, "African Women's History," *The History Teacher*, 15, n. 4 (1982): 509-522; Nancy Rose Hunt, "Placing African Women's History and Locating Gender," *Social History*, 14, n. 3 (1989): 359-379; Iris Berger, "African Women's History: Themes and Perspectives," *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History*, 4, n.1, (2003): 1-11.

[9] See, for example, George Brooks, "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Goree: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth century Senegal," in Nancy Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Women in Africa: Studies in social and economic change* (Stanford, CA: California University Press, 1976), 19-44; George Brooks, "A Nhara of the Guinea-Bissau Region:

The economic and social roles of female merchants in Angola have already been the object of some interest. Selma Pantoja has examined their activities as traders, owners of *arimos* (agricultural properties) and *quitandeiras* (vendors) during the eighteenth century in Luanda,

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mãe Aurélia Correia," in Claire Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997), 295-319; Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*; Philip Havik, "Women and trade in the Guinea Bissau region: The role of African and Luso-African women in trade networks from the early 16th to the mid 19th century," *Studia*, 52, (1994): 83-120; Bruce Mouser, "Women Slavers of Guinea-Conakry," in Robertson and Klein, *Women in Africa,320-339;*Philip Havik, "A Dinâmica das Relações de Gênero e Parentesco num Contexto Comercial: um balanço comparativo da produção histórica sobre a região da Guiné-Bissau, séculos XVII e XIX," *Afro-Ásia*, 27 (2002): 79-120; Philip Havik, *Silences and Soundbytes: The Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the Pre-colonial Guinea Bissau Region* (Munster: Lit Verlag, 2004); E. Frances White, *Sierra Leone's Settler Women Traders: Women on the Afro-European Frontier* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Ivana Elbl, "Men Without Wives: Sexual Arrangements in the Early Portuguese Expansion in West Africa," in Jacquelline Murray and Konrad Eisenbichler, eds., *Desire and Discipline: Sex and Sexuality in the Premodern West* (University of Toronto Press, 1996), 61-86; Emily L. Osborn, *Our new husbans are here: Households, gender and politics in a West African state from the slave trade to colonial rule* (Ohio, Athenas: Ohio University Press, 2011). For West Central Africa, see: Júlio de Castro Lopo, "Uma rica dona de Luanda," *Portucale*, 3 (1948): 129-138; Carlos Alberto Lopes Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, industrial angolana da segunda metade do século XIX," *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Luanda*, 32 (1972): 5-14; Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means: D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva, Mid-Nineteenth Century Luso-African Merchant-Capitalist of Luanda," *Santa Bárbara Portuguese Studies*, 3 (1996): 284-97; Selma Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras," in Júnia Ferreira Furtado, ed., *Diálogos Oceânicos. Minas Gerais e as novas abordagens para uma história do Império Ultramarino Português* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2001), 45-67; Selma Pantoja, "Women's Work in the Fairs and Markets of Luanda," in Clara Sarmento, ed., *Women in the Portuguese Colonial Empire: The Theatre of Shadows* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Camridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 81-94; Selma Pantoja, "Imagens e Perspectivas Culturais: O trabalho feminino nas feiras e mercados luandenses," in Clara Sarmento, ed., *Condição feminina no Império colonial português*. Vol I (Porto: Politema, 2008), 125-139; Selma Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero," in *II Reunião Internacional de História da África* (São Paulo: CEA-USP/SDG-Marinha/CAPES, 1997), 75-81; Selma Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos': um negócio feminino no abastecimento de gêneros alimentícios em Luanda (séculos XVIII e XIX)," in Selma Pantoja and Carlos Alberto Reis de Paula, eds., *Entre Áfricas e Brasís* (Brasília: Paralelo 15 Editores, 2001), 35-49; Selma Pantoja, "Gênero e comércio: as traficantes de escravos na região de Angola," *Travessias*, 4/5 (2004): 79-97; Selma Pantoja, "Três Leituras e Duas Cidades: Luanda e Rio de Janeiro nos Setecentos," in Selma Pantoja e José Flávio Sombra Saraiva, ed., Angola e Brasil nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 1999), 99-126; Mariana Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva, une *dona* à Benguela à la fin du XVIIIe siécle," *Brésil(s).Sciences humaines et sociales*, 1 (2012): 33-54; Mariana Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery in Benguela, ca. 1750-1850," in Nadine Hunt and Olatunji Ojo, eds., *Slavery and Africa and the Caribbean: A History of Enslavement and Identity since the 18th Century* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 66-84; Mariana Candido, "Strategies for Social Mobility: Liaisons between Foreign Men and Slave Women in Benguela, c. 1770-1850," in Gwyn Campbell and Elizabeth Elbourne, eds., *Sex, Power and Slavery: The Dynamics of Carnal Relations under Enslavement* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 272-288; Mariana Candido, "Os agentes não europeus na comunidade mercantil de Benguela, c. 1760-1820," *Saeculum*, 29 (2013): 97-124; José C. Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797: A Preliminary Analysis of a Colonial Female Elite," in Edvaldo Bergamo, Selma Pantoja, and Ana Claudia Silva, eds., *Angola e as Angolanas: Memória, Sociedade e Cultura* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2016), 99-120; Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Mulher e comércio: A participação feminina nas redes comerciais em Luanda (século XIX), in Edvaldo Bergamo, Selma Pantoja, and Ana Claudia Silva, eds., *Angola e as Angolanas: Memória, Sociedade e Cultura* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2016), 133-152. For eastern Africa, see: José Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos* (Lisbon: Afrontamentos, 1995); Eugênia Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés'. Estratégias de poder das donas dos prazos do Zambeze no século XVIII," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 1 (2000): 101-131; Eugênia Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena: os prazos da coroa nos séculos XVII e XVIII," (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002).

demonstrating that commerce and land ownership, despite largely being a male domain, also provided opportunities for women.[10] The work of José C. Curto has contributed to recover the experiences of African and Luso-African women, whether free, freed or enslaved, and their agency through relationships with foreign males or connections with colonial officials.[11] Mariana P. Candido, in turn, has explored the experiences of women in the port town of Benguela, south of Luanda, evidencing that they were key historical agents as traders and captives. Her work shows that the contact with the Atlantic world provoked changes in gender relations, as well as in the interactions between local peoples and strangers through commercial and intimate relationships.[12]

This study examines the involvement of women in trade activities in Luanda between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. By the late eighteenth century, African and Luso-African women in the colonial capital of Angola were already key agents in the development of local and long distance trade. Many women engaged in the retail trade turning themselves into *quitandeiras* or vendors who catered to the consumption needs of an urban population whose primary purpose was to support the Atlantic slave trade.[13] Others still, had by then also become traders operating in the supply of foodstuffs and in the commerce in human beings, alone or as

[10] Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero;" Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras;" Pantoja, "Women's Work;" Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos;'" Pantoja, "Imagens e Perspectivas Culturais;" Pantoja, "Gênero e comércio".

[11] José C. Curto, "A restituição de 10.000 súbditos ndongo 'roubados' na Angola de meados do século XVII: Uma análise preliminar," in Isabel C. Henriques, ed., *Escravatura e Transformações Culturais: África-Brasil-Caraíbas* (Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002), 185-208; José C. Curto, "'As If From A Free Womb': Baptismal Manumissions in the Conceição Parish, Luanda, 1778-1807," *Portuguese Studies Review*, 10:1 (2002): 26-57; José C. Curto, "The Story of Nbena, 1817-1820: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola," in Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London: Continuum, 2003), 43-64; Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797".

[12] Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva;" Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery;" Candido, "Strategies for Social Mobility;" Candido, "Os agentes não europeus".

[13] Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras;" Pantoja, "Women's Work;" Pantoja, "Imagens e Perspectivas Culturais".

commercial associates of foreign merchants and husbands. [14] The most successful among them became known as *donas*, a term that originated from the title granted to noble and royal females in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal).[15] The title was subsequently adopted in Portugal's overseas possessions to designate women of high socio-economic status affiliated to Portuguese culture.[16] In the case of Luanda, while most women classified as *donas* owned agricultural properties, enslaved individuals, real estate, and sailing vessels, some also carried out

[14] Lopo, "Uma rica dona de Luanda;"Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva;" Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means;" Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero;" Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos';" Pantoja, "Gênero e comércio".

[15] Since 1611, during the reign of D. Philip II of Portugal (III of Spain), the use of the title of Don became the privilege of the great men of the Kingdom, including those of royalty (King, Queen, Princes and Infants), members of the High Clergy (Cardinals, Archbishops and Bishops), members of the nobility (dukes, marquises, counts, viscounts and barons), the General Officers of the Army and Navy and of the Orders of Chivalry. The inheritance of the title followed the paternal line, from the father to the eldest male heir. Besides the nobility of the kingdom, the title could only be used if granted by the king. Therefore, the transmission of the title could be through inheritance or royal concession. The title of Don/Dona could also be transmitted to women, if they were the royal head of the household, for example: D. Maria I of Portugal, D. Maria II of Portugal and D. Isabel of Brazil. With the demise of the monarchies, the title lost its importance. But members of the elites in Portugal and in the Portuguese colonies overseas adopted the title as a sign of prestige and status. Elite women, for instance, were usually called *Donas* by their male peers and individuals of other classes as a sign of respect and recognition. See: Luiz da Silva Pereira Oliveira, *Privilégios da Nobreza e Fidalguia de Portugal* (Lisbon: João Rodrigues Neves, 1806), 172-173.

[16] Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Donas e plebeias na sociedade colonial* (Lisboa: Estampa, 2002). In the case of West Central Africa, the first *donas* emerged from the alliances between Kongo rulers and Europeans which resulted in the conversion of the royal/noble families of the Kingdom to Christianity beginning with the late fifteenth century. In this process, Kongo royalty adopted Portuguese names and noble titles, including *Dom* and *Dona*. John K. Thornton, "Elite Women in the Kingdom of Kongo: Historical Perspectives on Women's Political Power," *The Journal of African History*, 47, n. 3 (2006): 437-460; John K. Thornthon, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983). For references on the royal women of the Kongo and their Christian names, see "Carta de um Cônego da Sé do Congo ao Padre Manuel Rodrigues, s.j.," in António Brásio, *Monumenta Missionária Africana*. Vol. VII (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1956), 291-297; Fillippo Pigafetta and Duarte Lopes, *Relação do Reino do Congo e das Terras Circunvizinhas* (Lisbon: Alfa, 1989), 68; Graziano Saccardo, *Congo e Angola con la storia dell'antica missione dei Cappuccini*. Vol. 3 (Venezia: Curia Provinciale dei Cappuccini, 1982/3) 11-14; Francisco Leite de Faria, "Uma relação de Rui de Pina sobre o Congo escrita em 1492," *Studia*, 19 (1996), 259. A similar practice was used in seventeeth century Matamba when, following the convertion of Njinga to the Christian faith, she became known as Dona Ana de Sousa: see Giovanni Antonio Cavazzi da Montecuccolo, *Descrição Histórica dos Três Reinos Congo, Matamba, e Angola*. 2 vols (Lisbon, 1965); António de Oliveira Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*. Vol. 2 (Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972 [1680]); Thornton, "Ideology and Political Power;" Miller, "Nzinga of Matamba". For other *donas*, see Fernando Campos, "Conflitos na Dinastia Guterres através da sua cronologia," Paper presented at the *Conference of the Canadian Association of African Studies*, Montreal, May 1992; Fernando Campos, "O Rei D. Pedro IV Ne Nsamu A Mbemma e a unidade do Congo," *África*, 18-19, n. 1 (1995/1996): 159-199; Fernando Campos, "O Rei D. Pedro IV Ne Nsamu A Mbemma e a unidade do Congo, Parte 2," *África*, 20-21, (1997/1998): 305-375. By the seventeenth century, the title was already adopted by women of high status affiliated to Portuguese culture: see Curto, "A restituição de 10.000 súbditos ndongo".

transactions as far away as Brazil and Portugal, amassing fortunes that were passed on to their offspring and close relations.[17]

In this study, I am arguing that women played a fundamental role in the socio-economic fabric of Luanda through their involvement in local and long distance trade, as well as agents of a cultural hybridization. The critical questions to be addressed include: through which processes did some local women become *donas*; what were their particular roles in the local, regional, and international economies; what strategies did they use to hold on to the wealth they accumulated; how were they able to maintain their socio-economic prestige in a world dominated by men; and how did they fare after the slave export trade in Angola was banned in 1836? By answering these questions, this study contributes to a better understanding of the historical roles of *donas* as one of the socio-cultural groups that underpinned the very existence of the Luso-African elite in Luanda. Moreover, it reveals the agency of African and Luso-African women during the slave trade era and in the process of commercial transition experienced in West Central Africa after the trade in human beings came to an end. Their experiences clearly contradict the image of submission and passivity all too often attributed to African women and women of African descent in the past.

In terms of periodization, this study begins with the 1770s, a decade that marks the intensification of competition for captives along the coast of West Central Africa. The presence of British and French interlopers in the northern ports of Cabinda, Loango, and Malembo dealing with independent African suppliers affected the business of merchants established in Luanda. Meanwhile, the port of Benguela located in the south of the colony had also become an

[17] Pantoja, "Três Leituras e Duas Cidades;" Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 100-101. For comparation with female entrepreneurs in other African port cities, see Brooks, "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Gorée;" Mouser, "Women Slavers;" Walter Rodney, *A History of the Upper Guinea Coast, 1545-1800* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1970).

important competitor, attracting Brazilian capital previously channeled to Luanda.[18] The dissertation ends in 1867, another important date that marks the last known illegal shipment of captives from West Central Africa. In the second half of the nineteenth century Angola experienced a period of economic transition from slave trading to "legitimate" commerce in raw materials and tropical products to supply American and European markets.[19] This transition also had an important impact on the businesses of Luanda's merchants, including women, whose investments were closely related to the export slave trade.

Empire, Creolization, Patriarchy, and African Women's History

Portuguese presence in West Central Africa dates from the late fifteenth century, when they arrived in search of minerals and captives to satisfy the demand for slave labor in São Tomé and later in the Americas. Although failing in the kingdom of Kongo, they were successful in the state of Ndongo, which included the area where Luanda was founded.[20] In this process of conquest and colonization, the Portuguese Crown attempted to impose Portuguese language, legal codes, and Christian faith and to develop a local elite associated with the colonial empire;

[18] David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 137-141; Joseph C. Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," in Martin L. Kilson and Robert Rotberg, eds., *The African Diaspora: Interpretative Essays.* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 96-97; Miller, *Way of Death*, 226-227; Ferreira, *Transforming Atlantic Slaving*, 83-88.

[19] The term "legitimate commerce" is clearly open to objection. First, it is Eurocentric since the slave trade itself initially was legal and after British abolition remained "legitimate" in African societies; and second, it neglects the fact that commodities other than slaves (including ivory, wax, and palm oil) had been exported from Africa before the early nineteenth century. Therefore, the term will be applied between quotation marks in this study. For a critique of the term, see Robin Law, "Introduction," in Robin Law, ed., *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce: The Commercial Transition in Nineteenth-Century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[20] Beatriz Heintze, *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII. Estudo sobre fontes, métodos e história* (Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2007) 473-504; Mariana P. Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion: land disputes in Angola," in José Vicente Serrão et. al., eds., *Property Rights, Land and Territory in the European Overseas Empires* (Lisbon: CEHC, ISCTE-IUL, 2014), 225.

these foreign impositions shaped the lives of local populations, including women.[21] In practice, however, Portuguese control was restricted to enclaves on the coast in consequence of the resistance of African polities, the lack of manpower, and the epidemiological environment which victimized Europeans soon upon arrival.[22]

The functioning of the Portuguese Empire itself was dependent on the cooperation of the colonial elite, including females. Luanda's elite was composed of local and foreign merchants who financed the projects undertaken by the colonial administration.[23] The male components of the colonial elite were rewarded administrative and military positions in the colonial capital and in the interior administrative outposts, as well as titles of the Portuguese noble orders.[24] Meanwhile, the colonial government made use of *degredados* (exile criminals) and African allies to fight dissidents and extend Portuguese dominance in West Central Africa. Some African rulers signed vassalage treaties with the Portuguese in exchange for protection against other rival groups and collaborated with the colonial administration by paying taxes and tributes, offering troops, slaves and food and opening their territories to traders and colonial armies.[25]

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[21] Charles R. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny: Women in Iberian Expansion Overseas, 1415-1815. Some Facts, Fancies and Personalities* (London: Duckworth, 1975).

[22] Miller, *Way of Death*, 284; Anabela Cunha, "Degredo para Angola na Segunda Metade do Século XIX" (M.A. Thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2004), 17; Malyn Newitt, ed. *The Portuguese in West Africa, 1415-1670: A Documentary History* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010); Mariana P. Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 6, 103; Jan Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu: Language Use in the Colony of Angola (1575-c.1845)," *Bulletin des Séances de l'Académie des Sciences d'Outre-Mer*, 47 (2001-2003): 267-281. The same problems were faced by other colonial empires, see Osborn, *Our New Husbands are Here*, 162.

[23] Valentim Alexandre and Jill Dias, eds., *O Império Africano 1825-1890* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), 375-6; José de Almeida Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos da vida de uma cidade (1845-1864)* (Câmara Municipal de Luanda, 1970), 29, 96, 99-101.

[24] João Pedro Marques, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo: um percurso negreiro no século XIX," *Análise Social*, 36, n. 160 (2001): 609-638; Carlos Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo. Uma vida de luta contra as prepotências do Poder Colonial em Angola," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 16/17 (1992-1994), 49-102.

[25] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 9, 51-53; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 39.

The concept of "Creolization" has been applied to places along the western coast of Africa where the mix of European individuals and local populations gave origin to new identities and affiliations.[26] Following the lead of scholars such as Linda M. Heywood and Mariana P. Candido, "Creolization" is understood in this study as a bilateral process which affected both Portuguese (and Brazilians), as well as West Central Africans alike.[27] In the case of Luanda, foreign individuals married local women, resorted to the assistance of African healers to cure illness and obtain wealth, and presumably learned some Kimbundu.[28] Some exogenous traders even moved into the hinterlands, where they embraced African ways.[29] African individuals living in the enclaves, in turn, adopted Portuguese names, fashion, and architecture, consumed imported foodstuffs, spoke Portuguese and African languages, and professed Christianity.[30] In this context, affiliation to Portuguese culture, alongside skin color and wealth, played an important role in determining how people were classified and even protected individuals from enslavement.[31] Ira Berlin has coined the term "Atlantic Creoles" to designate those who by experience or choice, as well as by birth, became part of a new culture that emerged along the

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[26] Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Ilhas Crioulas: O Significado Plural da Mestiçagem na África Atlântica," *Revista de História,* 155, n. 2 (2006): 17-41; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (London: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 49-106. For the case of the *lançados* and *tangomaos* in Western Africa, see Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*. For French Africa, see Osborn, *Our New Husbands are Here*, 131.
[27] Linda M. Heywood, "Portuguese into African: The Eighteenth-Century Central African Background to Atlantic Creole Cultures," in *Central Africans*, 91-114; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 81, 318.
[28] For examples of "Africanization" of foreigners in Angola, see Kalle Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians: A Case Study of Creolization and Popular Religion in Mid-Eighteenth Century Angola," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 43, n. 3 (2010), 443-465; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 114-115, 134, 318. Kimbundu was the language of use even in the households of noble and white local families. Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu," 274.
[29] Linda M. Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola, 1840s to the Present* (Rochester: University of Rochester Press, 2000), 19; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 71; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 134; Isabel Castro Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1997), 417.
[30] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 122-139; Mariana Candido, "Engendering West Central African History: The Role of Urban Women in Benguela in the Nineteenth Century," *History in Africa*, 42 (2015): 7-36; Curto, "'As If From a Free Womb;'" Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797;" Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, xxi, 127-128.
[31] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 11.

Atlantic littoral in Africa, Europe, and the Americas.[32] This study draws on Berlin's ideas: however, since the term Creole has been the object of criticism, the individuals integrated in this intermixing of cultures are here denominated Luso-Africans.[33]

This study circumscribes to the field of African women's history, as well as to the social and economic histories of Africa. Academic discourses on African involvement in the slave trade and "legitimate" commerce have commonly focused on men. However, women too acted as culture brokers and agents of coastal merchants, as well as traders on their own behalf. Although African and, more often, Luso-African women were able to become merchants and achieve wealth, they did so within a patriarchal structure mediated by gender relations and expectations.[34] Therefore, a discussion of patriarchy is necessary to understand the multitude of ways that power differentials between women and men, intersecting with ownership of assets and skin color, have shaped the past.

Feminist historian Judith M. Bennet has put forth the analytical concept of "patriarchal equilibrium" to encapsulate the fact that women's disadvantaged status in relation to men has persisted across time and space, even if the specific forms it takes have changed. As she puts it, "we strive for an overall assessment – women's status getting better or getting worse – instead of considering the possibility that, despite change, shift, and movement, the overall force of

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[32] Ira Berlin, "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 53, n. 2 (1996): 251-288.

[33] For a critic of the term Creole, see Maria da Conceição Neto, "Ideologias, Contradições e Manifestações da Colonização de Angola no Século XX," *Lusotopie* (1997): 327-59; Beatrix Heintze, "Hidden Transfers: Luso-Africans as European Explorers' Experts in 19th Century West Central Africa," in Paul Landau, ed., *The Power of Doubt: Essays in Honor of David Heinge* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2011), 19-40; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, "Introduction" and "Chapter 2". For a similar definition of Luso-African, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 245-248; Peter Mark, *"Portuguese"Style and Luso-African Identity: Pre-Colonial Senegambia, Sixteenth-Nineteenth Centuries* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2002), 14-15; Mariana P. Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela, 1780-1850" (PhD Dissertation, York University, 2006), 98-99.

[34] Joan Wallach Scott, "Gender: a useful category of historical analysis," *American Historical Review*, 91, n. 5 (1986), 1067.

patriarchal power might have endured."[35] In the case of colonial Angola, indigenous and European patriarchies were closely overlapped with other systems of human oppression, such as slavery, racism, and colonialism.

In this context, the "patriarchal equilibrium" can be found in the dominance of males over the slave trade and "legitimate" commerce, even if some women were able to enter these domains and became successful entrepreneurs. Men were also the majority of individuals engaged in the trade in foodstuffs, although most of the producers and farmers were likely women. Moreover, while women of means were able to acquire prestige through their participation in trade, accumulation of assets and ownership of enslaved persons, they remained subordinated to fathers, uncles, and husbands. Therefore, despite focusing on women this work does not exclude men as they were part and parcel of women's lives and exercised control and power in a patriarchical society. However, this study does not neglect the fact that women were also agents of patriarchy, raising their sons and daughters to conform to it and exercising power over female dependants and enslaved individuals. Divisions and hierarchy also existed among and within women themselves, based on social and legal status, as well as on skin color.

This dissertation contributes to unveiling the experiences of African and Luso-African women in West Central Africa prior to the formal advent of colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. African women's history still endures a crisis of presentism, as most of the studies in the field have been concerned with the colonial and post-colonial periods.[36] The focus on these recent historical periods has affected our ability to identify continuities and changes, while the use of a reversal methodology has encouraged social scientists to generalize colonial

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[35] Judith M. Bennett, *History Matters: Patriarchy and the Challenge of Feminism* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2006), 63.
[36] Hunt, "Placing African Women's History," 370-371.

experiences into pre-colonial times. Furthermore, the reconstitution of this story of female traders in West Central Africa highlights women agency in a world dominate by men and contributes to integrate their experiences into the social and economic histories of Africa.

Thesis Summary

The first chapter begins by analyzing the specific historical and demographic contexts that led to the emergence of commercial and intimate relationships between foreign men and local African and Luso-African women in Luanda from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. The chapter demonstrates that the lack of white women, as well as the requirements of trade and everyday life, were crucial in the development of short and long term liaisons between expatriate males and local women. Through these relationships, foreign men accessed the personal and commercial logistics necessary to newcomers and the trade networks that increased their participation in the Atlantic slave trade. Secondly, this chapter discusses the processes through which women in Luanda became *donas*. I argue that marriage to foreign traders was not an essential element for a woman to become a *dona*. Rather, I suggest that birth, wealth, skin colour, and affiliation to Portuguese culture were more important in determining who was deemed to be a *dona* in Luanda.

The second chapter explores the participation of women in the production and trade of foodstuffs that entered the colonial capital between the late eighteenth century and 1836, when the trade in captives from Portuguese possessions in Africa was made illegal. The chapter begins with a consideration of access to resources in an African context, examining, in particular, the ways through which females accumulated wealth in Luanda. Dialoging with a historiography that has overemphasized the importance of slaves and dependents as the only manifestation of

private wealth in African societies, this chapter presents evidence that individuals also accumulated land, real estate and luxury goods as sources of wealth. The chapter demonstrates that females were able to accumulate their own independent capital, including land and enslaved individuals, which allowed them to supply urban markets and slave ships, while the retail trade created room for the poor and even the enslaved. The supply of foodstuffs to local markets was also an alternative for individuals, women included, who did not have enough capital to enter the trans-Atlantic slave trade.

The third chapter focuses on slave trading and slave ownership in Luanda by highlighting the role of African and Luso-African women in both processes. The chapter demonstrates that few women were able to become successful slave traders on their own account due to limited access to credit with which to invest in the highly competitive trans-Atlantic slave trade. Using the tools of microhistory, the chapter explores the trajectories of three female merchants through their participation in the trade in enslaved Africans. On the other hand, the chapter shows that women made up a relatively significant proportion of slaveholders in the colonial capital. Females acquired enslaved persons as a source of labor and as a sign of prestige, which largely corresponded to their increased activities in commercial ventures.

My central focus in the fourth chapter is the transition from slave trading to "legitimate" commerce. This chapter analyses how female traders fared after the ending of the Atlantic slave trade by assessing how they operated their businesses in a context of "legitimate" commerce. Primary sources illustrate that women engaged in illegal slave trade activities while simultaneously investing in licit activities. In opposition to the slave trade where the direct participation of women was minimal, "legitimate" commerce offered more opportunities for females. Meanwhile, women further took advantage of the opportunities created by the parallel

development of the foodstuffs sector to feed the growing population of the colonial capital and to acquire tropical products required in the international market.

Chapter five analyzes the profile of the enslaved population of Luanda following the end of the slave export trade, with a particular focus on the interactions between slaveholders and enslaved persons in a context of expanding slave labor use. The chapter also explores the vulnerability of enslaved women and the limitations imposed by the colonial state on the power slaveholders exercised over their captives by mid-nineteenth century. Slave owners in Luanda invested in the specialization of their captives to meet the demands of "legitimate" commercial activities and the requirements of a city in expansion. At the same time that the colonial capital became more dependent on slave labor, enslaved individuals were continuously victimized by male and female owners, particularly enslaved women. Some captives resorted to flight, while others acquired manumission through self purchase or in appreciation of their good services.

Lastly, the conclusion brings together the ideas advanced in the previous chapters into one overall argument to demonstrate the role played by women in local and long distance trade and as key agents in the spread of the Luso-African culture throughout Angola.

Sources and Methodology

References to women in primary sources are particularly scarce. Despite their importance in the organization of trade in Angola, official colonial reports rarely mention them.[37] However, female traders can be found along with men in other quantitative and qualitative documentation,

[37] On the difficulties of tracing women's experiences in the past, see: Antoinette Burton, "Finding Women in the Archive: Introduction," *Journal of Women's History*, 20, n.1, (2008): 149-150; Sheldon, "Writing about Women;" Valerie J. Hoffman, "Oral Traditions as a Source for the Study of Muslim Women: Women in the Sufi Orders," in Amira El-Azhary Sonbol, ed., *Beyound the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Suracuse University Press, 2005), 365-380; Nelly Hanna, "Sources for the Study of Slave Women and Concubines in Ottoman Egypt," in Amira E. ed., *Beyond the Exotic: Women's Histories in Islamic Societies* (Syracuse: Suracuse University Press), 119-130; Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers,"115.

which suggests that their numbers were more important than colonial reports indicate. In order to reconstruct a portrait of women's participation in commerce and social mobility in Luanda, this study relies on the extensive archival and published documentation on Angola available in Portuguese archives and in the archives of Angola itself, covering the period from the late eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. The information available in these primary sources supplements the accounts of travelers, explorers and traders who passed by or settled in the colonial capital. Although most of these individuals disregarded the complexity of the female experience in Angola by reducing women's work to agriculture and child rearing, the documentation shows that females participated in every stage of local, regional and long distance trade, even if in smaller numbers than men.

In Portugal, my research was centered in the *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* (AHU), the *Arquivos Nacionais da Torre do Tombo* (ANTT), and the *Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa* (BNL). In the AHU, I consulted the extensive documentation of the *Correspondência dos Governadores* (Governors'Correspondence) which contains official reports on the state of the colony, commercial lawsuits, censuses, and reports of conflicts between the colonial administration and African rulers. The AHU also holds the most complete collection of the weekly gazette published in Luanda from 1845 onwards, the *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Povíncia de Angola* (BOA) that allows a better understanding of everyday life in Luanda, including the lives of its *donas*. These documents provide information that, in conjunction with other sources, allowed me to reconstruct a social history of Luanda during the period under consideration.

In the ANTT, I consulted the *Feitos Findos* collection which contains Entitlements of Heirs that provide information on relationships between foreign men and African and Luso-African women in Angola. This documentation offers a glimpse into the conflicts between heirs

and the *Juízo dos Ausentes* (Board of the Deceased) in Angola in order to recuperate the inheritance left behind by their deceased sons, husbands and fathers – men who moved to Angola in search of wealth or in the service of the colonial administration and army.

At the BNL, I consulted the collection of official letters sent from governors of Angola to Portugal detailing the situation of the colony. These official sources help to understand metropolitan policies, as well as the differences between the rules emanating from Lisbon and its limited application in colonial contexts. In this same institution, I was also able to consult the newspaper *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, founded in Luanda in 1866. This newspaper supplements information from the BOA on the everyday life of Luanda population.

Angola has one of the most voluminous holdings of documents in Sub-Saharan Africa for the period before the twentieth century. Three Angolan archives were fundamental for my research: the *Arquivo Nacional de Angola* (ANA), the *Biblioteca Municipal de Luanda* (BML), and the *Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda* (ABL). In the BML, I collected a variety of documents which provide information on the involvement of women in local, regional, and long distance trade, such as commercial books which recorded the transactions of the *Terreiro Público* (Luanda's public market) and the municipal slaughterhouse, registers of property taxes, licence applications from street vendors and shopkeepers, registers of land concessions, and the correspondence exchanged between the *Câmara Municipal* (Municipal Council) and the governors of Angola. These sources allow for a reconstruction of female participation in commercial activities as slave dealers, producers and traders of foodstuffs, shop and tavernkeepers and street vendors. This documentation further shows how the Luanda administration profited from licenses and fines imposed on shopkeepers and poor free and enslaved women peddling on the streets and in the markets of the city.

In the *Arquivo Nacional de Angola* my focus fell upon its codex and *Avulsos* (loose documents) collections. The registers found in these primary collections, together with the materials available in the BML, helped me to trace the trajectories of women engaged in trade in Luanda. Drawing upon registers of sale and purchase of property, debt and mortgages, dowries, and contracts of marriage I was able to examine the ways through which women accumulated property in the colonial capital. I also relied on passports of individuals traveling throughout the interior, as well as passports of coasting-vessels transiting between the capital and ports in the north and south of the colony to trace the engagement of women in "legitimate" commercial activities. This archive also holds slave registers produced during the mid-nineteenth century that allowed me to reconstruct the gender and occupational profile of the enslaved population of Luanda by mid-nineteenth century. Meanwhile, the reports of the *Junta Protetora de Escravos e Libertos* (Board for the Protection of Enslaved Persons and Freed Africans) illuminated the experiences of enslaved individuals in their fight against the mistreatment that masters and mistresses alike imposed upon them.

The *Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda* is the central archive in Angola for documentation generated by the Catholic Church. There, I was able to collect marriage petitions submitted to the *Juízo Eclesiástico* (Ecclesiastical Board) and baptism registers of free and enslaved persons. While the first source helped me to build my argument that marriage was not a requirement for women to become *donas*, the baptism registers demonstrate that females constituted an important portion of slave owners in the city. These documents also shed light on the life events of the free and enslaved inhabitants of Luanda that professed Christianity, unveiling the relationships established between masters and enslaved women that resulted in the birth of a child.

The quantitative data available in these Portuguese and Angolan archives were developed into datasets and analyzed to better understand the continuities and changes inherent to any historical process. These materials were supplemented with qualitative primary sources, such as official documents and travel accounts. The sources of a qualitative nature were analyzed through the method of historical critique by inquiring on the meaning of the messages in their original context and examining the credibility of their authors to inform on the situation of the colony and its peoples.[38] The meanings behind the written discourses of administrative and military personnel and explorers were sought through questions such as: Were these individuals knowledgeable about what they described? What was their intended audience? How did their cultural background influence their perceptions of African peoples and cultures, as well as gender relations in the colony?

Silences were equally valued in my analysis of the primary sources at hand. [39] Most foreign observers were silent about women or disregarded their participation in other realms than agriculture and household chores. Colonial officials, explorers and religious men were informed by the ethnocentrism, patriarchy and religious beliefs of their own societies in which women were seen as subordinate to men and Africans as inferior to Europeans.[40] In order to understand the meanings behind such silences, the information found in official reports and travel accounts was unpacked so as to better understand how the colonial encounter shaped representations of African populations, particularly African women. With the exception of some travel accounts written in Italian, the

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[38] Paul Ricoeur, *Interpretation Theory: Discourse and the Surplus of Meaning* (Fort Worth: Texas Christian University Press, 1976.

[39] Donald Moore and Richard Roberts, "Listening for Silences," *History in Africa*, 17 (1990): 319-325.

[40] Josephine Beoku-Betts, "Western Perceptions of African Women in the 19th & Early 20th Centuries," in Andrea Cornwall, ed., *Readings in Gender in Africa* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2005), 20-25; Oyèrónkẹ́ Owewùmí, "Colonizing Bodies and Minds: Gender and Colonialism", in Nupur Chaudhuri, ed. *The Invention of Women: Making an African Sense of Western Gender Discourse* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1997), 121-156; Catharine Hall, *Civilizing Subjects: Metropole and Colony in the English Imagination, 1830-1867* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2002); Osborn, *Our New Husbands are Here*, 144-145, 149, 151.

primary sources which this study draws upon were originally written in Portuguese. Therefore, the translations of citations used throughout the dissertation, as well as the glossary, are of my entire responsibility. Only by drawing upon these varied and rich sources and methods can the history of female traders in West Central Africa be unveiled.

Chapter 1

Relationships between Expatriate Men and Local Women in Luanda

The participation of women in trade was a common feature of societies along the western coast of Africa. Some women were able to achieve success and wealth in commerce and in recognition of their socio-economic status and affiliation to European culture, they became known as *nharas*, *signares*, and *senoras*, terms derived from the Portuguese word *senhora* (lady), or as *donas*.[1] Women in European *entrepôts* such as Benguela, Luanda, Saint Louis, Cacheu, Bissau and the Zambezi Valley entered into relationships with exogenous traders and adopted various components of European culture, while at the same time maintaining connections with local cultures. In the particular case of colonial Angola, José C. Curto has pointed out that African and Luso-African women used these relationships for their own benefit: exogenous males, on the other hand, took advantage of them to establish themselves in the colony.[2] As Mariana P. Candido has noted, *donas* professed Christianity, spoke European and local languages, and their offspring with foreign men occupied important mid-level positions within the colonial administration.[3]

Despite their importance as traders, the variety of roles played by women in the African past has largely escaped detection, including by contemporaneous observers. With respect to Luanda, much of the academic focus has concentrated upon the singular case of Dona Ana

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[1] Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, xxii; Silva, *Donas e plebeias*; Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva," Candido, "Strategies for Social Mobility," Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 1; Curto, "The Donas of Benguela".
[2] Curto, "A restituição de 10.000 súbditos ndongo;" Curto, "'As If From A Free Womb;'" Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797".
[3] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 122-139; Mariana Candido, "Engendering West Central African History". For privileges achieved by the offspring of European men and African women elsewhere on the western coast of Africa, see Osborn, *Our New Husbands are Here*, 146, 157.

Joaquina dos Santos Silva, also known as the "Queen of Bengo," one of the wealthiest merchants in mid-nineteenth century colonial Angola.[4] She, however, was not the only woman to achieve high status and prosperity. Indeed, Dona Ana Joaquina was part of a group of women who entered the colonial elite in Luanda as traders both before and during the first half of the nineteenth century. As interesting as this Luso-African woman was, her case is not necessarily representative of all female traders since only a few women were able to achieve similar levels of wealth.

This chapter analyzes the specific historical and demographic context that led to the emergence of commercial and intimate relationships between foreign men and local African and Luso-African women in Luanda from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. Secondly, it examines the benefits of these interactions for both males and females. As we will see, the lack of white women, as well as the requirements of trade and everyday life, were crucial in the development of short and long term liaisons between expatriate males and local women.

A City for Foreign Men: Soldiers, Exiles, Missionaries, Traders, and Other Immigrants.

Since its foundation in 1576, Luanda became a place of interaction for people coming from different parts of the Atlantic world.[5] From the first Portuguese who arrived to conquer and

[4] On Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, see Lopo, "Uma rica dona de Luanda;" Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva;" Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means". The exception in the scholarly literature is the work of Selma Pantoja cited above which looks at *donas* as a socio-economic group instead of focusing on the singular case of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva.

[5] On the idea of the Atlantic as a unit, see: Jacques Godechot, *Histore de l'Atlantique* (Paris: Bordas, 1947); Michael Kraus, *The Atlantic Civilization: Eighteenth-Century Origins* (New York: Cornell University Press, 1949); Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Conciousness* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1993); Bernard Bailyn, "The Idea of Atlantic History," *Itinerario*, 20, n. 1 (1996): 19-44; David Eltis, "Atlantic History in Global Perspective," *Itinerario*, 23, n. 2 (1999): 141-161; Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, *O Trato dos Viventes: Formação do Brasil no Atlântico Sul* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2000); Peter A. Coclanis, "Atlantic World or Atlantic/World?" *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 63, n. 4 (2006): 725-742; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*; José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (Amherst, NY: Humanity Books, 2004); Frédéric Mauro, *Portugal, o Brasil e o Atlântico* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1997); Marcus Redker, *Outlaws of the Atlantic: Sailors, Pirates, and Motley Crews in the Age of Sail* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2014).

colonize the land of the *Ngola*[6] to subsequent exiles, missionaries, traders, and other immigrants, foreigners were mainly males who shaped the socio-economic fabric of the colony alongside local men and women. The earliest significant number of foreign men who arrived in this emerging coastal landscape was composed of soldiers who took part in the wars of conquest and held various positions in an incipient colonial administration.[7] With the Portuguese victory over West Central African polities in the 1670s, a significant number of soldiers died while others went back to their homeland. In the following centuries, other expatriate males assisted in expanding and defending the colony when Portuguese sovereignty was challenged on different occasions.[8]

From the beginning of the seventieth century, Angola became a destination of exile for convicts sentenced by the Inquisition in Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora, as well as in Brazil, and by the lay judiciary to "pay" for their crimes overseas. One of the aims of exile was to temporarily remove all people who were considered undesirable in Portuguese society, such as Gypsies, Jews, and opponents of the government.[9] Another was to populate a colony that attracted few willing migrants. On 16 July, 1799, the Portuguese Crown sent instructions to the captaincy of

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[6] Ngola a Kiluanje was a Mbundu political title, as well as one of the several vassal states of the Kingdom of Kongo which existed from the 14th to the 17th centuries in what is now Angola. Joseph C. Miller, *Kings and kinsmen: early Mbundu states in Angola* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1976); Ilídio do Amaral, O *Reino do Congo, os Mbundu (ou Ambundos), o Reino dos "Ngola" (ou Angola) e a presença Portuguesa, de finais do século XV a meados do século XVI* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1996); David Birmingham, *Trade and Conquest in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966).

[7] Military personnel arrived with succeeding governors to help expand or defend the colony, as was the case of the many Portuguese soldiers who in 1600 disembarked in the company of Governor João Rodrigues Coutinho. Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, I, 67.

[8] Charles R. Boxer, "Salvador Correia de Sá e Benevides and the Reconquest of Angola in 1648," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 28, n. 4 (1948): 483-515; José Carlos Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland no século XVIII* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1996), 48; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 8-9.

[9]Geraldo Pieroni, *Os Excluídos do Reino* (Brasília: Universidade de Brasília, 2000); Cunha, "Degredo para Angola;" Miller, *Way of Death*, 247-260; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "O Brasil e a Arte da Guerra em Angola," *Revista Estudos Históricos*, 39 (2007): 3-21; Mariana P. Candido, "Trans-Atlantic Links: The Benguela-Bahian Connections, 1700-1850," in Ana Lúcia Araújo, ed., *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst: Cambria Press, 2011), 239-272; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 77.

Pernambuco, in northeastern Brazil, asking that vagrants, delinquents or volunteers be sent annually to Angola and Benguela to help increase the colonial population.[10] The need was such that, in 1821, the colony even received some 300 young male convicts from Naples, 198 of whom were condemned to perpetual exile for having betrayed the Kingdom of Sicily.[11]

Soon after arriving in Angola, many were sent to the interior, where they were required to enlist in the colonial army and, in the absence of administrative officials, filled various positions within the colonial administration. Others, however, remained within the urban confines of the colonial capital filling positions in the military and in the administration. [12] According to Anabela Cunha, these convicts fulfilled the role of exiles and settlers simultaneously.[13] Some of those in temporary exile who survived the disease environment of Angola chose to stay once their terms of banishment were completed, finding possibilities of enrichment as farmers, administrative personnel, military officers or merchants.[14] For instance, there is no evidence of the return of any of the Neapolitan exiled men to Sicily. Carlos Pacheco has suggested that "they settled in African lands, engaging in the local economy, cohabiting with more than one woman and fathering dozens of children."[15] One of these was Nicolau Tabana. In the early 1840s, the German physician Gustav Tams described him as a criminal who, once his period of exile

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[10] Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (BNRJ), Ms. 618-11-18, "Notification from D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho to the Bishop of Pernambuco and Members of the Municipal Council," 16 September, 1799. See also Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 105-106.

[11] Carlos Pacheco, "A Origem Napolitana de Algumas Famílias Angolanas," *Anais U. E.*, 5 (1995): 181-201.

[12] Selma Pantoja, "Inquisição, degredo, e mestiçagem em Angola no século XVIII," *Revista Lusófona de Ciência da Religião*, 3, n. 5/6 (2004): 119. Maria Eugenia Vieira, "Registro de Carta de Guia de Degredados para Angola, 1714-1757" (Unpublished Licenciate Thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1966). Only individuals in advanced age, sick or disabled were excempted from military service. Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 61. Although the placement of *degredados* in administrative positions was forbidden, the lack of capable individuals made them acceptable. Cunha, "Degredo para Angola," 17. On the presence of *degredados* in Benguela, see Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 76-85, 92.

[13] Cunha, "Degredo para Angola," 84.

[14] *Ibid*, 17.

[15] Pacheco, "A Origem Napolitana," 192. See also Cunha, "Degredo para Angola," 7.

terminated, decided to stay, married a local mulatto or woman of mixed African and European descent, had many children with her, and became quite wealthy.[16]

In fact, many exiles were able to achieve a better life in colonial Angola than they had in their homeland. Alessio de Palma, for example, was a *carrero* (driver) in Naples before being sent into exile in Angola for robbery. Upon arriving in Luanda, he joined the colonial army on 14 February, 1821. Thereafter, Alessio began a slow, but impressive rise within the local military hierarchy: he was promoted to *Cabo* (Corporal) in 1822, *Furriel* (Quartermaster) in 1823, Sergeant in 1827, and Captain some years later.[17] Perhaps the most famous exile to have arrived in colonial Angola was Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo. Born in Funchal, Madeira, on 20 December, 1792, Arsénio was banished to the colony in 1823 for a period of five years due to his involvement in the political movement that aimed to reestablish the constitutional government in the island.[18] The condition of exile, however, did not stop Arsénio from becoming a successful merchant and even reaching the position of president of the Municipal Council of Luanda in 1837.[19] He was also nominated to several positions throughout his time in Angola: in 1842, Carpo was nominated commander of the districts of Bié, Bailundo, and Huambo, while in 1853 he became governor of the interior administrative outpost of Ambaca.[20] His prestige was also

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[16] Gustav Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa*. Vol I (London: T.C. Newby, 1845), 196-197.
[17] Pacheco, "A Origem Napolitana," 191.
[18] Manuel da Costa Lobo Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda* (Luanda: Edição do Autor, 1967), 180. According to Pacheco, Carpo was a liberal and for this reason he was chased by supporters of the absolute monarchy system, known as *miguelistas*. Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 55, 57. See also Carlos Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira: O homem e sua época* (Luanda: União dos Escritores Angolanos, 1990), 115.
[19] Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 52; Jacopo Corrado, "The Rise of a New Consciousness: Early Euro-African Voices of Dissent in Colonial Angola," *JPH*, 5, n. 2 (2007), 7. Angola-born individuals and long time residents criticized the advantages given to newly arrived metropolitans, many of whom were *degredados*. Jill Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português (c. 1820-1850)," in Miliam H. Pereira et al, eds., *O Liberalismo na Península Ibérica na primeira metade do século XIX: comunicações ao colóquio organizado pelo Centro de Estudos de História Contemporânea Portuguesa* (Lisbon: Sá da Costa Editora, 1982), 271.
[20] Marques, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 623, 636.

enhanced by the title of *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo* (Commander of the Order of Christ), granted to him in 1843.[21]

Contemporaneous opinions regarding the presence of exiles in colonial Angola were ambiguous. While some Portuguese authorities tended to see *degredados* as agents of civilization, other individuals opposed the benefits given to "criminals." Brazilian-born Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, for instance, was critical of the military distinctions given to exiles in the Angolan army, noting at the end of the eighteenth century that "their crimes were [effectively] punished with military titles [normally] awarded to good men of distinction," while their comrades looked on with bewilderment.[22] As a volunteer serving the military of colonial Angola, he would himself have aspired to promotion. Whether Corrêa achieved this goal is not known. Therefore, his dissatisfaction with the easy access which exiles had to mid-level positions in the army is understandable.

More than 50 years later, Sebastião Lopes de Calheiros e Menezes expressed a very different opinion. This colonial administrator believed that the permanent settlement of exiled individuals could benefit colonial Angola by providing labor and "civilizing" local peoples. During his early 1860s tenure as Governor of Angola, Calheiros e Menezes employed *libertos* (freed blacks) and exiles in public works subsidized by the colonial administration. He also sent exiled individuals to the interior "at their own risk and where they could be useful indirectly, given that the presence of a European in the *sertões* [interior lands] is conducive to the civilization and approximation to Portuguese customs."[23] Contrary to the case of Brazil, Angola did not attract European immigrants until the twentieth century due to its notorious climate and

[21] *Ibid*, 623.
[22] Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola*. Vol I (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937), 15.
[23] Sebastião Lopes de Calheiros e Menezes, *Relatório do Governador Geral da Província de Angola* (Lisbon: Imprensa Nacional, 1867), 42-43.

epidemiological environment. In this context, the lowly character of exiled convicts was far from constituting a barrier for some males to ascend into the colonial elite. Exiles not only engaged heavily with the local economy, but also nurtured relationships of all sorts with local free and enslaved women from which resulted *mestiço* (of mixed African and European descent) offspring.[24]The fact that criminals were seen as "civilizers" is indicative of how lowly administrative authorities saw Africans.

Missionaries and priests comprised another category of foreign males who arrived in the colony. Travelers usually commented on the shortage of priests in colonial Angola, especially in areas away from Portuguese urban centers. Carlos José Caldeira, who arrived in Luanda on 24 May, 1852, as part of a commercial expedition which brought him from Lisbon to China via Angola and then back to Lisbon, highlighted the poor condition of churches in the interior of the colony and the lack of priests. However, he also disclosed that "in spite there being so few priests, their ministries do not involve much work since almost no one attends the mass and rare are the persons who confess themselves and receive sacraments, even when facing imminent death."[25]

Local people were not the only individuals criticized for their "non religious" behavior. The white, largely foreign population, was also constantly accused of taking part in African rituals and practices. Francisco Travassos Valdez, who lived for some time during the 1850s in Angola, lamented the "fact that many white people professing Christianity avail themselves of this heathenist [sic] custom, their conduct consequently tending to confirm the natives in their

[24] Cunha, "Degredo para Angola," 79; Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo".
[25] Carlos José Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem de Lisbon á China e da China a Lisbon*. Vol. I (Lisbon: Typograhia de Castro & Irmão, 1853), 206.

evil practices." [26] The conduct of priests and missionaries was also the target of criticism. According to José J. Lopes de Lima "prelates from Portugal sent for exile in Angola are libertine and incorrigible religious men." [27] In spite of various bans, some religious men entered relationships with local women and engaged in slave trading.[28]

Immigrants of all kinds arrived in colonial Angola throughout the 1800s, including Portuguese fleeing persecutions in northeastern Brazil during the 1840s. While some remained in Luanda, others settled in the interior. The presence of Portuguese and Brazilian immigrants from Pernambuco contributed to the transfer of technology related to the production of sugar cane.[29] In 1850, Manoel J.C. de Farias, a settler from northeastern Brazil, was responsible for the construction of a sugar mill in one of the *arimos* of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva.[30] On 25 January, 1851, Manoel Lázaro de Barros, another Brazilian settler, offered his services in the *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Angola*, the local gazette, to build sugar mills "moved either by water or by animal traction," as well as to teach the production of sugar and *aguardente* (a brandy made, in this case, from sugar cane).[31]

As the single most important Atlantic slaving port until the commerce in human beings came to an end in the mid-1800s, Luanda attracted traders from different parts of the Atlantic

[26] Francisco Travassos Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life in Western Africa*. Vol. II (London: Hurst and Blackett, 1861), 281.
[27] José J. Lopes de Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas*. Vol III (Lisbon, 1846), 149.
[28] See the case of Father João Teixeira de Carvalho, one of the many lovers that Mariana Fernandes had in Luanda in the first half of the eighteenth century: Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 167-201. The case of Father Carvalho is also explored in Selma Pantoja, "Personagens entre mares atlânticos: visões de Luanda setecentista," *Revista de História Comparada*, 7, n. 1 (2013): 136-148; and Candido, *An Atlantic Slaving Port*, 114, 131. For other cases involving religious men engaged in slave trading and concubinage, see Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 101; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 67; Júlia Porphirio Orioli, "Identidade e mobilidade na comunidade de comerciantes de escravos em Angola no final do século XVIII" (M.A.Thesis, Universidade de Brasília, 2013).
[29] Aida Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas: a Transição Agrária Em Angola, 1850-1880* (Luanda: Chá de Caxinde, 2005), 180, 261.
[30] Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Angola (BOA), n. 254, 10 August, 1850, p. 2-4.
[31] BOA, n. 278, 25 January, 1851, p. 4.

world. Scholars have highlighted the heterogeneous character of the merchant community along the western coast of Africa.[32] In the case of Angola, traders and commercial agents came from different parts of the Portuguese Empire, such as Portugal, Brazil (especially Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco), Açores, Madeira, Cabo Verde, Goa, and São Tomé.[33] Moreover, as other European states challenged Portuguese sovereignty in Angola, British and French traders, in particular, also dealt in enslaved persons in northern ports such as Cabinda, Loango, and Malembo.[34] After the 1815 treaty that limited slave trading to south of the Equator, individuals from other ports in West Africa, including Mina Coast, Cacheu and Ajuda, were also lured to Angola by the possibilities of quick enrichment through the slave trade.[35]

According to Mary C. Karasch, almost all white men in Angola participated in the slave trade, including exiles, soldiers, clerics, and government officials.[36] In spite of the existence of colonial laws that forbade administrative and military personnel from taking part in local trade, it was not uncommon for them to engage in what were effectively illicit commercial activities.[37]

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[32] Miller, *Way of Death*, 246-250; Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 104-105; Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 97-124. The cosmopolitan nature of this merchant community was a feature also found in other African port towns such as Saint Louis, Cacheu, and Bissau, as well as in the Zambezi valley: Havik, "Women and trade," 96; Tobias Green, "Building creole identity in the African Atlantic: boundaries of race and religion in Seventeenth-Century Cabo Verde," *History in Africa*, 36 (2009): 103-125; Eugenia Rodrigues, "Colonial society, women and African culture in Mozambique," in Clara Sarmento, ed., *From here to diversity: globalization and intercultural dialogues* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publisher, 2010), 253-274; Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *The William and Mary Quarterly*, 56, n. 2 (1999): 307-334.

[33] José C. Curto, "Movers of Slaves: The Brazilian Community in Benguela (Angola), c. 1722-1832," Unpublished Paper presented at the Harriet Tubman Seminar, Toronto, Canada, September 2003 [http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/seminars/tubman03_04.htm]; Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 97-124.

[34] David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and their Neighbours under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1966), 137-141; Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 96-97; Miller, *Way of Death*, 226-227; Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic slaving," 83-88; Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda, 1768-1806: Records of Ancelmo da Fonseca Coutinho," *African Economic History*, 38 (2010): 53-76.

[35] Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 97-124.

[36] Mary C. Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851," (M.A. Thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967), 24-25.

[37] Portuguese officials, including governors, regents, judges, and military officers, were legally prohibited from either direct or indirect involvement in the slave trade. Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 185-186. According to Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 49, many soldiers left their military positions to engage in trade or

Roquinaldo Ferreira has argued that by the end of the seventeenth century, *capitães-mores* (Captain-Majors) of military-administrative outposts in the *sertão* (hinterland) played a crucial role in the growth of everyday enslavement in colonial Angola. Some were traders themselves, using their administrative positions to acquire enslaved Africans from local communities. According to Ferreira, it was quite common for a *capitão-mor* to sell goods on credit to Africans and then use his position to extort them.[38] As Corrêa pointed out at the end of the eighteenth century, "in past times, the Captain-Majors chosen from among army officers did not receive any wages and for this reason the profits they made through commerce and other activities were admitted." This tolerance, he emphasized, resulted in abuses as *capitães-mores* drew upon their authority to favor their own interests. Complaints about such manipulations eventually reached the Portuguese Crown, which then established an annual salary of 300,000 *réis* for Captain-Majors in the *sertão* and forbade their participation in other activities, including commerce.[39]

The case of Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa is emblematic. By the late eighteenth century, Costa was a successful trader in manioc flour and in enslaved persons in spite of being a military officer.[40] For instance, in 1791, his ship, the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade e São Francisco Xavier*, made two voyages to Bahia, in northeast Brazil, with a combined cargo of 867 captives.[41] Moreover, before the end of that decade, Costa began a long tenure as Director of the great slave market located in the Kingdom of Kasanje, the only venue within this African

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did both simultaneously. For examples of the involvement of military officials in slaving activities, see Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 101-102, 106.

[38] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 44; Candido, "Enlaving Frontiers," 111-112; Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 113; Mariana P. Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización: Esclavitud, Comercio e Identidad en Benguela, 1780-1850* (Cidade do Mexico: El Colegio de Mexico, 2011), 128-130.

[39] According to Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 25-26, only *presídios* or interior military-administrative units through which trade was channeled could pay the salaries of their *capitães-mores*. The *real*, or *réis* in the plural, was the currency in use throughout the Portuguese Empire during the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

[40] On his activies in the supply of foodstuffs, see Biblioteca Municipal de Luanda (BML), Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fls. 55, 61.

[41] Eltis et al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 48452 and 48459.

state recognized by the colonial administration of Angola for coastal slave traders to conduct their business.[42] Such an important position certainly facilitated his access to captives who could be put to use locally or exported across the Atlantic.[43]

Unlike men, white women rarely ever ventured to settle in Luanda before the later nineteenth century. Indeed, not many seem to have followed Dona Guiomar Anacleta de Carvalho Fonseca e Camões, who arrived in Angola in 1772 with her husband, Governor Dom António de Lencastre, and their daughter, Dona Francisca Felizarda de Lencastre.[44] The foreigners who arrived in colonial Angola were mainly young males who quickly engaged in commercial activities, particularly the slave trade, with some managing to accumulate much wealth. Whether male or female, every incoming foreign individual had to adapt to the new environment. By living in a port city connected to the Atlantic world, they became fluent in its new languages and intimate with its trade and cultures. [45]

Since the sixteenth century, Africans and foreigners living in the Portuguese enclaves of colonial Angola interacted with each other, giving rise to a Luso-African society characterized by bilateral transformations: local peoples adopted elements of European culture while foreigners learned African ways.[46] In this process of Creolization, some foreigners learned Kimbundu, took part in African rituals, engaged in local trade, and built relations with local peoples. Africans, in turn, adopted Portuguese naming practices, fashion, and architecture, spoke

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[42] José C. Curto, "*Jerebita* in the Relations between the Colony of Angola and the Kingdom of Kasanje," *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 14 (2013): 8. On the Kingdom of Kasange, see Jan Vansina, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje," *Journal of African History*, 4 (1963): 355-374; Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*; Joseph C. Miller, "Imbangala lineage slavery (Angola)," in Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, 205-233.
[43] On how nomination to administrative positions benefited the business of slave traders, see Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 37-38, 44.
[44] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 45.
[45] Berlin, "From Creole to African".
[46] Heywood, "Portuguese into African;" Ferreira, "Ilhas Crioulas;" Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians;" Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 114-115, 318.

Portuguese language and professed Christianity.[47] As Linda M. Heywood has argued, because of the demographic weight of the African population and the tendency of Bantu cultures to change over time by absorbing external elements, the culture that emerged in colonial Angola was an "African-Lusitanian" one, with African components more dominant in many areas.[48]

One example of the prevalence of African elements was the endurance of Kimbundu as the *língua geral* (common language) of Angola, remaining as such at least until the 1830s.[49] Jan Vansina attributes the failure of the Portuguese language in the Luso-African context of Luanda to the lack of schools for boys and provision for the education of girls, the scarcity of European brides, as well as the low number of individuals born in Brazil or in Portugal living in the colony. Most Luso-Africans were descendants of Kimbundu mothers who initiated them into Mbundu society and culture. In fact, Corrêa indicated that while local ladies were very talkative in the household, where they spoke Kimbundu, they remained silent in public, evidencing that little or no Portuguese was spoken by them. On the other hand, he asserted, males "speak Portuguese, but are elegant in Ambundo [Kimbundu]," meaning that they had better command of the latter language.[50]

Contemporaneous observers, however, often condemned the assimilation of local customs by whites, whether they were European, Brazilian or local born. The Brazilian-born physician José Pinto de Azeredo, for example, condemned the use of *milongos* or medicines prescribed by local healers to *filhos do país* (whites born in Angola) and Europeans asserting that

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[47] Heywood, "Portuguese into African;" Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 122-139; Candido, "Engendering West Central African History;" Curto, "'As If From a Free Womb;'" Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797". For the "Africanization" of Europeans in other parts of the western coast of Africa, see Elbl, "Men without Women," 65, Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 50.
[48] Heywood, "Portuguese into African," 94.
[49] Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu," 271.
[50] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 83.

"many benign diseases become deadly through the hand of these tricksters." [51] Corrêa also noted the adherence of whites to local culture, highlighting that they participated in "heathen" religious rituals.[52] In his exploration of the documentation of the Inquisition in Lisbon, Kalle Kananoja has shown that even Portuguese military commanders faced charges of witchcraft and idolatry due to their incorporation of African religious practices to cure illness and achieve success in business in Angola.[53] Meanwhile, the work of James Sweet presents several cases of African individuals who continued practicing indigenous religious rituals even after receiving Catholic baptism.[54]

Commercial Networks, Companionship, and the Requirements of Everyday Life

Luanda was divided into an upper and lower town that, until the mid-nineteenth century, comprised the *freguesias* or parishes of Nossa Senhora da Sé and Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, respectively. The Freguesia da Sé was the administrative centre of the colony, where the governor, military and ecclesiastical authorities resided in close proximity to important buildings like the *Câmara Municipal* (Municipal Council), the jail, the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy) and its hospital, as well as the Church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of the Conception). The Freguesia de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, on the other hand, represented the commercial district, where mercantile activities were organized around the extensive bay.[55] Located here was the slaughterhouse, the outdoor markets of Coqueiros, Feira Grande, Venda dos Pratos, and Feira do Bungo, as well as the *Terreiro Público* (Public Market)

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[51] José Pinto de Azeredo, *Ensaios sobre algumas enfermidades d'Angola*. Vol. I (Lisbon: Regia Officina Typografica, 1799), 53.
[52] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 87.
[53] Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters, and Good Christians". In fact, seeking help from healers and spirit mediums was far from rare among the Luso-African population in Angola. See, for example, Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 114-115; 123-125; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 5.
[54] Religious practices in 17th and 18th century Angola are discussed in James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003).
[55] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 104-5.

and most of the taverns. The lower town also accommodated the *armazéns* (warehouses) and *sobrados* (house with attics in Portuguese style) of the wealthier merchants, the cemetery, *quintais* (backyards) crowded with African captives awaiting to be shipped across the Atlantic Ocean, and *cubatas* (straw roofed round houses) where enslaved and poor Africans resided. In fact, *sobrados* and *cubatas* were found everywhere in town, from the periphery to the commercial zone, and even in the administrative centre.[56]

Foreigners who visited or settled in Luanda during the late eighteenth century rarely failed to notice the lack of sanitation. Corrêa, for example, observed that pigs walked freely on the streets amid foul-smelling *quintais* crowded with African captives. The smell of the fish commercialized by *quitandeiras* was another feature of the town. The Brazilian-born officer attested that at night wolves and jaguars took over the streets, attacking pigs and dogs, eating the heads of fish left behind, and tearing apart bodies recently buried in the cemetery. All of this, Corrêa (and others) believed, contributed to the contamination of the air and the spread of diseases.[57] Although forbidden by municipal by-laws, garbage and animal remains were almost always found on the streets of the town. Early nineteenth century registers of fines imposed upon its residents and shopkeepers for failing to maintain the front of their homes and keep shops clean provide abundant evidence of the problem. On 3 July, 1823, to take but one example, António José Correia Sá de Magalhães, Antônio Pedro, Jerônimo José Pereira, and José Francisco, all shopkeepers, were each fined 1,000 *réis* for having the pavement in front of their establishments dirty.[58]

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[56] *Ibid*, II, 104-5; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda*, 37; Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 78-9. According to Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 37, after 1835 the Municipal Council limited the construction of *cubatas* to the areas of Sangomdombe, Ingombotas and Alto do Carmo.
[57] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 80-81.
[58] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de Correção," 3 July, 1823, fl. 5.

A similar impression was left by another Brazilian-born individual, the physician Azeredo, who practiced and taught medicine in Luanda between 1789 and 1797. In his *Ensaios sobre algumas enfermidades d'Angola*, first published in 1799, he analyzed the diseases prevalent in the colony and their causes.[59] In the case of Luanda, Azeredo noticed that its inhabitants suffered from scurvy, fevers, and diarrhea caused by exposure to heat and the noxious fumes emanating from backyards full of captives waiting for shipment, as well as by the consumption of fish exposed to the sun and flies, poor housing conditions, and the miasmas emanating from cadavers buried in the churches and cemeteries. The situation, he attested, was aggravated by inadequate sources of fresh water, since residents were largely dependent upon the murky water barged in from the Bengo River. Azeredo further remarked that this water was of poor quality, as the river was polluted by the garbage that local people deposited in it. Well-off inhabitants, on the other hand, consumed water from rain that was collected in a cistern in the São Miguel Fortress.[60]

The makeup of Luanda's population experienced several changes from the late eighteenth to middle of the nineteenth century (see Appendix A, Table 1.1). Despite being the most important port of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, late eighteenth century Luanda remained a small town. According to the 1781 census, 9,755 people were then found residing in the colonial capital: 4,108 men and 5,647 women. Of this total, 5,583 individuals or 57.2 percent were

[59] Azeredo, *Ensaios sobre algumas enfermidades d'Angola*.
[60] *Ibid*, I, 41. For the commerce of water from the Bengo River in Luanda during the nineteenth century, see: Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 22. Sanitation remained an issue well into the middle of the nineteenth century: *ibid*., 24. For another foreign born observer concerned about the *miasmas* in Luanda, see Anonymus, *Quarenta e Cinco Dias em Angola: Apontamentos de viagem* (Porto: Sebastião José Pereira, 1862), 3, 23. For more on the theory that *miasmas* or "bad air" were the cause of diseases, see Alain Corbin, *Saberes e odores: o olfato e o imaginário social nos séculos dezoito e dezenove* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1987), 19.

enslaved: 2,164 males and 3,419 females.[61] For the following 60 years or so the population of Luanda experienced an absolute decline, falling to but 5,605 inhabitants by 1844 due, in large part, to intense Brazilian demand for enslaved laborers. With the early 1840s arrival in West Central Africa of British anti-slave trade patrols, which followed the 1836 ban on slave exports from Portuguese possessions, the number of Luanda's residents began to rise again. By 1850, it had reached 12,565 persons, representing a substantial increase that Curto has characterized as a veritable "demographic explosion."[62] This population growth resulted largely from an increase in the number of enslaved individuals retained in Luanda who would have been previously exported to the Americas. Nevertheless, illegal slaving operations destined to supply the Atlantic market continued to take place in the colony until the 1860s, with enslaved Africans exported particularly to Brazil and Cuba.[63]

In spite of the constant transit of foreigners, especially Portuguese and Brazilian-born individuals attracted by the slave trade, the number of whites in Luanda remained low throughout the nineteenth century (see Appendix B, Table 1.2). [64] In 1802, whites comprised

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[61] José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda of Luanda during the late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History* 29 (2001): 1-59.

[62] José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32 (1999): 381-405.

[63] On illegal slaving activities along the Angolan coast, see: Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Brasil e Angola no Tráfico Illegal de Escravos," in Selma Pantoja, ed., *Brasil e Angola nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand, 1999), 143-194; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Escravidão e revolta de escravos em Angola (1830-1860)," *Revista Afro-Ásia*, 21-22 (1999): 9-44; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade and Slave Departures from Angola, 1830s-1860s," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 313-334; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860" (M.A. Thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996); Daniel B. D. da Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola, c. 1780-1867," (PhD Dissertation, Emory University, 2011); Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola".

[64] For the Brazilian presence in Luanda, see Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Miller, *Way of Death*; 314-378; José C. Curto, *Enslaving Spirits: The Portuguese-Brazilian Alcohol Trade at Luanda and Its Hinterland, c.1550-1830* (Leiden: Brill, 2004); Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*; Selma Pantoja, "Entre Luanda e Rio de Janeiro: o padre, o bispo e o coronel," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 87-109. On the Brazilian presence in Benguela, see Curto, "Movers of Slaves;" Mariana P. Candido, "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade in Benguela, c. 1750-

only 710 individuals or 12.5 percent of the total urban population. Notwithstanding the overall and significant population increase registered between 1844 and 1850, whites saw their number fall from 1,601 to 1,240 individuals or by 22.5 percent. This shrinking segment of the white population was then made up of 820 males and 420 females. Such a decrease may have been caused by high death rates among the European population, as well as by white individuals who decided to leave the colony for Portugal and Brazil. Still, the *Almanak statistico da provincia d'Angola e suas dependencias para o anno de 1852* questioned these numbers. According to the unknown author(s) of this publication, Luanda then had but 830 white inhabitants, 670 of whom were male and only 160 were female.[65]

Almost from the very beginning of the colonial enterprise in West Central Africa, the Portuguese Crown attempted to establish a white population in Angola by periodically sending female orphans and single women to Luanda and, to a lesser extent, Benguela. These efforts,

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1850," *African Economic History* 35 (2008), 1-30; Mariana P. Candido, "Negociantes Baianos no porto de Benguela: Redes Comerciais unindo o Atlântico no Setencentos," in Roberto Guedes, ed., *Brasileiros e Portugueses na África (séculos XVI-XIX)* (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, 2014), 67-9; Mariana P. Candido, "Trans-Atlantic Links: The Benguela-Bahian Connections, 1700-1850," in Ana Lúcia Araújo *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011): 239-272; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Echoes of the Atlantic: Benguela (Angola) and Brazilian Independence," in Lisa Lindsay and John Sweet, eds., *Biography and the Black Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 224-247; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: Slaving, Mobility, and Personal Ties in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," in Nancy Naro, Roger Sansi and David Treece, eds., *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 99-128; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730-1800)," in CEAUP, ed., *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Lisboa: Campo das Letras, 2006), 66-99; Ferreira, "Brasil e Angola no Tráfico Illegal de Escravos," 143-194; Estevam C.Thompson, "Negreiros nos Mares do Sul: Famílias traficantes nas rotas entre Angola e Brasil em fins do século XVIII," (M.A. Thesis, Universidade de Brasília, 2006); Estevam C. Thompson, "Feliciano José de Barros: escravo de sangue negreiro, c. 1775-1818," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 111-141; Nielson Rosa Bezerra, "Escravidão, Farinha e Tráfico Atlântico: um novo olhar sobre as relações entre Rio de Janeiro e Benguela," Programa Nacional de Apoio a Pesquisa, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 2010 (unpublished paper). I wish to thank Dr. Bezerra for sharing his unpublished work.

[65] José C. Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population: An Analysis of the 1850 censuses of Luanda," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 225-247.

however, were anything but successful.[66]Colonial authorities, in particular, encouraged relationships between expatriates and local women as a measure to establish foreign men in the colony. Among the 1772 instructions that former Governor of Angola, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, sent to his successor, António de Lencastre, was a recommendation to favor individuals who married into the local population:

> There is a need to establish males so that through marriages the population can be increased, otherwise this Kingdom will fall in decay as there will be no one to serve. Your Excellency must favor the newly married with white or almost white women, giving them all support you can.[67]

Although Coutinho's recommendation was for his successor to support men who married "white or almost white women," meaning Europeans or *pardas* (of mixed European and African background), foreigners also entered into relationships with free and enslaved black African women. Well into the nineteenth century, the number of white females in the colony remained low.[68] In the 1850s, Valdez remarked that "in consequence of the paucity of white women, the Portuguese formed alliances with women of color and half-castes, to whom, and to their children, the offspring of such connections, they manifest great affection."[69] Fear over a complicated epidemiological environment, lack of potable water, a high death rate for foreigners, and the extreme heat may all have contributed to the decision of expatriate males to leave their wives and children in the safety of their homelands. Moreover, by moving to Luanda alone, they

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[66] Twelve female orphans arrived in Angola in 1593. Throughout the next centuries, Portuguese women immigrants continued to arrive in only small numbers. Boxer, *Mary and Misogyny*, 16-17, 23-27. Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero," 76.

[67] Biblioteca Nacional de Lisbon (BNL), Códice 8744, "Carta de Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Dom António de Lencastre," 26 November, 1772, fl. 303v.

[68] Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero," 76. The number of female convicts sent to Angola was always much smaller than that of their male counterparts. Vieira, "Registro de Carta de Guia de Degredados," 94; Pantoja, "Inquisição, degredo, e mestiçagem".

[69] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 171.

had the chance to experience the sexual pleasures of the tropics that had long penetrated European imagination.[70] Joachin John Monteiro, who travelled throughout colonial Angola between the late 1850s and the early 1870s, stated "there is not much society in Loanda, as but few of the Portuguese bring their wives and families with them, and there are but few white women." [71] The sexual imbalance amongst new arrivals soon facilitated the emergence of relationships between foreign males and local African and Luso-African women. Indeed, liaisons between foreign men and local women were quite common, as was the case in other ports throughout the western coast of Africa.[72]

By entering into relationships with African and Luso-African women, foreign men accessed the personal and commercial logistics necessary to a newcomer in the colony.[73] Exogenous merchants required a basic infrastructure to establish themselves in colonial Angola, such as accommodation, healthcare, and enslaved persons to prepare food and/or do the laundry, to list but a few daily needs. At the same time, foreigners were also in need of translators, carriers, and assistants to access local trade networks and thereby to connect with suppliers in the interior. Many merchants met their daily and commercial requirements by entering into relationships with local women, daughters of Luso-African and African families who opened the doors of their households and of local market networks to their new partners. Others already married in Europe or in the Americas, did not hesitate to enter into casual or long term relationships with local women, which at times resulted in a second marriage and consequently

[70]Anne McClintock, *Imperial Leather: Race, Gender and Sexuality in the Colonial Conquest* (New York: Routledge, 1995).
[71] Joachim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*. Vol I (London: Macmillan, 1875), I, 193.
[72] Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*; Havik, *Silences and Soundbytes*; White, *Sierra Leone's Settler Women Trader*; Osborn, *Our new husbands are here*; Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena;" Elbl, "Men Without Wives".
[73] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 136-137.

in bigamy.[74] Single male settlers, on the other hand, could find female partners among the heiresses of the local elite or wealthy widows: in these cases, a Catholic marriage was usually celebrated.[75]

For communities found along the western coast of Africa, the exchange of women was a means to consolidate relationships between foreigners and local elites. Marriage within this particular context replicated what Catharine Coquery-Vidrovitch has highlighted elsewhere in Africa as "an economic, social and political affair," which allowed different groups of people to be henceforth connected together.[76] In fact in the nineteenth century, marriage was a strategy to consolidate commercial and political alliances in both Portugal itself and its colonies overseas.[77] This was a common practice also in other European societies, where well-to-do families,

[74] For denunciations of bigamy in São Tomé e Príncipe, see Arlindo Manuel Caldeira, *Mulheres, Sexualidade e Casamento em São Tomé e Príncipe, século XV a XVIII* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1999), 116-117.
[75] See the marriage petitions in Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda (ABL), "Termos de Fiança," 1837-1859.
[76] Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, 19.
[77] George Winius and B.W. Diffie, *Foundations of the Portuguese Empire,1415-1825*. Vol. I (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1977), 148. For marriage in Angola, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 246-50; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery;" José C. Curto, "Marriage in Benguela, 1797-1830: A Serialized Analysis," in Maryann Buri and José C. Curto, eds., *New Perspectives on Angola: From Slaving Colony to Nation State* (volume in preparation), who I thank for sharing his work. For marriage in Brazil, see Donald Ramos, "Marriage and the Family in Colonial Vila Rica," in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, ed., *Families in the Expansion of Europe, 1500-1800* (Brookfield, VT: Ashgate, 1998), 39-64; Rosenilson da Silva Santos, "Casamento e dote: costumes entrelaçados na sociedade da Vila Nova do Príncipe (1759-1795)," *Veredas da História*, 3, n. 2 (2010): 1-14; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, "O casamento e suas normas," in *Cultura e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1821* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1977), 96-103; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *História da Família no Brasil Colonial*, 3a edition (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998); Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Vida privada e quotidiano no Brasil na época de D. Maria I e D. João VI* (Lisbon: Editorial Estampa, 1999); Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Sistema de casamento no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo: Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1978). For examples in other European colonies in Africa, see: Elizabeth Schmidt, *Peasants, Traders, and Wives: Shona Women in the History of Zimbabwe, 1870-1939* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 1992); Hilary Jones, "From marriage à la mode to weddings at town hall: marriage, colonialism, and mixed-race society in nineteenth-century Senegal," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, n. 1 (2005): 27-48; Havik, *Sileces and Soundbites*; Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, xxiii; Walter Hawthorne, *Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations Along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400-1900* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003); Capela, *Donas, Senhoras e Escravos*; Allen Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of an European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750-1902* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1972); Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena;" Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés"; Kristin Mann, *Marrying Well: Marriage, Status and Social Change among the Educated Elite in Colonial Lagos* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

including royalty, married off their offspring to maintain or expand their economic and social status.[78]

Foreign males did not hesitate to enter into relationships with local women, whether they were according to local customs or blessed by the Catholic Church. According to Joseph C. Miller, the key relationship in Luanda was what he called "commercial marriage," between a male European trader and a Luso-African woman - a sister or a daughter of the slaving families in the interior.[79] Despite the efforts by the colonial state to encourage people to marry, Catholic marriages were far from commonplace: this sacrament was predominantly drawn upon by elites who professed Christianity.[80] The costs and bureaucracy involved in the process might have contributed to keep modest and poor couples away from a Catholic marriage. Couples who wished to enter into matrimony had to file a marriage petition with the Ecclesiastic Board. Thus on 15 May, 1854, Feliciano Carlos Fernandes do Canto, who first saw the light of day in Lisbon, filed a petition to marry the locally born Dona Maria Antónia Rodrigues. Before being allowed to marry Dona Maria, Feliciano was requested to present his register of baptism and proof of *banhos* (banns of marriage) within a year.[81] In order to ascertain whether any impediments existed, such as a previous relation with a person related to the spouse-to-be, impotency, consanguinity, the use of force, or even marriage elsewhere, couples willing to enter into matrimony were required to have their banns of marriage read in their parish churches on three

[78] Joan Perkin, *Women and Marriage in Nineteenth-Century England* (Chicago: Lyceum Books, 1989), 4-5.
[79] Miller, *Way of Death,* 290.
[80] Jan Vansina, "Ambaca Society and the Slave Trade c. 1760-1845," *The Journal of African History*, 46, n. 1 (2005), 9.
[81] ABL, Termos de Fiança 1837-1859, "Marriage Petition of Feliciano Carlos Fernandes do Canto," 15 May, 1854, fls. 54v-55.

successive days so that anyone with a reason why the marriage should not lawfully take place could report it.[82]

The banns of marriage and other documents (baptismal registers and proof of marital status) requested from parishes abroad cost money and took time. This probably prevented some couples from formalizing their relationships, although Church authorities sometimes made exceptions for influential residents. When, for example, João Carlos Lamar dos Santos, born in Lisbon, filed a petition on 30 January, 1854, with the Ecclesiastic Board of Luanda to marry Dona Maria da Conceição Freitas, born in Luanda, he was asked to present proof of his marital status within a year.[83] On 13 March of the following year, João Carlos requested a deadline extension since he was still awaiting for the document to arrive from Lisbon.[84]

Some couples cohabitated or married according to local customs: their relationships were thus not recognized by the Church or by the colonial bureaucracy. Based on his "understanding" of local traditions, one eighteenth century observer stated that African families "offered female virginity to anyone willing to pay." According to his description, after what he considered to be an "auction," the woman passed through a process of purification, during which she was locked in a dark room for 40 days. Therein, she was washed every day with special herbs to become *afulada* or lighter skinned while her relatives ate, sang and danced in the next room. Following this period of reclusion, the woman was prepared to be given to her "buyer." That night, man and woman slept together while her relatives drank. The morning after, the "buyer" confirmed that she was a virgin and congratulated her parents, who celebrated with musket shots and dances. Otherwise, if the woman was not deemed a virgin, the contract was cancelled. Corrêa, our

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[82] Ramos, "Marriage and the Family," 51.
[83] ABL, Termos de Fiança 1837-1859, "Marriage Petition of João Carlos Lamar dos Santos," 30 January, 1854, fl. 52v.
[84] *Ibid*, fl. 52v attachment.

observer, further commented that "Catholics are the least scrupulous buyers, competing in auctions for women."[85] What he labeled "auction" was in fact the bridewealth or payment made to seal marriage contracts among African families and the male he referred to as "the buyer" was the groom. Although unrecognized by the colonial state, Christian men – local and foreign – engaged in these unions which were known as *lambamento*.[86]

According to the jurist António Gil, who lived in Luanda in the mid-1840s, the price of bridewealth (that he calls dowry) was negotiated with the parents of the bride: its cost then amounted to about 50,000 *réis* in the city. In the interior, bridewealth was paid in *fazendas* (textiles) and *missangas* (beads) which were used as currency. The dowry, Gil stated, was used to dress the bride and compensate the parents for having raised her. He further suggested that it also was the price for her virginity, "as was practiced among us [Europeans] in the past." Gil described the case of a woman who was accused by her husband of not being a virgin. The woman admitted that, in fact, she was no longer a virgin, but disclosed that her own husband had slept with her promising to ask her in marriage as soon as he had the money to pay for the bridewealth. The husband did not deny the information but said she was already not a virgin when they first had sexual intercourse. Given the lack of proof, the woman had no other choice than to resort to the *juramento de Indua*, a Mbundu ceremony used in cases of dispute between litigants. To perform the *juramento*, the litigants would come to a judge, usually an African ruler, who would hear their versions of the facts. In the process, the ruler would have a local *ganga* (healer) prepare a beverage with barks of a tree that was subsequently divided into two equal

[85] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 88-90.
[86] For African marriage practices elsewhere in the western coast of Africa, see Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 220; James F. Searing, *West African slavery and Atlantic commerce: the Senegal River Valley, 1700-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 65-84; Hilary Jones, "From marriage a la mode to weddings at Town Hall: marriage, colonialism, and mixed-race society in Nineteenth-Century Senegal," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 38, n. 1 (2005): 27-48. Misconceptions about African marriage practices were common among European observers. See Beoku-Betts, "Western Perceptions of African Women," 22.

amounts to be consumed by the litigants. The first person to expel it would be considered innocent. According to Gil, the litigant that did not spew out the beverage would feel "the pain of death": and, to prepare the antipoison, the *ganga* would charge an amount corresponding to the price of a young slave, or from 20,000 to 40,000 *réis*. Unfortunately, Gil offered no information on the final verdict of the woman in question.[87]

Nevertheless, the family and personal strategies involved in Catholic and African marriages do not exclude the possibility of affection and sexual attraction between the individuals who became part of these alliances. Expatriate males also entered casual relationships with free and enslaved black women. These informal relationships were known as *amasiamento* throughout the Portuguese Empire.[88]They only became public after the birth of a "natural" child (born from parents who were not married within the Catholic Church). Free women who, without duress, entered into relationships with foreigners could become wives or *amásias* (concubines), while enslaved women were most likely to remain invisible lovers.

Through Catholic or African matrimonial arrangements, expatriate males accessed an established household that provided accommodation, food, care during illness, as well as access to trade networks that increased their participation in the trans-Atlantic trade in enslaved Africans. As George E. Brooks pointed out for West Africa, the care offered by wives and enslaved individuals could provide the difference between life and death.[89] Meanwhile, foreign males counted on the companionship of a spouse or partner and on connections and possibly

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[87] António Gil, *Considerações sobre alguns pontos mais importantes da moral religiosa e systema de jurisprundência dos pretos do continente da África Occidental portuguesa além do Equador, tendentes a dar alguma idea do character peculiar das suas instituicções primitivas* (Lisbon: Typografia da Academia, 1854), 18-20. See also Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 197-201.
[88] Sílvia Maria Fávero Arend, *Amasiar ou casar? A família popular no final do século XIX* (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 2001).
[89] Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 127.

affection from her family members who many times were themselves engaged in commercial activities. By giving their daughters away in marriage to expatriate European traders, local African and Luso-African families secured access to imported goods and an export market for African commodities, including enslaved persons. The women who entered into these marriages, on the other hand, were thus able to access both worlds, turning into intermediaries between foreign traders on the coast and African suppliers in the hinterland. Furthermore, they could market locally the imported goods their husbands and partners supplied.[90]

Some authors have suggested that men were also motivated by the sexual opportunities that European expansion offered.[91] Travelers and explorers described overseas possessions as a place of sexual freedom, portraying African women as seductive beings who took advantage of "weak" white men. In the late eighteenth century, the Brazilian-born Corrêa attributed the "weakness" of European men to the heat and to the "fire of sensuality" of local women.[92] In the early nineteenth century, the French traveler Jean-Baptiste Douville pointed to the "easiness" of local women who attracted men "unable to resist the pleasures of sensuality." [93] Exogenous males were portrayed as victims, incapable of resisting the advances of "hyper-sexualized" African women. Some foreign men also expressed their surprise at the beauty and exemplary behavior of African women. The same Corrêa who accused local women of seducing foreign men, contradictorily praised the behavior of local ladies married to Europeans, attesting that they were respective of their matrimonial vows, lovely, and "deserving of the contemplation of their

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[90] *Ibid*, 51; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery;" Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 126.
[91] McClintock, *Imperial Leather*. For the use of this argument in the African context: see Pantoja, "Women's work," 91; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 67; Elbl, "Men Without Wives".
[92] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 92. For the use of a similar argument elsewhere on the western coast of Africa, see Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 212.
[93] Jean Baptiste Douville, *Voyage au Congo et dans l'intérieur de l'Afrique équinoxale...1828, 1829, 1830*. Vol. I (Paris: J. Renouard, 1832), 53.

husbands."[94] His statement implies that, in his view, marriage to European males effectively turned local women into respectable ladies. About a century later, the Portuguese explorer Alexandre Alberto da Rocha de Serpa Pinto admitted, while travelling throughout the Angolan interior, to being "struck with the type of many of these (Ambwela) girls, which was perfectly European; some, with a change in the color of their skin, would cause envy to many pretty European women."[95] Even when commenting on the beauty of African women, foreign observers did so based on European standards, evidencing their ethnocentrism and racism towards African populations.

Some foreigners attempted to avoid relationships with local women due to Christian morals, respect for wives they may have left behind, or racist attitudes towards African women. Serpa Pinto, for example, noticed that it was common for local peoples to offer companions to exogenous men as a sign of hospitality and some took advantage of it.[96] Upon leaving Luanda and other coastal towns for the interior, incoming traders usually experienced serious difficulties in acquiring *carregadores* or porters to transport the goods found in their caravans.[97] Constantly in need of African porters to carry his merchandise, which also served as currency of exchange, Serpa Pinto left a particularly important record of the development of intimate and commercial relationships with local companions. While he passed through the territory of *soba* or ruler Moene-Caú-eu-hue, the leader of this Ambwela polity offered him his two daughters, Opudo and Capêu, for companionship. The Portuguese explorer said to have not slept with them, but

[94] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 92-93.
[95] Alexandre Alberto da Rocha de Serpa Pinto, *Como eu atravessei a África*. Vol. I (Lisbon: Edições Europa-América, 1980), 284. For a similar picture of African women left by Europeans in other parts of the western coast of Africa, see Elbl, "Men Without Wives," 37, 47-48.
[96] Pinto, I, 186.
[97] *Ibid*, I, 16. On the work of porters in the eastern coast of Africa, see: Stephen J. Rockel, *Carriers of Culture: Labor on the Road in Nineteenth-Century East Africa* (Portsmouth, N.H.: Heinemann, 2006).

pretended to accept his companions so as to "avoid them from being humiliated by older women for having been repudiated by a white man."[98]

> I knew that it would be an embarrassment for them to be rejected by the foreigner to whom they had been given, and [so] I allowed them pretend to be what they were not. We thus lived within the terms of the best friendship: the assistance and the foodstuffs thereby acquired to cross a large area uninhabited without resources were truly important.[99]

Such a development was not only the result of his "understanding" of local customs. It was also the consequence, as this Portuguese explorer readily admitted, of his strategy to acquire whatever he needed for his journey. Therefore, Serpa Pinto did not disappoint the local *soba* by pretending to have enjoyed the companionship of his daughters, while at the same time taking advantage of the supplies and labor that his host offered. At least this was the version that he wrote down in his travelogue. For Africans living in the interior, the offer of a female companion was an opportunity to establish a commercial network with a foreigner, as was common in other societies in the western coast of Africa.[100]

Everywhere along the western coast of Africa, many local women who married expatriate European traders quickly became essential to the commercial success of their partners, acting as agents, translators, and traders. Their connections were crucial to guarantee security for those periodically sent from Luanda into the interior to foster the acquisition of captives in exchange of imported goods. Foreign merchants took advantage of local customs for their own benefit. That was the case of Portuguese António Francisco Ferreira da Silva Porto and of the Hungarian

[98] *Ibid*, I, 286-287.
[99] *Ibid*, I, 294.
[100] Miller, *Way of Death,* 290; Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the birth of an African city: Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2007), 68-70; Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, xx-xxi, 57; Elbl, "Men Without Wives," 66.

Lazslo Magyar, who in the mid-nineteenth century married women related to the *sobas* of Bié.[101] Through these relationships, both men were able to access local resources and trade networks.

On Becoming a *Dona*

In West Central Africa, the most successful female brokers were called *donas*, reflecting their socio-economic status and affiliation to Portuguese culture. Representing the most prominent members of the local female commercial elite, the majority of *donas* owned land, enslaved individuals, sailing vessels, real estate and some were able to carry out commercial transactions as far away as Brazil and Portugal. Yet, alliances with foreign traders were not the only path for women to become *donas*. Some authors have emphasized that the word *senora* and its derivatives designated African or Eurafrican women married to a European man in the west coast of Africa.[102] In the case of Angola, Jan Vansina has stated that in the interior outpost of Ambaca a Catholic marriage raised the status of the bride, who could then call herself *dona*.[103] In the case of Luanda, I argue that marriage was not an essential element for a woman to become a *dona*. Rather, I suggest that birth, skin color, ownership of assets, and affiliation to Portuguese culture were more important than marital status in determining who was deemed to be a *dona*.

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, *donas* were usually classified in official documents as *brancas* (white) or *pardas* (of mixed African and European descent), although some of them might have been in fact black. In 1773, Governor Lencastre had the inhabitants of the colonial capital enumerated, giving origin to the first real population count conducted

[101] On expatriate traders who entered local marriages with daughters of African rulers, see: Linda M. Heywood, "Production, Trade and Power: The Political Economy of Central Angola, 1850-1949," (PhD Dissertation, Columbia University, 1984); Heywood, *Contested Power in Angola*, 19; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 71; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 134; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 417.
[102] Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 212.
[103] Vansina, "Ambaca Society," 9.

anywhere in the colony.[104] The 1773 census was but a limited count of the inhabitants of the colonial capital as it excluded enslaved females, and civilian males under 15 and over 50 years of age. Due to these limitations, the 1773 census recorded but a total of 1,519 inhabitants, 536 free and 983 enslaved individuals capable of bearing arms. Although the quantitative information in this census does not reflect the total number of inhabitants, it does offer a glimpse onto the profile of women in Luanda who were then listed as *donas*: they were all classified as *brancas* or *pardas*. A total of 17 *donas* lived in the Freguesia da Sé, 15 of whom were *brancas* and only two *pardas*; a further 24 *donas*, 19 *brancas* and five *pardas*, resided in the Freguesia dos Remédios. In this particular census return, only four women were listed as black: and, coincidentally, none of them were classified as *dona*. Furthermore, all of the *donas* listed in the census happened to be slave owners.[105] The demographic information presented in this official enumeration of a segment of the population residing in the colonial capital points to wealth and skin color as playing an important role in defining *donas*. As Joseph C. Miller has argued, many of the women registered in colonial Angola as white were probably daughters of Luso-African families.[106] As a result of the wealth and prestige carried by their families, these women were automatically classified as white or *pardas* in colonial records. Wealth and affiliation to Portuguese culture certainly lightened the skin color of individuals residing in Luanda.[107]

As mentioned above, the development of relationships between white men and African and Luso-African women was part of everyday life in a context where the number of women of lighter complexion was low, and foreign merchants looked for ways to establish themselves and

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[104] Curto and Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda," 6-7.
[105] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Secretaria de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar (SEMU), Direcção Geral do Ultramar (DGU), Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 57, Doc. 34, "Mappa das pessoas que Rezidem nesta Cidade de São Paulo d'Assumpção, R.no de Angolla, nas quaes senão compherendem Mellitares [1773]".
[106] Miller, *Way of Death*, 292.
[107] Curto and Gervais, "The Population of Luanda," 23. For examples ensewhere on the western coast of Africa, see Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 77.

to enter local trade networks. The offspring of these relationships were classified as Portuguese regardless of their skin color: they were baptized, married, and buried in the Catholic Church, spoke Portuguese and Kimbundu, and occupied important colonial military and administrative positions.[108] Therefore, it was not uncommon for the daughters of Luanda's well-to-do families to be identified as *donas* and recognized as such by the general community from a young age, even when they were single. Indeed, women who lived their whole lives as single could also be identified as *donas*. That was the case of Dona Tereza Alves de Andrade, daughter of Colonel Pedro Alves de Andrade and Ana Maria, who died as a single woman on 7 June, 1854, at the age of 70 years old.[109] Although having never entered into the sacrament of marriage, she was recognized as a *dona*. This example, taken from among others, further evidences that marriage was not a requirement for a woman to be considered a *dona* in Luanda.

Table 1.3. Marriage License Applicants (1837-1849)			
Male	Female	Couples	Total
85	17	8	110
ABL, "Termos de Fiança," 1837-1859.			

The analysis of marriage licenses applications confirms that matrimony was not essential for a woman to enter into the realm of *donas* since many females were already identified as such prior to matrimony. From 1837 to 1849, a total of 110 individuals applied for marriage licenses in the *Juízo Eclesiástico* (Ecclesiastical Board) of Luanda. Among the applicants were 17 women; with exception of Francisca Manuel Rodrigues, all remaining female applicants were already classified as *donas* before marriage. Among the brides-to-be was Dona Maria de Jesus dos Santos Guerra, daughter of a local merchant, Cândido José dos Santos Guerra, who was

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[108] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 122-139.
[109] ABL, Freguesia dos Remédios, "Livro de óbitos," 1851-52, fl. 151v. I would like to thank Roquinaldo A. Ferreira for sharing this document.

contracted in 1854 to marry Portuguese João José de Andrade.[110] These women were all baptized and about to marry in the Catholic Church which illustrates their affiliation to Portuguese culture.

In fact, ownership of assets seemed to have been a more important factor than marital status in determining how a woman became a *dona*. In 1865, for instance, Dona Maria Manoel da Conceição and Dona Josefa Aurélio de Oliveira were both single. However, these women owned real estate and land: Dona Maria Manoel possessed a *sobrado* located on Travessa da Sé,[111] while Dona Josefa was the owner of an agricultural property in the District of Barra do Bengo and of the *musseque* (country estate) Sérgio located in the semi-rural suburb of Bem-Bem in Luanda.[112] This notwithstanding, not every *dona* was a wealthy woman; some, although affiliated to Portuguese culture and of mixed African and European background, were in fact women of more modest means. This was the case of Dona Maria José Nunes de Oliveira who in 1866 owned a stall in the *Quitanda Grande* (Large Market) where she traded *fazendas*, presumably with the assistance of enslaved women.[113]

As these examples illustrate birth, skin color, ownership of assets and affiliation to Portuguese culture were among the factors that defined a woman as a *dona*. Most of the time, these elements were interconnected, conferring social prestige upon certain females in this colonial landscape. One significant example illustrates well this type of interconnection. During the nineteenth century, travel documents carried specific facial and corporal descriptions of the individuals concerned. On 25 October, 1849, Dona Luísa da Conceição Menezes requested

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[110] ABL, Termos de Fiança 1837-1859, "Marriage Petition of João José de Andrade," 20 March, 1854, fl. 55.
[111] Arquivo Nacional de Angola (ANA), Códice 3844, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 21 March, 1865, fl. 51v.
[112] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 14 November, 1865, fls. 11-12. It was not until the early twentieth century that *musseque* was used to designate shanty settlements. Before, the word *musseque* referred to country houses known in Portugal as *quintas*. Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 118.
[113] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1192, "Relação das Licenças do Primeiro Semestre de 1866," fl. 1; Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 108; Curto, "The *Donas* of Benguela".

permission from the Secretary of the General Government of Angola to travel from Luanda to the District of Dande. In the travel document received by Dona Luísa, she was described as "a 30 year old *parda* woman, born in Luanda, with a long face, curly hair, dark brown eyes and eyebrows, and regular nose, travelling in the company of three enslaved individuals."[114] On the same occasion, another woman, Constança de Campos, also obtained a passport to travel to the Dembos region: however, she was not classified therein as *dona*. Constança was listed as "a 25 year old black woman, born in Luanda, with a regular face, curly hair, dark brown eyes and eyebrows, a wide flat nose, and a regular mouth travelling in the company of her younger sister."[115] Two important elements separated Dona Luísa from Constança: skin color and the ownership of enslaved persons. While Dona Luísa was *parda* and a slave owner, Contança was black and probably poor given that no enslaved person accompanied her and her younger sister. Had Constança been born into a wealthy family or become rich through other means, she would most likely have been classified as a *parda* and/or deemed a *dona*.

Many *donas* were already economically well-off before entering into matrimony.[116] In fact, marrying wealthy women contributed as much, if not more, to enhance the possibilities of success for a foreign merchant. Women of means, and their families, were usually engaged in commercial activities, including the trade in human beings. They thus became instrumental in the success of their foreign husbands by introducing them to local trade networks and acting as their agents. A case in point is the trajectory of Albino José Soares Magalhães, a Portuguese trader. On 2 September, 1848, Albino filed a marriage license with the Ecclesiastic Board to marry Dona Tereza de Jesus Pereira Bastos, a local born widow previously married to Félix de

[114] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 144, "Passaporte para o Interior," 25 October, 1849.
[115] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 144, "Passaporte para o Interior," 25 October, 1849.
[116] Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 117.

Almeida.[117] The woman chosen by Albino was *filha natural* of José António Pereira Bastos. In November of the previous year, following the death of her father, Dona Tereza had started a judicial procedure to be recognized as one of his heirs.[118] This legal document, the *Habilitação de Herdeiros* (Entitlement of Heirs), was secured by her on 25 November, 1848.[119] As it happens, at the time of his death, Mr. Bastos was married and owned a number of properties, including houses numbered 110 to 114 on Salvador Corrêa Street, an affluent area of the city.[120]

In 1850, Albino José Soares Magalhães appeared in the local gazette as a shopkeeper. His *casa de molhados* (wet goods store) offered a variety of imported goods, such as beer, coffee and jelly from Brazil as well as wax extracted locally for sale.[121] In 1855, he founded a farm, *Protótipo*, in the District of Cazengo, where 400 enslaved individuals and *libertos* came to cultivate coffee. The *Protótipo* became the largest and most productive coffee farm of the colony and established Albino as one of Angola's wealthiest men.[122] In 1864, Albino was one of the eight associates of the Luanda Agricultural Association that counted on a capital of 20,000,000 *réis* (the currency strengthened in 1861).[123] At some point, he was also awarded the title of *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo*, granted to individuals for their distinguished service to Portugal.[124]

In fact, within fifteen years or so after his marriage to Dona Tereza de Jesus Pereira Bastos, the shopkeeper had become an extremely wealthy man, as can be seen through the

[117] ABL, Termos de Fiança 1837-1857, "Marriage Petition of Albino José Soares Magalhães," 2 September, 1848, fl. 92.
[118] BOA, n. 125, 29 January, 1848, p. 4.
[119] BOA, n. 65, 25 November, 1848, p. 2. The Entitlement of Heirs (*Habilitação de Herdeiros*) was required for anyone to inherit in Portugal.
[120] BOA, n. 179, 3 March, 1849, p. 3.
[121] BOA, n. 237, 13 April, 1850, p. 3.
[122] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 173-175.
[123] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura e Regulamento da Associação Agrícola de Luanda," 15 October, 1864, fl. 19.
[124] In a register of property sale from 1869, Albino is referred to as *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo*: ANA, Códice 3928, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 2 August, 1869, fl. 32v.

properties he accumulated. For instance, in 1869 alone, Albino purchased the following properties from the couple of Luís Gomes Ribeiro and Dona Maria Augusta de Melo Gomes Ribeiro, then residing in Portugal where Luís Gomes was a third year law student at the University of Coimbra: the islands of Desterro and Tunda, along with the tools and *libertos* found in them; the agricultural properties Cassequele and Chete, located in the District of Barra do Bengo, with their *libertos*; land in the District of Icolo e Bengo; a fully equipped sailing vessel with its five seamen; and a *sobrado* with three warehouses and a backyard in front of the Church of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, in the commercial district of the lower town. Albino paid a total of 7,000,000 *réis* for his new acquisitions. [125] Albino's properties and the title of *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo* illustrate that he became a prosperous man in Angola, where he was known as one of the *barões do café* (Coffee Barons) in the second half of the nineteenth century. The assets Dona Tereza inherited from her previous husband and from her father might well have contributed to Albino's rise from shopkeeper to coffee Baron. Be that as it may, following his own death, Dona Tereza managed the couple's estate until their son, Albino da Costa Magalhães, reached adulthood.[126]

A local female could also become rich or increase her wealth through the matrimonial route. However, marrying a rich foreigner was not usually accessible to poor women, since people commonly married within their social group. A short life span was a major characteristic of the expatriate males who settled in Luanda, notorious for its unhealthy environment. As Miller has pointed out, the town was a "white man's grave," where many died soon upon arriving.[127] As a result, local wives and female partners often became widows within months or a few years of

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[125] ANA, Códice 3928, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 2 August, 1869, fls. 28 and 32v.
[126] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 175.
[127] Miller, *Way of Death*, 284.

marriage. These widows not only inherited part of the wealth of their deceased husbands, but some also subsequently took charge of their commercial affairs when their partners left to family abroad to readily claim a portion or the totality of the inheritance. Indeed, widowhood made some women even more desirable as partners because they accumulated additional resources following the death of their husbands. Women such as these developed their own strategies of survival, either through new marriages, by administrating the inheritance they received, or by dominating local marketplaces.[128]

Some local women who cohabited with foreign merchants without a Catholic marriage were not able to inherit the property of their partners after they passed away. One of the women involved in a case of *amasiamento* was the black African Rosa Gonçalo, who in the early nineteenth century came to cohabit in Luanda with a man from Lisbon, Joaquim Pereira Saraiva. A son, José, eventually resulted from this relationship. At some point during the first half of the nineteenth century, Joaquim returned to Lisbon, where he married Dona Francisca do Nascimento Saraiva. Joaquim passed away in 1845, leaving no offspring from his marriage: his wife consequently became his only heir. Twelve years later, however, Rosa Gonçalo initiated a judicial procedure to acquire the part of the inheritance that belonged to her son as *filho natural* of Joaquim Saraiva. José had himself passed away in 1846, one year following the death of his father, which gave his mother the right to claim for his *legítima* (part of an inheritance to which descendents have right to). Dona Francisca was by then married to the merchant Eugênio Gonçalves de Rato through the system of *ameação* (equal division of assets) so that her inheritance became part of the couple's estate. Dona Francisca and her husband, however,

[128] Kristin Mann, "Women, Landed Property, and the Accumulation of Wealth in Early Colonial Lagos," *Signs,* 16, n. 4 (1991): 682-706; Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena;" Mariana P. Candido, "Women, Family, and Landed Property in Nineteenth-Century Benguela," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015): 136-161; Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 212, 270-271.

eventually agreed to hand over to Rosa Gonçalo the part of the inheritance that corresponded to the *legítima* of her deceased son.[129] Although Rosa was assisted by a lawyer in Luanda, her initiative to file a judicial procedure in order to retrieve the inheritance that belonged to her son shows that she had some understanding of the rights conferred upon her by Portuguese legal codes.

Wives and relatives were quick to request anything that their deceased loved ones may have left abroad. In 1802, Agostinha da Silva, a widow living in Guimarães requested the inheritance left by her son José Pereira da Silva Guimarães, who had died in Luanda. José Pereira had left northern Portugal for Rio de Janeiro where he probably first engaged in slave trading. Attracted by the possibility of quick enrichment, he left his cousin, Domingos de Araújo Lima, as his assistant in Rio and relocated in Angola at an unknown date. On 5 December, 1801, already in a sickly condition, José Pereira made his will, declaring to be single and to leave no children. Among his last wishes, he left money to individuals and religious institutions in Luanda, Huambo, Massangano, and Rio de Janeiro and declared that he owed Capitan-major Domingos José da Victória 10 pieces of textiles. Probably knowing that his time was coming to end, José Pereira also willed all of 16 enslaved individuals belonging to him to be freed upon his death, left textiles for each, and an *arimo* along the Kwanza River "of which all should make use equally." José Pereira ended his last wishes by declaring his mother as his only heiress and, in case she had passed away, the inheritance was to be divided among his siblings, Manoel, Custódia, and Maria. In 1804, after accessing his will and confirming the identity of his mother through a number of witnesses, authorities in Angola and in Portugal eventually recognized

[129] ANA, Códice 7741, "Escritura de Partilha Amigável, Paga e Quitação," 10 June, 1857, fl. 173v.

Agostinha da Silva as the sole heiress of José Pereira, upon which she was able to take ownership of the assets that had belonged to her son.[130]

Individuals with little capital who engaged in the business of slaving in Brazil were soon attracted by the possibilities of easier and quicker prosperity in colonial Angola. As with José Pereira, Desidério José Marques da Rocha decided in 1819 to leave Pernambuco and "taste the waters" on the other side of the Atlantic Ocean. Convinced by stories of success he heard from a certain José Calafinho, Desidério left his native land lying to his mother, Josefa Maria dos Santos, to whom he said he was going to Santos, in the Captaincy of São Paulo. The young man brought with him gold, 3,108,000 *réis* in cash, part of which he borrowed from his mother and his brother-in-law, Domingos Soriano, and two trunks of blue *chitas* (textiles) supplied on credit by Pascoal José Flores that were supposed to be repaid upon his return. However, Desidério was never to make it back to Brazil: he fell sick and died in Angola. Following the death of Desidério, Pascoal José Flores counseled his mother to initiate the judicial procedures necessary to be quickly recognized as his heiress, advice most likely concerned with the repayment of the textiles he had provided to her son. Furthermore, Pascoal warned Josefa that she was to face strong opposition from the *Juízo de Ausentes* (Board for Absentees) of Angola "which is composed of a gang of thieves."[131]

Wealthy widows became desirable women who attracted the attention of potential suitors, especially newcomers from overseas. With their husbands passing away, they accumulated additional assets such as houses, enslaved persons, and money, further enhancing their social

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[130] Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Feitos Findos (FF), Juízo das Justificações Ultramarinas (JJU), África, mç. 1-1A, Cx. 2.
[131] ANTT, FF, JJU, África, mç. 29, n. 8.

prestige.[132] In the 1860s, one of these widows was Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara, who owned numerous captives, agricultural land and urban real estate. Dona Mariana was the widow of local born merchant José Maria Matozo da Câmara, one of Luanda's wealthiest slave traders who died in December, 1854. The couple had only one daughter, Maria da Conceição, who died before her third birthday, leaving Dona Mariana as the single heiress of the couple's estate. [133] Dona Mariana was the proprietor of at least three *sobrados* in Luanda.[134] Besides this real estate, she was also the owner of the farms Bemfica and Cabolombo, located south of the colonial capital.[135] Sometime between 1862 and 1865, this well-to-do widow entered into her second marriage with Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido, her deceased husband's friend and long time associate in a commercial firm dealing in enslaved Africans.[136] Both of her husbands were amongst the wealthiest of Luanda's merchants.

Augusto Garrido came from a respectable gentry family of central Portugal and probably entered Angola as an administrative official.[137] He held a variety of high administrative posts in the colony, such as Secretary of the *Santa Casa*, administrator of the *Alfândega* (Custom House), and was even appointed in 1851 as Secretary of the Mixed British and Portuguese Commission for the suppression of the slave trade.[138] As pointed by W. Gervase Clarence-Smith, the latter

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[132] Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos,'" 38, 44, 46; Pantoja, "Gênero e comércio," 13-15; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 71; Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 212.
[133] Carlos Alberto Lopes Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico da Família Matozo de Andrade e Câmara," *Ocidente*, 403 (1971): 316-319.
[134] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Arrendamento," 8 November, 1860, fl. 85; ANA, Códice 7750, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 1 February, 1861, fl. 31; ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 11 February, 1860, fl. 45.
[135] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Demarcação das Fazendas Cabolombo e Bemfica," 10 November, 1860, fl. 89.
[136] Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico," 318.
[137] W. Gervase Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975: A Study in Economic Imperialism* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985), 49.
[138] *British and Foreign State Papers*. Vol. 40, 1850-1851(Library of the University of Michigan), 439, http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hj1393;view=1up;seq=9 (accessed on 2 September, 2014); *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons and Command*, vol. 47 (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1880), part I (1852-53), 125; BOA, n. 282, 22 February, 1851, p. 1.

was certainly a "curious position for one of the greatest slavers of the nineteenth century."[139] Indeed, Augusto Garrido and his associate, José Maria Matozo de Andrade Câmara, were amongst the wealthiest of all the Luanda slavers, followed closely by Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva. In 1847, Garrido and Câmara were both accused of engaging in illegal slave trading activities.[140] A wealthy man, Augusto Garrido nevertheless faced a variety of economic hardships during the early 1850s which led him to declare bankruptcy and sell part of his properties.[141]

In the early 1860s, however, Augusto Garrido resurfaced, married to the prosperous and previous widow Dona Mariana Joaquina, now known as Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido, and re-established himself in the business community of Luanda. Together the couple acquired many properties throughout the interior and in the town, including: the farm Belas, with its 35 enslaved individuals and *libertos*, as well as the movable property and livestock in it;[142] half of the farm Quimcolo in the Ambriz with its house and machinery, where she later established the Association of Quimcolo dedicated to the production of sugar cane brandy for export to Lisbon;[143] a house near to the Military Hospital, also in Ambriz;[144] one third of the estate Carimbolo that belonged to Dona Antónia Pinheiro Falcão;[145] and two houses in

[139] Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 49.
[140] BOA, n. 85, 24 April, 1847, p. 1; Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico," 316-317.
[141] BOA, n. 335, 28 February, 1852, p. 2; BOA, n. 352, 26 June, 1852, p. 4; BOA, n. 354, 10 July, 1852, p. 4.
[142] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 7 June, 1866, fl. 76. The Farm Belas, belonged to Dona Mariana's ex-sister in law, D. Maria Apolinaria Matozo de Andrade Câmara, who died in Luanda on 29 November, 1865. Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico," 319.
[143] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Venda e Sociedade," 4 September, 1866, fl.107; Códice 3843, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 18 January, 1867, fl. 138.
[144] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 18 January, 1867, fl. 138.
[145] ANA, Códice 5644, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 14 June, 1867, fl. 34v.

Luanda, one located on Rosário Street[146] and the second in the Nazaré neighbourhood with a "well, backyard and adjacent land."[147]

In 1864, Augusto Garrido was one of the eight associates of the Agricultural Society of Luanda together with other prominent names of the local merchant community, such as Francisco António Flores, Manoel Rodrigues Carmelino, José Bernardo da Silva, Joaquim Guedes de Carvalho Menezes, João Osmundo Tolson, Isaac Zacary, and Albino José Soares da Costa Magalhães.[148] In the 1880s, Augusto Garrido and Dona Mariana managed the firm Garrido Câmara & Cia that transported *colonos livres* (free settlers) and *serviçais* (servants) to several Angolan ports and São Tomé e Príncipe aboard the vessels *Angola*, *Açoriano*, *Portugal*, *São Tomé* and *Cabo Verde*.[149] From 1850s, the Angolan coast saw a new surge in slave exports this time destined for São Tomé e Príncipe. Under the designation of "free immigration of settlers and servants," about 2,500 enslaved Africans were exported annually to these islands to work on cocoa and coffee plantations until the early twentieth century. Enslaved individuals were also used locally, in the plantations established along the Angolan littoral - in spite of the fact that slavery was abolished in Angola in 1875.[150] With this marriage, Augusto Garrido was thus able to recover from his financial difficulties, while Dona Mariana Joaquina combined her fortune with one of the most important traders in the colony. The couple was able to prosper together, thereby increasing their estate and investing in new businesses, especially in the slave trade to São Tomé e Príncipe transportation sector and in the production of sugar cane brandy and foodstuffs.

[146] ANA, Códice 8400, "Reforma de Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 20 February, 1867, fl. 37v.
[147] ANA, Códice 5644, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 22 December, 1867, fl. 80v.
[148] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Regulamento da Associação Agrícola de Loanda," 15 October, 1864, fl. 19.
[149] ANA, Códice 1301, "Termos de Fiança," fls. 31v-34.
[150] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 385, 399, 427, 461, 488. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 230.

Nevertheless, not every marriage worked out as expected or ended with the natural death of one spouse. In spite of the efforts of families to find "proper" suitors for their sons and daughters, some couples ended up living apart or divorcing. From the Council of Trent[151] onwards, the Catholic Church recognised some instances in which a divorce, permanent or temporary, was acceptable, including *sevícias* (physical abuse) and adultery.[152] To obtain a divorce, a wife or husband was required to file a petition with the *Juízo Eclesisático* in Luanda. Witnesses, usually male relatives or neighbours, were called to testify after which the Vicar provided a *Mandado de Depósito*, a legal document that indicated the house of an honorable person where wives and children, in particular, could live in a safe environment until the end of the divorce procedures. The other, usually male spouse was subsequently called into the Ecclesiastic Board and, depending on his acceptance or not of the separation, the divorce could be friendly or contested. Instances of divorce are rare in the documentation of colonial Luanda. Still, males were more likely to file for divorce citing the misbehaviour of wives, while accusations of physical abuse usually came from females. On 26 February, 1848, Dona Maria do Carmo da Silveira Sales permanently divorced her husband, António Joaquim Mantegas, due to physical abuse.[153] On 1 October, 1849, Dona Josefa da Fonseca Negrão filed for permanent divorce from her husband, Eugênio Filipe Thomaz Massi, for reasons undisclosed.[154] The local magistrate ordered that their assets be divided, which initiated a long battle between them as Eugênio Massi tried to sell off properties that belonged to the couple's estate before the

[151] The Council of Trent was called by Pope Paul III and took place in the city of Trent, in what is today Italy, between 1545 and 1563. During these meetings, decisions were taken regarding the Catholic faith and the ecclesiastic discipline required to reacting against the protestant reforms that divided Christians in Europe. For this reason, the Council of Trent is also known as the Counter-reformation. H. Jedin, "A History of the Council of Trent," *Les Etudes Philosophiques*, 12, n. 4 (1957): 411-412; H. Outram Evennett, *The Cardinal of Lorraine and the Council of Trent: A Study in the Counter-reformation* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2011).
[152] Silva, *Sistema de Casamento*, 210-243; Silva, *Vida privada e cotidiano*, 143-156; Silva, *História da família*, 246-269.
[153] BOA, n.129, 26 February, 1848, p. 1.
[154] BOA, n. 210, 6 October, 1849, p. 2.

separation. To stop her husband from selling any assets that belonged to the couple, Dona Josefa announced in the local gazette the *Boletim Oficial* that no one should enter into any transaction with Massi while the question of the division of the couple's assets was not finalized.[155] It was only on 22 May, 1851, that the magistrate was able to settle a final deal when Eugênio Massi surprisingly gave up his share of the couple's estate in favor of Dona Josefa and their only daughter.[156]

Adulterous wives or even women suspected of having committed adultery were usually sent to religious institutions abroad when husbands petitioned for their confinement.[157] The same rule, however, did not apply to adulterous husbands; on the contrary, male adultery was common, especially with enslaved women who entered into these liaisons "freely" or by force.[158] In a patriarchal society men had the power to punish women who did not meet the norm, even if only based on suspicions, while women suffered as a result. Although the law allowed spouses to seek a divorce in cases of adultery, husbands who accused their wives of cheating usually preferred to avoid a process that challenged their honour. Adulterous wives were not the only ones to be sent away, but also women who refused to live with their husbands or who did not behave in accordance with what was expected of a wife. In these instances, husbands who chose to have their wives sent away had to pay for their subsistence. On 8 January, 1867, for example, the merchant José de Jesus Rodrigues authorized his wife Dona Ana Victória to enter a convent in Lisbon, taking full responsibility for her support. Dona Ana left behind two daughters: nine year old Maria and two year old Sophia. In case of not entering the said convent or leaving it without the consent of her husband, she was subject to losing her *meação* or share of the couple's

[155] BOA, n. 201, 4 August, 1849, p. 4.
[156] BOA, n. 298, 14 June, 1851, p. 4.
[157] Silva, *Cultura e sociedade*, 99-103; Silva, *História da família*, 250-59.
[158] Curto, "As If From A Free Womb;" Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery".

estate in favor of their daughters.[159] The reason why Dona Ana was sent to a convent in Lisbon was not mentioned in the document referencing the case: but the circumstances alone clearly evidence that it was meant as punishment on the part of her husband.

Any of the spouses could request the annulment of a marriage for reasons such as bigamy, impotency, a previous illicit relationship with a person related to the spouse, and slavery - meaning that one of the spouses hid information about his/her previous or current condition as an enslaved person.[160] As in cases of divorce, it was ecclesiastical authorities who also ruled over the annulment of marriages, a process that was similarly slow. On 20 May, 1842, Dona Justina Henriqueta Fortunata da Costa, born in Lisbon, filed a petition with the Ecclesiastic Board requesting the annulment of her marriage to merchant António Rodrigues Lopes, which had taken place in Luanda the year before. Dona Justina argued that she was only 11 years old when her father, José Fortunato da Costa, forced her to marry António Lopes. Moreover, she claimed that the marriage was never consummated since her husband went to Brazil right after the ceremony, leaving Dona Justina in the care of her parents. This case raised three reasons accepted by the Church to annul a marriage: underage, use of coertion and non-consummation. Nevertheless, religious authorities in Luanda were reluctant to dissolve the union considering it to be a "scandalous decision" given that one year had passed since the marriage was celebrated. It was only after hearing a total of six witnesses and submitting Dona Justina to a medical exam which attested that she had "all the signs of virginity" that the representatives of the Ecclesiastic

[159] ANA, Códice 8400, "Escritura de Contrato," 8 January, 1867, fl. 14v.
[160] Silva, *Sistema de casamento*, 243-249. For details on the instances in which the annulmanet of a marriage was acceptable, see *Constituições Primeiras do Arcebispado da Bahia*, Liv I, tit. LXVII. https://archive.org/details/constituicoenspr00cath (accessed on May 8, 2015).

Board Chamber agreed to annul the marriage two years after she had filed the petition.[161] As the case of Dona Justina attests, the process of annulment of marriage could be extremely difficult for a woman, especially at such a young age. In patriarchal societies, the word of a woman alone was not enough evidence. In instances of annulment of matrimony the word of the wife was only valid if confirmed by witnesses, usually males, while non-consummation had to be verified by doctors who also happen to be males. Despite the protection conferred to females in Portuguese legal codes, women who went against the holy sacrament of marriage paid a high price.

Conclusion

This chapter examined the historical and demographic context that led to the emergence of commercial and intimate relationships between foreign men and local African and Luso-African women in Luanda from the late-eighteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. Since its foundation, the colonial capital of Angola received a considerable number of foreign male soldiers, exiles, missionaries, traders, and other immigrants who lived alongside African populations in the enclaves controlled by the Portuguese. In Luanda, the intermingling of Portuguese and African cultural elements gave origin to a Luso-African society characterized by bilateral transformations.

This chapter suggests that incoming males, mostly Portuguese and Brazilian-born, entered into relationships with local females due to the lack of white women, the needs of trade and the requirements of everyday life. Through Catholic or African marriages, expatriate males were able to obtain accommodation, food, and care during illness, as well as access to commercial networks that increased their participation in the trade in captives. African and Luso-

[161] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6A, Pasta 6, "Translado dos Autos de Anulação de Casamento de Dona Justina Henriqueta Fortunata da Costa e António Rodrigues Lopes," 20 May, 1842.

African families, in turn, secured access to imported goods and an export market for their commodities. The women who entered into these marriages acted as commercial agents and translators between foreign traders on the coast and African suppliers in the interior and became the agents of a cultural hybridization.[162] These marriages enhanced their prestige and facilitated their access to the export market, as well as to foreign goods for personal consumption and commercialization.

In this chapter I also argued that birth, skin color, ownership of economic assets, and affiliation to Portuguese culture were more important than marital status in determining who was deemed to be a *dona* in Luanda. Women who were classified as *donas* in the official documentation were usually listed as white or *pardas*, owned enslaved individuals, land and other assets, and adopted elements of Portuguese culture such as Christianity, Portuguese language and fashion. Several *donas* were already economically successful before entering into matrimony with incoming males. Marrying wealthy women enhanced the possibilities of success for a foreign merchant as women of means and their families were usually engaged in commercial activities, including the trade in human beings.

[162] *Ibid*, 51; Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery".

Chapter 2

Women, Food Production, and Trade

Travelers and colonial officials commonly described women along the western coast of Africa as mere "beasts of burden" whose work was limited to agriculture, household chores and child rearing, and who were excluded from the ownership of property.[1] These men, mostly foreigners, tended to overlook the variety of roles played by females. In fact, although many women dedicated themselves to agricultural and domestic work, a significant number of females were active in retail and long distance trade, as well as offering their services to the local population as cooks, washers, and seamstresses.[2] In Luanda, females participated in commercial activities and were able to accumulate property for their own benefit. Indeed, by the late eighteenth century and, especially, in the nineteenth century, women appear in the documentation produced by colonial officials as owners of agricultural properties within and outside of town where crops were cultivated and domestic animals were raised for household consumption and to supply caravans, urban markets, and sailing vessels anchored in the extensive bay of Luanda.

This chapter explores the participation of women in the production and trade of foodstuffs that entered the colonial capital between the late eighteenth century and 1836, when the export slave trade was abolished in Portuguese possessions in Africa. It begins with a

[1] White, *Sierra Leone Settler Women*, 1; Beoku-Betts, "Western Perceptions of African Women," 22; Osborn, *Our New Husbands are Here,*164-166, 169.
[2] Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras,"45-67; Pantoja, "Women's Work," 81-94; Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos,'" 35-49; Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas em Luanda na segunda metade do século XIX," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 265-67. For occupations enslaved women performed in Benguela, see Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 117; Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización,*213-222.

consideration of access to resources in an African context, examining, in particular, the ways through which females accumulated wealth. Thereafter, this chapter analyzes the participation of women in the supply and trade of foodstuffs in Luanda. Drawing upon registers produced by scribes in the public market and the municipal slaughterhouse, as well as licence requests to engage in retail commerce, I show that females were able to accumulate property, including land and enslaved individuals, which allowed them to participate in commercial activities. The supply of foodstuffs also served as an alternative for individuals, women included, who did not have enough capital to enter the Atlantic market, while the retail trade created room for the poor and even the enslaved.

Access to Resources and Wealth in West Central Africa

The African continent has been commonly described as a place with an abundance of land where the main origin of wealth and only source of productivity known was through people. Scholars have stressed that the legal basis of wealth in Africa lay in the idea of transferring ownership of or control over people. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, for example, referred to it as "transactions in rights-in-persons" noting that it was commonly used to increase the number of people in one's kin group, to gather dependants and supporters, and to build up wealth and power.[3] In their view, "acquired persons were valuable as economic, social and political capital, as a type of wealth that could be easily converted from one use to another and that had the incomparable advantage of being also self-supporting and self-reproducing."[4] In a similar fashion, Joseph C. Miller also stressed that wealthy individuals increased productivity by organizing and controlling people, while African entrepreneurs did so by acquiring dependent

[3] Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, "Introduction," in Kopytoff and Miers, eds., *Slavery in Africa: historical and anthropological perspectives* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1977), 9.
[4] *Ibid*, 56.

persons.[5] In this context, John K. Thornton remarks "slaves became the preeminent form of private investment and the manifestation of private wealth."[6]

There is indisputable evidence that people were an important and much-wanted resource throughout most of Africa. Individuals were recruited as clients, subjects, or captives for economic, social and political reasons: they provided extra wives, labor, soldiers for warfare, trading agents, servants, officials at court, and even victims for human sacrifice.[7] Obviously, not every society used enslaved persons in all of these capacities. In spite of the fact that political and social power in African societies rested with those who could command a large number of dependents - whether kinsmen, clients, followers, or enslaved - recent studies have shown that people were not the only source of wealth.[8] In the case of colonial Angola, notarial records and ecclesiastic and administrative sources confirm that by the late eighteenth century African and Luso-African individuals not only accumulated enslaved persons and dependents, but also land, real estate, and luxury goods, among other assets, that they subsequently passed on to their offspring, kin, or other persons with whom they maintained close relations.

Sources such as entitlement of heirs, registries of dowry, deeds of sale, *hipotecas* (mortgages), and marriage contracts offer much data illustrating the types of assets accumulated by individuals and the means through which they acquired them. This primary documentation is particularly abundant in relation to Portuguese colonial coastal centres such as Luanda and Benguela and the agricultural properties spread throughout their immediate hinterlands. Sources such as these, however, thus do not offer much information on property accumulation in the deep

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[5] Miller, *Way of Death*, 43.
[6] John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), 95.
[7] Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 1-8.
[8] Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos,'" 35-49; Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena;" Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés"; Candido, "Women, Family and Landed Property".

interior, where the presence of the Portuguese colonial administration was weak. Despite this limitation, the evidence presented here questions the assumption that there was no individual ownership of land in Africa prior to formal colonization in the late nineteenth century. In the case of Angola, the introduction of individual ownership of land resulted from the process of Portuguese settlement and the colonial occupation of the territory initiated in the sixteenth century.

Before the arrival of Europeans, property in West Central Africa belonged to lineages, including the living and dead, as well as future generations. Therefore, kinship ties were crucial to assure lineage members access to land. The fundamental principle for most ethnic groups was the matrilineal bond, as villages were organized around a group of males who, through real or fictitious ties, descended from a common ancestor. The *agregado doméstico* (household) was the economic unit where every man, woman, and child performed tasks specific to his or her sex and age. From the sixteenth century, the presence of the Portuguese affected the lineage system through the introduction of the individual ownership of land, when *sesmarias* (plots of land) and agricultural properties began to coexist side by side with collective structures.[9] As Mariana P. Candido has demonstrated, the occupation of land by the Portuguese Crown played a central role in the process of conquest and colonization of indigenous populations. [10] In the initial process of colonization, land was granted to settlers who were given the obligation to populate and cultivate it. In 1571, Paulo Dias de Novais received a charter of donation from the Portuguese Crown that made him hereditary overload and governor of a colony between the Kwanza and the southern boundary of Kongo. The expenses of conquest, transferred to an individual, were thus

[9] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*,60-61, 82-85, 125-130.
[10] Mariana P. Candido, "Ocupação, colonialismo e exclusão: a questão da terra em Angola, séculos XVI-XIX," (Unpublished paper). I want to thank the author for sharing her unpublished work with me. See also Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion," 223-234.

outsourced, while its profits were shared with the Crown.[11] Nominated captain and governor of the colony, Novais had the right to donate *sesmarias* to individuals of his trust who were expected to settle in the land and to collect *dízimos* (tributes), a system previously experimented with in the Atlantic Islands and in Brazil.[12] Among the beneficiaries were the *Sociedade de Jesus* or Society of Jesus, missionaries from other orders, and Portuguese subjects. However, most of the first settlers who accompanied Novais and his retinue did not adapt to the physical environment and the climate.[13] Portugal faced many difficulties in establishing its presence and populating the colony, including the resistance of local African authorities, the high mortality rate of colonial agents, the unsuitability of the climate for agriculture near the coast, and the focus that settlers placed upon slave trading activities leading to the decline of the *sesmaria* system by the early seventeenth century.[14]

According to Aida Freudenthal, the first registries of individual ownership of land date from the seventeenth century and became more common with the rise in the number of Portuguese, Brazilian-born, and Luso-Africans living in the colony.[15] Until 1760, the Jesuits were the largest landowners in colonial Angola. They rented out agricultural properties (*arimos*) to individuals who paid with their labor or with part of the harvest. After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Portugal and its overseas colonies in 1759, the land under their possession came under the control of the colonial administration. Some Portuguese and Luso-Africans farmers

[11] The Crown would provide no capital or loans, nor would it furnish armies, ships, food, or ammunition. Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 46.
[12] Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion," 225-226.
[13] Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda*, 120, 146.
[14] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 47; Candido, "Ocupação, colonialismo e exclusão."
[15] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas,* 125.

purchased land that had belonged to the *Sociedade de Jesus,* while others with less capital continued to rent those lands from the *Fazenda Real* (Royal Treasury).[16]

Scholars have argued that until the mid-nineteenth century, Portuguese colonialism in Angola was based on the control over subjects rather than territorial occupation.[17] This focus on the control over people, it has been stated, coincided with the expansion of the transatlantic slave trade, after West Central Africa became a source of slave labor for São Tomé, the Spanish colonies in the Americas, and especially Brazil. According to this point of view, it was only during the mid-nineteenth century that the colonial state shifted its interest to territorial control, imposing new models of ownership when land became individualized and privatized. Nonetheless, documentation produced in Luanda illustrates that private ownership of land existed prior to the nineteenth century. Individuals who supplied the public market in the second half of the eighteenth century, for example, owned agricultural properties within and outside of the colonial capital.

Nevertheless, the number of transactions involving land increased especially in the nineteenth century after Portugal abolished the export slave trade from its overseas possessions in 1836 and during the economic transition to "legitimate" commerce that followed in agricultural produce and raw materials for the expanding industries of Europe and North America. As Freudenthal points out, "there is no doubt that the analysis of the process of privatization of agricultural areas was connected with the development of the production of foodstuffs and raw materials for internal and external markets."[18] In this process, the Portuguese Crown claimed rights of ownership over lineage land, leading to conflicts with local rulers and

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[16] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 36, 40-41, 83.
[17] Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*; Heintze, *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII*; Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion," 224.
[18] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 130.

the migration of dispossessed populations.[19] Throughout the nineteenth century, agricultural properties thus became increasingly subject to sale and to *hipotecas* (mortgages), sometimes including the machinery and the enslaved individuals used on them. Control over land was crucial for the new economic activity and women were part of this process as land owners, as well as free and enslaved producers.

The extant literature on the role of gender and access to land in sub-Saharan Africa has concentrated on colonial and post-colonial times, with little analysis devoted to previous periods.[20] The problem resulting from this gap has been the use of a reversal methodology that tries to understand the more remote past by looking at the experiences of women in more contemporary contexts where they lack legal access to land and support services for production and distribution. The application of such a methodology has contributed to the dissemination of the idea that women lacked access to land before the imposition of formal colonization in the late nineteenth century. Although women in various societies in Africa were often refused the opportunity of owning land or holding farming permits to land in their own right, that was not always the case.

Accounts left by eighteenth and nineteenth century travelers and explorers contributed to the dissemination of this idea as they tended to highlight the singular role of women as farmers excluded from the ownership of property. These men usually defined female labor as limited to

[19] Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion," 228.

[20] Recently, there have been attempts at understanding women's access to land in African societies prior to formal colonialism in the second half of the nineteenth century. See, for example, Candido, "Women, Family, and Landed Property;" Mariana P. Candido and Eugenia Rodrigues, "African Women's Acess and Rights to Property in the Portuguese Empire," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015): 1-18; Eugenia Rodrigues, "Women, Land, and Power in the Zambezi Valley of the Eighteenth Century," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015): 19-56; Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Gender, Foodstuff Production and Trade in Late-Eighteenth Century Luanda," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015): 57-81; Philip J. Havik, "Gender, Land, and Trade: Women's Agency and Colonial Change in Portuguese Guinea (West Africa)," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015): 162-195; Carmeliza Soares da Costa Rosário, "Another Time, Another Place: Memory of Female Power and Authority from the Zambezi Valley, Mozambique," *African Economic History*, 43 (2015):196-215.

cultivating the land to provide for their husbands and children, while their participation in other activities was almost always neglected. In the case of Angola, Joaquim José Lopes de Lima stated in the mid-1840s that men took as many wives as they could support because "in this barbaric region only the women and the enslaved cultivate the land and perform all of the rural and domestic tasks: such occupations are deemed unworthy of any free men." He further commented that "it is they [the women] who have to support their husbands (or rather their masters) and children."[21] Joachim John Monteiro, who worked in the colony during the 1850's and 1860's, made a similar assessment in reference to the area of Ambriz and its northern environs, stressing that "woman's work is entirely restricted to cultivating the ground and preparing food."[22]

More attentive foreign observers, however, highlighted the participation of women in the local commerce. For example, in the late eighteenth century the Brazilian-born military officer Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa noted that black women sold fish, *oallo* (beer made from millet and sorghum), and derivatives of manioc on the streets of Luanda.[23] In the early 1830s, Jean-Baptiste Douville remarked that the retail commerce was entirely in the hands of the *quitandeiras*.[24] A few years later, Tito Omboni not only recorded the presence of *quitandeiras* on the streets of this colonial urban centre, but also made reference to one of its wealthiest female merchants, the "powerful" Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva: he stated that although residing in Luanda, she "is obeyed by the most distant tribes. No one dares oppose her will."[25] Indeed, the

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[21] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 197-198.
[22] Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo*, II, 157.
[23] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 80-1, 130-1, 134. On the production, consumption and use of *oallo* or *walo*, see Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*, 36-41.
[24] Douville, *Voyage au Congo*, I, 45-46.
[25] Tito Omboni, *Viaggi Nell'Africa Occidentale: Gia Medico de Consiglio Nel Regno d'Angola e sue Dipendenze Membro della R. Accademia Peloritana di Messina* (Milan: Civelli, 1846), 110-111.

fame of Dona Ana Joaquina did not fail to attract the attention of several foreigners who, in the middle of the nineteenth century, spent time in this colonial agglomeration.[26]

Therefore, the stereotype of women as mere shadows of their husbands, engaged exclusively in agricultural and domestic work is only partially true: many women in Luanda contributed to sustain their families by working outside of their households. Much of their work was domestic, such as cooking, sewing, and washing clothes: but a significant number were also *quitandeiras*, shopkeepers, and traders.[27] Indeed, women in Luanda owned enslaved individuals, sailing vessels, shops, real estate, as well as land in the semi-rural suburbs and in the interior by the late eighteenth century, if not earlier. Some became active participants in local, regional, and sometimes even international trade, alone or as commercial associates of foreign husbands and partners. The ownership of land and slave labor, in particular, created new commercial opportunities for females, especially in the food supply business. Dona Rita de Belém, for example, owned land on the banks of the Kwanza River in the 1780s, where manioc flour was produced by enslaved persons. While part of the flour produced in her properties might have been retained locally for subsistence proposes, the surplus found its way into the *Terreiro Público* (public market) of Luanda and the slave ships that were anchored off its bay. [28]

Registries of land ownership are especially abundant for the nineteenth century, when the transition from slave trading to "legitimate" commerce triggered a race for land in an expanding colonial Angola to produce crops for local consumption and to a lesser extent for the export market. As sources from Luanda show, several females were able to accumulate property throughout their lives by various means, including: inheritance, the acquisition of a dowry on the

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[26] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 277; Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 21; David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (London: John Murray, 1857), 398.
[27] Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas," 265-67.
[28] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 75, 88. For women foodstuffs traders elsewhere in the western coast of Africa, see White, *Sierra Leone Settler Women*, 35.

occasion of their wedding, and through purchase as a result of their own entrepreneurial efforts. Purchase seems to have been the primary way by which women who could afford it acquired land. For instance, on 19 December, 1857, Dona Maria Antónia José de Sousa purchased from José Esteves dos Santos Silva the *arimo* Semente located in the District of Icolo e Bengo, with its house, machinery, a big bed, a small tray, and a fire-pan for the amount of 1,000,000 *réis*.[29] Other women, particularly Luso-Africans, appear in the documentation produced in Luanda as buyers and sellers of agricultural properties. This was the case of Dona Joana Maria da Conceição Machado who, on 4 September, 1857, sold the *arimo* Zungo Grande located on the margins of the Lucala River in the *presídio* (interior military-administrative outpost) of Massangano for 130,000 *réis* to Francisco Chavier Veloso de Carvalho.[30]

The property owned by women, however, was not limited to land and captives. Females also invested in luxury goods, such as jewelry, that contributed to increase their capital and could be sold or used as collateral in case of economic hardship. Dona Maria Joana Rodrigues de Bastos Barbosa, for example, possessed many silver objects, including: eight pairs of candleholders, two scissors, six trays, six spoons, two soup scoops, 10 soup spoons, a fork and a knife, a toothpick dispenser, and half of a cutlery set with six knives and six forks, all of which was described as "new". On 13 January, 1858, Dona Maria Joana obtained a loan of 397,000 *réis* from the *Cofre dos Orfãos*, which looked after the interests of orphans (and widows), using the said silver items as collateral.[31]

Women also acquired property, including land, through inheritance. Unlike other systems of law in Europe, the *Ordenações Filipinas*, the legal code used in Portugal and its domains,

[29] ANA, Códice 7741, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 19 December, 1857, fl. 237.
[30] *Ibid*, 4 September, 1857, fl. 200.
[31] *Ibid*, 13 January, 1858, fl. 245v.

granted females rights to family property as daughters and wives.[32] The code recognized that women owned half of the couple's estate held in a marriage. As for inheritance, all children, independent of sex, were entitled to an equal share of their parents' assets through the *legítima*.[33] Thus, in principle, women basically held the same rights as men when it came to family estates. Even children born out of wedlock were entitled to a share of the inheritance as long as they were not the product of an adulterous or sacrilegious relationship. Fathers usually made provisions for *filhos naturais* (children born out of a Catholic marriage) in their wills.[34] An exception was the widower José Vieira da Silva: on 21 August, 1858, he sought a notary to write up an *Escritura de Perfilhação* (Acknowledgement of Paternity) in which he admitted being the father of eight year old Tereza, daughter of Ana Antónia Otávio. On that occasion, José Vieira clarified that he had not initially recognized Tereza as his daughter because he was married at the time and only after the death of his wife was he able to do so.[35]

The property that a husband and wife amassed while married legally belonged to their offspring following their deaths. When a husband or wife died, a judge from the Court of Orphans was called upon to supervise the evaluation of the family estate and its partition.[36] The surviving spouse kept his or her half of the family estate, while the other half belonging to the deceased was passed on to the heirs. Each heir, daughters and sons alike, received the *legítima* or an equal share. Therefore, for most people, inheritance took place twice in one's lifetime: after

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[32]Ordenações Filipinas, Livro 4, títulos XLV, XLVI, XLVIII, XCIV, XCVI. http://www1.ci.uc.pt/ihti/proj/filipinas/ordenacoes.htm (accessed on November 17, 2014).

[33] For comparison of inheritance laws and the rights of women over property in other European societies, see Merry E. Wiesner, *Women and Gender in Early Modern Europe* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000); Amy Louise Erickson, *Women and Property in Early Modern England* (London: Routledge, 2003).

[34] Ramos, "Marriage and the Family," 223.

[35] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Perfilhação," 21 August, 1858, fl. 7.

[36] Código Philipino, Livro 1, título LXXXVIII, 206-15. http://www1.ci.uc.pt/ihti/proj/filipinas/ordenacoes.htm (accessed on November 17, 2014). The *Juizado de Orfãos* (Orphans Court) supervised the inventorying of the deceased's assets; the *partilha* (parition) of inheritances; assigned *tutores* (guardians) to the underage children; and managed the *legítimas* of orphans.

the death of the mother and again after the death of the father, or vice-versa.[37] Propertied parents left land, enslaved individuals, houses and money, all of which contributed to increase the assets held by their offspring. This was the case of Dona Leonor, Dona Ana, Dona Henriqueta and Ricardo, all of whom were orphans of Brazilian merchant Ricardo da Silva Rego. On 5 March, 1869, each heir received an equal amount of 791,981 *réis* from investments that their father had made in Brazil.[38] It is noteworthy that each of the three daughters received an equal amount to that of the only son, Ricardo. Aside from cash, sons and daughters also inherited properties and enslaved persons from their parents. In 1854, the orphans Paulino and Carolina, heirs of the farm Colônia de São João, registered 254 enslaved individuals that they had inherited upon the passing of their father.[39] The widow Dona Ana de Jesus Guerra e Oliveira, on the other hand, inherited a *sobrado* on Pedro Torres Street after the death of her father, merchant Cândido José dos Santos Guerra: on 23 December, 1865, she sold the said *sobrado* to Francisco Gabriel Pereira da Cruz for 1,604,000 *réis*.[40]

The majority of the men and women who married in Portugal and its dominions did so under the condition of a *carta de ametade* (Charter of Halves) and became *meeiros* (co-owners) of the family estate.[41] As the recognized head of the household, the husband managed the couple's assets but had to consult his wife on any business transaction. Portuguese law, however, also recognized a second kind of condition through which men and women entered into matrimony: the *contrato de casamento* (contract of marriage) where the partners did not equally own the family estate. In these cases, assets were owned according to the specific details set forth

[37] Alia C. Metcalf, "Women and Means: Women and Family Property in Colonial Brazil," in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, ed., *Families in the Expansion of Europe, 1500-1800* (Brookfield: Ashgate, 1998), 279; Silva, *Sistema de Casamento*, 101-104.
[38] ANA, Códice 7615, "Escritura de Quitação de Herança," 5 March, 1869, fl. 20v.
[39] ANA, Luanda, Códice 3186, 1854-1856, "Registo de Escravos," fls. 53v-65.
[40] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 23 December, 1865, fl. 80.
[41] Metcalf, "Women and Means, 291.

in the contract signed by both the bride and the groom.[42] On 27, August, 1858, for example, José Pacheco Osório and the widow Dona Josefa Jacinta de Sousa e Silva had their contract of marriage duly registered by a notary. According to the document, there would be no co-ownership of assets between husband and wife: each partner was to maintain control over the assets each accumulated before their wedding; only those assets acquired during their marriage were to be co-owned. These stipulations could be amended if the couple came to have any offspring: when such did arise, the death of a spouse allowed the surviving one to keep his or her half of the assets, while the other half was shared among their children.[43] Dona Josefa was a woman of means who owned land, jewelry, houses, cattle, enslaved persons, and sailing vessels: therefore, she had good reasons to protect her assets before entering her second marriage.[44]

Another way by which a woman could accumulate assets was if her parents or other relatives could afford to offer a dowry to the prospective bride before marriage.[45] The custom of providing dowries was common in Portugal and other European countries and was transferred to their colonial possessions.[46] In his study of the interior administrative outpost of Ambaca, Vansina concluded that Catholic weddings were difficult to arrange because they required the

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[42] *Ibid*, 278-9; Silva, *Sistema de casamento no Brasil*.
[43] ANA, Luanda, Cx. 2737, Pac. 4, “Escritura de Contrato de Casamento, Dote e Arrais,” 27 August, 1858, fl. 47,.
[44] ANA, Códice 5613, “Escritura de Casamento, Dote e Arrais,” 24 August, 1858, fl. 24v.
[45] Lina Gorenstein Ferreira da Silva, *A Inquisição contra as mulheres: Rio de Janeiro, séculos XVII e XVIII* (São Paulo: Associação Editorial Humanitas/FAPESP, 2005), 249; Santos, “Casamento e dote,” 1-14. There were situations in which dowries were also granted to males. Sons that decided to enter the religious life, for example, were usually benefited from parents with a dowry. See Muirakytan Kennedy de Macedo, “Rústicos cabedais: patrimônio e cotidiano familiar nos sertões do Seridó, séc. XVIII,” (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Norte, 2007), 220; Alzira Lobo de Arruda Campos, *Casamento e família em São Paulo Colonial: caminhos e descaminhos* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2003), 136; Silva, *História da família no Brasil*, 44. Of course, the practice of dowry was not mandatory and indeed was restricted to propertied families. It was not a common practice among the poor and enslaved population for whom the “marriage” happened through informal means and did not involve sacramental or judicial rituals. In Portugal and its overseas possessions these intimate relationships were called *amasiamento* (concubinage). Miridan Knox Falci, “Mulheres do Sertão Nordestino,” in Mary Del Priori and Carla Beozzo Bassanezi, eds., *História das Mulheres no Brasil*. 8 ed. (São Paulo: Contexto, 2006), 262; Walter de Carvalho Braga Júnior, “Concubinato, amasiamento e prostituição no Ceará do final do período colonial (1790-1820),” *Revista de História e Estudos Culturais* 1, 1 (2009), 1-17.
[46] The practice was regulated throughout the Portuguese Empire by inheritance laws. See Código Philipino, Livro 4, título XCVII. http://www1.ci.uc.pt/ihti/proj/filipinas/ordenacoes.htm (accessed on November 18, 2014).

payment of a dowry; this could well apply to Luanda where the number of couples married in the Church was also low.[47] The *Escritura de Dote* (Register of Dowry), duly registered in a notary before matrimonial vows were exchanged, guaranteed the bride control over any assets she brought into a marriage so that it did not become part of the couple's estate. Dowries varied according to the wealth of the donors, who were usually the parents of the bride: they could include rural and urban property, jewelry, money, and enslaved individuals, among other assets. Usually, the dowry provided to the bride represented an advance payment of her *legítima* or portion of the inheritance that she would have received as a daughter. On the occasion of her parents' death, the amount was reduced from her inheritance. [48]

The possibility of a dowry served to raise the status of single women, attracting potential suitors. Daughters were drawn upon by local elites to enter into matrimony with prominent males, particularly incoming Portuguese and Brazilian men. Dona Angélica Joaquina dos Reis Fançony was 16 years old when, in 1860, her father, Domingos Fançony, a former outcast of Neapolitan origin, registered her dowry and contract of marriage in the local notary's office.[49] According to Carlos Pacheco, Domingos Fançony was 25 or 26 years old when he arrived in Luanda as an exile in March, 1821. Ten years later, he was still a soldier in this coastal urban centre, as was expected of every person with that legal status.[50] However, the dowry that Domingos left his daughter clearly evidences that he had become a prosperous man by the middle of the nineteenth century. By then, he had acquired far more wealth than any soldier

[47] Vansina, "Ambaca Society," 9.
[48] Isabel Cristina dos Guimarães Sanches e Sá e Maria Eugenia Matos Fernandes, "A mulher e a estruturação do patrimônio familiar," in *Atas do Colóquio A Mulher na Sociedade Portuguesa: Visão histórica e perspectivas atuais* (Coimbra: Universidade de Coimbra, 1986), 91-115; Santos, "Casamento e dote," 3; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Cultura e Sociedade no Rio de Janeiro: 1808-1821* (São Paulo: Ed. Nacional; Brasília: INL, 1977), 96-103; Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Vida Privada e Quotidiano no Brasil: Na época de D. Maria I e D. João VI* (Lisboa: Estampa, 1993), 47-61; Silva, *Sistema de Casamento*, 98-101; 104-110.
[49] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dote e Casamento," 26 September, 1860, fl. 76v. On Domingos Fançony, see Pacheco, "A Origem Napolitana de Algumas Famílias Angolanas," 196.
[50] Pacheco, "A Origem Napolitana de Algumas Famílias Angolanas," 188, 196.

could generate, which strongly suggests involvement in slave trading. Throughout his life, Domingos entered into relationships with at least three black females in Luanda: Maria João, a enslaved woman; and Joaquina Francisca and Luzia Isabel, both of whom were free women. He fathered no less than seven children through these relationships: Dona Angélica was the only child from his second partner, Joaquina Francisca.[51] In 1860 Dona Angélica was contracted to marry a 38 year old Portuguese man, António Albuquerque. The dowry she received from her father included four captives, a furnished *sobrado* in Luanda, an agricultural property with cattle, and no less than 1,500,000 *réis*. The 1860 document through which both dowry and contract of marriage were registered also stipulated that there would be no co-ownership of the assets Dona Angélica received as part of her dowry.[52] If well managed, those were sufficient to secure her an economically safe and comfortable life if the marriage ended.

That very same year, Lieutenant Colonel Carlos Augusto Franco and his wife, Dona Henriqueta Emília Franco, endowed their daughter, Amélia Augusto Franco, with 12,000,000 *réis*. The latter was contracted to marry José Custódio de Carvalho Bastos. In the contract of marriage, Dona Amélia's parents stipulated that her dowry should be invested in real estate or in bonds from the Portuguese government.[53] It too, specifically, called for the separation of the assets acquired in the dowry, ensuring that control remained with Dona Amélia even in marriage.

Some women were already wealthy before marrying. In these circumstances, females drew upon all of the benefits conferred on them by Portuguese law to protect their assets. Over and beyond the use of contracts of marriage, some rich women even resorted to the strategy of turning their assets into a dowry so as to protect the wealth they had accumulated through inheritances from parents and previous husbands or their own entrepreneurship. This was

[51] *Ibid*, 200-201.
[52] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dote e Casamento," 26 September, 1860, fl. 76v.
[53] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Casamento," 3 September, 1860, fl. 83.

especially common with orphans and widows, most likely because in a patriarchal society they were perceived as more vulnerable due to the absence of a male figure, whether it was the father, a brother or husband. Dona Josefa Jacinta de Sousa e Silva, whom we have already encountered above, was first married to António José de Sousa e Silva. By 1858, she was a widow contracted to marry José Pacheco Osório. Her case stands out precisely because of her decision to protect the assets she had acquired before entering her second marriage by turning them into a dowry. On 24 August, 1858, Dona Josefa had her own Register of Dowry written up in which she endowed herself with "all properties she owned," including a *sobrado* on Afonço V Square, an affluent area of the city, the *arimos* Cahongo and Caxiri in the District of Icolo e Bengo, the *arimo* Capacala in the District of Barra do Bengo, another *arimo* in Calumbo, three *mosseques* in Alto das Cruzes, the furniture of her house, jewelry, 400 heads of cattle, enslaved persons, two sailing vessels, and active debts.[54] The assets that Dona Josefa was bringing to her second marriage were clearly numerous and of significant value. By turning them into a dowry and opting for a contract of marriage as opposed to a Charter of Halves she was effectively protecting her assets from being subject to *meação* (co-ownership). When, in September, 1864, the orphaned Dona Ana Luísa Mangueira, daughter of the deceased couple José Vicente Mangueira and Dona Joana Luíza, turned her inheritance into a dowry prior to her wedding to João Florêncio Ferreira Armapaz, a widower and father of two children, she did so for precisely the same reasons.[55]

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[54] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Casamento, Dote e Arrais," 24 August, 1858, fl. 24v. A debt is "active" or "passive" according as the person of the creditor or debtor is regarded; a passive debt being that which a man owes; an active debt that which is owning to him. Therefore, every debt is both active and passive: active as regards to the creditor, passive as regards the debtor. Henry Campbell Black, *A Law Dictionary*. 2nd edition (New Jersey: The Lawbook Exchange, 1995), 335.

[55] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Esponsais, Dote e Arrais," 30 September, 1864, fl. 18.

Widows and orphans were not alone in wanting to protect their assets prior to marriage. Single women of means did exactly the same by turning their assets into a dowry and opting for contracts of marriage. That was the case of Dona Ana Joaquina do Amaral who, in 1859, endowed herself with 10,000,000 *réis* that she declared represented "capital from her business" before marrying António Félix Machado.[56] The latter, born in Portugal, owned a shop and a tavern in Luanda,[57] while Dona Ana Joaquina do Amaral happened to be a local land and slave owner, as well as a trader. In 1852, she supplied the *Terreiro Público* with maize produced in her agricultural properties located in the districts of Dande and Bengo.[58] Following their wedding, Dona Ana Joaquina do Amaral and António Félix acquired many properties together that contributed to increase the couple's estate, such as a *sobrado* in Torres Square, a *cubata* and *musseque* in Alto das Cruzes, land on Sousa Coutinho Street, and a house in the square of the *Terreiro Público*.[59] The property she had acquired before marriage through her own entrepreneurial activities was, however, protected from *meação*. Women like these were no doubt aware of the benefits conferred upon them by Portuguese law. Some were able to sign official documents themselves, evidencing that they had access to some schooling in Luanda or elsewhere. That was the case of Dona Josefa and Dona Luiza Mangueira. Their literacy no doubt brought advantages in this colonial environment, one of which would have been a better understanding of the advantages offered to them by Portuguese legal codes.

During the nineteenth century land also became subject to *hipotecas*, whereby individuals in need offered assets as collateral in exchange for credit. Women, too, took part in such

[56] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Dote e Casamento," 25 June, 1859, fl. 60.
[57] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de correção," 30 December, 1835, fl. 22.
[58] BML, Códice 055, Vol. II, "Registo de Entrada e Saída de Milho,"1850-57, fl. 99; BML, Códice 034, "Registos Diversos, 1800 a 1844," fls. 63v-64.
[59] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 21 November, 1865, fl. 15v; ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 1865, fl. 65; ANA, Códice 8400, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 21, April, 1867, fl. 43v; ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 9 February, 1866, fl. 90.

transactions, alone or with their husbands and as creditors or debtors. In general, wealthy people, and local and foreign firms lent money in colonial Angola with interest.[60] Some individuals, including women, received authorization from the Royal Treasury to do so, thus becoming official money lenders.[61] With the establishment of the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* (Overseas National Bank) in the colonial capital of Angola in 1865, this institution officially took over the role of granting loans to individuals in need.[62] However, the majority of borrowers continued seeking loans from private individuals. The reasons for this preference was due to the existence of a social network based on trust that granted borrowers lower interest rates and offered less bureaucracy, including occasional exemption from presenting a *fiador* (guarantor) and collateral.

Individuals from every social class sought loans, ranging from merchants to the less privileged. As Richard Graham points in his study of the food trade in Salvador, northeast Brazil, credit relationships were not simply business ones, but those of clients and patrons.[63] Acquiring a loan involved a bureaucratic process since advancing credit to an unknown individual required a judgment regarding his or her ability and commitment to repay the debt. Therefore, borrowers were asked to present a *fiador*, usually a male, to secure the payment of the debt, as well as collateral. Creditors accepted jewelry, enslaved persons, land, houses, and sometimes even work tools as collateral to secure loans.[64] In this process, land became subject to *hipotecas* to prevent

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[60] Late eighteenth century merchants in Luanda complained that they were deeply indebted to mercantile firms located in Brazil. Joseph C. Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda, Angola 1760-1830," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan. S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Academic Press, 1979), 85.

[61] BOA, n. 54, 19 September, 1846, p.2.

[62] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos,* 51.

[63] Richard Graham, *Feeding the City. From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador, Brazil, 1780-1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 70.

[64] On the use of people as pawn to secure debts in African societies, see for example Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The business of slaving: pawnship in Western Africa, c. 1600-1810," *The Journal of African History*, 42, n. 1 (2001), 67-89; Paul E. Lovejoy and Toyin Falola, eds., *Pawnship, Slavery and Colonialism in Africa* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2003); Joseph C. Miller, "Credit, captives, collateral and currencies: debt, slavery, and the financing of the Atlantic world," in G. Campbell and A. Stanziani, eds., *Debt and Slavery in the Mediterranean and Atlantic Worlds* (London, 2013), 105-21; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Pawnship, Debt, and 'Freedom' in

loss to the creditor. For instance, on 23 June, 1860, Francisco Maria de Assis Contreira obtained a two year loan of 800,000 *réis* from the orphans of João Maria de Oliveira Gomes, a merchant. Contreira was not required to present a *fiador,* which meant that he might have had a close relationship with the deceased and his family. However, he was not exempt from paying the interest rate of eight percent and presenting his *arimo* as collateral.[65]

On 25 November, 1865, the widow Dona Ana de Jesus Guerra e Oliveira sought out a loan of 600,000 *réis* from the *Banco Nacional Ultramarino* to be paid within six months with an interest rate of 12 percent. She declared Augusto Archer Silva, a merchant, as her *fiador* and presented her farm Samba, with all tools and enslaved persons in it, as collateral.[66] On the due date, Dona Ana asked for the loan to be renewed for another six months: she had been unable to pay the amount borrowed.[67] Whether Dona Ana fully paid off her loan is unknown. If she did not, the bank would have approached her *fiador*, Augusto Archer Silva, who would become responsible for paying the debt. Otherwise, ownership of Dona Ana's farm with captives and tools would have been transferred to the bank. Such a development was not uncommon. On 11 February, 1865 the magistrate of Luanda, Lobato Pires, ordered Maria, an enslaved woman who belonged to Manoel José Rebelo de Macedo, to be held in jail as a security for the debt of her master.[68] There is no further information on the case: but in instances like this, the captive was usually sold in public auction to pay for the debt.[69] With the international crises of the 1870s,

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the Atlantic Africa During the Era of the Slave Trade: A Reassessment," *The Journal of African History* 55 (2014), 55-78; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Slaving and Resistance to Slaving in West Central Africa," in David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, Vol. 3 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 128-130.

[65] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 23 June, 1860, fl. 82.

[66] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 25 November, 1865, fl. 16.

[67] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Continuação de Dívida," 29 May, 1866, fl. 70v.

[68] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2825, "Ordem do Magistrado de Luanda" 11 February, 1865.

[69] For cases of captives sold in public auction to pay for their masters' debts, see BOA, n. 378, 24 December, 1852, p. 4.

several agricultural properties were taken over by creditors, including merchants, former slavers, and the bank, as a result of unpaid debts.[70]

Supplying the Table of Luanda's Residents

The population of Luanda was composed of permanent and temporary residents. Captains and seamen, mainly Portuguese and Brazilian-born, sojourned temporarily in town while their vessels completed the required cargo in enslaved Africans to sail to the Americas. Other foreigners settled permanently in this coastal urban centre to run commercial firms dealing in enslaved Africans for export. Far more numerous than these two groups of residents was a local population composed of Africans - mainly Mbundu - and Luso-Africans, as well as captives waiting shipment across the Atlantic Ocean.[71] Although droughts often destroyed crops and killed livestock, all of these individuals, whether they were permanent or temporary residents, needed to be fed.[72]

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[70] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 132.

[71] The African population of Luanda was largely made up of Mbundu. Nevertheless, as the most important port of the Atlantic slave trade, this urban centre attracted not only individuals from overseas, but also Africans with origins elsewhere engaged in slave trading, such as *pombeiros*, *sertanejos* and *aviados*. In addition, the colonial capital received numerous enslaved Africans originating from areas further inland who were shipped across the Atlantic Ocean, while others were employed locally. For details on the ethnic composition of the free and enslaved African population of Luanda, see: Roquinaldo A. Ferreira, "Fontes para o estudo da escravidão em Angola: Luanda e Icolo e Bengo no pós-tráfico de escravos," in *Construíndo o passado angolano: As fontes e a sua interpretação. Actas do II Seminário internacional sobre história de Angola* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000), 667-680; Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola," 147-173; José C. Curto, "Re-thinking the Origin of Slaves in West Central Africa", in Awet T. Weldemichael and Anthony A. Lee, eds., *Migration and Sociopolitical Mobility in Africa and the African Diasporas: Papers Honoring Edward A. Alpers* (forthcoming), who I thank for sharing his work.

[72] José Carlos Venâncio, "Reflexões em torno da política agrária em África e em Angola," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 61. Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth century, Luanda experienced poor harvest with shortages of food, drought, and sickness in the years 1782-1783, 1785-1794, 1799-1802 and 1814-1817. Joseph C. Miller, "The Significance or Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 23 (1982), 17-61. For more information, see Jill R. Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola, c. 1830-1930," *The Journal of African History* 22:3 (1981), 349-78.

In 1799, Brazilian-born physician José Pinto de Azeredo, published his analysis of the diseases found throughout the colony and their causes.[73] To do so, he investigated the environment and living conditions of the population, including eating habits. According to Azeredo, fish were the most common source of protein for most of Luanda's residents because of their abundance and affordability. Beef, on the other hand, was pricy, turning its consumption into a privilege for Europeans. The scarcity of cattle in most of Angola due to the presence of the *tsé-tsé* fly turned beef into a very expensive item. Besides the fish caught by enslaved individuals and free *Muxiloanda* fishers who inhabited the Island of Luanda, the *nacionais* or local Mbundu people also ate *infunge*, a porridge made from manioc flour, rice or *fuba* (maize meal) accompanied by palm oil. Spices and *ginguba* (peanuts) were used to season dishes. Manioc and its derivatives were also much appreciated.[74]

Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa also noted that manioc flour, beans, and maize were the main staples of the residents of Luanda. As with Azeredo, his contemporary, Corrêa too pointed out that the consumption of beef, pork, and goat meats, as well as better quality fish, was a privilege of the upper classes who could afford their high prices.[75] Wealthier individuals further consumed items imported from overseas, such as wine, olive oil, beer, cheese, tea, butter, and cookies, which could be found in shops and taverns throughout the city.[76] Since enslaved individuals cooked most of the meals in the wealthier households, they most likely introduced

[73] Jean Luíz Neves Abreu, "José Pinto de Azeredo e as enfermidade de Angola: Saber médico e experiências coloniais nas últimas décadas do século XVIII," *Revista de História* 166 (2012), 163-183.
[74] Azeredo, *Ensaios sobre algumas enfermidades*, 58-60.
[75] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 114, 131-134.
[76] *Ibid*, I, 131-2. Imports were consumed in times of drought and famine for those who could afford them. Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 91. For shops where imported goods and foodstuffs could be found, see BOA, n. 231, 2 March, 1850, p. 4; BOA, n. 241, 11 May, 1850, p. 6.

African flavours to the cuisine, as was the case in Gorée and Saint-Louis.[77] European and Luso-African inhabitants were influenced by African cultures as much as they influenced them.

The foodstuffs that fed the population of Luanda came from agricultural properties located in the semi-rural suburbs and in the immediate interior. In the seventeenth century, António Oliveira de Cadornega highlighted the existence of agricultural properties called *arimos* in the town's semi-rural suburb of Bem-Bem, in an area close to the Bengo River known as Sequeli, and on the islands of Cazengo and Desterro, which were located on the opposite side of Luanda where the wealthy residents possessed their *quintas* (country estates).[78] In his understanding, based on several decades of experience in colonial Angola, the verb *arimar* derived from the Kimbundu verb *kurima*, meaning to plant or to cultivate.[79] Throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the semi-rural suburbs of Luanda expanded to include the neighbourhoods of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, Alto das Cruzes, and Maianga, developing into what José Carlos Venâncio has called *pequena agricultura* (small farming).[80] The *arimos* and orchards located within the town were cultivated by enslaved persons and small farmers and their families for both household consumption and to supply urban markets and slave ships.[81]

Agricultural properties were also found along the Kwanza, Bengo and Dande rivers, producing vegetables, fruits, beans, manioc, maize, millet, and livestock, all of which were consumed by the producers, their families, enslaved Africans, and dependants, while the surplus

[77] Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 134.
[78] Cadornega, *História das Guerras Angolanas*, III, 36-39, 45-46. According to Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda*, 187, land in the suburb of Bem-Bem was donated to residents of Luanda as early as 1625.
[79] Cadornega, *História das Guerras Angolanas*, I, 176, 599.
[80] For semi-rural areas within the town during the eighteenth century, see Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 39, 40-41, 48, 58, 78, 81. For the nineteenth century, see Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 26, 39, 93.
[81] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 41, 80.

was commercialized in the various markets of the town.[82] According to Corrêa, enslaved Africans cultivated the fields in the *arimos* and *quintas* while the majority of land owners resided in urban areas, away from the diseases to which he believed Africans were immune. The administration of the land was in the hands of African and white *muculuntos* or overseers.[83] Some of the white overseers were Portuguese exiled to the colony. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, who governed the colony between 1764 and 1772, was among those who encouraged the employment of exiled individuals with experience in agriculture as overseers.[84] That was the case of Manoel José Rodrigues, born in Braga, who was sent to Angola as an exile for a period of 10 years. In 1851, while still an overseer in the District of Icolo e Bengo, he passed away, a victim of fever without leaving any property.[85]

Expatriate individuals with experience in the colony usually commented on the good quality of the land while, at the same time, attributing its low productivity to the "laziness" of the African population. The Brazilian-born Corrêa, for example, remarked that the little variety and low productivity of fruit and vegetables in colonial Angola resulted from the "laziness of the inhabitants," something that he stated was aggravated by the distance between the main productive areas and Luanda, as well as by droughts and river floods. [86] Other eighteenth century observer made similar comments, asserting that "the land is productive [:] however, the deep lethargy in which the local population live through their natural indolence makes the basic

[82] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 281; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*; Roquinaldo A. Ferreira, "Agricultural Enterprise and Unfree Labor in Nineteenth-Century Angola," in Robin Law, Suzanne Schwartz, Silke Strickrod, and Robin Law, eds., *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade & Slavery in Africa* (Woodbridge: James Currey, 2013), 225-243; Tracy Lopes, "The 'Mine of Wealth at the Doors of Luanda': agricultural production and gender in the Bengo," in Ana Cristina Roque and Maria Manuel Torrão, eds., *O Colonialismo Português: Novos Rumos da historiografia dos PALOP* (Porto: Ediçõs Húmus, 2013), 177-205.
[83] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, 112-113.
[84] BNL, Códice 8744, "Letter of Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho to Dom António de Lencastre," 26 November, 1772, fl. 303v.
[85] BOA, n. 290, 19 April, 1851, p. 3.
[86] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 118.

staples that the inhabitants need for their subsistence scarce."[87] Views such as these illustrate well the paternalism of the colonial project, where Africans were perceived as unable to "progress" without Portuguese tutelage. With the transition to "legitimate" commerce in the second half of the nineteenth century, agricultural development became predicated on the fertility of the soil and the entrepreneurship of settlers emanating the Portuguese civilizing mission.[88] Despite the fact that the development of the trade in raw materials and tropical products depended heavily on African skills, knowledge and labor, the colonial state pointed to the "laziness" of local populations as justification for the use of forced labor. The imposition of compulsory work in order to "civilize" indigenous populations was to remain part of Portuguese colonial ideology well into the twentieth century.[89]

The reasons for periodic cycles of low agricultural productivity were, in fact, related to environmental conditions and to the pressures of the transatlantic slave trade. As Miller and Jill Dias have shown, instances of droughts destroyed crops and killed livestock, affecting the productivity of agricultural areas.[90] Mariana P. Candido, on the other hand, has argued that famine cannot be disassociated from the actions of Portuguese colonial agents that contributed to decreasing agricultural production, such as the widespread use of firearms, the expansion of violence, the destruction of farm land by raiding bands, and the capture of workers destined for sale to Atlantic slave traders.[91] In times of shortages of food, provisions had to be imported from

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[87] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated.

[88] Freudenthal, *Arimos e fazendas*, 31-32; Isabel Castro Henriques, *Os Pilares da Diferença: Relações Portugal-África, séculos XV-XX* (Lisbon: Caleidoscópio Ediçâo, 2004), 299-318.

[89] Henriques, *Os Pilares da Diferença, 299-318.*

[90] Miller, "The Significance or Drought"; Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola".

[91] Candido, *An African Slaving Port,* 77.

as far away as Portugal, Brazil, and São Tomé e Príncipe.[92] Between 1788 and 1789, which included a three-year period when the lack of rain in Angola generated the most serious famine ever recorded in Luanda,[93] a total of 1,814 sacks of manioc flour entered the town from Brazilian ports such as Rio de Janeiro, Bahia (Salvador), and Pernambuco (Recife).[94] During the same time period, 5,022 sacks of manioc flour were also imported from São Tomé.[95] In 1817, when Luanda experienced yet another famine, five shipments containing a total of 148 sacks of beans from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco went a long way to temporarily diminish the hunger of the town's population.[96]

In a 1772 letter written by Governor Sousa Coutinho to his successor, D. António de Lencastre, he highlighted that agriculture was the sector "without which no government can succeed in war or in peace, no trade can be done, no navigation can be sustained, and no troops can be conducted."[97] In this context, perhaps Sousa Coutinho's most important legacy was the construction of a regulated public market in 1765: the *Terreiro Público*. During the eighteenth century, Luanda experienced various droughts, followed by poor harvests and sickness that interrupted the regular supply of basic provisions. At the same time, the urban population faced high prices due to the monopoly some individuals exercised upon the commercialization of

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[92] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 113-4; Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 281; Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 44; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 74-75. On provisions from Brazil, see: Miller, *Way of Death*, 395; Nielson Bezerra, "Mosaicos da Escravidão: Identidades Africanas e Conexões Atlânticas no Recôncavo da Guanabara (1780-1840)," (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2010); Bezerra, "Escravidão, Farinha e Tráfico Atlântico".
[93] Miller, "The Significance or Drought," 52.
[94] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fls. 50v-51, 55v-56, 60v-61, 61v-62, 62v-63, 68v-69, 72v-73, 78v-79, 80v-81, 125v-126. A sack usually cointains about 60 kilos or 132.2 pounds.
[95] *Ibid*, fls. 54v-55, 62v-63, 82v-83, 83v-84, 85v-86, 87v-88, 90v-91.
[96] Miller, "The Significance or Drought," 57; BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-1817, fls. 68v-69, 77v-78, 81v-82, 98v-99.
[97] BNL, Códice 8744, "Carta de Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho para Dom António de Lencastre," 26 November, 1772, fl. 303v.

agricultural produce. The creation of the *Terreiro Público* was an attempt by Governor Sousa Coutinho to guarantee regular food supplies and at affordable prices.[98]

The Marquis de Pombal effectively ruled Portugal during the reign of D. José I as its Secretary of State between 1750 and 1777. Greatly influenced by the ideals of the Enlightenment, he promoted administrative, economic and social reforms throughout the Portuguese empire. One of the goals of the Pombaline reforms, as they became known, was to "civilize" Africans by purging them of their so-called "barbarous lifestyles". In Angola, the task of spearheading these reforms was given to Governor Sousa Coutinho, who encouraged educational initiatives and the sanitation of the colonial capital. Among his measures was the introduction of geometry and other classes to train the offspring of the local elite, the creation of the *Trem Real* (Royal Arsenal) to train local individuals in the mechanical arts,[99] the construction of roads in Luanda, the creation of an iron factory in Oeiras, as well as a regulated public market in the lower town similar to the *Terreiros do Pão* established in Lisbon and other Portuguese cities during the sixteenth century.[100] As stated in its statutes, the *Terreiro Público* was created

[98] BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated, fls. 13-15v. Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 65 suggests that this measure also intended to reduce the expenses of the colonial government with respect to provisions for military personnel, who were paid in manioc flour.

[99] The *Trem Real* was created during the administration of Governor Sousa Coutinho. It was composed of workshops to train local men in the mechanical arts and designed to repair the equipment of the army and the navy. Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 163. According to Anonymous, *Quarenta e Cinco Dias em Angola*, 47, by the beginning of the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Trem Real* was nothing more than a warehouse, "where nothing could be fixed".

[100] Catarina Madeira Santos, "Luanda: A Colonial City between Africa and the Atlantic, Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," in Liam Matthew Brockey, ed., *Portuguese colonial cities in the early modern world*. (Surrey: Ashgate, 2008), 259; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 64.

with the intent to "free the people of this capital from the vexations, theft and monopolies.… in the commerce of the necessities indispensable to their subsistence." [101]

The *Câmara Municipal* of Luanda was in charge of appointing the personnel of the *Terreiro Público*, including an administrator, a judge, a scribe, an inspector of weights, and a guard.[102] Despite his goods intentions, Governor Sousa Coutinho warned his successor that if the market "does not have good officials (when possible) and books to register the transactions, the old monopolies and vexations will rise up again, as well as terrible famines." He went on to further advice D. Lencastre to be cautious with the individuals in the administration of the Municipal Council: "be resistant to every suggestion they make in this regard because they are more interested in the monopolies of the past." [103] The presence of local merchants, including foodstuff traders, in the Municipal Council was common and they certainly tried to promote their personal interests through their participation in this institution.[104] From the very beginning, the *Terreiro* was plagued by denunciations of corruption. In 1770, for example, the scribe of the market was admonished for charging 400 *réis* for the emission of certificates to suppliers that should have otherwise been free. The act was labelled "a theft" and the scribe received orders to return the money to suppliers within 24 hours.[105] Corruption and poor administration kept this

[101] BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated, fl. 13. Miller, *Way of Death*, 352. The establishment of the *Terreiro Público* in Luanda predates the creation of the grain market of Salvador, Brazil, called the *Celeiro Público*, in 1785. Graham, *Feeding the City*, 93.
[102] The jurisdiction of the Municipal Council of Luanda extended to Barra do Dande, Barra do Bengo, Libongo, Calumbo, Muxima, and Novo Redondo. Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 33.
[103] BNL, Códice 8744, "Carta de Dom Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho para Dom António de Lencastre," 26 November, 1772, fl. 307.
[104] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 34. In the nineteenth century, merchants such as Manuel Rodrigues da Silva, Cândido José dos Santos Guerra, the former exile Arcênio Pompílio Pompeo do Carpo among others occupied the position of President of the Municipal Council of Luanda. Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 10, 17, 56, 59, 93.
[105] BNL, Códice 8744, "Portaria," 28 November, 1870.

establishment in crisis throughout much of the nineteenth century. In 1855, the Municipal Council auctioned the administration of the *Terreiro* for 65,000 *réis* per month.[106]

As for the consumables entering the market, the statutes of the *Terreiro Público* only mentioned manioc flour and beans.[107] This is corroborated by Corrêa, who registered beans and manioc flour as the food staples channeled into the *Terreiro*.[108] However, records from the nineteenth century also show a third consumable entering the market: maize.[109] Whether this was an early nineteenth century development cannot be ascertained. Nevertheless, other sources also list vegetables and water amongst the items that could be found in this market.[110]

The transportation of crops from *arimos* established alongside riverbanks to the *Terreiro Público* was mainly made through small vessels and flat-bottomed boats called *dongos* built locally; however, the use of porters was also common. Vicar João Pinto, for example, had five sacks of manioc flour transported from the District of Barra do Bengo *por terra* (over land) to the public market on 5 December, 1787.[111] While some large-scale producers owned boats, others had to pay freight to vessel owners or porters in order to have their produce delivered to the market. In some cases, delivery was made free of charge, possibly due to close connections between farmers and boat owners, who were often farmers themselves. Crops cultivated in the semi-rural suburbs were most likely transported to the market by porters, enslaved individuals or producers themselves. Food staples entered the market in sacks and were subsequently weighed

[106] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 33, 73.
[107] BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated, fl. 14v.
[108] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 116.
[109] On the supply of maize to the grain market see, for example, BNL, Códice 055, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Milho," Vol. II, 1850 a 1857. See also Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 85.
[110] AHU, Angola, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated, fl. 5; Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda*, 127.
[111] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha, 1787-1790," fl. 16v. For individuals requesting porters in the nineteenth century, see BOA, n. 105, 11 September, 1847, p. 1.

in *exeques* and registered in transaction books. An administrative fee or tax was charged for every *exeque* or 132 pounds of incoming crop: 60 *réis* in the case of manioc flour and 50 *réis* for beans. The Municipal Council retained the sums raised from these fees and was required to apply them to public works undertaken by the colonial administration.[112]

In spite of the importance of agriculture, especially to supply local markets, the trade in enslaved Africans was the main activity until mid-nineteenth century when Lisbon declared the export of captives from its overseas colonies illegal. Still, by the eighteenth century traders in Luanda were faced with economic hardship due to internal and external competition for enslaved individuals off the coast of West Central Africa, as will be discussed in the next chapter. On the one hand, they had to deal with the presence of British and French subjects in the ports to the north, outside of the Portuguese suzerainty, such as Cabinda, Loango, and Malembo. On the other hand, the Portuguese port of Benguela, to the south of Luanda, had itself become an important competitor in the early-1700s, attracting part of the investments from Brazil that were previously channelled to the colonial capital.[113] As Miller has pointed out "by the end of the eighteenth century, merchants in Luanda enviously eyed the prosperity of traders in Loango and Benguela and wondered why similar good fortune seemed continually to elude them."[114]

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[112] BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated, fl. 14v.

[113] Birmingham, *Trade and* Conflict, 137-141; Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 96-97; Miller, *Way of Death*, 226-227; Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving," 83-88.

[114] Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 93.

Figure 2.1
Dongo

Source: ANA, Luanda, P-1-644, Ndongo (Barco de Angola). Editor: Eduardo Osório, undated (probably late nineteenth or early twentieth century).

The slave trade required a great investment in capital, as well as access to suppliers and commercial networks that connected the interior to the African coast. The community of merchants residing in Luanda operated largely on capital borrowed from sponsors established abroad resulting in dependence and indebtedness to firms in Brazil and in Portugal.[115] With growing competition, access to these requirements became more difficult, reducing the capacity of new investors to enter the trade in enslaved persons.[116] In this context, the supply of foodstuff to urban markets represented an alternative investment, especially for small-scale traders and land owners. Only some of the wealthier individuals simultaneously engaged in the foodstuff trade and in trans-Atlantic slaving.

[115] *Ibid*, 105-6.
[116] Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda," 53-57.

Production, Transportation and Supply of Foodstuff

The introduction of new crops to Western Africa has been regarded as the main benefit of early European interaction with the region. The reasons for this development are many, including the subsistence needs of European settlers, as well as the supplies required by crews and slave cargos of ships dispatched to the New World.[117] Meanwhile, these new crops contributed to accelerate population growth even if at the expense of nutrients.[118] Cassava, maize, and beans were some of the most important of these crops. The production and trade of foodstuffs involved the participation of different actors who were part of a commercial network. From the *arimos* located along rivers to the tables of Luanda's residents, food staples passed through many hands: land owners, field workers, traders, vessel owners, boatmen, grocers, and street vendors. Women were present at every stage of this chain.

This process involved at least three different activities: production, trading and transportation. The widow Dona Ana de Gouvêa Leite, for example, owned an *arimo* on the banks of the Kwanza River, where manioc flour was produced, most likely using slave labor. In May 1788, Dona Ana provided Captain Gabriel Moreira Rangel with 10 sacks of manioc flour, which he delivered to the *Terreiro Público* on the boat of Colonel Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho, both well known names in the trade community. The following month, Dona Ana handed 29 sacks of the same flour over to Captain Rangel, who transported them to Luanda's public market aboard the boat of Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa.[119] Captain Rangel may have purchased the manioc flour produced on the *arimo* of Dona Ana or have

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[117] Stanley B. Alpern, "The European Introduction of Crops into West Africa in Precolonial Times," *History in Africa* 19, (1992): 13-43.
[118] Alfred W. Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Connecticut: Greenwood Publishing Co., 1972), 187-88. To implications of the introduction of American crops in West Central Africa, see Miller, "Droughts and Famine".
[119] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha, 1787-1790," fls. 64v, 66v.

entered into an agreement with her to share the final proceeds. Whatever the case, he also had to pay transportation costs, not to mention the 60 *réis* tax for every *exeque* delivered to the market. Besides being a trader, Captain Rangel was himself a landowner and producer of manioc flour who owned *arimos* in the districts of Barra do Bengo and Icolo, north of the colonial capital.[120] Colonel Coutinho and Lieutenant Costa dealt in foodstuffs and were also involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. These transactions clearly show the interdependence among and between the different actors involved in the various stages of the foodstuff trade.

Although producing, trading and transporting food staples to the public market suggests distinct occupations, one single person could engage in all three tasks. Wealthy men and women owned land, labor and vessels, which allowed them to trade on their own account. That was the case of Dona Rita de Belém: she not only was a land owner herself, but traded in manioc flour and transported her own produce and that of seven other farmers to market on her boats. She owned at least two vessels, a *dongo* and a launch, evidencing that she was certainly a wealthy woman.[121] However, not every producer had the infrastructure and capital necessary to engage in every stage of this business. Small farmers and their families also grew foodstuffs but were not likely capable of paying the costs of transportation and the taxes imposed by the *Terreiro Público*. In those instances, they would choose instead to supply large-scale producers and traders, who had the capital required to be involved in the foodstuff business.

Manioc Flour

Manioc comes from the cassava plant native to tropical America that typically grows about five to 12 feet high and sometimes reaches as high as 18 feet. The cassava plant tolerates poor soils, pests that destroy other crops, and is exceptionally resistant to drought, all of which

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[120] *Ibid*, fls. 120, 142, 145.
[121] *Ibid*, fls. 75, 88. According to Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 138, a *dongo* cost about 12,000 *réis* in late eighteenth century.

turned it into a well suited crop for tropical Africa.[122] Meanwhile, the roots were also resistant to raids carried out by bandit groups with the intent of capturing individuals for the slave trade which also destroyed fields and harvests.[123] The Portuguese brought cassava from Brazil during the sixteenth century and its roots subsequently gained favour in West Central Africa. By the eighteenth century, cassava leaves, roots, and its derivatives, had become major components of the diet of local populations in the Portuguese colony of Angola.[124] Miller has pointed out the contradictions that emerged with the introduction of this crop in West Central Africa: at the same time that cassava supported local populations through droughts years, it also provided few nutrients weakening individuals who consequently were more vulnerable to diseases.[125]

Despite the abundance of cassava in Angola, Corrêa described the production of manioc flour as "primitive," given that the process was entirely manual. Unlike the case in Brazil, according to the military officer, the roots in Angola were not peeled prior to gridding, which turned the flour dark and bitter. Nevertheless, this made the process of preparation cheaper and the end product was even preferred for "being healthier and providing more nutrients to black Africans."[126] And yet, this was not the only type of flour available in the colony. Corrêa described three types of manioc flour: the expensive and rare white flour which was only made to feed the producer and his or her family or by special order; a "mediocre flour" that was cheaper and therefore more accessible to customers; and an "inferior flour" that fed Africans, in particular. He noted that the *Terreiro Público* received, year in and year out, between 28,000 and

[122] Crosby, *The Columbian Exchange*, 173-74, 196; Miller, *Way of Death*, 20-21.
[123] Miller, "Drought and Famine," 29; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 77.
[124] Miller, "The Significance of Drought," 29; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 77. For further information on the introduction of cassava plant in Angola, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 20-22; Robert Harms, "Fish and Cassava: The Changing Equation," *African Economic History* 7 (1979), 113-116; Jan Vansina, "Histoire du manioc em Africa central avant 1850," *Paideuma*, 43 (1997): 255-279; Henriques, *Percursos da Mondernidade*, 291.
[125] Miller, "Drought and Famine," 29.
[126] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 115.

34,000 *exeques* of manioc flour. While some 5,250 *exeques* supplied slave ships, the remainder was consumed within the municipality. Indeed, the registers of the public market confirm that the local population, captains of sailing vessels, and the *Fazenda Real* (Royal Treasury) were the main purchasers of this produce. The *Curveta Minerva*, for example, bought 146 sacks of manioc flour on 2 January, 1794, most likely to feed the enslaved Africans that it was to transport to the Caribbean and to Brazil.[127] The Royal Treasury also acquired manioc flour to feed the military personnel.[128] In 1795, Governor D. Miguel António de Melo drew attention to this issue by pointing out that the amount of flour given to military personnel was insufficient to their sustenance:

> The amount of flour received by each soldier.… is extremely small and in no circumstance is sufficient to the sustenance of a man who does hard works and who should be vigorous. Your Majesty giving some attention to this issue, I hope that you can order the flour each man receives for ten days to be given for only six days.[129]

The scribe of the public market was in charge of recording all of the produce brought to and sold within this institution.[130] This occupation generated a series of transaction books, which provided information such as the names of suppliers and buyers, the origin, date, volume of crops entering the market, and dates of sale.

[127] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 172; Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id.82748 and 48488.
[128] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 115-6. Soldiers received part of their wages in manioc flour. According to Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 58, the payment in 1760 was equivalent to one *exeque* of manioc flour valued at 600 *réis*. Manioc flour was also produced in the immediate interior of Benguela but not enough to supply the population who imported it from Luanda: Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 85.
[129] AHU, SMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 82, doc 62, D. Miguel António de Mello, "Apontamentos de algumas cousas que necessitão de immediatas providências de Sua Magestade para bem do seu real serviço no Reino de Angola, e suas conquistas". Manioc flour was also produced in the immediate interior of Benguela but not enough to supply the population who imported it from Luanda: Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 85.
[130] BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated, fl. 13v.

Table 2.1. Suppliers of Manioc Flour (1787-90)		
	Suppliers	**Registers**
Male	317	92%
Female	47	6%
Convent	01	2%
TOTAL	365	
Source: BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790.		

The manioc flour that entered the Luanda market in the late eighteenth century came mainly from the districts of Kwanza, Bengo, Dande, Golungo, Icolo, Calumbo and Quilunda (see Appendix C, Map 2.1). In the 1787-1790 transaction book, for example, 1,440 registers of manioc flour were recorded as delivered by 365 individuals. Of these, the majority or 317 suppliers were males who happened to make up a diverse group of individuals: they included men of modest means, priests, Chief-surgeon Manoel da Cruz, and Chief-physician José Rodrigues Martins Rocha; but the majority were military personnel. Despite colonial laws that forbade the participation of administrative and military personnel in trade, it was common for military men to get involved in commercial activities, including the trade in captives.[131] A significant number of these men might have been criminals of Portuguese origin or Brazilian-born sentenced to "pay" for their crimes overseas, since it was mandatory for *degredados* to enlist in the colonial army.[132] Together these men were responsible for 1,316 or about 92 percent of the entries. The Franciscan Convent of São José was the only religious institution then involved in the manioc flour trade, accounting for some 2 percent of the entries. It was not uncommon for religious institutions to own land and enslaved persons, who produced crops for

[131] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 49; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 185-186.
[132] Cunha, "Degredo para Angola;" Pantoja, "Inquisição, degredo, e mestiçagem," 119; Vieira, "Registro de Carta de Guia de Degredados".

subsistence and commercialization in local markets. Some individuals left land and other goods to religious institutions upon their death contributing to increase their property.[133]

Women were also part and parcel of the manioc flour trade, albeit in smaller numbers than men. Indeed, female suppliers accounted for a total of 82 or about 6 percent of the deliveries registered in the 1787-1790 transaction book. Among them were 68 female producers of manioc flour, but not all of them were able to market their produce directly. In fact, only 47 female producers traded manioc flour on their own account, of which 40 were *donas*. Only three of these women owned boats in which they transported the produce of their *arimos* to Luanda: Dona Maria Antônia de Siqueira e Gouvêa, Dona Ana Lobo Barreto, and Dona Rita de Belém. The ownership of boats allowed them to also engage in the transportation business, shipping manioc flour from several farmers to market. Dona Maria Antônia, for instance, transported the flour of Agostinho Mateus, Captain Manoel José da Rocha, and Manoel José de Souza Lopes from the banks of the Kwanza River to the *Terreiro Público*.[134] As in other parts of western Africa, the ownership of land and vessels created opportunities for women in Luanda.[135]

Of the 68 females 21 were small-scale farmers who produced manioc flour but did not market it directly. Their flour, rather, supplied larger producers and traders who transported and marketed it in Luanda. Most of these women were occasional and small-scale suppliers, such as Rita de André who appears in the transaction book just once. In July 1789, Captain Miguel Pires de Carvalho delivered to the *Terreiro Público* seven sacks of manioc flour produced in Rita's *arimo* in the District of Bengo.[136] The fact that Rita was a one-time supplier suggests that she did

[133] Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda,* 122.
[134] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha, 1787-1790," fls. 110v-111, 124v-125.
[135] Philip Havik, "From Pariahs to Patriots: Women Slavers in Nineteenth-Century 'Portuguese' Guinea," in Gwyn Campbell, Suzanne Miers, and Joseph C. Miller, eds., *Women and Slavery: Africa and the Western Indian Ocean Islands* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2007), 314, 324.
[136] *Ibid*, fl. 104v-105.

not produce manioc flour for a living, unless her sales were private: however, given that 1789 was a year of severe drought and famine in Luanda, she may well have used part of her subsistence to increase her income. [137] There were other small female farmers like Rita who supplied, often or occasionally, larger producers and traders. This was the case of Maria Fernandes who provided António Gonçalves Pinto with three sacks of manioc flour in October 1790. At the time, Pinto also obtained manioc flour from another small farmer, Luiz Francisco.[138]

An exceptional case, however, comes from Felipa, an enslaved women belonging to Sergeant Martinho Teixeira de Mendonça. Her master, proprietor of *arimos* in the District of Dande and along the banks of the Kwanza River, was a producer and trader of manioc flour, owner of vessels, and also transported crops to Luanda for at least six other individuals. Regardless of her social condition, on 28 December, 1789, Felipa sent six sacks of manioc flour to market: this was probably done aboard Mendonça's vessel given that, on that same day, he too delivered foodstuffs to the *Terreiro Público*.[139] In some African societies, masters allocated a piece of land to enslaved individuals where they could produce crops for their own subsistence and possibly sell any surplus.[140] In the case of Luanda and its hinterland, Venâncio has remarked

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[137] Miller, "The Significance of Drought," 52.

[138] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha, 1787-1790," fls. 158v-159; 175v-176.

[139] *Ibid*, fl. 126v-127.

[140] In the Sokoto Caliphate, for example, slaves working in the household were provided with their subsistence needs, but agricultural slaves were assigned private plots (*gayauna*) on which they could grow some of their own food: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Slavery, Commerce and Production in the Sokoto Caliphate of West Africa* (Trenton: Africa World Press, 2005), 541-542, 588, 596; Mohammed Bashir Salau, *The West African Slave Plantation: A Case Study* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2011), 92-93. For similar experiences in early colonial Nigeria, see Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 156, 174. Slaves also grew much of their own food and marketed surpluses in some areas of the Caribbean: see, for example, Michael Mullin, "Slave Economic Strategies: Food, Markets & Property," in Mary Turner, ed., *From Chattel Slaves to Wage Slaves: The Dynamics of Labor Bargaining in the Americas* (Kingston: Ian Randle; Bloomington: Indiana University Press; London: James Currey, 1995), 68-78; Hilary McD Beckles, "An Economic Life of Their Own: Enslaved Women as Entrepreneurs," in Hilary McD Beckles, *Centering Women: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 140-155; Hilary McD Beckles, "Marketeers: The Right to Trade," in Hilary McD Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A*

that the owners of *arimos* put aside plots of land for enslaved women to cultivate foodstuffs for themselves and their families.[141] In the case of Felipa, she appears as a one-time supplier, just like Rita de André. Her example certainly suggests that it was possible for enslaved persons to produce crops and supply local markets. But it also indicates that such occurrences were limited, particularly to times of ecological crises. Crop production required land and labor, two items that were not accessible to enslaved Africans.

Many large-scale producers cultivated cassava in their *arimos* and also acquired manioc flour from small farmers. For example, beyond the manioc flour produced in his agricultural properties located along the Kwanza River and in the districts of Calumbo and Golungo, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa also commercialized appreciable volumes of this consumable from 10 small farmers, despite the existence of laws that forbade the participation of military personnel in trade activities. In 1788, a year of extreme drought throughout the colony, he acquired manioc flour in Rio de Janeiro and in São Tomé to supply Luanda's *Terreiro Público*.[142] As a vessel owner, he also engaged in the business of transportation: between 1787 and 1790, his four vessels made a total of 110 trips from different parts of the interior to the public market of Luanda. Among the producers who used his transportation services, were small farmers such as the free black African Mateus Manoel, the Convent of São José, and affluent men like the slave merchant Colonel Ancelmo da Fonseca

Social History of Enslaved Black Women in Barbados (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1989), 72-89; Michele A. Johnson, “Women’s Labours in the Caribbean,” *Atlantis*, 32, n.1 (2007): 172-183. For Brazil, see Mary Karasch, “From Porterage to Proprietorship: African Occupations in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850” in S.L. Engerman and E.D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1975), 378.

[141] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 85. In Benguela captives also produced food in the *senzalas* (residential areas surrounding the town) for consume and to be sold in the streets. Mariana P. Candido, “Living under enslavement: Slaves’ origins, occupations and life conditions in Benguela’s hinterland, 1780-1850,” Paper presented at the *Conferece Mémoire Croiséss: Esclavage et Diaspora Africaine/ Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora*, Université Laval, Québec, May 2005, 17.

[142] BML, Códice 031, “Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha, 1787-1790,” fl. 55, 61. On droughts that affected Angola between 1550 and 1830, see: Miller, “The Significance of Drought,” 52; Miller, *Way of Death*, 155-59, 431-32. See also: Dias, “Famine and Disease.”

Coutinho and Commander Alexandre José Botelho de Vasconcelos who became the Governor of Benguela in 1796.[143]

In fact, only few individuals were in a position to control all stages of the foodstuff trade, which required the ownership of land, labor, and means of transportation. No more than 32 traders during 1787-1790 were able to do so: 29 men and only 3 women. Not surprisingly, the females in question were *donas* and, therefore, women who had enough capital to compete with male traders: Dona Rita de Belém, Dona Ana Lobo Barreto, and Dona Maria Antônia de Siqueira e Gouvêa. The men included military personal such as Captain Agostinho José da Costa and Lieutenant Custódio Dias dos Santos, as well as Chief-physician José Rodrigues Martins da Rocha. Only one person identified as black made this list: Benedito Jeorge, a free individual who owned a boat and an *arimo* in the District of Dande.[144] The gender inequality shows that men were more likely to become successful foodstuff traders than women, although free and enslaved women made up an important portion of the farmers. The control of the trade in foodstuffs by males most likely resulted from the fact that they were the majority of land and slave owners in Luanda and its immediate hinterland. The foodstuff trade was not only gendered but also racialized: except for Benedito George, no other person identified as black African was able to trade manioc flour independently.

Most of the individuals who were able to control the entire process of production and commercialization of manioc flour, including its transportation, were wealthy men and women. Among the males were prominent slave traders. Lieutenant António Rodrigues de Moura, for example, owned not only *arimos* in the districts of Bengo and Golungo, as well as along the

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[143] On Coutinho and his career as a slave trader, see Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda". On the nomination of Vasconcelos as Governor of Benguela, see AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 83, doc. 41. For the activities of vessels owned by Lieutenant Costa, see BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790.

[144] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fls. 102v-103.

banks of the Kwanza, where he produced manioc flour for consumption within his household and to supply the Luanda market, but also exported enslaved Africans to Bahia aboard his vessel, the *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e Santana*.[145] In 1789, with the colony facing a prolonged drought, he imported no less than 239 sacks of manioc flour from Rio de Janeiro to alleviate the food shortage confronting the *Terreiro Público*.[146]

Lieutenant Colonel Francisco Honorato da Costa was another successful manioc flour trader who, by the late eighteenth century, also invested in the slave trade. In 1791, his ship, the *Nossa Senhora da Natividade e São Francisco Xavier*, made two voyages to Bahia with a combined cargo of 867 captives.[147] Moreover, before the end of that decade, Lieutenant Colonel Costa began a long tenure as Director of the slave market located in the kingdom of Kasanje, the only venue within this state recognized by the colonial administration of Angola for coastal slave traders to conduct their business.[148] Such an important position certainly facilitated his access to captives that could be put to use locally or exported across the Atlantic.[149] Yet another individual who traded in manioc flour and enslaved Africans was Diogo Teixeira de Macedo. Supplying the Luanda market at the end of the eighteenth century with manioc flour produced in his *arimo* in the District of Dande, Macedo subsequently began to invest significant funds in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Between 1811 and 1820, his two vessels, the *Mariana Dáfne* and the *São José Diligente*, made 10 voyages to ports in southeastern Brazil, evidencing that he had by then emerged as a successful slave trader.[150]

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[145] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 48460.
[146] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 125v-126.
[147] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 48452 and 48459.
[148] Curto, "*Jerebita*," 8. On the early Kingdom of Kasange, see Vansina, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje;" Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*.
[149] On how holding administrative positions benefited the business of slave traders, see Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 37-38, 44.
[150] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id.30, 71, 161, 268, 7017, 7067, 7109, 7142, 7173, and 7223.

One of the better known individuals who, in the second half of the eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries, prospered through the foodstuff trade and the commerce in human beings was Colonel Ancelmo da Fonseca Coutinho. Born in Luanda, he not only progressed through the ranks of the colonial army to reach the position of Commander of the militia, but also invested in the slave trade. According to Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, Coutinho was responsible for 5 percent of the captives shipped through the port of Luanda between 1768 and 1806.[151] The records of the *Terreiro Público*, on the other hand, evidence that between 1787 and 1790, he also traded manioc flour produced in his agricultural properties and received appreciable amounts of this foodstuff from 11 small farmers.[152] He also participated in the shipping business, including the transportation of crops from other producers along the Kwanza River to Luanda. In April 1788, Coutinho brought 225 sacks of manioc flour from Rio de Janeiro to the Luanda public market.[153]

Although these men entered the trans-Atlantic slave trade, they neither withdrew from the foodstuff business nor from their positions in the military. On the contrary, they acted on the three fronts: their positions in the military, in fact, facilitated their access to captives.[154] Between the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the trade in enslaved Africans could generate much wealth. But it could also lead to much indebtedness, especially due to competition in the south from Benguela and in the ports of the north from British and French traders. Luanda-based merchants usually found themselves heavily in debt to their financial backers in Brazil and in Portugal.[155] Therefore, keeping a foot in local trade provided some safety at the same time that

[151] Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda," 55.
[152] See, for example, BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790,fls. 80v, 87v, 91v.
[153] *Ibid*, 60v-61.
[154] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 44; Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 113; Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización*, 128-130.
[155] Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 103-4.

the foodstuffs could also be used to supply their own slave ships. The majority of the manioc flour traders, however, limited themselves to the Luanda market, most likely because they lacked the capital required to enter the trade in captives.

Beans

Common beans (*Phaseolus vulgaris*) were reported in Kongo as early as the seventeenth century and, by the eighteenth century, *vulgaris* was established in West Africa.[156] According to Miller, bean supplies rose in Angola with the beginning of the rains in October and peaked from January through March.[157] Besides being one of the main staples that fed Luanda's inhabitants, alongside manioc flour and maize, beans also provided essential protein for enslaved Africans while they waited for embarkation in the *quintais* and during the middle passage.[158] Therefore, there was a permanent demand for this staple from inhabitants and captains of sailing vessels anchored off the bay. On 05 January, 1815, the master of the Portuguese vessel *Ave Maria* purchased 20 sacks of beans in the public market.[159] The vessel belonged to Manoel Ribeiro Coelho and transported enslaved Africans from Angola to Bahia and to Pernambuco, in northeastern Brazil. On 12 March, 1816, the vessel made a voyage under Captain João Crisóstomo transporting a total of 579 enslaved individuals from Cabinda to the port of Salvador, in Bahia. After acquiring provisions in Luanda, the *Ave Maria* headed to Brazil in a voyage that took 36 days to complete.[160]

Between 1815 and 1817, the beans entering the public market came mainly from the District of Dande and to a lesser extent, from Golungo, Bengo, Icolo, Quilunda, and the

[156] Alpern, "The European Introduction of Crops," 27.
[157] Miller, *Way of Death*, 323.
[158] Small quantities of dried fish were also used as a source of protein for slaves in the barracoons and ships. Miller, *Way of Death*, 393, 413-14.
[159] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fls. 6v-7.
[160] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 7413.

immediate interior of Benguela (see Appendix C, Map 2.1). Due to droughts, in 1817 the public market also received supplies from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, in Brazil.[161] The scribe of the *Terreiro Público* recorded a total of 802 entries of beans in the 1815-1817 transaction book. Unlike the case of manioc flour, it is impossible to identify the exact number of bean suppliers, since 24 registers only mention *diversos pretos* (several blacks) or *por terra* (over land) without any reference to the name of the supplier(s). However, a total of 778 registers contain the name of suppliers. These deliveries were made by no less than 359 individuals: 325 men and 34 women. The Convents of São José and Carmo also took part in this business, accounting for 4 percent of the registers.

Table 2.2. Suppliers of Beans (1815-1817)		
	Suppliers	**Registers**
Male	325	88%
Female	34	8%
Convents	02	4%
TOTAL	361	
Source: BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-1817.		

As with manioc flour, the majority of males trading in beans were military personnel, ranging from colonels to junior officers. Some clerics also took part in this business, as were the cases of Father Joaquim de Santana e Faria, Father Joaquim Nunes Garcez do Espírito Santo, Father Manoel António, and Father Manoel Pinto de Barros.[162] Even men in more prestigious positions found a way to supplement their income through commercial activities. Although Chief-Surgeon Joaquim José Ferreira de Campos was not himself a producer, he marketed beans grown in the *arimos* that belonged to the orphans of Euzébio Francisco de Carvalho located in

[161] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fls. 68v-69, 77v-78.
[162] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fls. 44v, 62v, 64v, 66v.

the Dande and Icolo districts.[163] Among the men, Sergeant António Gonçalves de Carvalho was the largest supplier. He alone was responsible for the delivery of 332 sacks of beans which belonged to him and to four other small farmers to the public market between January 1816 and December 1817.[164] Together, males were responsible for 703 or about 88 percent of the deliveries registered in the 1815-1817 transaction book.

A group of 34 women was identified as the suppliers in 65 registers, representing only 8 percent of the total. Of these, 22 were *donas*. The most prominent among them was Dona Ana Ifigênia Nogueira da Rocha, a widow. She delivered 520 sacks of beans that belonged to herself and to five other small-scale producers between January 1816 and November 1817. On 19 June, 1816, Dona Ana Ifigênia, alone, delivered 100 sacks of beans to the public market from her *arimo* located in the District of Dande.[165] Overall, she supplied more beans than the largest male trader, Sergeant Carvalho: this becomes even more significant when we consider that it did not represent the totality of her produce, part of which was also used for subsistence and to supply her own slave ships. After achieving success in the supply of foodstuffs, Dona Ana Ifigênia then ventured into the trans-Atlantic slave trade exporting enslaved Africans to Bahia, as will be discussed in the next chapter.[166] Other individuals who became wealthy in the local market followed a similar path: that is, they invested in the trade in enslaved Africans. The 12 remaining women were small-scale farmers. Half of them provided less than 10 sacks of beans to large-scale traders who supplied the crop to the public market. Among them there were three, free black women: Engrácia Domingos, Inácia António and Violante João. It is more than likely that they just simply did not have the capital required to act as traders on their own behalves.

[163] *Ibid*, fl. 74v.
[164] *Ibid*, fl. 94v.
[165] *Ibid*, fl. 35v.
[166] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 49000.

The production of beans involved a larger number of Africans than was the case with manioc flour. Although cassava was cheaper to produce and more resistant to harsh climate conditions, turning its roots into flour required some investment in labor and tools to mash and roast the manioc, including a furnace and firewood, the latter being a rather scarce commodity in Angola.[167] Therefore, growing beans became more accessible for black Africans. Among the bean suppliers there were 128 individuals identified as blacks, 122 men and six women, all of whom were free. Together, these free black African men and women were responsible for 181 or 22.5 percent of the registers in the 1815-1817 transaction book. Most were sporadic suppliers, with their names appearing only once in the transaction book. For instance, on 4 March, 1816, the black woman Luíza Domingos supplied the public market with seven sacks of beans.[168] This was her only delivery: given the small amount recorded, we can assume that Luíza did not usually supply beans to large markets, although she may have traded small quantities of beans informally. The ownership of land, labor, and boats was a requirement to become successful in the foodstuff trade: these items were not easily accessible to poor black African individuals.

Not surprisingly, the most prominent actors in the food trade business were foreigners and Luso-African landowners and slaveholders. They had the capital necessary to acquire land, labor and vessels and to purchase the produce of small-scale farmers. As with manioc flour, the production and trade of beans was gendered and racialized: even through the largest trader of this crop was a woman, females made up the minority of suppliers, while blacks were more likely to supply large-scale producers.

[167] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 115, describes the process of manioc flour making in Angola.
[168] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 25v.

Maize

Maize was probably the first New World plant to span across the Atlantic. Exactly when it reached Western Africa and who brought it is open to debate.[169] In contrast to cassava, maize had higher requirements for growth: it needed better-watered areas and required greater inputs of labor, especially for the clearing of new fields.[170] Alongside manioc, maize became one of the main crops consumed in West Central Africa. As Miller has pointed out, the incorporation of new American food crops can be considered the major technological transformation in the African political economy during the era of import growth.[171]

Both *milho-painço* (millet) and *milho americano* (maize) were produced in the colony of Angola. In the second half of the seventieth century, Cadornega had already noticed the cultivation of both maize and millet in the Bem-Bem area located in the semi-rural suburbs of Luanda.[172] Perhaps, the public market received both types given that Africans appreciated millet, while Europeans and Brazilian-born had their palates more inclined towards maize which they were used to consuming in Portugal and in Brazil. In Angola, according to Corrêa, maize was consumed grilled or boiled in water and its flour, called *fuba*, was also highly appreciated in spite of being more expensive than manioc flour. Each slaving vessel anchored off the bay of Luanda acquired four sacks of maize to feed the chicken and to mix with beans to feed the enslaved Africans on board.[173] Sources recording the supply of maize to the *Terreiro* are only available for the nineteenth century. Since maize was not mentioned in the statute of the *Terreiro*, it is possible that the public market only began to receive this crop in the early nineteenth century. Another possibility is that the eighteenth century registers might have simply disappeared

[169] Alpern, "The European Introduction of Crops," 24-25.
[170] Miller, *Way of Death*, 20.
[171] *Ibid*, 103.
[172] Cadornega, *História das Guerras Angolanas*, I, 45.
[173] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 116-117.

following the 2011 renovation of the building that houses the old Archive of the Municipal Council.[174]

Table 2.3 Suppliers of Maize (Nov. 1827-Fev. 1828)			
Male	**Female**	**Convents**	**Registers**
27	01	01	32
Source: BML, Códice 034, "Registos Diversos Incompleto," 1800 a 1844.			

The few registers located for the period prior to the transition to "legitimate" commerce allow us to pin point the main areas of maize production and suggest the profile of suppliers. Most of the maize that entered the *Terreiro* during 1827-1828 came from the District of Dande, occupying the margins of the river of the same name. Some also came from other areas, including: Golungo, Icolo, and Bengo (see Appendix C, Map 2.1). As with manioc flour and beans, most of the maize suppliers were males. The Franciscan Convent of São José, already highlighted above as one of the manioc flour suppliers, was also a supplier of maize.

As for female participation, only one woman made this list: that was Dona Ana Joaquina do Amaral who supplied three sacks of maize from her *arimo* located in the District of Bengo on 31 January, 1828. At the time, Dona Ana Joaquina was still a single woman and owner of agricultural properties in the Dande and Bengo districts dedicated to the production of maize. As stated earlier, prior to marrying António Félix Machado in 1859, she endowed herself with 10,000,000 *réis* in "capital from her business," which most likely referred to the supply of maize to the *Terreiro*.[175] A second woman mentioned in the registers was Dona Maria João, who on 4 February, 1828, supplied a man named António da Silva with a single sack of her maize that he

[174] Estevam C. Thompson, "Taking the Graduate Students to Luanda and Benguela: A Brazilian Perspective," *The Harriet Tubman Newsletter* 31 (2012), 18-19, available at http://tubman.info.yorku.ca/publications/tubman-newsletter/ (consulted on 10 September, 2014).
[175] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Dote e Casamento," 25 June, 1859, fl. 60.

delivered to the public market.[176] Dona Maria was most likely a small-scale farmer who produced small amounts of maize to supply large traders. The local population and the Royal Treasury were thus the main consumers of the maize delivered to the *Terreiro* during this time period.

Beef: The Meat of the Privileged

The presence of cattle in Angola was limited by the existence of the *tsé-tsé* fly that was associated with less populated areas. Given it scarcity, among West Central Africans the ownership of cattle became a sign of prestige and economic power restricted to rulers who accumulated this particular livestock through tribute paid by the populations subjected to them. Isabel Castro Henriques noted that in the Kwangu region, among the Lunda, Cokwe, and Imbangala, cattle were already a source of prestige by the late eighteenth century, where they were utilized as gifts to Portuguese authorities and European traders and as payment for bridewealth in *lambamentos*, but rarely eaten. Among the Lunda, for example, the belt of the chief was made of cattle tail, which enhanced his prestige.[177]

Most of the cattle that supplied the beef requirements of the inhabitants of Luanda were raised in the interior in areas such as Massangano, Muxima, Cambambe, São José do Encoge, and Golungo (see Appendix C, Map 2.1).[178] Although forbidden by Municipal By-Laws, animal sheds could also be found throughout the lower and upper town, where cattle, pigs, goats, and sheep were raised. Dona Maria Apolinária, for example, owned a pigsty in Pelourinho Square, in

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[176] BML, Códice 034, "Registos Diversos Incompleto," 1800 a 1844.
[177] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 277-282; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 98.
[178] João Carlos Feo Cardoso de Castello Branco e Torres, *Memórias contendo a biographia do vice almirante Luiz da Motta Feo e Torres: a história dos governadores e capitaens generaes de Angola, desde 1575 até 1825, e a descripção geographica e política dos reinos de Angola e de Benguella* (Paris: Fantin, 1825), 352-362.

the lower part of Luanda.[179] Some cattle proprietors also had animal sheds in areas adjacent to the town, as was the case of Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara who raised cattle in her Farm Bemfica, located south of this coastal urban centre.[180] In Luanda, the cattle were processed in the slaughterhouse located on Bressane Square in the upper part of town. There is no information on when this slaughterhouse was established. Cadornega mentioned it in his *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, which indicates that it already existed in the second half of the seventeenth century.[181] According to Corrêa, by late eighteenth century seven to eight head of cattle were slaughtered there weekly to supply the town's customers.[182]

The slaughterhouse also received pork, which originated mainly from Bengo. Nevertheless, Corrêa also points to pigs littering freely through the streets of Luanda that eventually were mixed with those brought in from elsewhere and consumed by inhabitants.[183] Once processed in the slaughterhouse, the pork meat was sold to costumers directly or to tavern keepers who sold it in their establishments to their patrons. As indicated above, beef was expansive, while pork and goat meats had a lower cost. Chicken, however, was by far the most affordable meat, appreciated by most of the urban population: it was even used to feed patients in hospital settings.[184] Still, demand for beef rose sharply during the mid-nineteenth century. By 1847, the head of cattle slaughtered monthly hovered around 198, or 50 per week, to attend to the needs of the growing urban population of the capital that had then reached some 12,000.[185]

[179] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 24.
[180] ANA, Códice 3844, "Ecritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 1 August, 1866, fl. 70.
[181] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda*, 67-68, suggests that the slaughterhouse was created in the first half of the seventeenth century.
[182] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 131.
[183] *Ibid*, 81.
[184] *Ibid.*
[185] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 34, 63. On the demographic growth experienced in Luanda from 1844 to 1850, see Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion".

In spite of its importance in the diet of well-to-do residents, nutrition was not the only reason why cattle were raised. In the mid-1840s, Lima remarked that Africans who raised cattle and sheep did so to supply white customers. He noted, in particular, that they rarely killed or consumed these animals, except upon occasion of celebrations or during funerals.[186] Therefore, the use of cattle meat went beyond feeding the inhabitants of Luanda: it also included the celebration of ancestors.

Table 2.4. Suppliers of Cattle (1816-1826)				
Dates	**Males**	**Females**	**Institutions**	**Registers**
1816-1818	43	10	01	243
1819-1820	161	17	01	1739
1826	23	02	0	108
Source: BML, Códice 040, "Termos de Entrega do Rendimento da Carne," 1815-1818; BML, Códice 042-043, "Registo de Termos de Arrobamento do Gado que Serve no Açougue desta Cidade," 1819-1820; BML, Códice 034, "Registos Diversos Incompleto," 1800-1844.				

As in the case of manioc flour, bean, and maize production, men were also the majority individuals who supplied beef. They, too, included civilians, military personnel, and priests. Among them were Sergeant-Major António Gonçalves and Father Joaquim Ferreira de Santana. Two particular institutions appear in the registers of the municipal slaughterhouse as suppliers: the Convent of Carmo and the *Trem Real*. As noted above, the Convent of Carmo and Father Santana were also among those who supplied beans to the *Terreiro Público*, evidencing that while some engaged in the production and supply of several foodstuffs, others with access to more capital also ventured into the trade in captives to the Atlantic market.

There was a disproportionate number of individuals engaged in the business of supplying cattle who also happened to be slave traders. This was the case of António de Queirós Monteiro

[186] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 201-202.

Regadas, a cattle supplier and owner of the slave vessel *Santo António Protetor* which forcibly transported captives to Pernambuco and to the Amazon region in the north of Brazil.[187] Family relations of Queirós Monteiro Regadas were also engaged in the cattle business and in slave trading activities. Luís de Queirós Monteiro Regadas, for example, acted as Captain in some of the voyages made by the *Santo António Protetor* and also himself owned enslaved Africans being moved to Pernambuco aboard the same vessel.[188] Alongside his two brothers, Francisco de Queirós Monteiro Regadas was also a prominent supplier of cattle to Luanda's slaughterhouse.[189] Other slave traders involved in the cattle business, included: José Manoel Vieira da Silva, owner and captain of the slave vessel *Bom Jesus Triunfo*, which forcibly moved captive labor to Pernambuco;[190] and Isidoro Alves, who exported enslaved Africans to Rio de Janeiro on his vessel *São José Diligente Vulcano*.[191] The business of supplying cattle to the Luanda consumer market and to feed the crews of vessels required greater investment than the production of crops, which limited this trade to wealthy individuals who also invested in the trans-Atlantic slave trade and happened to be, on the main, men.

If women of modest means were able to enter the supply of crops to the *Terreiro*, this was not the case with cattle. The women involved in supplying beef to the slaughterhouse of Luanda were all wealthy *donas*.[192] Among them, two females stand out: Dona Maria Bonina Tavares and Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vasconcelos. Dona Maria Bonina Tavares was a slave and land owner, who also invested in crop production and cattle raising. In the mid-1850s,

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[187] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 879, 1183, 40595, 47017, 48769, 48763, 48844, and 48862.
[188] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 48844, 48862, and 49210.
[189] BML, Códice 042-043, "Registo de Termos de Arrobamento do Gado que Serve no Açougue desta Cidade," 1819-1820, fls. 65v-66.
[190] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 40545.
[191] Eltis et. al., "Voyages,'' Voyage Id. 47310, 47962, 49740.
[192] For females who sucessfully competed with men in the meat trade elswehere on the western coast of Africa, see White, *Sierra Leone Settler Women*, 35.

she registered in Luanda captives who she owned from Massangano and Cambembe which, as it happens, were areas where cattle raising was a prominent activity.[193] It could well be that Dona Maria Bonina had a preference for enslaved individuals originating from those areas because they might have had experience with the raising of cattle. This *dona* also invested in manioc flour and maize production in her *arimos* located in the Bengo and Dande districts, part of which was destined for the *Terreiro Público*.[194] Supplying beef, manioc flour, and maize to the public market as well as the ownership of enslaved persons turned Dona Maria Bonina into a wealthy lady in mid-nineteenth century Luanda.[195]

Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vaconcelos, in turn, owned *arimos* in the districts of Icolo e Bengo and Calumbo, where maize and beans were produced and cattle were raised to supply the public market and the slaughterhouse in Luanda, respectively. [196] The production of foodstuffs required both land and labor: not surprisingly, Dona Máxima was also a prominent slave owner.[197] She was the daughter of no other than Commander Alexandre José Botelho de Vasconcelos, who became the Governor of Benguela in 1796: Dona Máxima followed in her father's footsteps as he was himself a land owner and crop producer and trader.[198] In the late eighteenth century, for example, Commander Vasconcelos was involved in supplying manioc flour to the public market of Luanda.[199] By 1822, Dona Máxima was a widow residing with her children and captives in the Nossa Senhora do Rosário neighborhood in Luanda, but she also

[193] ANA, Códice 2467, Luanda, "Registo de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 269v-270.
[194] BML, Códice 055, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas do Milho," 1850 a 1857, vol. 1, vol. 2 (Vol. 1 actually refers to manioc flour, not maize).
[195] For her agricultural properties, see: ANA, Códice 5644, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 14 June, 1867, fl. 34v.
[196] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 88v; BML, Códice 042-043, "Registo de Termos de Arrobamento do Gado que Serve no Açougue desta Cidade," 1819-20, fl. 3.
[197] ANA, Códice 2482, Luanda, "Registo de Escravos," 1855, fls. 410v-421.
[198] On the nomination of Vasconcelos as Governor of Benguela, see AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 83, doc. 41.
[199] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fls. 16v-17, 73v-74.

enjoyed a certain prestige in the interior. [200] On 28 October, 1838, she was one of the few individuals, and in fact the only female, invited to swear in the Political Constitution of the Portuguese Monarchy in the District of Calumbo, alongside seven residents, five military officers, nine *sobas* (local rulers), and Chief Lieutenant Manoel Félix Batista.[201] There is little doubt that her father's position as former Governor of Benguela, as well as her own successful career as a trader, contributed to her influential position in this colonial society. As a wealthy and successful lady she was able to stand side-by-side with men and enjoy the attention of political authorities. Nevertheless, precisely because of her gender, she would never be able to occupy administrative positions, as was usual for men of high status in the colony (even exile criminals).[202]

Women acquired cattle by means of inheritance, dowry and purchase. The afore mentioned Dona Josefa Jacinta de Souza e Silva, for example, stated in her register of dowry that she owned 400 head of cattle, among other items.[203] Dona Josefa was the daughter of Captain Francisco José de Souza Lopes and Maria Ferreira de Lemos: her father was a prominent cattle owner and trader, supplying Luanda's slaughterhouse in the early nineteenth century.[204] After the death of Captain Lopes, as his daughter, Dona Josefa inherited the *legítima*, including cattle. Women could also acquire livestock as part of their dowry: that was the case of Dona Angélica

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[200] BML, Códice 045, "Alistamento do 6º. Bairro – Mapas de Fogos e Habitantes," 1823-1832, fl. 2v.
[201] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2735, "Auto de Juramento da Constituição," 20 October, 1838.
[202] Marques, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 623, 636; Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 52; Curto, "*Jerebita*," 8.
[203] ANA, Códice 5613, "Escritura de Casamento, Dote e Arrais," 24 August, 1858, fl. 24v.
[204] BML, Códice 042-043, "Registo de Termos de Arrobamento do Gado que se Serve no Açougue desta Cidade," 1819-1820, fls. 5, 33v, 34v, 158v, 162v.

Joaquina dos Reis Fançony, who received an *arimo*, along with its cattle, among other property, as a dowry from her father Domingos Fançony.[205]

Women in Retail Trade

Households in Luanda relied on the *Terreiro Público*, outdoor markets, grocery stores, taverns, and street vendors to supply the food they required for sustenance on a retail basis. Those aiming to enter the retail trade in town had to obtain a license from the Municipal Council. Regardless of their personal resources or social status, all applicants had to present the names of guarantors and renew their licenses every semester through the payment of a fee.[206] Those selling consumables or anything else in stores, taverns, markets or on the streets were regulated by various Municipal By-Laws, which established the rules that governed the residents of Luanda.

Table 2.5 Types of Offenses (July 1819-December 1835)						
Absence of Licence	**Absence of Weights**	**Uncleanliness**	**Spoiled food**	**Doors closed**	**Inappropriate place for sale**	**Total of charges**
133	25	9	6	10	3	186
Source: BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de Correção," 1819-1820.						

The Municipal Council of Luanda counted on *empacaceiros*, the local, urban police force composed of black Africans, to carry out periodic inspections of the spaces of trade. Given the lack of Europeans in the colony, the colonial state resorted to the assistance of allied African rulers to recruit manpower locally.[207] When shopkeepers and vendors were found contravening

[205] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dote e Casamento," 26 September, 1860, fl. 76v.
[206] In 1784, owners of taverns paid 560 *réis*: Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*, 173. For the value of fees in the nineteenth century, see ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1192, "Relação das Licenças do 1°. Semestre de 1866".
[207] On the obligations of rulers allied to the colonial state, see Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 9, 51-53; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 39.

Municipal By-Laws, fines were handed out to them.[208] As Table 2.5 shows, among the most common causes of fines were lack of licenses, absence or use of uninspected or adulterated weights and measures, and the sale of stolen or spoiled food.[209] On 9 July, 1827, Dona Pruciana was fined 5,000 *réis* for operating a tavern without a licence and for selling pork without weights.[210] On 22 December, 1823, Dona Maria Bonício was also fined 4,000 *réis* as she did not have a licence to operate her tavern.[211] Uncleanliness was also among the reasons for which shopkeepers were fined. On 26 July, 1832, António Joaquim was fined 3,000 *réis* for the garbage that had accumulated in front of his tavern. Poor black women who peddled on the streets were often charged for violating the law, particularly for not having licences to do so. One of such woman was the *quitandeira* Rosa, who on 30 December, 1820 was fined 2,000 *réis* during an inspection for this very reason.[212] Many poor African women had no choice but to peddle on the streets to support their families, even if they lacked the money to get licensed. On October 1849, several *quitandeiras* were caught by inspectors peddling goods on the streets without licences: as a result, they were incarcerated in the public jail.[213] Poor black women seem to have been punished more severely than other individuals.

Some individuals tried to avoid being charged by closing the doors of their shops just before the arrival of inspectors. This, however, did not save them from being fined: sometimes it contributed to increase the value of the offense. On 9 July, 1827, João Cipriano dos Santos, a tavern keeper was fined 6,500 *réis* for not possessing a licence and the proper weights, as well as

[208] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 32.
[209] *Ibid*, 86; BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787; BML, Códice 025, "Regimento pelo qual se hão de governar os officiaes do Terreyro Público desta Cidade," undated.
[210] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termo de Correção," 9 July, 1827, fl. 10.
[211] *Ibid*, 3 July, 1823, 5v. The registers in this *Códice* actually span from 1819 to 1868.
[212] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termo de Correção," 30 December, 1820, fl. 2v.
[213] BML, Códice 051, "Registo de Ofício do Chefe de Polícia," 5 October, 1849, fl. 104.

for closing the doors of his establishment when he saw the inspector.[214] The sale of foodstuffs in inappropriate establishments was also forbidden, as some individuals attempted to sell goods and foodstuffs from their homes without authorization. On 11 July, 1831, the black woman Maria Raposo was fined 1,000 *réis* for retailing *fazendas* or textiles in front of her house.[215]

Shopkeepers and vendors could also be fined for the sale of spoiled food. Although less common than the lack of licenses, this represented a real danger for the well-being of their customers. On 11 July, 1831, Silvério Geliz was fined 2,000 *réis* because one of the enslaved individuals that belonged to him was found selling spoiled bread to the local population: the surgeon who accompanied the inspection ordered the foodstuff to be thrown into the sea.[216] Perhaps even more surprisingly was the destination of some of the spoiled food seized during such inspections. On 26 July, 1831, the spoiled manioc flour seized from a black woman operating close to the slaughterhouse was used to feed prisoners in the *Cadeia Pública* (Public Jail).[217] An important parcel of the Municipal Council's income effectively came from the fines imposed on vendors and tavern and shopkeepers.[218]

Table 2.6 License Applications (Jan-Jul, 1787)

Applicants	**Subtotal**
Female	53
Male	76
TOTAL	**129**

Source: BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787.

[214] *Ibid*, 9 July 1827, 10v.
[215] *Ibid*, 11 July 1831, 15v.
[216] *Ibid*.
[217] *Ibid*, 26 July 1831, 16v.
[218] BML, Códice 051, "Ofício do Presidente da Câmara Municipal, Manoel António de Magãlhes e Silva," 4 October, 1848, fls. 33-33v.

In this port town, men and women owned shops of all kinds which they ran by themselves or with the assistance of clerks, who could be a free or enslaved person. At the same time, some individuals also employed enslaved Africans in market stalls or as street vendors.[219] All were required to have a license issued by the Municipal Council to operate legally.

Between 11 January and 7 July, 1787, the Municipal Council of Luanda issued no less than 129 licenses. The individuals to whom they were granted were applying for or renewing their permits to operate in shops, market stalls, and on the streets of the town. Among 76 male applicants, 16 requested licenses to run shops, including tailors, shoemakers, grocers, and three men who declared only that they "had a shop to work." [220] Some of the shops were located on the ground floor of the owner's house; those who did not have enough room in their houses rented space elsewhere for this purpose.[221] The remaining 59 men were vendors who traded foodstuffs and goods in the markets of Luanda, either on their own or through the labor of enslaved individuals.

Although stores ranged from taverns and shops to warehouses, alcoholic beverages and groceries were generally found in all of them. Taverns were primarily spaces of leisure and socialization, where individuals – predominantly males – met to gamble and imbibe alcoholic drinks; most of these taverns were owned and operated by Portuguese and Brazilian traders.[222] However, beyond alcohol, other items could also be found in these commercial establishments. For instance, on 6 July, 1786, Calistro Ignácio renewed a license to operate his tavern, where he

[219] Pantoja, "Women's Work," 86; Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras".
[220] Individuals trained in the mechanical trades were authorized to open workshops and train apprentices only after passing an exam to become *mestre* or master: Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas," 264-5.
[221] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 17.
[222] Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*, 148, 175-176. For taverns in Benguela, see José C. Curto, "Alcohol under the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade: The Case of Benguela and its Hinterland (Angola)," *Cachiers d'études africaines* 51:201 (2011), 51-85.

sold “every sort of liquor, bread and everything else it has to offer.”[223] It was not uncommon for some individuals to apply for more than one licence from the Municipal Council so as to engage in different businesses. The case of Francisco José Antunes, a shoemaker, is illustrative. Beyond owning his workshop, he also acquired a license to sell alcoholic beverages.[224] Indeed, items offered for sale by shopkeepers sometimes went beyond mere groceries and alcoholic drinks to include merchandise from the apparel industry, such as hats and clothing.[225] It is likely that some tavern keepers also offered the sexual services of black women to interested customers.[226]

The retail trade represented one of the few employment opportunities open to poor free women, who were generally excluded from most specialized occupations.[227] Faced with limited occupational prospects, they entered the retail trade as *quitandeiras* or vendors, selling products in the markets and on the streets. *Donas* also employed their enslaved females in retail trade or rented them out for this purpose. There were four *quitandas* or outdoors markets in Luanda: Mercado dos Coqueiros, Quitanda Grande, Venda dos Pratos, and Feira do Bungo: all were located in the lower part of town. All kinds of *fazendas secas e molhadas* (wet and dry goods) could be found in these markets for sale on a retail basis in the baskets of ambulant *quitandeiras* or within their stalls.[228] In the mid-nineteenth century, another market was created by Governor José Rodrigues Coelho do Amaral (1854-1860) in the Nazaré Square: it was devoted exclusively to the commercialization of peanut and palm oil.[229] This measure was certainly also aimed to

[223] BML, Códice 030, “Termos de Fiança,” 1784-1787, fl. 145.
[224] *Ibid*, fls. 188, 195v.
[225] ANA, Códice 7615, fl. 6, with the inventory of goods that belonged to the shop of Francisco Joaquim de Matos on 10 September, 1866.
[226] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 126-128.
[227] Oliveira, “Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas,” 265-67.
[228] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 68-69. According to Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 32, in 1858 the *Quitanda Grande* was transferred to the Lopes Siqueira Square, while the *Feira do Bungo* was placed behind Dona Ana Joaquina’s palace, near the area where the Hotel Globo is today located. The measure intended to make these markets more accessible to costumers.
[229] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 87.

meet the demand of the growing population of the colonial capital since both peanut (*jinguba*) and palm oil (*dendem*) were used to season dishes.[230] On the other hand, the Luanda administration attempted to control de activities of street vendors by restricting them to peddling within the markets, as they represented competition to shop and tavernkeepers.[231]

In the case of the female applicants who sought to operate within the confines imposed by the Municipal Council in 1787, 52 requested licenses to sell foodstuffs and other goods in the *quitandas* or on the streets of Luanda. A total of 15 licenses actually specified the locale or place where these female applicants would operate: in one of the markets. Of these, 10 were issued to *donas*. Only one *dona* specified that she was applying for a permit on behalf of an enslaved woman belonging to her: that was Dona Ana Teixeira who on 11 January, 1787, took out a license for a enslaved woman named Luíza de João to sell dry goods in one of the *quitandas* of the town, where Dona Ana most likely owned a market stall.[232] As for the other nine licenses issued to *donas*, there is no information on whether they were self-hired, operating on their own account in the municipal markets, or if they were seeking licenses for the enslaved individuals that they owned. One thing is certain, however. Although classified as *donas*, these were women of modest means. They were thus very different from Dona Rita de Belém, who was a manioc flour producer, a trader and an owner of coasting-vessels. As Curto has demonstrated when analyzing the complexity of the *dona* phenomenon in Benguela, a significant number of women classified as *donas* were far from well-off: they lived in modest dwellings and owned a few or no

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[230] Azeredo, *Ensaios sobre algumas enfermidades d'Angola,* 58-60. On the production of palm oil and peanut to supply the internal market in the mid-nineteenth century, see Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 381, 426-427, 454, 483.
[231] BML, Códice 051, "Ofício do Presidente da Câmara Municipal, João de Souza Netto," 16 February, 1850, fls. 127v-128.
[232] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fl. 75v.

enslaved individuals at all.[233] Furthermore, some *quitandeiras* who owned stalls in the markets may have been able to prosper and become *donas*. Still, in both cases, these women were most likely Luso-Africans who spoke Portuguese, professed Christianity and dressed in European fashion, features that allowed them to be identified as *donas*.

Only 14 of the licensed vendors in the first semester of 1787 were registered as black Africans. All of these also happened to be women. Contemporaries found *quitandeiras* everywhere and commonly described them as women, although males also engaged in this occupation.[234] Corrêa, for example, noted that "black women" sold fish, *oallo*, *quicoanga or* manioc rotting under water, beans and manioc flour on the streets of Luanda.[235] A French traveler who sojourned in town later described *quitandeiras* as "black women dressed in native clothes" who controlled the retail trade.[236] Some of these black females, and males, were ambulant traders, while others peddled their items in markets, as did the free black woman Fabiana de Domingos who sold dry goods in the *Quitanda Grande* (Large Market). The items sold by vendors in the markets and on the streets of Luanda varied greatly from bread, pork and goat meat, and beads to all sorts of groceries and alcoholic drinks. Some specialized in certain consumables, others not: while Maria Tereza de Magalhães sold bread, for example, Luiza Andrade Lobo peddled bread and liquors.[237]

Some shopkeepers were clearly well-off, owning *arimos* and investing in other commercial opportunities. This was the case of Vicente Roque Pires and Mateus Vieira Dias

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[233] Curto, "The *Donas* of Benguela".
[234] Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas," 259.
[235] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 80-1, 130-1, 134.
[236] Douville, *Voyage au Congo*, I, 44.
[237] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fls. 59, 190.

who, besides being shopkeepers, also supplied manioc flour to the *Terreiro Público*.[238] Some vendors also progressed economically, acquiring *arimos* and supplying foodstuffs. In 1787, Dona Isabel Rodrigues de Freitas applied for a licence to trade in the *quitanda*: whether it was for herself or an enslaved person is not known.[239] By October 1789, she appeared as a producer of manioc flour, providing Lieutenant Antônio Rodrigues de Moura with the produce of her *arimo* located on the banks of the Kwanza River.[240] Dona Isabel most likely also sold manioc flour on a retail basis in the *quitanda*. Her example shows that some women might have been able to accumulate capital in the retail trade and venture into other economic activities.

Conclusion

The process of land expropriation in Angola began in the sixteenth century, in favor of the Crown and Portuguese and Luso-African landlords. In the late eighteenth century, land had already become subject to sale being acquired by men and women who invested in the foodstuff trade. This process intensified with the economic transition from slave trade to "legitimate" commerce in the mid-nineteenth century. In contrast to a historiography that has overemphasized the control over people as the only manifestation of wealth in African societies, this chapter demonstrates that male and female individuals in Luanda accumulated not only enslaved persons but also land, real estate, sailing vessels and luxury goods.

In spite of being largely depicted as mere agricultural workers in the accounts of most travelers and explorers, colonial records from Luanda show that women in this port town were able to accumulate property and act as traders, alone or with their husbands and partners. Women

[238] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fls. 161-162; BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 122; BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 158. On 11 January, 1787, Mateus applied for a licence to sell *fazendas secas*: BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fl. 165.
[239] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fl. 172.
[240] BML, Códice 031, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Farinha," 1787-1790, fl. 115.

acted alongside men in the supply of foodstuffs to urban markets, even if in smaller numbers than their male counterparts. In the context of the insecurity generated by the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the supply of food became a safe option that attracted the capital of well-established and smaller traders. Wealthy women produced and traded foodstuffs that they shipped to the public market, sometimes in their own vessels. Black women like Engrácia Domingos, however, were limited to supplying small quantities of produce to traders. Ownership of land and labor were important factors limiting the entrepreneurial activities of women, especially black females.

Simple men and women operated market stalls, taverns and shops where they offered a variety of local and imported goods to customers on a retail basis. Few accumulated enough capital to acquire agricultural property and become crop producers. On the other hand, the retail trade of the streets offered opportunities to impoverished and enslaved women who operated as *quitandeiras*. There, they peddled a diversity of products, from fresh and cooked food to other goods that came from Luanda's hinterland and from overseas. The retail trade effectively allowed these women to operate as relatively independent small-scale vendors, increase their household earnings and, presumably, establish a degree of autonomy in relation to men within a patriarchal structure.

Although, some women were able to become merchants and acquire wealth through the foodstuff trade, they did so within a gendered and racialized social structure. More importantly, the domination of commerce by males was not disrupted: men continued to be the majority of individuals engaged in the foodstuff trade, although most of the producers and farmers were likely women. While some wealthy women were able to compete with male traders, female small-scale farmers could only supply urban markets through the patronage of big traders, most of whom were foreign and Luso-African males.

Chapter 3

Women Slave Traders and Slaveholders of Luanda

By the sixteenth century, the failure of the conquest of Kongo and the increasing interest in the silver and copper mines, which were located further south, changed the focus of Portuguese presence in West Central Africa. During the mid-1500s, slave traders previously operating in Kongo attempted to reach new regions and to develop new commercial partnerships by establishing themselves around the court of the Ngola or King of Ndongo, where they acquired enslaved Africans directly in the local markets bypassing the Manikongo as an intermediary in the slave trade. The captives acquired in Ndongo satisfied the demand for labor in the island of São Tomé and in the Spanish and Portuguese American colonies from the early sixteenth to the mid-nineteenth centuries. [1]

The trade in captives played a vital role in the history of Luanda. During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, the town became the most important center of the Atlantic slave trade. It has been estimated that approximately 4,435,000 captives left Angola between 1701 and 1867. Of this total, about 1,633,000 enslaved Africans embarked from Luanda alone en route to the Americas, particularly to Brazil. [2] Until the third decade of the nineteenth century, slave

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[1] Heintze, *Angola nos séculos XVI e XVII*, 473-504; Candido, "Conquest, occupation, colonialism and exclusion," 225. For the introduction and development of sugar cane production in São Tomé, see Henriques, *Os Pilares da Diferença*, 181-205. For the early slave trade to Brazil, see Stuart Schwartz, "'A Commonwealth within Itself': The Early Brazilian Sugar Industry, 1550-1670," *Revista de Indias*, 65, n. 233 (2005): 79-116. For the early slave trade to Spanish America, see Linda Newson and Susie Minchin, *From Capture to Sale: The Portuguese Slave Trade to Spanish South America in the Early Seventeenth Century* (Leiden: Brill, 2007); Kara D. Schultz, "'The Kingdom of Angola is not Very Far from Here': The South Atlantic Slave Trade Port of Buenos Aires, 1518-1640," *Slavery & Abolition*, 36, n. 3 (2015): 424-444.

[2] Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola," 105-122. For more information on the legal slave trade from Luanda, see Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola," 849-918; Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 75-113; Miller, *Way of Death*; Miller, "Legal Portuguese slaving from Angola," 226-227; Miller, "The

exports remained the main economic activity, although ivory and wax were also traded but never to the extent of the commerce in captives.[3] In fact, as José C. Curto has pointed out, the period between 1710 and 1830 was the peak of slave departures from Luanda, with an average of 9,700 African captives exported per annum.[4]

This chapter explores the role of African and Luso-African women in slave trading and as slave owners in Luanda. The analysis of parish records indicates that women made up a relatively significant proportion of slaveholders in the colonial capital. They acquired enslaved persons as a source of labor and as a sign of prestige, which, largely corresponded to their increased activities in commercial ventures. On the other hand, few women were able to become successful slave traders on their own account due to limited access to credit with which to invest in the highly competitive trans-Atlantic slave trade.

Luanda and the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade

Luanda was by far the most important port on the Atlantic coast, with more than 1.6 million enslaved Africans known to have been sent therefrom to the Americas (Appendix D, Map 3.1).[5] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva argues that between the late eighteenth and the mid-nineteenth centuries, the slave trade from Angola varied mostly as a result of the demand for enslaved persons in the Americas and British efforts to suppress the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[6] The trade in enslaved Africans from Luanda was relatively steady from 1771 to 1800, averaging approximately 50,000 per five year period. Subsequently, the trade increased to an average of

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Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves," 381-419; Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment," 1-25; Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," 17-46; Eltis and Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade*; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico;" Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*; Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 313-334. For further information, consult Eltis et al., "Voyages".

[3] Corrêa, *História de Angola,* I, 112-114.

[4] Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment," 7.

[5] Eltis et al., "Voyages;" Eltis, Lovejoy and Richardson, "Slave-Trading Ports," 12-34.

[6] Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola," Chapter 1.

almost 78,000 per five year period until 1830. Thereafter, the trade fluctuated considerably, falling to about 55,000 during 1831-35, rising sharply to approximately 138,000 between 1836 and 1840, declining to about 30,000 in 1841-45, and then increasing to some 45,000 over the second half of the 1840s (see Appendix E, Table 3.1).

In the late eighteenth century, Portuguese and Brazilian-born individuals were the principal traders in Angola, where they exercised control over the main ports under colonial jurisdiction, particularly Luanda and Benguela.[7] However, the presence of subjects from other European nations in the ports north of Luanda, controlled by independent African polities, threatened Portuguese control over the Angolan coast. British and French traders, who predominantly purchased enslaved individuals in West Africa to supply their possessions in the Caribbean, extended their activities to the coast of West Central Africa, particularly to ports outside of the Portuguese suzerainty, such as Cabinda, Malembo, and Loango. There, they were better able to offer trade goods of superior quality at lower prices to African suppliers than did the Portuguese.[8] Additionally, since the early-1700s, Luanda merchants faced competition from the southern port of Benguela, mostly dominated by Brazilian-born traders within the context of bilateral trade.[9] Benguela attracted Brazilian attention particularly because enslaved Africans

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[7] For the late eighteenth century slave trade from Luanda, see: Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola;" Miller, *Way of Death*; Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola;" Florentino, *Em Costas Negras*; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*; Pantoja, "Entre Luanda e Rio de Janeiro". For Benguela, see: Curto, "Movers of Slaves;" Candido, "South Atlantic Exchanges;" Candido, "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade;" Candido, "Negociantes Baianos no porto de Benguela;" Candido, "Trans-Atlantic Links," 239-272; Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks," 66-99; Thompson, "Feliciano José de Barros," 111-141.

[8] David Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1660-1807," in P.J. Marshall, ed., *The Eighteenth Century*, Vol. II (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 451, estimates that a total of 634,000 captives were exported from West Central Africa by the British between 1662 and 1807. See also Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola*, 137-145, 156-158; Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 96-97; Miller, *Way of Death*, 226-227; Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving," 83-88; Ferreira, "Suppression of the Slave Trade," 325-326; Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 268.

[9] Previously, slaves acquired in Benguela were shipped through the port of Luanda where export taxes were collected. On the bilateral trade between Benguela and Brazil, see José C. Curto, "Luso-Brazilian Alcohol and the Legal Slave Trade at Benguela and its Hinterland, c. 1617-1830," in Hubert Bonin and Michel Cahen, eds., Négoce

were sold for better prices than in Luanda and because of its lax administration in relation to that of the colonial capital. Furthermore, ships coming from Portugal, Brazil, and Asia usually stopped in Benguela before heading to the northern ports of Luanda, Ambriz and Loango.[10]

Foreign competition reached its peak between the 1760s and the 1780s, tending to decline with the last decade of the eighteenth and first decade of the nineteenth centuries, due to events that affected both France and Britain. The French colony of Saint Domingue was the major producer of sugar in the Americas and the principal destination of enslaved Africans shipped by the French. With the slave revolution of 1791-1804, France lost Saint Domingue thus decreasing the need for slave labor significantly and consequently diminishing French activity in the slave trade.[11] The English established their dominance in the slave trade by 1660 and remained the major shippers of captives from Africa to the Americas until 1807. During this period, they exported no less than 634,000 captives from West Central Africa, especially from ports north of Luanda. After France withdrew from this commerce, the English dominated the trade north of the Congo River until 1807, when Britain made it illegal for British subjects to participate in

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Blanc en Afrique Noire: L'évolution du commerce à longue distance en Afrique noire du 18e au 20e siècles (Paris: Publications de la Société française d'histoire d'outre mer, 2001), 351-369; Florentino, *Em Costas Negras*; Alencastro, *Trato dos Viventes*; Joseph C. Miller, "The Political Economy of the Angolan Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," *Indian Historical Review*, 15, n. 1-2 (1988/9): 161; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 7; Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving;" Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 317-318; Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 107-108; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 85. Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 158-160, has located Benguela slaves in the Americas before this period, which indicates that trans-Atlantic merchants were trading people in Benguela during the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, before it was legal to dispatch slave ships without having to go to Luanda to pay taxes. See also Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 269. Estimates indicate that Benguela was second only to Luanda in terms of shipments of slaves between the 1830s and the 1860s. David Eltis, "African and European Relations in the Last Century of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in Olivier Pétré-Grenouilleau, ed., *From Slave Trade to Empire: Europe and the Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s-1880s* (London, Routledge, 2004), 21-46. For the numbers of slaves exported from the port of Benguela in an earlier period, see Curto, "The Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela".

[10] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 6, 151, 162; Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 121.

[11] On The Haitian Revolution, see John K. Thornton, "'I am a Subject of the King of Congo': African Political Ideology and the Haitian Revolution," *Journal of World History*, 4, n. 2 (1993): 181-214; Courlander Harold, "Gods of the Haitian Mountains," *The Journal of Negro History*, 29, n. 3 (1994): 339-369.

trafficking human beings.[12] By the early nineteenth century, British and French interlopers were out of Angola and the Portuguese and the Brazilians-born were able to dominate the shipment of enslaved Africans from this region.

Other events taking place in the Atlantic contributed to an absolute and significant increase in the number of captives exported from Angola during the early-nineteenth century from about 50,000 on average to almost 80,000 in the period between 1796-00 to 1801-05 (see Appendix E, Table 3.1). In 1808, the Portuguese Court, followed by most of the nobility and merchant elite, moved to Rio de Janeiro to escape Napoleon's armies during the Peninsular War. Upon arrival, the Prince of Portugal, Dom João VI, quickly opened Brazilian ports to international trade, a measure that directly benefited the British who had assisted the transfer of the Portuguese Court to the American colony.[13] Despite the campaign for the abolition of the slave trade, British merchants continued to supply goods to other slave traders and to deal in slave-produced commodities, such as West Indian sugar, American cotton, and West African palm oil well after 1807.[14] According to David Eltis, the opening of the ports to international trade contributed to the spread of British capital in Brazilian markets: not only did they purchase Brazilian products at lower prices, but they also provided credit to Portuguese merchants newly arrived in Rio who were connected to the slave trade in Angola. [15] Therefore, the establishment of the Portuguese royal family in Rio de Janeiro indirectly contributed to an increase in the

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[12] Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade," 451-453; Roger Anstey, *The Atlantic Slave Trade and British Abolition, 1760-1810* (Atlantic Highlands: Humanities Press, 1975); Miller, "Some aspects of commercial organization," 79.

[13] Alan K. Manchester, "The Transfer of the Portuguese Court to Rio de Janeiro," in Henry H. Keith and S.F. Edwards, eds., *Conflict and Continuity in Brazilian Society* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 1969), 148-163; Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 1987), 3-28.

[14] Richardson, "The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade," 446.

[15] David Eltis, "The British Trans-Atlantic Slave trade after 1807," *Maritime History*, 4, n. 1 (1974): 1-11; David Eltis, "The British Contribution to the Nineteenth Century Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade," *Economic History Review*, 32, n. 2 (1979): 211-227; David Eltis, *Economic Growth and the Ending of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1987); Miller, *Way of Death*, 505-508; Miller, "The Political Economy," 170.

demand for enslaved laborers to attend the newly arrived Portuguese merchants and administrative personnel which, in turn, expanded slave trading activities in Angola.[16]

Meanwhile, the revival of the Brazilian plantation sector also played an important role in increasing slave exports from Angola. The production of gold that had previously been the motor of the Brazilian economy, entered a period of decline that led to a recession in slave exports from Angola between 1750 and 1779. The end of the gold boom led the Portuguese Secretary of State, Marquis de Pombal, to stimulate Brazilian agriculture, which eventually raised the demand for captives to meet the needs of sugar cane and cocoa planters in the northeast, rice and cotton producers in the northern provinces of Maranhão and Pará, and coffee farms in the southern captaincies of São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro by the 1780s.[17] Silva points out that Brazil alone was the destination of about 74 percent of all slaves shipped from West Central Africa between the late eighteenth and mid-nineteenth centuries. Table 3.2 shows that the majority of captives shipped to Brazil disembarked in Rio de Janeiro, while Bahia and Pernambuco represented the second and third major destinations, respectively. Although in smaller numbers, the north captaincies of Maranhão and Pará (Amazônia) also received enslaved persons from West Central Africa.[18]

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[16] Curto and Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda," 1-59.

[17] Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment"; Miller, "The Political Economy," 164; James Lang, *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); Judith Carney, "Landscapes of Technology Transfer: Rice Cultivation and African Continuities," *Technology and Culture*, 37, n. 1 (1996): 5-35; Judith A. Carney, "'With Grains in Her Hair': Rice in Colonial Brazil," *Slavery and Abolition*, 25, n. 1 (2004): 1-27; Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[18] Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola," 27-28. Not all Africans remained at these ports of disembarkation as captives were redistributed to several places in the interior of Brazil, including Minas Gerais, Maranhão, São Paulo, and Rio Grande do Sul: João Luís Fragoso and Roberto Guedes Ferreira, "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 Tarcísio Rodrigues Botelho et al., eds., *História Quantitativa e Serial: um balance* (Goiânia: ANPUH, 2001), 239- 278; Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins, "Slavery in a Non-Export Economy: Nineteenth Century Minas Gerais Revisited," *Hispanic American Histrical Review*, 63, n. 3 (1983): 569-590.

Table. 3.2. Major Regions of Captives Disembarked in Brazil, 1780-1867.						
Year	Amazônia	Bahia	Pernambuco	Southeast Brazil	Other Brazil	**Totals**
1776-1800	10137	74630	32418	134527	0	251712
1801-1825	29215	96834	119296	433736	2797	681878
1826-1850	4905	66627	53619	397905	5660	528716
1851-1867	0	720	0	2001	0	2721
Totals	44257	238811	205333	968169	8457	1465027
Source: David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online Database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/						

The number of enslaved Africans exported from the south Atlantic increased with the 1815 treaty between Britain and Portugal that prohibited the slave export trade north of the Equator. The number of captives departing from Luanda reached 92,000, an increase of about 37 percent over the previous half decade, when the number reached almost 67,000 captives (Appendix E, Table 3.1). As a result, Portuguese and Brazilians traders who used to deal in captives in West African ports intensified their activities along of the coast of West Central Africa, where they sought new sources of supply.[19] Therefore, the 1815 suppression of the slave trade north of the Equator, rather than halting the business of slaving altogether, actually accelerated the international commerce in enslaved Africans in the south Atlantic.

In exchange for British recognition of Brazilian independence achieved in 1822, an Anglo-Brazilian treaty was concluded in 1826 which called upon Brazil to make slave imports illegal by 1830. Although the accord was never enforced by the Brazilian government, slave departures from Luanda experienced a decline from 92,558 to 79,811 captives. Further research may evidence how internal factors contributed or not to this decline. Ten years later, another event led to a peak in the slave trade from Angola. In 1836, the Portuguese government banned

[19] Portuguese and Brazilian slavers were not alone as individuals of other nationalities also moved their activities to West Central Africa: Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 97-124. For the number of slaves exported from the Angola during this period, see Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment"; Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola".

the export of enslaved persons from all of its overseas possessions. Slavers thus increased their activities before Angolan ports were closed to their business, resulting in the number of captives shipped illegally during 1836-40 more than the doubling from 54,637 to 137,906 (Appendix E, Table 3.1).[20]

In 1839, the British started patrolling the coast of West Central Africa in search of vessels suspect of trading in enslaved individuals which, by the mid-1840s, resulted in the export of captives coming to an end in Luanda.[21] As Table 3.1 shows, the number of captives departing from Luanda declined 78 percent, from 137,906 to 29,947. The creation of the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed Commission Court in Luanda in 1842 further prevented slavers from exporting captives directly through Angola's colonial capital. To continue supplying the Brazilian demand for laborers, slavers thus relocated their commercial activities in northern coastal areas close to the Congo River, as well as smaller ports to the south, such as Novo Redondo, Quicombo, Lobito, Bahia Farta, and Moçâmedes.[22] In 1850, a new law enacted in Brazil that made it illegal for enslaved Africans to be imported finally began to be enforced. But if slave imports from Angola began to decline in Brazil, the illegal shipment of captives from the Angolan coast to Cuba continued well into the following decade.[23] Thus, in spite of measures taken in Africa and in the

[20] João Pedro Marques, *Os Sons do Silêncio: O Portugal de Oitocentos e a Abolição do Tráfico de Escravos* (Lisbon: Instituto de Ciências Sociais, 1999), 203-214; Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 275.
[21] Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 280.
[22] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico;" Ferreira, "Supression of the Slave Trade;" Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 175.
[23] Curto, "Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion," 402; Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Origins of Slaves Leaving Angola in the 19th Century: Primary Results from Field Work," Paper presented at the Seventh European Social Science and History Conference, Lisbon, 2007; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico". For more information on illegal slave trade activities on the Angolan coast, see: Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Ferreira, "Brasil e Angola no Tráfico Illegal de Escravos," 143-194; Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 313-334; Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola"; Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola"; 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, n. 1 (1987): 109-138; Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 280.

Americas aiming to end the traffic in captives, the slave export trade remained an active commercial enterprise on the Angolan coast until the later 1860s.

The Organization of the Slave Trade from Luanda

The trade in enslaved Africans required a network of individuals who engaged in different activities. As discussed in chapter 1, the local elite was comprised of Portuguese nationals, Brazilian-born, local Luso-African and African merchants all deeply attached to the slave trade. Some of these foreign-born individuals moved to Angola on their own, attracted by the possibilities of quick enrichment, as the case of the aforementioned Desidério José Marques da Rocha from Pernambuco illustrates.[24] Yet many other merchants in the colony were commission agents of trading firms established in Brazil and Portugal, while other individuals started their own trading companies in Luanda alone or in partnership with local or foreign-born merchants. [25] This was the case of Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido, born in Portugal, who established a commercial firm with the Angolan merchant José Maria Matozo de Andrade Câmara, and thus both entered into the group of the wealthiest slavers in Luanda.[26] In this business, only a few slave dealers possessed enough capital to operate independently: most had to rely on loans from financial backers in Brazil and in Portugal.[27]

By 1770, Brazilians maintained a dominant position at Benguela and a share of the trade at Luanda determined in part by the lower cost of the Brazilian alcoholic drink known in Angola as *geribita* and by their role as transporters of most of the enslaved Africans exported to

[24] ANTT, FF, JJU, África, mç. 29, n. 8.
[25] Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 83.
[26] BOA, n. 85, 24 April, 1847, p. 1. On Garrido, see Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 49. On the family Matozo de Andrade e Câmara, see: Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico," 311-322.
[27] Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," 103-4; Miller, "The Political Economy," 159.

American ports.[28] José C. Curto has estimated that approximately 25 percent of Africans exported to Brazil were purchased with *gerebita*, demonstrating the significance of this commodity in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.[29] Until the mid-eighteenth century, governors linked to Brazil also favored Brazilian-born individuals in local trade.[30] After 1808, Brazilian slavers counted on British financing of the trade, supplying European and Asian goods that could be exchanged for captives.[31] Meanwhile, winds and currents in the southern Atlantic reinforced the ties between the two regions as vessels setting out from Portugal for Africa had to pass by the Brazilian coast to reach Angola.[32] As Miller has pointed out "merchants in Brazil took advantage of their relative proximity to establish closer relations with traders in Angola than metropolitan competitors could achieve."[33]

In Angola, coastal merchants required the assistance of individuals with certain skills in order to obtain captives from African suppliers, such as operators of slave caravans and itinerant traders known as *sertanejos* and *pombeiros*. Foreign-born merchants who married or entered into other informal relationships locally counted on their wives' assistance to find specialized personnel in order to reach suppliers in the interior. Thus, many women worked behind the

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[28] Miller, "The Political Economy," 162. Based on the origin of ships arriving in the ports of Angola, Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda," 81, suggests that nearly all of Benguela's and about half of Luanda's commercial correspondents resided at Rio. Curto, *Slaving Spirits*, Chapter 7, shows how Brazilian *cachaça* replaced Portuguese wine among the goods exchanged in West Central Africa and changed the drinking habits of the African populations. For the transporters of slaves exported from Angola, see: Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola," Chapter 2; Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 106-109.

[29] Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*. For more information on the use of *geribita* and other coommodities in the acquisition of enslaved Africans, see: Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dinâmica do comércio intra-colonial: geribitas, panos asiáticos e guerra no tráfico angolano de escravos (século XVIII)," in João Fragoso, Maria de Fátima Gouvêa, Maria Fernanda Baptista Bicalho, eds., *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos: a dinâmica imperial portuguesa, séculos XVI-XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2001), 339-378.

[30] Alencastro, *Trato dos Viventes*, 290-300; Miller, "The Political Economy of the Angolan Slave Trade," 152, 157.

[31] Gustavo Acioli and Maximiliano M. Menz, "Resgate e Mercadorias: uma análise comparada do tráfico luso-brasileiro de escravos em Angola e na Costa da Mina (século XVIII)," *Afro-Ásia*, 37 (2008), 53; Miller, *Way of Death*, 296, 377, 457, 483.

[32] Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 267-268.

[33] Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda," 81.

scene, assisting their husbands and associates in their commercial and daily requirements. Some females, however, engaged in the slave trade on their own account.

According to Miller, merchants in colonial Angola fell into two categories: *de efeitos próprios* (independent merchants) and *negociantes comissários* (commission agents). While the first operated on their own account, commission agents worked on behalf of Brazilian and Portuguese backers who retained the ownership of goods sent to Africa and of enslaved individuals sent to the Americas.[34] Whether of *efeitos próprios* or commission agents, merchants were certainly wealthy individuals who lived in multistoried houses and invested in real estate, owned *arimos* and sailing vessels, supplied local markets and engaged in slave trading. There existed a third category that cannot be ignored: the petty traders, who exported a few captives at a time. These part-time slave dealers predominantly made their living as tavern keepers or as small-scale food suppliers.[35]

In the colonial capital of Angola, independent merchants and commission agents sold trade goods on credit to Luso-African and African licensed itinerant traders known as *sertanejos* or *aviados* who, in turn, headed caravans to interior fairs to exchange those commodities for enslaved individuals.[36] Among these *sertanejos* were Tomé Francisco, Luiz Aras, and Felipe da Costa Palermo, who all requested licenses from the Municipal Council of Luanda to deal in enslaved persons in 1784.[37] The assortment of trade goods provided by merchants was known as *banzo* and was mainly composed of textiles, *gerebita*, firearms, beads, salt and other imports

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[34] *Ibid*, 83-84; Dias, "A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português," 268.
[35] Curto, *Enslaving Spirits*, 148, 175-176; Curto, "Alcohol under the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 51-85; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 166; Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 100-101.
[36] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated. Itinerant traders were also known as *funantes*, *pombeiros* e *feirantes*. For a analysis of these terms, see Willy Bal, "Portugais pombeiro, commerçant ambulant du sertão," *Annali dell' instituto universitario orientale*, 6, n. 2 (1965): 148-157.
[37] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1787, fls. 27v, 46v, 58v.

which were equivalent to the value of an enslaved person in the prime of their life, known as *peça*.[38] After acquiring the commodities, traders prepared the caravans to depart to the *sertão*, which included recruiting *carregadores* (porters) to transport the imported wares and acquiring provisions to feed them. Slaving activities in the interior of Luanda were for the most part concentrated in *feiras* or official markets, which was the reason why *sertanejos* were also known as *feirantes*. The main slave markets were located in Dondo, Ambaca, Pungo Andongo, Encoge, Libolo, and Kasanje.[39]

From the time of departure until its return to Luanda, the objective of any caravan could take anywhere from months to years to complete. Sometimes *sertanejos* had to stop at several marketplaces until a full *libambo* (coffle) of enslaved individuals was secured: in the eighteenth century, a *libambo* could include from twenty to one hundred captives.[40] The kingdoms of Kasanje and Matamba dominated trade in the hinterland of Luanda, exercising the role of intermediaries in the supply of enslaved Africans. The *Feira de* Kasanje, in particular, represented the most important marketplace in the interior where captives destined for Luanda were sold.[41] *Sertanejos* often had to rely on the assistance of bush traders known as *pombeiros* who took imported wares on credit and returned with small lots of enslaved individuals from even remote locations in the interior to complete the *libambo*.[42] Many *pombeiros* were, effectively, enslaved Africans themselves working on behalf of masters and mistresses residing

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[38] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 138.

[39] On the role of *sertanejos*, see: Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda," 89-95; Miller, *Way of Death*, 175; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 31, 53.

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

[41] Vansina, "The Foundation of the Kingdom of Kasanje," 355-374; Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen*; Miller, *Way of Death*, 32, 34; Curto, "*Jerebita*". This dependence would only change in the nineteenth century, when *sertanejos* and *pumbeiros* tapped unto sources of slaves in regions closer to the coast and under greater influence from the colonial government based in Luanda. Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 316, 321-322.

[42] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated. On *pombeiros* and *sertanejos*, see: Miller, "Some Aspects of the Commercial Organization of Slaving at Luanda," 95; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 60-63; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 116-118.

in Luanda. Manuel Rosa Freire, for example, owned nine enslaved individuals whom he employed as *pombeiros* during the 1860s. [43] Some free *pombeiros* were also illegally enslaved while trading in the interior.[44] Once the coffle of enslaved Africans was completed, the s*ertanejo* led the caravan in a long march back to Luanda.

Miller has noted that while the ownership of the trade goods used in the interior rested with merchants in Luanda, the ownership of enslaved persons resided with the *sertanejos* until the captives reached the coast. An eighteenth century observer described this process as follows: "When the *feirantes* return to the capital, they sell the captives and pay what they owe to the *armadores* (merchants who supplied the imported goods on credit), who then offer them a new assortment of *fazendas* (trading goods) to engage in another commercial venture."[45] Itinerant traders were, therefore, constantly in debt to merchants in Luanda. They sometimes resorted to a strategy known as *reviro* to increase their profit margins, which consisted in the sale of enslaved Africans to another merchant who paid more per *peça* than the original supplier of the *banzo*. This practice especially benefited French and British traders operating north of Luanda until the early nineteenth century and was the subject of many complaints from both local merchants and colonial authorities. [46]

In colonial Angola, unlike other parts of the African continent, Portuguese and Brazilian-born officials were directly involved in the process of capture and enslavement of people through

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[43]ANA, Luanda, Códice 2862, "Registo de Escravos," 1860, fl. 34v-37. For the sale of *pombeiro* slaves, see: BOA, n. 281, 15 February, 1851, p. 4.

[44] Mariana P. Candido, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Vulnerability of Free Blacks in Benguela, Angola, 1780-1830," in Jeffrey A. Fortin and Mark Meuwese, eds., *Atlantic Biographies: Individuals and Peoples in the Atlantic World* (Leiden: Brill, 2014), 193-209.

[45] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated. On trade goods used in Angola, see L. Rebelo de Sousa, *Moedas de Angola* (Luanda: Banco de Angola, 1969).

[46] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 79, doc. 66, "Informação Breve sobre o terreno de que se compõem o Reino de Angola," undated; Miller, *Way of Death*, 276-279; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões do Atlântico," 198.

raids and warfare.[47] In fact, many *capitães-mores* of interior outpost units were connected to merchant families in Luanda who sought these positions for the advantages they offered in the acquisition of captives.[48] Observers and colonial authorities often noted the excesses committed by these mid-level colonial officials in the interior. One observer from the eighteenth century, for example, highlighted that Captain-Majors "divert soldiers from their military duties, using them on their behalf in the interior, which leaves the outpost with no troops and no respect."[49]

Even traders from Brazil and Portugal ventured into the Angola interior, where they bought enslaved Africans. Since the early seventeenth century, several laws prohibited white merchants from travelling into the interior under the risk of losing their assets, paying fines, and being arrested. However, Luanda authorities were never able to enforce these laws and white men continuously ventured into the *sertões*.[50] Sometimes even criminal exiles and former sailors became *sertanejos*. In 1758, the Crown finally eliminated the prohibition, which resulted in an increase in itinerant trade throughout the interior.[51] Roquinaldo Ferreira has argued that the spread of local and expatriate *sertanejos* throughout the hinterland of Luanda significantly increased enslavement in the regions of Angola under Portuguese control. Itinerant traders sold trade goods on credit to Africans: when unable to settle their debts, they, their relations, or their subjects were enslaved and sent to the coastal urban centers for shipment to Brazil.[52] The

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[47] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, Chapter 3.
[48] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 25-26; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 37-38, 44; Candido, "Os Agentes não europeus," 113; Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización*, 128-130. See the case of Francisco Honorato da Costa in Curto, "*Jeribita*".
[49] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Primeira Secção, Cx. 77, doc. 17, João Victo da Silva, "Apontamentos do Estado Actual da Conquista d'Angola que me communicou o Illustrissimo e Excelentissimo Senhor Martinho de Mello e Castro," 1791.
[50] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict*, 136; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 7, 30, 50.
[51] Birmingham, *Trade and Conflic*, 145-146; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 33.
[52] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 50, 63.

expansion of itinerant trade thus not only resulted in higher instances of indebtedness among Africans, but also in the escalation of enslavement.

Women Slave Traders of Luanda

Throughout the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, Africans and Luso-Africans owned enslaved persons and acted as intermediaries between slave suppliers inland and foreign merchants along the western coast of Africa. More often than not, academic discourse on African involvement in the slave trade has focused on men: however, as with men, women too acted as agents of coastal merchants and as slave traders on their own behalf.[53] Some women effectively became prominent slaveholders and traders, amassing significant fortunes in the process that were passed on to their offspring.[54] In colonial Angola, enslaved persons were employed in urban and rural settings, used as collateral, and sold to outsiders. Women were always part of these processes as slavers or enslaved.

The slave trade required a great investment in capital, as well as access to suppliers and commercial networks that connected the interior to the African coast. Although local women were familiar with slave networks, they did not always possess the capital to enter the slave trade on their own. Due to this financial impediment, slave trading was mostly a male domain. Nevertheless, extant records confirm that some women were able to enter the Atlantic market alone or as partners of foreign merchants. These women were successful in applying the capital

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[53] The lives and commercial strategies of male merchants based in Luanda have been the subject of some studies since the late 1970s. See, for example: Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1978), 38-41; Joseph C. Miller, "Capitalism and Slaving: the Financial and Commercial Organization of the Angolan Slave Trade, According to the Accounts of Antonio Coelho Guerreiro (1684-1692)," *International Journal of African Historical* Studies, 17, n. 1 (1984): 4-10; Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire,* 30-34, 38-56; Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda," 53-76; Thompson, "Feliciano José de Barros".

[54] Lopo, "Uma rica dona de Luanda;" Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva;" Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means;"Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 113-118.

they inherited from parents and husbands, as well as the profits of their own work supplying local markets, towards the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Their success as slave traders is still remembered in Luanda today. This was the case of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, also known as the "Queen of Bengo," who became the most well-known female slave trader based in Luanda. However, she was far from the only one. Alongside Dona Ana Joaquina, there were other female slave traders. This section makes use of the tools of microhistory to explore the trajectory of three female slave traders: Dona Ana Joaquina, Dona Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda and Dona Ana Ifigênia Nogueira da Rocha. In each and every case, relatively abundant records of their activities have survived.[55] As a result, this allows for a fuller reconstruction of their trajectories than is the case for most of the women engaged in slave trading. Although not every woman who engaged in slave trading was able to become as successful as these three females, their cases are worth of examination as they highlight the personal and commercial connections involved in their careers.

Dona Ana Joaquina was born in Luanda in 1789: she was the daughter of a Portuguese junior military officer, Joaquim de Santa Ana Nobre dos Santos, and of a local Luso-African

[55] On the use of microhistory to examine personal trajectories and case studies, see: Giovanni Levi, "On Microhistory", in Peter Burk, ed., *New Perspectives on Historical Writing* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1991), 93-113; Carlos Ginzburg, "Microhistory: Two or Three Things That I Know about It," *Critical Inquiry* 20 (1993): 10-35; Jacques Revel, "Microanalysis and the Construction of the Social", in Jacques Revel and Lynn Hunt, eds., *Histories: French Constructions of the Past* (New York: New Press, 1995), 493 -502; István Szijártó, "Four Arguments for Microhistory," *Rethinking History*, 6, n. 2 (2002): 209-215. For a recent application of microhistory in the field of African history, see Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*. See also Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories;" Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Biografia, mobilidade e cultura atlântica: a micro-escala do tráfico de escravos em Benguela, século XVIII-XIX," *Tempo*, 10, n. 20 (2006): 33-59. Nevertheless, the reconstruction of African women's life histories is not a new phenomenon in African history. For West Africa, see Mary F. Smith, *Baba of Karo* (New Haven and London: Yale University Press, 1981); Brooks, "A Nhara of the Guinea-Bissau Region". For West Central Africa, see Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva;" Lopo, "Uma rica dona de Luanda;" Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means;" Curto, "The Story of Nbena;" Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva;" Candido, "Os agentes não europeus". For East Africa, see: Edward A. Alpers, "The story of Swema: female vulnerability in nineteenth-century East Africa," in Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery*, 185-199; Marcia Wright, *Women in Peril* (Lusaka: Institute for African Studies, University of Zambia, 1984); Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés'".

woman, Dona Teresa de Jesus.[56] Dona Ana Joaquina seems to have been their only child. According to a request granted in September 1849 by the Secretary of the colonial government for permission to travel to her *arimos* in the districts of Icolo e Bengo, Dande, and Zenza do Golungo, Dona Ana Joaquina was then “a 60 year old woman, born in Luanda, with gray hair, black eyebrows, brown eyes, regular nose and mouth, [and] white.”[57] Emerging from a mixed background, this wealthy woman was nevertheless automatically classified as “white” in documentation generated by Portuguese officials and administrators. Until the mid-nineteenth century, the biological was always associated with the economic when it came to determining one’s color in Luanda. As José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, among others, have argued, Luanda was a fluid society where money, not biology, determined the color group into which colonial authorities placed the town’s residents.[58] This was the case of other Luso-African women in nineteenth century Luanda.

As Mariana P. Candido has pointed out for Benguela, social perceptions, wealth, and family connections were more important in determining one’s skin color than actual phenotype.[59] Indeed, until the mid-nineteenth century, locally born descendants of European and Brazilian men with local women were classified as white and Portuguese, regardless of their skin color and birthplace. Likewise, black Africans living in towns who spoke Portuguese and professed Christianity could be perceived as white or as *pardos*.[60] Being classified as Portuguese or white could make the difference between slavery and freedom, as subjects of the Crown were

[56] Filipe Martins Barbosa Mascarenhas, *Memórias de Icolo e Bengo. Figuras e Famílias* (Luanda: Arte Viva, 2008), 156-157; Wheeler, “Angolan Woman of Means,” 284; Cardoso, “Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva,” 5. According to Carlos Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 208, Joaquim de Santa Ana Nobre dos Santos was a *pardo* (of mixed European and African background).
[57] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 145, “Passaporte para o Interior,” 21 September, 1849.
[58] Curto and Gervais, “The Population History of Luanda,” 23; Miller, *Way of Death*, 292.
[59] Candido, “Engendering West Central African History,” 25.
[60] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 11, 181; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 60.

theoretically protected from enslavement.[61] Nevertheless, the definition of white was questioned in the 1850s, when birthplace became relevant in determining one's classification. José C. Curto has shown that the unknown author(s) of the *Almanak statistico da provincia d'Angola e suas dependencias para o anno de 1852* offered a redefinition of whiteness based on place of birth. According to this new definition, Luso-African families who had taken advantage of the economic transformations taking place in Luanda and used their wealth to whiten the social and legal complexions of their offspring, were no longer classified as white: rather, they were henceforth transferred into the category of *pardos*. As Curto argues, "the white population of Luanda was thereby bleached to include only those born in Europe."[62] Although the author(s) of this redefinition remains unknown, it is likely that it came from a white Portuguese, dissatisfied with the labeling of people of mixed ancestry as white in Angola. By redefining whiteness, the author(s) of the *Almanak* was most likely attempting to distinguish himself from Luso-Africans. Regardless of the reasons behind the redefinition carried out in the *Almanak*, the new population numbers by color that it offered were adopted by other foreign observers.[63]

Dona Ana Joaquina was first married to Major João Rodrigues Martins, a Portuguese Infantry officer, with whom she had her only daughter, Dona Tereza Luíza de Jesus.[64] According to the latter's record of baptism, Tereza was born on 4 December, 1815: she was then

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[61] Curto, "The Story of Nbena"; José C. Curto, "Struggling against Enslavement: The Case of José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-20," *Canadian Journal of Afrian Studies*, 39, n. 1 (2005): 96-122; Curto, "Un Butin Illegitime"; Mariana P. Candido, "African Freedom Suits and Portuguese Vassal Status: Legal Mechanisms for Fighting Enslavement in Benguela, Angola, 1800-1830," *Slavery & Abolition,* 32, n. 3 (2011): 447-459; Ferreira, "Slaving and Resistance to Slaving," 128-130; Beatrix Heintze, "Angolan Vassal Tributes of the 17th Century," *Revista de História Econômica e Social*, 6 (1980): 57-78; Beatrix Heintze, "Luso-African Feudalism in Angola?" *Revista Portuguesa de História*, 18 (1980):111-131.

[62] Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population".

[63] Caldeira and Livingstone included the data on the white population of Luanda as reworked by the *Almanak*. David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1858), p. 426. Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 260. For a detailed analyses on the impact of this redefinition, see Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population," 233-234.

[64] According to Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 9, she had two daughters with her first husband. He did not, however, offer any source evidencing that possibility.

baptized some three weeks later in the Church of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, in the commercial area of the lower town, with Joaquim Ribeiro de Brito, a junior officer, and *Nossa Senhora do Carmo* (Our Lady of Mount Carmel) as godparents.[65] Besides his military position, Brito also happened to supply provisions to the *Terreiro Público* and the Municipal Slaughterhouse, including beans and cattle.[66] Likewise, Major João Rodrigues also invested in livestock since, at one point, he owned 200 heads of cattle, illustrating that he had become a wealthy man after marrying the most important female merchant in the colony.[67] The adoption of the Portuguese language and engaging with the sacraments of baptism and marriage were sometimes sufficient to distinguish an individual as a locally born white person, even though the person in question might have been in fact black.[68] Meanwhile, the baptism of a child was represented not only as Catholic sacrament. It was also an occasion to reinforce or establish networks between parents and godparents. That Major João Rodrigues chose a military officer and trader to be his daughter's godfather falls precisely under this context.[69]

Following the death of her first husband, Dona Ana Joaquina subsequently married Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos Silva, a Brazilian merchant with whom she had no children.[70] Her second husband engaged in various business activities, often in partnership with his wife. During the 1840s, for instance, the couple sent several sailing vessels to Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro, and Lisbon.[71] By then, Joaquim Ferreira had already become a well-off man since, in 1839, he appeared as a candidate for the position of *Deputado das Cortes* (Member of the Portuguese

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[65] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 74v.
[66] See, for example, BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 23v; BML, Códice 034, "Registos Diversos Incompleto," 1800 a 1844, fl. 3.
[67] Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 181.
[68] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 11.
[69] Curto, "'As If From A Free Womb'"; Candido, "Engendering West Central African History".
[70] Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 9.
[71] ANA, Luanda, Avolsos, Cx. 147, "Termos de Fiança," 1840, fls. 217-220.

Parliament) alongside other prominent members of the colonial society, such as Manuel Matozo da Silveira, José Maria Matozo de Andrade Câmara, the President of the Municipal Council José Botelho de Sampaio, and the merchant José da Silva Rego, among others.[72]

Figure 3.1
Portrait of Dona Ana Joaquina[73]

Source: Antero Simões, *Nós...Somos Todos Nós: Antologia portugalidade* (Luanda: Edição dos Serviços do Comissariado de Publicações Provincial M.P., 1972).

Dona Ana Joaquina became a widow twice, although we do not know when her husbands passed away. Ecclesiastical sources point to the possibility of a third marriage. On 14 July, 1847, António Alves da Costa Júnior, from Minho, in northern Portugal, filed a marriage petition with

[72] The individuals elected to represent Angola in the Portuguese Parliament were Fernando da Fonseca Mesquita e Sola with 214 votes and Joaquim António de Carvalho e Menezes who obtained 201 votes: Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 37-39.
[73] This portrait was painted based upon descriptions given by relatives of Dona Ana Joaquina following her death. I thank the late Lynne Duke for sharing this image with me.

the Ecclesiastic Board in Luanda to marry Dona Ana Joaquina. As usual, ecclesiastical authorities requested that António Alves present his baptism register and proof of his marital status, all within a year.[74] As discussed in chapter 1, the request of documents from parishes located abroad could be expensive and take a great deal of time. Whether this marriage was effectively celebrated is not known. If it was António Alves would have been Dona Ana Joaquina's third husband. Future research into marriage registers housed in the *Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda* (Archive of the Bishopry of Luanda) may well answer whether António Alves was able to present the requested documentation and to marry the widowed Dona Ana Joaquina.

The "Queen of Bengo" is usually referred as one of the wealthiest slave traders in nineteenth century Luanda, alongside Augusto Garrido and his associate, José Maria Matozo de Andrade Câmara.[75] I have located references to at least ten vessels of hers sailing between several Atlantic destinations, including Benguela, Lisbon, São Tomé, Montevideo, Rio de Janeiro, Pernambuco, Bahia, and the Congo River, operating on her own account and shipping goods and enslaved persons on behalf of other traders.[76] The trade in captives experienced an expansion in West Central Africa during the early nineteenth century due to the 1815 ban north of the Equator. Between 1824 and 1832 alone, Dona Ana Joaquina acquired, on her own, four sailing vessels, including the *Bergantim Boa União*, the *Schooner Felina*, the boat *Nazareth*, and the launch *Minerva*.[77] In 1827, for instance, Dona Ana Joaquina sent 449 enslaved Africans to

[74] ABL, Códice Termos de Fiança 1837-1859, "Marriage Petition of António Alves da Costa Júnior," 14 July, 1847, fls. 35v-36.
[75] Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire*, 49.
[76] ANA, Cx. 147, "Termos de Fiança," fls. 217, 219-220; AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6, "Mappa de Navios Entrados e Sahidos," 16 October, 1843; BOA, n. 101, 14 August, 1847, p. 4; BOA, n. 102, 21 August, 1847, p.4; BOA, n. 124, 22 January, 1848, p. 4; BML, Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fls. 76v, 115, 124v.
[77] Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fls. 76v, 115, 124v.

Pernambuco, in northeastern Brazil, aboard her ship *Boa União*.[78] In 1835, her ship *Pérola* crossed the Atlantic with 490 enslaved individuals destined for southeast Brazil.[79] Between 1836 and 1867, when an illicit slave trade flourished along the Angolan coast, Dona Ana Joaquina was part of the group of traders which illegally exported thousands of enslaved Africans, particularly to Brazil, as will be discussed in the next chapter.[80]

Dona Ana Joaquina was also among the members of the local elite who assisted the colonial administration to help ensure the security and improve the infrastructure of the port town. She did not hesitate to offer her services on several occasions. On 29 December, 1832, for example, she contributed 1,000 *réis* to the coffers of the Municipal Council of Luanda so that the beaches within its bay could be cleaned up.[81] In 1839, Dona Ana Joaquina offered to dispatch her ships *Maria Segunda* and *Conceição Maria* to Montevideo, Uruguay, so as to transport a cargo of horses and mules for the colony's military, as well as a variety of trade goods.[82] Although the plan failed, her proposition shows that she was willing to assist the colonial administration. In February, 1850, Dona Ana Joaquina was the only female alongside male merchants to make a donation in benefit of the poor settlers who founded the port town of Moçâmedes, in the southern confines of Angola. On that occasion, she contributed the significant sum of 20,000 *réis*.[83] Links of dependency thus soon emerged between the Portuguese colonial administration and the local elite. Meanwhile, the prestige of certain women was enhanced by their connections with the colonial administration, as well as with foreign traders and military officers. As Dias observed, Portuguese authority in Angola depended on the mutual tolerance

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[78] Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 47030 .
[79] Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 46265.
[80] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 126-7.
[81] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de Correção," 29 December, 1832, fl. 19.
[82] Wheeler, "Angolan Women of Means," 291.
[83] BOA, n. 230, 23 February 1850, p. 3-4.

between the local elite and the metropolitan government, given the limited military and economic resources of the later.[84] Nevertheless, while male merchants who assisted the colonial administration were rewarded with administrative positions and titles of nobility, “generous” women were excluded from both.

The slave trade, however, was not the only business in which Dona Ana Joaquina was engaged in. She owned various *arimos* where large quantities of beans, maize, and manioc flour were produced for household consumption and to supply caravans, urban markets, and sailing vessels. Between 1823 and 1832 she purchased seven *arimos* located in the districts of Dande, Icolo e Bengo, Quilunda, and Zenza do Golungo, evidencing her anticipation of the economic transition that followed the 1836 ban on slave exports.[85] Dona Ana Joaquina also used enslaved individuals to sell the produce from her *arimos* in the streets of Luanda, as was the case of Manoel Miguel and Teresa from Congo who sold beans and manioc flour in local markets.[86] She further owned *feitorias* (commercial warehouses) in Ambriz, Benguela, and Moçamedes as well as in São Tomé in partnership with associates such as Fernando José Cardoso Guimarães and Brazilian Joaquim Rodrigues Graça.[87] Her influence reached into southern and northern Angola, as well as into the *sertões*, particularly Bié, Kasanje, and Lunda where she was known as *Na Andembo* or owner of many agricultural properties.[88] After the transition to “legitimate” commerce began, she invested in the production of coffee, sugar cane and, its alcoholic by-

[84] Dias, “A sociedade colonial de Angola e o liberalismo português,” 270. For other examples of traders who provided assistance to the colonial administration, see Ferreira, “The Suppression of the Slave Trade,” 322.
[85] BML, Códice 037, “Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade,” 1809-33, fls.76, 88, 99, 99v, 121v, 128v.
[86] BML, Códice 042-043, “Termos de Correção do primeiro semestre do ano de 1832,” 26 July, 1832, fl. 17; ANA, Códice 2482, 1855, Luanda, “Registro de Escravos,” fl. 1.
[87] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano 1825-1890*, 386; Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 72. On the association between Dona Ana Joaquina and Brazilian merchant Joaquim Rodrigues Graça, see ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2772, “Autos Civis de Acção Commercial,”1856.
[88] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 155-156; Wheeler, “Angolan Woman os Means,” 293, Lopo, “Uma Rica Dona de Luanda,” 12.

product, *aguardente*, with mills established for that purpose in the *arimos* Capele and Sant'Anna in the District of Icolo e Bengo.[89] To manage her numerous business ventures in Angola and abroad, Dona Ana Joaquina counted on the assistance of a network of individuals ranging from clerks to *procuradores* (legal representatives). José Augusto dos Santos, for instance, was one of her agents in the District of Golungo Alto,[90] while Pedro António da Rocha served as her representative in Pungo Andongo. [91]

The numerous properties owned by Dona Ana Joaquina were likely acquired through inheritances that she received from her parents and husbands, as well as her own participation in the supply of foodstuffs, the traffic in enslaved Africans, and "legitimate" commerce.[92] She signed official documents and wrote letters herself, evidencing that she had access to some kind of formal education, either from a tutor in Luanda or perhaps even in Brazil.[93] Francisco Travassos Valdez described Dona Ana Joaquina as a woman whose reputation "was well merited in consequence of her amiable manners, and the great hospitality which she displayed to those who were so fortunate as to be her guests."[94] She lived in a Portuguese-style palace located on Direita Street in Bungo, in the commercial area of the lower part of town, where now stands its replica as a monument of her success. Dona Ana Joaquina acquired this *sobrado* on 5 May, 1824, with her first husband João Rodrigues Martins, when he had already reached the position

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[89] BOA, n. 582, 22 November, 1856, p. 2-3; BOA, n. 254, 10 August, 1850, p. 3; Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 211.
[90] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 145, "Passaporte para o Interior,"12 June, 1846.
[91] BOA, n. 154, 9 September, 1848, p. 4.
[92] Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means"; Lopo, "Uma Rica Dona de Luanda"; Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva".
[93] Brazil was the place where many wealthy families established in Angola sent their offspring to be educated. Some of the male offspring of wealthy Luso-African families also obtained degrees at the University of Coimbra, in Portugal. Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 127; Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 107 . The first classes for girls were only established in Luanda in 1845: Vansina, "Portuguese vs Kimbundu," 276. Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*,72, references a letter written by Dona Ana Joaquina to the former Governor of Angola, Barão de Santa Comba-Dão, when he left for Portugal in 1834.
[94] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 273.

of Sergeant Major in the military. The couple purchased the property from Francisco José de Souza Lopes for the very appreciable sum of 1,6000,000 *réis*.[95] Today, the palace which belonged to one of the wealthiest of Luanda's slave traders ironically accommodates the *Tribunal Provincial de Luanda* (Provincial Court of Justice).

Figure 3.2

Dona Ana Joaquina's Palace, Luanda 2012.

Source: Photo taken by Vanessa S. Oliveira.

On 6 April, 1859, Dona Ana Joaquina headed to Lisbon aboard the Portuguese vessel *D. Pedro* to treat an illness. In this journey, she was followed by eight enslaved individuals in her service: two males and six females.[96] According to Aida Freudenthal, Dona Ana Joaquina died during this trip on board the ship. [97] She thus never returned to Angola: her body was most likely

[95] BML, Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fl. 78.
[96] BOA, n. 706, 9 April, 1859, p. 11; Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 7.
[97] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 305.

disposed of at sea. Following her death, a long, legal dispute took place in Luanda. Dona Ana Joaquina had disinherited her only daughter, Dona Tereza Luíza, and willed her wealth to her two grandchildren.[98] Dona Tereza Luíza was first married to António José Cabral de Melo Pinto, a Portuguese lawyer, who had arrived in Luanda in August, 1827, as a *degredado*.[99] Upon her first husband passing, Dona Tereza then married Elísio Guedes Coutinho Garrido, the brother of her mother's enemy, Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido. This second marriage, entered into without the consent of Dona Ana Joaquina, was the main reason why Dona Tereza Luíza was excluded from her mother's last will.[100] The Garridos happened to be among the wealthiest of Luanda's merchants and thus in direct competition with Dona Ana Joaquina, which likely resulted in various commercial disputes between them.

The diversity of Dona Ana Joaquina's investments, as well as her cooperation with the colonial administration, only reinforced her long standing career as a trader. In spite of political and economic instability during 1822-1855, emanating from the independence of Brazil and the impending end of the slave trade, Dona Ana Joaquina was able to maintain her position as one of the wealthiest merchants of her time. As Dougas Wheeler has pointed out, her cooperation with the colonial administration may have granted her some protection and commercial benefits.[101] Meanwhile, the diversity of her investments was crucial as it allowed her to remain in business even after the legal export slave trade ended in 1836. By then she had already acquired numerous agricultural properties and warehouses throughout the interior investing in commercial agriculture and the trade of raw materials, as will be discussed in the next chapter. Her ability to

[98] BOA, n. 805, 9 March, 1861, p. 5. For further information on her inheritance, see: Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 11-13.
[99] Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 100; Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 9.
[100] Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva," 9-10.
[101] Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means," 291.

create a network of agents and suppliers throughout the hinterland and even abroad should also be considered as a factor for her long standing career and success.

Dona Ana Ifigênia Nogueira da Rocha represents another example of a woman who diversified her investments within a number of contexts, including the export slave trade. Until 1816, Dona Ana Ifigênia was referred to in the extant documentation as a widow, although we do not know the identity of her first husband.[102]As discussed in the previous chapter, in the early nineteenth century she became the largest supplier of beans in Luanda.[103]As an owner of *arimos* in the District of Dande and a successful foodstuff supplier, Dona Ana Ifigênia subsequently acquired the financial means to invest in the commerce in human beings. In 1817, for example, she sent her ship *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e Senhor dos Passos* to Bahia with a cargo of 453 enslaved Africans.[104] The strategy of Dona Ana Ifigênia seems to have been the common path followed by many traders in Angola: they initially invested in the local market and after acquiring enough capital, they then ventured into the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Some individuals were able to acquire their own vessels while others traded in partnership with more established merchants.

By 1819, Dona Ana Ifigênia had entered into her second marriage, this time to ship captain Félix José dos Santos.[105] In the early nineteenth century, Santos made several trips to northeastern and southeast Brazil as captain of the *Caçador* and the *Santo António Protetor*, vessels that belonged to the Luanda based merchants João Gomes Vale and António de Queirós Monteiro Regadas, respectively.[106] Santos also owned land in the District of Dande where beans

[102] See, for example: BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 35v.
[103] See registers under her name in BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17.
[104] Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 49000.
[105] BML, Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fl. 45v.
[106] Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 22, 1183, 7144, 7177, 7258, 49085.

were produced to supply the *Terreiro Público*.[107] Together, the couple invested in real estate and land both in town and its rural suburbs.[108] Between 1820 and 1827, the couple intensified their activities in the Atlantic market by exporting captives to Rio de Janeiro aboard four vessels: *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e Senhor dos Passos*, *Mariana*, *Mercantil*, and *Lucrécia*.[109] According to the information available in the Voyages Database, over seven years, the couple organized 15 trips shipping a total of 7,158 captives (see Appendix F, Table 3.2). Dona Ana and her husband did not limit their investments to Angola, as they also sent their ships to purchase captives in Mozambique for trade in the Americas.[110] Some of these commercial ventures were made on their own accounts while others were carried out in partnerships with other merchants. As scholars such as Miller and Silva have pointed out, a commercial partnership was an efficient way of reducing risks, allowing merchants to invest less capital in a single voyage than if they were shipping enslaved Africans on their own account.[111]

In spite of the fact that Félix José dos Santos appears as the owner of these ships, we can assume that the vessels *Lucrécia*, *Mercantil* and *Mariana* were acquired in partnership with his wife. Although we were not able to find their register of marriage, the registers of purchase of land and buildings confirm that they co-owned the assets acquired after marriage. As was common in these cases, Félix José dos Santos appears in official documents as the head of the

[107] See, for example, BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, 94v.
[108] BML, Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fls. 45v, 60v, 88v.
[109] Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 407, 545, 3362, 336, 431, 679, 3324, 7412, 47103, 49000.
[110] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 827, 3335, 49053.
[111] Silva, "The Supply of Slaves from Luanda," 62; Miller, *Way of Death*. For the use of partnerships in the shipments of slaves by British subjects, see Richardson, 'The British Empire and the Atlantic Slave Trade," 447-448.

household under the designation of "couple of Félix José dos Santos," which included his wife.[112]

As can be seen from the case of Dona Ana Ifigênia and Félix José dos Santos, traders accumulated capital in the local market and then re-invested it in the slave export sector. The couple invested in faster ships such as *bergantins* and schooners and in larger vessels like *galeras* and intensified their participation in slaving during a period when the slave export trade was growing along the Angolan coast. Indeed, the early nineteenth century saw other Angolan traders acquiring sailing vessels, most probably with the intent of profiting from the expansion of the West Central Africa slave export trade following the ban of this commerce north of the Equator. For instance, in the early nineteenth century traders António Félix da Fonseca and José da Silva Maia Ferreira purchased five sailing vessels each, including schooners and *bergantins*.[113]

Another female trader caught the attention of a foreigner who later sojourned in Luanda. On 10 October, 1841, Gustav Tams arrived on the Angolan coast with a commercial expedition led by José Ribeiro dos Santos, the Portuguese General Consul in Altona, Germany, where he served as a medical doctor.[114] Tams left us numerous insights on local trade based upon observations made during a period of four and half months. Following stop-overs in Mocâmedes, Benguela, and Novo Redondo, the expedition arrived in Luanda. There, a number of women quickly struck this German doctor. Among them was Dona Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda, whom he described as a woman "born in the interior, and brought as a slave to Loanda, where

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[112]BML, Códice 037, "Receita da Ciza dos Prédios dessa Cidade," 1809-33, fls. 45v, 60v, 88v.
[113] *Ibid*, fls. 71v, 74, 92v, 98,118, 122, 124, 127, 129v, 131, 133v. On the career of José da Silva Maia Ferreira, see Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira.*
[114]Beatrix Heintze, *Exploradores alemães em Angola (1611-1954). Apropriações etnográficas entre comércio de escravos, colonialismo e ciência*, Berlin, 2010, www.frobenius-institut.de, acessed on 10 February 2012, 391-394; David Birmingham, "Slave City: Luanda through German Eyes," *Portuguese Studies Review*, 19 (2011): 77-92.

she now lives in great style, and carries on a prosperous trade in slaves." [115] Dona Ana Ubertali was indeed a slave trader. She does not seem, however, to have been formerly enslaved.

Dona Ana Ubertali was, in fact, born in Luanda, in 1793. She was the daughter of a certain Félix Francisco Forte, while her mother's identity remains unknown.[116] Dona Ana Ubertali married no fewer than four times. Among her husbands was Carlos Ubertali, an Italian medical doctor who was sent to Angola as a *degredado* in punishment for his political crimes. In the 1820s, Carlos Ubertali became *Almoxarife* or Superintendent of the *Armazéns Nacionais* (National Commercial Warehouses). By the 1830s, he had come to own both enslaved persons and land.[117] He also owned a large amount of gunpowder deposited in the Fortress of Penedo in the capital.[118] Later during that decade, Italian Tito Omboni noted during his visit to the colony of Angola that some individuals were experimenting with coffee and cotton on their farms, including Carlos Ubertali.[119] According to this Italian visitor, Dr. Ubertali had also found diamonds.[120] Carlos Ubertali passed away at an unspecified date. Dona Ana Ubertali remarried three times, becoming widowed twice more, after the death of her second and third husbands. After the death of her third husband, whose identity remains unknown, she then entered into matrimony with what, by all accounts, was her fourth and last husband: the Portuguese Lieutenant Colonel Luiz António de Miranda.[121]

Although Dona Ana Ubertali was predominantly known as a slave trader, she also diversified her business by investing in land and in real estate and lending money, as Dona Ana

[115] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions*, I, 256.
[116] BOA n. 145, 8 July 1848, p. 3.
[117] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 250; ABL, "Livro de Óbitos de Escravos, Nossa Senhora de Nazareth," 1835-36, fls. 42, 46v, 51v, 80v, 100.
[118] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 128, Pasta 8, "Mappa da pólvora que obteve licença para sahir do depósito da Fortaleza do Penedo," 3 July, 1837.
[119] Omboni, *Viaggi Nell'Africa Occidentale*, I, 108.
[120] *Ibid*, 115-16.
[121] BOA, n. 145, 8 July, 1848, p. 3.

Joaquina and Dona Ana Ifigênia had done.[122] She owned enslaved individuals, cattle, *fanzendas*, real estate, *musseques*, sailing vessels, furniture, silver, gold, iron bars, *missangas* (beads), and the *arimos* Cafulos, Sassa, Zaqua and Caboxa located in the District of Dande.[123] Dona Ana Ubertali was also the owner of a *feitoria* in Moçâmedes in partnership with Bernardino José Brochado.[124] In September, 1840, she appeared as a consignee of the vessel *Flor de Luanda* that sailed to Rio de Janeiro with six enslaved seamen in her service.[125] Amongst her properties was a house in Bungo, the same area where Dona Ana Joaquina had her luxurious palace.[126] In 1846, the street where this *sobrado* was located was named Miranda Street, in honour of her last husband, Lieutenant Colonel Luiz António de Miranda, which illustrates his prestige in the colonial society.[127]

According to the obituary of Dona Ana Ubertali published in the local gazette, she died a victim of typhoid fever. Dona Ana Ubertali passed away at home, a *sobrado* located on Salvador Corrêa Street, on 7 July, 1848. She was then 55 year old. As in the case of Dona Ana Joaquina, Dona Ana Ubertali also signed official documents herself, demonstrating that she had received some instruction from her parents, husbands or private tutors. Her four marriages, at least two of which with well positioned expatriate men such as Dr. Ubertali and Lieutenant Colonel Miranda, may well have contributed to increase her wealth and opened up new commercial opportunities. Nevertheless, her wealth and influence also contributed to the development of their commercial careers in the colony of Angola.

[122] For female creditors in Benguela, see: Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 110.

[123] BOA, n. 146, 15 July, 1848, p. 4; BOA, n. 149, 5 August, 1848, p. 4; BOA, n. 150, 12 August, 1848, p. 1.
[124] Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 72.
[125] ANA, Cx. 147, "Termo de Fiança," 4 September, 1840.
[126] BOA, n. 287, 29 March, 1851, p. 4.
[127] This street is currently known as Direita Street. According to Lobo, *Subsídios para a História de Luanda*, 130, before 1846 it was called Nazareth Street.

Dona Ana Ubertali left a will, where José Teodoro de Oliveira and Guilherme Cipriano Demoy were nominated as executors. The *Junta de Defuntos e Ausentes* (Board for Deceased and Absentees) gained control over her assets, estimated at 26,000,000 *réis*, which indicates that she probably left no heir.[128] A significant part of her estate was liquidated in public auction.[129] Nevertheless, Dona Ana Ubertali also seems to have willed to leave property for some individuals. Dona Ana Francisca de Oliveira e Cruz, for example, inherited her house located in Bungo. In 1859, that house appeared under the name of Dona Ana Francisca's parents, Manoel de Araújo e Cruz and Dona Francisca Evarista de Oliveira Cruz, indicating that she had most likely died. It then sold for no less than 2,600,000 *réis*.[130] It was not uncommon for wealthy women without direct heirs to leave assets to other females with whom they had close relations upon their death.[131] This fact illustrate that women in Luanda practiced intra-gender cooperation by helping increase the assets of other females upon their death.

The trajectories of these three women show some common aspects. They were all Luso-African women most likely born from foreign-born fathers and local mothers, as the case of Dona Ana Joaquina illustrates. They inherited property that their parents were able to accumulate throughout their lives and invested in the local market through the production of foodstuffs, real estate, and money lending. All three married expatriate men who may have contributed to open access to imported goods and foreign markets: in the process, they also assisted in developing the careers of their husbands in colonial Angola. Alone, or in association with their husbands, these three women engaged in slave trading activities across the Atlantic Ocean. Lastly, they were able to adapt themselves to the economic changes that took place from 1836 onwards, investing in a

[128] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 250.
[129] See, for example, BOA, n. 146, 15 July, 1848, p. 1; BOA, n. 149, 5 August, 1848, p. 4.
[130] ANA, Códice 5613, "Ratificação de Venda," 26 November, 1859, fl. 67.
[131] Mariana P. Candido, "Women and Property: Understanding Wealth Accumulation in the 19th Century Angola," Paper Presented at the *African Studies Association Annual Meeting*, San Diego, November 2015.

variety of "legitimate" commercial activities that allowed them to maintain their position after the transition.

Although the number of women who sent ships across the Atlantic Ocean is much smaller when compared to men, other females may also have been involved in inland activities connected to the traffic by supplying enslaved Africans purchased in the interior to foreign traders on the coast.[132] As mentioned before, wives and *amásias* played an important role in the lives of slave dealers, and some of them became their associates of foreign-born men. Women in Luanda acted as commercial agents, heads of households, legal representatives for absent persons (including their husbands and partners), guarantors, and executors of wills, challenging the patriarchal social structure and the norm within the Portuguese Empire.[133] We can thus suggest that despite the small number of women directly involved in the trans-Atlantic slave trade, many male merchants were assisted by wives and partners who acted both as culture brokers and as commercial agents and associates. Since only the names of their husbands appear in the sources, the stories of many of these women remain untold.

Female Slaveholders in Registers of Baptism

Apart from constituting an important source of captives for the Atlantic slave trade, Luanda was itself a slave society. There, captives performed all kinds of activities, thereby freeing their owners from manual work and providing extra income for the household and, at the same time, enhancing their master and mistresses' prestige. Mário António Fernandes de

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[132] Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 33, for example, makes reference to licenses filed by female *sertanejos* with the Benguela administration in the 1820s. Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery," 72-3, also found cases of women who supplied slaves to traders in the coast of Benguela. The same might have happened in Luanda.
[133] For examples of women acting as legal representatives, see ANA, Códice 7750, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 1 February, 1861, fl. 37; ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 26 March, 1860, fl. 51v. For cases of women who acted as guarantors of male individuals, see: ABL, "Termos de Fiança," fls.15v-16; 30v-31.

Oliveira classified the enslaved population of Luanda into urban and rural.[134] Urban captives performed a diversity of tasks, from domestic services to mechanized trades. Household captives, particularly females, engaged in activities such as cooking, cleaning and child rearing. Some enslaved males were trained in workshops to work in crafts that required specialization, such as construction, carpentry, shoemaking, and tailoring, to mention but a few.[135] Rural captives, on the other hand, primarily tended to the fields of agricultural properties located in the semi-rural suburbs of Bem-Bem, Nossa Senhora Rosário, Nossa Senhora de Nazaré, Maianga, and alongside the banks of the Dande, Kwanza and Bengo rivers.[136]

As Table 3.3 shows, from 1781 to 1830, the number of enslaved individuals residing in Luanda was volatile, with a tendency to decline due to the Brazilian demand for enslaved laborers. During the second half of the 1840s, however, the captive population of Luanda experienced significant growth largely as a result of incentive to develop "legitimate" economic activities in colonial Angola and Brazil enforcing its ban against illegal slave imports (see Appendix G, Table 3.3).

Although wealth was accumulated through various means, including the acquisition of land, real estate, money, and luxury goods, people, as was discussed in the previous chapter, were an important and much-wanted resource throughout much of Africa.[137] Wealthy women, in particular, often had numerous enslaved individuals and free dependents under their protection

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[134] Mário António Fernandes de Oliveira, "Para a História do Trabalho em Angola: A escravatura luandense do terceiro quartel do século XIX," *Boletim do Instituto do Trabalho, Providência e Ação Social*, 2 (1963), 48.

[135] Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas".

[136] Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 39, 40-41, 48, 58, 78, 81; Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 26, 39, 93. On *arimos* estabilished in riverbanks, see Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 281; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*; Ferreira, "Agricultural Enterprise and Unfree Labor," 225-243; Lopes, "The 'Mine of Wealth at the Doors of Luanda'".

[137] For people as source of wealth, see Miers and Kopytoff, *Slavery in Africa*, 9; Miller, *Way of Death*, 43; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 95. For studies demonstrating that people were not the only source of wealth in West Central Africa, see: Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos,'" 35-49; Candido, "Women, Family and Landed Property"; Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena"; Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés".

who assisted them in domestic services, retail and long distance trade, as well as in the production of crops. In the case of women in Luanda, the acquisition of captives corresponded in part to their increased involvement in commerce, since slave labor was crucial to the success of commercial entrepreneurship.

The enslaved population of Luanda originated from a multitude of locations, including coastal areas, the immediate hinterland, and far-away places like the Kingdom of Kongo.[138] Some enslaved Africans were born in Luanda's households and were thus soon acquainted with Portuguese culture.[139] They probably spoke some Portuguese, attended the Catholic Church, and received the sacraments. These acculturated enslaved Africans left behind registers of their participation in Church life on two important occasions: the baptism of their offspring, as well as their own burial. Catholic marriage, as we will see later, was rare within this enslaved population.

The life cycles of birth, marriage, and death in colonial Angola, which can be reconstructed through the extant, but often inaccessible, parish records held in the *Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda*, have only recently began to attract the attention of scholars.[140] As it happens, an analysis of the baptismal registers from the churches of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Sé) and Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, where the elite of colonial Luanda baptized their offspring and their captives, provide a great deal of information on enslaved persons and their masters. Let us draw upon the 1812-1822 register for the former and that of 1816-1822 for the

[138] Curto, "Re-thinking the Origin".
[139] Heywood, "Portuguese into African," 95. For the sale of *ladino* (acculturated) slaves in Luanda, see BOA, n. 310, 15 November, 1851, p. 4.
[140] The *Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda* belongs to the Catholic Church; therefore, the Bishop of Luanda has the power to decide when and to whom this repository is accessible. For studies which make use of these parish records, see: Curto, "'As If from a Free Womb;'" Lucilene Reginaldo, *Os Rosários dos Angolas: irmandades de africanos e crioulos na Bahia setecentista* (São Paulo: Alameda, 2011); Candido, "Engendering West Central African History;" Curto, "The Donas of Benguela, 1797;" Curto, "Marriage in Benguela".

latter. Since the legal slave export trade from Luanda was then operating at one of its highest peaks,[141] this was a period of economic prosperity (see Appendix E, Table 3.1). The registers in question record the baptism of a total of 3,104 free and enslaved infants. Of those, 1,274 or about 41 percent were enslaved: 639 females, 635 males, and two individuals whose names were not listed and, therefore, we were unable to identify their sex. The high number of enslaved individuals baptized reflects the profile of their owners who attended these churches: they were members of the local elite and, consequently, they were also slave owners and professed Christianity baptizing their offspring and those of their captives in the Catholic Church. The registers further show that women made up a significant proportion of slave owners in the colonial capital, alongside men, couples, and religious institutions, as will be discussed next.

As is common with every parish record, the information found in this source is limited to a minority of the population which turned to the Catholic Church to baptize their offspring and their captives. Consequently, baptismal registers are more representative of the Portuguese, Brazilian and Luso-African residents and the enslaved individuals belonging to them than of the free, largely Mbundu population of Luanda. The fact that these free and enslaved individuals chose to have their offspring baptized in the Catholic Church, however, does not mean that they were not engaged in Mbundu belief systems or/and sought assistance from African healers. As the work of Kalle Kananoja, Roquinaldo Ferreira, Mariana P. Candido, Linda Heywood, James Sweet, Toby Green among others, have shown, elements of both cultures came together to form a Luso-African society in Luanda, as well as in other Portuguese enclaves along the Atlantic coast of Africa.[142]

[141] Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment".
[142] Heywood, "Portuguese into African," 91-114; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 81, 114-115, 123-125, 318; Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange*, 5; Ferreira, "Ilhas Crioulas;" Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters, and Good

Every baptismal record from the 1812-1822 Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Sé) and the 1816-1822 Nossa Senhora dos Remédios registers lists the date of baptism, the name of the infant baptised, as well as those of their parents, slave owners, and godparents (or their representatives, if these were out of town). All of the baptized infants were given one or two Christian names: none were registered under their full names. [143] Nearly all of the registers also provide the date of birth of the child. The one exception was Gertrudes, the daughter (*natural*) of Fortunato Gonçalves Nascimento and of Felícia, an enslaved woman that belonged to André Foz, who was baptized on 23 February, 1820: the priest who registered her baptism specifically noted that the date of her birth was not known.[144] Moreover, both baptismal registers classify infants under either of the two dominant categories of the time: *natural* if born in the state of nature - that is, when they were born out of wedlock from parents living in common law union; *legítimo* - that is, when they were born to parents married within the Catholic Church.[145]

In most cases, children were baptized within days or a few months after they were born. In a few instances, however, many months or even years separated baptism from birth. This was the case of Jacinto, son of an *incognito* (unknown) father and of Domingas Francisco, property of Dona Rosa Francisca, who was two to three years old by the time he was baptized on 17 January, 1820.[146] Similarly, Domingas was four years old when she was baptized on 11 December, 1821: she was *filha* or daughter *natural* of Lucrécia Francisco, who belonged to the

Christians;" Sweet, *Recreating Africa.* For a discussion of Creolization in other Atlantic ports, see the various contributions in Toby Green, ed., *Brokers of Change: Atlantic Commerce and Cultures in Precolonial Western Africa* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2012), as well as Toby Green, *The Rise of the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade in Western Africa, 1300-1789* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011).

[143] It is not possible from the data at hand to determine if the mother, the father (when he recognized the infant as his child) or the owner chose the name of the infant slaves. It may be that the priest did not care to register the last name of infants since even legitimate sons and daughters were also only registered under their first names. In any case, the names are all Portuguese in form indicating that these individuals (owner, fathers and mothers alike) were immersed in this Luso-African colonial society as slaves and slaveholders.

[144] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 69.

[145] Curto, "As if From a Free Womb," 47-48; Candido, "Engendering West Central African History," 15-16.

[146] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 63.

then Brigadier Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho.[147] That her father was recorded as unknown suggests that it was none other than Coutinho.

Table 3.4 Baptismal Registers from the Churches of N.S. dos Remédios and N.S. da Conceição (Sé), 1812-1822.		
Proprietors	Number of Enslaved Africans	Percentage
Male	713	56%
Female	534	42%
Couple	8	0.6%
Convent	2	0.15%
Not Indentified	17	1.3%
Total of Registers	1,274	
Source: ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e de Remédios," 1816-1822.		

As shown in Table 3.4, women owned 534 or about 42 percent of all enslaved infants listed in the baptismal registers. Of those, 307 or 57.5 percent were the property of women registered by the officiating priests as *donas*. The remaining 227 or 42.5 percent were the property of women who were evidently far from such an important designation. The overwhelming majority of female slave owners in this group, totalling 215, simply did not have their skin color or nor socio-economic background identified. Only in two cases they were registered as *parda* (of mixed European and African ancestry): Ana Batista and Antónia Pinheiro Falcão. In a further ten instances, they were classified as *preta livre* (free black woman): Felipa Francisco, Luzia António, Luzia Manoel, Tereza Domingos, Ana Pedro, Ana Cristóvão dos Reis, Luiza Luiz, Luzia Bernardo, Branca Mateus, and Efigênia de João. Indeed, in a slave society like that of Luanda, ownership of enslaved persons was an important factor in identifying well-off individuals, including *donas*. Many of these women could have been, in fact, *pardas* or even

[147] *Ibid*, fl. 133.

black: but, given their prestige, their skin complexion was usually omitted or bleached in the documentation produced by colonial officials.[148]

It is also noteworthy that a total of 36 infants belonged to widows who all happened to be classified as *donas*. Widows saw their property, including the number of captives owned, increase following their husbands' death when they inherited the *meação* or their half of the couple's estate, while the rest was to be divided equally among their offspring.[149] One of these was Dona Maria das Necessidades Xavier who had no fewer than 13 of her enslaved females baptizing their infants between 1815 and 1822.[150] The widowed Dona Mariana Moreira Rangel, on the other hand, had nine enslaved infants belonging to her baptized during 1820-22.[151] In each of these cases, the addition of enslaved children certainly contributed to increase the human wealth of female proprietors who were already well-off.

Eight enslaved infants had couples as their proprietors. One of these couples was that of Jósimo de Abreu and his wife, Dona Maria de Abreu: jointly, they owned the infants Tereza and Joana, twin daughters of Lucrécia Sebastião and an unknown father, who were baptized on 10 February, 1816.[152] The low incidence of couples bringing enslaved infants to the baptismal font may indicate that married males chose not to baptize the enslaved children they fathered so as to avoid making their adulterous adventures public. Also, some couples may have been married through contracts, therefore with no co-ownership of assets: consequently, husband and wife would have registered their property, including captives, separately. Religious institutions also

[148] On the absence of information regarding the skin complexion of *donas* in the colonial documentation in Benguela, see Candido, "Os agentes não europeus," 111.
[149]Metcalf, "Women and Means," 291. For more details, see Código Philipino, Livro 1, título LXXXVIII, 206-15. http://www1.ci.uc.pt/ihti/proj/filipinas/ordenacoes.htm (accessed on November 17, 2014).
[150] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fls. 1, 18, 37v, 106, 134v, 138, 147, 182v, 216v, 223v, 250, 303, 303v.
[151] *Ibid*, fl. 2, 20, 21, 22, 22v-23, 52, 143.
[152] *Ibid*, fl. 97.

owned enslaved individuals (often donated by devotees on their death beds), who sometimes brought their young children to the baptismal font.[153] On 29 December, 1817, the infant Izabel was baptized as *filha natural* of a man called Domingos and of Ana Antónia, who belonged to the Church of Nossa Senhora do Cabo.[154] The second case regards the infant Luiz, baptized on 1 January, 1821, *filho* or son *natural* of Marcelino Francisco and of Marcela Manoel, both slaves of the Convent of Carmo.[155] Although Marcelino and Marcela both belonged to the same religious institution they were not married in the Catholic Church. The fact that religious institutions owned so few of the enslaved Africans brought to the baptismal font indicates that their captives had fewer chances to engage in relationships that resulted in the birth of a child or that they did not care much about bringing this sacrament to their enslaved infants. In some instances, religious men may have been the *de facto* fathers of these enslaved children.

The majority or about 56 percent of the enslaved from the baptism registers belonged to male proprietors. The men in question composed a diverse group of individuals, ranging from high and middle raking military personnel to priests, merchants and even free black men. Amongst the military personnel was Sergeant Major Manoel do Nascimento Pereira, who had six of his enslaved females baptizing their offspring between 1817 and 1821. One of these enslaved women, Felícia André, gave birth to two infants: Pedro born in 1817 and Caetano born in 1819.[156] Only four slave owners were identified as blacks: João Garcia, Sebastião, Mateus João, and Miguel António. Other slave owners may also have been blacks; however, as with wealthy female slave owners, their complexion was omitted from the register, as they were probably men of means.

[153] Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda,* 122.
[154] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 266.
[155] *Ibid*, fl. 138.
[156] *Ibid*, fls. 52v, 254.

Eleven enslaved infants were the property of ecclesiastic officials, including Canon Reverends Domingos de Andrade, João Batista da Silva, Francisco Zuzarte de Andrade, Joaquim de Santa Ana, Julião Alves, and Julião da Silva, as well as Fathers Francisco da Silva Couto and Joaquim Nunes Graça. As pointed in the previous chapter, Joaquim de Santa Ana was a bean producer and supplier: he, therefore, surely depended on slave labor.[157] Francisco Zuzarte de Andrade, alone, had three of his enslaved infants baptized during this time period: Cazemiro and Garcia were both sons of Felipa Francisco, while Joaquim was the son of Esperança Manoel. Except for Garcia who was *filho natural* of António Garcia, the fathers of Joaquim and Cazimiro were not identified in their baptismal registers.[158] Nevertheless, they were not the only children unrecognized by their fathers.

A total of 275 records relate to enslaved infants whose father's names were not mentioned in the baptismal registers. A further 66 registers list infants born from *pai incognito* or unknown fathers. In these 341 cases, all of their mothers coincidently belonged to male slaveholders, suggesting that the latter or other male household members may have been the fathers of their enslaved females' offspring. Among them, were two enslaved women who belonged to the aforementioned Sergeant Major Manoel do Nascimento Pereira.[159] Indeed, relationships between masters or freemen and enslaved women were not uncommon as a result of the power dynamics which were part of slave societies. [160] The unnamed fathers of these 341 infants were most likely free men who chose not to legally recognize their offspring because they resulted from extra-marital or casual sexual encounters with enslaved women. Indeed, only eight masters acknowledged at the baptismal font the children they fathered with their enslaved

[157] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 44v.
[158] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fls. 139v, 197v, 291.
[159] *Ibid*, fls. 55, 188.
[160]Curto, "'As If From a Free Womb;'" Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery".

females. For instance, on 23 June, 1812, Marcelina was baptized as the *filha natural* of Sergeant Joaquim António de Moura and his enslaved female, Mariza.[161] Similarly, the widowed António Gomes had a *natural* child with his enslaved female, Tereza de João, baptized on 15 August, 1815.[162]

Throughout the 12 years covered by the baptismal register book, only five infants born to enslaved mothers were baptized as *legítimos*, indicating that their parents had been married in the Catholic Church. No information is given on the social status of the fathers, suggesting that they were freemen. One of these infants was Eugênia, baptized on 7 December, 1817, as *filha legítima* of João da Cunha and of Catarina Francisco, a enslaved woman who belonged to Joaquim de Brito.[163] Francisca, baptized on 7 May, 1815, was the *filha legítima* of Domingos Inácio and of Domingas João, who was owned by Manoel da Cruz Monteiro Regadas.[164] In turn, Bernarda, baptized on 27 July, 1816, was the *filha legítima* of Pedro Simão and Tereza Damião, both property of Duarte José de Melo.[165]

The remaining infants were, presumably, the offspring of relationships which were neither recognized by the Church or the state. As José C. Curto points out, many couples were engaged in common law unions, which was the most frequent relationship in Luanda, irrespective of the color, level of insertion into colonial society and social status of parents. Others still resulted from casual encounters, with women consenting or being forced to provide sexual services.[166] Catholic marriage seems to have been more common among members of the elite and was rare within the enslaved population, even when men and women belonged to the

[161] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 2.
[162] *Ibid*, fl. 38.
[163] *Ibid*, fl. 260v.
[164] *Ibid*, fl. 9.
[165] *Ibid*, fl. 139v.
[166] Curto, "As if from a Free Womb," 48.

same household. This was the case of Domingos Mateus and Bernarda José, both owned by António Dias de Oliveira, who baptized their *filho natural* António on 18 August, 1816.[167] Many reasons can explain the low incidence of Catholic marriages in the colonial capital. As pointed out in chapter 1, marriage in the Catholic Church was not accessible to everyone due to the need to find a sponsor and to secure documents from other parishes, some of which were located overseas.[168] Meanwhile, the payment of a dowry, even if not mandatory, seems to have also contributed to the low number of marriages in general.[169] Added to the cost of weddings itself, including expenses with documentation and the ceremony, these expenditures certainly contributed to the low number of Catholic marriages among the poor, including enslaved Africans.

Some infants were lucky enough to assume a status different from that of their mothers by being freed at the baptismal font. A total of 64 infants were so freed during the period covered by the baptismal registers: 32 girls, 30 boys, and two whose names and, consequently, sex were not listed. The sex of the infant was thus far from a significant criterion for manumission during the sacrament of baptism. As for their masters, these included 43 women, 18 men, one couple, and two unidentified individuals. This, however, does indicate that female slave owners were far more likely to manumit their infant property at the baptismal font than male proprietors. A total of 27 female slave owners who manumitted their captives during the sacrament of baptism, or more than half, were *donas*. According to the data from these baptism registers, women of higher socio-economic status were thus more likely to manumit their captives than men. Perhaps they felt compelled to do so due to an attachment to infants who were born into their households

[167] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 147.
[168] Ramos, "Marriage and the Family," 212.
[169] Vansina, "Ambaca Society," 9.

or/and the good services they may have received from enslaved mothers. To free an infant did not mean they would leave the households of former slave owners, as their mothers remained enslaved. For instance, the twins Madalena and Maria, baptized on 26 November, 1815, who happened to be the *natural* daughters of Maurício Inácio and of Catarina João, were then freed by their widowed mistress, Dona Ana Lopes.[170] Nevertheless, even if in the minority, some women of modest means also manumitted their enslaved infants during baptism. That was the case of the black free women Ana Cristóvão dos Reis, Luzia António, Tereza Domingos, and Maria José, as well as the *parda* Antónia Pinheiro Falcão, who all freed the infants of their enslaved females at the baptismal font.[171] Most likely these manumissions were not freely granted but purchased by the enslaved mothers, fathers or godparents. This could have been more profitable for women of modest means than waiting until the child reached an age in which his or her labor could be used.

As for the socio-economic profile of the men who granted freedom to their enslaved infants during baptism, nine were identified as military personnel and one as a *sertanejo* from Bié. Brigadier António João de Menezes, for example, granted manumission to Guilherme, *filho natural* of his enslaved female Angélica Pedro and of Simão Francisco de Almeida, while being baptized on 25 June, 1820.[172] The registers offer no information on the socio-economic profile of the remaining slave owners. Still it is possible to conclude that, as with female slaveholders, masters of higher socio-economic status were more likely to manumit their enslaved infants at the baptismal font for similar reasons. As pointed out by José C. Curto, in late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries Luanda, enslaved infants owned by more affluent, influential, and

[170] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 72.
[171] *Ibid*, fls. 69v, 128, 137, 155.
[172] *Ibid*, 147v-148.

lighter skinned individuals stood far greater chances of being manumitted at the baptismal font than those held by poorer and darker components of colonial society.[173]

The motives that led slave owners to free the infants of their enslaved females during the sacrament of baptism are disclosed in only two cases. In one instance, the good services rendered by the enslaved mother appear as the reason for manumitting the infant at the baptismal font. This occurred with António, *filho natural* of Maria António, property of the widowed Dona Joana Moreira, and of an unknown father, who was baptized on 19 February, 1817.[174] A second, more interesting case comes from the manumission of the infant Angélica, who received her baptism on 13 March, 1821. She was daughter of a *pai incognito* and of Antónia Lourenço, property of Luiza Nogueira da Rocha who became her godmother along with José de Barros as godfather. Angélica acquired her freedom from Junior Officer António Nogueira da Rocha, son of her mistress, which strongly suggests that he was her father.[175] Although the remaining cases offer no clue as to why manumission was granted at the baptismal font, it is quite possible that in some cases godparents secured the freedom of their godchildren. Moreover, enslaved mothers who were able to accumulate some wealth through their work as *quitandeiras* or by offering their services as washers and seamstresses, may also have chosen to free their children during the act of baptism. However, it is also worth highlighting that in the eight cases in which the owner acknowledged paternity, the enslaved infants in question were not manumitted. Even though these men publicly recognized the offspring they fathered with their enslaved females, they were not necessarily willing to give up on their captives. Even in the cases of infants who were freed

[173] Curto, "As if from a Free Womb," 50.
[174] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 197.
[175] *Ibid*, fl. 10v-11.

by owners, their mothers remained enslaved and most likely continued to suffer sexual abuse at the hands of their masters.

Although baptized in Luanda, a great number of captives were not locally born: they came, rather, from the immediate vicinity or from areas further in the interior. Both Silva and Curto have examined the origin of enslaved Africans in mid-nineteenth century Luanda. Silva's examination of slave registries relating to Luanda in the 1850s and of documentation on liberated Africans generated by Mixed Commissions in Cuba and in Brazil from 1832 to 1840 shows that the majority of captives in the colonial capital were Kimbundu, Kikongo, and Umbundu speakers who lived not far from the coast.[176] Likewise, Curto's analysis of advertisements of runaway and recaptured enslaved individuals from Luanda during 1850-1876 also reveals that these individuals were predominantly born in areas close to the coast, including Libolo, Quissama, Ngola, Benguela and Bailundo.[177] Moreover, other studies with focus on the trans-Atlantic slave trade have also indicated that, contrary to what was thought, the majority of enslaved persons exported from Angola during the nineteenth century also originated from areas adjacent to the coast.[178]

The priests who officiated the baptisms of the enslaved were careful to record the individuals who were born in places other than Luanda. This was the case of 312 or 24.5 percent

[176]Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola".
[177]Curto, "Re-thinking the Origin".
[178] A larger number of studies have explored the origins of slaves exported from West Central Africa. Scholars such as Joseph C. Miller, John K. Thornton, and Achim von Oppen claim that the majority of slaves exported from Angola in the nineteenth century were prisoners of war emanating from deep in the interior. Furthermore, they believed that only centralized states with powerful armies like the Lunda Empire could generate the vast numbers of slaves that embarked into the Atlantic world from this region: Miller, *Way of Death*; John K. Thornton, "The Chronology and Causes of Lunda Expansion to the West, c. 1700-1852," *Zambia Journal of History*, 1 (1981): 1-14; Achin von Oppen, *Terms of Trade and Terms of Trust: The History and Contexts of Pre-Colonial Market Production around the Upper Zambezi and Kasai* (Munster: LIT Verlag, 1994). More recently, Mariana P. Candido and Daniel B. D. da Silva have questioned this paradigm through the use of new sources, indicating that the majority of slaves exported during the nineteenth century originated from areas adjacent to the coast: Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización*; Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola".

of the enslaved infants in both baptismal registers. Some of the children were born in the vicinity of the colonial capital, in places such as the islands of Cazengo, of Desterro, and of Mussulo or Cabolombo, and the suburbs of Samba and Bemfica. One of these infants, Eugênia, originated from the Island of Mussulo, to the south of Luanda. The *natural* child of Cipriano João and of Maria Cipriana, owned by the black African man Miguel António, she was baptized on 2 January, 1821.[179] Others were born in areas of the immediate hinterland, like Bengo, Massangano, Dande, Icolo, Kwanza, Golungo, and Calumbo, where their masters most likely owned agricultural properties. The infant Maria, for example, born in the District of Bengo, was the *natural* daughter of João Bernardo and of Rosa Lourenço, property of Lieutenant Colonel António Martins de Miranda. She was baptized in Luanda on 11 April, 1822.[180] Some enslaved children, however, were born in areas of the interior that were relatively far away: Ambaca, Pungo Andongo, Kasanje, Novo Redondo, Bié, Libolo, Quilengues, and even the Kingdom of Kongo. Bárbara, baptized on 11 November, 1820, was born in Kasanje: she was the daughter of an unknown father and of Esperança Bernarda, property of a certain Maria Domingas.[181] On 28 January, 1821, João, who had been born in Kongo, was baptized in Luanda as the *filho natural* of the free man Pedro Diogo and Clementina Damião, who belonged to Rita Maria das Necessidades Xavier.[182] The shortage of priests in the colony, especially in areas beyond the Portuguese colonial centres, may explain the reason why enslaved infants born in rural areas were baptized in the capital.[183] It is also possible that some of the infants born far away were the offspring of women recently acquired from the hinterland and from Kongo to add to the labor force of Luanda.

[179] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fl. 120.
[180] *Ibid*, 59v-60.
[181] *Ibid*, fl. 135.
[182] *Ibid*, fl. 138.
[183] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 206.

The enslaved mothers, as well as the free or enslaved fathers, of the infants manumitted at the baptismal font were almost always listed under Christian names, indicating that they too had most likely also been baptized.[184] The only exception was the mother of Victória, who received her baptism on 2 July, 1820. Victoria's baptismal register specifies that she was the daughter of Pedro Elias Santiago and of an unidentified "black woman still not baptized", who belonged to João Regadas.[185] Although most mothers and fathers may have engaged in casual encounters or were involved in relationships unsanctioned by the Catholic Church, they seem to have placed a great deal of importance on the sacrament of baptism for their offspring. The sacrament of baptism was an event that helped to establish or reinforce networks with godparents that could protect and, in some cases, even manumit their children. Meanwhile, it was also a sign of insertion in the colonial society.[186]

As the baptismal registers of the churches of Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Sé and Nossa Senhora dos Remédios evidence for the period between 1812 and 1822, women made up an important proportion of slaveholders in Luanda. Most were *donas*, women who spoke Portuguese and local languages, dressed in European fashion, lived in *sobrados*, and professed Christianity. Most of them were baptized and married in the Catholic Church, where they also baptized their children and their enslaved infants. Some did not hesitate to grant freedom during the sacrament of baptism to the offspring of their enslaved females. Their benevolence, however, was not without limit: the enslaved mothers of the manumitted children remained enchained.

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[184] For a discussion of naming patterns, see Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 210; John K. Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 50, n. 4 (1993): 727-742; José C. Curto, "Resistência à Escravidão na África: O Caso dos Escravos Fugitivos Recapturados em Angola, 1846-1876," *Afro-Ásia*, 33 (2005): 67-86.

[185] ABL, "Livro de Batismos Conceição (Sé Velha) 1812-1822 e Remédios," 1816-1822, fls. 156v-157.

[186] Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 11; Candido, "Engendering West Central African History;" Moacir Rodrigo de Castro Maia, "Tecer redes, proteger relações: portugueses e africanos na vivência do compadrio (Minas Gerais, 1720-1750)," *Topoi*, 11, n. 20 (2010): 36-54; Beatrix Heintze, "Angolan Vassal Tributes of the 17th Century," *Revista de História Econômica e Social*, 6 (1980): 57-78; Heitze, "Luso-African Feudalism in Angola?"

Enslaved Africans as Laborers and Signs of Prestige

In Luanda, elite men and women held considerable numbers of enslaved individuals and attracted free dependents of both sexes. According to Joaquim José Lopes de Lima, the wealthiest families held impressive quantities of enslaved persons, who "crowded the houses as luxury objects." He noted, in particular that "it is common to find ten, twelve, or twenty slaves at a bachelor's house who would find it difficult to employ two or three servants."[187] In 1824, the widowed Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vaconcelos was a well-established merchant supplying crops and livestock to the urban markets of Luanda. She then lived in the neighbourhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário with her five children, as well as 25 enslaved individuals (six males and nineteen females).[188] Her case provides but one example of wealthy households in Luanda, where rich families resided with numerous free dependents and captives, although some of the latter lived independently in *cubatas* spread throughout the suburbs.[189]

As the baptismal registers analyzed above demonstrate, women made up a large proportion of slave owners in Luanda. Their captives were used primarily for the purpose of labor. Enslaved men and women performed domestic services in households, peddled on the streets of the town, and were rented out for their skills. Some enslaved men were trained in mechanized trades to work on the streets, for the colonial administration, or in the various workshops throughout the city.[190] During the 1850s, for instance, Manoel António, property of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, offered his services as a barber to the urban population.[191]

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[187] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica,* III, 203.
[188] BML, Códice 045, "Alistamento do 6º. Bairro – Mapas de Fogos e Habitantes," 1823-1832.
[189] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 104-5; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 37; Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 78-9.
[190] Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas," 263-268. See also Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 129.
[191] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de Correção", 20 September, 1852, fl. 24v.

In a context where a specialized labor force was always lacking, skilled individuals were also frequently hired by the Luanda administration to engage in various public works.[192]

Landowners and foodstuff suppliers like Dona Ana Joaquina, Dona Máxima, and Dona Ana Ifigênia possessed enslaved individuals not only in the colonial capital, but also in their rural *arimos*. They all required enslaved laborers to tend to the land, transport, and market their produce. During his early 1850s stay in Angola, Francisco Travassos Valdez visited one of Dona Ana Joaquina's *arimos* in the District of Bengo. On that occasion, the overseer informed him that the agricultural property had some 1,400 enslaved Africans working as field laborers, boatmen, caulkers, carpenters, quarrymen, stonecutters, potters, herdsmen, and fishermen.[193] Although this number may be an exaggeration for a single *arimo*, it evidences the skills of individuals required to run an agricultural property. Dona Máxima also owned numerous enslaved laborers in her *arimos* located in Icolo e Bengo and Calumbo districts and in the *presídio* of Muxima, where they produced maize and beans and raised cattle to supply Luanda's slaughterhouse and the *Terreiro Público*.[194] One of these enslaved individuals was Joana Caceça, who worked in the *arimo* Dengo located in the District of Calumbo, some 58 kilometers south of Luanda.[195]

Besides supplying foodstuffs to urban markets, some women also had enslaved laborers selling dry goods and fresh food on a retail basis on the streets of Luanda. Between January 1784 and July 1787, 32 female slaveholders applied for licenses in the Municipal Council for their enslaved laborers to peddle various items in the streets and markets of the town. On 13 January, 1784, for example, Dona Maria da Conceição Ribeiro applied for a licence for her enslaved

[192] See, for example: BOA, n. 296, 31 May, 1851, p. 2.
[193] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 277.
[194] BML, Códice 041, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas de Feijão," 1816-17, fl. 88v; Códice 42-43, "Registo de Termos de Arrobamento do Gado que Serve no Açougue desta Cidade," 1819-20, fl. 3.
[195] ANA, Códice 2482, "Registo de Escravos," Luanda, 1855, fls. 418v-419.

female, Teresa de João, to sell *fazendas* in the *quitanda*.[196] Dona Ana Catarina de Sena, who supplied cattle to the Municipal Slaughterhouse, also had enslaved laborers peddling in the *quitandas* of the colonial capital.[197] Slave owners most likely paid for the licences of their enslaved vendors and supplied them with the goods they peddled. At day's end, the vendors handed a percentage of their earnings over to their masters and kept the remainder for themselves. As owners were responsible for feeding and dressing the slaves living in the household, enslaved vendors could save their part of the daily income. After many years of work, some *quitandeiras* may have been able to save enough to buy their freedom or the manumission of their offspring.

Yet labor was not the only reason why women acquired enslaved persons. Also important was the desire for prestige. Travelers who sojourned in Luanda were always struck by the contingents of subordinates that followed prosperous mistresses. They commonly highlighted the presence of enslaved males known as *maxilas* (carriers) transporting wealthy men and women in hammocks. Enslaved females called *mucamas* (chambermaids) also reportedly always followed prosperous women, dressed as finely as possible, displaying gold, expensive clothing, and carefully coiffured hair in order to enhance the status of their mistresses. Late in the eighteenth century, Elias Alexandre Silva Corrêa observed that these subordinates followed their mistresses on every occasion. As he stated, "the main luxury of ladies paying visits, attending weddings or baptisms is to be followed by a retinue of enslaved females behind the hammock in which they are carried on the streets[,] …. particularly when they attend annually mass of Lent."[198] During the late 1820s and early 1830s, Jean Baptiste Douville similarly noted that "when the wealthiest

[196] BML, Códice 030, "Termos de Fiança," 1784-1797, fl. 3.
[197] *Ibid*, fl. 26v.
[198] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 83.

ladies show themselves outside of their households.… they are then followed by a multitude of slaves that, the first time I saw one of those trains I confused it with a procession."[199] A few years later, Tito Omboni actually confused such processions with funerals.[200]

Maxilas and *mucamas* were only found in households whose masters and mistresses were people of means, able to afford both the equipment and to spare enslaved laborers to perform such work. That was the case of Dona Josefa de Moraes Moreira, who was one of the most prominent female slave owners in Luanda: she not only owned a hammock, but also used enslaved males, including a captive named Manoel, as carriers in her outings, reinforcing both her prestige and her economic standing.[201] The ownership of *maxilas* and *mucamas* certainly indicated the prosperity and prestige of a household in Luanda, as it did in other slave societies.[202]

Conclusion

During the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries, Luanda was the most important supplier of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Following the recession of 1750-1779, caused by the decline in gold production in Brazil, the demand for enslaved Africans rose again in West Central Africa to attend to the labor requirements of the resurging agricultural sector in that country. Despite British efforts to suppress the traffic in captives throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, the slave trade remained active on the Angolan coast until the 1860s to supply the markets in Brazil and Cuba.

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[199] Douville, *Voyage au Congo,* I, 53.
[200] Omboni, *Viaggi Nell'Africa Occidentale*, I, 90.
[201] ANA, Códice 2524, Luanda, "Registos de Escravos," 1867.
[202] See, for example, Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa*, 214; Luís Carlos Soares, *O "povo de cam" na capital do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2007), 98; Iris Nery do Carmo, "Entre sinhás, mucamas, iaiázinhas e amas de leite: mulheres negras e brancas na sociedade brasileira do século XIX e início do XX," *Revista Senso Comum*, 2 (2012): 108-23; Silva, *Donas e Plebéias*.

Women in Luanda possessed land, enslaved individuals, ventured into the supply of foodstuffs, and engaged directly or indirectly in slave trading activities. African and most often Luso-African women benefitted from the connections between expatriate traders and local intermediaries, of which they were an important part. These connections became essential for the commercial success of foreign merchants, local female traders, and Luanda as a slaving port. It is unlikely that the export slave trade of this urban colonial landscape and the distribution therefrom of imported goods into the hinterland would have reached significant proportions without such intermediates. Women like Dona Ana Joaquina, Dona Ana Ubertali, and Dona Ana Ifigênia were successful in applying the capital they inherited from parents and husbands, as well as the profits of their own work, into the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Although the slave trade was a male dominated activity, these Luso-African women acquired sailing vessels and exported captives on their own account or as commercial associates of foreign partners and husbands.

In Luanda, as in other slave societies, the ownership of enslaved persons and the accumulation of free dependents was a sign of wealth and social prestige. Control over labor freed masters from manual work at the same time that increased their income and social standing. In this colonial capital, women made up an important proportion of slave owners alongside men, couples, and religious institutions. The economic power and social reputation of *donas* depended, in no insignificant part, on the number of enslaved individuals and dependents they had under their control. As the baptismal register data demonstrates, the captives of wealthy individuals had more chances of securing freedom at the baptismal font. The experiences of women as slaveholders and traders contradict the image of submission and passivity too often attributed to African women in the past. These wealthy females used all of the possible

opportunities found in a port city connected to the Atlantic economy marrying foreign men and trading in the international market.

Chapter 4

Women in the Transition from Slave Trading to "Legitimate" Commerce

By the 1830s, the relationship between Luanda and the Atlantic world had begun to change. The 1836 prohibition on slave exports from all Portuguese possessions in Africa contributed to end the activities of slave traders in the colonial capital of Angola by the 1840s. Thenceforth, slavers transferred their activities to ports north and south of Luanda, where the repression of illegal shipments was weak. Meanwhile, other economic activities received increasing incentives from colonial administrators and private investors. The extraction of ivory, beeswax, and gum copal, as well as the production of palm and groundnut oil, orchil-weed, coffee and cotton escalated to supply external market, especially in northern Europe and the United States. Agricultural production also expanded to feed the growing population and to be used as credit in the acquisition of *fazendas*.

This chapter examines the gendered dimension of this economic transition by highlighting the participation of women alongside men in both processes: illegal slaving and "legitimate" commerce. The chapter investigates, particularly, how female slavers fared after the slave export trade in Angola was banned. Sources such as travel accounts, documentation produced by agents of the repression against the slave export trade, the local gazette, and notary records demonstrate that only larger traders, including women, were able to extend their slaving activities into the period of illegality. Furthermore, the capital accumulated through the trafficking of captives was invested in the trade of raw materials and commercial agriculture. In

contradistinction to slave trading, however, "legitimate" commerce opened up new opportunities for African and Luso-African small investors, including women.

The End of Legal Slaving and the Illegal Shipments of Enslaved Africans

Under British pressure, the Brazilian government in 1826 committed itself to outlaw slave imports from Africa as of March 1830. The impending Brazilian ban brought with it the fear of economic ruin to slavers established in Luanda, the most important Atlantic slave port.[1] Although the impact of this legislation was limited, the number of captives exported from this urban landscape experienced a momentary decrease. While between 1826 and1830, a total of 74,396 enslaved individuals departed from Luanda, this number fell to 54,637 in 1831-1835 (see Appendix E, Table 3.1). A second, and more serious, blow came with the 1836 ban on slave exports from Portuguese possessions; African suppliers and the trade community in Angola received this measure with distaste and transgressed the law for many years to come.[2]

Mary Karasch has suggested that even more significant than the Portuguese decree of 1836 was the 1839 passing in Great Britain of the Palmerston Act. According to this Act, any ship sailing under a Portuguese flag and suspected of shipping captives was subject to seizure and judgment by the Tribunal of the British Admiralty.[3] Shortly thereafter, Portuguese and British cruisers began patrolling the western coast of Central Africa in search of illegal slave cargoes. Slavers, however, found a way around the Palmerston Act by using alternative flags, such as those of Brazil and the United States of America. According to Karasch, "slavers were

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[1] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 14.
[2] The discontentment of the trade community resulted in the dismissal of Governor António Manuel de Noronha in 1839 due to his efforts to enforce the law: Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 76; *Almanak statístico da província d'Angola e suas dependências para o anno de 1852* (Luanda: Imprensa do Governo, 1851), xxi; Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 133; Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 113; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 6-7; Freudenthal, *Arimos de Fazendas*, 54.
[3] Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers," 3-4.

able to shift from flag to flag depending upon which country was safest from prosecution by the British."[4]

British patrols were not alone in the fight against slavers in West Central Africa. Great Britain counted on the assistance of other countries, such as France, Portugal, the United States, and Brazil, in repressing slave trade activities along the Angolan coast. By the late 1840s, according to Roquinaldo Ferreira, French patrols were even more active in this particular region than the British. And during the 1850s, it was the United States that was especially active in combating slave traders along the littoral of Angola.[5] Despite the reluctance of suppliers and traders, this process was irreversible: by the middle of the 1840s, merchants established in the single most important Atlantic slaving port simply managed the export of captives from elsewhere along the Angolan coast.[6]

Many individuals, including colonial administrators, were of the opinion that the end of the slave trade would bring economic ruin to the colony.[7] On 21 May, 1844, Governor Lourenço Germack Possolo reported the economic situation of the colony as one of "inconvenient collapse" caused by the ban of the slave export trade. Furthermore, he was far from confident in the potential of the trade from the *sertões* in commodities such as ivory and bees-wax, stating that

> The main part of the [colony's] revenue came from taxes on the export of slaves; the quick transition of this trade from licit to illicit produced a fracture that can never be recovered; of the resources in the interior, some are insignificant and others can be said to be unexploited. Neither the limited resources of the governors nor the

[4] *Ibid*, 4, 44.
[5] Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 324.
[6] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 18, 30.
[7] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 75.

> character of the inhabitants of the province are sufficient to make then enter into circulation.[8]

Possolo was not alone in his pessimism. Two years later, Father António Francisco das Necessidades, himself a land owner and foodstuff producer, expressed his concern over the economic transition: "every nation has thought of and agreed to abolish slavery [sic] because it is an inhuman traffic and against the laws of God and of mankind.… Nevertheless, [the slave trade] should have been first replaced by convenient means that would have given rise and not weaken the Province and the coffers of the nation."[9] Neither Governor Possolo nor Father Necessidades were against the end of the slave trade: but they were also apprehensive about the fate of the colony due to the absence of any preparation to introduce new economic streams that could replace the traffic in human beings. An anonymous observer who visited the colony in the 1860s, however, expressed a very different opinion: he disagreed with the banning of the slave trade because, in his view, blacks were not deserving of freedom as they were "treacherous, liars, thieves, and drunks."[10]

Despite the fact that illegal slave trade operations from Luanda ceased in the 1840s, the trade community established in the colonial capital persisted in organizing shipments of captives from northern coastal areas close to the Congo River and smaller ports to the south.[11] According to Ferreira, this dispersal of shipping activities generated a crisis of supply in Luanda since the slave ships had also brought with them part of the food staples that sustained the local urban

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[8] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 7B, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 21 May, 1844.
[9] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8AC, "Carta de António Francisco das Necessidades," 6 October, 1845, fl. 4.
[10] Anonymous, *Quarenta e Cinco Dias em Angola*, 14-15.
[11] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico;" Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 371, 373.

population.[12] In fact, in times of ecological crises, which always encroached upon the production of crops, the colony was rescued only by the staples arriving in its capital city aboard ships emanating from Brazil, São Tomé e Príncipe, and Portugal.[13] On 3 October, 1845, for example, Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha, the then Governor of Angola, requested that the Governor of São Tomé e Príncipe send manioc flour and firewood aboard vessels bound for Luanda to relieve the pressing need of these items in the colony.[14]

Merchants established in Brazil were responsible for financing and organizing a large portion of the illegal slave trade in Angola.[15] As a matter of fact, capital from Brazil had played an important role in financing the Angolan slave trade since the early eighteenth century by supplying commodities used to acquire captives in the interior and moving the human cargo across the Atlantic.[16] For instance, merchants from Brazil had also traded in the ports north of Luanda since 1810, where they built up the infrastructure of the illegal slave trade that persisted until the 1860s. During the illegal slave trade era, Brazilians maintained control over the embarkation of captives in northern Angola.[17] The majority, although residing in Luanda, were commercial agents of firms based in Rio de Janeiro: amongst them were individuals such as Francisco António Flores, António Severino de Avelar, Guilherme José da Silva Correia, and António Augusto de Oliveira Botelho.[18]

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[12] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 8-9.
[13] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 113-4; Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 281; Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 44; Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland*, 74-75; Miller, *Way of Death*, 395.
[14] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8AC, "Carta do Governador de Angola Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha," 3 October, 1845.
[15] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 2.
[16] *Ibid*, 83; Ferreira, "The Supression of the Slave Trade," 326; Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 367.
[17] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 87.
[18] Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 327. Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico" and Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers" explore the trajectories of some slavers involved in the illegal slave trade.

Angolan slave dealers established in the colonial capital were also part and parcel of the individuals engaged in illicit slaving activities. As with the legal slave trade, the scholarly literature on the illegal phase of the traffic in captives has focused on men; nevertheless, female traders also took part in it. With the illegality of the trade, the higher risks associated with it forced most small slave traders out of the business, leaving only large merchants whose commercial firms controlled the advancement of *fazendas* on credit from Luanda.[19] Angolan investors engaged in the illegal slave trading included Francisco Barboza Rodrigues, Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu do Carpo, Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido, José Maria Matozo Câmara, António Félix Machado, and Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva among others.[20] These individuals, all part of the local Luso-African elite, owned *feitorias* between the Congo River and Ambriz, as well as in ports to the south, where they traded in tropical commodities and captives.

At the same time that the colonial government was supposed to enforce its anti-traffic legislation, the functioning of the colonial system was dependent on the "generosity" of the local elite, including individuals engaged in illegal slaving.[21] For instance, on 16 May, 1843, Manoel Francisco Alves de Brito and the Brazilian slave trader Severino de Avelar offered assistance to finance the construction of a road connecting the upper city to the suburb of Maianga.[22] In the late 1840s, Arsénio do Carpo purchased typography for the colonial government to promote the development of the press in the colony.[23] In May 1849, merchants Francisco Barboza Rodrigues, Manoel Joaquim de Souza Monteiro, and Augusto Garrido donated a significant amount of

[19] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 237.
[20] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico;" Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers".
[21] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 375-6; Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 29, 96, 99-101. Donations emanating from Luanda's elite also benefited the metropole and Cabo Verde.
[22] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6, "Carta do Governador de Angola José Xavier Bressane Leite," 16 May, 1843.
[23] BOA, n. 189, 12 May, 1849, p. 1-2.

foodstuffs to feed the military.[24] All of these individuals were also notoriously known for their involvement in illegal slave trading activities.

Given such contributions to the "welfare" of the colony, male subjects involved in illegal slaving were even able to request titles from the Portuguese Crown. On 13 December, 1843, the slave traders António Severino de Avelar and Arsénio do Carpo each applied for the title of knight of the *Ordem de Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Vila Viçosa*. Governor Possolo recognized that "detractors" of Arsénio claimed that the investor was a slave trader and was "not entirely convinced that this claim is absolutely slanderous." Still, he did not refrain from highlighting the importance of Arsénio to the colonial administration by stating that

> [He] is the only agent here of the Britannia shipping line, exchanging letters with Lord Aberdeen who not only writes to him directly, as I have witnessed many times, but his house hosts every official from that nation who arrives here: they make use of his horses, carriages, and have great consideration for him. This same Arcénio [sic] has always been the man who previous governors have chosen to promote various projects.

As for Avelar, Governor Possolo described this "holder of a self-made fortune" as a close friend of Arsénio, whom he collaborated with and mentored. The highest ranking colonial administrator in Angola then divulged that "both men have been useful instruments of which this government cannot prescind from," before concluding that "it is appropriate to please these two traders, granting them the titles that they are so fond of."[25]

[24] BOA, n. 188, 5 May, 1849, 2-3.
[25] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx.7A, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 25 June, 1844.

It was not uncommon to find traders involved in illegal slaving activities and yet occupying important positions in the colonial administration. After the dissolution of the Municipal Council of Luanda in 1845, a provisory council was established composed of Francisco José de Sousa Lopes, Bernardino da Silva Guimarães, António da Costa Rodrigues, João Cheldorico de Moura, and Francisco Barboza Rodrigues.[26] At least one of them was well known for his involvement in illegal slaving: Francisco Barboza Rodrigues. As mentioned in Chapter 1, between 1837 and 1853, Arsénio do Carpo similarly occupied a number of positions in the colonial administration, from President of the Municipal Council of Luanda to Commander of various inland districts and *presídios*. [27] As Governor Possolo indicated, Arsénio had close relations with British officials combating the illegal save trade in Angola while simultaneously engaging in illicit slaving activities. More impressively, Augusto Garrido was appointed Secretary of the Mixed British and Portuguese Commission for the suppression of the slave trade in 1851, after being accused four years earlier of involvement in illegal trafficking of captives along with his associate José Maria Matozo da Câmara.[28]

The involvement of Garrido and Câmara in illegal slaving became public as details of their trial were published in the local gazette, the *Boletim Oficial*. In 1846, a vessel that belonged to them was captured after disembarking captives in Cabo Frio, in the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro. The free *Cabindas* Benito and Fernando Xilumba and the *Muxiloandas* fishers Joaquim António and José Pedro, who both worked for Câmara and Garrido, were forcibly taken on board

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[26] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8B, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 6 April, 1845.

[27] Cardoso, *Subsídios para a história de Luanda*, 180; Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 115; Pacheco, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 52; Corrado, "The Rise of a New Consciousness," 7; Marques, "Arsénio Pompílio Pompeu de Carpo," 623, 636.

[28] *Accounts and Papers of the House of Commons*, vol. 47, part I (1852-53), (Cambridge: Harvard College Library, 1880), 125; BOA, n. 282, 22 February, 1851, p. 1. On his appointment, see *British and Foreign State Papers*, 40: 439. http://babel.hathitrust.org/cgi/pt?id=hvd.hj1393;view=1up;seq=9 (accessed on 2 September, 2014).

the ship to Brazil.[29] However, they managed to go back to Angola and testify on trial against the two traders. According to their testimony, the vessel left Luanda on a date they could not recall and sailed to Cabo Lombo, where Câmara had a farm. There they worked loading the vessel with the food items and the equipment necessary for the middle passage, while 160 captives were embarked. According to these four African individuals, the embarkation took place on a Saturday, from noon to 8p.m., under the supervision of Câmara.[30] After finishing the work, the four men were asked to help the vessel sail when they were forcibly shipped to Brazil by the Captain, an individual named Sampaio. The voyage from Cabo Lombo to Cabo Frio took 37 days, after which the captives were delivered to a certain José Pacheco. Two days later, the vessel, which was abandoned on the beach, was captured by a Brazilian war ship. José Pacheco sent the four free individuals to Rio aboard a Brazilian vessel and from there they sailed to Angola on the *Argos*, a German ship. Whether the forced shipment of the four free Africans to Brazil was an attempt of kidnapping is not known; in any case, it seems like Pacheco was not willing to take part in it. The four men also declared that they had not been paid for their services since leaving Cabo Lombo.[31] Payment for the enslaved Africans that Garrido and Câmara sent to Brazil was also sent aboard the same German ship that brought the free Africans back to Angola.[32]

Subsequently, Câmara and Garrido accused Governor Cunha of blackmailing witnesses to testify against them, including the black Africans Anica, Antónia, Felipe, and Sebastião who had been incarcerated for 19 days. According to Câmara and Garrido, the Governor offered

[29] The term *Cabindas* designated individuals originally from Cabinda, an enclave to the north of the colony, while *Muxiloandas* referred to persons originally from the Island of Luanda.
[30] In the 1850s, according to Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 130, the embarkation of slaves was done within two hours.
[31] BOA, n. 85, 24 April, 1847, p. 3-5.
[32] BOA, n. 82, 3 April, 1847, p. 2.

50,000 *réis* to the witnesses and threatened them with strokes. Likewise, they asserted that the *Cabindas* Fernando Bambi, Caraca Samba, Fernando Pacuta, José Huang, and Pitra Pacuta were threatened with lashes in case they decided not to testify against the culprits.[33] The accusations made by Câmara and Garrido had no effect as all the evidence pointed to their involvement in the illegal shipment.

As a result of their involvement in illegal slaving operations, both individuals were sentenced to nothing more than the payment of bail.[34] Still, given their bad reputation, they were subsequently removed from the administrative board of the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* to which they had been nominated in 1845. Câmara and Garrido were replaced by merchants António José Coelho Vilela and João da Silva Ramos.[35] Garrido had also been nominated first substitute of the *Juiz Ordinário* (Judge of the Peace) of Luanda, a position from which he resigned following the accusations.[36] Despite the consequences following from the 1846 capture of their vessel, this was not the last illicit shipment they organized. In August 1849, Garrido shipped another 500 enslaved Africans from Benguela to southeast Brazil aboard the *Joaquina*. The voyage saw 415 captives landed alive in Brazil, while 85 died during the middle passage.[37] Câmara and Garrido also owned a *feitoria* in Moçâmedes, from where other illegal shipments of captives may have departed for Brazil.[38] Nevertheless, the involvement of Garrido in illegal slaving operations did not stop him from being nominated in 1851 to the Mixed Commission. In the early 1850s, Câmara passed away, while Garrido went bankrupt and his assets were sold to pay his debts.[39] As discussed in Chapter 1, Garrido subsequently enjoyed an economic renaissance thanks to

[33] BOA, n. 75, 13 April, 1847, p. 1
[34] BOA, n. 74, 6 February, 1847, p. 1.
[35] BOA, n. 75, 13 February, 1847, p. 1.
[36] BOA, n. 368, 16 October, 1852, p. 1.
[37] Eltis et al., "Voyage*s*," Voyage Id. 4137.
[38] BOA, n. 332, 7 February 1852, p. 4.
[39] BOA, n. 362, 4 September, 1852, p. 6; BOA, n. 365, 18 September, 1852, p. 4.

exchanging matrimonial vows with Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria Câmara, widow of his associate Câmara and, consequently, the heiress of one of the largest fortunes in the colony.[40]

By the 1840s, Ambriz, Cabinda, and the Congo River replaced Luanda as the primary export centers of the slave trade (see Appendix H, Map 4.1).[41] These locations were favored due to the fact that they stood outside of the area of Portuguese suzerainty; consequently, they were more suitable places for the embarkation of captives.[42] Many of the *feitorias* from where female and male traders operated in legal commodities and in enslaved Africans were effectively established along the northern coast. Indeed, trading from these ports was far from a novelty to slavers: due to high taxes charged in Luanda for commodities imported from Brazil, as well as the protectionism that benefited Portuguese investors, Brazilian traders and Luso-Africans residing in Luanda had since 1810 chosen to embark their captives in the northern ports. As Ferreira points out, "when the slave trade became illegal in 1830s, [Brazilian] slavers already knew the routes of northern Angola that would turn the traffic almost independent from Luanda."[43]

A foreign observer suspected that the *feitorias* established in the northern and southern ports to deal with "legitimate" goods had in fact been set up for the sole purpose of dealing in captives.

> It is on the banks of the Zaire River that the traffic in slaves is most active, and many commercial warehouses, not to say all of them, are no more than cloaks for or depend on this type of trade which the conventions proposed by a human England and accepted by an

[40] Cardoso, "Estudo Genealógico," 316-319.
[41] Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers," 47; Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 371; Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade," 232.
[42] Only in 1855 did the Portuguese effectively occupy Ambriz to combat the illegal slavers operating in this area. Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers," 48; Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 2, 23.
[43] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 4-5.

> ingenuous Portugal turned into the most profitable of the whole coast…. Despite the apparatus of the naval stations and the so-called anti-slaving cruisers, slavery [sic] continues and will always exist.[44]

Although this statement probably represented an exaggerated reality, it is clear that several traders established *feitorias* away from Luanda to escape repression. It is far more likely that some traders dealt only in tropical products, while others acted on both fronts - that is, trading in "legitimate" products and in captives illegally.

The traffic south of Luanda was as lively as in the north. Places like Ponta das Palmeirinhas, the mouths of the Kuanza and the Longo rivers, Cabo de São Braz, Benguela Velha, Novo Redondo, Egito, Catumbela, Quicombo, Dombe Grande, Lobito, Ponta das Salinas, Moçâmedes, Baia Farta and Baia dos Tigres housed *feitorias* of traders who operated in "legitimate" goods and most likely in illegal slaving (see Appendix H, Map 4.1). As Ferreira points out the dispersal of places of embarkation made it difficult for patrols to combat slavers operating illegally along the coast of Angola. But such dispersion also illustrates that, in Luanda, the repression to illegal shipments was quite efficient.[45]

Table 4.1 (1836-1875)
Main Destination of Captives Illegally Shipped from West Central Africa

Period	Mainland North America	Caribbean	Brazil	Totals
1836-1850	490	11051	266563	278104
1851-1875	1744	45975	2721	50440
Totals	2234	57026	269284	328544

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

[44] Anonymous, *Quarenta e Cinco Dias em Angola*, 5-6.
[45] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 21.

On the opposite side of the Atlantic, Rio de Janeiro stood as the main place of disembarkation of captives shipped illegally from West Central Africa, as had been the case during the era of legal slave trading. Approximately 270,000 individuals were shipped from West Central Africa to Brazil from 1836 to 1867 alone. The Caribbean, particularly Cuba, was the second destination receiving a total of 57,026 captives, while North America imported 2,234. Almost all of these captives departed from ports along the Angolan coast.

The organization of the illegal slave trade did not present major differences in relation to the legal trade discussed in the previous chapter. Independent merchants and commission agents of firms established in Luanda distributed *fazendas* to itinerant traders that headed to the *presídios* and slave markets in the *sertões*. Once a coffle was completed, captives were forcibly marched to the coast, where they awaited shipment.[46] One important difference, however, was the method of embarkation: due to the risks faced by traders, captives were embarked at night on secluded shores onto small launches that had to cut through the turf to reach the slave ships anchored at sea. In 1841, the German physician Gustav Tams met Arsénio do Carpo to treat him from a liver discomfort. On that occasion, Arsénio described how he operated within the context of illegality, which this doctor did not fail to record as follows:

> A rapid mode of travelling was indispensable for Mr. Arsenio, for he was often obliged to take very long journeys on horseback during the night, when his personal presence was suddenly required at the places 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 Loanda. One morning, when I paid him a professional visit on account of a chronic disorder of the liver.… he told me that, although he was so ill, he had ridden sixteen leagues during the preceding night, in order to

[46] Anonymous, *Quarenta e Cinco Dias em Angola*, 80-81.

> be present at the embarkation of his slaves to the south of the river Dande.[47]

Several traders involved in the legal phase of the traffic in captives continued to act in this business illegally, including women. As one of the wealthiest Luanda slave traders, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva continued to deal in captives well after 1836. A foreign observer claimed that Dona Ana Joaquina ordered the construction of a tunnel that connected the palace where she lived in Bungo to the beach through which she exported captives illicitly from Luanda.[48] Although such an enterprise sounds unrealistic, Dona Ana Joaquina did engage in illegal slaving, most likely from her *feitorias* in the ports north and south of Luanda such as Ambriz, Benguela, and Moçâmedes.[49] Evidence of her engagement in illicit slaving comes from the capture of her vessel, the *Oriente*, by Brazilian authorities near Rio de Janeiro in 1850: a total of 200 captives, embarked in Novo Redondo and Quicombo, were found onboard. The cargo was to be delivered to an agent in Rio, Joaquim Pinto da Fonseca, whose brother, Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, was established in Luanda.[50] Furthermore, the Voyages Database lists two illegal trips undertaken by Dona Ana Joaquina's ship *Maria Segunda*. On 11 July, 1846, the vessel left Angola with 490 captives aboard headed for Bahia.[51] On 2 November, 1846, the *Maria Segunda* again crossed the Atlantic, with another 490 captives destined for disembarkation in Bahia.[52]

Dona Ana Joaquina was certainly not the only female slave trader who extended her commercial activities into the period after 1836. Nevertheless, registers of participation in this enterprise are scarce due to its illegality. Most of the qualitative information known comes from

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[47] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions*, I, 251-252.
[48] Gil, *Considerações*, 14. Some authors have reproduced the story as true, although there is no proof that such tunnel ever existed. Feliciano, "Luanda, Quotidiano e Escravos," 30.
[49] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 386; Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 72.
[50] *British and Foreign State Papers*, 40: 539-40.
[51] Eltis et al., "Voyage*s*,'' Voyage Id. 900217.
[52] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 900218.

the anti-slavery repression; therefore, it is restricted to vessels captured during illegal operations. Less information is available on the cargoes that were successfully delivered to their destinations in the Americas. The reasons for this absence of female slavers may be connected to the greater risks involved in illegal slaving. Only individuals with significant capital were willing to expose themselves, while small traders could not afford to risk losing anything. As discussed in the previous chapter, few women had enough capital to invest in the slave trade and become successful slavers: following 1836, that did not change. Only three women are listed in the Voyages Database as moving captives from Angola across the Atlantic during the period of illegality: Dona Ana Joaquina, Ana Félix de Angola, and Ana Sebastiana. Between 1843 and 1844, Ana Félix de Angola sent three shipments of captives to Rio de Janeiro: in 1843, the *Brig Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Maria*, with a capacity of 200 tons, transported 662 captives from Luanda to Campos, in the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro;[53] in that same year, 358 captives embarked in Luanda were sent to Rio de Janeiro aboard the *Patacho D. Ana de Portugal*;[54] lastly, the *Schooner Lealdade* embarked 333 captives in Ponta Negra headed for Rio de Janeiro in 1844.[55] As for Ana Sebastiana, she was responsible for the shipment of 118 captives from Luanda to Pernambuco aboard the *Patacho União* on 23 October, 1847.[56] Other women probably engaged in illegal slaving, but their operations may have been registered under their husbands' or associates' names, making their participation in the illicit slave trade obscure. For this reason, it is easier to recover the stories of single and widowed women, as they usually engaged in trade on their own account.

[53] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 2291.
[54] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 2309.
[55] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 3923.
[56] *Ibid*, Voyage Id. 47342.

As noted by the British Commander of the Naval Station in Luanda, the final phase of the illegal slave trade saw slavers resort to the use of coasting-vessels as a last resource to avoid repression.[57] These smaller vessels had been previously used in aiding the traffic by carrying provisions, equipments, correspondence and even captives along the coast to the points of embarkation. The *Oriente* which belonged to Dona Ana Joaquina, for example, was a small coasting-vessel of 26 tons, which had been employed in coasting voyages for upwards of four years.[58] It may have been easier for slavers and crew to escape capture when using smaller vessels. This was the case of the *Rival*, of 39 tons, which was surprised by the British war ship *Sealark*, while preparing to embark captives close to Quicombo on 25 December, 1850. The crew of the *Rival* was able to run the vessel on shore, over which the British had no jurisdiction as per the 1842 Treaty, to avoid capture.[59]

One particular case deserves attention as it diverts from the pattern of the illegal slave trade in the 1850s. The Portuguese *Patacho Veiga*, of 109 tons and, therefore, a large vessel, arrived in Luanda from Oporto on 2 October, 1850, with Benguela as its final destination. The vessel seemed to be above any suspicion as it carried Government mail and dispatches, as well as legal cargoes of oil, ground-nuts, *aguardente de cana* (sugar cane brandy), and sundries. The *Veiga* was, however, captured by British patrols on 20 November, southward of Ambriz, with 623 captives on board. This particular case surprised British authorities in Luanda, who declared

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[57] *British and Foreign State Papers*, 40: 539; Gilberto da Silva Guizelin, "A abolição do trafico de escravos no Atlântico Sul: Portugal, o Brasil e a questão do contrabando de africanos," *Almanack*, 5 (2013), 125.
[58] *British and Foreign State Papers*, 40: 539-40.
[59] *Ibid*, 540.

that "this might be adduced as a proof of the bold effrontery and activity of the slave-dealers here, and there is no doubt that they are capable, on an emergency, of doing anything."[60]

Slavers tried to transport as many captives as possible in a single voyage so as to compensate for the greater risks of such enterprises, including the possibility of apprehension by anti-slaving patrols, the dangers associated with attack by local African polities, and the difficulties in securing enough food supplies to sustain both captives and crew members during the middle passage. On 4 February, 1845, the Brazilian vessel *Albanez* left Luanda in ballast, carrying only a small cargo of wax and having declared to be bound to Pernambuco. Instead, the ship headed south of the Kwanza where it was eventually captured by a British patrol while in the process of embarking 700 captives: about 230 enslaved Africans were already aboard when it was apprehended. On that occasion, the Commander of the Portuguese naval station in Luanda, Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha, who would later become Governor of Angola, minced no words to accuse colonial authorities of facilitating the shipment of enslaved Africans.

> It is hoped that Your Excellency
> the Governor General of this
> Province will proceed with energy
> and rigor against subaltern officials in the
> District of Coanza, who cannot but have
> connived in this infamous traffic, and thus
> step over the laws and despise the
> authority of His Majesty's government.[61]

During the legal phase of the slave trade, local authorities managed to increase their income by engaging in slaving activities – despite the existence of laws that forbade them from doing so.

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[60] *Ibid*, 541-542. For other illegal shipments carried out by the *Veiga*, see Eltis et al., "Voyages," Voyage Id. 4082 and 48714.
[61] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8B, "Carta do Capitão Comandante Cunha," 26 March, 1845.

Colonial officials likely also engaged in illegal slaving, which explains Commander Cunha's accusations.

Some vessels undertook several shipments of captives before being captured. On 22 May 1845, at 4a.m., the Portuguese cruiser *Relâmpago* came upon a vessel anchored off the bay of Cabo Ledo. The crew of the latter tried to escape as soon as they noticed the advancing of the Relâmpago*,* which fired a number of gunshots. Seven individuals were found aboard the vessel, including Captain Miguel Angelo Moutano and Pilot José Merello, both Genovese, and the Foreman António Soares, while the rest of the crew escaped on a boat. The vessel was fully equipped to transport a large cargo of captives. Throughout the trial, the three members of the captured crew divulged that the vessel was the *Cacique* and that it left Cabo Frio, in the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, for the coast of Africa to acquire captives. The vessel was carrying *pipas* (barrels), bales, and sacks whose contents they declared to be unaware of, but possibly contained consumables to sustain the human cargo sought. They also disclosed that the owner of the vessel was a certain Mirandinha and that a few months ago the *Cacique* had successfully transported enslaved Africans from Angola to Brazil.[62]

Sometimes, individuals who were apprehended while shipping captives tried to escape charges by lying in their testimonies. Those found guilty could be charged with fines and lose the vessels and everything on board. On 8 August, 1847, at 5:30a.m., the *Relâmpago* captured the Brazilian vessel *Itagoahy* near Mussulo, in the vicinity of Luanda. The vessel had 11 people on board and was equipped to carry captives with barrels of water, manioc flour, beans, vegetables, dry meat, mats, and pieces of chains, among other items. The master of the vessel, Joaquim José Robeiro, from Porto, the Pilot Jacinto José Maria, from the Island of São Miguel, and the Captain

[62] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8B, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 6 August, 1845.

Teodoro Casimiro Reis, from Lisbon, declared that they had been hired by the owner of the vessel, José António Velho da Silva, to transport a cargo of enslaved Africans from the port of Mussulo or any other location along the Congo River. The vessel had left Brazil on 20 June, 1847, fully equipped to embark between 200 and 300 captives. José Alves Pinto, a sailor from Porto, however, offered different testimony from that of his superiors. According to Pinto, the vessel left Rio de Janeiro and headed for São Sebastião, in the captaincy of São Paulo. However, three days into the voyage, declared Pinto, they had to change the destination due to poor weather conditions. In Pinto's version of events, the *Itagoahy* ended up on the Angolan coast due to the lack of knowledge from superior officers, including the captain and the pilot. Despite Pinto's attempt to escape the accusation of participating in illegal slaving, his version was simply not credible enough to convince the authorities. On 28 September, 1847, the condemned vessel, the foodstuffs it carried, and the equipment found on board were all purchased by the *Junta da Fazenda* in a public auction for the amount of 1,382,500 *réis*.[63]

In 1850, the importation of enslaved Africans was finally made illegal in Brazil. This measure had a deep impact throughout Angola, as Brazil was the main destination of the captives embarked along the coast of this Portuguese colony. As a result, following 1850, many slave traders left Luanda and relocated in Portugal or Brazil.[64] One of these was the Brazilian José Narciso Correia, who embarked for Rio de Janeiro in January 1850, leaving behind Remígio Luiz dos Santos and Francisco de Paula e Oliveira, also traders, as his representatives in the colonial capital of Angola.[65] Others saw their business vanish: in June 1850, the merchant

[63] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 147, "Autos de praça para arrematação da sumaca brasileira Paquete Itagoahy," 8 August, 1847.
[64] According to Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 370, traders started closing their businesses in Angola since the 1820s due to the uncertainty regarding the continuity of the slave trade.
[65] BOA, n. 225, 19 January 1850, p.4.

Serafim José de Sousa Machado declared bankruptcy.[66] João Manoel Lourenço was confronted with a similar situation.[67] Likewise, the commercial firm of the slave trader Francisco Barboza Rodrigues declared bankruptcy in 1851.[68] Even Francisco António Flores, notorious for his luxurious lifestyle and involvement in illegal slave trading operations, left the colony in July 1850: Augusto Garrido was nominated as his local representative.[69] Nevertheless, Flores maintained connections in Angola, especially with Garrido and his wife, Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido. For instance, in 1860 Flores and Garrido acted as guarantors in a three year loan that Dona Mariana Joaquina obtained from the *Cofre dos órfãos* in the amount of 1,500,000 *réis*.[70] Furthermore, Flores was one of the associates of the *Associação Agrícola de Luanda*, created in 1864, alongside other former slavers such as Garrido.[71] Even the prosperous Arsénio do Carpo, who many times assisted the colonial administration with large donations, seems to have encountered economic hardship in the early 1850s. Many of his assets, including a *sobrado* and a warehouse, were sold in public auctions to pay his debts with creditors.[72] Still, he was sued under the accusation of fraudulent bankruptcy and embezzlement. [73] The cases of Carpo, Flores, and Rodrigues demonstrate that the crises generated after the prohibition of slave imports in Brazil affected even some of the larger merchants.

In analyzing the impact of this commercial exodus on local business, Roquinaldo Ferreira has pointed to a reduction in the number of shops dedicated to the retail commerce of dry and wet goods. Such a decrease, in his view, resulted from a crisis in the advancement of credit, since

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[66] BOA, n. 247, 22 June 1850, p. 3.
[67] BOA, n. 247, 22 June 1850, p. 4.
[68] BOA, n. 309, 30 August 1851, p. 4.
[69] BOA, n. 251, 20 July 1850, p. 4.
[70] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 11 February, 1860, fl. 45.
[71] ANA, Códice 3844, "Regulamento da Associação Agrícola de Loanda," 15 October, 1864, fl. 19.
[72] BOA, n. 338, 20 March, 1852, p. 4; BOA, n. 242, 17 April, 1852, p. 4.
[73] BOA, n. 353, 3 July, 1852, p. 2-9.

many of the small traders in Luanda operated with *fazendas* supplied on credit by large-scale merchants, many of whom closed their activities in the colony.[74] Only independent traders were able to adapt to the new context by advancing credit to the *sertões* or investing in the agricultural sector, as will be discussed shortly. Following the end of the traffic to Brazil in 1850, the economic relations of the colony were re-directed to Portugal.[75] Only a few traders remained engaged in slaving, supplying captives predominantly to Cuba.[76] Therefore, the withdrawal of Brazil from the trade might have been more efficient in reducing illegal slaving activities from Angola than the actual repression of anti-traffic war ships.[77]

Commercial Transition and the Development of "Legitimate" Commerce

During the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, the export trade of colonial Angola was not limited to captives. Ivory and bees-wax were also traded, although not to the same extent as captives.[78] With the slave traffic made illegal, however, commerce in tropical products gained new incentive to meet demand in northern Europe and in the United States.[79] Alongside ivory and wax, the collection of gum copal and orchil-weed and the production of palm and groundnut oils, coffee, and cotton also received new incentives. By the 1840s, foreign and Luso-African merchants – including local women – began to turn to the trade in tropical products and commercial agriculture, exclusively or alongside the illegal shipment of enslaved Africans to Brazil and Cuba.[80] In this process, indigenous items produced for local consumption such as wild coffee, cotton, and palm and peanut oils were transformed into commodities to meet the demand

[74] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 235-236; Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 370.
[75] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 128.
[76] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 45.
[77] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 107, 124-125.
[78] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 112-114; Torres, *Memórias*, 351; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 129-130.
[79] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 379; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 39.
[80] Santos, *Vinte anos decisivos*, 16; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 230-231.

of the external market. The incentives of the colonial government, the capital of private investors, as well as African know-how were essential to make this transition.

As Anthony G. Hopkins has argued, the transition from slave exports to “legitimate” products caused a “crisis of adaptation” on the coast of West Africa, undermining the wealth and power of existing rulers.[81] In West Central Africa, such a transition took place only during the mid-nineteenth century since the slave trade persisted as an important element of African societies in this area of the continent until the 1860s. While in the case of West Africa this process has been studied since the late 1960s, little remains known about its unfolding in West Central Africa.[82] Scholars have analyzed the effects of the “crises of adaptation” suggested by Hopkins in different contexts in West Africa: while in places like Old Calabar the existing ruling elite retained their dominance of the new trade in palm oil,[83] there were areas where former

[81] A. G. Hopkins, “Economic Imperialism in West Africa: Lagos, 1880-92,” *Economic History Review*, 21 (1968): 580-600.

[82] On the transition from slave trade to “legitimate” commerce in West Africa see, for example, Hopkins, “Economic Imperialism;” Martin A. Klein, “Social and Economic Factors in the Muslim Revolution in Senegambia,” *The Journal of African History*, 13, n. 3 (1972): 419-441; A. G. Hopkins, *An Economic History of West Africa* (New York: Longman Group, 1973); Martin Lynn, *Commerce and Economic Change in West Africa: The Palm Oil Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997); Yacine Daddi Addoun, and Paul E. Lovejoy, “Commerce and Credit in Katsina in the Nineteenth Century," in Emily Brownell and Toyin Falola, eds., *Africa, Empire and Globalization: Essays In Honor of A.G. Hopkins* (Durham, NC: Carolina Academic Press, 2010), 111- 124; Paul E. Lovejoy, “From Slaves to Palm Oil: Afro-European Commercial Relations in the Bight of Biafra, 1741-1841,” in Killingray, David, Margarette Lincoln, and Nigel Rigby, eds., *Maritime Empires: British Imperial Maritime Trade in the Nineteenth Century* (Rochester, NY: Boydell Press, 2004), 13-29; Gareth Austin, “Cash Crops and freedom: export agriculture and the decline of slavery in colonial West Africa,” *International Review of Social History* 54:1 (2009), 1-37; Law, *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce*. For East Africa, see Rockel, *Carriers of Culture*; Frederick Cooper, *Plantation Slavery on the East Coast of Africa* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1977); Frederick Cooper, *From slaves to squatters: plantation labor and agriculture in Zanzibar and coastal Kenya, 1890-1925* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980); Edward A. Alpers, *Ivory and Slaves: Changing Pattern of International Trade in East Central Africa to the Later Nineteenth Century* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1975). For the case of Angola, see: Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*; Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*; Curto, “The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion;” William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants, and Capitalists in Southern Angola, 1840-1926* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*; Linda M. Heywood, "Porters, Trade, and Power: The Politics of Labor in the Central Highlands of Angola, 1850-1914," in Lovejoy, Paul E. and Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch, eds., *The Workers of African Trade* (Beverley Hills, CA: Sage, 1985), 243-68; Ferreira, “Dos Sertões ao Atlântico”.

[83] A.J.H. Latham, Old Calabar, *1600-1891: The Impact of the International Economy upon a Traditional Society* (Oxford: The Clarendon Press, 1973).

slavers suffered increasing competition from small-scale traders and private investors, as occurred in Yorubaland.[84]

In the case of Angola, scholars have demonstrated that the abolition of the export slave trade altered the cultural and economic fabric of the colony. While the slave trade was controlled by big merchants and firms, "legitimate" commercial activities created opportunities for small-scale traders of European and African descent.[85] The collection of bees-wax and ivory, for example, was predominantly dominated by Africans. Meanwhile coffee and peanuts could be produced by any free and capable individual with access to land and labor. Nevertheless, the participation of African and Luso-African women in this process remains *terra incognita*. As this chapter demonstrates, in the case of Luanda, females were part and parcel of the group of private investors involved in the development of commercial agriculture and the trade in raw materials, while simultaneously producing foodstuffs in their *arimos* to supply the growing population of the colonial capital.

Africans played an important role in the economic transition that overtook Angola following the end of the slave export trade. Most of the items that became important in the export trade were explored locally long before they attracted the interest of the colonial administration and private investors. Late in the eighteenth century, the Brazilian officer Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa noted that Africans extracted ivory (from elephants, hippopotamus, and sea horses): while it was not of much use locally, relatively small quantities were exported under the context

[84] Robin Law, "'Legitimate' trade and gender relations in Yorubaland and Dahomey," in Law, *From Slave Trade to 'Legitimate' Commerce*, 195-214.
[85] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 398, 400.

of a monopoly held by the Royal Treasury at Luanda. [86] Bees-wax, he pointed out, was used to make candles that were consumed in religious services and funerals, even when the deceased was a poor person.[87] Cotton, according to Corrêa, grew naturally in Angola, even within towns, where African women weaved yarns which they commercialized. Africans made use of cotton to produce textiles, which were drawn upon as currency, and to make a piece of clothing called *tanga,* as well as fishing nets and wax wicks.[88] As in the case of cotton, tobacco also grew wild in the *sertões* and was cultivated by Africans to sustain their craving for the weed.[89] Nevertheless, local production was insufficient to meet demand so that much tobacco had to be imported from Brazil.[90]

Corrêa also observed that Africans and acculturated residents consumed palm and groundnut oils, although for different proposes. Africans consumed *ginguba* (peanuts) in various forms: fresh, roasted, boiled or grounded with manioc flour, salt, and sugar, as well as a culinary flavor enhancer. They also ate the coconut of the palm tree fresh or roasted, while the oil was used in food preparation and to anoint bodies, "making the skin soft and shiny." During times of war, the use of palm oil was believed to help escape from the hands of the enemy. Corrêa further noticed that slave dealers also made use of palm oil to season the food served to captives and to treat scabies. On the other hand, while well-to-do residents of Luanda lit their houses with groundnut and palm oil, Africans used fish oil for this same purpose in their *cubatas,* which

[86] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 127. The only use Africans made of ivory was perhaps in musical instruments. However, with the growing commercial importance of this commodity in the nineteenth century, African rulers began to accept tribute in ivory: Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 342-3.
[87] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 127.
[88] *Ibid*, I, 155-6. According to Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 10, 54, cotton grew everywhere in abundance and was as good as that grown in Brazil. For more on the cultivation of cotton in Angola, see Aida Freudenthal, "A Baixa de Cassanje: algodão e revolta," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos*, 18-22 (1995-1999): 245-83.
[89] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 158-9.
[90] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 399.

Corrêa described as producing an "intolerable smell." The three varieties of oils could be found in the markets of Luanda, where they were sold by *quitandeiras*.[91]

Given their experience with wild crops and knowledge of the sources of commodities such as ivory and bees-wax, "legitimate" commerce depended entirely on skilled Africans who were collectors and suppliers of tropical commodities to coastal merchants. Traders also depended on Africans to transport products from areas farther in the interior to coastal urban markets, from where they were exported. Some African groups specialized in the collection of specific commodities. This was the case of the Cokwe, a group specialized in the extraction of ivory and wax. They descended from a branch of the Lunda, which abandoned their original land and settled in the Quiboco, an area abundant in elephants and swarms of bees along the right banks of the Kwango River.[92] Skilled blacksmiths and fishers, the Cokwe also became notorious in the nineteenth century as hunters of elephants and collectors of honey and rubber.[93] These last abilities may have been an adaptation of their lifestyle to the new environment. Jill Dias argues that "legitimate" commerce freed young Africans from the control of elders and political authorities. Any free and capable individual with access to land and labor could grow crops or collect ivory and wax, and through the wealth thus created, challenge the authority of chiefs.[94]

In the early nineteenth century, as events in the Atlantic pointed to an eventual end of slave imports into Brazil, the Angolan colonial administration began to seriously consider commercial agriculture and the exploration of tropical products as viable alternatives to the slave

[91] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 137-8; Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 12.
[92] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 404.
[93] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 341, 432-447; Joseph C. Miller, "Cokwe Trade and Conquest," in Richard Gray and David Birmingham, eds., *Pre-Colonial Trade in Central Africa* (London: Oxford University Press, 1970), 175-201. By the 1850s, however, elephants became scarce and the Cokwe had to migrate in search of ivory. Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 402-3.
[94] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 483.

export trade.[95] Governor Luís da Mota Feo e Torres, who administrated the colony between 1816 and 1819, was one of the first to point to the potential of local commodities. According to this high-raking colonial administrator, the coffee, cotton, and sugar cane grown in the colony were of good quality, with the two last items even better than the ones produced in Brazil. He also highlighted the existence of a commerce in bees-wax and ivory collected by Africans. This commerce, he remarked, was jeopardized by the slave trade which "has contributed to ruin all other sectors" of the economy.[96]

With the banning of the slave export trade in 1836, the Angolan colonial administration enacted a number of policies intended to promote the development of commercial agriculture and the exploration of tropical commodities. Among these measures was an 1834 edict that ended the Crown monopoly of the ivory trade, thereby allowing interested investors to commercialize the commodity extracted in the interior. An 1837 decree, on the other hand, opened the ports of the colony to trade with other nations, aiming to reduce the smuggling of goods and promote "legitimate" commerce.[97] Moreover, in 1839, the colonial government allowed merchants willing to invest in agriculture to occupy land classified as *terras baldias* or uncultivated land.[98] Then, in 1845, African farmers who produced at least 150 kilograms of coffee per annum were exempted from military service.[99] By 1855, the colonial government further spared Africans who cultivated 50 *braças* or 91.5 square meters of land from working as

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[95] Ferreira, "Agricultural Enterprise and Unfree Labor". The colonial administration hoped that commercial agriculture would became the new economic identity of the colony at the same time that it would contribute to the permanent settlement of Europeans. Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 125.

[96] Torres, *Memórias*, 334-6.

[97] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 125-6.

[98] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 130-140.

[99] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 455.

porters.[100] Lima well perceived the effects of government support in the development of "legitimate" commercial activities. According to this contemporaneous observer, as early as the mid-1840s commodities such as ivory, wax, gum copal, orchil-weed, not to mention a few minerals like sulfur and saltpeter, had already began to find a place in the export trade of the colony. Meanwhile, the cultivation of coffee, cotton, and sugar cane also experienced growth, allowing Lima to anticipate that "within a short time the advantages of the new colonial system started five years ago will be tangible."[101]

At the same time that the government gave incentives to Africans who turned to commercial agriculture, it also allowed Luso-Africans and foreign individuals to occupy African land to establish commercial farms, which caused much friction with indigenous communities.[102] This new policy led to a need for land registration, as well as an increase in the number of contracts of sale, mortgages, and concessions of land.[103] Incentivized by new colonial policies, individuals requested land in the interior and in the vicinity of Luanda. While some invested in agriculture, others built houses to reside in or rent out. On 19 November, 1852, the *degredado* Domingos Fançony filed a petition with the Municipal Council of Luanda requesting 40 *braças* of land in the agricultural suburb of Maianga to build cattle sheds.[104] On 20 October, 1859, Francisco Joaquim Farto da Costa similarly requested a *terreno baldio* on the hill of Santo Amaro where he intended to grow cotton.[105] Then, on 29 August, 1865, Dona Maria Apolônia Matozo da Câmara, sister of the slave trader José Maria Matozo da Câmara, requested 12 *braças*

[100] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 125-126, 341; Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 456. One *braça* is equivalent to 1.82 meters.
[101] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, xxxix.
[102] Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire,* 75.
[103] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 61, 125-126. For registers of land concessions in the second half of the nineteenth century, see BML, Códice 052, "Registo de Termos de Foros 1845-1877". According to Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 140, land transactions began to be registered during the mid-nineteenth century.
[104] BML, Códice 052, "Registo de Termos de Foros 1845-1877," fls. 56-58.
[105] *Ibid*, fls. 146-150v.

of land in the neighborhood of Praia do Peixe to build a house.[106] Dona Apolônia had already owned a *sobrado* located on Avelino Dias Street, which she inherited from her sister Dona Maria Isabel Matozo de Câmara who died in Paris. In 1857, Dona Apolônia sold that *sobrado* to Luís Antônio de Freitas for 2,000,000 *réis*.[107] Some proprietors obtained land that they would later sell to others. For instance, Dona Margarida Lopes Faião obtained three *braças* of land in the District of Bengo, which she sold to Dona Antónia da Conceição Carneiro for 50,000 *réis* on 31 March, 1863.[108] These examples demonstrate that while some individuals requested land for cultivation, others accumulated land as a means to increase their wealth through speculative investment in real estate. Women were part of this process of land expropriation as much as men.

In the 1840s, the colonial government established an agricultural colony in Moçâmedes with male and female settlers who had arrived from Brazil, particularly from Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco, as well as from the Island of Madeira, depriving the Ndombe and the Kuvale, the original owners, of their land.[109] The new, exogenous settlers soon began to develop agricultural properties for the production of foodstuffs, sugar cane, and cotton. Some of these individuals were former farmers who contributed to the transfer of technology from Brazil to Angola, including the construction of sugar mills, the production of sugar cane, and distillation of *aguardente*.[110] Indeed, the Brazilian agricultural sector of the mid-nineteenth century became the model for the development of commercial agriculture in colonial Angola. From Brazil came seeds, expertise, and techniques that were widely disseminated and applied throughout the colony.

[106] *Ibid*, fls. 172-173v.
[107] ANA, Códice 7741, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 24 August, 1857, fl. 187.
[108] BML, Códice 052, "Registo de Termos de Foros 1845-1877," fls. 159-161v.
[109] BOA, n. 272, 14 December, 1850, p. 2; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 136; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery,* 230-231.
[110] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 127-128.

The first gazette published in the colony, the *Boletim Oficial*, was launched in 1845 within the context of this economic transition. Through its weekly pages, instructions on how to grow and produce foodstuffs and other crops were commonly disseminated throughout colonial Angola. For instance, on July, 1847, the *Boletim Oficial* published an article on "Methods of Cultivation and Preparation of Tobacco in Bahia."[111] In April 1851, on the other hand, the gazette printed a series entitled "Instructions to Grow and Harvest Cassava such as in Brazil."[112] Brazilian expertise was clearly the model for the expansion of private investment in commercial agriculture in colonial Angola. Similarities in climate and the use of slave labor between the two landscapes certainly facilitated such connections. [113]

By 1866, information on crop production was also disseminated through *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*. Contrary to the *Boletim Oficial*, a local, government controlled gazette, *A Civilização* was a private publication, financed and edited by Europeans, aiming to circulate throughout all of the Portuguese colonies in Africa. As its subheading announced, *A Civilização* was "a weekly gazette dedicated to the administrative, economic, commercial, agricultural, and industrial interests of Portuguese Africa, particularly Angola and São Tomé." For instance, on 20 December, 1866, the gazette published instructions on how to manufacture sugar and *aguardente de cana* from starch.[114] Subsequent issues circulated practical information on the production of crops such as coffee, maize, and cochineal – a red dye introduced in Angola by Francisco José

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[111] BOA, n. 95, 3 July 1847, p. 2-3.
[112] BOA, n. 291, 26 April, 1851, p. 1-4; BOA, n. 292, 3 May, 1851, p. 2-4; BOA, n. 293, 10 de March, 1851, p. 2-3; BOA, n. 294, 17 May, 1851, p. 3-4.
[113] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 126-128
[114] *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 2, 13 December, 1866, p. 9.

das Neves, a Luanda merchant and former slave trader who also experimented with nopal, a species of cactus.[115]

Governors often asked that seeds to be sent to Angola from Portugal, Brazil, Goa, and São Tomé e Príncipe. On 28 February, 1845, Governor Possolo requested sacks of wheat, barley, and rye to be sent from Portugal so that they could be experimented with throughout the colony, particularly in the *arimos* that belonged to the colonial state.[116] In December of the same year, Governor Cunha requested seeds or plants of piassava palm to be sent from Bahia and bamboo from Goa to Angola.[117] Cunha was tireless in his efforts to promote the development of the agricultural sector in Angola. On 10 October, 1845, he informed the Portuguese Overseas Minister that:

> I employ all of the time I have in promoting, through all of the methods and means at my disposal, the development of agriculture in this country, the exploration of the rich iron mines it has and everything else that constitutes the wealth of its soil, encouraging the inhabitants to take care of their real interests, abandon forbidden speculations in which they risk their capital, and favor other sectors where their interests meet those of the State.[118]

Private investors, most of who were engaged in the slave trade, were equally important in encouraging commercial agriculture, including women. In 1846, Governor Possolo reported that after nine years of experimentation with wild coffee, an individual had been able to develop an

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[115] See for example, *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 5, 5 January, 1867, p. 19-20; *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 6, 10 January, 1867, p. 23; *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 9, 31 January, 1867, p. 35; *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 18, 18 April, 1867, p. 71.
[116] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8B, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 28 February, 1845. See also José de Almeida Santos, "Perspectivas da Agricultura de Angola em Meados do Século XIX: Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha e o Pioneiro do Cazengo," *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História*, 36, n. 2 (1990), 147.
[117] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8AC, "Carta do Governador de Angola Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha," 27 December, 1845.
[118] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8AC, "Carta do Governador de Angola Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha," 25 October, 1845.

extensive coffee plantation in the colony.[119] The person in question was the Brazilian João Guilherme Barboza, who in 1835 pioneered the production of wild coffee in the District of Cazengo. His achievement brought great enthusiasm to the colonial administration. Barboza was later granted the title of knight of the order of *Nossa Senhora da Conceição de Vila Viçosa* and a piece of land.[120] By early 1850, his production had reached 2,000 *arrobas*.[121] Based on Barboza's experiment, the colonial administration increased its support of the commercial production of coffee, with this cash crop soon cultivated in the districts such as Muxima, Massangano, Cambambe, Pungo Andongo, and São José do Encoge, among others.[122] Until the 1870s, coffee was the most profitable colonial commodity of the Angolan export trade.

Another crop that grew naturally in Angola and entered the international market was orchil-weed, a moss from which a red color dye is extracted. Its commercialization was first attempted in 1832 by Lisbon merchant Francisco Rodrigues Batalha who traveled to France and to England to personally promote the said weed.[123] In 1837, the export of Orchil-weed became a royal monopoly and quickly constituted the largest portion of the cargoes of Portuguese vessels leaving Luanda.[124] Caldeira suggested in 1852 that this product was responsible for the increase in trade between Angola and the metropole. Orchil-weed was also exported to England and to the United States.[125]

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[119] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 7A, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 3 April, 1844.

[120] *Almanak statistico*, 11-12. On the trajectory of João Guilherme Barboza, see Santos, "Perspectivas da Agricultura de Angola".

[121] *Almanak statistico*, 12.

[122] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma* Viagem, II, 211-212. On the cultivation of coffee in colonial Angola, see David Birmingham, "A Question of Coffee: Black Enterprise in Angola," *Canadian Journal of African* Studies, 16, n. 2 (1982): 343-346; David Birminghan, "The Coffee Barons of Cazengo," *The Journal of African History*, 19, n. 4 (1978): 523-538; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 230.

[123] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma* Viagem, II, 218.

[124] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 126; Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem,* II, 219.

[125] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem,* II, 217, 219.

Commercial production of sugar cane was similarly also introduced in the colony by private investors. In 1826, António José de Souza set up the first sugar mill in colonial Angola, located near the Bengo River.[126] Few years later, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva also began to experiment with sugar cane in one of her numerous *arimos*. An owner of various sailing vessels and agricultural properties and one of the wealthiest individuals in the colony, Dona Ana Joaquina invested in "legitimate" commercial activities at the same time that she engaged in illegal slaving.[127] During his early 1850s stay in Angola, Francisco Travassos Valdez visited the *arimo* Capele in the District of Bengo, which belonged to Dona Ana Joaquina, and mentioned the existence of a sugar mill on this agricultural property.[128] The said sugar mill was established in 1846 by a French man named Pedro Regueure, who Dona Ana Joaquina had hired to coordinate the production of sugar cane and to set up the mill to make sugar and distill *aguardente de cana*. Despite having spent more than 10,000,000 *réis* on this enterprise, Dona Ana Joaquina was not able to reap the expected results. In early 1850, she hired Manoel J.C. de Farias, a settler from Pernambuco, to finish the said mill.[129] Dona Ana Joaquina may well have visited sugar mills in Brazil herself during one of her visits to the country. For instance, on November 1840, she travelled to Rio de Janeiro in the company of one of her associates, Fernando José Cardoso Guimarães.[130] She is even known to have acquired land in Irajá, in the city of Rio de Janeiro, to invest in crop production.[131]

The visit of Governor Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto to Dona Ana Joaquina's agricultural property, during his mid-1850 tour of the District of Icolo e Bengo, illustrates the

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[126] *Almanak statístico*, 11; Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica*, III, 10.
[127] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 447; Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire,* 38.
[128] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 277.
[129] *Almanak statistico*, 11; Santos, "Perspectivas da Agricultura de Angola," 146.
[130] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 147, "Termo de Fiança," 7 November, 1840, fls. 218-219.
[131] Pacheco, *José da Silva Maia Ferreira*, 73; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 155.

support of Luanda colonial administration to private investors willing to experiment with commercial agriculture. By then, according to Governor Pinto, "the sugar manufacture was well advanced and Mr. Freitas hopes to be able to manufacture sugar and alcohol later this year."[132] On 24 May, 1852, Carlos José Caldeira disclosed that Dona Ana Joaquina had been able the year before to obtain samples of sugar cane and *aguardente* from her Bengo sugar mill, which were "extremely valuable commodities for the commerce of this country, both with its hinterland as well as with the metropole."[133] Caldeira also noted that a large quantity of sugar cane was produced in the banks of the Bengo and Dande Rivers and then traded in the markets of Luanda, where it was consumed especially by Africans who enjoyed chewing it.[134]

The successful experiment of Dona Ana Joaquina with sugar cane and *aguardente* may have inspired other entrepreneurs in the colony, including women. In 1866, Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido, then wife of Augusto Garrido, purchased half of the farm Quimcolo near the Loge River in Ambriz. There she established a sugar mill dedicated to the production of *aguardente de cana* in association with Dona Ana de Jesus Henriques Perdigão, who owned the other half of the property.[135] Four months later, Dona Mariana Joaquina acquired the portion of the land that belonged to Dona Ana de Jesus, with all its goods and equipment, thus becoming the sole owner of *Sociedade de Quimcolo*. At the time, she was hopeful to soon be able to export *aguardente de cana* to Portugal.[136] The Quimcolo case shows that women practiced intra-gender cooperation by entering into entrepreneurial initiatives in association with other females. Association may have worked as an alternative to women who did not have the

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[132] BOA, n. 254, 10 August, 1850, p. 2-4. Brazilians played an important role in the transfer of technology related to the production of sugar in Angola: Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 180, 261.
[133] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 211.
[134] *Ibid*.
[135] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Venda e Sociedade," 4 September, 1866, fl. 107.
[136] *Ibid*, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 18 January, 1867, fl.138.

required capital to invest in commercial activities independently or who wished to minimize the risks involved in it.[137]

Fazendas previously used to acquire captives including firearms, gunpowder, *aguardente de cana* and textiles were also used as credit in "legitimate" commerce.[138] Cane brandy, for example, was an important product in local commerce, since it was used in the acquisition of "legitimate" goods in the *sertão*. Therefore, traders such as Dona Ana Joaquina and Dona Mariana Joaquina had great interest in producing it to exchange for raw materials in the interior and to supply other traders. Barrels of *aguardente de cana* were frequently part of the cargo of vessels heading to *feitorias* along the Angolan coast. In 1843, the *Brigue Maria Segunda* that belonged to Dona Ana Joaquina, the same vessel that transported captives illegally to Bahia, headed to Benguela Velha, Novo Redondo, and Quicombo with a cargo of foodstuffs, *aguardente de cana*, sacks to store orchil-weed, textiles, gunpowder, and rope.[139] The *aguardente,* as well as the textiles and gunpowder would most likely be used as credit to purchase orchil-weed. Nevertheless, until the 1860s slavers disguised their activities in sugar cane and cotton farms from where they also embarked captives.[140]

Another slave trader who invested in commercial agriculture was José Maria Matozo de Câmara, the first husband of Dona Mariana Joaquina. In his farm located in Cabo Lombo, the same where the vessel with captives apprehended in Brazil in 1846 departed from, he experimented with cotton and coconut trees. Câmara was the recipient of support from the

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[137] For cases of cooperation among Kikuyu female entrepreneurs in colonial Kenya, see Patricia Stamp, "Kikuyu Women's Self-help Groups: Toward an Understanding of the Relation between Sex-Gender System and Mode of Production in Africa," in Claire Robertson and Iris Berger, *Women and Class in Africa* (New York: Holmes & Meier), 39-42.
[138] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 391.
[139] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6, "Mappa dos Navios Entrados e Sahidos," 16 October, 1843.
[140] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 384-5.

colonial government, which sent him an experienced farmer from Goa named Cristóvão José de Mendonça, as well as two Indian assistants, so as to establish a coconut plantation.[141] In 1852, Governor António Sérgio de Sousa announced in the *Boletim Oficial* the good results obtained by Câmara in the extraction and production of coconut derivatives: at the same time, he offered the services of Mendonça to anyone who owned coconut farms in the colony.[142] In 1853, samples of coconut oil and rope produced on Câmara's farm were sent to Lisbon in the hopes of finding a market for these products.[143] While Câmara received technical assistance from the colonial administration to establish his coconut plantation, Dona Ana Joaquina hired experts from her own pocket, evidencing that government support was gendered and depended on personal connections with the governor in office.

Private investors further created partnerships and companies with colonial government support to promote the economic development of the colony. The *Companhia de Agricultura e Indústria de Angola e Benguela* was created in 1835 by private investors with support from the colonial administration. The *Companhia* intended to promote the development of commercial agriculture by importing machinery to process sugar, cotton and other crops. Several of its investors were slave dealers who quickly ended up abandoning the Company to return to trading human beings.[144] The *Companhia Mineralógica de Angola e Benguela*, in turn, was created in 1839 to promote the mining of "all products, with exception of precious metals." Formed by Governor António Manoel de Noronha and 27 merchants, all male, the company counted on capital amounting to 20,000,000 *réis*. Part of these funds was invested in the acquisition of machinery from Lisbon to establish an iron mine in Golungo Alto; however, the mine did not

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[141] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 212-3, 375.
[142] BOA, n. 375, 4 December, 1852, p. 2.
[143] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma* Viagem, II, 213.
[144] Ferreira, *Agricultural Enterprise*, 228; Santos, "Perspectivas da Agricultura de Angola," 138.

succeed due to a lack of skilled personnel. One year later, associates unanimously decided to fold the work of the *Companhia Mineralógica*.[145] In 1843, Arsénio do Carpo, who was a member of the *Companhia Mineralógica*, made a new proposal to the colonial government to exploit the iron mines of Oeiras. This time he was determined to undertake the operation alone as "example(s) have shown that to make similar enterprises successful it is more convenient for a single man to lead them." Arsénio also declared to have lost a considerable sum of capital with a navigation company and in a previous attempt to exploit the iron mine through the *Companhia Mineralógica*.[146]

In the early 1840s, moreover, Governor Bressane Leite and a group of traders led by João Caetano da Costa, Arsénio do Carpo, and Manoel António de Carvalho created the *Sociedade Angolense Solicitadora dos Interesses Locais e Bem Estar dos seus Habitantes*. The goal of this enterprise was to promote the culture of coffee and cotton and to establish sawmills throughout the colony. Despite good intentions, the work of the *Sociedade Angolense* did not progress much.[147] Another society devoted to the promotion of commercial agriculture was created in 1864: this was the *Associação Agrícola de Luanda*, which was underpinned by capital amounting to 20,000,000 *réis* invested by eight associates, many of which were former slave traders, including Francisco António Flores and Augusto Garrido.[148]

All of these ventures required large numbers of laborers to succeed and here, once more, entrepreneurs depended on Africans. Merchants owned enslaved Africans who they exported or

[145] BML, Códice 048, "Actas da Companhia Mineralógica, 1839-1840".
[146]AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 7A, "Proposta de Arcenio Pompílio Pompeu do Carpo," 24 November, 1844.
[147]AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6B, "Projeto dos Estatutos da Sociedade Angolense Solicitadora dos Interesses Locais e Bem Estar dos seus Habitantes," 18 August, 1843.
[148] ANA, Códice 3844, "Regulamento da Associação Agrícola de Luanda," 15 October, 1864, fl. 19.

used locally for their labor and for purposes of prestige, as was discussed in the previous chapter. With the end of the slave trade and the closure of the Brazilian market, the price of captives dropped in Angola.[149] Former slavers then began increasingly to use the captives they would have previously exported across the Atlantic Ocean on their farms and in urban contexts, as occurred in other regions of the African continent throughout the nineteenth century.[150] In West Africa enslaved persons were extensively used in the production and the transport of exports that integrated "legitimate" trade, as well as to produce food for commercial and urban centers.[151] Enslaved Africans certainly offered more than simple labor, as they were experienced with picking coffee, not to mention cultivating tobacco and cotton which grew naturally in the colony of Angola. Therefore, Africans most likely passed techniques to investors on how to grow and harvest these crops.[152]

As the cases of José Maria Matozo de Câmara, Augusto Garrido, Dona Mariana Joaquina, Arcênio do Carpo and Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva demonstrate, a large portion of the capital invested in "legitimate" commercial activities had its origin in the (legal and illegal) slave trade. Jill Dias, Gervase Clarence-Smith, and Aida Freudenthal have established that the economic structures based on credit developed during the slave trade era

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[149] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 405.

[150]*Ibid*, 404-5, 457, 458; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 44; Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas;" Oliveira, "Para a História do Trabalho em Angola;" Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion"; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, Chapter 10.

[151] Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "The initial 'crisis of adaptation': the impact of British abolition on the Atlantic slave trade in West Africa, 1808-1820," in Law, *From slave trade to 'legitimate' commerce*, 32-56, document the growth in the use of slaves throughout West Africa during the nineteenth century.

[152]African know-how and technologies in a variety of fields were also transferred to the Americas. See Paul E. Lovejoy, "African Contributions to Science, Technology and Development," (Unpublished paper); Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil*; Carney, *Black Rice*; Carney, "'With Grains in Her Hair;'" Carney, "Landscapes of Technology Transfer;" Judith A. Carney and Richard Nicholas Rosomoff, *In the Shadow of Slavery: Africa's Botanical Legacy in the Atlantic World* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 2010); Edda L. Fields-Black, *Deep Roots: Rice Farmers in West Africa and the African Diaspora* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2008); John Thornton, "Precolonial African Industry and the Atlantic Trade, 1500-1800," *African Economic History*, 19 (1990), 1-19.

were extended to the new colonial trade, with coastal merchants continuing to offer loans to commercial and agrarian sectors. [153] Thus, when compared to the slave trade era, the system of credit operating during the context of licit commerce did not suffer alterations.[154] Luanda traders, many of whom were former slavers, continually obtained authorization from the Royal Treasure to advance credit to those in need. In 1846, a total of 33 investors made this list: among them were three woman, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Dona Delfina de Miranda Britos Vieira, and Dona Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda, as well as males who were involved in illegal slaving, such as Augusto Garrido, Francisco António Flores, and Francisco Barboza Rodrigues (Appendix I, Table 4.2). Despite the presence of women, the advancement of credit was dominated by men, most likely because they were better able to accumulate capital than females did. As discussed in previous chapters, men were the majority of individuals engaged in the foodstuff trade as well as in slaving. Nevertheless, some women were able to compete with male traders. Even after banking activities began in Angola in the early 1860s, merchants were still able to maintain their role as creditors. However, only large-scale merchants adapted to the new context, while others closed their businesses and left the colony to settle elsewhere, particularly in Brazil and in Portugal.

Despite support from the colonial administration in the development of "legitimate" commercial activities, some obstacles persisted. Investors had to deal with the absence of roads and the lack of transportation throughout the colony. They were completely dependent on African porters to move *fazendas* and tropical commodities into and out of the interior. In the early 1850s, Caldeira noted that "transportation is all made on the back of porters who almost

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[153] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 52; Clarence-Smith, *The Third Portuguese Empire,* 69.
[154] Martin Lynn, "The West African palm oil trade in the nineteenth century and the 'crisis of adaptation,'" in Robin Law, ed., *From slave trade to 'legitimate' commerce: The commercial transition in nineteenth century West Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 57-77, details a similar pattern of continuity in the Niger Delta/Old Calabar region.

always have to move through rough paths, ridges, cliffs, and bushes." He further remarked that "without roads, considerable development in agriculture and internal commerce, which feeds external trade, can never be expected."[155] During his trips throughout the hinterland of Luanda, Valdez similarly witnessed numbers of Africans porters carrying the commodities that underpinned "legitimate" commerce, such as groundnuts, palm-oil, ivory, and wax.[156]

Coastal merchants and their intermediaries frequently faced difficulties in finding the human power necessary to organize a caravan to trek into the *sertões*. In the 1870s, Serpa Pinto complained that "nothing is more unpleasant to someone who wants to travel in Africa, and has 400 loads, than to be told: *there are no porters*."[157] Traders established in Luanda counted on the assistance of commanders of the *presídios* and districts to recruit porters. In exchange, commanders received illegal tributes and bribes in *fazendas* and cattle.[158] Religious and administrative authorities denounced this unscrupulous practice of interior commanders throughout the 1840s and 1850s. Father António Francisco das Necessidades, for example, warned the colonial administration in 1845 that traders were used to bribing commanders in the districts of Golungo Alto and Ambaca.[159]

On March 1846, Governor Cunha requested the Commander of the District of Golungo Alto to recruit 300 porters to be sent to Luanda, where merchant Manoel Francisco Alves de Brito required them to transport *fazendas* to Cassange. The Governor advised the Commander that he should make sure the porters would receive fair payment.[160] Cunha's concern resulted

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[155] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 214.
[156] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 270.
[157] For more on the lack of porters, see BOA, n. 363, 11 September, 1852, p. 3-4.
[158] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 385.
[159] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8AC, "Carta de António Francisco das Necessidades," 6 October, 1845, fl. 5v. See also BOA, n. 361, 28 August 1852, p. 1.
[160] BOA, n. 28, 21 March, 1846, p. 1.

from the common practice of commanders retaining for themselves the payments designated for porters.[161] Foodstuff producers also required porters to transport crops from *arimos* located in the immediate interior to urban markets. In September 1847, the Commander of the District of Dande committed to provide 24 porters weekly to Dona Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda to transport manioc flour and beans from her *arimos* to Luanda.[162]

Many Africans living in the districts and interior administrative units tried their best to avoid what amounted to labor conscription. In addition to the risk of not being paid, individuals were also subjected to harsh treatment while en route, and sometimes even starvation.[163] Moreover, porters were responsible for any goods lost during transportation.[164] Africans were even willing to bribe Commanders with *fazendas* and cattle to avoid being recruited, a practice that certainly benefited the latter.[165] Roquinaldo Ferreira argues that the lack of porters was a consequence of the economic transformations experienced in the colony: *sobas* needed a reliable labor force themselves to cultivate coffee and palm oil, as well as to engage in the caravans that carried the tropical commodities to the coast.[166] Africans organized their own caravans, into which European and Luso-Africans merchants often embedded their own commercial operations. Yet this was only possible for a privileged group of African individuals, who had both the technical means and the social prestige to recruit porters.[167]

The colonial government and private investors periodically attempted to find solutions to remedy the problems with transportation. During the administration of Possolo, for example, the

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[161] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 413.
[162] BOA, n. 105, 11 September, 1847, p. 1.
[163] In the mid-1850s, Joaquim Rodrigues Graça mentioned porters sent to the interior, with *fazendas* belonging to Dona Ana Joaquina, who experienced starvation due to the limited foodstuffs they were provided with during the trip: ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2772, "Autos Civis de Acção Commercial,"1856.
[164] Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 413. For details on the different types of porters, see *Ibid*, 414-5.
[165] BOA, n. 361, 28 August, 1852, p. 1.
[166] For a similar argument, see Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 126.
[167] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 399.

government imported camels which were used in the transportation of "legitimate" goods.[168] Another initiative came from local traders: in 1843, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Arsénio do Carpo, Francisco Teixeira de Miranda, António Severino de Avelar, Manoel Francisco Alves de Brito, and Francisco António Flores presented a proposal to the colonial government for the creation of the *Companhia de Navegação da Costa* (Company for Costal Navigation). The proposal, which included the purchase of a vessel in Rio de Janeiro to move cargo along the coast from Luanda to Moçâmedes, was supported by Governor José Xavier Bressane Leite.[169] The presence of Dona Ana Joaquina in this enterprise shows that women with capital were able to participate in collective investments dominate by men. The company, however, was short lived. Several, if not all, of the company associates were by then slave traders involved in illegal activities which may have diverted their focus.

If the direct participation of women in the slave trade was minimal, their presence was far more expressive when it came to "legitimate" commerce.[170] Traders who owned *feitorias* in the ports north and south of the colonial capital themselves acquired coasting-vessels to transport *fazendas* and "legitimate" goods. Passports granted to individuals and to coasting-vessels evidence a growing movement of women from the coast into the *sertões* and between northern and southern ports, where they most likely owned *feitorias* that traded in "legitimate" goods. In the 1860s, Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria Câmara Garrido traveled to Ambriz aboard her

[168]AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 8B, "Carta do Governador de Angola Lourenço Germack Possolo," 27 February, 1845.
[169] AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6, "Carta do Governador de Angola José Xavier Bressane Leite," 17 May, 1843.
[170] Robin Law, "'Legitimate' trade and gender relations in Yorubaland and Dahomey," in Law, *From slave trade to 'legitimate' commerce*, 195-214, argues that "legitimate' commerce also created new opportunities for women in Yorubaland, where they were particularly able to operate as independent small-scale producers of and traders in palm oil.

vessel *Quimcolo* at least three times a month*, a seus negócios* (attending to her business).[171] She most likely headed to her farm, also named Quimcolo, where *aguardente de cana* was produced for export to Lisbon. Similarly, Dona Amélia do Carmo Torres Bastos frequently traveled from Luanda to ports as far south as Moçâmedes or as far north as Luango *a seus negócios*. She owed three vessels: *Sultana*, *Esperança*, and *Amélia*.[172] Other women traveled throughout the Angolan coast on business aboard their own vessels (see Appendix I, Table 4.3).

It is possible that some of these female traders engaged simultaneously in "legitimate" trade and illegal slaving. At least five among them were operating in the early 1860s, when the illegal traffic in captives was still active: Dona Rita Alegre de Faria, Dona Amélia Joaquina de Oliveira, Dona Henriqueta Adelaide de Oliveira, and Maria Aurélia de Oliveira. These females had their vessels transiting between the capital and ports to the south and to the north of the colony, such as Novo Redondo, Congo River, Ambriz, and Luango, known for being points of embarkation of captives. As discussed earlier, many *feitorias* established along these areas were used for both purposes: shipping slaves and trading in tropical products.

As was the case of their male counterparts, large-scale female traders employed agents in various locations throughout the Angolan hinterland where they had *feitorias* or carried out business. One such individual was José Augusto dos Santos, born in Benguela, who on 20 June, 1846, traveled to the District of Golungo Alto on behalf of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva.[173] Despite counting on several agents throughout the interior, Dona Ana Joaquina sometimes visited her various inland properties personally. For instance, on 21 September, 1849, she traveled to her *arimos* located in the districts of Bengo, Dande, and Zenza do Golungo

[171] See for example, ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 142, "Registo de Passes, Passaportes e Licenças de Embarcações Costeiras," 6 October, 1869; 18 October, 1869; 30 October, 1869.
[172] *Ibid*, 16 December, 1868.
[173] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 145, "Passaporte para o Interior," 12 June, 1846.

accompanied by a large entourage composed of Dona Maria Emília, Dona Maria do Carmo, Dona Florência Gonçalves, Dona Josefa Micaela, Dona Mariana Luiza, Dona Ana dos Santos, João Malheiros dos Santos, as well as 78 captives and a white overseer in her service.[174] As Corrêa poignantly pointed out, land owners who resided in urban centers periodically visited their *arimos* in the immediate interior, almost always entrusted to African or white overseers, to supervise work and production.[175] The fact that the six free women who accompanied Dona Ana Joaquina were all *donas*, shows that women built relations with other females within their own social group. Some of these relations could end up in business associations, as we have seen above in the case of the Society of Quimcolo.

While the slave trade required great investment, which contributed to keep petty traders away, "legitimate" trade opened opportunities for individuals of more modest means, including African women. The 20 year-old black African Mariana José may have been one of such women. On 25 October, 1849, she traveled to the Dembos *a seus negócios* accompanied by an enslaved female named Guilhermina.[176] Constança de Campos, also a black African woman, headed for the same destination on 25 November, 1849: she too was away on business.[177] Both benefited from the new licit economic activities.

Diversifying Investments

During his 1852 visit to Angola, Caldeira noted that the cultivation of cassava, maize, and beans had recently expanded. As a result, he added, the importation of these foodstuffs from São Tomé and Rio de Janeiro had decreased, with "production in this country now close to

[174] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1736, "Passaporte para o Interior," 21 September, 1849.
[175] Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I, 112-113.
[176] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 144, "Passaporte para o Interior," 25 October, 1849.
[177] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 144, "Passaporte para o Interior," 25 November, 1849.

consumption."[178] The growth in foodstuff production experienced by mid-nineteenth century century was directly connected to the end of the slave export trade. Although the merchant community of Luanda had already simultaneously engaged in slaving and in the foodstuff trade, slavers subsequently intensified the use of land to produce crops to meet the growing demand of the internal market during the era of "legitimate" commerce instead of supplying slave ships.[179] In 1850, the population of the colonial capital reached 12,565 individuals, an addition of about 7,000 people compared with the 5,605 who resided in the city at the end of 1844. As Curto points out, such an increase could not have stemmed from natural reproduction; instead, it resulted from the accumulation of enslaved Africans who previously would have been exported across the Atlantic Ocean.[180] Many economic activities associated with the internal market thus received extra impulses with the rising number of inhabitants, including the need for more housing and food.

Although there was a rush for concessions of agricultural properties to establish coffee, cotton, and sugar cane farms, land was also acquired by individuals interested in growing foodstuffs to supply urban markets and caravans, including women. For instance, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva figured as the largest maize supplier to the *Terreiro Público* in the 1850s.[181] In 1853 alone, Dona Ana Joaquina delivered no less than 967 *arrobas* of this crop to the public market located in the colonial capital.[182] Dona Mariana Joaquina Ferreira da Câmara Garrido was also an important supplier of maize produced in her *arimos* located in the districts of Icolo, Bengo, and Dande, as well as in her farm Belas, located south of the colonial capital.[183]

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[178] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, II, 213.
[179] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 385-6.
[180] Curto, "Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion".
[181] BML, Códice 055, Vol. II, "Registo de Entradas e Saídas do Milho," 1850-1857.
[182] *Ibid*, fls. 56v-57, 60v-64, 68v-75, 78v-79.
[183] *Ibid*, fls. 90v-91, 113v-114, 179v-180, 182v-183, 188v-189.

Throughout the 1860s, her husband, Augusto Garrido, often traveled to the interior, probably to supervise the production of staples in their agricultural properties. For instance, on 19 November, 1866, he headed to Dande and Bengo aboard the coasting-vessel *Inocêncio*.[184] A month later, Garrido traveled the same route aboard the vessel *Tomázia*.[185]

Agricultural produce also played an important role in the trade of "legitimate" goods. According to Jill Dias, African intermediaries obtained the resources to enter long distance trade from their own production of manioc flour, tobacco, cotton, hoes, and cattle. These commodities were exchanged for *fazendas*, which facilitated the participation of African individual traders in the commerce of wax and ivory.[186] Therefore, the trade in ivory and wax led even if indirectly, to the intensification of agricultural production. Africans women also invested in the production of foodstuffs to supply local markets. For instance, on 7 January, 1864, the free black African women Maria André da Paixão and Felipa Pedro das Dores purchased a *musseque* from Luís Gomes Ribeiro and his wife Dona Maria Augusta de Melo Gomes Ribeiro, then residing in Coimbra, for which they paid the appreciable sum of 1,300,000 *réis*. The *musseque* contained a water dam, a house, three copper pots to roast manioc flour, 24 captives, and a cassava plantation.[187] Through this acquisition, Maria and Felipa most likely intended to produce manioc flour to supply local markets. African women also practiced intra-gender cooperation becoming partners in commercial enterprises.

Women also owned commercial and residential buildings in the city that they rented out to complement their income. Investment in urban real estate for the purpose of renting was an

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[184] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Códice 538, Cota 1-1-20, "Registo de Passes, Passaportes e Licenças de Embarcações Costeiras," 19 November, 1866.
[185] *Ibid*, 22 December, 1866.
[186] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 404.
[187] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 7 January, 1864, fl. 84v.

activity restricted to the rich, as ordinary men and women would have struggled to acquire the accommodations they required for their families to live in. Indeed, both foreigners and locals were always confronted with a shortage of commercial and residential space, which allowed those wealthy individuals who owned urban real estate to profit from the situation. Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido is a case in point. She was the owner of three *sobrados* in Luanda, two of which were rented out: one on Dom Miguel de Melo Street, rented to the *Cofre dos órfãos* for 40,000 *réis* per month; another located on Santo António Street, divided into two separate quarters and rented for 20,000 *réis* each per month.[188] The third *sobrado*, on Falcão Square, with its "four windows on the front, an entrance door, another door that connects to the warehouse, two more windows with protection, and two backyards that face the Coqueiros neighborhood," was where Dona Mariana Joaquina probably resided. [189]

Traders also rented space where they could establish and run their businesses. For instance, on 30 December, 1857, the merchant Raimundo da Fonseca Varela lived in a single-storied house that he rented from Antónia da Costa Pinto, located on Santa Efigênia Square.[190] The American newcomer George Samuel also rented a *sobrado* with a warehouse on Santa Efigênia Square that belonged to widow Dona Maria da Conceição Monteiro, for the amount of 35,000 *réis* monthly after having named George Harttey, an Englishman, as his guarantor.[191] The said *sobrado* was initially rented by Dona Antónia da Fonseca Schut, wife of the American trader Alberto Schut, who subleased the building to George Samuel.[192] Recently arrived foreigners counted on the support of persons originating from similar geographical landscapes to establish their businesses and develop networks based on trust.

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[188] ANA, Códice 7750, "Escritura de Compra e Venda," 1 February, 1861, fl. 31.
[189] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 11 February, 1860, fl. 45.
[190] ANA, Códice 7741, "Escritura de Continuação de Arrendamento," 30 December, 1857, fl. 239.
[191] ANA, Códice 7615, "Escritura de Sublocação," 10 May, 1861, fl. 40.
[192] ANA, Códice 3928, "Escritura de Arrendamento," 20 September, 1859, fl.55.

Even agricultural properties were rented out by females to supplement their income. This was also a tactic used by proprietors to avoid losing their rural holdings to the colonial state as *terrenos baldios* or abandoned lands. This was the case of three sisters, Dona Antónia Pinheiro Falcão, Dona Ana Pinheiro Falcão, and Maria Esperança Pinheiro Falcão, who in 1866 leased their *terreno inculto* (uncultivated land) in Carimbolo, near the Santa Cruz hill, to Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido for a period of six years at the rate of 8,000 *réis* monthly.[193] The *Boletim Oficial* was frequently used by land owners to announce the agricultural properties they had available for lease.[194] The three sisters most likely inherited the property after the death of one of their parents, sharing the ownership and consequently the income obtained through the lease.

The advance of credit constituted yet another source of income for female traders. By the mid-nineteenth century, individuals in need obtained loans from commercial firms, independent traders, the *Cofre dos orfãos*, and the *Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos*: following 1864, they could also count on the newly established Overseas National Bank. The widow Dona Maria da Conceição Monteiro, who was in the rental business, also found in loans another way to increase the inheritance that her husband left her and their offspring. In the 1860s, she was the woman who meted out most loans in Luanda. On 5 May, 1865, for example, Dona Maria advanced 500,000 *réis* to António José Coelho Vilela Junior for one year at an interest rate of five per cent; a guarantor was not required. While, António was exempt from presenting a guarantor, he had to use his house located on Mercadores Street as collateral.[195] On 25 May, 1866, Dona Maria loaned 172,306 *réis* to Dona Maria Manoel da Conceição, a single woman,

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[193] ANA, Códice 3843, "Escritura de Arrendamento," 6 June, 1866, fl. 74v.
[194] See, for example, BOA, n. 154, 9 September, 1848, p. 4; BOA, n. 338, 20 March, 1852, p. 4.
[195] ANA, Códice 3844, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 5 May, 1865, fl. 55.

who gave her house on Travessa da Sé as collateral. Dona Maria Manoel, however, was not required to present a guarantor.[196]

Widows administrated their share of the couples' assets and sometimes were further able to become tutors of their minor children. The law designated minor children with inheritances as "orphans" and a local judge appointed a tutor to administer their inheritances until they came of age. Women were usually not permitted to serve as tutors, unless they were mothers or grandmothers of the children in question, and even then some conditions applied. Women willing to become tutors of their children were required to "live honestly", were not allowed to remarry, and had to pledge their own property as guarantee.[197] No such provision against remarrying applied to males. Sometimes, the male tutors nominated by local judges abused their role by applying the wealth of *protégées* for their own benefit. The limitations imposed on women in a patriarchal social structure prevented them even from looking after the assets of their own children, demonstrating yet again that colonial law codes were gender based.

Dona Ana Joaquina do Amaral Machado was another woman who loaned money on interest. She was the wife of Luanda merchant António Félix Machado. Her assets comprised agricultural holdings, real estate, and money, as well as properties the couple had accumulated after marriage. Part of her capital, however, was in the hands of third parties to whom she supplied *fazendas* and advanced money on interest. On 9 January, 1860, this Dona Ana Joaquina loaned 850,000 *réis* in *fazendas de quitandeiras* (goods for street vendors) to Dona Sabrina Rosa Justiniana de Freitas. Dona Sabrina presented all her property as collateral, including captives,

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[196] *Ibid*, 25 May, 1866, fl. 100.

[197] Metcalf, *Women and Means*, 279; Mariana L. Dantas, "Succession of Property, Sales of Meação, and the Economic Empowerment of Widows of African Descent in Colonial Minas Gerais, Brazil," *Journal of Family History*, 39, n. 3 (2014), 224. The work of the tutor only finished in three circumstances: when the orphan came of age (25 year old), if the orphan married, or became emancipated. Silva, *História da Família no Brasil*, 21.

furniture, jewelry, and a house in the Coqueiros neighborhood. In this specific case, the *fazendas* were advanced with neither interest nor a guarantor required, which implies that this was a long term commercial relationship.[198] Dona Sabrina most likely sent enslaved women to the markets and streets to peddle the *fazendas* she acquired from Dona Ana Joaquina. The advantages granted to Sabrina further suggest an intra-gender cooperation between these two female traders, adding to the cases previously highlighted.

Creditors sometimes had to take debtors to court to retrieve the capital they advanced. Women did not shy away from implementing judicial proceedings against individuals to whom they had loaned money or advanced *fazendas* on credit. As one of the largest creditors in the colony, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva had to resort to judicial authorities several times in order to receive payment from male and female debtors. For instance, on 10 February, 1849 after a long judicial dispute, the judge of the district of Luanda determined that the properties presented by Idelfonso Inácio de Menezes as collateral in a loan obtained from Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva should go on public auction to pay for the debt.[199]

Although not common, women in Luanda also acted as guarantors for individuals in need of capital, especially family members. For example, on 26 March, 1860, Dona Maria Apolônia Matozo de Câmara performed the role of legal representative and guarantor for her brother, the lawyer Eduardo Matozo Gago da Câmara. Albeit then residing in Lisbon, Eduardo Câmara had received a loan in Angola from the orphans of Manoel António Pires amounting 2,000,000 *réis* for which he offered his house on Mercadores Street as collateral.[200] The role of a guarantor was

[198] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 9 January, 1860, fl. 33.
[199] BOA, n. 176, 10 February, 1849, p. 6.
[200] ANA, Códice 5614, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 26 March, 1860, fl. 51v.

a risky one: at the same time that individuals reinforced their networks by acting as guarantors of others, they also put their assets at risk given that they became responsible for the payment of insolvent loans. Sometimes even family members were faced with the obligation of paying the debts of relatives for whom they acted as guarantors. The fact that women in Luanda were able to act as head of households, guarantors and legal representatives challenged the legal rules and the gender expectations of a patriarchal society.

In the late 1860s, the price of goods exported from Angola began to fall, anticipating the international crises of the 1870s. Many individuals were then unable to settle their debts, which gave origin to numerous lawsuits that ended up with debtors losing their properties to large-scale investors, merchants, and the Overseas National Bank. Several creditors, however, also failed to recuperate the loans they had advanced: they too came face to face with an economic crisis. The fall in the prices of licit commodities affected small and large scale traders, including women, some of whom saw their fortunes disappear in the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Conclusion

The end of the trans-Atlantic slave trade brought distress to traders established in Luanda, as well as to African suppliers in the interior. Nevertheless, this was an irreversible process that slowly led the colonial economy towards a commerce based on “legitimate” goods. Although traders engaged in illegal shipment of Africans to the Americas until the 1860s, they did not out rightly refuse to invest in the trade in commodities from the *sertões* and in experiments with commercial agriculture. Indeed the capital invested in “legitimate” activities originated in the legal and illegal slave trades. Yet only large-scale merchants were able to survive the transition, while others left the colony forever to settle in Brazil and Portugal.

Africans played an important role in this economic transition as the transformation of indigenous crops into export commodities required know-how and labor. Indigenous peoples already had experience with picking coffee, and cultivating cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane for internal consumption and for a small-scale trade. Meanwhile, they were also the collectors of ivory and wax, the labor force underpinning *arimos* and farms, and the movers of all kinds of goods. Therefore, merchants and the colonial administration depended on African labor and expertise to implement "legitimate" commercial activities. Meanwhile, licit commerce also freed individual Africans, who turned to trade, from the authority of elders and chiefs.

Women specifically found more opportunities in "legitimate" commerce than they had had in slave trading. Female traders like Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, who counted on large amounts of capital, continued to engage in illegal slaving at the same time that they invested in the trade of licit goods and agricultural produce. Other well-off women acquired coasting-vessels that were used in the trade in tropical products to the north and south of Luanda. As with their male counterparts, female traders also entered into commercial partnerships with other women during the era of licit trade, evidencing that intra-gender cooperation was not restricted to males. Moreover, the new commercial activities also opened new venues for African women who acquired land to produce crops so as to supply local markets or for export. Only those individuals who were able to diversify their investments survived in the new economy. Females, particularly, did so by investing in foodstuff production, real estate, and the advancement of credit to individuals in need.

Chapter 5

Slave Owners and Enslaved Persons in the Era of "Legitimate" Commerce

By the 1840s slavers ended their activities in the colonial capital of Angola, establishing *feitorias* in the southern and northern ports of the colony from where they illegally shipped captives to Brazil and Cuba.[1] Others still decided not to run the risks of the infamous trade, leaving Angola to settle their businesses elsewhere.[2] Moreover, with the withdrawal of Brazil from the slave traffic in 1850, declining illegal shipments from Angola led to a parallel drop in the price of captives throughout the coast. Consequently, enslaved Africans that previously would have been exported across the Atlantic Ocean were used locally, as was the case in other regions of the African continent throughout the nineteenth century.[3]

This chapter analyzes the profile of the enslaved population of Luanda following the end of the slave export trade, with a particular focus on the interactions between female and male slaveholders and enslaved persons in a context of expanding slave labor use. To do so, it first identifies the types of work enslaved men and women performed in a context of "legitimate" commerce; secondly, it highlights the vulnerability of enslaved women and explores the limitations imposed by the colonial state on the power slaveholders exercised over their captives; lastly, it analyzes the possibilities of enslaved persons achieving freedom through flight and manumission. Drawing upon slave registers, local gazettes, and manumission letters, this chapter shows that masters and mistresses in Luanda invested in the specialization of their captives to

[1] Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico," 253-236; Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers;" Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 370, 371, 373; Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade*, 128.
[2] Alexandre and Dias, *O Império Africano*, 370.
[3] *Ibid*, 404-5, 457, 458; Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 44; Oliveira, "Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas;" Oliveira, "Para a História do Trabalho em Angola;" Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion;" Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, Chapter 10.

meet the demands of "legitimate" commercial activities and the requirements of a city in expansion. At the same time that Luanda became more dependent on slave labor, captives were continuously victimized by male and female owners. Enslaved women, in particular, were more vulnerable to multiple workloads and violence in the household.

Slaveholders and Enslaved Persons after the Abolition of the Slave Trade

Throughout the nineteenth century the colonial capital experienced many changes that effectively turned the town into an urban space. Foreign individuals who passed by or settled in Luanda by the mid-1800s noticed the changes that took place. Lima stated in the mid-1840s that Luanda, "the capital of both kingdoms [Angola and Benguela] is certainly deserving of this position as the most majestic, opulent and beautiful of the European towns that have been founded in the African continent." He went on to further suggest that the town could become a new Alexandria if only communication with the eastern part of the continent be opened through the interior.[4] In the 1850s, Valdez too was surprised by the beauty of the urban landscape upon his arrival:

> Our steamer anchored opposite to the Penedo, and from deck the scene was most pleasing; the town on one side, and the island of Loanda on the other; southboard, in the distance, the island of Cazeange, the green, lofty palm-trees and neat cottages, the majestic churches, with their high belfries, the large white stone buildings, with their verandahs and colonnades, the high and low town, united by Calçadas, or stone pavements – altogether forming a most grand and pleasing spectacle.[5]

Caldeira also expressed surprise upon arriving in 1852, when he described the existence of "good buildings similar to those found in Europe, well built and in good state of conservation

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[4] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statista*, III, 7-8.
[5] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 104-5.

that make the arrival to this town really pleasant."[6] He also noticed that Luanda had public lighting and was well policed, with wide squares and streets where elegant carriages and horses could be seen, as well as many shops where all sorts of goods could be found.[7] Indeed, some stores supplied Europeans and the Luso-African population with imported food and items of the apparel industry as was announced in the *Boletim Oficial*. For instance, in 1851 Francisco da Silva Teles owned a shop located on Salvador Corrêa Street where he sold "perfume of superior quality, suspenders, gloves, fur and cotton among other products."[8] Lard imported from Minas Gerais in southeast Brazil, could be found in the shop of José de Jesus Rodrigues, while fine pastries were available at the shop of João Carlos Lemos dos Santos and at Confeitaria Esperança, which opened its doors in September of 1851.[9]

Yet, infrastructural problems persisted affecting permanent and temporary residents. Caldeira, for instance, observed three funerals within a short period of time on the day he landed. The Portuguese trader admitted that the scene "was not a positive sign to a newcomer," and further disclosed that "much sickness rule this land."[10] Like visitors from the previous century, Valdez also soon stressed the paucity of water: during the early 1850s, only two public wells existed in the town, supplying particularly ecclesiastic and administrative personnel.[11] Lima too pointed to the lack of water, as well as to the scarcity and high prices of foodstuffs, even locally produced staples such as maize, manioc flour and beans.[12] He further commented that "not long

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[6] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, I, 186.
[7] *Ibid*, 196.
[8] BOA, n. 283, 1 March, 1851, p. 4.
[9] BOA, n. 337, 13 March, 1852, p. 4; BOA, n. 260, 21 September, 1850, p. 4; BOA, n. 311, 13 September, 1851, 4.
[10] Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'Uma Viagem*, I, 199.
[11] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 119-120. Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda*, 60-61, mentions the existence of four wells in late eighteenth century Luanda located in Maianga, the Fortress of Penedo, the Fortress of São Miguel, and the *Terreiro Público*. The wealthier residents consumed water carried by slaves from the Fortress of São Miguel and the *Terreiro Público*.
[12] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statista*, III, 7-8.

ago this town suffered severe famines."[13] In spite of their admiration for the beauty of the city, these individuals failed to notice that Luanda could not function without the labor of enslaved Africans. Indeed, captives performed all kinds of work in this urban landscape, from carrying water to building the European style buildings that amused foreigners. By mid-nineteenth century the colonial capital became even more dependent on the labor of enslaved Africans.

Figure 5.1
Luanda in Mid-Nineteenth Century

Source: José de Almeida Santos, *A Alma de uma Cidade* (Luanda: Câmara Municipal, 1973), 33.

While a total of 260,399 captives were exported from Angola between 1846 and 1850, the number fell to 36,740 during 1851-1855 (see Appendix E, Table 3.1). With decreasing demand from the external market, the price of captives also dropped throughout the coast and its interior. The jurist António Gil, who lived in Luanda in the mid-1840s, stated that the price of a

[13] *Ibid*, III, 44.

captive varied then between 20,000 and 40,000 *réis* in *fazendas*.[14] According to missionary David Livingstone, in the early 1850s the price of captives dropped from 70-80 to 10-20 dollars.[15] A similar drop in the price of captives was experienced previously in several places throughout West Africa leading to an extensive use of enslaved persons in the production and transport of exports for the "legitimate" trade, as well as to produce foodstuffs for commercial and urban centers.[16] In Angola, particularly in the Portuguese enclaves, slavers used the labor of enslaved individuals in several activities in urban and rural contexts, such as mechanized trades, domestic services, and in the cultivation and transportation of crops and "legitimate" goods.

By 1850, Luanda had experienced significant demographic growth. The number of residents was then computed at 12,565 individuals, which represented an increase of close to 7,000 persons over its population in 1844. As the population of the colonial capital grew, the need for more housing, foodstuffs, and production of basic goods also expanded.[17] Traditionally a slave society, Luanda met part of this demand by incorporating into its population large numbers of captives, who prior to 1844 would have been exported across the Atlantic Ocean. Between 1844 and 1849, according to José C. Curto, a total of 2,833 enslaved Africans were brought legally from the interior to work in Luanda.[18] As a result of this addition, the number of enslaved individuals residing in the colonial capital by 1850 reached 6,020, representing about 48 percent of the total urban population.[19] With captives accounting for an important proportion of the urban labor force, Luanda's economy consequently became even more heavily dependent on slave labor.

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[14] Gil, *Considerações*, 20.
[15] David Livingstone, *Family Letters, 1841-1850*. Vol. I (London: Chatto & Windus, 1859), 252-253.
[16] Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson documented a growth of the use of slaves throughout West Africa during the nineteenth century. See Lovejoy and Richardson, "The initial 'crisis of adaptation,'" 32-56.
[17] Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion," 396.
[18] *Ibid*, 398.
[19] *Ibid*, 389.

In 1854, a decree emanating from Sá de Bandeira, then President of the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council), stipulated that all captives had to be registered with the state, with non-registered captives to be automatically freed.[20] This measure generated a series of slave registries in Luanda and in the districts of the interior, which provided important information such as the name, sex, place of origin, age, body marks, and occupation of captives, as well as the name and the place of residence of slave owners. Some masters, especially those living in areas further in the interior where the Portuguese administration was weak, may have chosen not to register their captives so as to avoid payment of the registration costs and taxes. This strategy, however, could lead to the loss of non-registered captives, which the colonial state was at liberty to dispose of without compensation.

Table 5.1
Captives Residing in Luanda and their Owners,
According to the Slave Registries (1854-1867).

Owners	Captives	Percentage
Males	4,301	65.0
Females	1,761	26.6
Couples	220	3.3
Orphans	298	4.5
Not Identified	27	0.4
TOTAL	6,607	

Sources: Arquivo Nacional de Angola (ANA), Luanda, Códice 2524, "Registo de Escravos," 1867; ANA, LuandA, Códice 2845, "Registo de Escravos," 1855; ANA, Luanda, Códice 3186, "Registo de Escravos," 1854-1856; ANA, Luanda, Códice 3254, "Registo de Escravos," 1858; ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467, "Registro de Escravos," 1855-1866; ANA, Luanda, Códice 2862, "Registro de Escravos," 1860; ANA, Luanda, Códice 2482, "Registro de Escravos," 1855.

There is no information available on how the data in these registries were collected in Luanda. We do not know whether government officials went to households or whether masters

[20] José de Almada, *Apontamentos Históricos sôbre a Escravatura e o Trabalho Indígena nas Colónias Portuguesas* (Lisboa: Imprensa Nacional, 1932), 40-41.

went to a specific place set by the colonial state to register their captives. Similarly, questions can be raised about whom actually provided the information found in these registries: was it only masters or did enslaved individuals themselves have any input? Were translators used for Africans unable to speak Portuguese? These are questions that remain unanswered. Nevertheless, through these data it is possible to understand how slave labor was used in Luanda following 1850, when the illegal shipments of captives entered its phase of decline.

As Table 5.1 shows, two-thirds of the 6,607 captives registered in Luanda between 1854 and 1867 belonged to males. This group of owners was composed of prominent members of the local elite, such as former slave trader Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido, coffee farmer Albino José Soares, and foodstuff producer Father Francisco das Necessidades, as well as common men like Andre António who owned but two captives. Women, on the other hand, owned one-quarter of the enslaved listed in the same registers: these included wealthy merchants like Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vasconcelos, and Dona Maria Bonina, as well as women of modest means like Tomásia Cristóvao and Tereza Joaquim, who each owned only one captive. Couples, orphans, and unidentified proprietors owned less than 10 percent of the 6,607 Africans in question.

These slaveholders, however, were far from enjoying similar levels of wealth. When we compare the number of enslaved individuals owned by men and by women in Table 5.2, it is clear that males accumulated more captives. For instance, while the wealthiest women in the registers owned from 21 to 76 captives, the wealthiest men owned from 38 to 142 or roughly twice as many. Even among the prominent women themselves, the number of captives varied: while Dona Joana do Amaral Costa Pinto registered 76 captives, Dona Josefa de Moares Moreira apparently owned but 21.

Table 5.2 Prominent Slave Owners, 1854-1867.			
Female Owners	Captives	Male Owners	Captives
D. Joana do Amaral Costa Pinto	76	Albino José Soares	142
D. Margarida Lopes Faria	66	Manoel do Nascimento Oliveira	129
Mariana José Guedes	57	António Lopes da Silva	94
D. Máxima Lemos Botelho de Vasconcelos	47	José Inácio Ferreira	72
D. Rita Maria de Jesus	38	Domingos Fançony	65
D. Luiza da Silva Pontes	35	Manoel Joaquim de Souza Monteiro	60
D. Izabel Maria da Conceição Rodrigues	29	Cândido José dos Santos Guerra	55
Maria Madalena da Piedade	29	Augusto Guedes Coutinho Garrido	50
D. Marta Maria da Assunção	27	António José de Souza e Silva	50
D. Roza da Silva Rego	27	António Lopes da Silva	
D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva	30	André da Silva Marques Braga	47
Maria Antónia Rodrigues do Couto	22	Augusto Teixeira de Figueiredo	44
D. Joséfa de Moraes Moreira	21	Amancio José da Silveira	38
Source: see Table 5.1.			

Nevertheless, these data does not reflect the total number of captives owned by proprietors since the registers in question are limited to the city of Luanda and wealthy men and women also owned agricultural properties and *feitorias* worked by enslaved laborers in the immediate interior.[21] This was the case of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva. In 1855 alone, she registered 25 of her captives working in Luanda. However, this was far from representative of the totality of captives in her possession since Dona Ana Joaquina owned at least seven *arimos* throughout the hinterland of Luanda where other of her captives produced corn, manioc flour, and beans for subsistence and to supply the public urban market. When, in the early 1850s, Valdez visited one of Dona Ana Joaquina's *arimos* in the District of Bengo, the overseer

[21] Maria Isabel Moreira Bastos Feliciano, "Luanda, Quotidiano e Escravos no Século XIX," (M.A. Thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2003), 114.

informed that the agricultural property had some 1,400 captives working as field laborers, boatmen, caulkers, carpenters, quarrymen, stonecutters, potters, herdsmen, and fishers.[22] Although this may well be an exaggeration for a single *arimo*, it is quite possible that the totality of Africans Dona Ana Joaquina had working in her several agricultural properties reached into the thousands: following 1850, after all, she was increasingly unable to ship captives to Brazil. Likewise, when, in 1855, Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vasconcelos registered 46 captives, 13 were recorded as residing in her *arimos* in the districts of Calumbo and Muxima, not in Luanda.[23] Albino José Soares, one of the largest coffee producers in Angola, was no different. In 1856, he had an impressive number of captives registered exclusively in Luanda: 119.[24] But he also had captives in the District of Cazengo, where he owned the farm Protótipo: in this agricultural property he was said to have nothing less than 400 laborers, including captives and *libertos*.[25]

The slave registers also offer some insight on how former slavers employed their captives in a context of "legitimate" commerce. Dona Ana Joaquina's case, as mentioned above, evidences that those slavers who invested in commercial agriculture used slave labor in their rural estates to produce export crops such as sugar cane, cotton, and coffee, as well as foodstuffs for local urban markets. Between 1855 and 1867, Dona Ana Joaquina registered a total of 30 captives, nearly all in Luanda. As a producer of large quantities of foodstuffs, she licensed her captives to peddle such consumables in the markets and streets of the colonial capital. One such individual was the *quitandeira* Tereza, who hailed from Congo.[26] Owner of several vessels, the

[22] Valdez, *Six Years of a Traveller's Life*, II, 277.
[23] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2482, "Registos de Escravos," 1855, fls. 210v-421.
[24] ANA, Luanda, Códice 3186, "Registos de Escravos," 1854-1856, fls.107v-114.
[25] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 173-175.
[26] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2482, "Registos de Escravos," 1855, fl. 1.

“Queen of Bengo” also possessed enslaved sailors, one of whom was a certain Fortunato Mateus, from Bailundo.[27]

Table 5.3 Captives of Augusto Garrido (1867)	
Sales	03
Mechanized trades	16
Domestic Services	20
Worker	07
Unidentified occupation	02
Source: ANA, Códice 2524, Luanda, “Registos de Escravos,” 1867, fl. 62v-71.	

Former slave dealers also invested in the specialization of their captives. In an expanding city such as Luanda in the middle of the nineteenth century, the work of bricklayers, carpenters, as well as tailors, shoemakers, washers, and sewers was much sought after. Augusto Garrido, for example, registered 49 captives in Luanda in 1867 alone: 26 men and 23 women. Of these, 39 worked in various specialized occupations. A total of 16 enslaved males worked in mechanized trades, including caulkers, carpenters, bricklayers, tailors, blacksmiths, and barbers, a few of whom were apprentices.[28] Moreover, while 12 year old Joaquim learned how to read, perhaps indicating that Garrido destined him to work as a clerk in his various businesses, and João was a cook, seven other enslaved male had their occupation identified simply as “worker”, likely indicating that they engaged in manual work which would not have required specialized training. Among the enslaved females registered by Garrido, on the other hand, 19 engaged in domestic

[27] *Ibid*, fl. 7v-8.

[28] Free and enslaved skilled workers were classified by terms such as *aprendiz* (apprentice), *oficial* (skilled worker) and *mestre* (master). The apprenticeship of a mechanized trade usually took between two and six years after which the apprentice was examined to be considered an *oficial* or skilled worker. In order to become a *mestre*, the skilled worker had to be examined by a judge of his trade appointed by the Municipal Council. Approved candidates received the title of *mestre*, as well as the right to open their own workshop and train apprentices. See José Newton Coelho Meneses, “Artes Fabris e Serviços Banais: Ofícios mecânicos e Câmaras no final do Antigo Regime. Minas Gerais e Lisboa, 1750-1808,” (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2003). Oliveira, “Trabalho escravo e ocupações urbanas,” 263-268.

services as washers and sewers and three worked in the retail trade as *quitandeitas*: in the particular cases of Carolina, Joaquina, and Marina, the workload was doubled as they washed clothes and peddled goods on the streets. Only two of his registered captives were not pegged to a particular occupation: 13 year old Mariana and 9 year old Joaquim. Garrido certainly pocketed a handsome profit from the labor of these enslaved men and women, with the former most likely being "hired out" to workshops and public works and the latter peddling goods and their services as washers and sewers to the population of the city. Yet, this would only have been part of his income. As we know, Garrido owned many others captives who produced foodstuffs and *aguardente de cana* on the farms that he and his wife, Dona Mariana Faria da Câmara Garrido, owned throughout the interior and in Ambriz.

In the 1840s, Lima noted the great number of skilled laborers and workshops in the city stating that "in none of our other possessions in Africa there are so many craftsmen like in Loanda."[29] At that time, Lima listed 36 workshops throughout the colonial capital specializing in various mechanized trades.[30] Five years later, the number of craftsmen and workshops had experienced an impressive growth, as can be noted from Table 5.4 (See Appendix J). An important proportion of these skilled workers were enslaved Africans.

The 1854-1867 Luanda slave registries offer enough information to build a gender and occupational profile of the enslaved population in this urban landscape. Of the 6,607 enslaved individuals registered, only 1,000 or about 15 percent had their occupations identified: some 59 percent were male and 41 percent were female. The low number of individuals who had their occupation identified in the registers evidences that skilled persons composed a minority of the

[29] Lima, *Ensaios Sobre a Statistica,* III, 52.
[30] *Ibid*, III, 10-11.

enslaved population. Those enslaved individuals whose occupation was not identified most likely did not perform skilled activities, engaging in all kinds of work that did not require specialized training such as tending to the land in the *arimos*. These captives originated from different parts of the Angolan coast and its immediate interior, including the colonial capital.[31] Their age varied greatly: the youngest was eight years old; the oldest was 50. Most, however, fell between the ages of 14 and the early 20s and were thus at their prime when it came to work.

The data available in these slave registries show that enslaved males dominated mechanized trades, all of which required specialized training. These individuals were more likely to find employment in urban contexts, especially in workshops and public works undertaken by the colonial administration, than in rural landscapes. In a city like Luanda, experiencing significant population growth and urban development, the most common mechanized trades required were those associated with the construction sector. It was this demand for specialized workers that led slave owners to provide their enslaved males with training as carpenters, bricklayers, locksmiths, and house painters, among other occupations. Furthermore, enslaved males also specialized in metal craftwork working as goldsmiths and blacksmiths, as well as in jobs connected with the apparel industry, such as tailors, shoemakers, and weavers. Last, but not least, captives took advantage of the opportunities of living in a port city by learning to repair vessels. This was the case of Matias who, owned by the merchant Joaquim dos Santos Monteiro, worked as a caulker in 1855.[32]

The predominance of males in the mechanized trades resulted from the training system adopted throughout the Portuguese Empire following the model applied in Lisbon. In the

[31] Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola," 147-173; Curto, "Re-thinking the Origin of Slaves".
[32] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467, "Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 235v-236.

Portuguese colonies, *mestres* (trade masters) conducted the training of apprentices in craft workshops that were supervised by judges, municipal officials called *almotacés*, and scribes. The apprenticeship of a trade usually took between two and six years after which a judge of the trade examined the skills of the apprentice in order for him to become an *oficial* (skilled worker). Some skilled workers went further in the examination process to become *mestres*, conquering the right to open a workshop and train their own apprentices.[33] The *Câmara Municipal* oversaw the processes of training and examination of mechanized trades, conferring the title to approved candidates, issuing licenses, and inspecting workshops. This was the case of António Jacinto Pereira, a free African man who passed the exam on 15 November, 1796, becoming a master tailor. António was then authorized to open a workshop and train his own apprentices.[34] As was the case in other slave societies, few enslaved individuals achieved the title of *mestre* in Luanda, probably because they did not have the resources to run a workshop.[35]

Having enslaved Africans learning a trade was an investment for slaveholders, since they could hire out their captives, but also increase their value in case of sale. The sale of skilled captives was advertised in the *Boletim Oficial*, as well as in *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*. On 10 January, 1867, *A Civilização* informed that "anyone interested in buying a washerwoman should head to the house of Manoel José Ferreira."[36] Skilled captives were also rented out by masters who announced their services in the local gazette. On 10 January 1867, João José Libório adverted that he had "good *maxilas* and a reasonable cook" to rent out to anyone interested in their services.[37] Individuals interested in acquiring enslaved Africans with certain

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[33]Meneses, "Artes Fabris e Serviços Banais".
[34] BML, Códice 026,"Carta de Exame," 15 November, 1796, fls. 67v-68.
[35] Maria Helena Ochi Flexor, "Oficiais Mecânicos e a vida quotidiana no Brasil," *Oceanos*, 42 (2000): 77-84.
[36] *A Civilização da Africa Portuguesa*, n. 6, 10 January, 1867, p. 24.
[37] *Ibid.*

skills also published their needs in the pages of the gazette.[38] Meanwhile, skilled captives could also enjoy some mobility, working on their own account and sharing part of the income with the slaveholder.[39] In 1855, Manoel do Nascimento Oliveira registered 37 enslaved persons, all males. Of these, 22 had their occupations identified: they were seven bricklayers, seven carpenters, four cooks, two tailors, a shoemaker, and another was a fisher.[40] Oliveira most likely hired these captives out to work so as to increase his household income.

Other enslaved males engaged in occupations that did not require formal training in the context of craft workshops. These were porters, sailors, shepherds, animal bleeders and tree climbers who most probably learned their occupations through experience, from masters or companions. In African societies, activities that required a great deal of physical strength were usually assigned to men such as war making, house building, hunting and fishing: women, on the other hand, took care of agriculture, household tasks, child rearing, and local trading.[41] Therefore, it is not surprising that most of the captives performing these activities were males.

The presence of women in training workshops was not common in Portugal or throughout its colonies. In the metropole, women were only admitted into feminine weaving workshops under the supervision of a *mestra* (trade mistress). Widowed women were allowed to take over the workshops of deceased husbands under the condition that they remained single or married a *mestre* who worked in the same trade.[42] These rules kept poor women away from

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[38] *A Civilização da Africa Portuguesa*, n. 10, 7 February, 1867, p. 48; *A Civilização da Africa Portuguesa*, n. 20, 2 May, 1867, p. 80.
[39] Karasch, "From Porterage to Proprietorship," 385.
[40] ANA, Luanda,Códice 2467, "Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 306v-317.
[41] Coquery-Vidrovitch, *African Women*, 12; Niara Sudarkasa, "The 'Status of Women' in Indigenous African Societies," in Rosalyn Terborg-Penn and Andrea Benton Rushing, *Women in Africa and the African Diaspora* (Washington, D.C.: Howard University Press, 1987), 73-87.
[42] Meneses, "Artes Fabris e Serviços Banais," 124-126.

mechanized trades in Lisbon and in Portugal's overseas colonies, where they were limited to performing most of the domestic services and to retail trade.

In the Portuguese colonies, in general, the free inhabitants seem to have had a sort of aversion towards manual work, activities considered to be unworthy and dishonorable.[43] In Luanda, as in other slave societies, captives were responsible for all domestic services, including food preparation, household chores, cloth mending, and laundering. In contrast to mechanized occupations, which men dominated, women represented the majority of captives performing domestic services.[44] These other activities did not require specialized training in workshops, let alone examinations, which allowed greater numbers of women to enter into them.

Although the presence of females was not allowed in workshops, other forms of apprenticeships were open to enslaved women in Luanda, especially in domestic services. Feminine tutors privately educated the daughters of the local elite, with some accepting enslaved women whose owners wished to have them trained, in the arts of washing, starching, ironing, and sewing, amongst other activities. It was not uncommon to advertize to this effect. In a mid-1851 issue of the *Boletim Oficial*, we read: "Learn Italian, basic French, how to read and write, play the piano, dance, embroider, sew, and morals; we also teach enslaved females how to do laundry, sewing, starching and ironing; located in *Quitanda Grande* Square."[45]

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[43] Jesuit Priest André João Antonil stated that in Brazil slaves were the "hands and feet of masters." André João Antónil, *Cultura e Opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 1922), 89.
[44] Selma Pantoja, "As Fontes Escritas do Século XVII e o Estudo da Representação do Feminino em Luanda," in Jill R. Dias and Rosa Cruz e Silva, eds., *Construíndo o passado angolano: as fontes e a sua interpretação. Actas do II Seminário Internacional sobre a História de Angola* (Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000), 583-596. For a similar profile of the enslaved population elsewhere, see Claire Robertson, "Slavery and Women, the Family, and the Gender Division of Labour," in David B. Gaspar and Darlene C. Hines, eds., *More than Chattel. Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Indianapolis: Indiana University Press, 1996), 3-42; Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización*, 219; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 113-118.
[45] BOA, n.308, 23 August, 1851, p. 4.

Excluded from mechanized trades, enslaved women performed most domestic duties in the households of Luanda. They were cooks, washers, and sewers, sometimes performing more than one activity within and outside the residences of their masters. However, enslaved women also faced male competition in some activities. When it came to the preparation of food, for example, men surprisingly outnumbered women as cooks. Rodrigo, who originated from Benguela, was a cook in the household of Dona Izabel Joaquina de Santana e Faria.[46] Pedro was also a cook for Francisco Manoel Loureiro and his family, who resided in the Mutamba neighbourhood.[47] Manoel do Nascimento Oliveira, on the other hand, had no fewer than four enslaved males working as his cooks: Estevão Belizário, Mateus, António Pedro and Francisco de Sant'Anna. Their activities may well not have been limited to the household: given their number, they could also have been hired out throughout the city.[48] Eugênia Rodrigues has found a similar pattern in the kitchens of the elite in the Zambezi valley. She suggests that the presence of male cooks may be explained by the fear that slave owners had of magic practices, usually identified in Europe as an activity within the feminine realm.[49] Mary Karasch, on the other hand, has suggested that jealous mistresses may also have preferred to have enslaved women kept away in order to avoid the development of intimate relationships within the households in the city of Rio de Janeiro. She has additionally remarked that, in the capital of Brazil, men were actually preferred as domestic help because they could also work in other occupations that brought higher wages to their owners than those of enslaved females.[50] To be sure, preparation of meals was not the only domestic activity performed by enslaved males in households. For

[46] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2524, "Registos de Escravos,"1867, fls. 215v-216.
[47] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467, "Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 305v-306.
[48] *Ibid*, fls. 311v-312.
[49] Eugênia Rodrigues, "Female Slavery, Domestic Economy and Social Status in the Zambezi Prazos during the 18th century" in Clara Sarmento, ed., *Women in the Portuguese Colonial Empire: The Theatre of Shadows* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 31-50.
[50] Karasch,"From Porterage to Proprietorship," 383. See also Barbara Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society, 1650-1838* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1990), 44; Johnson, "Women's Labour," 175.

example, in 1857 the captive Jorge was a steward in the house of Carlota José.[51] Enslaved males also worked as *maxilas* or carriers, transporting masters and mistresses in hammocks during their walks throughout the town. This was the case of Júlio and Januário, hammock carriers of Joaquim Salvador Batista in 1855.[52] Still, except for cooking, enslaved women represented the majority of the labor force engaged in domestic services in Luanda, as was the case in other slave societies.[53]

A large number of enslaved females specialized in sewing, washing, starching and ironing clothes. For instance Ana, an enslaved woman who belonged to Dona Joana Maria da Conceição Bastos, was a sewer and a washer. Besides Ana, Dona Joana had four other enslaved women who worked as washers, evidencing that their services were not restricted to the needs of the household.[54] In fact, one single woman could perform all activities connected with the sewing and care of clothing. In 1855, Sílvio Nunes Burity registered the enslaved females Galiana, Joana Antónia, and Rosa, who worked as washers, starchers and sewers.[55] It is unlikely that these three women exclusively attended to the needs of Burity's family: he probably hired them out for wages, a percentage of which he pocketed to increase his household income. These women may have been exposed to some type of training, possibly from their mistress or private feminine instructors – similar to the tutor who, as we have seen, announced lessons for enslaved women in the local gazette.

Enslaved women were surely subjected to multiple workloads, performing various tasks within the domestic realms and in retail. Domingas João, for example, worked as washer and a

[51] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2862, Registos de Escravos, 1860, fls. 165v-166.
[52] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467, "Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 270v-271.
[53] Johnson, "Women's Labours," 174-175; Candido, *An African Slaving Port*, 113-118.
[54] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467, "Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fls. 95v-98.
[55] *Ibid*, fls. 144v-145.

quitandeira for her mistress Cristina Joaquina: when she was not washing clothes, she peddled dried and fresh food around the city.[56] Rosa and Izabel, captives of Silvestre Dias dos Santos, also worked as washers and as *quitandeiras*.[57] This too was the case of Joaquina and Maria, captives of Augusto Garrido.[58] Masters not only exploited the labor of their enslaved females at home, but pocketed a share of the income they accumulated by peddling goods on the streets and markets of Luanda.

The cases of female captives who performed multiple workloads challenge the assumption that household captives had a better life. In fact, some enslaved women were forced to engage in various activities. Overworked captives were more common in more modest households, with owners of a few captives inclined to exploit their labour in various activities as sources of extra income. Wealthy slave owners, on the other hand, seem to have encouraged the specialization of their captives, which allowed the latter to engage in a single economic activity and earn some income from which masters and mistresses could also benefit. Some enslaved women were able to have a less onerous workload, such as *mucamas* or chambermaids. They were usually considered to be at the top of the slave hierarchy, as they were better treated, had access to better clothing, and were well fed. In slave societies, the prestige of a slaveholder was enhanced by the elegance of captives accompanying them in public functions.[59]

Multiple workloads, however, were far less common among enslaved males, especially those engaged in mechanized trades. They often worked at a single activity, finding employment in workshops, not to mention construction sites undertaken by the Department of Public Works. Enslaved males who specialized in mechanized trades were more likely to earn an income and

[56] *Ibid*, fls. 65v-66.
[57] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2482, "Registos de Escravos," 1855, fls. 246v-248.
[58] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2524, "Registos de Escravos," 1867, fls. 69v-70.
[59] Soares, *O "povo de cam*," 98, 114; Karasch, "From Porterage to Porprietorship," 183-184; Carmo, "Entre sinhás,"108-123; Silva, *Donas e Plebéias*.

purchase their manumission than enslaved women performing domestic services.[60] For example, in1863, Joaquim Antônio Cristóvão Inácio, captive of Lourença Francisca Joaquina, proposed to pay for his manumission valued at 100,000 *réis* with the income he received as a master bricklayer.[61] Since Joaquim was a skilled captive who had reached the category of master in his trade, something rare among enslaved workers, the value to be paid for his manumission was very high compared to the price of captives in the 1850s-1860s.

Another major occupation women performed was in retail sales. In 1850, the colonial capital of Angola had 180 *quitandeiras* selling dry and wet goods and another 20 selling various meats.[62] Enslaved vendors sold items on the streets, in the markets, or in shops that belonged to their owners. Masters were usually responsible for paying the licences and acting as guarantors so that their captives could peddle around the city. The items offered by enslaved *quitandeiras* were usually provided by their owners: as elsewhere, however, it is likely that some enslaved females worked for themselves under an agreement that included the payment of a daily fee or percentage of their proceeds to their masters. Slave owners, however, were negligent when it came to the payment of licenses and the quality of food provided for commercialization. On 26 July, 1832, Manoel Miguel, a black African man, was fined during inspection for selling spoiled beans and manioc flour that belonged to his mistress, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva.[63] On 20 September, 1852, Félix José Ferreira Campos was fined 7,500 *réis* for not presenting the

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[60] Candido, *Fronteras de Esclavización*, 219.
[61] ANA, Luanda, Cx. 122, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos," 20 January, 1863, fl. 23v.
[62] BOA, n. 303, 19 July, 1851, p. 1-2. Retail sales was also a major occupation for enslaved women in the diaspora. For African women and women of African descent engaged in retail sales in Brazil, see Ana Maria de Mello Magaldi and Luciano Raposo de Almeida Figueiredo, "Quitandas e quitutes: um estudo sobre rebeldia e transgressão femininas numa sociedade colonial," *Cadernos de Pesquisa*, 54 (1985): 50-61; Mary Karasch, "Suppliers, Sellers, Servants and Slaves," in Lisa Schell Hoberman and Susan Migden Socolow, eds., *Cities & Society in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: Univerisity of New Mexico, 1986), 268-272; Cecília Moreira Soares, "As ganhadeiras: mulher e resistência negra em Salvador no século XIX," *Afro-Ásia*, 17 (1996): 57-72.
[63] BML, Códice 042-043, "Termos de Correção," 26 July 1832, fl. 17.

licence of his *quitandeira* Eufrásia.[64] Similarly, on 22 September, 1852, the merchant André da Silva Marques Braga was also fined 7,500 *réis* for not presenting the licence of one of his *quitandeiras* who sold glassware on the streets of Luanda.[65]

Although women were predominant in the retail trade of the streets and markets of the colonial capital, men were not completely absent from it. In 1855, Manoel Antônio registered an enslaved male of his, Jacinto Ferreira, as a *quitandeiro*.[66] Most of the enslaved males engaged in trade activities, however, were more likely to work in long distance trade as *pombeiros*. For instance, on 20 June, 1846, the merchant Candido Augusto Fortunato da Costa traveled from Luanda on business to the *sertões* accompanied by five enslaved males, all of whom *pombeiros*, as well as an enslaved *moleca* (young girl) for his service.[67] As such, it should come as no surprise that when Manuel Rosa Freire registered nine enslaved *pombeiros* in 1860, all happened to be males.[68]

By the early 1840s, the elite of Luanda could also resort to the labor of *libertos* (liberated individuals).[69] The first *libertos* to appear in Angola emanated from vessels engaged in illegal slaving apprehended by the Portuguese navy. Following 1844, the office of the Mixed Anglo-Portuguese Commission installed in Luanda also began to adjudicate vessels captured by war

[64] *Ibid*, 20 September, 1852, fl. 24v.
[65] *Ibid*, 22 September, 1852, fl. 27.
[66] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2467,"Registos de Escravos," 1855-1866, fl. 344v-345.
[67] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 145, "Passaporte para o Interior," 20 June, 1846.
[68] ANA, Luanda, Códice 2862,"Registos de Escravos," 1860, fls. 34v-37.
[69] The history of liberated Africans in the colony of Angola remains largely unexplored. The studies of Samuël Coghe are still the only work published on the subject: "Apprenticeship and the Negotiation of Freedom. The Liberated Africans of the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed Commission in Luanda (1844-1870)," *Africana Studia*, 14 (2010): 255-273; and "The Problem of Freedom in Mid Nineteenth-Cenruty Atlantic Slave Society: the liberated Africans of the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed Commission in Luanda (1844-1870)," *Slavery &* Abolition, 33, n.2 (2012): 479-500. More recently, José C. Curto has looked at the trajectories of *libertos* in Angola at a number of conferences, including "Between Slavery and Freedom: The First 24 *Libertos* of the Mixed Commission in mid-19th century Luanda," unpublished paper presented at the *Travail libre/forcé/contraint. Entre savoirs locaux et circulations globales (XVe-XXIe siècles). Europe, Afrique, Asie. Journées interdisciplinaires*. Institut des Mondes Africains, Paris, 9-10 January, 2015. I thank the author for sharing his unpublished work.

ships engaged in the repression of the illegal slave trade. When considered *boa presa* (good prize) the vessel went on public auction, with the captives found aboard placed under the tutelage of the Mixed Commission under the category of *libertos*.[70] Africans liberated through these, and other, mechanisms came to constitute a new source of labor that could be drawn upon, although payment for their work did not always materialize.[71]

Libertos were required to serve an apprenticeship of seven years, a period when they could be hired privately or by the colonial administration to learn a trade.[72] The colonial government was particularly keen in offering the labor of *libertos* to individuals interested in investing in commercial agriculture. This was the case of the settlers from Brazil and the Island of Madeira who, in the latter 1840s, set up farms in the hinterland of Moçâmedes: besides land, seeds, and equipment, the newcomers received contingents of *libertos* to assist them in their new endeavour.[73] Any individual deemed in a position to do so was encouraged to "hire" liberated Africans. In 1841, Dona Máxima Leonor Botelho de Vasconcelos, did just that when she hired no less than seven *libertos*.[74]

The mortality rate among liberated Africans was relatively high. Let us focus on one example from a group of liberated individuals hired by Dona Antónia Josefa de Souza. In 1841, she too obtained 20 *libertos* from the colonial government: of these, 15 died, four managed to escape, and one was incarcerated for robbery.[75] Dona Ana Vieira do Amaral, in turn, hired nine *libertos* early in 1841, as well. Within months, she disclosed that five had passed away, two had

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[70] Curto, "The First 24 *Libertos*," 3.
[71] *Ibid*, 4-8, 11.
[72] Coghe, "Apprenticeship and the Negotiation of Freedom". For *libertos* available to be hired out, see BOA, n. 275, 4 January, 1851, p. 4; BOA, n. 283,1 March, 1851, p.2.
[73] Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas*, 136; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, 230-231; BOA, n. 272, 14 December, 1850, p. 2; BOA, n. 276, 11 January, 1851, p. 2-3.
[74] ANA, Códice 3070, Luanda, "Termo de Entrega de Libertos," 25 May, 1841.
[75] *Ibid*, 26 May, 1841.

escaped, and only two remained under her charge.[76] The few who could survive the seven years of apprenticeship and were successful in learning a trade eventually achieved the status of free persons. One such individual was the *liberto* João de Colando, who on 2 July, 1852, received his letter of manumission for having acquired sufficient skills as a bricklayer after more than four years as an apprentice of this trade.[77]

A second source of *libertos* resulted locally from slave owners who, as of 1854, failed to register their captives with the colonial state. In this case, masters consequently lost non-registered captives to the colonial administration, which disposed of them as it saw fit.[78] One of these individuals was Manoel, a black African man. Although Francisco Fernandes de Carvalho claimed to be his master, he was unable to provide the appropriate slave register. Lacking the required proof of registration, the Curator for Enslaved and Liberated Individuals thus declared Manoel to be a *liberto*.[79] Once thus liberated, Africans remained under the charge of the *Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos*, a board created in 1854 for their protection, as well as that of enslaved persons.[80] As we will see below, the *Junta Protetora* played an important role in rescuing enslaved persons and freeing Africans mistreated by masters. This institution also lent money on interest to those in need, including merchants, individuals of lower socio-economic status, and even enslaved individuals willing to purchase their freedom. In the second half of the nineteenth century, the *Junta Protetora* effectively emerged as one of the largest creditors in the colonial capital.[81]

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[76] *Ibid*, 25 May, 1841.
[77] BOA, n. 357, 31 July, 1852, p. 4.
[78] Almada, *Apontamentos Históricos*, 40-41.
[79] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 3665, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos," 22 August, 1866.
[80] The *Junta Protetora* was created in 1854 but only initiated its activities in September 1855. Coghe, "Apprenticeship and the Negotiation of Freedom".
[81] See for example, ANA, Códice 8400, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 20 February, 1867, fl. 37v; ANA, Códice 10060, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 26 May, 1871, fl. 85; ANA, Códice 3927, "Escritura de Dívida e Hipoteca," 26 March, 1863, fl. 56.

The Vulnerability of Enslaved Women

In Luanda, as was the case elsewhere, slave owners likely held the captives they maintained in their households in more esteem, with the latter consequently benefitting from a so called "superior position" within the slave hierarchy. [82] Household captives counted on the trust of owners that appointed them to perform various personal services, such as the preparation of food, child rearing, and accompanying them on public functions and walks throughout the city. Some of these urban captives experienced a great deal of mobility when working throughout the city or accompanying their masters and mistresses on trips to the interior. When, for example, Dona Maria da Assunção Marques headed on 20 July, 1867, to Ambriz aboard the launch *Izabela*, she was in the company of her *mucama* Balbina.[83] Likewise, on 3 September, 1868, Dona Maria Francisca de Souza traveled to Zenza do Galungo accompanied by her *mucama* Antónia José Domingas.[84] Some enslaved individuals became so indispensable that they followed masters on their trips overseas. Dona Maria José Pinheiro Falcão de Miranda, for example, went to Lisbon aboard the vessel *Dona Antónia* with her three children and one *mucama* on 20 July, 1868.[85] These women were household captives responsible for attending the basic needs of their mistresses, such as preparation of meals and child rearing. But male slave owners were also accompanied by enslaved individuals in their travels, including females. When João Francisco Demétrio da Costa journeyed to the northern ports on 19 August, 1862, he was in the company of the enslaved Maria Catarina.[86] Similarly, on 25 August, 1862, Joaquim Corrêa Rego went to Novo Redondo aboard the *Clipper*; he took with him the enslaved Francisca.[87]

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[82] Soares, *O "povo de cam"*.
[83] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 147, "Passaporte para o Interior," 20 August, 1867.
[84] *Ibid*, 3 September, 1868.
[85] *Ibid*, 20 July, 1868.
[86] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1338, "Passaporte para o Interior," 19 August, 1862.
[87] *Ibid*, 25 August, 1862.

While most of these enslaved women accompanied their owners to attend to their daily needs, some would have had the added task of servicing their sexual desires.

That household captives were part of the everyday life of their masters did not, however, necessarily mean that they received better treatment. In fact, they were subjected to as much, or perhaps even more, punishment than other captives, as owners were able to oversee their work up close.[88] Enslaved women, in particular, were more vulnerable to violence within the household. Late in 1841, having found accommodations at the house of the Surgeon General,[89] German doctor Tams reportedly heard sounds of captives being punished by order of his host's wife, the Spanish-born Dona Catarina:

> I had scarcely been in possession of my new lodgings for an hour, and was occupied in arranging my effects, when my attention was suddenly attracted by the sound of stripes, repeated at regular intervals. I soon perceived that some person was undergoing corporal chastisement in the court-yard, and at once hastened to the lady of the house …. To my anxious inquiry, respecting the loud beating which still continued, she replied, smiling, that one of her needle-women was receiving, by her orders, six dozen palmetadas (blows in the palm of the hand,) because her stitches were badly made.[90]

After being beaten, needle-women such as this one were sent back to work at once with their hands "much swollen and lacerated, nay bleeding."[91] According to Tams, Dona Catarina punished her captives on a daily basis and slave owners in Luanda preferred to buy the captives she disciplined. The manner in which Dona Catarina treated her captives resulted in the German physician believing that Europeans rarely treated their captives with benevolence, unlike locally

[88] Bush, *Slave Women in Caribbean Society*, 42.
[89] Birmingham, "Slave City," 78-9.
[90] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions,* I, 253.
[91] *Ibid*, I, 254.

born slave owners who, in his mind, did not use cruelty to achieve obedience. As an example of this differentiated comportment, he pointed to the "benignity" of local born woman like Dona Ana Ubertali, whose captives seemed to be well treated as "none of her numerous slaves had any sign on their backs of being severely punished." Instead, Tams informs, she preferred to sell disobedient captives rather than punish them.[92] Dona Ana Ubertali may well not have punished her captives with severity, but the threat of re-sale and the uncertainty that came with it can itself be read as a particular type of psychological coercion.

Tams's sojourn in Angola (October 1841 to February 1842)[93] occurred three years before the publication of the *Boletim Oficial*, where several cases of mistreatment of enslaved Africans were subsequently unveiled, thereby debunking the supposed benevolence of locally born slave owners. Instances of cruel punishments, sexual abuse, and even murder of enslaved Africans were published in sections of this gazette reserved for the *Junta de Justiça* (Board of Justice) and the *Juízo de Direito* (Court of Justice). Although some cases may not have come to the attention of colonial authorities because of a lack of witnesses or victims fearing reprisals, those that did come to light provide ample evidence that masters, regardless of sex and origin, did not shy away from victimizing their captives, especially vulnerable individuals such as women and children.[94]

One such victim was an unidentified enslaved female who belonged to Manuel João. In May, 1845, Manuel João was accused of severely beating this enslaved woman, after which he sold her a few days later. The reason for the violence perpetrated on the unidentified female captive is not known. Shortly after coming under the possession of her new master, she was

[92] *Ibid*, I, 257.
[93] Heintze, *Exploradores alemães em Angola,* 391.
[94] Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Notas Preliminares Sobre Punição de Escravos em Luanda (Século XIX)," in Ana Cristina Roque and Maria Manuel Torrão, ed., *O Colonialismo Português: Novos Rumos da historiografia dos PALOP* (Porto: Ediçõs Húmus, 2013), 155-176.

taken to the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* hospital, where she eventually died. Manuel João was arrested. But, in June, 1846, the Court of Justice acquitted him under the argument that there was no proof that the beating had caused the death of the captive. Manuel João merely had to pay the costs of the trial and was, otherwise, allowed to go free.[95]

Besides being promptly punished for any wrongdoing, as occurred with the females owned by Dona Catarina and by Manuel João, enslaved women were also constantly faced with the possibility of sexual abuse. Luanda was no different from other slave societies where violence was part of slavery and enslaved women particularly suffered sexual abuse at the hands of their masters.[96] Sexual violence endangered even young girls. In March, 1846, Filipe Bernardino, a black African man, was accused of raping a six year-old *molequinha* (enslaved girl). He was not only quickly apprehended by police, but also sentenced to corporal punishment at the scene of the crime and in the very presence of the victim and her parents.[97]

As discussed above, relationships between free male and enslaved women were common in Luanda, as was the case in other slave societies throughout Africa and in the Americas.[98] Although many enslaved women were abused by masters, others entered these relationships "freely" or most likely because they had no other option. It is certainly difficult to classify these relationships in a context in which the sexuality of enslaved women was seen as an extension of

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[95] BOA, n. 41, 20 June, 1846, p. 2.
[96] Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery," 73-77; Curto, "'As If From A Free Womb;'" Martin A. Klein, "Women and Slavery in Western Sudan," in Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery in Africa*, 87; Paul E. Lovejoy, "Concubinage and the Status of Women Slaves in Early Colonial Northern Nigeria," *Journal of African History,* 29, n. 2 (1988): 245-266; Douglas Hall, ed., *In Miserable Slavery: Thomas Thistlewood in Jamaica, 1750-1786* (Barbados: University of West Indies Press, 1999); Hilary McD Beckles, "Property Rights in Pleasure: Marketing Black Women's Sexuality," in Hilary McD Beckles, *Centering Women: Gender Discourses in Caribbean Slave Society* (Princeton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 1999), 22-37.
[97] BOA, n. 130, 4 March, 1848, p. 1.
[98] Corrêa, *Historia de Angola*, I, 92.

the services they were supposed to provide to their masters.[99] Nevertheless, becoming the sexual partner of a free male (married or not) could benefit an enslaved woman and the offspring that may result from it.[100] Although not mandatory, masters sometimes freed the children they fathered during baptism and their mothers upon death.[101]

Throughout the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, colonial empires implemented measures aimed at improving the living conditions of the enslaved on both sides of the Atlantic. In the 1780s, for example, the Spanish enacted legal codes that represented an initial step in improving the life conditions of captives. Manuel Barcia has analyzed these laws in relation to colonial Cuba and how they were used by enslaved individuals who became aware of their new rights. In this case, the Spanish legal codes were supplemented in 1842 by the passing of local laws that granted captives in Cuba the right to legal marriage, manumission, and even to change masters when they had reasons to complain about their treatment. As Barcia's work illustrates, enslaved persons, especially those living in urban areas and those who had access to information, drew upon colonial laws to denounce abusive masters and mistresses.[102] In the African context, slave legislation has been the focus of some studies, particularly in the case of South Africa, with its Summerset's Proclamation and Ordinance 19 passed in 1823 and 1826, respectively. Both measures were part of the British government's policy to grant enslaved persons in Cape Town the right to marriage, food, and clothing, as well as forbidding the separation of families for sale,

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[99] Elbl, "Men Without Wives," 70.
[100] Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery," 73-77; Curto, "As if From a Free Womb," 42-46. This was also true for Muslim communities in West Africa. See Lovejoy, "Concubinage and the Status of Women Slaves."
[101] Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery," 73-77; Curto, "As if From a Free Womb," 42-46; Klein, "Women and Slavery in Western Sudan," 87; Lovejoy, "Concubinage and the Status of Women Slaves," 245-266.
[102] Manuel Barcia, "Fighting with the Enemy's Weapons: The usage of the colonial legal framework by nineteenth-century Cuban slaves," *Atlantic Studies*, 3, n. 2 (2006): 159-181.

limiting the number of work hours, and establishing rules for punishment.[103] As John Mason remarks, while these measures did not imply legal and social equality, they limited the violence that masters could use against captives and the degree of alienation they could impose over them.[104]

Mid-nineteenth century Luanda was a violent city, with poor policing. In an attempt to improve security, the city's police force was increased in 1848 from 45 to 60 individuals: yet, even then, this measure proved insufficient to ensure the safety of a rapidly growing urban population.[105] Enslaved persons, in particular, were far more vulnerable to violence given their condition of subordination to those who owned them. But it was only after the early 1850s, in a context of extreme criticism against slavery, which Portugal effectively began to implement measures aimed at protecting enslaved Africans.[106]On 7 October, 1853, the colonial administration of Angola introduced an ordinance that forbade slave owners from punishing captives and required, instead, that they treat the enslaved "humanely" by handing them over to the police for correction.[107] Under this ordinance, only colonial authorities represented by the Governor or the Police Chief could order captives to be punished. Captives destined for correction first had to be questioned and, if found guilty, were punished accordingly in the *pelourinho público* – the public place of punishment in cities under Portuguese suzerainty. Such public punishment was supposed to be watched by as many enslaved individuals as possible "by

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[103] Wayne Dooling, "Slavery and Amelioration in the Graaff-Reinet District, 1823-1830," *South African Historical Journal*, 27, n. 1 (1992): 75-94.
[104] John Mason, *Social Death and Resurrection: Slavery and Emancipation in South Africa* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2003).
[105] Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion," 400. Considering the number of inhabitants in 1850 (12,565), each policeman would have been responsible for some 200 inhabitants. Therefore, the city could not be "well policed" as Caldeira suggested.
[106] In the case of Angola, anti-slavery groups expressed their opinions in the pages of *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*. See, for example, *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 13, 14 March, 1867, p. 51; *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 19, 25 April, 1867, p. 75; *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 20, 2 May, 1867, p. 78.
[107] BOA, n. 419, 8 October, 1853, p. 1-2.

way of example." The "barbarous and incendiary practice" of masters placing their captives in irons, on the other hand, was banned: the exception was the shackle, which could be used without the chain for recalcitrant captives. Irons could only be used on captives laboring in public works or by order of the colonial government.

The 1853 Ordinance sought to "end once and forever the barbaric and inhumane practice of masters enforcing rigorous and sometimes unfair punishments to unfortunate slaves according to their will." It, instead, advised masters to treat their captives with "humanity and tenderness in order to soften the painful state of slavery but without encouraging through impunity their general tendency to laziness and theft, as they are indolent and uncivilized in nature." [108] Failure of masters to abide by these restrictions could lead to fines: 4,000 *réis* for the first occurrence; 8,000 *réis* for the second; and 20,000 *réis* for the third, along with the threat of losing the victimized captives to the Department of Public Works as a *liberto*. The colonial government could take any abused individuals under its tutelage, without economic compensation given to owners, and accused masters were to face judicial proceedings. The 1853 Ordinance did not question the need for punishment, so long as it occurred legally, "in a way that does not misrepresent the authority that the master must have over slaves in order to maintain respect and obedience." On the other hand, the new regulation also challenged the authority of masters, since they had to prove that captives deserved punishment at the same time that they could be fined or lose their captives if transgressed the law.

Masters seem to have been first exposed to this new legislation through the pages of the *Boletim Oficial*, which published the said Ordinance on 8 October, 1853. Enslaved Africans, in turn, would have most likely learned of it indirectly, through their masters or others, both in and

[108] *Ibid*.

outside of the household. Since Luanda was a Creole society, a relatively large proportion of its enslaved residents, especially those whose masters were Portuguese, Brazilians or Luso-Africans, were fluent in Portuguese: some were even literate.[109] The latter likely became a source of information for the illiterate in the same condition. Whatever the flow of information, one thing is certain: enslaved Africans certainly acquired some degree of knowledge regarding extant colonial legislation, as the cases of individuals who questioned their illegal enslavement during the era of the slave trade illustrate.[110]

As of October 1853, masters were thus required to forward disobedient captives to the Police for correction. Depending on the fault committed, correction could include public work, imprisonment, or lashes. On 25 September, 1854, the Police Department announced through the *Boletim Oficial* that 10 captives sent for correction were to be engaged under the auspices of the Municipal Council in cleaning the city.[111] As a matter of fact, the use of enslaved individuals requiring correction in public works was something which the colonial administration had undertaken before the 1853 Ordinance was enacted. On 9 November, 1850, for example, the Secretary General of the government invited masters to send captives in need of correction to the Department of Public Works.[112] By the middle of the nineteenth century, correction had emerged into an opportunity for the colonial government to draw upon unpaid labor for a variety of endeavours.

At the end of 1854, moreover, masters were required to register captives with the colonial state, while the *Junta Protetora dos Escravos e Libertos* was created to "protect" enslaved individuals and liberated Africans. Starting in September, 1855, mistreated captives could appeal

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[109] Heywood, "Portuguese into African".
[110] Curto, "The Story of Nbena;" Curto, "Struggling Against Enslavement;" Candido, "African Freedom Suits".
[111] BOA, n. 470, 30 September, 1854, p. 4.
[112] BOA, n. 267, 9 November, 1850, p. 1.

to the *Junta Protetora* for assistance. But only in extreme cases did this institution rescue aggravated captives from their masters, as will be discussed next. Added to the 1853 Ordinance that removed physical punishment from the direct control of slave owners, these innovations imposed further limitations in colonial Angola on the power that slaveholders could exercise over their captives in a context of intensified slave labor use. Still, slave owners, regardless of gender, continued to abuse their captives. Enslaved women, in particular, were frequently victimized by male and female owners alike.

Enslaved individuals took advantages of the instruments of protection at hand to denounce the violence their masters inflicted upon them. In August, 1858, Francisco José Ribeiro Guimarães was brought to the Court of Justice by one of his enslaved females for having squeezed her fingers with an iron instrument called *anjinhos* (little angels).[113] In April, 1864, the Chief of Police, José Lourenço Marques sent José Elisbão Ferreira to jail. Ferreira was accused of having severely hurt his enslaved female.[114] Some cases of violence resulted in the death of captives. Few cases of murders ever came to light, as masters were careful in concealing their crimes. Nevertheless, on December, 1857, João José do Vale, a prominent slave owner in Luanda, was accused of murdering his enslaved female named Ingrácia. Although the female was murdered under Vale's roof, he was absolved of any guilt due to lack of evidence and the case remained unsolved.[115] In August, 1864, on the other hand, Caetano Manoel da Conceição was sent to jail as the main suspect in the case of the murder of his female captive, whose body

[113] BOA, n. 647, 28 August, 1858, p. 8. For a description of *anjinhos* and other instruments of punishment, see Maria de Fátima Rodrigues das Neves, *Documentos sobre a escravidão no Brasil* (São Paulo: Contexto, 1996).
[114] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2825, "Guia de Apreensão," 6 April, 1864.
[115] BOA, n. 639, 26 December, 1857, p. 10.

was kept in the temporary hospital located in Alto das Cruzes.[116] How long Caetano remained imprisoned or if he was effectively charged with the crime is not known.

Women were able to discipline and met out violence against captives as much as their fathers, husbands, and sons, particularly when the enslaved in question were women and children. In October, 1858, Dona Maria Joana Rodrigues de Bastos Barboza, a Spanish woman, was accused and subsequently incarcerated for murdering one of her captives.[117] The sources at hand neither inform if she was charged with the crime or for how long she remained in prison. In May, 1859, Dona Joana Maria da Conceição Bastos was placed under police custody and accused of murdering one of her captives, whose body had been buried in her *musseque* to better conceal the crime. After an autopsy was performed on the body which confirmed the murder, Dona Joana was sent to prison.[118] There is no information on how long she remained incarcerated.

Enslaved individuals who survived cruel punishment were able to disclose other crimes committed by their owners that otherwise would have remained unknown. In March, 1866, several captives of a certain Dona Maria Joana accused her of cruelty. At the time, the enslaved Joana, Esperança, and Agostinho were receiving treatment for their wounds in the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* hospital. While Dona Maria Joana had stabbed Joana in the mouth with a knife, Esperança was in a terrible state as a result of various punishments. Their owner was further accused of having killed Constança, another enslaved female.[119] We were unable to ascertain whether this Dona Maria Joana was the same Spanish woman mentioned above. A few days later, a *moleca* (young girl, in this case enslaved) arrived in the same hospital with scars on her

[116] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, 2825, “Guia de Apreensão,” 5 August, 1864.
[117] BOA, n. 680, 23 October, 1858, p. 3.
[118] BOA, n. 711, 14 May, 1859, p. 4.
[119] BOA, n. 9, 3 March, 1866, p. 41.

body from the lashes given by her mistress, whom she also accused of having killed another *moleca* through repeated punishment.[120] The mistress in question was not identified in the report published in the *Boletim Oficial*, which suggests that she was an influent woman.

In each and every case regarding the punishment of captives, the *Junta Protetora* required the bodies of captives to be examined by a physician to generate evidence of mistreatment. This measure aimed to avoid unfair complains from enslaved persons seeking to be rescued from slavery. Following confirmation of mistreatment, the *Junta Protetora* arranged for the *resgate* (rescue) of the captive. The aggravated captive was evaluated and the *Junta Protetora* advanced the value to be paid for the ransom, in case the captive was unable to do so. The captive then moved into the legal category of *liberto* and remained under the custody of the *Junta* until covering the full amount of his/her rescue: only then would the captive receive the freedom document.[121]

Several cases are, in this respect, illustrative at a number of levels. In 1862, Maria Joaquina, a black African woman, denounced her master, Joaquim Luiz Pinto de Andrade, for mistreatment. The *Junta Protetora* then proposed to pay for her emancipation "to prevent litigation." Andrade, in turn, agreed to receive 100,000 *réis* for the emancipation of his grieved captive. In one of its sessions late that same year, the President of the *Junta Protetora* authorized the payment "given the danger of her situation," but without providing further details. [122] The high price of her emancipation evidences that the captive in question was a highly skilled woman. In 1863 Catarina, an enslaved female who belonged to Dona Maria Apolônia, similarly filed a complaint against her mistress. According to Catarina she suffered bad treatment at the

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[120] BOA, n. 50, 15 December, 1866, p.3.
[121] See ANA, Luanda, Cx. 122, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora."
[122] *Ibid*, 2 December, 1862, fl. 21v.

hands of her mistress, who had confined her in heavy irons, which she was still wearing despite being forbidden by colonial laws. Catarina was rescued due to the poor condition in which she was found. [123] In April 1864, a woman named Rosa also filed a complaint against her mistress, Dona Josefa Carolina Correia Bittencourt, for continuous mistreatment. Following an examination of Rosa's body, which confirmed the mistreatment, the *Junta Protetora* decided to permanently remove the enslaved woman from her owner.[124]

Nevertheless, not all cases of cruel punishment of captives and *libertos* resulted in criminal proceedings against perpetrators. Several instances of mistreatment may have been resolved through agreements between masters and captives, with colonial authorities acting as intermediaries. On 2 June, 1866, for example, the Governor of Angola himself wrote to the President of the *Junta Protetora* requesting that this institution return the *liberto* José to his master, António Ramachoso, but with the warning that "if he does not treat the *liberto* well from now on, the *Junta* will proceed with his emancipation."[125] Although no further information is currently available on António Ramachoso, he must have been a relatively important man in Luanda to have the Governor of Angola intervene in his favour.

In some cases, enslaved and liberated Africans may have tried to manipulate colonial authorities in order to be emancipated from their masters. This seems to have been the case of Antónia, a liberated African woman, who accused her master of physically hurting her. On 12 January, 1870, Eduardo de Souza Neto filed a petition in the *Junta Protetora* requesting this institution to return the *liberta* Antónia, since he presented documentation evidencing to be her

[123] See ANA, Luanda, Cx. 122, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora."
[124] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1335, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora," 11 April, 1864.
[125] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1335, "Carta do Governador de Angola Francisco António Gonçalves Cardoso," 2 June, 1866.

master and the examination of her body found no proof that he had ever beaten her.[126] Whether Antónia made up the story in an attempt to obtain her freedom is not known: it is similarly not known whether she was devolved to her master. What is certain is that, beginning in the mid-1850s, cautious masters paid more attention to the legislation in effect, sending enslaved Africans and *libertos* increasingly to the Police for correction. While a total of 313 captives were sent by their masters for correction in 1858, this number increased to 378 in the following year.[127] Yet, as the cases highlighted above illustrate, some masters chose to continue to exercise dominion over captives by applying punishment themselves.

The violence of slavery took various forms: while some captives were cruelly punished, others were abandoned. References to abandoned captives, wandering the streets of the colonial capital, appear frequently in the *Boletim Oficial*. They were commonly accused of begging and stealing food and were easily recognized by their "nudity and thinness." The reasons that led masters to abandon captives are unclear, but reports from the Police provide some interesting insights. Abandoned captives included those that masters viewed as "useless", particularly elders, children, and injured individuals. In March 1858, the Police reported that an abandoned male captive was sent to the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* hospital with a large injury on his foot.[128] The fact that the captive in question had a wounded foot certainly precluded him from working: this must have lowered his value, which can explain why his master abandoned him. Captives found by police wandering on the streets were first sent to the *Junta Protetora* and, depending on their condition, forwarded to the hospital. If unreclaimed by their masters within a period of 15 days, abandoned individuals were legally turned into *libertos*.

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[126] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 1335, "Atas da Sessão da Junta Protetora,"12 January, 1870.
[127] BOA, 1858-1859.
[128] BOA, n. 650, 13 March, 1858, p. 5.

Masters of abandoned captives were rarely identified. One exception was the white woman named Maria de Castro, who in November, 1857, was accused of abandoning an ill *moleque* (young boy, in this case enslaved) on the beach, where he died. The police report noted that Maria de Castro was sent to the Board of Justice to respond to the accusation.[129] The abandonment of injured captives freed masters from having to pay hospital expenses, and, in the case of death, the cost of a Christian burial. In the early 1860s, a modest burial for a gentile captive cost 800 *réis* while the burial of a baptized captive amounted to 1,000 *réis*. If the burial required a coffin and a shroud the value could reach 7,500 *réis*.[130] The possibility of such an expense may have led masters like Maria de Castro to evict ill enslaved individuals from their household.

Enslaved individuals with a reputation of making trouble were also commonly abandoned by their masters. On 17 April, 1864, Francisco, who had been in prison for two years, appealed to the *Junta Protetora* to have his mistress, Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria Câmara Garrido, send him provisions, for he was "in a poor condition due to starvation."[131] The Crown Attorney, Dr. Vasconcelos, simultaneously wrote to Dona Mariana asking whether she would provide for her captive or hand him over to the *Junta Protetora*.[132] The following day, Dona Mariana wrote to the Dr. Vasconcelos herself, informing that she was in Lisbon when one of her agents purchased the said captive. With Francisco having run away a few days after his purchase, she was unable to register him as required by law. Therefore, Dona Mariana believed to have neither rights nor obligations towards him. [133] After such a response from his mistress, Francisco should have come under the protection of the *Junta Protetora* which would become responsible for

[129] BOA, n. 634, 21 November, 1857, p. 4
[130] BML, Códice 047, "Edital da Câmara Municipal de Luanda," 18 January, 1863, fls. 57v-58v.
[131] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2825, "Carta do Carcereiro da Cadeia Pública de Luanda," 17 April, 1864.
[132] *Ibid*, "Carta do Procurador Régio da Coroa Vasconcelos," 17 April, 1864.
[133] *Ibid*, "Carta de Dona Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido," 18 April, 1864.

feeding him. Nevertheless, on 19 April, 1864, Francisco remained in jail starving and awaiting for a decision.[134] The extant documentation provides no light as to whether he survived the slow wheels of the colonial bureaucracy or starved to death in prison.

Achieving Freedom through Flight and Manumission

During the last three decades, an increasing number of scholars have investigated the formation of *mutolos* or *quilombos* (communities of runaway captives) and the repression against fugitive captives in colonial Angola.[135] Meanwhile, stories of individuals who fought illegal enslavement during the slave trade era have also begun to come to light.[136]As one historian of Angola pointed out sometime ago, although slave resistance has received more attention in the Americas, the phenomenon was no less significant in African societies.[137]

While historians working on West Africa can draw upon on a relatively large corpus of biographical accounts left by enslaved individuals, the experiences of enslaved persons in resistance in West Central Africa can only be reconstructed through fragments of life stories written into colonial documents.[138] This notwithstanding, however, it is clear that resistance to

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[134]ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 2825, "Carta do Carcereiro da Cadeia Pública de Luanda," 19 April, 1864.
[135]William G. Clarence-Smith, "Runaway slaves and social bandits in Southern Angola, 1875-1913," *Slavery & Abolition*, 6, n. 3, (1985): 23-33; Aida Freudenthal, "Os Quilombos de Angola no século XIX: a recusa da escravidão," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*, 32 (1997): 109-134; Beatrix Heintze, "Asiles toujours menacés: fuites d'esclaves en Angola au XVIIe siècle," in Katia de Queirós Mattoso, ed., *Esclavages: histoire d'une diversité de l'océan Indien à l'Atlantique Sud* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 101-22; Ferreira, "Escravidão e revoltas de escravos," 9-44; Ferreira, "Slaving and Resistance to Slaving," 111-32; Martin Lienhard, *O mar e o mato. Histórias da escravidão* (Luanda: Kilombelombe, 2005); Curto, "Resistência à Escravidão na África".
[136] Curto, "The Story of Nbena;'" Curto, "Struggling Against Enslavement;" Candido, "African Freedom Suits".
[137] Curto, "Resistência à Escravidão na África," 67.
[138] See, for example, Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Biography of Mahammed Garbo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America* (Pinceton: Markus Wiener Publishers, 2001); Olaudah Equiano, *The Interesting Narrative of the Life of Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa, the African* (printed for, and sold by the author, 1794); Randy J. Sparks, *The Two Princes of Calabar: An Eighteenth-Century Atlantic Odyssey* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2004); James Sweet, *Domingos Alvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2011); João José Reis, *Domingos Sodré, um sacerdote africano: escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2008); João José Reis, Flavio dos Santos Gomes, and Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, *O alufá*

slavery in Africa took various forms, just like it did in the Americas. In the particular case of Angola, slave flight continued as an endemic phenomenon until the legal end of slavery late in the nineteenth century (and beyond). Captives, whether working in urban or rural spaces, irrespective of gender, and regardless of age, attempted to escape from their condition whenever they could, affecting both wealthy and modest male and female owners.

Throughout much of the nineteenth century, the colonial administration and slave masters showed a great deal of preoccupation with the *mutulos* that were constantly formed around Luanda. On June 1841, for example, the Governor of Angola, Manoel Eleutério Malheiro, became concerned with the thefts committed by runaway captives from *mutolos* in the District of Icolo e Bengo. Governor Malheiro thereafter ordered the Commander of the said District to fight against the communities of runaway captives, offering assistance from the General Government to carry out the repression.[139]

By the mid-nineteenth century, the number of runaway captive communities in the vicinity of Luanda had proliferated. With the city having undergone a demographic explosion, particularly through the addition of significant numbers of enslaved individuals, slave flight therefrom emerged into a considerable problem. In 1850, the colonial administration sent a military expedition from Luanda composed of 610 men to destroy *quilombos* established between the districts of Icolo and Calumbo. [140] Numerous *cubatas* found along the trails were razed and a total of 75 runaways, including enslaved Africans and *libertos*, were recaptured:

Rufino: tráfico, escravidão e liberdade no Atlântico Negro, c. 1822-c. 1853 (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010).

[139] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 143, "Carta do Secretário do Governo Geral de Angola José Barbosa Leão para o Chefe do Conselho de Icolo e Bengo," 28 June, 1841.

[140]AHU, SEMU, DGU, Angola, Correspondência dos Governadores, Segunda Secção, Cx. 6A, "Carta do Governador Geral de Angola Adrião Acácio da Silveira Pinto," 15 September , 1850.

meanwhile, two soldiers were killed and 14 others were injured. The recaptured runaways were taken to Luanda where they were forced into public works until their masters reclaimed them.

Table 5.5 Owners of Advertized Fugitives		
Slave Owners	**Number of Captives**	**Percentage**
Couples	02	0.7
Females	40	13.4
Males	256	85.9
TOTAL	298	
Source: *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Angola*, 1857-1871.[141]		

As Table 5.5 shows, males owned 85 percent and women 13.4 percent of advertized fugitives, while less than 1 percent were held by couples. Male slaveholders were more affected by the escape of their captives, which is proportional to the large number of enslaved individuals possessed by men in Luanda. In 1855, for example, Augusto Garrido had three of his captives engage in flight: the caulker Leão and two stone-masons, Francisco and Gunsa.[142] Meanwhile, the *degredado* Domingos Fançony had two of his captives on the run, Francisco Domingos e Marcelino.[143] Even more significant was the case of Paulino and Carolina, two orphans who were proprietors of the Farm Colônia de São João and among the largest slave owners in the colony: of the 254 captives that they registered in Luanda in 1854, 35 had become fugitives.[144] Roquinaldo Ferreira has suggested that enslaved Africans living in the Portuguese enclaves fled from their masters according to indigenous principles regarding treatment. A considerable number of enslaved individuals in Luanda originated from different parts of the interior, where dissatisfied individuals were customarily allowed to seek new masters. In this process known as

[141] I would like to thank José C. Curto for sharing this dataset.
[142] ANA, Códice 2524, Luanda, "Registos de Escravos,"1867, fls. 62v-63; 66v-67.
[143] *Ibid*, fls. 83v-84.
[144] ANA, Códice 3186, Luanda, "Registos de Escravos,"1854-1856, fls. 80v-82.

chimbika or *tombika*, the captive resorted to damaging the property of the intended master, such as killing an animal, and in reparation he/she offered himself/herself as payment.[145]

Slave owners commonly announced their captives on the run in the *Boletim Oficial*, offering compensation for anyone who captured and returned them. In these announcements, owners provided as many descriptions as possible of the captives in question so as to facilitate their identification. One such runaway was Gertrudes. On 24 January, 1852, her master, António da Cunha Oliveira, who was a nurse at the *Misericórdia* hospital, described her as a black African woman with the letter A stamped on her right breast and carrying an iron cross on her neck. The use of the iron indicates that Gertrudes was being punished before her escape, which may well have been the reason why she decided to run away. By the time of this advert, she had already been on the run for three months.[146] On 24 May, 1851, Joaquim Manoel Escórcio also announced the escape of two of his male captives: the tailor Bernardo, branded with the letters IMW; and Miguel, who was stamped with the letters AMS. Joaquim added that both captives were *ladinos*, meaning that they were acculturated and able to speak Portuguese. He offered 20,000 *réis* to anyone who captured and delivered them to his wife in Luanda.[147] On 20 December, 1851, Major Rudsky similarly adverted that his captive Frederico, a locksmith, had escaped and was willing to pay 10,000 *réis* to anyone who returned him.[148] That Frederico and Bernardino were trained in the mechanized arts or that the latter and Joaquim were relatively well acculturated to colonial society, which placed them at the top of the slave hierarchy, did not dampen their desire for freedom: however, it was precisely those same characteristics that led their owners to offer monetary rewards for their recapture.

[145]Ferreira, "Escravidão e revolta de escravos," 23-24.
[146] BOA, n. 330, 24 January, 1852, p. 4.
[147] BOA, n. 295, de May, 1851, p. 4.
[148] BOA, n. 325, de 20 December, 1851, p. 4.

Table 5.6 **Owners of Recaptured Fugitive Captives**		
Slave Owners	**Numbers**	**Percentage**
Males	1,877	58.7
Females	445	14.0
Not specified	873	27.3
TOTAL	3,195	
Source: *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Angola* (BOA), 1846-1876.[149]		

Of the many captives who fled, some were eventually recaptured and returned to their owners. Between 1846 and 1876, the number of these unfortunate individuals reached 3,195 as can be seen from Table 5.6. While female proprietors represented 14 percent of identified owners of captives who were recaptured, males accounted for 58.7 percent and another 27.3 percent were the property of unidentified individuals. Women owned 445 of the recaptured captives, with *donas* accounting for 161 or 36 percent of the recaptives held by females. Individuals recaptured by the colonial administration were sent to the Department of Public Works in Luanda, where they worked while waiting for masters and mistresses to claim them. Slave owners had 15 days to claim ownership over recaptured captives and pay the colonial administration a fee of 20,000 *réis*. Unclaimed captives became the property of the Treasury Office, which subsequently sold them in public auctions. Some runaway captives, especially those involved in the organization of *mutolos*, were also punished in the *Pelourinho*, where masters were encouraged to send their enslaved Africans to witness the punishment sessions that ran from 7 to 9 a.m.[150] These daily occurrences of violence allowed the colonial state and masters to display their authority over the enslaved population and promote obedience through fear.

[149] I thank José C. Curto for sharing this dataset.
[150] BOA, n. 263, 12 October, 1850, p. 2; BOA, n. 265, 26 October, 1850, p. 1.

As one of the most prominent women of nineteenth century Luanda, Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva appeared periodically among the owners of fugitive and recaptured Africans. On 31 July, 1852, the General Secretary of the colonial government announced in the *Boletim Oficial* that two of Dona Ana Joaquina's runaway captives, João Zua and Ngongo, had been recaptured in the District of Zenza do Golungo and forwarded to the Department of Public Works in Luanda: she had 15 days to reclaim her captives, otherwise they would be sold in public auction.[151] Of the many enslaved Africans Dona Ana Joaquina had on the run, 25 were eventually recaptured, some well after her death.[152] And she was not the only women to figure among the owners of fugitive and recaptured individuals during the period under consideration: Dona Ana Ferreira dos Santos had 10 of her captives on the run recaptured in 1854 alone; Dona Máxima Lemos Botelho de Vasconcelos also re-acquired 10 of her fugitive captives between 1855 and 1867; and Dona Antónia da Fonseca Schut recovered nine of her captives in flight as late as 1873.[153] Masters sometimes decided not to reclaim their recaptured runaways. Payment of 20,000 *réis* to re-acquire problematic or troublesome captives, who could again attempt to escape, was not always a given. This is what most likely occurred in the cases of Panzo, António, João, Joaquina, Andreza, Luiza, and Quibuane. On 3 June, 1841, they were conferred their freedom papers by the Department of Public Works after their masters failed to re-claim them within the allotted time.[154]

[151] BOA, n. 357, 31July, 1852, p. 3.
[152] See, for example, BOA, n. 97, 17 July, 1847, p. 3; BOA, n. 282, 22 February, 1851, p. 2; 357, 31 July, 1852, p. 3; BOA, n. 472, 14 October, 1854, p. 1.
[153] See, for example, BOA, n. 487, 27 January, 1855, p. 2; BOA, n. 508, 23 June, 1855, p. 2; BOA, n. 510, 7 July, 1855, p. 3.
[154] ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 143, "Comunicado do Diretório de Obras Públicas," 3 June, 1841. By early 1854, the period for masters to reclaim recaptured captives had increased from 15 to 30 days. See, for example, BOA, n. 442, 18 March, 1854, p. 4-5.

Some enslaved Africans, however, were able to acquire their freedom through means other than flight. As we have seen, enslaved males engaged in mechanized trades had more opportunities to make an income and, presumably, purchase themselves out of slavery. Likewise, enslaved women who were hired out to perform domestic work, such as sewing and washing clothes, and females engaged in retail trade as *quitandeiras*, also may have had opportunities to purchase their freedom following several years of work. In effect, captives could pay for their freedom with cash or through years of unpaid service. In either case, masters had to agree with the arrangement, as they were the only ones authorized to issue letters of manumission. To avoid any possibility of contestation, these were usually registered in notary. Nevertheless, even when a captive was willing to pay for his or her freedom, masters could refuse the offer.[155] Cases of disagreement over the value of manumission and instances where slave owners were confronted with judicial proceedings after refusing offers from their captives must have arisen throughout mid-nineteenth century colonial Angola, just like they did in Brazil.[156]

Letters of manumission conceded during the mid-nineteenth century offer a number of insights into why proprietors freed their captives in Luanda. Most enslaved individuals who became free may have done so through purchase of manumission. On 25 November, 1857, for example, Antónia Francisca paid 40,000 *réis* to Dona Maria Rodrigues da Silva for the purpose of manumitting her and her minor son, Pedro. [157] In this particular case, Dona Maria declared to have accepted the offer because of the good services Antónia had provided over the years. Had her mistress refused, Antónia would have remained the property of Dona Maria and, at the same time, watch her son grow as an enslaved person.

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[155] Keila Gringberg, "Alforria, direito e direitos no Brasil e nos Estados Unidos," *Estudos Históricos*, 27 (2001): 63-83.
[156] *Ibid*, 65.
[157] ANA, Códice 5613, "Carta de Liberdade," 25 November, 1857, fl. 19.

Enslaved individuals could also be freed exclusively for the good services they had provided their masters. On 28 October, 1856, Elena Santiago voluntarily conferred freedom upon Rubina Joaquina for her “good services”.[158] Likewise, on 20 February, 1857, Fonseca Varela manumitted his female captive Porciana Matilde because of “her good services and exemplary behaviour.”[159] As the captive of a male, the “good services” Porciana provided may have included satisfying the sexual appetite of her master. Granting manumission certainly contributed to promote a paternalist image of slave owners.[160] At the same time, the possibility of acquiring freedom may have led many captives to behave in accordance to the will of their owners, avoiding rebellious attitudes or actions and attending to all of their wishes – including sexual. Yet, instead of a sign of submission, “good” behaviour could also be read as a strategy drawn upon by the enslaved for passage into the world of the manumitted.[161]

Some masters, it must also be highlighted, developed a certain affection and attachment for their captives, particularly when captives were born and raised within their household.[162] These enslaved Africans were usually favored by laboring at minor tasks and eventually being manumitted without monetary compensation. But, when such manumission did come, it was not always unconditional. On 30 May, 1856, for example, Teodora Pombo manumitted José Francisco based on the “good services and friendship” she had received from him. Still a boy, José Francisco was probably the offspring of one of Teodora’s enslaved females. Nevertheless,

[158] *Ibid*, 28 October, 1856, fl. 7v.
[159] ANA, Códice 5613, “Carta de Liberdade,” 28 February, 1857, fl. 10.
[160] Sheldon Augusto Soares de Carvalho, “As perspectivas de senhores, escravos e libertos em torno do pecúlio e das redes familiars no desagregar da escravidão em Barbacena, 1871-1888,” (PhD Dissertation, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2008), 239.
[161] Mario Borges Silva, “Experiências de Liberdade: estratégias de senhores e escravos nos anos finais da escravidão – Jataí, 1871-1888,” *Catalão*, 13, n. 2, (2013), 340; João José Reis and Eduardo Silva, *Negociação e Conflito: a resistência negra no Brasil escravista* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2009).
[162] Silva, “Experiências de Liberdade,” 340-341.

his manumission was conditioned by the fact that he had to assist his mistress until her death.[163] As discussed in chapter 3, children could also be freed at the baptismal font by their free fathers, godparents, masters or mistresses because of the good services enslaved mothers provided to owners.[164] Captives who were granted conditional freedom sometimes faced resistance from heirs who reclaimed their ownership following the death of the owners who had originally freed them.[165]

In a rare case, misconduct was the reason that led one master to free his *libertos*. The case in point took place on 2 May, 1867, when Raimundo José de Magalhães, a merchant, conceded manumission without monetary compensation to three of his liberated Africans. According to Raimundo, he was underserved by the said *libertos*. Moved by the belief that they would perform better service if freed, he decided to grant their manumission rather them sell them.[166] Raimundo's decision was welcomed by individuals in favour of the abolition of slavery in Luanda, including the editors of *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, Urano de Castro and Alfredo Mantua. In any case, the last word on the freedom of an enslaved person came from masters. This fact contributed to perpetrate an image of benevolence towards those individuals who freed their captives, even when the manumission was purchased. Therefore, many enslaved individuals might have developed a sense of gratitude that connected them to former masters even after achieving freedom.[167]

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[163] ANA, Códice 5613, "Carta de Liberdade," 30 May, 1856, fl. 7.
[164] Curto, "As if from a Free Womb".
[165] Sidney Chalhoub and Hebe Maria Mattos located cases of slaves who had their freedom contested by their masters' hairs in Brazil. Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da Liberdade: uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990), 111-112; Hebe Maria Mattos, *Das cores do silêncio: os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista – Brasil, século XIX* (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1998).
[166] *A Civilização da África Portuguesa*, n. 20, 2 May, 1867, p. 82.
[167] Mattos, *Das cores do silêncio*, 192.

Conclusion

By 1850, the price of captives in Angola dropped due to the withdrawal of Brazil from the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Meanwhile, the population of Luanda experienced a demographic growth resulting from the incorporation of captives who would have been previously exported across the Atlantic Ocean. By the mid-nineteenth century, slave owners – including former slavers – used their captives locally in activities associated with "legitimate" commerce and meeting the labor demands of an expanding city.

Slave registries produced by the colonial administration between 1854 and 1867 show that mechanized trades were dominated by men who had access to training in craft workshops, while women were limited to performing domestic services and retail sales. Enslaved males laboring in mechanized trades were at the top of the slave hierarchy and were more likely to earn some income and purchase their manumission. Enslaved women, on the other hand, performed various activities within and outside of the household, including domestic services, and were more likely to be subjected to multiple workloads. The household was the place of work but also the scene of mistreatment, where enslaved women and girls, in particular, suffered punishment, sexual abuse, and sometimes even murder. Since some of these slave owners were part of the colonial elite of Luanda, they were rarely convicted of crimes against their captives: when sentences did materialize, these rarely went beyond fines to be paid. Punishment for the murder of captives was sometimes harsh, but only if masters were not absolved for lack of evidence.

By 1853, the colonial administration advised masters to treat captives with "humanity and tenderness in order to soften the painful state of slavery." The intention was clear: reduce excesses without affecting the *status quo* or abolishing slavery. The cases presented in this

chapter highlight the vulnerability of captives, but also how they made use of the colonial legal framework to claim their rights and denounce the injuries perpetrated by their owners. Enslaved women, in particular, were more vulnerable to the violence meted out by female and male owners alike. Female slaveholders drew upon as much violence to discipline and punish their captives, including women and children, as their male counterparts did. The interactions between enslaved persons and slave owners were marked by violence, flight and sometimes affection that could lead to manumission based on "good services", which simultaneously reinforced the paternalism of slave societies.

Conclusion

Luanda was the most important port of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. In this urban landscape, as was the case of other port towns along the western coast of Africa, the slave trade led to a great deal of interaction between local and foreign people. Added to the requirements of trade and everyday life, the lack of white females in the colonial capital of Angola contributed to the development of short and long term liaisons between expatriate males and African and Luso-African women. In this process, local women provided exogenous traders with the comforts of a household, the support of a wife and stable sexual partner who also acted as translator and as commercial agent, and a local family which usually was also engaged in slaving activities. Meanwhile, these women enhanced their prestige by marrying incoming Portuguese and Brazilian traders, military personnel, and colonial officials who facilitated their access to foreign goods for personal consumption and commercialization. In Angola, the most successful of these female traders became known as *donas* reflecting their socio-economic status and affiliation to Portuguese culture.

Immersed in Mbundu and Portuguese cultures, incoming individuals and the permanent population living in Luanda became agents of a cultural hybridization that transformed themselves and others. In this process of Creolization, foreigners entered into Catholic and African marriages with local women, sought assistance from healers, and learned some Kimbundu. Africans, in turn, adopted Portuguese names, language, dress, architecture and professed Christian faith. Their offspring were baptized, married and buried in the Catholic Church, spoke Portuguese and Kimbundu and occupied mid-level administrative and military positions throughout the colony.

Sources from Luanda suggest that scholars have overstated the importance of marriage to foreigners in defining women classified as *donas*. In this study, I argue that birth, skin color, ownership of economic assets, and affiliation to Portuguese culture were more important than marital status in determining who was deemed to be a *dona* in Luanda. Marriage petitions, registers of property sale, and burial records confirm that single women were also referred to as *donas* in the colonial capital of Angola. *Donas* were often women of Luso-African background affiliated to Portuguese culture who owned assets such as land, captives, and luxury goods and were commonly classified as *brancas* (white) or *pardas* (of mixed African and European background) by the colonial bureaucracy.

Several *donas* were already economically well-off before entering into matrimony with incoming males, evidencing that African women were individual historical actors and accumulated power outside of their relationships with expatriate men. Marrying wealthy females, on the other hand, enhanced the possibilities of success for foreign merchants and other expatriates, as women of means and their families were usually engaged in commercial activities, including the trade in human beings. Aware of the benefits that their wealth could bring to foreigners, wealthy females drew upon all of the benefits conferred on them by Portuguese law to protect their property when entering matrimony by resorting to contracts of marriage and/or turning their assets into dowries.

In spite of the fact that political and socio-economic power rested with those who could command a large number of dependents (enslaved or free), this dissertation corroborates with recent studies in demonstrating that people were not the only source of wealth in West Central Africa. By the late eighteenth century African and Luso-African individuals in Luanda – including women – not only accumulated enslaved persons and dependents, but also land, real

estate, vessels, and luxury goods, among other assets. The ownership of land and slave labor, in particular, created new commercial opportunities for females, especially in the food supply business.

By the late eighteenth century women appeared in quantitative and qualitative documentation produced by colonial officials as owners of agricultural properties that they acquired through inheritances, dowries, and purchase. In these rural estates, crops such as manioc flour, maize, and beans were cultivated and domestic animals were raised for household consumption and to supply caravans, urban markets, and sailing vessels. In the context of the insecurity generated by the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the supply of foodstuffs became a safe option that attracted the capital of both well-established and smaller traders.

As we have seen, however, the majority of individuals engaged in the foodstuff trade were foreign and Luso-African males who owned land, captives and vessels. Not many women were able to supply urban markets without an intermediate and those who did so were *donas*. Women of modest means operated taverns and shops where they offered a variety of local and imported goods to customers on a retail basis. Meanwhile, the retail trade of the markets and streets offered opportunities to impoverished and enslaved women who operated as *quitandeiras*. The retail trade effectively allowed these less wealthy women to operate as independent small-scale vendors and increase their household earnings.

No less significant was the participation of women in slave trading and slave ownership in Luanda. Despite the fact that academic discourse on African involvement in the slave trade has most often focused on men, women too acted as agents of coastal merchants and as slave traders in their own right. Indeed, although slaving was dominated by men, some women effectively became prominent slave traders, amassing significant fortunes that were passed on to

their offspring and close relations. For instance, the trajectories of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Dona Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda, and Dona Ana Ifigênia Nogueira da Rocha confirm that women were able to enter the Atlantic market, alone or as partners of foreign merchants. These Luso-African women were successful in applying the capital they inherited from parents and husbands, as well as the profits of their own work in supplying local markets, towards the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The small number of women directly involved in slave trading resulted from their limited access to credit with which to invest in the highly competitive Atlantic market.

On the other hand, parish records indicate that women made up a relatively significant proportion of slaveholders in the colonial capital of Angola. They acquired enslaved persons for labor purposes and as a sign of prestige, which, largely corresponded to their increased activities in commercial ventures. The ownership of slaves was crucial in commercial entrepreneurship as the labor of enslaved individuals was used in the production of foodstuffs, in occupations associated with urban life, and in activities related to "legitimate" commerce. Some mistresses did not hesitate to grant freedom at the baptismal font to the offspring of their enslaved females, but the latter largely remained enchained.

Given the connections of Luanda to the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the 1836 ban on the export of captives brought distress to traders established in the port city, as well as to African suppliers in the interior. Nevertheless, this was an irreversible process that slowly led the colonial economy towards the transition to the so called “legitimate” commerce. Although traders established in the colonial capital continued to engage in illegal shipments of Africans to the Americas until the 1860s, they did not refuse to invest in the trade in commodities from the *sertões* and in experiments with commercial agriculture to meet the growing demand emanating

from European and American markets. Indeed, the capital invested in "legitimate" activities originated in the late legal and the illegal slave trades. In the case of Angola, as Jill Dias, Gervase Clarence-Smith, and Aida Freudenthal have observed, the economic structures based on credit developed during the slave trade era were extended to new colonial economic activities, with coastal merchants continuing to provide loans to commercial and agrarian sectors, as well as those in need. Despite the fact that former slavers continued to operate illegally, only those individuals who were able to diversify their investments survived the end of the slave trade.

While the trans-Atlantic slave trade was controlled by big male merchants and firms, "legitimate" commercial activities created opportunities for small-scale traders of European and African descent, including women. As Jill Dias and Isabel Castro Henriques, in particular, have demonstrated, Africans played an important role in this economic transition: they had experience with growing coffee, and cultivating cotton, tobacco, and sugar cane for internal consumption and for a small-scale trade well before these items attracted the attention of the colonial administration and private investors. Meanwhile, they were also the collectors of ivory and wax, the labor force underpinning *arimos* and other farms, and the transporters of all kinds of goods. Therefore, merchants and the colonial administration depended on African labor and expertise to develop "legitimate" commerce in raw materials and tropical products in the colony.

Women specifically found more opportunities in "legitimate" commerce than in slave trading. Passports granted to individuals and coasting-vessels evidence a movement of women from the coast into the *sertões* and between the northern and southern ports, where they owned farms and *feitorias* that traded in "legitimate" goods and possibly in slaves to supply internal and external markets. While the slave trade required great investment, which contributed to keeping petty traders away, "legitimate" commerce opened opportunities for individuals of more modest

means, including African women who acquired land to produce crops so as to supply external and local markets. Although some women were able to become merchants and acquire wealth through their participation in local and international trade, they did so within a gendered and racialized social structure. More importantly, the domination of commerce by males was not disrupted: men continued to be the majority of individuals engaged in the foodstuff trade, in the slave trade and in "legitimate" commercial activities. Males were also rewarded with titles of Portuguese orders and with military and administrative positions, while women were excluded from both.

With the drop in the price of captives experienced after the withdrawal of Brazil from the slave trade in 1850, the colony of Angola saw an expansion in the internal use of slave labor, as was the case in other regions of the African continent throughout the nineteenth century. In Luanda, laborers that would have been exported across the Atlantic Ocean prior to 1836 were used internally to meet the demands of "legitimate" commercial activities and the needs of a city in expansion. By 1850, Luanda's population had swelled through the addition of about 7,000 individuals, which accentuated need for more housing, staples, and services in general. Slave owners, including former slave merchants, invested in the specialization of their captives to meet the new requirements of the colonial capital.

The profile of the enslaved population of Luanda established through the slave registers produced during 1854-1867 shows that enslaved males dominated mechanical trades while enslaved women performed domestic services and engaged in retail sales. Getting slaves to learn a trade was an investment for slaveholders, as they could hire them out and increase their value in case of sale. Denunciations received by the Police and the *Junta Protetora* evidence that household slaves suffered as much punishment as other slaves and that enslaved women, in

particular, were subjected to multiple workloads and violence within the roofs of their masters and mistresses. These findings challenge the assumption that household slaves had a better life in relation to the rest of the enslaved population.

In 1853 the Portuguese administration in Luanda forbade slave owners from punishing captives, requiring them instead to treat slaves "humanely" by handing them over to the police for correction. Still, slave owners, regardless of gender, continued to abuse their slaves, especially vulnerable individuals such as women and children. The violence of slavery took various forms: while some captives were cruelly punished, others were abandoned. As some of the slave owners represented the elite of the colonial society, their crimes were rarely sentenced beyond the payment of fines and often absolved for lack of evidence. Yet slaves did not shy away from making use of the colonial legal framework in order to claim their rights and denounce the injuries perpetrated by their owners. The *Junta Protetora*, in this respect, played an important role in rescuing mistreated slaves and *libertos* from cruel individuals.

In a context of intensified use of slave labor, the number of slave flights also increased, especially from the colonial capital. Slaves escaped when they could, affecting wealthy and modest slave owners. Of the many slaves who fled, some were eventually recaptured and returned to their masters. Another route to freedom was through manumission. Most enslaved individuals who became free did so through self-purchase. Yet slaves could also be granted manumission without monetary compensation for their good services and exemplary behaviour. Still, the last word on the freedom of an enslaved person came from masters and mistresses, contributing to perpetrate the paternalism of slave societies.

This study of the participation of women in commercial activities during the slave trade era and the transition to "legitimate" commerce provides an opportunity to better understand the multifaceted experiences of women in West Central Africa before the advent of formal colonization in the late nineteenth century. The various primary sources that this dissertation draws upon effectively demonstrate that African and Luso-African women were independent historical actors who used the opportunities offered by an important Atlantic port city. They engaged in local, regional, and international trade and entered into commercial and intimate relationships with foreign males, all of which contradicts the image of submission and passivity too often attributed to African women in the past. The trajectories of females explored in this study highlight the agency of free and enslaved women in shaping the socio-economic fabric of colonial Angola.

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APPENDICES

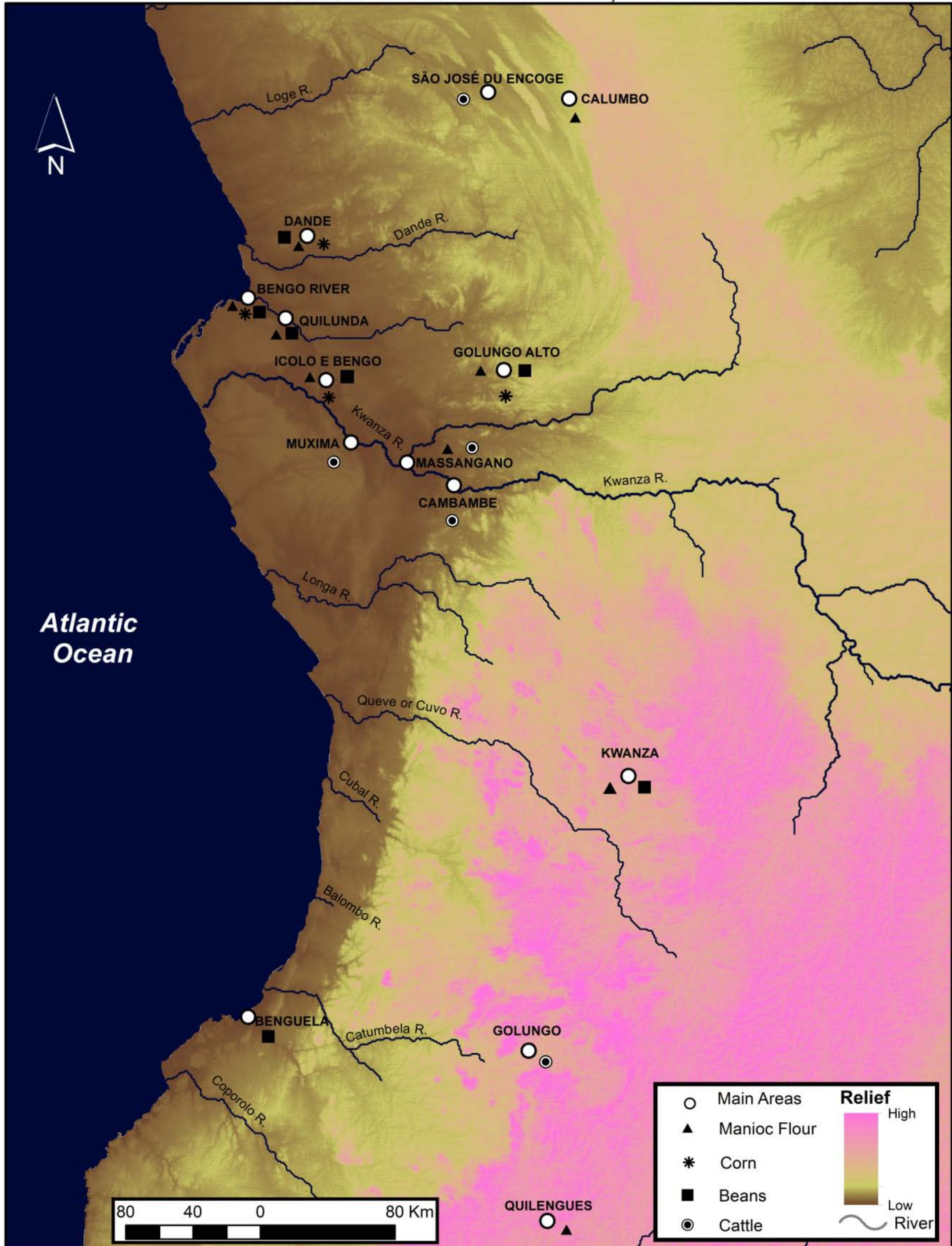
APPENDIX A

Table 1.1: Free and Enslaved Populations: Luanda, 1781-1844							
Year	Free	Free as % of Total Population	slaves			Slaves as % of Total Population	Slaves as % of Civilians
			Males	Females	Total		
1781	4172	42.8	2164	3419	5583	57.2	-
1782-1795	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1796	2783	38.6	-	-	4421	61.4	64.2
1797	3637	45.6	-	-	4339	54.4	62.8
1798	3651	45.6	-	-	4362	54.4	66.0
1799	3150	49.1	1410	1854	3264	50.9	63.5
1800-1801	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1802	4093	59.1	1361	1471	2832	40.9	49.7
1803	3560	51.5	1371	1976	3347	48.5	59.0
1804	3587	51.7	1366	1986	3352	48.3	58.7
1805	4133	50.9	1754	2225	3979	49.1	56.4
1806	4206	51.0	1818	2219	4037	49.0	57.9
1807	3487	56.4	1411	1286	2697	43.6	56.0
1808-1809	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1810	3520	59.6	1444	944	2388	40.4	52.5
1811	3295	54.5	1532	1224	2756	45.5	58.3
1812	2981	55.3	1285	1124	2409	44.7	59.1
1813	3120	60.7	1044	976	2020	39.3	52.5
1814	2929	59.2	1059	959	2018	40.8	55.0
1815	2853	61.4	972	823	1795	38.6	53.3
1816	2814	60.0	1062	813	1875	40.0	56.0
1817	2879	64.1	836	775	1611	35.9	50.4
1818	2902	64.4	836	768	1604	35.6	50.3
1819	2708	47.7	1573	1399	2972	52.3	69.2
1820-1822	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1823	2502	40.0	1951	1803	3754	60.0	72.5
1824	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1825	3031	42.0	1779	2399	4178	58.0	73.7
1826	2587	38.0	1802	2424	4226	62.0	-
1827-1828	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1829	2378	42.9	1161	2002	3163	57.1	69.3
1830	2791	52.2	1407	1147	2554	47.8	59.3
1831	2748	47.8	1607	1353	2960	52.2	63.8
1832	2368	46.8	1395	1295	2690	53.2	65.7
1833-1843	-	-	-	-	-	-	-
1844	2856	51.0	1082	1667	2749	49.0	57.3
Source: José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History*, 29 (2001), 58-59.							

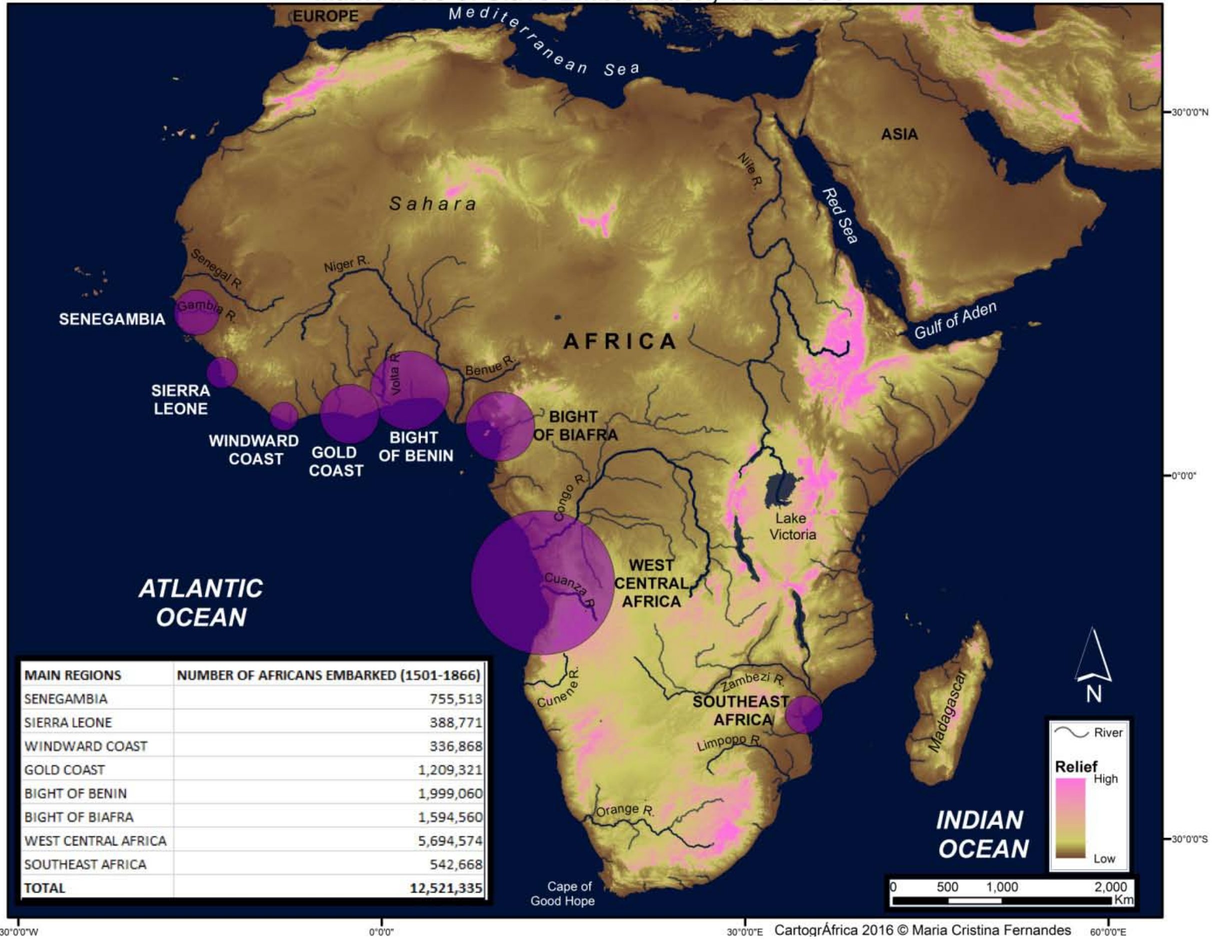
APPENDIX B

Table 1.2: Civilian Population by Color: Luanda, 1799-1850							
Year with available data	Civilian Population	Whites	%	Mulatto	%	Blacks	%
1799	5,142	443	8.6	797	15.5	3,902	75.8
1802	5,702	710	12.5	1,060	18.6	3,932	69.0
1803	5,670	512	9.0	1,009	17.8	4,149	73.2
1804	5,712	521	9.1	1,022	17.9	4,169	73.0
1805	7,060	660	9.3	1,244	17.6	5,156	73.0
1806	6,978	661	9.5	1,285	18.4	5,032	72.1
1807	4,817	487	10.1	869	18.0	3,461	71.8
1810	4,545	406	8.9	1,150	25.3	2,989	65.8
1811	4,726	444	9.4	656	13.9	3,626	76.7
1812	4,078	363	8.9	575	14.1	3,140	77.0
1813	3,847	382	9.9	474	12.3	2,991	77.7
1814	3,666	347	9.5	469	12.8	2,850	77.7
1815	3,370	376	11.2	379	11.2	2,615	77.6
1816	3,351	361	10.8	388	11.6	2,602	77.6
1817	3,199	355	11.1	472	14.8	2,372	74.1
1818	3,192	355	11.1	472	14.8	2,365	74.1
1819	4,295	443	10.3	438	10.2	3,414	79.5
1823	5,181	348	6.7	473	9.1	4,360	84.2
1825	5,667	372	6.6	604	10.7	4,691	82.8
1829	4,561	238	5.2	332	7.3	3,991	87.5
1830	4,307	403	9.4	658	15.3	3,246	75.4
1831	4,642	504	10.9	564	12.1	3,574	77.0
1832	4,093	309	7.5	530	12.9	3,254	79.5
1844	5,605	1,601	28.6	491	8.8	3,513	62.7
1850	12,565	1,240	9.9	2,055	16.4	9,270	73.8
Source: José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32 (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*, 29 (2001), 57.							

APPENDIX C



APPENDIX D



MAIN REGIONS	NUMBER OF AFRICANS EMBARKED (1501-1866)
SENEGAMBIA	755,513
SIERRA LEONE	388,771
WINDWARD COAST	336,868
GOLD COAST	1,209,321
BIGHT OF BENIN	1,999,060
BIGHT OF BIAFRA	1,594,560
WEST CENTRAL AFRICA	5,694,574
SOUTHEAST AFRICA	542,668
TOTAL	12,521,335

APPENDIX E

Table 3.1
Estimated Number of Enslaved Africans Shipped from Angola to the Americas, 1771-1867.

Years	Total all ports	Luanda
1771-75	150,915	42,988
1776-80	116,379	42,292
1781-85	149,729	50,336
1786-90	184,160	56,694
1791-95	200,620	60,210
1796-00	171,169	51,388
1801-05	188,275	80,635
1806-10	151,701	71,477
1811-15	149,639	66,668
1816-20	256,255	92,558
1821-25	180,725	79,811
1826-30	255,802	74,396
1831-35	99,661	54,637
1836-40	243,804	137,906
1841-45	126,610	29,947
1846-50	260,399	44,839
1851-55	36,740	-
1856-60	77,187	-
1861-65	41,975	-
1866-67	877	-
Total	3,042,622	1,036,782

Source: Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola: A Port-by-Port Estimate of Slaves Embarked, 1701-1867," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 46, no. 1 (2013): 105-122.

APPENDIX F

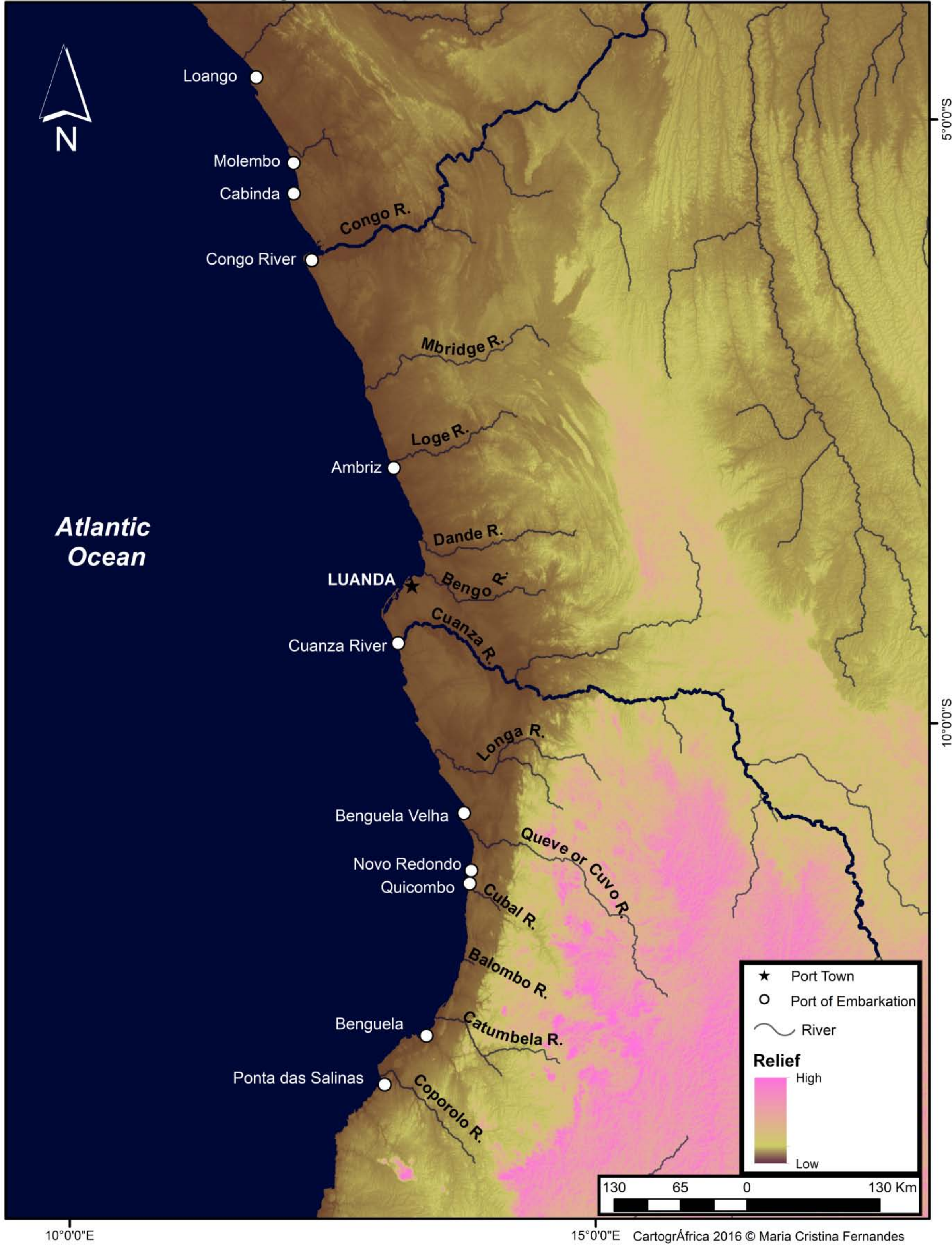
Table 3.2: Enslaved Africans Shipped by the Couple of Dona Ana Ifigênia Nogueira da Rocha and Félix José dos Santos					
Name of Vessel	**Owner of Vessel**	**Year**	**Place of Slave Purchase**	**Destination**	**Enslaved Africans**
Bergantim NS da Conceição e Sr dos Passos	Félix José dos Santos	1823	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	450
Schooner Lucrécia	Félix José dos Santos	1824	Ambriz	Rio de Janeiro	300
Galera Mercantil	Félix José dos Santos	1824	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	430
Bergantim NS da Conceição e Sr dos Passos	Félix José dos Santos	1824	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	407
Galera Mercantil	Félix José dos Santos	1825	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	730
Schooner Lucrécia	Félix José dos Santos and Francisco de Borges Barbosa	1825	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	340
Galera Mercantil	Félix José dos Santos	1826	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	730
Bergantim NS da Conceição e Sr dos Passos	Félix José dos Santos	1826	Ambriz	Rio de Janeiro	417
Bergantim Mariana	Félix José dos Santos	1826	Quilimane	Rio de Janeiro	523
Schooner Lucrécia	Félix José dos Santos and Manoel Ribeiro da Silva	1826	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	319
Bergantim Mariana	Félix José dos Santos	1826	Cabinda	Rio de Janeiro	520
Bergantim Mariana	Félix José dos Santos	1827	Quilimane	Rio de Janeiro	556
Bergantim NS da Conceição e Sr dos Passos	Félix José dos Santos	1827	Luanda	Rio de Janeiro	478
Bergantim Mariana	Félix José dos Santos	1828	Mozambique	Rio de Janeiro	400
Bergantim Mariana	Félix José dos Santos	1829	Lourenço Marques	Rio de Janeiro	558
Source: David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online Database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org/					

APPENDIX G

Table 3.3: Enslaved Laborers in Luanda by Sex, 1781-1850.				
Year	Males	Females	Total	Captives as % of total population
1781	2164	3419	5583	57.2
1782-95	-	-	-	-
1796	-	-	4421	61.4
1797	-	-	4339	54.4
1798	-	-	4367	54.4
1799	1410	1854	3264	50.9
1800-01	-	-	-	-
1802	1361	1471	2832	40.9
1803	1371	1976	3347	48.5
1804	1366	1986	3352	48.3
1805	1754	2225	3979	49.1
1806	1818	2219	4037	49.0
1807	1411	1286	2697	43.6
1808-09	-	-	-	-
1810	1444	944	2388	40.4
1811	1532	1224	2756	45.5
1812	1285	1124	2409	44.7
1813	1044	976	2020	39.3
1814	1059	959	2018	40.8
1815	972	823	1795	38.6
1816	1062	813	1875	40.0
1817	836	775	1611	35.9
1818	1573	768	1604	35.6
1819	-	1399	2972	52.3
1820-22	1951	-	-	-
1823	-	1803	3754	60.0
1824	1779	-	-	-
1825	1802	2399	4178	58.0
1826	-	2424	4226	62.0
1827-1828	-	-	-	-
1829	1161	2002	3163	57.1
1830	1407	1147	2554	47.8
1831	1607	1353	2960	52.2
1832	1395	1295	2690	53.2
1833-43	-	-	-	-
1844	1082	1667	2749	49.0
1850	2200	3820	6020	47.9

Source: José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies*, 32 (1999): 381-405; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History*, 29 (2001): 1-59.

APPENDIX H



APPENDIX I

Table 4.2 Creditors in Luanda (1846)	
D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva	José Lourenço Marques
D. Ana Francisca Ubertali de Miranda	José Moreira da Costa Lima
António Lopes da Silva	José de Oliveira Nunes
António José Coelho Vilela	José Vieira da Silva
Apolinário Francisco de Carvalho	Manoel António de Magalhães e Silva
Augusto Garrido	Manoel António Rodrigues
Bernardino Massi	Manoel Francisco Alves de Brito
Cândido José dos Santos Guerra	Manoel Joaquim de Souza Monteiro
D. Delfina de Miranda Britos Vieira	Manoel José Pereira
Francisco António Flores	Manoel do Nascimento e Oliveira
Francisco Barboza Rodrigues	Manoel Pereira dos Santos Vandunes
João José Domingos Pereira	Miguel Lino Ferreira
João de Souza Neto	Pedro de Torres Ribeiro
Joaquim José Monteiro	Remígio Luiz dos Santos
Joaquim Luiz Bastos	Valentim José Pereira
José António Pereira	Victoriano de Faria
José de Carvalho Bastos	
Source: BOA, n. 54, 19 September, 1846, p. 2.	

APPENDIX J

Table 4.3 Female Owners of Coasting-Vessels (1861-1869)		
Owner	**Vessel(s)**	**Destination(s)**
D. Amélia do Carmo Torres Bastos	Lancha Sultana Lancha Sultana Caique Amélia	Moçâmedes, Bengo, Southern Ports, Luango, Northern Ports
D. Amélia Joaquina de Oliveira	Lancha Clipper Lancha Cobra Lancha Serpente	Novo Redondo, Congo River, Ambriz, Northern Ports
D. Amélia da Silva Regadas Chelderico	Lancha Tereza	Bengo
D. Ana de Jesus Rodrigues	Lancha Minerva	Novo Redondo, Ambriz, Zaire, Moçâmedes, Southern Ports, Salinas do Sul
D. Ana Vitoria Rodrigues	Palhabote Nine	Moçâmedes, Novo Redondo, Salinas, Cuio, Northern Ports
D. Antónia Joana	Lancha Jovem Erminda	Egito
D. Civina Augusta de Lemos	Lancha Viajante	Novo Redondo
D. Emília Augusta de Magalhães	Palhabote Paquete do Sul	Novo Redondo, Moçâmedes, São Tomé, Zaire, Northern Ports
D. Henriqueta Adelaide de Oliveira	Cinco de Março	Northern Ports
D. Izabel Silva Menezes	Escaler Virgínia	Northern Ports
D. Maria Aurélia de Oliveira	Escaler Nereida Lancha Clipper	Novo Redondo
D. Maria Luiza Albino Rodrigues	Lancha Victória Lancha Justina	Northern Ports
D. Maria Magdalena de Brito	Palhabote São Luís	Northern Ports
D. Mariana Joaquina de Faria e Câmara Garrido	Lancha Quimcolo	Ambriz
D. Rita Alegre de Faria	Lancha Fortuna	Novo Redondo
Source: ANA, Luanda, Avulsos, Cx. 136, 142, 146, 147, 1412, 1602, 1192, 1736, 3814.		

APPENDIX K

Table 5.4 **Workshops in Luanda (1850)**			
Tailors, masters	20	**Joiner**, master	1
Skilled workers	53	Skilled workers	3
Apprentices	80	Apprentices	6
Barbers, masters	11	**Goldshimths**, masters	5
Skilled workers	34	Skilled workers	6
Apprentices	30	Apprentices	10
Carpenters, masters	11	**Masons**, masters	18
Skilled workers	34	Skilled workers	62
Apprentices	40	Apprentices	105
Shoemakers, masters	15	**Painters**, masters	8
Skilled workers	22	Skilled worker	1
Apprentices	32	Apprentices	6
Tinsmiths, masters	4	**Watchmakers,** master	1
Skilled workers	10	**Coppersmiths**, masters	11
Apprentices	12	Skilled workers	18
Farriers, master	1	Apprentices	28
Blacksmiths, masters	3	**Turners**, masters	2
Skilled workers	14	Skilled worker	1
Apprentices	17	Apprentices	2
Source: BOA, n. 303, de 19 July, 1851, p. 1-2.			

Technical Information on Maps

Maps produced by CartogrÁfrica 2016 © Maria Cristina Fernandes.

Appendix C, Map 2.1: Main Areas of Foodstuffs Production, 1787 – 1828.

Source: Table 2.1; Table 2.2; Table 2.3; Table 2.4.

Projected Coordinate System: Africa Albers Equal Area Conic

Geographic Coordinate System: WGS 84

Scale: 1:2,800,000

Appendix D, Map 3.1: Main Areas of Slave Embarkation, 1511-1866.

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

Projected Coordinate System: Africa Albers Equal Area Conic

Geographic Coordinate System: WGS 84

Scale: 1:41,000,000

Appendix H, Map 4.1: Main Ports of Illegal Slave Departures in West Central Africa, 1840-1867.

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

Projected Coordinate System: Africa Albers Equal Area Conic

Geographic Coordinate System: WGS 84

Scale: 1:4,500,000

Glossary of Foreign Terms

Afulada(o) – black person of lighter skin complexion

Agregado doméstico - household

Aguardente (*de cana*) – sugar cane brandy

Alfândega - Custom House

Almotacés - municipal officials

Almoxarife – Superintendent of the National Warehouses

Amasiamento – informal relationships between man and woman who were not married within the Catholic Church

Amásias - concubines

Ameação - equal division of assets between husband and wife married through a *Carta de Ametade* (Charter of Halves)

Anjinhos – little angels was an iron instrument of punishment used to squeeze the fingers of captives

Arimos – agricultural properties dedicated to the production of basic staples and domestic animals for subsistence and to supply urban markets, caravans, and slave ships

Armadores - merchants based in the Portuguese enclaves who supplied imported goods on credit to itinerant traders

Armazéns - warehouses

Armazéns Nacionais - National Commercial Warehouses

Banco Nacional Ultramarino - Overseas National Bank, established in Luanda in 1865

Banhos – Banns of Marriage was the notice read in the parish churches of the spouses-to-be in order to ascertain whether there were any impediment for the celebration of the wedding

Banzo - assortment of imported trade goods provided by merchants to itinerant traders

Braças – land measurement used throughout the Portuguese Empire during the nineteenth century. One *braça* was equivalent to 182 meters

Branco(a) – white person or someone classified as white due to her/his socio-economic status and affiliation to Portuguese culture

Cabindas - individuals originally from Cabinda, an enclave to the north of the colony of Angola

Cabo - Corporal

Câmara Municipal - Municipal Council

Capitães-mores - Captain-Majors

Carregadores - porters

Carta de ametade – Charter of Halves was a document signed during wedding through which husband and wife became co-owners of the couple's assets

Casa de molhados - wet goods store

chimbika or *tombika* – indigenous principle which allowed dissatisfied enslaved persons to seek new masters. In this process, the captive resorted to damaging the property of the intended master and in reparation he/she offered himself/herself as payment

Chitas – type of textile

Cofre dos órfãos - board which looked after the interests of orphans (and widows)

Colonos livres - free settlers

Comendador da Ordem de Cristo - Commander of the Order of Christ

Conselho Ultramarino – the Overseas Council was created by D. João IV in 1642 to look after the interests of the Portuguese overseas possessions. This consultative body composed of noble men oversaw the administration of the colonies.

Contrato de casamento – the contract of marriage was an option for couples who wished to get married without co-ownership of assets. In these cases, assets were owned according to the specific details set forth in the contract signed by both the bride and the groom

Cubatas - straw roofed round houses largely inhabited by enslaved persons and poor individuals

Degredados - convicts sentenced by the Inquisition in Lisbon, Coimbra, Evora, as well as in Brazil, and by the lay judiciary to "pay" for their crimes overseas

Dendem - palm oil

Deputado das Cortes - Member of the Portuguese Parliament (after 1822).

Dízimos – tributes

Donas - title granted to noble and royal females in the Iberian Peninsula (Spain and Portugal), which was subsequently adopted in Portugal's overseas possessions to designate women of high socio-economic status affiliated to Portuguese culture

Dongo – flat, bottomed boats built in Luanda

Empacaceiros - local, urban police force composed of black Africans

Escritura de Dote - Register of Dowry conceded to prospective brides before marriage. The dowry provided to the bride represented an advance payment of the portion of the inheritance that she would have received as a daughter.

Escritura de Perfilhação - Acknowledgement of Paternity, usually used in cases in which the father failed to recognized a child as his as a result of an adulterous relationship. The acknowledgment of paternity allowed the previously unrecognized son or daughter to inherit the father's assets

Exeque - measurement typically used for grains in Angola. Each *exeque* was equivalent to 60 kilograms or about 132 pounds

Fazenda Real - Royal Treasury

Fazendas – imported trade goods

Fazendas secas e molhadas - wet and dry goods

Feiras - official markets for the selling/buying of captives in the hinterlands

Feitorias - commercial warehouses established in the hinterland and along the coast

Fiador - guarantor

Filha(o) natural – child born from parents who were not married within the Catholic Church

Filho(a) legítimo(a) – child born from parents married within the Catholic Church

Filhos do país - whites born in Angola

Freguesias – subdivision of a municipality usually based on the ecclesiastic division of the territory

Fuba - maize meal

Furriel - Quartermaster

Ganga – African healer

Geribita –sugar cane brandy produced in Brazil

Ginguba - peanuts

Habilitação de Herdeiros - Entitlement of Heirs was a document required for anyone to inherit in Portugal and its overseas colonies

Hipoteca - mortgage

Infunge, *funje* - porridge made from manioc flour, rice or maize flour

Juiz Ordinário - Judge of the Peace

Juízo de Direito - Court of Justice

Juízo Eclesiástico - Ecclesiastical Board

Junta de Defuntos e Ausentes - Board for the Deceased and Absentees

Junta de Justiça - Board of Justice

Junta Protetora de Escravos e Libertos - Board for the protection of enslaved persons and freed individuals, created in 1854

Juramento de Indua - a Mbundu ceremony used in cases of dispute between litigants. A healer prepared a beverage that was taken by the litigants and the first person to expel it would be considered innocent

Ladinos – acculturated captives

Lambamento – African marriage ceremony

Libambo - coffle of enslaved individuals

Libertos – Africans liberated following 1836 and/or freed after 1854 in the absence of register of ownership

Maxilas – referred to the hammock in which individuals of upper classes were carried and also to the enslaved carriers themselves

Meeiros - husband and wife who co-owned the assets brought into the marriage and accumulated by the couple thereafter.

Mestiço – person of mixed African and European descent

Mestres – masters of particular trades

Milho americano - maize

Milho-painço - millet

Missangas - beads

Moleca, *moleque* – young girl/young boy

Mucamas – chambermaids or female household captives

Muculuntos – overseers of *arimos*

Musseque – term designating a country estate until the late nineteenth century. Nowadays, it refers to shanty towns

Mutolos or *quilombos* - communities of runaway captives established in the vicinity of Luanda and its immediate hinterland

Muxiloandas - referred to persons originally from the Island of Luanda, opposite to the city of Luanda

Nacionais - local African people

Ngola – Mbundu political title, also state

Oallo - beer made from millet and sorghum

Oficial - skilled worker

Ordenações Filipinas - legal code used in Portugal and its domains from 1603 until the nineteenth century

Pai incognito - unknown father

Parda(o) – person of mixed European and African background

Peça - an enslaved person in the prime of their life

Pelourinho – public place of punishment in the cities under Portuguese control

Pombeiros – Itinerant bush traders who traded in remote areas in the interior on behalf of *sertanejos*

Presa – vessels captured for involvement in the illegal slave trade

Presídio - interior military-administrative outpost

Preto(a) – black person

Procuradores - legal representatives

Quicoanga - manioc rotting under water

Quintais – backyards where captives destined for the Americas awaited shipment in Luanda

Quitandeiras – retail trade vendors who commercialized fresh and dry food, as well as imported goods in the streets or in market stalls

Réis – currency used in the Portuguese Empire during the nineteenth century

Resgate – rescue of an enslaved person following payment of a fee

Reviro – strategy used by *sertanejos* to increase their profit margins, which consisted in the sale of enslaved Africans to another merchant who paid more per *peça* than the original supplier of the *banzo*

Sertanejos, *feirantes*, *aviados* – itinerant traders who purchased captives in *feiras* or official markets on behalf of merchants established on the coast

Sertões - interior lands

Serviçais - servants

Sesmarias - plots of land conceded to individuals in the initial phase of occupation in the 16th century

Sevícias - physical abuse committed by spouses

Soba – African ruler

Sobrado - house with attics in Portuguese style where wealthy members of colonial society resided

Sociedade de Jesus – congregation of the Jesuits

Terras baldias or *terras incultas* - uncultivated lands

Terreiro Público – Luanda public market created in 1765 by Governor Sousa Coutinho

Terreiros do Pão – regulated public market created in Lisbon in the 16th century, which served as a model for other public markets established throughout the Portuguese Empire

Trem Real – Royal Arsenal