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Experiences of Enslavement in West-Central Africa

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Between 1500 and 1900, the enslavement of Africans involved the lives of tens of millions of individuals. During this period, sub-Saharan Africa exported some 11,232,000 captives to meet demand for slaves in the western Atlantic and an estimated 5,074,000 in the Muslim world, with each of these sectors experiencing spectacular increases following the late seventeenth century. External demand, however, was not the only factor that led to the commodification of humanity.[1] As sub-Saharan African societies geared up to produce ever rising numbers of slaves for the Atlantic and the Muslims worlds, they too began to draw upon slaves at unprecedented levels. The volume of this internal African slave trade remains unknown. Nevertheless, when it reached its climax in the 1800s, its victims also numbered in the millions.[2] Understanding the process of enslavement in sub-Saharan Africa thus not only requires an appreciation of the volumes of the Atlantic and the Muslim slave trades, but also of the unknown numbers that were retained to meet internal demand. While Patrick Manning estimates that the internal African trade "reached a volume of at least half that of the Occidental [Atlantic] trade, and greater than that of the Oriental [Muslim] trade,"[3] Paul E. Lovejoy suggests that "[p]erhaps as many more [as the combined Atlantic-Muslim total] did not leave, because many slaves died in Africa and others were incorporated into local societies."[4] Penned by two of the foremost scholars of slavery in Africa, appraisals such as these, when added to figures of the Atlantic and Muslim slave trades, which by themselves are impressive enough, point to the enslavement of Africans as a colossal, if tragic, enterprise.

The large-scale production of African slaves required the emergence of a series of features whenever and wherever the various legs of the commerce took root. One of these was the ability of sub-Saharan African societies to enslave people. To produce the millions of captives necessary to support rising volumes of slaves exported, African captors expanded existing or developed new mechanisms to turn otherwise free individuals into slaves. The more

important of these mechanisms included: the expansion of warfare between states, chiefdoms, and villages, which produced the by-product of slaves as prisoners of war and booty; an increase in raids or razzia aimed at, in part, the capture of people; the rise of kidnapping by bands of thugs or unscrupulous individuals; the contortion of court proceedings to enslave both insiders and outsiders for violating trivial and other rules of society; a surge in witchcraft accusations designed to turn people accused of illicit supernatural activity into slaves; an intensification in tribute exactions, with subordinates forced to provide captives to higher authorities; and an upsurge in the sale of kin or even self-enslavement, particularly during times of famines and epidemics.[5] The significance and extent of these modes of seizure varied over both time and place. Nevertheless, given the numbers of captives that entered into the Atlantic, Muslim, and internal African slave trades, they all contributed to yet another important feature of the enslavement process: the proliferation of violence and, consequently, significantly higher levels of insecurity throughout much of the continent.[6]

The intensification in violence and higher levels of insecurity that resulted from expanding mechanisms of enslavement are not only plausible from the corresponding number of slaves that increasingly entered the Atlantic, Muslim, and internal African slave trades from 1500 onwards. Other, less indirect evidence points to exactly the same phenomenon: the testimonials of Africans who where confronted with enslavement. Whether written by themselves or by others, these sources remain a valuable tool to better understand the process of enslavement in sub-Saharan Africa. They provide many otherwise unobtainable insights into the ranges of experiences of captives, not to mention those of their captors, and the twisted ironies that the commodification of humanity sometimes produced in the lives of both captives and captors. Yet, although the number of these sources continues to grow, their geographical coverage remains far from uniform.[7] A case in point is West Central Africa. Although this region

emerged into the single largest contributor of slaves for the Atlantic world from the late 1400s to the mid-1800s,[8] saw the development of slavery into an important institution within the Portuguese colony of Angola and surrounding African polities,[9] and experienced intensive raiding on its eastern shores to supply the nineteenth century East African slave trade,[10] relatively few of its encounters with enslavement have until recently been documented.[11]

This chapter seeks to fill in an important gap and add to the existing literature by focusing on experiences of enslavement in West Central Africa from the early sixteenth century through the late 1820s, the period during which the Atlantic slave trade operated on a legal basis in this region. That few of these testimonials have been available for West Central Africa, by itself, justifies the effort. After dealing with early experiences of kidnapping, our discussion first concentrates on encounters with large scale-enslavement during the 1600s and the 1700s and then focuses exclusively on individual experiences of enslavement from the late 1700s and first decades of the 1800s. While some come from a variety of publications, and have thus been part of the public domain for some time, most have until recently remained buried in the musty archives of both Angola and Portugal.[12] As we will see, the proliferation of violence and insecurity associated with enslavement was such that few in West Central Africa were immune from captivity. All kinds of people, from different ethnic backgrounds, occupations, phenotypes, social condition, gender, and age-groups, risked capture on a daily basis. That many of the encounters discussed below actually involved individuals or groups of people who theoretically could not have been enslaved, clearly demonstrates this type of randomness. That they also involved enslavers from a variety of backgrounds further shows that the gains from enslaving others tempted many people in West Central African down this perilous road, with not a few eventually experiencing the twisted irony of being enslaved themselves. In each case, these subjects are not anonymous figures imposed by aggregate analyses of slaving and slavery. They

are real people. And this, in turn, plainly evidences that enslavement was no less horrific or traumatic than the journeys endured by captives to reach the coast for shipment, the Middle Passage to the Americas, or the lives wasted on sugar plantations. It was but the starting point of a tragically enormous enterprise that devalued the human condition in West Central Africa and beyond.

I. From Kidnapping to Large-scale Enslavement

In West Central Africa, the insecurity and violence, not to mention horrors, associated with enslavement were already part and parcel of daily life well before the Atlantic slave trade began to reach phenomenal proportions in the late seventeenth century. These features emerged as early the first decades of the 1500s, when political authorities in the Kingdom of Kongo decided to supply slave labour to the expanding sugar plantations in the Portuguese held island of São Tomé, near the coast of present day Gabon.[13] In mid-1526, for example, King Afonso I of Kongo bitterly denounced the way in which the trade was already affecting his realm as follows: "our kingdom is being lost in so many ways that we must apply the necessary remedy." The problem, he bluntly informed his "brother," the King of Portugal, was that "every day the [Portuguese] merchants carry away *nossos naturaes* (our people), sons of our soil and sons of our nobles and vassals, and our relatives, whom thieves and people of bad conscience kidnap and sell to obtain the coveted things and trade goods of that [Portuguese] Kingdom."[14] A commerce initially involving individuals other than the Kikongo had quickly degenerated into rampant kidnapping within. Free Kikongo were now also susceptible of enslavement: not only ordinary individuals, but also the offspring of nobles and even relatives of Afonso I himself. When, a few months later, Afonso wrote again to João III of Portugal, he disheartingly disclosed that the thieves and people of bad conscience in question were "*nossos naturaes* (our people) who

kidnapped and secreted them away at night for sale to white men," amongst whom they were kept in irons and branded before shipment.[15] Afonso sought "to do Justice and restore the free to their liberty" by appointing three of his trusted nobles to ensure that no slaves would henceforth be sold without a proper inquest and none exported without his knowledge and consent.[16] But with the lure of imported luxury items having led certain elements of Kongo society to indiscriminately seek within the victims required to obtain the foreign goods, the effectiveness of this measure was momentary, at best. As slave exports from Kongo continued to increase, so did insecurity and violence resulting from rising levels of enslavement.[17]

Afonso's testimonial of the enslavement process within his kingdom was but an omen of things to come in West Central Africa. The late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries saw the Portuguese relocate their base of operations further south: in 1575, they founded the port of Luanda to tap the commercial and human resources available along the Kwanza corridor; and in 1617 they founded a second port in Benguela to exploit the densely populated central highlands. Within a few years, in each case, they unleashed a wave of military campaigns against surrounding African societies to conquer mines, recover runaway slaves, punish tax defaulters, and hammer those who renounced commercial and political allegiances. Known as the Angolan Wars,[18] these expeditions resulted in unprecedented levels of insecurity and violence for the societies against which they were directed. As stated bluntly by a local observer, they led to "carnage on such a large scale that rivers became polluted with numerous corpses and multitudes of innocent people were captured without cause."[19] This was the case of the large and complex military campaigns that the Portuguese, in alliance with the Imbangala, carried out between 1618 and 1620 against the Kingdom of Ndongo, the first major state to block their penetration inland along the Kwanza river. The thousands of individuals captured through these particular expeditions alone made up a significant proportion of the 50,000 or so slaves exported from

Luanda during 1617-1621,[20] some of which were amongst the first "Angola" slaves landed in Virginia.[21] Subsequent military campaigns produced no less horrific experiences of enslavement. In 1653-54, the Portuguese directed their attention to Jaga Kabuku Kandonga, who had assisted them while the Dutch had occupied Angola during 1641-1648. Kabuku was then rumoured to be negotiating his transfer into the camp of Queen Nzinga of Matamba who, at the time, was the single most important opponent of the Portuguese in Angola. His state was "consumed" by Portuguese forces and their African allies: over 4,000 people were captured, including Kabuku, who was sent off to Brazil.[22] A decade later, the Portuguese and their African allies turned to the Nbembu region in southern Kongo, where the death of the chief of Kakulu Kahenda had resulted in a succession struggle. Seeking to place their own candidate as the rightful ruler, the Portuguese forces laid to "waste" the lands of the contending claimant and his local allies. About 2,000 Ndembu were captured in the process, while the defeated claimant was shipped to Brazil.[23]

With the end of the 1600s, the intensity of the Angola Wars abated. The large-scale production of captives thereafter subsided. But it did not end. In 1744, for example, yet another expedition in the Ndembu region yielded 62 women as the Royal Fifth.[24] Since this was the proportion of all captives taken in battle that were destined for the Portuguese Crown, some 310 must have been captured. That same year saw the Portuguese and their allies do battle in the Kingdom of Matamba. This expedition netted 305 slaves as the Royal Fifth, indicating that 1,525 individuals were captured.[25] Then, in 1761, a small Portuguese army was sent east of Ambaca to meet an entire people, including chiefs, soldiers, women, and children, on the move. These were the Hungu, fleeing westward from the persecutions of the Muluas. Antonio de Vasconcelos, the Governor of Angola, estimated their losses at 15,000 dead and captured. Amongst the latter were 803 slaves allocated to the Royal Fifth.[26] All in all, some 4,015 individuals were seized during this campaign. Warfare remained far from a trivial mechanism for the production of slaves.[27]

Over and beyond the African leaders who found themselves on the losing side, soldiers were not the only individuals susceptible of enslavement during these military campaigns. Females, who were the major components of the baggage trains behind the African armies that stood up against the Portuguese and their local allies, were also at risk. Indeed, soldiers and females manning the baggage trains constituted a sort of preselected population which slave merchants in the distance waited to buy,[28] with males predominantly destined for export overseas and women for internal "consumption". Moreover, once African armies were defeated, the Portuguese and their local allies were then free to loot the hamlets, villages, and even cities of the losers, enslaving in the process unprotected women, children, and older men. The case of the 1773-1775 campaigns against one of the most important polities emerging on Angola's central plateau, Mbailundu, which effectively turned the central highlands into an important source of supply for Benguela's slave export economy, was far from atypical. The assault against the mountainous area of Kiyaka, where civilians had sought refuge, saw "more than 500 heads, [including] females, lads, and old people," fall into the hands of two Portuguese armies and their African partners.[29] The agonizing plight of non-combatants such as these is clear from one inventory of slaves that arrived in Benguela following the 1736 military expedition against Kakonda, an area that gave access to the densely populated central highlands. The inventory lists 77 slaves representing the Royal Fifth,[30] which means that some 385 individuals were captured overall. Of the 77 captives listed, only 14 were males, including two boys between 4 and 8 years old, one of whom, Kangullo, was listed separately from him mother; 18 were girls between 8 and 15 years old; 32 were females, including 9 with one child each, 4 between the ages of 8 and 15, and 3 others from 4 to 8 years old; and then there was a small cluster made up of one young child of unspecified gender, two girls 4 to 8 years old, and a male of an unspecified age. Overall, their valuation at Benguela totalled 901$000 *réis*. Excluding the 9 children listed with their mothers

and the last cluster, which was deemed worthless, the average value of the remaining 64 captives was but 14$078 *réis*, or less that half the value that an average slave then fetched at Benguela or Luanda.[31] Of the thirteen children 8 years old and younger, whose value was lower still, most were dying (Kambia, Kaceyo, Ligongo, Sonbi, Sanga, Kallenbo, Katunbe, and an unnamed child); and an almost equal number were without either parent (Kaputto, Sungo, Lanta, Sonbe, Kallenbo, Katunbe, and the unnamed child). Moreover, while 10 females arrived at Benguela with one of their offspring still alive, 3 others (Kuimano, Kanengo, and Kahunda) had experienced the loss of one child following their forced removal from Kakonda. None of the male partners of these or other women appears in this inventory. And, with a few exceptions (Kamumo, Kaita, and Kellengue), most of the adult males were deemed to be worth far less than the average value within the lot, an indication that they were probably older men. When looting unprotected villages and towns, military expeditions such as the one that netted these 77 individuals were far from discriminatory. They seized everyone that could not flee, regardless of gender, broad-age group, physical condition, or even potential value.

The military operations of the Portuguese and their allies, however, were not the only acts of aggression through which countless West Central Africans were violently turned into slaves. The civil wars that raged throughout the Kingdom of Kongo in the second half of the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, for example, were veritable slave-producing raids. According to the Italian missionary Luca da Caltanisetta, who operated throughout the kingdom between 1690 and 1701, when Kongo warlords had no slaves to sell to the merchants that visited their towns, "they improvise nightly attacks against a *1ibata* or village deemed, rightly or not, as foe; they capture everyone there [to] buy trade goods from the merchants…"[32] Early in 1701, Caltanisetta witnessed the return of the "the Mani Lumbo [a title] with 58 slaves captured by order of the king; he had destroyed a *1ibata* of one of his vassals who, having established relations with the

Duke [of the province] of Mbamba, an enemy of the king, was accused of treason; among these slaves were many free people, some inhabitants of the *1ibata* ... and others who were just there on business."[33] A few years later, another Italian missionary, Lorenzo da Lucca, reported the situation as worsening. The continuous "hostilities between the royal houses disaggregate the kingdom further still. At present there are four Kings of Kongo; two Grand-Dukes of Mbamba; three Grand-Dukes of Wandu; two Grand-Dukes of Mbata; and four Marquis of Nkusu. The authority of all is wasted [as] they destroy one another through warfare. Everyone pretends to be the leader. They make incursions into each other's territory to steal and sell those whom they capture as if these were animals. Prince Kibenga, an enemy of Pedro IV, [recently] took fifty to sixty individuals from the opposing party within a short period of time."[34] Although occurring under the context of a civil war, these raids were hardly different from the government-sanctioned military operations of the Portuguese and their African allies. Raid after raid "indiscriminately" turned large numbers of otherwise free Kongo into slaves.

Moreover, the large-scale enslavement of West Central Africans through raids was not confined to civil wars such as those that engulfed the Kingdom of Kongo. The production of slaves through razzia was also a particularly important feature of the central Angolan highlands. By 1600, the western parts of the central plateau had been overrun by bands of young marauders from various ethnic backgrounds. These were the Imbangala who, despising agriculture and a settled lifestyle, emphasized military training and discipline. They lived off warfare and raiding, incorporating young male captives into their ranks and selling other captured individuals to the Portuguese on the coast.[35] Subsequent warlords did not shy away from adopting the militaristic style of the Imbangala. Indeed, slave raiding was at the very basis of the eighteenth century political consolidation that resulted in a series of important Ovimbundu polities. [36] Prior to any individual being confirmed as the leader of an Umbundu polity, he was required to engage in

razzia.[37] Moreover, Ovimbundu warlords periodically engaged in other raids against enemies throughout the plateau. Sometimes, such a razzia backfired. Towards the end of 1755, for example, a potentate of the "Cabunda" *nação* or nation was carrying out raids against *sovas* in the *presídio* of Caconda who had become vassals of the Portuguese Crown. Early the following year, a punitive force set out from Benguela to subdue the Cabunda potentate. More than 1,500 of his solders died in battle and over 500 drowned fleeing across a river, while some 660 of his subjects, mostly women and a few men, lost their freedom.[38] In 1798, on the other hand, the *sova* of Kalukembe, on the southwestern tip of the plateau, saw his domains razed by a "great expedition" organized by other Ovimbundu. More than 600 of his people were then enslaved. All was in retribution for this *sova* having guided Portuguese military forces through the highlands.[39] And when razzia were not carried against enemies on the plateau, Ovimbundu warlords then directed their attention to the surrounding social formations below the escarpment. Early in January, 1803, for example, a number of chiefs from south of the Kwanza river went to complain bitterly to the Regent of Pungo Andongo, the *presidio* or Portuguese military-administrative under whose jurisdiction lay the area, about the great losses and vexation that they had experienced at the hands of the brother of the *sova* of Mbailundu. He "had attacked them with a large force, capturing and killing their subjects, stealing what they could find, and burning dwellings."[40]

And African warlords were not alone in turning large numbers people into slaves through raids. West Central Africans also violently experienced enslavement at the hands of *capitães-mores*, individuals who from the early 1600s, were given the responsibility of managing the military-administrative *presidios* or outposts that the Portuguese set up in the interior of Luanda and Benguela to protect the trade routes that supplied them with slaves. Usually sons of important Luso-African families in the coastal urban centres, the poorly paid *capitães-mores*

were particularly notorious for the ways they devised to extract captives from the African social formations found within their *presidios*. Part and parcel of these mechanisms were the slave raids they unilaterally carried out: that is, without formal approval from colonial authorities in Luanda or in Benguela. Some of the better documented of these types of experiences of enslavement took place during the late 1790s. In July, 1796, Joaquim Vieira de Andrade left Benguela to become the new *Capitão-mor* or Captain-Major of Quillengues, the southern most *presidio* below the western edges of the central plateau. Upon arrival, Andrade began to receive slaves and other commodities as gifts from neighboring African chiefs. But even then, the *Capitão-mor* was unsatisfied. He soon organized a number of expeditions against the polities of those who had welcomed him. One raid against the village of the chief of Kakombo alone netted 39 captives.[41] In Sokoval, on the other hand, villages were looted and razed to the ground, more than 200 free and enslaved individuals were captured, and the *sova* was himself imprisoned.[42] When the leaders of both chiefdoms were brought under escort to Benguela, they bitterly complained to Governor Alexandre José Botelho de Vasconcelos about these events. The *sova* of Socoval, in particular, even took the unprecedented step of asking Vasconcelos for safer lands where he could resettle his subjects.[43] The Governor of Benguela reassured the chief to go back to his land, probably by informing that an investigation into the raids was impending. Andrade was soon stripped of his office late in November and, following an early 1797 inquiry into his shady activities,[44] sent to Benguela, where he awaited transport for a court-martial in Luanda. In mid-March, 1798, the Governor of Angola, Miguel Antonio de Mello decreed the unsanctioned Andrade raids as illegal.[45] The *edital* or governmental notice that soon followed stipulated that, of those still in Angola, the free-born were to be restituted to their "natural Liberty" and the slaves returned directly to the *sova* of Sokoval. For those who had already been shipped to Brazil, however, the *edital* was far more circumspect. Only if someone petitioned for the

expatriated free-born and the slaves of Sokoval would the colonial administration in Benguela take the necessary steps towards repatriation.[46] Towards the end of August, almost two years after the Andrade raids had taken place, people were still being rounded up in Benguela for restitution to Sokoval.[47] These were amongst the lucky ones. There is no subsequent evidence that any of those exported to Brazil, regardless of their original social condition in Sokoval, were ever repatriated.

Even the larger political formations that maintained long-standing commercial relations with Portuguese Angola periodically had their subjects raided by the greedy *capitães-mores*. Early in 1805, Felix Velasco Galiano, the Regent of Pungo Andongo, the last *presídio* parallel to the Kwanza river facing eastward, was ordered by Fernando António de Noronha, the Governor of Angola, to lead an embassy to the Kingdom of Kasanje. Some 300 kilometres inland from Luanda, immediately west of the Kwango River, Kasanje had by then long transformed itself into a middleman state controlling the flow of huge numbers of slaves into the Atlantic economy. Galiano's mission was to negotiate new terms of trade that would ensure continued Portuguese access to the Kasanje slave mart. An agreement was quickly reached with Malange a Ngonga, the then *Jaga* or King of Kasanje. In the process, according to Governor Noronha, Galiano "even comported [himself] as he should."[48]

As the leader of an embassy venturing outside of Portuguese controlled territory, Galiano was accompanied by a security force made up of *empacaceiros* or African soldiers.[49] Once negotiations with *Jaga* Malange a Ngonga completed, the embassy started the westward trek back to its base in Pungo Andongo. Not long after leaving the Kasanje slave mart, however, Galiano and company began to raid villages along their path. From western Kasanje, they carried out their raids all the way to the bend of the Kwanza River.[50] Galiano and his henchmen captured "a lot of people."[51] Information circulating in Luanda in the middle of 1805, placed the figure at

more than 200.[52] Amongst these were Hungu common folk, people from *soba* Sabiango, including one of his daughter, and subjects of *Jaga* Malange a Ngonga, amistd whom was one of his sons.[53] The raids carried out by Galiano and his henchmen neither discriminated between African gentry and common folk.

With *Jaga* Malange a Ngonga leading the way, the heads of the polities directly affected by Galiano's raids lost little time in channeling their protests to Luanda. Fully understanding the ramifications of Portuguese Angola loosing its single most important commercial ally, Governor Noronha ordered all of the individuals captured by Galiano to be located wherever they may be and returned as free people to their native lands. This operation was largely completed within the following few months. But four individuals were retained in Luanda, where the Governor declared them as "a lawful prize."[54] Three originated from the Kingdom of Matamba, then heavily engaged in channeling slaves to European interlopers in the rivers and bays lining the coast to the north of Luanda,[55] which Noronha considered a seditious act. The last individual was a Mulua, an identity which people immediately east of the Kwango gave commercial and military emissaries of the Mwaant Yaav, the ruler of the Lunda.[56] Noronha and the Mwaant Yaav had been keen on establishing commercial relations. But, at the time, such an alliance had not yet materialized. Consequently, the Governor did not feel bound to return the Mulua captive to the Lunda state.

Finally, over and beyond state-sanctioned military operations and raids, large numbers of West Central Africans could experience enslavement under quite unusual circumstances. One of these cases comes from the Kingdom of Ngongo in the mid-1600s. In April, 1653, Ngola Ari wrote a letter to his counterpart, D. João IV, King of Portugal, in which he accused "Antonio Teixeira de Mendonça, a powerful man in Angola, who is today deceased, of having usurped my chiefs and vassals for use in his agricultural estates, numbering over 10,000 people, without ever

restituting them in spite of various attempts carried out to this effect on my part."[57] Ngola Ari, who was installed on the Ndongo throne by the Portuguese in 1626 so as to ensure the flow of numerous slaves to Luanda for trans-Atlantic shipment, had by then loyally served this cause for nearly four decades. Mendonça, in turn, probably arrived in Luanda around 1623 to help carve out the "*Reino de Angola*," as the Portuguese called the port town and its hinterland under their effective or nominal control.[58] A Second Lieutenant, the young man was posted to Ambaca, a military-administrative fortified outpost that overlooked the important trade route between the Lukala and Kwanza rivers channeling slaves from the far interior to Luanda. Once there, Mendonça got into the habit of periodically visiting Ngola Ari, whose court was some 10 kilometers distant from Ambaca. The young Second Lieutenant eventually fell in love with one of Ngola's daughters, who soon moved to Ambaca. Since Ngola Ari considered Mendonça as a son-in-law, it was most likely under the context of a marital union, not to mention a political alliance between an African King and a Portuguese military official, that more than 10,000 Ndongo free subjects had followed the daughter of their King to the estates that her lover was developing between the Lukala and Kwanza rivers. The relationship lasted some 15 years, after which it came to an abrupt end. Perhaps the Ngola's daughter returned to her father's court or may have even passed away. The 10,000 Ndongo subjects, however, were forced by Mendonça to continue to work on his agricultural estates implicitly, if not de facto, as slaves.

The otherwise uneventful career of Second Lieutenant Mendonça subsequently took off thanks, by and large, to his role in riding Portuguese Angola of the Dutch. Promoted to Captain-Major of the *Reino de Angola* in 1649, his name was subsequently placed before the Portuguese Crown as one of three candidates for the governorship of Benguela, the second highest position in the colonial administration of Angola, as well as a possible candidate for the Governorship of Angola itself. By mid-1650, Mendonça not only derived substantial revenues from his

agricultural estates and owned large numbers of slaves, but had risen into one of the most important colonial officers in Angola. He had even married, this time in the Catholic tradition, Dona Ana de São Miguel, daughter of Roque de São Miguel, a Spanish nobleman who had arrived in Luanda at the beginning of the seventeenth century, and Maria das Neves, a local *mulatta* or perhaps black female. A Luso-African woman, Dona Ana was herself a person of considerable means. Although she may have inherited the agricultural estates that her father possessed along the Kwanza river, she had grown rich by accruing the wealth of two earlier husbands who had passed way.[59] Sometime between the end of 1650 and early 1652, however, Dona Ana's latest catch had experienced the same fate as her earlier spouses. When Ngola Ari wrote to the King of Portugal complaining about the 10,000 or so Ndongo usurped by his former son-in-law, the agricultural estates and numerous slaves owned by Mendonça had also become part and parcel of the assets amassed by Dona Ana.

Once the accusation by Ngola Ari was evaluated by the Conselho Ultramarino, the consultative body of the Portuguese Crown in matters relevant to its overseas possessions, João IV concluded that no one from Ndongo had been usurped by Mendonça. Yet, since the benefits that Mendonça and his inheritors came to enjoy from such a large number of Ndongo subjects over more a decade represented a relatively significant loss of labor and revenue for Ngola Ari, compensatory measures were justly called for. In late 1654 or early 1655, João IV ordered the then Governor of Angola, Luis Martins de Sousa Chichorro, that the past labour of the Ndongo subjects, including those who had died while working on the estates of Mendonça and his inheritors, be properly evaluated and reimbursed directly to Ngola Ari, with those still alive to be promptly returned to the plaintiff.[60] The King of Ndongo was surely delighted with this decision. For Dona Ana, however, it meant the loss of a significant labour force from her agricultural estates and the wealth it represented.

Evaluating the labour of more than 10,000 Ndongo labourers on the estates of Mendonça's inheritor, including the value of those who had died there during a period of more than fifteen years, and then identifying those still alive to be returned to Ngola Ari must have placed quite a strain on the administration of the colony. This gave Dona Ana time to defend her assets. Over the next few years, she and her lawyer prepared a blistering petition subsequently forwarded to the Portuguese Crown. Therein, she highlighted that the King of Portugal had made an "arbitrary decision at the request of an African King" through fraudulent information provided by her enemies. Arguing that she had been denied her legal right to be heard and justify her title over Ngola Ari's subjects, the widowed Dona further pointed out that the Crown's decision made no reference to these individuals as slaves. Yet, she informed, the numerous slaves found on her estates and sought by Ngola Ari had actually been relenquished by him through public sale, while the alleged Ndongo vassals were free people who had sought protection with her late husband from the "violence of tyrants." Moreover, she disclosed, with supporting documents to boot, that the Ndongo slaves in question were the subject of legal suits pending between Ngola Ari and herself. Consequently, Dona Ana asked that the Portuguese Crown should only allow the King of Ndongo to run his case through the ordinary court.[61] In November, 1661, after this new information was evaluated by the Conselho Ultramarino, the Queen Regent of Portugal instructed the Governor of Angola, André Vidal Negreiros to annul the Royal order of 1654: the right to the surviving Ndongo vassals and slaves was to be litigated between Ngola Ari and Dona Ana before the *Ouvidor Geral* or Crown Judge in Luanda and two good men, of clear consciences and versed in things of the *Reino de Angola*.

Whether the litigation did take place is not possible to say, since the case thereafter disappears from the extant documentation. The fate of the 10,000 or so Ndongo individuals in dispute is consequently unknown. Yet, even if Dona Ana and Ngola Ari did litigate, it is doubtful

that restitution would have taken place. That Dona Ana suggested this path for resolution had little to do with a sense of fair play. Rather, as a Luso-African woman of significant means, she would have known well and frequently interacted with those in Luanda assigned to hear the case. After all, they were her peers. In this context, Ngola Ari would have surely been boggled down in the court or simply lost the decision.[62] The dissolution of Mendonça's amorous relationship with the Ngola's daughter resulted, whatever the particular circumstances, in several thousand Ndongo being enslaved on his agricultural estates, an asset which his widow was quick to protect.

II. Individual Experiences of Enslavement

If large numbers of West Central Africans found themselves enslaved through state-sanctioned military expeditions and razzias, not to mention the odd unusual circumstance, many others experienced enslavement on an individual level through a variety of different mechanisms. Early in 1778, for example, Dom João Manoel Sylvestre, the nephew of the ruler of Gombe Amuquiama, a Ndembu chiefdom, was caught stealing some trifles from the nearby *sova* of Nambo Angongo. The punishment meted out by the offended party went beyond the petty nature of the crime. Dom Sylvestre was sold and subsequently sent to Luanda, where he was branded with the Royal Stamp. Destined to experience the Atlantic crossing into the "hell for blacks,"[63] as Brazil was known, he did not claim the privilege of "original freedom." This was a privilege through which the Portuguese Crown sought to protect the unjustly enslaved from bondage: it sometimes resulted in inquiries into the often shady circumstances of enslavement, with those deemed to have been illegally enslaved allowed to return to the world of the free. As a result, when Dom Sylvestre's uncle complained to the Governor of Angola about the disproportionate sentence meted out by the ruler of Nambo Angongo, it was all to no avail. He

was obliquely told to "use the competent means" against the person who had enslaved his nephew.[64] In the meantime, a petty theft maintained Dom Sylvestre enslaved.

Not only were judicial systems bent to produce captives, but those who dealt in slaves or were slaveowners could overnight find themselves enslaved. Around 1775, a fifteen year old male was captured near the sources of the Zambezi by a local countrymen. The youth was thereafter forced into a long and arduous trek that ended at the mouth of the Kikombo river, on the Atlantic Ocean, where he became the property of a European. Later baptised as Domingos, the young man worked his way up as the slave valet of João Ignacio Coelho, the captain of a vessel engaged in moving other slaves from West Central Africa to Brazil. The villain, in turn, upon returning from his westward venture, found the victim's father anxiously waiting for retribution. Domingo's father enslaved the abductor and at least six of his relatives and associates. The villain and three others of the individuals seized were soon forced to experience the same westward trek as his son. After falling into the hands of a professional slave dealer, they eventually embarked at Benguela on a slave ship headed for the capital of Brazil, Rio de Janeiro. In this new landscape, the abductor reconstructed his slave life around theft and crime. But Portuguese justice soon caught up with him: he was condemned to a life of penal servitude pulling an oar in the lighters that plied the city's harbour. Eight years later, it was precisely in under these circumstances that Domingos, most likely still sailing with Captain Coelho, encountered his captor in Rio de Janeiro.[65]

A somewhat similar case involved Dona Leonor de Carvalho e Fonseca and her two daughters. A free-born mulatta, Dona Leonor was the widow of a *sertanejo* or backwoodsman. Her husband, who was most probably Portuguese or Brazilian immigrant, had been a merchant in the interior of Benguela. As with other *sertanejos*, his commercial activities surely revolved around acquiring captives in the various slave marts found throughout Angola's central

highlands with credit provided by slave traders based in the port town of Benguela. Upon his death, Dona Leonor seems to have continued in the same business. Sometime in the first half of 1811, however, she found herself and her two daughters somehow enslaved by the *sova* of Mbailundu. Within a short period of time, Dona Leonor and her two daughters were sold to a group of *sertanejos*. The mono-parental family was then moved from Mbailundu to Benguela, where its members were sold yet again. The young females became the property of Antonio de Andrade Vasconcellos e Souza, the then Governor of Benguela. Dona Leonor, on the other hand, was soon placed aboard the *Grão Penedo*,[66] a slave vessel bound for Rio de Janeiro via Luanda, where it sought to complement its cargo. Given her own background in slave trading, she would have found herself amongst people who had little reason to like her, perhaps even individuals whom she had herself previously bought on the central plateau. Once the *Grão Penedo* arrived in Luanda, Dona Leonor somehow got word of her horrid predicament to José de Oliveira Barbosa, the Governor of Angola. As a free-born mulata, not to mention subject of the Portuguese Crown, Dona Leonor may well have drawn upon the privilege of "original freedom" to stop her deportation to Brazil as a slave and thereby regain her liberty. Barbosa had her immediately freed. And, after censuring Vasconcellos e Souza for having bought Dona Leonor's daughters without inquiring into the circumstances under which they were enslaved, he ordered his counterpart in Benguela that they be given their liberty as well.[67] Whether the mono-parental family was subsequently reunited or if the temporary enslavement experienced by its members was enough for the matriarch to disengage from slaving is not known.

An equally paradoxical encounter with enslavement soon emerged after Barbosa had rescued Dona Leonor from "hell" in Brazil and her two daughters from a life of servitude in Benguela. By then, the Kings of Kongo had long become accustomed to sending their offspring and other promising noble youngsters to Luanda to acquire a western education. In August 1803,

the local seminary saw the arrival of Dom Afonso, a nephew of Garcia V, precisely for that purpose. And in 1809, Dom Afonso was joined by one of Garcia's son, Dom Pedro. To cover the costs associated with their education, King Garcia annually sent three slaves under the care of one of his Ambassadors for sale at Angola's colonial capital. The sums thereby made available to Prince Pedro and his cousin do not seem to have caused undue hardship. But in 1812, Pedro appears to have become dissatisfied with the subsidy emanating from this arrangement. To compensate, he also sold the Ambassador who had delivered the slaves that year. Within the blink of an eye, a member of Kongo's diplomatic corps found himself shackled inside a slaving ship about to engage in the trans-Atlantic crossing. Upon learning of this event, Governor Barbosa had Prince Pedro and his cousin en route back to São Salvador, the capital of Kongo, for Garcia V to sanction as he pleased. And to avert a diplomatic incident that could perturb Portugal's oldest alliance in West Central Africa, he also sent a number of queries to Brazil to ascertain the whereabouts of the Kongo nobleman and have him returned to Luanda.[68] The endeavour was akin to finding a needle in a haystack. Of the 10,704 slaves known to have been shipped in 1812 from Angola's colonial capital,[69] those who survived the middle passage were landed not only in Rio de Janeiro, but also in Recife, Salvador, and even in more northerly regions such as Maranhão and Pará.[70] Eventually, the enslaved Ambassador was found somewhere in Brazil. After reappearing in Luanda sometime later, he then he headed back to his native land to enjoy life as a free person and the privileges due to a noble of Garcia's court, all in the company of the person who had sold him into slavery.

Towards the end of January, 1817, a coffle of slaves descending from the central Angolan highlands arrived in Benguela for sale. Amongst the captives were Sebastião Amado, Antonio Simão da Costa, Miguel Domingos Ferreira, and Damião José, all Luso-Africans as their Christian names indicate. Their new owners sought to export them, requiring that they be

branded with the Royal stamp. During the act of branding, however, they all declared to have been free. This soon led to an inquiry surrounding their enslavement. The four captives alleged that they worked for Custodio Dias dos Santos, a Lieutenant Colonel of the Militia and merchant in Luanda. Their employer had sent them with cloths and other trade goods to buy slaves in the interior of Benguela. But local folk somewhere in the central highlands imprisoned the four men and subsequently sold them as slaves. Amado, Costa, Ferreira, and José went through the indignity of being sold two other times before arriving in Benguela that late January day and having the chance to draw upon the privilege original freedom.[71] The extant sources provide no information as to whether these four Luso-African individuals were successful in regaining their freedom. That their enslavers lived far away from Benguela turned the circumstances of their enslavement difficult to corroborate. When informed of the case, the Governor of Angola, Luiz da Motta Feo e Torres, could have easily had their story verified with Custodio Dias dos Santos: after all, at the time, both men resided in Luanda. Instead, Motta Feo merely ordered his subordinate, Manuel de Abreu de Mello e Alvim, the Governor of Benguela, that the "blacks who there proclaimed their liberty had to be adjudicated by the Juizo Privativo das Liberdades."[72]

By the mid-1810s, however, Benguela was not only a town where some of those enslaved in the interior could drawn upon the privelege of original freedom and thereby regain their freedom. It was also a landscape where others could effectively be enslaved. Sometime following the rainy season of 1816, José Manuel set out alone from Benguela into the hinterland. Laden with trade goods, his objective was to exchange these for slaves.[73] José Manuel was part and parcel of an army of black, mulatto, and white petty traders based at Benguela who, with the coming of the *caçimbo*, or the drier period following the heavy rains, annually left central Angola's slave exporting town with items of exchange to acquire captives in the interior. This

particular commercial venture did not go well. Somewhere in the interior, José Manuel had the misfortune of having his trade goods stolen by the local people, who also arrested and condemned him, for reasons that remain completely obscure, to pay a fine of forty-six *panos* or small pieces of cloth. These *panos*, with a sale price of between 18$000 and 20$000 *réis* at Benguela, would have been valued roughly twice as much in the hinterland.[74] Alone and imprisoned in the interior, José Manuel had few possibilities of securing the indemnity required by his captors. Yet, he was soon delivered from his predicament. The *sova* of the area, upon learning of this incident, offered to settle the fine imposed upon the culprit if the latter agreed to repay him the forty-six *panos*. The prisoner immediately agreed to the generous terms of his unexpected saviour.[75] José Manuel was thereby able to re-gain his freedom, after which he headed straight for Benguela.

Once back in his hometown, José Manuel wasted little time in attempting to settle his obligation. For this purpose, he could think of no one in a better position to help than António Leal do Sacramento. Sacramento then owned at least one agricultural estate in the immediate interior of Benguela, where he also maintained a rural residence, as well as a retinue of slaves both in town and near the mouth of the Katumbela river. By 1817, he had long translated this wealth into an appointment as the Lieutenant Colonel of the *Henriques* regiment,[76] the highest position that a local, black male could attain in the military structure of Benguela. Over and beyond his economic and social success, Sacramento also seems to have been quite a ruthless, if not treacherous, individual. José Manuel may have been aware of this aspect of Sacramento's character. But his need for financial assistance was also pressing.

With the Lieutenant Colonel being a black man like himself, the senior military officer of the same regiment where he soldiered, and a person of considerable means, José Manuel probably concluded that Sacramento could effectively help a non-paid, black subordinate in dire

need. The soldier-trader anxiously approached him for an advance with which to repay the debt that had secured his release in the interior. The Lieutenant Colonel, however, flatly refused. A second plea went similarly denied by the senior officer. Discouraged, José Manuel approached Sacramento a third time, though now with a proposition that could hardly be refused. To cover the pledge incurred with the African chief inland, the soldier-trader offered the Lieutenant Colonel his personal services until the value of the debt was liquidated.[77] This time around, Sacramento found the conditions offered alluring, most likely because the debt's value was not specified. He agreed to help his subordinate. José Manuel soon received forty-six *panos*, as well as one coat of arms and one bottle of *aguardente*,[78] goods which he promptly forwarded to the African chief who had secured his deliverance from incarceration in the interior.[79] The debt incurred inland was thereby liquidated. But to do so, José Manuel had turned himself into the personal servant of Sacramento.

To settle his new debt, José Manuel performed all kinds of chores for his senior military officer. He even carried Sacramento on *tipoia* or palequin, a task usually reserved for slaves. José Manuel endured these hapless circumstances for about two years. But even then, the Lieutenant Colonel thought that the services rendered fell far short of the original value of the goods loaned. To recuperate the difference, he began to consider selling off his servant into slavery. Sometime in the middle of 1818, José Manuel learned about the intentions of the Lieutenant Colonel. Much concerned, he lost no time to alert his kin.

The family, once informed of Sacramento's intentions, quickly met with Governor Mello e Alvim, arguing that although José Manuel had turned himself into a servant, he was nevertheless a free person and, consequently, could not be sold into slavery.[80] Claiming the privilege of original freedom, they asked Mello e Alvim to "oppose the sale" of their blood-relative and, equally important, that he "give them enough time to gather the merchandise"

which José Manuel had obtained from Lieutenant Colonel Sacramento to settle the debt with the African chief.[81] Mello e Alvim acquiesced to both requests, after which the family of José Manuel absorbed themselves in accumulating the goods for which he had turned himself into a servant two years earlier. Once this was accomplished, they then set out to re-pay Sacramento and thereby have their relative finally released from debt bondage. The Lieutenant Colonel, however, refused the reimbursement of the original debt.[82] He now demanded a *peça d'India* or prime male, adult slave valued then at around 90$000 *réis*.[83] Otherwise, he insisted, José Manuel would effectively be sold into slavery.

The kin of José Manuel desperately searched for someone who could help them meet Sacramento's new demand. They eventually turned to José Nunes Romão, a Lieutenant of Benguela's militia regiment, the same outfit headed by Sacramento and to which José Manuel belonged, whom they humbly asked if he could "lend them a good black female or male slave with which to satisfy" the Lieutenant Colonel. Romão loaned them a "good black *molecana*" or young female slave, valued at 64$000 *réis*, with which to secure the freedom of their relative. The *molecana* was immediately brought to the military headquarters in Benguela, so that Mello e Alvim could witness the payment. The Governor had Sacramento called into his office where he instructed him to accept the young female slave in reimbursement of the debt incurred by José Manuel. The Lieutenant Colonel acquiesced, but only on the condition that he also be paid the difference between the value of the *molecana* and that of a *peça d'India*, a matter of some 26$000 *réis*. This was totally unacceptable for the Governor, who impressed upon Sacramento that "he should consider himself well paid, release José Manuel from the irons, and thus allow him to enjoy his Freedom."[84]

Sacramento walked home with the *molecana*, an indication that he had accepted the final ruling of Mello e Alvim. Still, he did not release his personal servant, whom he kept for eventual

sale. The failure of the Lieutenant Colonel to set José Manuel free, in spite of having been duly reimbursed, soon led the servant's family to again meet with the Governor. They bitterly complained about this manoeuvre, requesting that the *molecana* given to secure José Manuel's freedom be returned to them.[85] Mello e Alvim agreed and soon ordered the Lieutenant Colonel not only to return the female slave to José Manuel's kin, but also not to sell the servant. Meanwhile, however, Sacramento had already sold the *molecana* for 64$000 *réis*. Upon learning of this occurrence, the Governor immediately instructed the new owner of the *molecana* to give her up to the relatives of José Manuel. But these, without informing Mello e Alvim, had already paid him 70$004 *réis* for her.[86] The young female slave was again brought to Sacramento, who accepted her, and finally released José Manuel from his personal service. A debt originally valued in Benguela at slightly over 20$000 *réis*, had cost José Manuel two years of work and his relatives roughly the average price of a slave.[87] Sacramento, in turn, had succeeded in securing a net profit of around 300 percent over the Benguela value of the goods he had contracted with his subordinate. And this on top of having had the services of José Manuel over a period that more than compensated for the value of the original loan.

Still, the Lieutenant Colonel remained unsatisfied. The plight of the trader-soldier was not yet over. Early in July of 1818, Sacramento forwarded a petition to the Governor of Angola in Luanda regarding, in part, his ex-servant. He here argued that José Manuel was, in effect, his slave and that through the connivance of the latter's family he had been forced by the Governor of Benguela to relinquish his rights over this individual. Appending no less than six documents supporting his claim of ownership,[88] Sacramento sought the restitution of José Manuel as his rightful property. The petition led to a bitter administrative dispute between Mello e Alvim and his titular superior, Motta Feo, with the former continuing to support José Manuel and the latter championing Sacramento’s cause. When in September, 1819, the governorship of Angola was

assumed by Manuel Vieira de Albuquerque Tovar, Sacramento lost little time in petitioning the new governor to have José Manuel returned as his slave. But months passed before Tovar requested that Mathias Joaquim de Britto, who had replaced Mello e Alvim as Governor of Benguela, submit an official opinion regarding the contentious case.[89] In early July, 1820, the request had still not been met.[90] Neither Britto nor Tovar tackled the case with the same zeal as their predecessors. Meanwhile, an aging Sacramento appears to have lost the strength to pursue the matter further still. Four years after having had the misfortune of being arrested and incarcerated in the interior, José Manuel's long confrontation with enslavement thus came to an end.

While José Manuel struggled against being enslaved by Sacramento, another individual was confronting a similar fate at the hands of the treacherous Lieutenant Colonel. Early one morning, in May or June, 1817, Nbena, a Ndombe female in the prime of her life, began the long walk from her village in the Katumbela area to Benguela, some 20 kilometres southwest.[91] Nbena was accompanied by her young her daughter. Although the reason for this journey is not clear, Ndombe women by then regularly made this trek to sell their agricultural produce in Benguela, where food shortages were a chronic reality.[92] On a subsequent occasion, Nbena actually made the same trip for precisely this reason.[93] In May or June, 1817, her purpose was surely also to sell produce. However, the road to and from Benguela was anything but safe, as Ndombe women were often robbed and, sometimes, victims of worst transgressions.[94] Not long after Nbena set out on this trek, she encountered an old slave woman who worked on the nearby agricultural estate of Lieutenant Colonel Sacramento, her owner. This female slave somehow convinced Nbena to interrupt her trip and, instead, follow her to the estate house. Once arrived, she introduced Nbena to Sacramento's wife. Advanced in years and grown tired of labouring as a field hand, the female slave informed her mistress that she was now too old to be useful: she had

brought the much younger Nbena has her replacement.[95] Nbena, along with her daughter, had been conned into slavery. The following day, she was given an axe and forced to work on the Sacramento estate. As a free-born woman, however, Nbena would have none of this imposed servile condition. She fled with her daughter the very same day that she was forced to begin work as a slave.[96]

Nbena headed straight for secure world of her village, where she again came to enjoy a free life, amidst her relatives and possessions, including, ironically, her own slaves.[97] Her brief experience as a slave created enough concerns that she does not seem to have ventured out of the village during the following five to six months. Then, in November or December, 1817, this apprehension either dissipated or was perhaps overridden by economic issues. Early another morning, Nbena set out again from her village to sell produce in Benguela. This time, the trip went unimpeded. Nbena, with her daughter tagging along, arrived safely in Benguela to go about her business. Someone, however, recognized her as a fugitive from the Sacramento estate. Word was quickly sent to the owner, who was in town. Suddenly, a few of his trusted slaves encircled Nbena and her daughter, kidnapped, and forcibly brought them to their master. The Lieutenant Colonel lost little time in dealing with the recaptured runaway. Nbena was branded on the spot[98] and then sold, along with her daughter, for 70$000 *réis* to João de Oliveira Dias, captain of the Astréa, a Lisbon vessel soon to depart for Luanda. The Astréa was most certainly headed for Brazil, the destination of the majority of vessels outbound from the colonial capital of Angola.[99] Nbena, with her daughter in tow, was poised to experience the Atlantic crossing into the "hell for blacks."

News of Nbena's abduction, sale to Captain Dias, and forced departure to Luanda quickly reached her village. Alarmed by this information, her relatives soon mobilized and headed for Benguela. A few hours later, a large number of people descended upon the town's military

headquarters, amongst them five or six Ndombe *sovas*, one of whom an uncle of Nbena. They created a great uproar, clamouring in favour of Nbena, complaining about her unlawful enslavement, and demanding justice from the Governor, Mello e Alvim.[100] Although such a large number of rowdy people was a "frightening" scene, Mello e Alvim believed that their cause was nothing short of disturbing. He soon decided to look into the matter and set a day for the hearing.

An even larger crowd assembled in front Benguela's military headquarters to see how this peculiar hearing unfolded. Mello e Alvim first called for his *tandalla* or translator, as well as other people in Benguela who had exercised the same function. He then summoned the plaintiffs, including Nbena's relations, the Ndombe chiefs, and a number of other witnesses. All were unanimous in their depositions: Nbena was born free and had lived as such until her recent abduction; she was no slave. Thereafter, the Governor had Sacramento answer these allegations. The Lieutenant Colonel merely responded that the she, having been brought some seven months before to his household by an old female slave of his as her replacement, had fled, after which he ordered his slaves to recapture her and then sold her to Captain Dias. With such a constricted answer, Mello e Alvim concluded this to be an "extremely scandalous" matter and decided in favour of the plaintiffs.[101] He ordered the Sacramento to have Nbena and her daughter returned from Luanda, without delay, at own his expense.[102] Informed of the decision, the crowd, including Nbena's relatives, dispersed peacefully, hoping, surely, for the best.

But were Nbena and her daughter still in the colonial capital of Angola? Or were they already on the Atlantic crossing headed for Brazil? And would the Lieutenant Colonel keep his word? To ensure that both were returned to Benguela, Mello e Alvim soon forwarded the details surrounding this case to Motta Feo in Luanda. He also asked his superior to take "the necessary measures, so that the said Negro female returns [to Benguela] from the authority of the Captain who bought her, or from wherever she may be..."[103] Mello e Alvim's letter arrived in Luanda

quickly. Nbena and her daughter were still the property of Captain Dias. And the Astréa had not yet sailed for Brazil. Motta Feo ordered Captain Dias to comply with the request from the Governor of Benguela. Just before Christmas of 1817, the Governor of Angola was able to inform Mello e Alvim that Nbena and her daughter had embarked for Benguela.[104] They arrived there sometime during the next two months or so.[105] The Ndombe woman and her child had barely been rescued from a lifetime of "hell for blacks."

Once back in Benguela, Nbena and her daughter were soon brought before Mello e Alvim. During this audition, the Ndombe woman immediately proclaimed original freedom: having been born and lived her life as a free person she could not be enslaved under the attempted circumstances.[106] While Nbena claimed the privilege of original freedom, however, Lieutenant Colonel Sacramento petitioned the Governor of Benguela to hold her and her daughter in custody while he justified through the judiciary his legitimacy as their owner. Mello e Alvim had no choice but to grant the petition from one of Benguela's most influencial individuals. The alleged slaves were placed under the charge of a local merchant, Manuel Pereira Gonçalves. Having barely escaped deportation to Brazil as slaves, Nbena and her daughter were now denied complete liberty in their own backyard.

Nbena and her daughter languished in Gonçalves' custody for a relatively long time without the Lieutenant Colonel initiating the promised judiciary proceedings against them. By mid-1818, Mello e Alvim had lost his patience and ordered that Sacramento explain the delay in demonstrating his proof. The Lieutenant Colonel saw fit not to answer Mello e Alvim. Instead, he brought the matter directly before the Governor of Angola.[107] After Motta Feo had the case assessed in Luanda, he concluded that, since Nbena appeared to have been owned by Sacramento for years, the matter had to be litigated by the contentious parties in Benguela's court of first instance. Mello e Alvim objected strenuously to the interpretation of the Governor of Angola,

considering the intervention both unjust and a violation of the powers and responsibilities of his own governorship in Benguela. Towards the end of September, he informed his superior that "I freed the unfortunate black female, and her daughter, who protests the extremely grave affronts and the scandalous injuries committed by the Lieutenant Colonel."[108] Almost one year and a half after the old, tired female slave on the Sacramento estate had deceived Nbena into slavery, the latter, with her daughter in tow, was finally allowed to return to her home, family and friends as a free woman.

The unilateral decision of Mello e Alvim did not settle Nbena's status. The matter, along with the case of José Manuel, became the basis of the conflict that brewed between the Governor of Benguela and Motta Feo until mid-1819. No sooner had Motta Feo's gubernatorial term come to an end, Sacramento quickly attempted to enlist the support of his replacement to have Nbena returned as is slave. But as with José Manuel, neither Tovar nor the new Governor of Benguela developed a strong interest in the Nbena case. Such official disinterest perhaps dampened Sacramento's will to pursue the matter further. In July, 1820, Nbena continued to live as a free person in her village, with her daughter and among her own slaves.[109]

José Manuel and Nbena, however, were not the only ones who were confronted with enslavement in Benguela. When, in November, 1824, Joaquim Aurélio de Oliveira became the interim Governor of Benguela, he found the central highlands in a state of "general rebellion," with the local populations "stealing from and killing [coastal] traders…" The primary reason behind this insurrection was the "inhumanity with which were treated the central highlanders who came to trade in Benguela." Some of the town's inhabitants "massacred the miserable negros who, in good faith, went to their establishments to trade, by placing them in irons and handing out severe punishment so as to subdue them into slavery and then export them." Since the relatives of these unfortunate individuals could not go to Benguela for fear of experiencing a

similar fate, they consequently began to prey on the coastal traders who roamed throughout the hinterland.[110] A few months before his interim position ended in November, 1825, Oliveira confidently reported that no similar "insults" had been perpetrated along the roads of the interior. This may well indicate that he had taken the necessary measures to stop the few in Benguela who, by enslaving African commercial partners that supplied the port with numerous captives, had placed the town's only economic activity of note in jeopardy. If that was the case, however, the effect was but temporary. Within days of beginning his second appointment as interim Governor of Benguela on 28 March, 1827, Oliveira found himself freeing an unspecified number of individuals who had been captured within the confines of the port town, as well as others seized in Dombe Grande da Quizamba. Amongst the rogues responsible for their capture were "even women [who], on the pretext of non-existing debts unpaid by their forebears, have poor black folk shackled to sell them off."[111] Oliveira hoped to punish the people of low class who had committed these actions. If he did, however, the example produced few dividends.

Benguela was then experiencing an upsurge in demand for captive labour before the Atlantic slave trade was scheduled to become an illegal enterprise in March, 1830. As a result, other individuals continued to be violently enslaved within the confines of the port town. Amongst these were a black woman and her two daughters, all *forras* or freed individuals, who were surreptitiously apprehended around the beginning of July, 1827, by Antonio Lopes Anjo. The captor, a Captain of the *Ordenanças*, had held a number of important colonial administrative positions in Benguela, including Interim Governor of the port town in late 1823, and arisen into one of its principal slave merchants.[112] This did not stop the local authorities from going after him. Anjo was tried and sentenced before a military court. His victims, on the other hand, regained their liberty. However, when appraised of the dossier, the Governor of Angola found a number of legal inconsistencies and ordered a new trial to be carried out before the *Juiz de Fora*,

the high-ranking, independent judge appointed to Benguela.[113] Upon receiving his orders, Joaquim Aurélio de Oliveira could not contain his thoughts. A civil suit would see one of Benguela's leading residents quickly "canonized into sainthood by the most trustworthy of witnesses," while the poor black woman "would have to flee everytime that a ship was about to sail for fear that she and her daughters would be embarked clandestinely."[114] Such apprehensiveness was well-founded since, within a few weeks, a *pardinha* or young mulatta had been sold into slavery by no other than her own sister.[115]

Conclusion

From the early 1500s to 1830, enslavement emerged into a pervasive feature throughout much of West Central Africa. Millions of individuals were captured, with many destined for the Atlantic slave trade and others for internal "consumption." All kinds of people underwent this experience: soldiers of routed African armies and those who comprised their baggage trains, simple village folk, petty criminals, the offspring and other relatives of African political leaders, Luso-Africans who one way or another underpinned the slave trading economies of Luanda and Benguela, and sometimes even Donas whose wealth and offspring were at the very basis of the Portuguese enterprise in West Central Africa. In the process, females lost their male partners, children were deprived of their parents and grandparents, families were torn apart, and communities disappeared from one day to the next. Similarly, people from numerous backgrounds succumbed to the gains which could be had by enslaving others. These included not only the Portuguese and Brazilian male immigrants who set up shop in Angola, their mulatto and mulatta offspring, and Luso-Africans of either gender. Indeed, male and female Africans also figured prominently as victimizers: political authorities, young aristocrats, thugs and other people of bad conscience, individuals with gripes against kin members, and even slaves seeking an immediate way out of

their predicament. Through the violence and insecurity they collectively created arose a tragically enormous enterprise that devalued the human condition in West Central Africa and beyond. The only consolation or sort of justice for the victims lay in the fact that not a few of their enslavers would ultimately experience similar if not greater misfortunes.

Table 1. Slave Exports from Africa, c. 1500-1900

Period	Atlantic	Sahara	Red Sea	East Africa	Total
1500-1600	328,000	550,000	100,000	100,000	1,078,000
1600-1700	1,348,000	700,000	100,000	100,000	2,248,000
1700-1800	6,090,000	700,000	200,000	400,000	7,390,000
1800-1900	3,466,000	1,200,000	492,000	442,000	5,600,000
Sub-Total	11,232,000	3,150,000	892,000	1,042,000	16,316,000

Source: Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. 2nd edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000 [1983], pp. 47 and 142.

Table 2. Legal Slave Exports from Angola, 1710-1830

Period	Luanda	Benguela	Total
1710-1719	55,219	---	55,219
1720-1729	69,479	---	69,479
1730-1739	87,728	18,572	106,300
1740-1749	104,406	9,467	113,873
1750-1759	101,805	22,638	124,443
1760-1769	83,050	47,173	130,223
1770-1779	75,743	53,013	128,756
1780-1789	94,632	64,931	159,563
1790-1799	102,604	83,335	185,959
1800-1809	122,998	62,407	185,405
1810-1819	132,919	45,178	178,097
1820-1829	140,591	40,061	180,052
1830	8,102	5,074	13,176
Sub-Total	1,179,276	451,869	1,631,145

Sources: 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, and idem, "The Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela, Angola, 1730-1828: A Quantitative Re-appraisal," *África* (Universidade de São Paulo). No. 16-17 (1993-1994), pp. 101-116. Since the appearance of these publications, a few more annual export figures have been located for Benguela: 5,862 slaves exported in 1799, "Mappa dos Generos que se exportarão… no Anno de 1799…de Benguela," AHNA, Códice 441, fls. 122v-123; as well as 3,046 captives shipped in 1823 and a further 2,933 in 1824, "Demostração da qualidade, e quantidade dos generos exportados desta Cidade de Benguela, com declaração dos portos para onde forão nos annos de 1823, 1824, e 1825," AIHGB, DL82,01.18, fl. 40.

END NOTES

[1] For the Atlantic slave trade, see: Philip D. Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1969; and David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999). For the various legs of the Muslim trade, see the following work by Ralph A. Austen: "The trans-Saharan slave trade: a tentative census," 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, pp. 22-76; "The Mediterranean Islamic slave trade out of Africa: a tentative census, in John Ralph Willis, ed., *Slaves and slavery in Muslim Africa*. London: F. Cass, 1985, pp. ??; and "The Islamic Slave trade out of Africa: Red Sea and Indian Ocean: an effort at quantification," in Elizabeth Savage, ed., *The Human Commodity: Perspectives on the Trans-Saharan Slave Trade*. London: F. Cass, 1992, pp. 214-248.

[2] Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990, pp. 60-148; Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa*. 2nd edition. New York: Cambridge University Press, [1983] 2000, pp. 140-245.

[3] Manning, *Slavery and African Life*, p. 41.

[4] Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, p. 63.

[5] Manning, *Slavery and African Life*, p. 88.

[6] The increased violence and insecurity emanating from expanding mechanisms of enslavement are important themes recently developed by: Dennis D. Cordell, "Warlords and enslavement: a sample of slave-raiders from eastern Ubangi-Shari, 1870-1920," in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Africans in bondage: essays presented to Philip D. Curtin on the occasion of the 25th anniversary of the African Studies Program*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986, pp. 335-365; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988, pp. 105-139; Manning, *Slavery and African Life*, pp. 110-126; Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery*, pp. 68-90; idem, "Paul E. Lovejoy, "La vie quotidienne en Afrique de l'Ouest au temps de la «Route des Esclaves»," *Diogenes* 179 (1997): 3-19; Joseph C. Miller, "Angola Central e Sul por Volta de 1840," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997): 7-54; and John K. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1992] 1998, pp. 98-125;

[7] Most of the extant accounts relate to West Africans, particularly eighteenth and nineteenth century males who largely identified themselves as Muslims at the time of capture. See, for example,Thomas Bluett, *Some Memoirs of the Life of Job, the Son of Solomon, the High Priest of Boonda in Africa; Who was a Slave About Two Years in Maryland; and Afterwards Being Brought to England, was Set Free, and Sent to His Native Land in the Year 1734*. Chapel Hill, N.C.: Academic Affairs Library, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Electronic Edition [1734] 1999, <http://docsouth.unc.edu/bluett/bluett.html>; Cugoano Ottobah, *Thoughts and Sentiments on the Evil and Wicked Traffic of the Slavery and Commerce of the Human Species*. Legon: Institute of African Studies, University of Ghana, [1787] 1965; Olaudah Equiano, *The life of Olauda Equiano: or, Gustavus Vassa the African, 1789. [1st ed.] reprinted with a new introduction by Paul Edwards*. London: Dawsons, [1789] 1969; Mary F. Smith, *Baba of Karo: A Woman of the Moslem Hausa*. New York: Praeger, 1954; Philip D. Curtin, ed., *Africa remembered: narratives by West Africans from the era of the slave trade*. Prospect Heights, ILL.: Waveland Press, [1969] 1997; Carl Campbell, "Mohammedu Sisei of Gambia and Trinidad, c. 1788-1838," *African Studies of the West Indies Bulletin* 7 (1974): 29-38; Adeleye Ijagbemi, "Gumbu Smart: Slave Turned Abolitionist," *Journal of the Historical Society of Sierra Leone* 4 (1980): 45-60; A.C. de C.M. Saunders, "The Life and Humour of João de Sá Panasco *o Negro*, Former Slave, Court Jester and Gentleman of the Portuguese Royal Household (fl. 1524-1567)," in F. W. Hodcroft, et. al., eds. Mediaeval and Renaissance Studies of Spain and Portugal in Honour of P.E. Russell. Oxford: Society for the Study of Mediaeval Languages and Literature, 1981, pp. 181-191; Terry Alford, *Prince Among Slaves: The True Story of an African Prince Sold into Slavery in the American South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1986; Allen D. Austin, *African Muslims in antebellum America: transatlantic stories and spiritual struggles.* New York: Routledge, 1997; Claire C. Robertson, "Post-Proclamation Slavery in Accra: A Female Affair?" in Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa*. Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997, pp. 220-245; E. Ann McDougall, "A Sense of Self: The Life of Fatma Barka," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 32 (1998): pp. 285-315; Sylviane Diouf, *Servants of Allah: African Muslims enslaved in the Americas*. New York: New

York University Press, 1998; Robin Law and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds. *The Biography of Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua: His Passage from Slavery to Freedom in Africa and America*. Princeton: Markus Wiener Publisher, 2001; and Jerome S. Handler, "Survivors of the Middle Passage: Life Stories of Enslaved Africans in British America," *Slavery and Abolition* 23/1 (2002): 25-56. Note that the African origins of Olaudah Equiano have recently come into question: Vincent Carretta, "Olaudah Equiano or Gustavus Vassa? New Light on an Eighteenth Century Question of Identity," *Slavery and Abolition* 20 (1999), 96-105.

A smaller number of encounters with enslavement come from individuals in East Africa, the majority of whom women from the late 1800s. See Marcia Wright, *Strategies of slaves and women: Life-stories from East/Central Africa*. London: J. Currey, 1993; and Edward A. Alpers, "The Story of Swema: Female Vulnerability in Nineteenth Century East Africa," in Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery in Africa*, pp. 185-219; and Marcia Wright, "Bwanika: Consciousness and Protest among Slave Women in Central Africa," in Robertson and Klein, *Women and Slavery in Africa*, pp. 246-270. A notable exception is found in Richard Pankhurst, "The History of Bareya, Šanqella and Other Ethiopian Slaves from the Botherlands of the Sudan," *Sudan Notes and Records* 58 (1977): pp. 1-43.

[8] As is now clear from Eltis, Behrendt, Richardson, and Klein, *The Transatlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM*. For the slave exports of two major West Central African coastal towns, see: 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, and idem, "The Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela, Angola, 1730-1828: A Quantitative Re-appraisal," *África* (Universidade de São Paulo). No. 16-17 (1993-1994), pp. 101-116.

[9] Miller, *Way of Death;* John K. Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718*. Madison: University of Winsconsin Press, 1983;

[10] Isabel C. Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola: Dinâmicas comerciais e transformações sociais no século XIX*. Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1997.

[11] See the 1800 account of Domingos, enslaved as a fifteen year-old near a village called Kisuka kya Laseta, in "Memória de Brant Pontes sôbre a comunicação das suas costas [9/9/1800], in Alfredo de Albuquerue Felner, ed., Apontamentos sôbre a Colonização dos Planaltos e Litoral do Sul de Angola. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colónias, 1940, Vol. I, pp. 248-251. This singular case is used effectively by Miller to open his *Way of Death*, pp 4-5. As Miller points out, however, "Domingo's later recollections of his seizure and westward journey [to Benguela, Angola], perhaps diminished by his more recent accomplishments as a slave in Brazil, or softened for the ears of his Portuguese masters, did not emphasize the horrors of his experience of enslavement in Africa." Reconstructed life stories of Angolans in the Americas also seem to provide no information on this first leg of their journey into slavery. See, for example, the well known case of Angola Ame: Cheryll Ann Cody, "There was no 'Absalom' on the Ball Plantations: Slave-Naming Practices in the South Carolina Low Country, 1720-1865," *American Historical Review* 92 (1987): 563-596; Edward Ball, *Slaves in the Family*. New York: Ballantine Books, 1999, pp. 134-37, 147, 174-76, 184, 228, 250-51. See also Melinde Lutz Sanborn, "Angola and Elizabeth: An African Family in the Massachusetts Bay Colony," *New England Quarterly* 72 (1999): 119-129.

[12] A few of which have already been the object of relatively lengthy reconstructions. See 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: Editora Vulgata. 2002, pp. 185-208; idem, "Un Butin Illégitime: Razzias d'esclaves et relations luso-africaines dans la région des fleuves Kwanza et Kwango en 1805," in Isabel C. Henriques and Louis Sala-Molins, eds., *Déraison, Esclavage et Droit: Les fondements idéologiques et juridiques de la traite négrière et de l'esclavage*. Paris: Éditions UNESCO, 2002, pp. 315-327; idem, "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, pp. 43-64; and idem, "Struggling Against Enslavement: The Case of José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-1820," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39/1 (2005), forthcoming.

[13] Slave exports from Kongo are first mentioned in a legend on the Cantino Atlas of 1502: Armando Cortesão and Avelino Teixeira da Mota, eds., *Portugaliae Monumenta Cartographica*. 6 Volumes. Lisbon: ? 1960, I: 12, plates 4-5. Further evidence from the first decade of the sixteenth century includes: the 1506 account of Kongo by Duarte Pacheco Pereira, *Esmeraldo de Situ Orbis*. Lisbon : ? [1905], 1975, p. 134, and the 1509 instructions in "Armada

de Gonçalo Roiz ao Congo," in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: Vol. IV, África Ocidental (1469-1599) Supplementos*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1954, p. 61.

[14] Letter of Afonso to King João III, 06 July, 1526, in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana: Vol. I, África Ocidental (1471-1531)*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1952, pp. 470-471.

[15] Letter of Afonso to King João III, 18 October, 1526, in ibid, pp. 489-90.

[16] Ibid.

[17] As is clear from Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo*; and idem, "As guerras civis no Congo e o tráfico de escravos: a históriria e a demografia de 1744 a 1844 revisitadas," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos*. 32 (1997): 55-74.

[18] These campaigns are the focus of the 1680 account by António de Oliveira de Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*. 3 Vols. (edited by Matias Delgado and Manuel Alves da Cunha) Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1972.

[19] Report of the Bishop of Angola, 07 September, 1619, in Alfredo de Albuquerque Felner, ed., *Angola: Apontamentos Sobre a Ocupação e Inicio do Estabelecimento dos Portugueses no Congo, Angola e Benguela (extraidos de documentos históricos)*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1933, pp. 452-456.

[20] Beatrix Heintze, "Angola nas Garras do Tráfico de Escravos: As Guerras Angolanas do Ndongo (1611-1630)," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 1 (1984): 59.

[21] John K. Thornton, "The African Experience of the '20. and Odd Negroes" Arriving in Virginia in 1619," *William and Mary Quarterly* 55 (1998): 421-434.

[22] Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Angola, Cx. 8, Doc. 8, report by Bartholemeu Paes Bulhão, *Provedor da Fazenda Real* or Inspector of the Royal Treasury in Portuguese Angola, 16 May, 1664. Writing in 1680, Cadornega, *História Geral das Guerras Angolanas*, II, pp. 75-78, states that Kabuku was allowed to return to his realm and continue in the Portuguese cause. At least one other contemporaneous source, Luis Mendes de Souza Cichorro, Governor of Angola, indicates that Kabuku was effectively sent to Brazil: see AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, Códice 15: Livro de Registo de Consultas Mixtas, 1653-1661, Consulta of 13 July, 1655, fl. 187. My thanks to Mss. Mariana P. Candido for providing a copy of the transcribed Bulhão report.

[23] AHU, Angola, Cx. 8, Doc. 8, Bulhão report of 16 May, 1664.

[24] Joseph C. Miller, "Quantities and Currencies: Bargaining for Slaves on the Fringes of the World Capitalist Economy," unpublished paper presented at the Congresso Internacional sobre a Escravidão, São Paulo, June 7-11, 1988, table IV.

[25] Ibid, table V.

[26] This estimate is provided by no other than the Governor of Angola, Antonio de Vanconcelos. See AHU, Angola, Cx. 45, Doc. 44, 12 June, 1762. I am again indebted to Mss. Mariana P. Candido for sharing a transcribed copy of this document.

[27] To be sure, not all state-sanctioned military operations were successful. The Portuguese and their local allies were sometimes soundly defeated on the battlefield. And slaves did not generally emerge from failed military campaigns. Nevertheless, as one local observer admitted, the expectation was that every state-sanctioned military operation would result in larger numbers of enslaved blacks since "they could not but produce considerable number of prisoners made." AHU, Códice 408, Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado to Francisco Innocencio de Souza Coutinho [Governor of Angola], 06 May, 1768, fls. 155-155v. For a recent statement underplaying slave production through warfare, see Roquinaldo Amaral Ferreira, "Transforming Atlantic Slaving: Trade, Warfare and Territorial Control in Angola, 1650-1800," Ph D dissertation, University of California at Los Angeles, 2003.

[28] On this point, see John K. Thornton, "The Art of War in Angola, 1575-1680," *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 30 (1988): 360-378.

[29] Elias Alexandre da Silva Correia, *História de Angola*. 2 Vols. (Introduction and notes by Dr. Manuel Murias) Lisbon: Editorial Atica, 1937 (but written c. 1787-1799), II: pp. 64-65.

[30] AHU, Cx. 30, Doc. ?, 29 April, 1738. This inventory is reproduced in Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. xii-xiii; and Isabel C. Henriques, "A Organização Afro-Portuguesa do Tráfico de Escravos (séculos XVII-XIX," in João Medina and Isabel C. Henriques, eds., *A Rota dos Escravos: Angola e a Rede do Comércio Negreiro*. Lisbon: Cegia, 1996, pp. 162-165.

[31] The Luanda-Benguela average price was 40$000 *réis*. See Joseph C. Miller, "Slave Prices in the Portuguese Southern Atlantic, 1600-1830," in Paul E. Lovejoy, ed., *Africans in Bondage: Studies in Slavery and the Slave Trade*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986, pp. 43-77.

[32] François Bontinck, ed. *Diaire Congolaise de Fra Luca da Caltanisetta (1690-1701)*. Louvain: Editions Nauwelaerts, 1970, p. 212.

[33] Ibid.

[34] Jean Cuvelier, ed., *Relations sur le Congo du Père Laurent de Lucques, 1700-1717*. Brussel: Institut Royal Colonial Belge, 1953, pp. 278-279.

[35] E. G. Ravenstein, ed. *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Battell of Leigh in Angola and the Adjoining Regions*. London: Hakluyt Society, 1901, pp. 19-34.

[36] See, for example: Ralph Delgado, *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela: Catálogo dos Governadores (1779 a 1940)*. Lisbon: Typografica Editorial, 1940, idem, ed. *Ao Sul do Cuanza: Ocupação e Aproveitamento do Antigo Reino de Benguela, 1483-1942*. Lisboa: Imprensa Beleza, 1944, 2 Vols; idem, *O Reino de Benguela (Do Descobrimento à Criação do Gôverno Subalterno)*. Lisboa: Imprensa Beleza, 1945; Gladwyn M. Childs, *Umbundu Kinship & Character*. London: Oxford University Press, 1949; and, more recently, Miller, "Angola Central e Sul por Volta de 1840."

[37] Paulo Martins Pinheiro de Lacerda, "Noticia da Cidade de S. Filippe de Benguella, e dos Costumes dos Gentios Habitantes daquelle Sertão, 1797," *Annaes Marítimos e Coloniaes (Parte Não Official)* 11 (1845): 488; AIHGB, DL29,17, João Nepomuceno Correia, "Notícia Geral dos costumes da província de Behe, em Benguela [c. 1797]," fl. 2v.

[38] AHU, Caixa 40, Doc. 71, report of Dom Antonio Alvares da Cunha, Governor of Angola, 22 January 1756. See also AHU, Caixa 40-A, Doc. 130, report of Dom Antonio Alvares da Cunha, Governor of Angola, 20 April January 1756, and the annexed details of the military operations by Domingos da Fonseca Negrão.

[39] AHNA, Códice 441 (E-1-2), Alexandre Jozé Botelho de Vasconcellos (Governor of Benguela) to Governor of Angola, 15 May, 1798, fl. 59.

[40] AHNA, Códice 3018 (9/D-2-13), Pascoal Rodrigues Ponte (Regent of Pungo Andongo) to Governor of Angola, 19 January, 1803, fls. 45v-46v.

[41] AHNA, Códice 443 (E-1-4), Alexandre Jozé Botelho de Vasconcellos (Governor of Benguela) to Jeronimo Caetano de Barros Araujo e Beça [External Judge of Benguela], 22 Septembre, 1796, fl. 8.

[42] Edital do Ex.mo Snr. General sobre o Soba do Socoval, 28 March, 1798, in Delgado, *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela*, pp. 444-446.

[43] AHNA, Códice 443 (E-1-4), Alexandre Jozé Botelho de Vasconcellos (Governor of Benguela) to Joaquim Vieira de Andrade, 22 Septembre, 1796, fl. 7.

[44] Ibid, “Copia do Auto de Devaça [contra o] Capitão-mor Joaquim Vieira de Andrade,” 1797, fls. 14v-16.

[45] 24 March, 1798, fl. 26.

[46] Edital do Ex.mo Snr. General sobre o Soba do Socoval, 28 March, 1798, in Delgado, *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela*, pp. 444-446.

[47] AHNA, Códice 443 (E-1-4), Alexandre Jozé Botelho de Vasconcellos (Governor of Benguela) to Miguel Antonio Serrão, 24 August, 1798, fl. 30v.

[48] AHNA, Códice 91 (A-20-1), Governor Noronha to Capitão Francisco B. I. Sardinha, 24 June, 1805, fls. 9v-11.

[49] Ibid, idem to Regente de Ambaca, 28 May, 1805, fl. 3v.

[50] According Vellut, "Le royaume de Cassange," p. 125, Galiano and his men began their raids on the Kwanza islands while on their way to Kasanje. But the extant documentation clearly indicates that the raids took place on their return to Pungo Andongo, after negotiations with the *Jaga* had been completed. See note ?? immediately below.

[51] AHNA, Códice 91 (A-20-1), Governor Noronha to Capitão Francisco B. I. Sardinha, 24 June, 1805, fls. 9v-11.

[52] Ibid, idem to Regente das Pedras [Capitão Felix Velasco Galiano], 22 June, 1805, fl. 8.

[53] Ibid, Governor Noronha to Capitão Francisco B. I. Sardinha, 24 June, 1805, fls. 9v-11. Sabiango's people may well have been Mbondo, whose state between Kasanje and Matamba was also hit by Galiano and his men. See Vellut, "Le royaume de Cassange et les réseaux luso-africains," p. 125; and Miller, "Kings, Lists and History," p. 73.

[54] Ibid, Governor Noronha to Regente das Pedras [Capitão Felix Velasco Galiano], 30 May, 1805, fl. 6.

[55] See Miller, *Way of Death*, pp. 622 and 631.

[56] Ibid, p. 27.

[57] AHU, Angola, Caixa 5, Doc. 109, “Carta do Rei de Dondo a D. J João IV,” 8-04-1653,” published in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*: *Vol. XI, África Ocidental (1651-1655)*. Lisbon: Agência Geral do Ultramar, 1971, pp. 286-287.

[58] The reconstruction of Mendonça’s career is taken from 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: Editora Vulgata. 2002, pp. 191-194.

[59] On Dona Ana earlier’s life, see ibid, pp. 194-197.

[60] AHU, Códice 275, "Carta de El-Rei de Portugal ao Governador Geral de Angola," 17 August, 1654, fl. 242, reproduced in *MMA*. 1st Series, Vol. XI, 1971, pp. 397-398.

[61] AHU, Angola, Caixa 7, Doc. 45, “Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino,” 02 Septembre, 1661, reproduced in *MMA*. 1st Series. Vol. 12, 1971, pp. 341-344.

[62] Curto, “A restituição de 10.000 súbditos ndongo,” pp. 206-208.

[63] Part of a Brazilian proverb, first written in 1711, as found in André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência da Brasil por suas drogas e minas*. São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 1922, pp. 92-93.

[64] Arquivo Histórico Nacional de Angola, Códice 81 (A-17-4), Antonio de Lancastre to Dembo Gombe Amuquiama, 22 April, 1778, fls. 66-67v.

[65] "Memória de Brant Pontes sôbre a comunicação das suas costas."

[66] This seems to have the first of eight slaving expeditions that the Grão Penedo is known to have carried out from West Central Africa to Rio de Janeiro between 1811 and 1819. See Eltis, et. al., *The Transatlantic Slave Trade*, voyageid 7037, 7080, 7114, 7149, 7174, 29, 67, and 7206.

[67] AHNA, Códice 4094, José de Oliveira Barbosa to Antonio de Andrade Vasconcellos e Souza, 18 August, 1811, fls. 387-387v.

[68] Louis Jadin, "Rapport sur les recherches aux Archives d'Angola du 4 juillet au 7 septembre 1952," *Bulletin des Seances (Institut Royal Colonial Belge)* 24 (1953): 167.

[69] José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830," *African Economic History* 20 (1992): 17 and 24.

[70] Joseph C. Miller, "The Number, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves, in the Eighteenth Century Angolan Slave Trade," in Joseph. E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992, pp. 92-93.

[71] AHNA, Códice 446, Manuel de Abreu de Mello e Alvim [Governor of Benguela] to Luiz da Motta Feo [Governor of Angola], 31 January, 1817, fls. 112-113.

[72] AHNA, Códice 155 (B-12-3), Luiz da Motta Feo to Manuel de Abreu de Mello e Alvim, 30 April, 1817, fl. 16v.

[73] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Manuel de A. de Mello e Alvim [Governor of Benguela] to Luiz da Motta Feo [Governor of Angola], 21 November, 1818, folios 32-32v.

[74] In Benguela, the *réis* value of the forty-six *panos* represented about 25% of the average cost of an exportable slave, which rose from 70$000 to 75$000 *réis* between 1815 and 1819: AHU, Angola, Cx. 131, Doc. 45 "Mappa Comparativo das Produçoens [de Benguella, 1815]; and note 31 below ??? for 1819. Inland, the forty-six *panos* would have probably represented half the average cost of a slave: According to Douville, II, pp.142-143, the 1828 average price of the "best slave" at the Bihé (also Vihé) mart was 80 *panos*. Doubling coast prices in the interior was standard practice. See, for Angola in general, Miller, 1988, pp. 304-05 and 312-13. For Benguela and its hinterland, in particular, see Curto, 2001.

[75] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim [Governor of Benguela] to Motta Feo [Governor of Angola], 21 November, 1818, fl. 32v.

[76] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v.

[77] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), idem to idem, 21 November, 1818, fl. 32v.

[78] A brandy, made from the must of grapes, which was rarely found in Benguela at the time. Here, as a result, the term *aguardente* was commonly applied to Brazilian sugar cane brandy, the most voluminous alcoholic drink available until the 1850s. See Curto, 2001.

[79] The coat of arms and the bottle of "*aguardente*" were probably included for José Manuel to cover the interest on the advance made by his benefactor in the interior.

[80] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 21 November, 1818, fl. 33

[81] Ibid.

[82] Ibid.

[83] This was the value of a *peça d'India* at Benguela in 1819. See AHU, Angola, Cx. 137, Doc. 72, "Mappa Comparativo das Produçoens [de Benguella, 1819]." No data exists for 1818.

[84] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 21 November, 1818, fl. 33v.

[85] Ibid.

[86] Ibid, where this payment is written as seventy thousand and four *contos* or 70,004$000 *réis*. This would have been an astronomical sum, representing twice the amount which the Portuguese Crown secured from the tax on 4,867 slaves exported from Benguela in 1819. See Curto, 2001. The scribe who wrote the document thus most likely added three zeros to the actual figure.

[87] The average price of a slave at Benguela in 1819 was 75$000 *réis*. See AHU, Angola, Cx. 137, Doc. 72, "Mappa Comparativo das Produçoens [de Benguella, 1819]."

[88] AHNA, Códice 155 (B-12-3) Motta Feo to Mello e Alvim, 06 October, 1818, fls. 39-39v. The said documents have yet to surface in the AHNA.

[89] AHNA, Códice 278 (C-16-2), Tovar to Britto, 18 May, 1820, , fl. 16.

[90] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Britto to Tovar, 03 July, 1820, fl. 131v.

[91] On the Ndombe during a slightly later period, see Maria A. Aparício, APolítica de Boa Vizinhança: Os chefes locais e os europeus em meados do século XIX, o caso do Dombe Grande,@ in *II Reunião Internacional de História de África: A Dimensão Atlântica da África*. São Paulo: CEA-USP/SDG-Marinha/CAPES, 1997, pp. 109-116.

[92] Miller, *Way of Death*, p. 417.

[93] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 26 September, 1818, fls. 16-17.

[94] As is clear from orders, attempting to solve this situation, given by the following governors of Benguela: Joaquim Aurélio de Oliveira, 17 January, 1825 and Joaquim Luiz Bastos, 24 November, 1846, excerpted in Ralph Delgado, *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela: Catálogo dos Governadores (1779 a 1940)*. Lisbon: Typografica Editorial, 1940, pp. 95 and 174, respectively.

[95] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v; AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), idem to idem, 26 September, 1818, fls. 16-17; and ibid, idem to idem, 21 November, 1818, fls. 30v-36.

[96] *Ibid*.

[97] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v; AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), idem to idem, 21 November, 1818, fls. 30v-36.

[98] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v; AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), idem to idem, 26 September, 1818, ANHA, fls. 16-17; ibid, idem to idem, 21 October, 1818, fls. 21v-22; AHNA, Códice 155 (B-12-3), Motta Feo to Mello e Alvim, 21 November, 1818, fl. 41v; and AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 21 November, 1818, fls. 30v-36.

[99] See Joseph C. Miller, "The Number, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves, in the Eighteenth Century Angolan Slave Trade" in Joseph. E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas, and Europe*. Durham: Duke University Press, 1992, pp. 77-115; and Corcino M. dos Santos, "Relações de Angola com o Rio de Janeiro (1736-1808)," *Estudos Históricos*. 12 (1973): pp. 7-68.

[100] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v; AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), idem to idem, 21 November, 1818, fls. 30v-36.

[101] Prior to this incident, according to the Governor of Angola, Mello e Alvim had never officially said anything "good or bad" about Sacramento. See Motta Feo to Conde dos Arcos, 02 June, 1819, *Arquivos de Angola*. 2nd series. 71-74 (1961): 288.

[102] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 11 December, 1817, fls. 154v-155v.

[103] *Ibid*.

[104] AHNA, Códice 155 (B-12-3), Motta Feo to Mello e Alvim, 23 December, 1817, fls. 25v-26.

[105] AHNA, Códice 446 (E-2-2), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 12 March, 1818, AHNA, fls. 172v-173, gives them has already back in Benguela.

[106] AHNA, Códice 447 (E-2-3), Mello e Alvim to Motta Feo, 26 September, 1818, fls. 16-17; ibid, idem to idem, 3 November, 1818, fl. 25.

[107] Ibid, idem to idem, 17 July, 1818, fls. 9v-10v.

[108] Ibid, idem to idem, 26 September, 1818, fls. 16-17.

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[110] AHNA, Códice 449 (E-3-1), Joaquim Aurélio de Oliveira to Joaquim José Monteiro Torres, 22 September, 1825, fl. 55.

[111] Ibid, idem to Nicolau de Abreu Castello Branco [Governor of Angola], 4 April, 1827, fl. 104v.

[112] José C. Curto, "'*Americanos*' in Angola: The Brazilian Community in Benguela, c. 1722-1832," forthcoming.

[113] AHNA, Códice 220 ((C-4-3), Governor Castello Branco to Joaquim Aurélio de Oliveira [Governor of Benguela], 22 July, 1827, fls. 120v-121.

[114] AHNA, Códice 449 (E-3-1), Aurélio de Oliveira to Nicolau de Abreu Castello Branco [Governor fo Angola], 13 August, 1827, fl. 114v.

[115] Ibid.