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**Indigenous Angolans and Global Trade in the Age of Abolition:
1797–1852**

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Abstract

This study analyzes the Indigenous, unenslaved population of the Portuguese colony of Angola from 1797 to 1852 from an economic perspective. The outcome of the work is to see how financially connected the majority of Angolans were to the Portuguese colonial economic system and global trade in this period, as well as to determine the effects of global economic links on late modern Angolan life. The African contribution to global trade through the exportation of slaves is well known, though the economic relationship between this trade and Indigenous Africans can be difficult to determine. In Angola, a wealth of demographic data recorded in the colonial period helps understand the effects of global trade, abolitionism, and major political events on local communities. Coupled with trade records, colonial censuses illustrate the relative economic isolation experienced by Indigenous Angolans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, despite protracted European interference in the region.

Resumo

Este trabalho analisa a população indígena e não escravizada da colónia portuguesa de Angola entre 1797 e 1852 do ponto de vista económico. O objetivo é determinar a medida em que a maioria dos angolanos estava ligada ao sistema financeiro português estabelecido na colónia e ao comércio global neste período. Pretende identificar os efeitos dos laços económicos globais na vida moderna angolana. A contribuição africana para o comércio global é bem conhecida através da exportação de escravos, embora a relação económica entre este comércio e as comunidades africanas indígenas seja difícil de determinar com certeza. Em Angola, uma quantidade impressionante de dados demográficos registrados no período colonial ajuda a compreender os impactos do comércio global, do abolicionismo e dos principais eventos políticos. Juntamente com os registros comerciais, os censos coloniais ilustram uma economia relativamente isolada e livre de pressões exteriores partilhada pelos indígenas angolanos no final do século XVIII e no início do século XIX, apesar da prolongada interferência europeia na região.

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Introduction

Scholarship on colonial Angola often focuses on European settlers, traders of mixed African and European descent, and slaves, though most people living in the colony were free, Indigenous¹ people. Indigenous communities maintained traditional African social structures and remained the great majority in most settlements despite centuries of official Portuguese control and European immigration. The colony's most basic functions depended on Indigenous participation, particularly in peripheral districts where a small presidio was often the only vestige of the colonial government. Even when Portugal's political reach in Angola was tenuous, foreign economic presence endured. Sustained by Indigenous tastes for imported merchandise and the vigorous Trans-Atlantic slave trade, commercial networks developed to link Portuguese port towns with centers of Indigenous exchange.

By the early 19th century, revolutions on both sides of the Atlantic and changes in popular philosophy ruptured global commerce systems and restructured Angola's relationship with its colonial overlord. Liberal thinking bred an international abolitionist movement that threatened the slave trade, fostering doubt over the viability of Portugal's West Central African colony after its most important export was phased out. These developments were clearly critical for colonial administrators and slave traders, but the severity of consequences they could cause for the average Indigenous Angolan is more difficult to determine. Most Angolans in the era of abolition were agricultural laborers working to support their community, their local aristocracy, and, above all, their families. Beyond the lurking threat of becoming a victim of the slave export trade, opportunities for most Angolans to directly participate in international trade were few. For the average Angolan, foreign economic and political events may not have caused any real change in livelihood.

Defining the relationship between global trade and the greater part of Angola's population can give acute insight into the nature of most people's economic involvement in a

¹ This study uses the term Indigenous to refer to Black Angolans with African ethnicity and culture. It largely corresponds to the *negros* in colonial documents but may not include all Black Angolans, as many factors were used in Angola to determine an individual's color, which often valued culture over ancestry. The term Indigenous serves to reflect a connection to pre-Portuguese society.

colonial space. Looking into Africa at the end of the slave trade, a period of profound upheaval full of rapid economic variation, we can see how much Indigenous communities were subject to external pressures and how well they were able to respond to change. This knowledge may lead to a better understanding of the progression of Indigenous African economies towards reduced independence over the 19th century as European involvement in African affairs amplified.

Many aspects of Angolan life during liberal reforms and the end of the slave trade are discussed in Jill Dias and Valentim Alexandre's work in the 10th volume of *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*.² The volume analyzes Angola's economic restructuring through the lens of colonial documentation and correspondence. It argues that burgeoning legitimate industries from the mid-19th century onwards substantially disrupted traditional African societies, providing Portugal with new opportunities to expand the colony's borders and economic potential beyond anything achieved in the era of slavery. In dismantling the slave export market, abolitionism encouraged experimentation in new economic channels. Fueled by European demand for tropical products, Indigenous Angolan demand for European and American luxury goods, Portugal's colonial ambitions, a growing African population, and a larger pool of laborers in the post-slavery colony, Angola's economy eventually produced immense growth. Europeans were able to secure profits of African goods through the exploitation of elaborate, trust-based credit systems that scholars have observed across the continent.³ Efforts to expand control into new territory increased, legitimized by the concepts of modernizing African populations, ridding them of slavery, and gaining access to their economies. By the end of the 19th century, Indigenous Angolan connection to the global economy was quite salient.

Historical studies also offer clues to the degree of relationship between global trade and Indigenous economies during the volatile end of the slave trade. They demonstrate how the beginning of restructuring the colony's post-abolition commerce took place and what sort of effects it had on Indigenous communities. Daniel B. Domingues da Silva's research in *The Atlantic*

² Dias, Jill and Alexandre, Valentim. *Nova história da expansão portuguesa vol. 10: O império africano 1825–1890*. Ed. Estampa, 1998.

³ Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier ed. *From Slave Trade to Empire: European Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s*, Taylor & Francis, 2004.

*Slave Trade from West Central Africa, 1780–1867*⁴ argues that enslavement through legal proceedings was more common than through warfare and, additionally, that most slaves were from areas under Portuguese control or very nearby. His research reveals that the slave trade did not simply pass through the heartland of colonial Angola from the deep African interior on the way to Atlantic ports, but rather employed Indigenous residents from throughout the colony. This model spreads the effects of slavery and abolition into every corner of the Portuguese colony. The path to abolition in Angola involved many steps and plenty of false starts. *Dos sertões ao Atlântico: tráfico ilegal de escravos e comércio lícito em Angola 1830–1860*⁵ by Roquinaldo Ferreira examines how trade in legitimate products took advantage of slave labor and was tied into resistance to abolition. Indigenous Angolan economic participation does not easily divide into a phase before abolition and a phase after, but rather evolves through a series of adjustments in colonial social structure.

Investigating modern Angolan trade relationships reveals patterns that were key to the colony's development but such an investigation might not uncover the most important factors affecting the economic well-being of the Indigenous Angolan majority. As a primarily agricultural population, Indigenous Angolans were susceptible to effects from changes in weather patterns, crop availability, and infectious diseases in humans and livestock. Migration also featured heavily in Indigenous Angolan life, letting people enter and exit territory under Portuguese control when it served them. Patterns of movement may have allowed for greater economic freedom and reduced Indigenous economic ties to the Portuguese establishment. This study aims to determine how much the economic well-being of Indigenous Angolans was affected by events in international commerce in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and to see how the results of these events compare to consequences of local circumstances. Modern Angola's links to global commerce were profound, but the position of Indigenous commerce in West Central Africa before the late 19th century suggests a large degree of independence. Colonial data shows how

⁴ da Silva, Daniel B. Domingues. *The Atlantic Slave Trade from West Central Africa, 1780–1867*. Cambridge University Press, 2017.

⁵ Ferreira, Roquinaldo. *Dos sertões ao Atlântico: tráfico ilegal de escravos e comércio lícito em Angola 1830–1860*. Kilombelombe, 2012.

much the average Angolan was integrated into global commerce and if this integration changed over time.

To determine the level of Indigenous Angolan connection to foreign trade, this study compares the effects of a variety of international and local events on Angolan demographics. It also looks into economic patterns in Angola, Portugal, and the Atlantic world to see what relationships, if any, exist between the colony's demography and features of concurrent global trade. A large wealth of demographic data from all regions of the colony is taken into consideration to minimize reliance on any one source, period, or locale. Instances of war, revolution, economic improvement and decline, climate patterns, waves of disease, and trends in the slave export market are measured against each other to see which stimuli inspired the greatest demographic shifts. All correspondence and lack of correspondence between synchronous events that could share a causal relationship are listed to see how much changes in global trade affected Angolan demographics compared to more localized causes. Trends shared widely across a region or the whole colony are given extra attention as they are more reliable than single instances of change. Recent scholarship on elements of modern Angolan history connected to demographics are discussed in their own chapter to provide additional perspectives on sources of statistical change.

A demographic foundation for the analysis is provided by a set of colonial censuses housed in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Lisbon. Many of the censuses are scanned and published online as part of the Counting Colonial Populations research project.⁶ One element of a greater effort to reform colonial administration in the late 18th century, the censuses contain detailed information on the characteristics of residents within each Angolan subdivision, as well as some sketches of the area's economic output, operating budget, and events of the previous year. Additional economic data from Angola and its trading partners is provided by the Federico-Tena World Trade Historical Database⁷ and by studies of the African slave export market in its final decades. Timelines of ecological and biological conditions are sourced from the colonial

⁶ Available at <https://colonialpopulations.fcsh.unl.pt>

⁷ Federico, Giovanni and Tena Junguito, Antonio. "World trade, 1800-1938: a new synthesis." *Revista de Historia Económica-Journal of Iberian and Latin America Economic History*, vol. 37, no.1, 2019. <https://doi.org/10.1017/S0212610918000216>

censuses and from works by Jill Dias⁸ and Joseph C. Miller.⁹ Collectively, these quantitative figures measure reactions of Indigenous Angolans to a variety of stimuli and expand understanding of the history of communities in modern West Central Africa from an economic perspective. While censuses are not available for every year in this study, and the quality of data varies for the censuses that are available, they provide unusually detailed statistical descriptions of a region and time where extant records are often scarce. They inspect different social groups individually, allowing for focused study on a particular social group's demographic change. The sources of data used in this study and the methods applied to determine its results are reviewed in further detail in the third chapter.

This thesis strives to analyze a pivotal period in African history from an Indigenous perspective, albeit using colonial documentation, to contextualize Angola's colonial past through the lens of the African majority. It looks into the most impactful developments in Indigenous Angolan demographics and how they compare to possible sources of statistical agitation in the form of local and international economic, political, biological, and climatological events. Examining only events that left a demographic imprint on Indigenous groups helps reduce statistical noise from economic patterns affecting the Portuguese establishment and slave traders that may not have had a profound impact on the Indigenous majority. By describing the character of Indigenous Angolan economies in the era of abolition and how they fit into a larger colonial and global system, a better understanding of the methods used by imperial powers and influential colonial figures to achieve greater economic exploitation on the continent in the decades following the end of slavery can be achieved.

⁸ Dias, Jill. "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola c. 1830–1930." *The Journal of African History*, vol. 22, no. 3, Cambridge University Press, 1981.

⁹ Miller, Joseph C. "The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa." *The Journal of African History*, vol. 23, no. 1, Cambridge University Press, 1982.

1 Angola in the Late Modern Period

A significant part of Portugal's motivation to create and maintain a colony in Angola was economic. The well-placed territory provided a market for foreign products and a source of labor in the form of slaves. The survival and success of colonial Angola's economy depended on a relationship between the global market originally introduced by the Portuguese and Indigenous African markets. Interactions between these two disparate systems produced extreme results, allowing a small group of international merchants, enterprising aristocrats, and local entrepreneurs to achieve spectacular wealth while condemning millions of others to misery or death as a slave. By the end of the 18th century, Portuguese presence was well established, but most Angolans lived in agricultural, essentially African societies. Europeans were scarce outside coastal cities, leaving the Portuguese establishment reliant on interlopers more familiar with African languages and customs to maintain colonial political presence. The social and physical distance between the average Angolan and the merchant class in Luanda or Benguela was considerable, yet huge quantities of imported goods and exported slaves prove that Indigenous Angolans were not living in economic isolation, leaving open the question of to what degree late modern Indigenous communities were integrated into a global system of trade.

The goal of this study is to determine what effects, if any, the colonial and global economy had on Indigenous Angolans from the 1790s to the 1850s. This period is well documented with plenty of surviving demographic resources recorded in the colony. It also roughly corresponds with the growth of abolitionism and gradual end of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. As a major exporter of slaves, Angola sustained profound consequences from the events leading to abolition. This study will examine what effect these events had on Indigenous Angolans' well-being to determine how dependent they were on global trade. While most Angolans were unlikely to be dealing directly with European traders, consuming certain foreign goods became a significant characteristic of Angolan life. The Portuguese colony almost certainly would not have found the success and persistence it enjoyed without exploiting its ability to facilitate the importation of desired wares from Europe, Asia, and the Americas.

Despite the grand plans of the Portuguese monarchy and the best attempts of generations of colonial governors, Angola did not always provide returns on the expensive investment of colonial enterprise. After years of industrial experimentation and changes in Indigenous trading patterns during the final decades of the slave trade, the colony not only found ways to support post-abolition international trade, but also created fresh opportunities for political expansion and control of Indigenous markets. Indigenous Angolans' position in Atlantic commerce provided them with methods to respond to the volatile international market, but the limits of these approaches became increasingly apparent as the 19th century progressed.

1.1 Modern Africa

The late 18th and early 19th centuries mark a middle period of European presence in Africa, one that followed centuries of economic intervention in primarily coastal areas but preceded European powers' large-scale political domination over most of the continent's territory. Years of contact developed systematic trading networks that integrated African ports into a global system of exchange dominated by both European and American merchants. Enlightenment philosophy influenced this middle period greatly, inspiring developments in modern science and liberal political theory. The progress of abolitionism and creation of liberal governments in Europe and the Americas required European kingdoms, African states, and European colonies to reconfigure their relationships and adapt to a new philosophical reality. Despite these changes, the basic structure of the economic relationship between Africans and outsiders remained quite similar to that of previous centuries. Early efforts to expand and reform colonized regions of Africa were often more of a dream than a reality.

Unlike most of Sub-Saharan Africa in this period, Angola had experienced several centuries of European control. While most foreign presence in Africa was characterized by small, coastal establishments with limited economic and military capabilities, Angola was composed of a considerable amount of territory with a sizable, mostly rural population. Its urban centers held the largest groups of Europeans in tropical Africa, though much of the interior was administered

by mixed-race or acculturated Africans who were more familiar with local languages and customs than their European counterparts, as well as more resistant to tropical disease. A complex framework of social relationships and economic ties formed the base of the colony's success and longevity.

1.1.1 The Abolition of Slavery

By the beginning of the 19th century, the Western institution of slavery was internationally scrutinized and rejected on an unprecedented level.¹⁰ New, liberal literature idealized freedom and individuality. Capitalist theory recognized freed workers as more efficient than enslaved ones as they have more incentive to produce. The institution of slavery began to be blamed for poverty, underdevelopment, and disease. Abolition grew from a philosophical possibility to a political reality after the Haitian revolution erupted in 1791, proving that a modern society built on slavery was able to revolt and resist European efforts to recolonize. As abolitionism grew and found political support, change was inevitable in Atlantic Africa, where most slaves were exported. Initial abolition efforts focused on the Trans-Atlantic slave trade and slavery within European-controlled territories. Localized forms of slavery in Africa, the United States, and Brazil persisted long after the legal international slave trade ended, but all became new targets for national and international anti-slavery movements.

The end of export slavery in Portugal and the Portuguese colonies was a lengthy process. The Angolan colony and nearby West Central African polities successfully resisted abolitionist efforts and became the main source for slave exports towards the end of the trade. The majority of slaves exported to the Americas after the end of the British slave trade in 1807 came from Angola and neighboring ports.¹¹ The slave industry in the region was also highly volatile as it neared its collapse. Slavers could move between ports if one region became too hostile to continue trading, but they only found success where the products they carried had stable

¹⁰ Marques, João Pedro. *The Sounds of Silence: Nineteenth-Century Portugal and the Abolition of the Slave Trade*. Translated by Wall, Richard. Berghan Books, 2006, pp. 1–9

¹¹ da Silva 2017 p. 3

Indigenous demand.¹² Legal challenges to slavery and major anti-slaving actions by European nations sometimes reduced revenue from exporting slaves, but could also have the opposite effect: slave traders appear to have scrambled to export as many people as possible knowing the industry would not survive much longer. An Anglo-Brazilian agreement to end the trade went into effect in 1830, resulting in a dip in slave exports from the entire region. However, this treaty proved ineffective at completely stopping the practice and the slave trade quickly rebounded.¹³

Indigenous forms of slavery were not immune to liberal efforts to end forced labor, but they still survived well into the 19th century after several cycles of redefining their status under Portuguese law. The end of Indigenous slavery had different results and may not have been as dramatic as the end of slavery in the Americas. While ancient and an important part of the social structure of West Central Africa, Indigenous slavery was also more fluid, and slaves were more integrated into free society than their counterparts on the other side of the Atlantic. Forced labor among the Indigenous peoples of Angola was not uniform. Many different social classes would be considered slaves by the Portuguese, with abolition having varying effects on their livelihoods. Abolishing Trans-Atlantic and Indigenous slavery carried economic repercussions in Indigenous communities, though their exact effects are difficult to measure. Angola potentially had a larger and more capable labor force after the colony stopped losing a large part of its able-bodied population to slavery abroad. Slavery does not appear to have resulted in a general depopulation of West Central Africa, so a converse significant rise in population due to the end of slavery was not necessarily the case.¹⁴ Angola initially had no export comparable to slaves to trade for foreign goods. Indigenous Angolans mostly imported luxury products, so reduced imports would not be devastating to the Indigenous way of life. The slow end of slavery would force both foreign and Indigenous traders to seek out new ways to build wealth, including finding a replacement product to trade for global goods that were in high demand. Efforts to profit from plantation-style agriculture, mining, and harvesting natural products for foreign export were launched before the end of slavery and grew considerably in the 19th century.¹⁵ These developments were partly the

¹² Pétré-Grenouilleau 2004 pp. 6–7

¹³ Valentim and Dias, Jill 1998, p. 53; da Silva 2017 p. 33

¹⁴ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 324

¹⁵ Birmingham, David. *A Short History of Modern Angola*. Hurst & Company, 2015, pp. 28–30

result of colonial enterprise and partly the result of slow, methodical Indigenous business planning.¹⁶ Both processes owe some of their inspiration to the ending slave trade.

1.1.2 The Rise of Liberal Government

The late 18th and early 19th centuries saw a series of revolutions and resulting conflicts that checked the rise of Europe's absolutist monarchies and led to the independence of new, ex-colonial states in the Americas. Portugal did not lose control of Angola or other African colonies, even when the Portuguese royal family left Europe to escape conflict, but it did become politically separated from Brazil. European reforms inspired interest in creating liberal social and economic systems in Africa,¹⁷ causing a fair amount of discussion over Africa's colonial future in the liberal Portuguese legislative *cortes*.¹⁸ Angola's newly defined relationships with Portugal and Brazil created new economic potential and inspired greater involvement in the Atlantic African colony.

Economic ties between Brazil and Angola were strong, with a few thousand Brazilians living in Angola by the 19th century.¹⁹ Most Angolan export slaves were sent to Brazil, and Brazilian products made up about 80% of Angolan imports in the early 19th century.²⁰ Brazilian merchants, already firmly established in the Angolan slave trade, found even more success after independence, when they were able to sell re-exported European products in Angola at lower prices than the Portuguese.²¹ Similarly, Portugal's revenue from re-exporting Brazilian products, formerly two-thirds of all Portuguese exports, was drastically reduced.²² Portugal sought to reconfigure Angola into a "New Brazil" that could replace the lost American colony's economic value, serving as a new source of revenue that would grow as a market for exported products.

¹⁶ Henriques, Isabel de Castro. *O pássaro do mel: estudos de história africana*. Edições Colibri, 2003, p. 86

¹⁷ Pétré-Grenouilleau 2004 p. 10

¹⁸ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 27, 30

¹⁹ de Alencastro, Luis Felipe. "Continental drift: the independence of Brazil (1822), Portugal, and Africa." *From Slave Trade to Empire: European Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s*, Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier ed, Taylor & Francis, 2004, p. 101

²⁰ Ferreira 2012 p. 33

²¹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 24, 34

²² Alexandre, Valentim. "The Portuguese Empire, 1825–90: Ideology and Economics." *From Slave Trade to Empire: European Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s*, Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier ed., Taylor & Francis, 2004, p. 110

These fantasies grew with the rise of liberal influence in the Portuguese government. The liberals drafted a new paradigm for colonial ideology that demanded abolition and imagined a self-sufficient Angola based on mining and plantation-style agriculture with a much larger European population.²³ They wanted Angola to grow wheat, sugar, cotton, and tobacco, which they believed could be harvested locally to avoid the costly importation of these products.²⁴

The process of reforming Angola was likely longer and more difficult than the ambitious *cortes* originally planned. The following decades saw attempts to promote new industries, grow trade, and encourage European settlement, but slave-focused colonists resisted these efforts,²⁵ initially preventing new industries from enriching the Portuguese economy as Brazil had in the 18th century. Portugal was unlikely aware of the Angolan colonial government's true capabilities, instead imagining a more direct system like those found at home or in Brazil rather than what existed in West Central Africa.²⁶ Its desire for a self-sufficient colony made Portugal reluctant to invest much capital into the grand projects it envisioned for Angola, giving them little chance of major success.²⁷ Perhaps the most important product of the "New Brazil" phase was the expansion of Angolan territory. In the name of protecting economic interests and expanding economic potential, Portuguese and Brazilian groups established new presidios that enlarged and strengthened Angolan territorial control. Colonists and the Portuguese military found no shortage of setbacks, including frequent Indigenous resistance. However, as the slave trade waned, they increasingly were able to add territory to Angola's loosely defined boundaries. Some Indigenous leaders welcomed expansion and petitioned the colonial government for territory outside the blurred line of Portuguese control.²⁸ These expansions fit well into the liberal ideologies popular in Europe at the time, that celebrated real (or perceived) development and considered Africans under European rule to be living in better conditions than those in fully African states.²⁹ Political interest in Angola, and Africa at large, was not diminished by the weak

²³ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 41

²⁴ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 73

²⁵ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 377

²⁶ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 52–3

²⁷ Alexandre 2004 p. 115

²⁸ Curto, José C. and Lovejoy, Paul E. dir. *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*. Humanity Books, 2004, p. 254

²⁹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 36–7

results of reform projects, but rather grew throughout the 19th century, eventually developing into the Scramble that would see most of the continent under European control. The economic projects in Angola after the loss of Brazil served as learning experiences for future, larger developments and territorial expansions. Central Angolan territories saw sustained growth in legitimate industries by the 1840s,³⁰ and considerable returns finally came to fruition in the late 19th century. Between 1845 and 1875, commerce nearly tripled.³¹

The Indigenous reaction to the rise of liberal politics and resulting shifts are difficult to measure as sources of Indigenous authorship from this period are scarce. Most Indigenous Angolans remained firmly established in the culturally African societies that constituted a majority of the colony. Their closest connection to liberal political theory was through the colonists who generally opposed it. As such, Indigenous Angolans' most personal consequences of attempts to liberalize the colony were likely economic. Much like the end of slavery, the foreign interest in new industries disrupted African markets. Trade goods like wax and marble were carried by caravan from the African interior through a series of outposts to reach consumers. As foreign interest in non-slave products grew, caravan routes adjusted to bring new goods to the Portuguese provinces and ports. New patterns of migration and trade created demographic shifts and may have created opportunities for disease to spread, as previously separated populations suddenly had greater contact.³² Caravans also had the potential to participate in an illegal slave trade after the practice was officially banned. Porters could travel across the territory without arousing much suspicion and then be sold off as slaves at any outpost of choice. Ultimately the growth of non-slave industries brought Europeans in closer contact with the Angolan interior, bringing interest to parts of the country that were not already integrated into the Portuguese system.

³⁰ Dias, Jill. "Changing Patterns of Power in the Luanda Hinterland: The Impact of Trade and Colonisation on the Mbundu Ca. 1845–1920." *Paideuma*, vol. 32, Frobenius Institute, 1986, p. 293

³¹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 434

³² Dias, Jill. "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola c. 1830–1930." *The Journal of African History*, vol. 22, no. 3, Cambridge University Press, 1981, p. 360

1.2 Angolan Political Structure

Modern Angola was organized into an essentially feudal hierarchy, with overlapping European and African systems under the sovereignty of the Portuguese monarch. The core structure of the Portuguese establishment in Angola was formed by a group of militarized presidios and loosely defined districts anchored by the coastal cities of Luanda and Benguela. Officials in each of these units governed local populations through Indigenous nobles, known as *jisoba*,³³ who held political, economic, and spiritual power in their communities. Angolans with knowledge of both European and African traditions, whether through heritage or simply contact, served as interlopers between colonial and Indigenous societies. The political function of Angola depended on cooperation between these layers of government.

1.2.1 The Portuguese Colony

Portugal administered Angola through a constellation of political units separated into two kingdoms ruled by the Portuguese monarch. The Kingdom of Angola was administered through Luanda, and the Kingdom of Benguela through the city of Benguela. While it maintained some independence, the Kingdom of Benguela was subservient to Luanda by 1795. The rest of the colony was divided into presidios and districts, the simple distinction between the two being that presidios had a central military fortification, which served as a center of government, and districts did not. Each unit had varying amounts of Portuguese military, ecclesiastical, and civilian presence, but the overwhelming majority of residents outside the urban centers were Indigenous Angolans engaged in agricultural pursuits. Over time, the distinction between segments of Angola was less defined, and they were ultimately replaced by *conselhos* in 1850.³⁴ The borders of colonial Angola were somewhat variable and dependent on the lands the vassal *jisoba* could

³³ Kimbundu, plural of *soba*

³⁴ Dias 1981 p. 357

control. They moved about as power exchanged hands and *jisoba* consolidated their claims.³⁵ Colonial officials complained of Indigenous Angolans leaving Portuguese territory as they pleased to inhabit neighboring states.³⁶ A definite map of Angola's limits of control wasn't established until 1887.³⁷ Colonial governors regularly worked to maintain political control of the multitude of *jisoba* throughout the kingdoms, occasionally participating in efforts to expand the colony and establish new presidios or districts. Official positions were appointed by the metropolitan or colonial Portuguese government. These could be either temporary or lifetime roles, and they were carefully granted in order to appease local aristocracy. Officials who acted out of bounds were punished or even imprisoned.³⁸ Portugal also depended on religious clergy to manage the colony, though the actual reach of the Church and the condition of its parishes varied. In 1809, an official in Cambambe described the parish as being in a state of total ruin.³⁹

Not all attempts to grow the colony were successful, but overall Angola did steadily grow throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. Colonial Angola's expansion in both territorial size and influence tended to follow a recurring pattern. When lucrative trade left a particular area because of political conflict or environmental causes, the region's ruling class would lose wealth and influence. Left in a vulnerable state, the region would fall victim to Portuguese officials who took advantage of the situation by making demands or even invading. The region's frequent droughts gave the Portuguese many opportunities to undermine Indigenous rulers' power.⁴⁰ This was often tied to defending economic interest, first by controlling slave caravans and markets and later by gaining access to other trade goods. As the slave trade slowed and markets reacted accordingly, many opportunities for Portuguese expansion arose. After the Conselho Ultramarino reopened, Angolan territorial expansion became a primary focus of Portuguese ambition abroad.

³⁵ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 355

³⁶ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Conselho Ultramarino (CU), Angola, Box (Cx) 115, Document 28

³⁷ Dias 1981 p. 355

³⁸ Curto and Lovejoy 2004 pp. 252–3

³⁹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 121, Doc 32

⁴⁰ Miller 1982 p. 24; Dias 1981 p. 377

1.2.2 Indigenous and Mixed Political Structures

Each unit of the Portuguese administration counted on local *jisoba* for basic institutional needs. These communal leaders were responsible for paying taxes in the form of goods or slaves, supplying laborers for government projects, and providing a line of defense in times of conflict. In return, the Portuguese government respected the nobility and status of the *jisoba* and gave them access to enough material benefit to prevent them from rejecting Portuguese sovereignty. *Jisoba* did not own land so much as they controlled how it was used and who would enjoy its benefits. This could be helpful considering the amount of human movement possible in West Central Africa. *Jisoba* could claim control over land they did not physically occupy through ancestral ties, allowing them to move as needed in times of war, commerce, or the passing seasons. Conversely, it created plenty of opportunities for rival *jisoba* to foment conflict. The power of a *soba* was demonstrated and derived by elaborate rituals performed in the public eye. *Jisoba* who managed to stage well received ceremonies that included the consumption of sacred products earned prestige that could help consolidate their territorial claims and guarantee their control over their lands' economic production. The clout a *soba* gained through rituals mirrored power secured through systems of wealth or military control, but may have been even more valuable in the region because of its connection to Angolan cosmology. Each *soba* under Portuguese rule was required to perform a ritual that demonstrated his vassalage under the Portuguese king. This included agreeing to be Christian and pay taxes to the local administrators.⁴¹ The actual adherence to Christian faith and tax collection probably depended on the amount of missionary work each *soba* was exposed to, the limits of the Portuguese government in his region, and the actual control the *soba* had over local people.

Power in the region appears to decentralize and shift from nobles towards merchants over time. The King of Kongo had been a major political and military force in the region when Portuguese forces first arrived but was a more symbolic and spiritual figure by the 19th century.⁴² The loss of control can be attributed to an inability to take advantage of new patterns of

⁴¹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 356

⁴² Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 341–3

movement and trade that enriched other kingdoms, colonizers, and *jisoba* at the Kongo leader's expense. Portugal benefitted from managing a huge share of all non-African imports and exported slaves traded in and around Angola. This gave an economic advantage that spread beyond the line of Portuguese control, with numerous political repercussions. Political power throughout the region was often related to dealings with the Portuguese colonial establishment, though African leaders were open to trading with other Europeans in order to undercut Portuguese prices and influence.⁴³

Portugal counted on a social class that incorporated elements of Portuguese and African cultures to work as liaisons between the colonial officials and the *jisoba* and their communities. The *moradores* adopted Christianity, borrowed aspects of Portuguese tradition and dress, and spoke Portuguese. Many had varying degrees of Portuguese ancestry. They were considered *brancos* by Indigenous Angolans, due more to their customs than physical appearance.⁴⁴ *Moradores* were not subject to any *soba* and could act outside the traditional West Central African social norms. They occupied urban and rural spaces, making up large numbers of Luanda's artisans and traders in the Angolan interior. They used their familiarity with the Portuguese government and African geography, languages, and customs to gain wealth and expand their control. They owned slaves and weapons, which they traded for profit beyond the borders of the colony.

Morador power was not quite Portuguese, nor was it Indigenous. It led to complaints from both colonial officials and *jisoba* who found themselves reliant on *morador* communities, sometimes at the expense of their own people. Portugal used *moradores* in military positions when they did not have enough Europeans to fill roles. The lucky *moradores* who controlled military posts used this opportunity to subvert the power of local *jisoba*. The *moradores* developed their own aristocracy, and their status was recognized by Europeans and Africans alike. They could earn titles and land grants from Lisbon but also marry into influential local lineages to increase prestige among the Indigenous population. Arguably, the *moradores* are responsible for Angola's unique size and longevity among European establishments in Africa. It

⁴³ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 335–7

⁴⁴ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 359–61, 414, Birmingham 2015 p. 3

is hard to imagine Portuguese influence in Angola being able to penetrate deep into the African interior without a group so dedicated to the Portuguese way of life, while also so capable of thriving in the tropical African culture and climate. Much like the European Portuguese, the *moradores* were ultimately bound to the Indigenous structure in place before their culture emerged. Their success was dependent on their ability to take advantage of African systems.

1.3 Geography and Society

Colonial Angola's two constituent kingdoms each bordered the Atlantic Ocean and pushed inward along river valleys to a central plateau. Seasonal rains in the interior fed rivers that moved west towards the drier coasts, though long droughts were a part of life for all Angolan farmers. Severe reductions in rainfall lasting one to three years passed through approximately once per decade, causing acute famine.⁴⁵ Famines were often followed by seasons of pest infestations and transmittable disease that kept many areas in the region sparsely populated. The effect of these natural occurrences was profound and likely the core cause of demographic change in a given region. Victims of famine, pests, and disease were at risk of becoming victims of local or Trans-Atlantic slavery. Periods of disease and famine could force wealthy Angolan residents to move or leave the region altogether. Unintended benefits graced *moradores* whose dual exposure made many better prepared to fight diseases, whether they came from overseas or other parts of Africa.⁴⁶ Crime was well known to Angolans and often a product of periods of bad weather or disease that left populations poor and destitute. Portuguese and Indigenous leaders took measures to protect trade caravans that were vulnerable to highway robbery.

The Kingdom of Angola stretched from Luanda on the Atlantic coast to at least the area around the rocks at Pungo Andongo, about 275 kilometers away. A central feature of the kingdom was the Cuanza River that crossed Pungo Andongo and several other Portuguese presidios before entering the Atlantic just south of Luanda. Conflicts with the neighboring Kongo

⁴⁵ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 321–2; Dias 1981 pp. 352–3

⁴⁶ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 351

kingdom gradually extended Portuguese territory northward. A presidio was established in Encoge by 1759, and more territory was secured in the 1850s.⁴⁷ The Kingdom of Benguela reached from the city of Benguela inward to Caconda, about 220 kilometers away, where a presidio had been erected in the 17th century. New coastal settlements expanded the kingdom's coastal reach north to Novo Redondo by 1785 and south to Moçâmedes by 1840. The Indigenous people living under Portuguese rule were primarily of Kongo, Ambundu, and Ovimbundu ethnicities. While not entirely mutually intelligible, their languages are closely related and their communities share many cultural and cosmological similarities. Most people living in the Kingdom of Benguela were Ovimbundu. The Kingdom of Angola was split between an Ambundu majority along the Cuanza, with a significant number of Kikongo speakers in the north. Commerce and slavery brought other languages into Portuguese territory, though it can be difficult to determine an Indigenous person's ethnic background from colonial documents as they often show a lack of understanding of linguistic barriers.⁴⁸ The total population of Angola in this period is difficult to precisely determine because of the colony's undefined borders, its mobile population, and the impreciseness of colonial data, but it appears colonial Angola was sparsely populated compared to neighboring areas, as well as compared to contemporary Angola. Jill Dias gives a cautious estimate of 250,000 to 300,000 in 1825: a fraction of the size of metropolitan Portugal.⁴⁹ For comparison, the region exported about the same amount of people as slaves in six to eight years in the same period.⁵⁰ Angola's population steadily grew during the 19th century despite the number of slaves being sold and exported. An 1852 census counted more than 500,000 Angolans, showing the results of natural population growth and territorial expansion.⁵¹

By the time the Portuguese arrived in West Central Africa, the core of social structure was the *ngundu*,⁵² a matrilineal spiritual lineage that dictated everyone's role in the community. A person's social standing had relationships with other rituals and concepts, but none of these were as significant as the *ngundu* in the modern era. It determined a community member's status at

⁴⁷ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 68

⁴⁸ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 335

⁴⁹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 348

⁵⁰ da Silva 2017 Table 1.1 gives an average of 39,734 slaves exiting West Central Africa per year from 1808–1830.

⁵¹ Almanach de Portugal para o anno de 1855, 1854, digital version by Prof. Paulo Teodoro de Matos, p. 78–79

⁵² Kimbundu, singular of *jingundu*

any level of society. Both slaves⁵³ and royals⁵⁴ could understand their fate through their personal *ngundu* as confirmed by necessary rituals. *Jingundu* had social, spiritual, and geographical elements. A person's *ngundu* tied them biologically to ancestors and relatives, geographically to a physical place of origin or perceived former origin, and spiritually to the realm of the dead occupied by deceased members of their *ngundu*. A family's *ngundu* crossed political and ethnic borders to connect to distant lands,⁵⁵ not unsurprising considering the amount of human migration in the area. *Jingundu* had elements of flexibility and interconnection. Accessing a more privileged *ngundu* was possible through marriage and ritual for everyone from slaves to aristocrats. Consolidation of political power was achieved by accessing a necessary *ngundu* through marriage, conquest, or proof of historical lineage. *Jisoba* kept tabs on their communities' *jingundu* by controlling marriages, overseeing legal processes, and deciding who would be in control of what land. Maintaining jurisdiction over procreation and family ties was essential for growing power in West Central Africa's primarily agricultural societies, where human labor was fundamentally tied to material wealth and political power.⁵⁶

The population of Angola was separated by a variety of social structures. Some of the distinctions between Angolans were ancient, with others imposed by the colonial system. Women in Angola worked at all levels of society and were expected to fulfill different social requirements than men. While generally reserved for men, women could entertain high-ranking royal and religious positions in the region, as demonstrated by the stories of Queen Njinga's power and the rise of the cult of Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita in Kongo. Women also formed a large part of the slave class. Many women lived under Indigenous slavery and made up a slight minority of the slaves sent to the Americas.⁵⁷ Indigenous Angolan women were involved in raising children of all racial backgrounds, spreading African language and culture even in white spaces. Labor was divided by gender and social class. Certain activities were acceptable forms of labor for free

⁵³ Miller, Joseph C. "Imbangala Lineage Slavery." *Slavery in Africa*, ed. Kopytoff, Igor and Miers, Suzanne, University of Wisconsin Press, Madison, 1979, p. 206

⁵⁴ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 329–30

⁵⁵ Miller, Joseph C. 1979, p. 207

⁵⁶ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 328–9

⁵⁷ da Silva 2017

women or slaves of any gender but were considered insulting for a free man.⁵⁸ Inheritance was typically matrilineal. A child of a free mother was welcomed into the *ngundu* of his or her mother's ancestry and retained her freedom, whereas the child of an enslaved mother was born a slave and inherited her master's *ngundu*. Both outcomes remained the same if the child's father was enslaved, though children of an enslaved father and free mother could have a lower standing than the child of two free Angolans, and an enslaved father could raise his social status by having a free child from a free wife. Varying cultural roles did not necessarily overlap neatly with each other, and an individual's standing in society could change greatly depending on circumstance. This is well exemplified by instances of former slaves becoming wealthy members of the colonial mercantile class, though instances of profound social mobility were unusual. Europeans were impressed by the amount of perceived sharing that occurred in West Central Africa. To these outsiders, Angolan society appeared quite egalitarian⁵⁹, with slaves living under similar conditions to free citizens and ownership existing as a relative concept. In actuality, it was likely that Europeans simply could not perceive the social classes and societal demands that separated Indigenous Angolans. Wealth, power, ownership, and class did determine the lifestyle of Africans but did not perfectly correspond to their Western counterparts' understanding and application of such structures. John Thornton describes how the Kongo concept of individualism is related to witchcraft and evil,⁶⁰ in stark contrast with the contemporary European celebration of the self. However, this did not prevent Kongo rulers from acting individualistically. This type of duality persisted at all levels of society and is bound to the Angolan understanding of the physical and spiritual worlds.

⁵⁸ Sebestyén, Éva. "Descrição densa" da escravidão doméstica na obra do viajante-explorador húngaro, László Magyar nos meados de século XIX, Angola." *Doze capítulos sobre escravizar gente e governar escravos: Brasil e Angola - séculos XVII–XIX*, Demetrio, Denise, Santirocchi, Italo and Guedes, Roberto eds. Mauad X, 2017, p. 295

⁵⁹ Thornton 2003 p. 283

⁶⁰ Thornton, John. "Cannibals, Witches, and Slave Traders in the Atlantic World." *The William and Mary Quarterly*, vol. 60, no. 2, Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, 2003, pp. 282–4

1.3.1 African Forms of Forced Labor

A primary social divide among Indigenous Angolans was whether they were free or enslaved.⁶¹ Slavery was present in Angola before the arrival of the Portuguese, though the development of Trans-Atlantic slavery may have expanded local slavery and redefined the role of slaves in Indigenous society.⁶² The concept of exchanging slaves for currency or goods appears to be a European introduction.⁶³ Forced laborers were further categorized into groups based on their origin and role in society. People could be born as slaves or become slaves through criminal punishments, as a consequence of war, or to pay off debts. Difficult environmental or economic conditions led many poorer Angolans to resort to unpaid labor in the face of drought and hunger. Some slaves were subject to a harsh, often permanent life of servitude, while others remained enslaved only for a designated period of time. The distinction depended on the background of the master-slave relationship, a relationship that was governed by strict rules in the Indigenous Angolan slavery system. These rules ultimately tied into the concept of *ngundu* and how it was shared. Slaves lost their personal *jingundu*, either temporarily or permanently, and became initiated into their master's line.⁶⁴ The children of a pair of slaves were considered part of their master's *ngundu* instead of their mother's line.⁶⁵ This gave slaves access to some important positions in a household, particularly those that required any amount of secrecy or privacy. Masters had no fear that slaves would try to undercut their *ngundu* because, as slaves, they were members of the same lineage. Seeing slaves in important positions added to European misunderstandings of Indigenous slavery.

A series of "reciprocal, unequal obligations"⁶⁶ were demanded to prevent abuse. Masters were required to care for slaves at a basic level, providing them with a minimum of essential goods. There was also a familial quality to Indigenous slavery. Slaves called their owners

⁶¹ The English words "slave" and "slavery" are used in this study in lieu of any African term for a forced laborer. Angolan languages' names for slaves differentiate between a variety of types of slavery, so the English is used to avoid association with any one variant of African forced labor.

⁶² Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 327

⁶³ da Silva 2017 p. 125

⁶⁴ Miller 1979 pp. 213–5

⁶⁵ Miller 1979 p. 221

⁶⁶ Sebestyén 2017 p. 305

“parents,” masters would call slaves “children,”⁶⁷ and the Portuguese described the “love” that slaves held for their masters.⁶⁸ If a slave felt they were not treated fairly, they had the ability to flee and find a new master through a ceremonial process. The obligations that bound slave and master were highly respected among Indigenous Angolans. Slaves were often not shackled or otherwise bound, unlike their counterparts under European masters, as pressure from the community at large was strong enough to discourage flight. Trust was key across slave relationships in both Indigenous and colonial circles. As collateral for receiving goods on credit, people could be pawned as laborers who would become full slaves if debts were left unpaid, an agreement based entirely on mutual trust.⁶⁹ Societal obligations in West Central Africa had a transient quality with many applications in slavery. Criminals could be punished by having a member of their family, as opposed to the person who actually committed the crime, placed into slavery. In other cases, masters condemned to death could substitute a slave to receive the punishment on their behalf.⁷⁰ Masters were also responsible for their slaves’ behavior and could even be punished for their slaves’ crimes. Slavery, and indeed the entire Indigenous Angolan social system, depended on a great amount of trust. Slaves needed to trust that masters would end their slavery at the designated time (if it was temporary), treat them fairly, and not sell them for profit to Europeans without a qualifying reason. Masters needed to trust that slaves would respect their *ngundu* and act in the best interest of their household. Breaking this foundational trust could invite retaliation from the community.

Estimates for the percentages of Indigenous people living either freely or under some form of slavery are hard to know precisely. European observers could not always tell who was a slave and who was not,⁷¹ nor could they agree on the definition of who was enslaved. This was likely due to the social nature of slavery over any racial, economic, or other distinction more obvious to the European observer. One European resident of colonial Angola estimated that about one-third to one-half of the Indigenous people in the area lived in some form of forced

⁶⁷ Holman, Bentley W. *Dictionary and Grammar of the Kongo Language, as Spoken at San Salvador, the Ancient Capital of the Old Kongo Empire, West Afrika*. Baptist Missionary Society and Trübner & Co., 1887, p. 80

⁶⁸ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 354

⁶⁹ da Silva 2017 p. 163

⁷⁰ Holman 1887 p. 401

⁷¹ Birmingham 2015 p. 20

servitude.⁷² Many of the Angolans living under Indigenous conditions would not be seen as slaves by those familiar with slavery in other parts of the world. A 19th century observer rejected the term “slave” for most Angolan forced laborers, believing they had too many rights and connections to free society to be compared to the slaves owned by Europeans.⁷³ *Jisoba* could sell low-status slaves in the Indigenous system into the Atlantic trade, connecting the two systems at some level. Colonial documents suggest that, in times of hardship, slaves were less likely than their free neighbors to emigrate from an area. The stationary nature of slaves shows the strength of their geographic ties to their owners’ *ngundu* and serves as an example of the obligations masters owed to their slaves, who could have left if their basic needs were not being met. Knowing the quantity of slaves in a particular area, even through the flawed counts of European observers, helps build an understanding of that area’s economic state. An increase in slaves can suggest economic hardship as more people are forced to sell themselves into slavery to escape poverty. However, it could also suggest economic prosperity as people from impoverished areas choose to work as slaves in a place with greater stability. The factors determining changes in slavery vary but are always tied to economic circumstance.

1.3.2 Wealth in Angola

Visitors in the 19th century describe the luxury of wealthy European and Black families in Luanda compared to the poverty of most residents. Based on these visitors’ descriptions, David Birmingham argues that class was the primary urban social divide, stressing that “In Luanda segregation was by class and culture rather than by race.”⁷⁴ Of course, full racial parity did not exist, and no Europeans lived in a condition comparable to slaves held by Europeans. Poverty among Angolans was widespread and crossed racial boundaries. Many white *degradados* were sent to Angola as a punishment. They made up a large part of the white population of Luanda

⁷² Ferreira 2012 p. 109

⁷³ Kleite, J. Scott ed. “New Geographical Publications.” *Proceedings of the Royal Geographical Society and Monthly Record of Geography*, vol. 11, Edward Stanford, 1889, p. 570

⁷⁴ Birmingham 2015 p. 23

and were a majority of the whites in rural areas by the mid-19th century.⁷⁵ Angolans found a living as artisans, store owners, sex workers, and entertainers.⁷⁶ Luanda supported lively markets and many taverns.⁷⁷

Upper-class Angolans found wealth from various sources. Indigenous people preferred a complex barter system over the currency that facilitated colonial exchange.⁷⁸ Many Angolans became wealthy from trading and owning slaves, who gave access to the agricultural sector that formed the base of the Angolan economy. Rich residents often worked as agents of businesses established in Portugal or Brazil. Soldiers were not uniformly wealthy but retained a high class due to their profession and had access to a better quality of life. Service in the colonies could give Portuguese soldiers access to higher ranks, leading some to volunteer for service in Angola. Military service was a path for mixed-race Angolans to gain wealth, prestige, and political power, particularly after a new line of defense composed of only *moradores* was established in 1830.⁷⁹ However, soldiers did not confine themselves to only military pursuits, particularly in the Angolan interior where they could be the only official representatives of the Portuguese government in the region. They worked as engineers, farmers, tax collectors, and general administrators of imperial control.⁸⁰ Low wages also led many to illegally extort products from their jurisdictions and sell them for profit. Wealth in colonial Angola was generally obtained through bridging Indigenous and foreign markets in calculated trade.

1.3.3 Migration

One of the more unique elements of West Central African society was regular, large-scale movements of people. Huge caravans were formed on a fixed schedule and route, or sometimes

⁷⁵ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 349

⁷⁶ Curto, José C. "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844–1850." *The International Journal of African Historical Studies*, vol. 32, no. 2/3, 1999; Birmingham 2015 p. 17

⁷⁷ da Silva 2017 p. 133, Birmingham 2015 pp. 14–5

⁷⁸ Green, Toby. *A Fistful of Shells: West Africa from the Rise of the Slave Trade to the Age of Revolution*. University of Chicago Press, 2019, p. 13

⁷⁹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 351, 361

⁸⁰ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 349

completely spontaneously, to transport armies, slaves, and trade goods. Other Angolans supported these movements because they counted on the passing groups for protection, trade, or a cheap source of slaves, depending on the caravans' circumstances. A study quoted by Jill Dias suggests the Ovimbundu states could organize an army of up to 300,000 individuals, which was possibly larger than the entire resident population of the Portuguese colony.⁸¹ Changes in trading patterns inspired new caravan routes that could integrate far-reaching parts of West Central Africa, but they could also bring disease or cause depopulation in areas that were no longer a source of desired goods.⁸² Additionally, caravans were an important source of information from outside a region's borders, a resource *jisoba* and colonists alike tried to exploit even though arriving news could easily be false.⁸³

The process of moving and feeding such large groups was a massive undertaking that depended on whole communities' efforts and years of grooming local *jisoba* to provide support. Caravans were dominated by men, possibly making women the primary agricultural workers in the region.⁸⁴ Impressive movements of people occurred seasonally, with many Angolans living in different areas during the wet or dry seasons. The region's frequent spells of drought, famine, and disease caused poor farmers to migrate towards better conditions. These semi-nomadic lifestyles are possibly the origin of the great West Central African migration culture. Evidence of innovations arriving from East Africa suggests the caravan system was quite ancient.⁸⁵ The size and efficiency of these caravans caught the attention of European visitors well into the 19th century, a time when their volume was especially high.⁸⁶ Caravans and the paths they drew supported the movement of Angolan goods to the Atlantic coasts and foreign products throughout West Central Africa.

⁸¹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 366

⁸² Cândido, Mariana P. "Trade, Slavery, and Migration in the Interior of Benguela, The Case of Caconda 1830–1870." *Angola on the Move, Transport Routes, Communications and History*, Heintze, Beatrix and von Oppen, Achim eds. Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2008, p. 74

⁸³ Heintze, Beatrix. "Long Distance Caravans and Communication Beyond the Kwango (c.1850–1890)." *Angola on the Move, Transport Routes, Communications and History*, Heintze, Beatrix and von Oppen, Achim eds. Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2008, p. 145

⁸⁴ da Silva 2017 p. 149

⁸⁵ Vansina, Jan. "Communications between Angola and East Central Africa Before c. 1700." *Angola on the Move, Transport Routes, Communications and History*, Heintze, Beatrix and von Oppen, Achim eds. Verlag Otto Lembeck, 2008, pp. 130–43

⁸⁶ Heintze, Beatrix 2018 p. 144

1.4 Angolan Cosmology

Indigenous religion played a profound role in Angolan society, politics, and commerce. A cosmology shared throughout the region linked *ngundu* and political power with communal rituals. A central feature of West Central African mythology was the spirit and its liminal connection to the worlds of the living and the dead. Elders held the highest religious weight as they were closest to the dead.⁸⁷ Communities relied on royals and members trained in spiritual practices to perform rituals, enforce the practices of a *ngundu*, and prevent witches or evil spirits from causing harm. Those in charge of preventing witchcraft would frequently commit actions similar to witches in order to understand and control their abilities. Supernatural evil in West Central Africa was believed to be the cause of all illness, brought about by people motivated by personal greed practicing witchcraft. Those accused or convicted of witchcraft could become slaves as a punishment or, as noted previously, have members of their family enslaved in their place.⁸⁸ Victims of curses were said to feel the effects in their stomach, linking magic with hunger. Cannibalism, in a literal or spiritual sense, was a common theme in Indigenous black magic.⁸⁹ Some records of ritual cannibalism are perhaps simply symbolic descriptions not unlike the Catholic tradition of eating the body and blood of Christ. Other cases may have actually involved the ritualistic eating of real humans, though if it did occur it was probably confined to the most aggressive ethnic groups in the region. The connection between wine and blood was not lost on the macabre Imbangala, who imported and enjoyed red wine because of its visual similarity to blood. Drinking the beverage made them appear as witches in the eyes of Indigenous Africans.⁹⁰

Much like in Europe, kingship and aristocracy were closely related to the supernatural and divine. Around the time of the Portuguese arrival in the region, kings were connected to rainfall,

⁸⁷ Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 329–30

⁸⁸ da Silva 2017 pp. 97–8

⁸⁹ Thornton 2003 pp. 280–1

⁹⁰ Green 2019 p. 221

fusing the local social hierarchy with physical order.⁹¹ The deadly diseases that came in tandem with rainfall could also carry cosmological significance.⁹² After the introduction of Christianity, Angolans fused African beliefs with Christian ones and participated in syncretic ceremonies. Missionaries similarly used the local religious structure to teach the story of Christ, who was also a figure connected to the binary worlds of life and death. It is possible that being associated with death filled Europeans, their actions, and the items they brought with a particular spiritual power. Slaves given to the Europeans permanently left on a journey to another world, not unlike the spiritual journey to the afterlife. Slave narratives also reveal that some Africans believed Europeans bought slaves in order to eat them or otherwise make use of their dead bodies and blood.⁹³ These associations with death could have given products imported by Europeans a certain gruesome power over similar items made locally.

The Angolan belief system was a key component of the Angolan economy, particularly the foreign trade market. Angolans primarily imported luxury products, many with deep connections to Angolan ritual and religion. Rich Angolans could purchase foreign alcohol and textiles with religious significance to demonstrate their spiritual wealth alongside their material wealth. An ability to control spiritual currency was necessary to raise or maintain the prestige of a *ngundu* and prove someone's claim to political power among the Indigenous population. The balance between trade and religion was delicate and held risks. Merchants were often accused of practicing witchcraft: their profession required them to seek individual profit, and magic was believed to be used maliciously to gain personal wealth.⁹⁴

1.5 The Modern Angolan Economy

Much like the political system that governed Angola, the economic world of Angola can be viewed as an overlapping of two unequal systems. Commercial profit was a fundamental, if

⁹¹ Dias 1981 p. 352

⁹² Miller 1982 p. 23

⁹³ Green 2019 p. 86; Thornton 2003 pp. 273–4

⁹⁴ Thornton 2003 p. 282

not always achieved, goal of the Portuguese establishment. Even when Angola did not provide a significant source of revenue for the Portuguese crown, it maintained its economic importance as the primary source of slaves for lucrative industries in Brazil. In Indigenous communities, territorial control over a region's resident population and related *jingundu* served as the clearest demonstration of wealth. Indigenous wealth could be measured by how many Indigenous slaves an individual controlled.⁹⁵ The gradual end of the slave trade and independence of Brazil forced Portugal to look for new ways to profit from its African possessions. In Angola, this was mostly characterized by attempts to expand plantation agriculture, mining, and the procurement of any products that could be exported for profit. The colonial economic system enriched a mercantile class that benefited from foreign demand for slaves and Angolan products and local demand for imported wares. Cash was not as prevalent in Angola as in other parts of the modern world. As such, the mercantile class benefited from an ability to control exchange. A good example of this is seen in the groups of Brazilians who established businesses on the Angolan coast. Because they were able to convert slaves into cash or products for future barter, they were able to dominate the export market where they operated.⁹⁶

Colonial administrators did not control the region's trade directly but instead tapped into the well-established caravan system that moved goods throughout the area, far beyond the Portuguese line of control. Caravans followed routes and transported goods that were both molded by economic demand and political pressure. Illegal trade flourished in the colony, particularly where the colonial government had little political control. The *moradores*, with their ability to easily work outside of Portuguese control in surrounding African states, contributed to legal and illegal trade networks alike. They facilitated the practice of moving slave caravans from port to port, inside or outside Portuguese control, when abolitionism began to spread in Angola.⁹⁷ Illegal trade was especially strong from the 1820s to the 1840s when Portugal was distracted by civil war, Brazil's independence, and the end of slavery, effectively reducing government control.

⁹⁵ Dias 1986 p. 288

⁹⁶ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 354

⁹⁷ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 361

1.5.1 Angolan Patterns of Consumption

The colonial economy depended on demand for imported products among Indigenous Angolans. The Portuguese did not have a political or military force capable of pressuring Indigenous groups to provide slaves and other goods in large quantities. Instead, they relied on their relative monopoly on foreign products to exchange for slaves and local products. This relationship was mirrored in all parts of Atlantic Africa, where Europeans found they could only entice Africans to trade in large amounts if they provided popular foreign products. Angolans mostly imported “luxury” products that did not fill any critical economic gap.⁹⁸ Most popular imported goods had a local equivalent that could be used in the same instance of an imported one. Demand for imported goods grew from their spiritual and social value rather than basic necessity, which could be met locally. Europeans used credit systems guaranteed by pawned Angolans to lubricate trade, a common practice in Atlantic Africa that could cause devastating effects in African economies.⁹⁹

Import records from Luanda in the late 18th and first half of the 19th century show that the most popular imported products were alcohol and textiles from Europe and Asia,¹⁰⁰ both of which had a religious significance, as well as a practical use. Ritual use of alcohol predated the popularity of imported drinks. Brazilian rum and Portuguese wine lasted longer than locally produced, low-proof alcohols.¹⁰¹ They were easy to transport and incorporate into Angolan symbolic practice. Portugal welcomed the sale of Portuguese and Brazilian alcoholic drinks, taxing them by their origin and type.¹⁰² Demand in Africa was quite particular, leading Atlantic traders to selectively bring textile patterns that would appeal to West Central African consumers, as well

⁹⁸ da Silva 2017 p. 126

⁹⁹ Lovejoy, Paul E. and Richardson, David. “Trust, Pawnship, and Atlantic History: The Institutional Foundations of the Old Calabar Slave Trade.” *The American Historical Review*, vol. 104, no. 2, Oxford University Press 1999, pp. 335–47.

¹⁰⁰ Totals published in da Silva 2017 Table 5.1

¹⁰¹ da Silva 2017 p. 133

¹⁰² Curto, José C. “Alcohol under the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade, The Case of Benguela and its Hinterland.” *Cahiers d’études africaines*, no. 201, Éditions de l’École des hautes études en sciences sociales, 2011, pp. 51–85. OpenEdition Journals, <https://doi.org/10.4000/etudesafriaines.16591>.

as to focus on trade between two ports.¹⁰³ In the case of Angola and Brazil, merchants from Rio de Janeiro mostly visited Benguela, whereas merchants from other areas in Brazil preferred Luanda as an African port of call.¹⁰⁴ Fabric with symbolic meaning added spiritual value when used as winding sheets in regional funerary processes.¹⁰⁵ Funerals were particularly meaningful as they gave an opportunity to confirm *ngundu* connections in the world of the living, as well as the dead.

Surprisingly, food was not imported as much as luxury products in Angola, where famine was always a possibility. While foreign food certainly was imported, particularly by Europeans living in the colony, it did not form a major part of the Indigenous Angolan diet in the 19th century or before.¹⁰⁶ Since Angolan cosmology considered rains and successful agricultural seasons connected to rituals and powerful members of society, they may have prioritized importing items connected to those rituals over all else. Firearms were also not a highly demanded import compared to alcohol and textiles. The total value of imported weapons in Luanda records is about half that of food.¹⁰⁷ This seems to diminish the notion of slaves being traded for weapons used to capture more slaves, particularly considering many weapons would be used for hunting animals instead of waging war or capturing slaves. However, illegal trade may have led to more firearms in the region than the official Luanda records indicate.¹⁰⁸

¹⁰³ Eltis, David. "African and European relations in the last century of the transatlantic slave trade." *From Slave Trade to Empire: European Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s*, Pétré-Grenouilleau, Olivier ed, Taylor & Francis, 2004, p. 23

¹⁰⁴ de Alencastro 2004 p. 105

¹⁰⁵ Green 2019 p. 238

¹⁰⁶ da Silva 2017 pp. 138–9

¹⁰⁷ da Silva 2017 Table 5.1

¹⁰⁸ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 327; da Silva 2017 p. 135

2 Recent Research

New research on Atlantic African history has expanded models of colonial economics and provided a cross-disciplinary approach to understanding African economics. A relative lack of extant written documents from Sub-Saharan Africa, particularly of African authorship, persistently challenges researchers' ability to analyze Africa's past. Even in Angola, where a sizable corpus of documentation does survive, gaps in the data are inevitable. Researchers have looked to anthropology, archaeology, ecology, and data from the African diaspora in the Americas to better understand the continent and resolve key problems in the study of African experiences. Using newly available data and a wide methodological range, scholars have proposed a series of frameworks that define the relationship between Africans and foreigners in the colonial period. These models provide bases for creative analyses of African history that, in turn, provide new questions that inspire further research. Aspects of Angolan history defined in recent research can be used to better understand colonial demographic documents and enlarge the scope of research results. Data from a variety of sources are particularly helpful for studying the colonial experience of Indigenous Angolans given the scarcity of original written sources of Indigenous authorship from the colonial period.

Censuses from the Portuguese colonial empire have been used to define social barriers, reconstruct bureaucratic networks, and understand the Portuguese colonial administration and its needs on a financial and political basis.¹⁰⁹ This study uses demography's ability to focus on one particular social group, Indigenous Angolans, to see how that group responded to change. It removes interference from the abundance of data on other colonial experiences. Contemporary research is used to understand the context of the data and provide possible explanations for the results. The study aims to build a more nuanced understanding of the colonial experience by comparing diverse information across a range of disciplines to the changing demographics of Indigenous people in Angola.

¹⁰⁹ de Matos, Paulo Teodoro. "Imaginar, contar, e descrever as populações coloniais portuguesas, 1776–1875: notas de uma pesquisa em curso." *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População*, vol. 34, no. 3, 2017, p. 3. SciELO, <http://dx.doi.org/10.20947/s0102-3098a0030>.

2.1 Demography and History

Demographic records serve as valuable tools for researching global populations throughout history. They also carry a biological element, showing effects of improved or worsened health and nutrition conditions in a documented period. Population change may be viewed as a causing or resulting factor of related changes in social or political structures. Demographic data often deals with populations that are otherwise poorly documented. In colonial Angola, the data allows for in-depth research across ethnic and gender boundaries and along the spectrum of freedom and slavery. Demographic analyses have aided recent historical study in diverse areas, including the varying effects of smallpox outbreaks in urban spaces in 18th and 19th century Holland based on city size, gender, and social group,¹¹⁰ as well as the effects of demographic change on kinship groups in late 20th century Thailand's pastoral communities.¹¹¹ Care must be taken in determining values of any demographic analysis. For example, population growth is often assumed to indicate economic success, but the two do not always correspond. In colonial and contemporary Africa, population growth has been caused by a cycle of impoverished, rural populations migrating to economic hubs, inadvertently inspiring rural families to have more children in the hopes that their future labor will alleviate the family's poverty.¹¹² However, unable to build wealth, many from the next generation will decide to emigrate, starting the cycle again. This pattern results in a larger population without necessary economic improvement. Every possible source of change should be considered without assigning too much of a positive or negative value to any.

Building from using demography as a tool to understand the history of social groups and biological phenomena, historians have used demographic analysis as a method to understand economic change. Systematic approaches for using economic methods in historical practice

¹¹⁰ Rutten, Willibrord. "The Demographic History of Smallpox in the Netherlands, 18th–19th Centuries." *Death at the Opposite Ends of the Eurasian Continent: Mortality Trends in Taiwan and the Netherlands 1850–1945*, edited by Theo Engelen et al., Amsterdam University Press, 2011, pp. 183–202.

¹¹¹ Verdery, Ashton M. "Links Between Demographic and Kinship Transitions." *Population and Development Review*, vol. 41, no. 3, 2015, pp. 465–484.

¹¹² Weiskel, Timothy C. "Vicious Circles: African Demographic History as a Warning." *Harvard International Review*, vol. 16, no. 4, 1994.

developed from the 1950s¹¹³, growing to incorporate a wider range of historical understanding and demographic data in subsequent decades. The practice of using demographic material in the study of economic history is not uniform and does not have a universal scope. Gaps in data may prevent deep understandings of historic commerce. Much scholarship, including this study, relates history to economic theory more than it uses economic methods to analyze historical data. While this may place demography-focused historical methods outside the realm of traditional economics, it does not devalue their use in evaluating past phenomena. Contemporary scholars have revisited various topics from a demographic angle, providing new perspectives to economic events' potential trajectories, from the Industrial Revolution to early modern shipping advances.¹¹⁴ Colonial Angola's wealth of late modern demographic sources allows comprehensive study of the region's population, as well as its major historical events. Under demographic lenses, the census data provides new insight on enduring questions regarding African colonial history, including how political legitimacy was established and what the exact nature was of the tools and processes of the Atlantic slave trade.¹¹⁵ The methods used in this study are derived from the tradition of applying principles of economic theory to demographic data under a greater framework of historical understanding.

2.2 An African Understanding of Labor

Colonial Angola's economy is best understood by analyzing the forms of labor that operated within it. The complex and fluid divisions of labor found throughout Sub-Saharan Africa escape simple comparisons to Western labor, leading scholars to devise definitions of work that come from a wider, globalized perspective. The Global Collaboratory on the History of Labor Relations has tasked itself with describing categories of labor found all over the world after 1500. African labor, both on the African continent and elsewhere through the consequences of the

¹¹³ Hauptert, Michael. "The Impact of Cliometrics on Economics and History." *Revue D'économie politique*, vol. 127, no. 6, 2017, p. 1062.

¹¹⁴ Hauptert 2017 p. 1069

¹¹⁵ de Matos 2017 pp. 13–16

slave trade, forms a fundamental part of the Collaboratory's definitions of types of work.¹¹⁶ As discussed in the first chapter, colonial Angola featured multiple, overlapping political structures. Each structure depended on different types of laborers in order to function.

The Collaboratory separates labor into three overall categories based on societal relationships: reciprocal work performed directly for a family or community, tribute giving for a political unit that controls the labor of its subjects, and market exchange where products and labor, including commodified slave labor, are bought and sold in accordance with market norms. From here, each category contains a variety of sub-categories that more specifically break down types of labor. Most Indigenous Angolans were engaged in multiple productive activities that could cross the boundaries of the Collaboratory's categories. Jelmer Vos and Paulo Teodoro de Matos built possible schemas (based on demographic data) for dividing Angolan work by gender, industry, and type. They demonstrate the supremacy of agriculture, estimating that 80% of men's labor and 50% of women's is related to some kind of agricultural pursuit.¹¹⁷ Industrial production and trade are much smaller pursuits in comparison, with specialized groups dominating the region's noteworthy caravan system. De Matos and Vos place the overwhelming majority of Indigenous Angolan labor in the realm of reciprocal exchange. Outside of the work of slaves in the European system, which they consider the only significant commodified form of Indigenous labor, all Indigenous labor was part of some reciprocal relationship.¹¹⁸ This includes labor performed by members of a wide range of social classes, from powerful *jisoba* to slaves in the African system. Angola's cosmology provided a framework for divisions of work and individual responsibilities.¹¹⁹ The fruits of labor were typically divided communally according to social rules and aristocratic decisions, making Angolan society strikingly egalitarian in the eyes of European observers. Debts could also be paid with labor.¹²⁰ With some exceptions, like sex work and other forms of labor found in and around colonial urban spaces, most free Angolans would not engage

¹¹⁶ Hofmeester, Karin, et al. "No Global Labor History without Africa: Reciprocal Comparison and Beyond." *History in Africa*, vol. 41, Cambridge University Press, 2014, pp 250–252.

¹¹⁷ de Matos, Paulo Teodoro and Vos, Jelmer. "Demografia e relações de trabalho em Angola c. 1800: um ensaio metodológico." *Diálogos*, vol. 17, no. 3, Universidade Estadual de Maringá, 2013, p. 828. Enlighten: Publications, <http://eprints.gla.ac.uk/156609/1/156609.pdf>

¹¹⁸ de Matos and Vos 2013 pp. 829–31

¹¹⁹ Henriques 2003

¹²⁰ Ferreira 2012 p. 88

in market labor. However, many Angolans were consumers of imported products with market-determined values. Slave trafficking provided Indigenous Angolans with a method to translate potential labor value into luxury products. In the 19th century, some Angolans who previously grew food for traveling slave caravans opted to start growing cash crops to trade for food and other necessities after the end of the Trans-Atlantic trade,¹²¹ perhaps giving rise to the region's first significant form of commodified agriculture.

No Angolan labor in de Matos and Vos' schema falls under the definition of tribute giving, effectively defining cooperative Angolan labor as service to a community instead of a polity. This is a fair assessment considering the flexible nature of West Central African political systems, but it should not detract from the size and complexity of African states, nor from the importance of communal labor in local statecraft. Many aspects of Indigenous Angolan life described in the first chapter required monumental and socially obligated forms of labor. Large-scale movements of trade goods and slaves, maintaining mobile armies, planning for future droughts, and amassing products of cosmological importance all would not have been possible without considerable planned and spontaneous communal labor. Leadership at any scale in Angola would certainly have needed to effectively understand if not control aspects of reciprocal labor. In the 19th century, Angola's expanding and increasingly sedentary population likely saw changes in the nature of their labor, particularly considering the disruption and eventual end of the slave export trade.

2.3 Abolition, Trade, and Expansion

The growth of abolitionism and its inevitable spread into Angola tested Portugal's motivations for maintaining the colony. Colonists and government officials wondered what benefit Portugal might find in a large, often expensive African territory after slavery. Even without easily replacing human trafficking, the colony's main export, the Portuguese government generally supported keeping and even expanding its territorial possessions in West Central Africa.

¹²¹ Dias 1981 pp. 361–2

The abolition process would transform the colony's economic structure, though it did not affect all Angolans uniformly. Changing patterns in commerce provide insights into the lives of Indigenous Angolans who had to reconfigure colonial trade systems in response to the end of the Trans-Atlantic trade.

The exact nature of the incentives for Portugal to keep and develop the colony in Angola in the 19th century is disputed by historians, with some supporting economic exploitation as the primary motivation and others emphasizing a growing support for territorial possession as a form of political heritage in Portugal.¹²² Recent examinations of economic history have dissected these motivations in detail, building on data from the preceding slavery era and the subsequent imperial period while comparing varied experiences from European colonial adventures in Africa. Regional studies from across the continent defend economic interest as the main motivating factor for pre-Scramble European expansion in Africa, as opposed to political superiority.¹²³ In Angola, the long road to abolition caused decades of uncertainty around international trade and the colony's capacity to generate revenue. This quickly fueled motivation to find export products that could effectively replace slaves. While it was a topic in the *cortes*, securing new products was a local affair that did not necessarily relate to any particular decision from the colonial or metropolitan governments.¹²⁴ Ideally, the new products could be traded at a profit for items made in Portugal and be re-exported to the rest of Europe, much as Brazilian products were before independence. Since Angola primarily imported luxury products with local substitutes readily available, reduced foreign trade may not have had a serious effect on Indigenous Angolans. However, the loss of these goods would almost certainly create political shifts for members of society who depended on them to demonstrate their status. Closing the Atlantic slave system reorganized Angolan caravan patterns and financial arrangements. Legitimate trade up to the end of slavery was flexible, relatively free of African or European monopoly pressure, and facilitated by credit systems firmly established in local social structure.¹²⁵ Some Indigenous

¹²² Alexandre 2004 p. 111

¹²³ Pétré-Grenouilleau 2004 pp. 1–15

¹²⁴ Alexandre 2004 p. 117

¹²⁵ Eltis 2004 pp. 21, 29–30

motivation to maintain foreign commerce is clear from the rather quick adjustments to regional trade routes and the types of products that fed into Luanda and Benguela.

One apparent consequence of searching for new products was increased Portuguese influence in the region and, ultimately, an expansion of the colony's borders. Research reveals a pattern of gradual Portuguese political expansion that began by exploiting economic circumstances, weakening the Indigenous leaders' control over territories on the colonial frontier. Europeans (and later Americans) essentially held a monopoly on global shipping. This unequal arrangement provided an advantage in many trade relationships with Africans, though commerce's potential to weaken political control in African states was poorly demonstrated until the end of Trans-Atlantic slavery.¹²⁶ Outright military invasion in Angola was risky as illustrated by multiple failed Portuguese invasions in the 19th century,¹²⁷ but ultimately colonists were able to expand the colony's borders in this period.

Colonial expansion was not a uniform measure of economic improvement for a colony or its parent country. In Angola, as in other European establishments in Africa, the financial benefit of colonial growth could be concentrated in small groups of well-placed individuals.¹²⁸ The will of a few important governors and traders who held major influence could promote or discourage expansion, and colonial leaders might prefer to maintain a profitable status quo over a risky attempt to gain territory. Where successful patterns of commerce were in place inside or outside colonial boundaries, traders who benefitted from them could oppose prospects of political expansion. Portugal's expansion in West Central Africa was not simply reflective of a militaristic or technological dominance over African people, but instead was dependent on a variety of facilitating political and economic factors present in Indigenous and colonial communities, as well as metropolitan Portugal.

¹²⁶ Eltis 2004 pp. 39, 41; da Silva 2017 p. 16

¹²⁷ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 346 references repeated failures of securing Portuguese military control over a relatively small Nyaneka state.

¹²⁸ Pétré-Grenouilleau 2004 pp. 14–5

2.4 Patterns of Enslavement

The exact geographic origins of slaves sent to the Americas and the processes of their enslavement remain an important question in recent scholarship on Angola. Slaves were clearly procured through a variety of means, though research gives different proposals for the common social and ethnic origins of slaves, as well as the more common methods of becoming a slave to be sold on the international market. The process of enslavement had a strong relationship with the lifestyle and economic stability of Indigenous Angolans. Learning who was likely to become a slave provides clues to the social and economic structure of Angola.

A thoroughly discussed model of African enslavement during the Trans-Atlantic trade involves a polar relationship between peoples and states on the Atlantic coast versus the peoples and states deeper in the continent's interior. Under this model, coastal groups benefit from their status as interlopers between Europeans and Africans. They enslave Africans from the interior and then trade them to Europeans for foreign goods, including weapons that aid in enslaving more interior Africans. The rise in influence of coastal polities and slaving economies at the expense of formerly powerful interior kingdoms is seen as a result of this process of enslavement, which ultimately reduces Indigenous ability to resist European invasion in the late colonial period. Accounts of slaves purchased primarily in the hinterland date back to colonial times.¹²⁹ Variations of the concept of procuring slaves through interior wars appear regularly in published research.¹³⁰ In Angola, the Portuguese colony and neighboring Indigenous states assume the role of the coastal states trafficking slaves from the interior to Atlantic ports. Colonial observers emphasized the interior origins of slaves in the Angolan trade. European colonist László Magyar believed that approximately one-third of Angolan slaves were captives from areas controlled by the interior Lunda state,¹³¹ but his and other colonists' ability to distinguish African ethnicities

¹²⁹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 93A, Doc 55

¹³⁰ Appears in Boxer, Charles R., *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire*. Hutchinson, 1969, p. 31 "...slaves were often obtained from the inter-tribal wars in the interior, the growth of the slave trade presumably worsened the existing state of violence and insecurity..."; Alexandre and Dias 1998 pp. 345–6; Thornton 2003 p. 277; Curto and Lovejoy 2004 p. 246–7 discusses this model in Benguela and Caconda; Green 2019 pp. 288–30 relates depopulation and slavery in 17th century Angola to war.

¹³¹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 335

was imperfect. Colonial beliefs that most slaves come from the deep interior may have been influenced by Portuguese mandates that technically outlawed enslaving their own colonial subjects,¹³² leading traffickers and colonists to obscure the origins of slaves from communities closer to the coast.

New research provides evidence that challenges the internal origins of most slaves. Daniel B. Domingues da Silva uses data from archives in the Americas and interviews with slaves freed by British anti-slaving forces to show the likelihood that many if not most people enslaved in West Central Africa were from ethnicities that resided not far from the Atlantic, and consequently that slaving did not depend on interior states' cooperation.¹³³ He believes the average slave leaving the region was a Kikongo- or Kimbundu-speaking farmer.¹³⁴ While da Silva does not reject the probability that many slaves were victims of internal violence, he emphasizes legal processes as a common source for slaves (as evidenced by the stories told in slave interviews and accounts from colonists¹³⁵) and shows that the number of slaves captured in war were not nearly high enough to make up a majority of the number exported abroad.¹³⁶ Legitimate European slave traders showed a preference for avoiding areas where slaves were captured illegally,¹³⁷ suggesting a more stable trade where warfare was not the primary source of slaves. Additionally, da Silva notes that research shows an absence of a correspondence between violence in the African interior and a greater quantity of slaves sold in Atlantic ports.¹³⁸ This model, with slave trade more closely concentrated near the Atlantic, gives greater weight to the popularity of new, valuable products as the source of European interest and aggression in the African interior instead of taking advantage of interior areas devastated by the slave trade.

The possibility of most slaves coming from the coast shifts aspects of the overall picture of Angolan social structure. It reduces the importance of war and ethnic differences in slavery, showing that enslavement in Indigenous or Trans-Atlantic systems was a risk for all Indigenous

¹³² da Silva 2017 p. 94

¹³³ da Silva 2017 pp. 5, 73

¹³⁴ da Silva 2017 p. 68

¹³⁵ da Silva 2017 pp. 87–8, 147

¹³⁶ da Silva 2017 p. 148

¹³⁷ Eltis 2004 p. 37

¹³⁸ da Silva 2017 p. 13

people. It presents the trade as a more immediate system that allowed widespread participation. Communities would not require the resources necessary to organize interior raiding tours in order to possess export slaves. They could simply employ the same methods used to sentence community members into Indigenous forms of slavery, discussed in the second chapter, to generate slaves for the Trans-Atlantic market. Sentencing someone to European slavery was likely a severe punishment but not necessarily a rare one considering the huge quantities of slaves exported. *Jisoba* were required to provide slaves, or laborers in general, to colonial officials, opening an easy path for many Indigenous people to end up on a slave ship despite legislation that officially prevented any Portuguese subject from enslavement. Being shipped to the Americas was a permanent, deadly experience that completely separated an individual from their *ngundu* both geographically and socially. On the contrary, a *soba* capable of procuring a great amount of slaves for the export market could trade these slaves for numerous luxury products, which could then be used to reinforce the power of his personal *ngundu*. Disruptions caused by the slave trade forced Indigenous aristocrats to consolidate and promote their *jingundu*.¹³⁹ *Jisoba* could have taken advantage of Trans-Atlantic slavery as a tool to permanently remove members of society who they perceived to threaten to their status. This would have encouraged a cyclical relationship where selling more slaves meant acquiring more imported products that bolstered their political legitimacy, which could in turn create more opportunities to procure and sell slaves. Angola's growing population ensured that this cycle could survive across generations, though it could not survive the closing of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Without the path to import luxury products by selling slaves to Europeans, *jisoba* were left to look for other items to trade, or they simply lost the part of their prestige secured by amassing imported goods. If the majority of slaves were from coastal areas, as the data suggests, then the consequences of abolition and the transition to other industries were not just shared by colonial commercial agents and interior states. These consequences affected Indigenous communities under Portuguese rule as well.

¹³⁹ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 331

2.5 Climate and Health

Perhaps the most critical element affecting the colonial Angolan economy was the local geography and climate. As discussed in the first chapter, Angola was shaped by its unique ecological situation, that required creative patterns of social and commercial relationships to sustain development. Jill Dias' research brings to light many links between Angola's society and economic structures as they relate to the region's drought cycles and subsequent health issues. She demonstrates a dry season's ability to lower living standards not only through worsened nutrition and poor harvests, but also from the pests and communicable diseases that typically arrived during, before, or after a major drought.¹⁴⁰ These problems assuredly plagued the region long before the Portuguese arrived, but they were almost certainly exacerbated by the regular arrivals of people and livestock from faraway places that global shipping allowed. There may have been serious consequences from dry years in the slave trade. It appears drought was a major causal factor in the process of enslavement, as families fleeing poor harvest conditions might seek out employment as temporary slaves or even become permanent slaves to the Portuguese and other colonists.¹⁴¹ These patterns seem to have developed more fertile areas into centers of slaving and slave transport, likely linking them with Atlantic ports in the colonial period. Dias also suggests a relationship between rainfall and Angolan cosmology, as societal leaders may have been held responsible by their communities to some degree for ensuring consistent rain.¹⁴² This could both help and hurt *jisoba* trying to demonstrate their political legitimacy. Steady rainfall may have provided support for a nearby *soba*, but he could also be blamed for a period of drought.

Modern Angola's Indigenous population grew consistently in the modern period despite the constant specters of hunger, disease, pest invasion, political violence, and the slave trade. Dias does not give all the credit to imported American crops, but she does recognize their importance in increasing the amount of people Angola could feed.¹⁴³ Other potential factors in

¹⁴⁰ Dias 1981 pp. 353

¹⁴¹ Dias 1981 pp. 355–7; Miller 1982 p. 24

¹⁴² Dias 1981 p. 352

¹⁴³ Dias 1981 p. 351

Angola's growth include improved farming techniques for Indigenous and imported foods, reduced warfare, heightened cooperation to distribute food where it was needed, improved responses to disease outbreaks, disease prevention, and more preparedness for climate cycles. All these elements can be observed at one time or another in modern Angola, though the presence of colonial aggression and the slow breaking-down of traditional community systems observed in the region make agricultural advancements appear to be the main driver of population growth in this period. The 1829 census from Massangano describes Indigenous methods for choosing crops to grow based on the year's rainfall.¹⁴⁴ Cassava, native to America, was the favored crop, but beans and millet were planted as an alternative in wetter years when flooding could rot cassava plants. Different regions of West Central Africa likely experimented each harvest season with new and old plants to mitigate the negative effects of too much or too little rain. These gradual improvements brought about equally gradual increases in rural Angola's population. They also reduced the severity of the region's cycles of drought and disease, perhaps changing Indigenous attitudes towards aspects of their own cosmology. West Central African political power was connected to rainfall and irrigation.¹⁴⁵ Armed with crops less dependent on heavy rains, Indigenous Angolan farmers may have counted less on the powers of *jisoba* and religious figures to secure food and economic stability.

¹⁴⁴ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 167, Doc 33

¹⁴⁵ Dias 1981 p. 352

3 Sources and Methods

This study compares available demographic information collected in colonial Angola with concurrent economic data to see what possible effects external economic forces had on Indigenous Angolans. The goal of this analysis is to see which political, environmental, and economic events can be associated with observable, corresponding demographic trends. A variety of metrics are used to evaluate the economic change over time of each individual political unit of the colony. This data is compared with import and export records, changes in colonial administration, and external events with potential effects on Angolan livelihoods.

The purpose of the analysis is to determine how integrated Indigenous Angolans were in the global economy in the late 18th and early 19th centuries and whether internal events or the external trade market had more significant effects on demographic change. It can be problematic to assign positive or negative values to economic transitions in this period. As such, this study does not aim to group changes by any positive or negative value, but instead analyzes relationships between particular events and demographic change in Angola as a whole. An increasing population in a particular district could be seen as an indicator of improved health or economic development, but it could also be explained by poor conditions in neighboring areas that inspire outward movement, something that does not necessitate any particular improvement in the growing district. The increase in population would be compared against all concurrent events that may have contributed to the growth, including “negative” events like poor weather and nearby war.

While the quality of data collected in colonial Angola is imperfect, the amount of information available is substantial and not without academic value.¹⁴⁶ Carefully separating superfluous demographic counts from more credible information reveals evidence that helps define aspects of early modern Indigenous Angolan life.

¹⁴⁶ de Matos and Vos 2003 p. 808; Green 2019 p. 9

3.1 Censuses of Colonial Angola

The principal primary sources used in this study are censuses created by Portuguese government officials in colonial Angola. The Portuguese government, inspired by the Enlightenment's scientific approach to understanding the world, began to gather information about its possessions abroad. These efforts were part of a larger attempt to modernize the Portuguese government and economy, which began under the influence of the Marquis of Pombal's tenure as the Secretary of State of Internal Affairs in the late 18th century and then continued under subsequent governments, with occasional gaps.¹⁴⁷ Unlike previous counts designed to facilitate tax collection, the focus of new censuses after Pombal were geared towards industrial development.¹⁴⁸ After some early sketches, regular censuses were taken in Angola by the 1790s and proceeded without much change in format through the first few decades of the 19th century. The censuses of this period are very uniform and quite detailed, providing information on the gender, race, age, and social status of people in each of the Angolan colony's districts and presidios alongside data on agriculture, residents' occupations, and local church and military institutions. These documents are handwritten and organized into mathematical tables that sometimes contain notes regarding the region's past year, apparently at the author's discretion. By the 1840s, available censuses are simpler, printed works that give only the most general demographic data. Many Angolan censuses are stored at Lisbon's Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino and are published digitally on the Counting Colonial Populations research group's website.¹⁴⁹ Scholars have discussed the historical value of the empire-wide censuses since at least the 19th century, with a more rigorous analysis of their contents beginning in the 1980s.¹⁵⁰ Censuses are especially useful for studying social groups due to their arguably impartial nature.¹⁵¹ Research using Portuguese demographic documents has continued in the 21st century, aided by their online availability.

¹⁴⁷ Curto 2004 pp. 322, 326–7

¹⁴⁸ de Matos 2017 p. 4

¹⁴⁹ This study uses the scanned copies of the censuses available online through the Counting Colonial Populations project at <http://colonialpopulations.fcsh.unl.pt>

¹⁵⁰ Curto 2004 p. 320

¹⁵¹ de Matos 2017 p. 8

Taken as a whole, the Angolan censuses provide a remarkable amount of data. They give a quantitative picture of each fragment of the colony with a high level of detail rarely seen in contemporary censuses from other Portuguese colonies. The scope of the Angolan censuses is unique considering the lack of detailed written sources from much of Sub-Saharan Africa in this period. However, the data collected in the censuses is imperfect, and their accuracy is highly questionable.¹⁵² Improbable counts, inconsistent recording methods, and information gaps are prevalent, but not universal. Officials charged with providing the annual counts complained about the difficulty of gathering certain information and apologized for inaccuracies. Angola's governor in 1800 only supposed the counts in Luanda and Benguela were accurate, and he also noted serious errors in censuses from Caconda and Encoge.¹⁵³ The censuses are most accurate when describing elements of the colonial establishment. There is relative consistency in counts of white residents, the military, the aristocracy, and the clergy. These groups were miniscule compared to the Black majority and probably much more familiar to the censuses' authors, who regularly demonstrate more accuracy when counting farm animals than most groups of residents. Nevertheless, the inclusion of any information on Indigenous Angolans, who were often absent in earlier documentation, is helpful.¹⁵⁴ The Portuguese government was concerned with the composition, activities, and movements of all the people living in the colony, likely in an attempt to understand the territory and increase its potential profitability. Colonial officials relied on local *jisoba* to provide estimations of the people under their control. These estimations were especially important in large districts where much of the territory was not easily accessible. Relying on the *jisoba* further separated the author from the population they studied and could produce varying results, depending on each individual *soba's* counting method, but it also created a more localized system based on contributions from Indigenous political figures with first-hand knowledge of their communities. Rulers under loose Portuguese suzerainty were less likely to have helped count, and colonial officials estimated information where they were unable to count in detail or employ a *soba*.

¹⁵² de Matos 2017 p. 11

¹⁵³ de Matos and Vos 2013 pp. 813, 815; de Matos 2017 p. 9

¹⁵⁴ da Silva 2015 p. 116

3.1.1 Census Composition and Content

Most of the censuses recorded from the 1790s to the 1830s follow the same basic format with minor variations. A few early counts from Benguela have a different format more similar to that of other Portuguese colonies, possibly due to Brazilian influence, but the Angolan standard was used in the city by 1803. The censuses are not a complete record. Gaps in census taking occurred periodically, perhaps due to political repercussions of Brazil's independence and the waning slave trade.¹⁵⁵ The documents are carefully divided into tables focused on different demographic areas. These tables are drawn by hand, as are the labels and numbers inside them. Authors are almost certainly in possession of copies of previous years' censuses. Some unique aspects of each district's counts are copied by new authors and rarely change throughout the years.

The censuses of this period begin with a short description of their purpose and are generally dated with the first of January of the year following the year of the count. The area's military and ecclesiastical qualities are listed, with counts of soldiers and church members according to rank and race. Some cities' and presidios' censuses contain notably detailed descriptions of the weapons and military instruments available, indicating a perpetual concern for defense in the colony. The area's entire population is separated by gender, then further separated by four qualities: age, marital status, race, and whether they are free or enslaved. Ages are grouped into four age categories: under 7, 7–14, 14–25, and over 25. Next, each gender is counted by marital status, labeling everyone as single, married, or widowed. The counts in this category are particularly unreliable and often list nearly all Black residents as single. Authors may be trying to count the marriages of the past year instead of each resident's marital status. If this is the case, they are most likely only considering marriages conducted in the Christian tradition, as the counts of *cazados* in a given year is very low, especially outside the colonial capitals.¹⁵⁶ The next description divides each African, European, and American in the region. Both genders are

¹⁵⁵ Curto 1994 p. 334

¹⁵⁶ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 131, doc 14 lists only 4 Black men and 4 Black women married out of a population of almost 13,000 Black residents of Dande in 1815.

then separated into the two “conditions” of free and enslaved. Considering the authorship of the censuses and Europeans’ usual inability to distinguish between free and enslaved Indigenous Angolans, this count is less an actual number of people living under the different Angolan forms of slavery and more accurately a number of people living under colonial forms of slavery, or those perceived to be slaves by European observers. This second group probably includes many Angolans on the lower end of the enslaved social spectrum, as their lives would bear certain resemblances to the lives of European-owned slaves. In cases where the local *jisoba* cooperated with data collection, this number could have been closer to the actual amount of enslaved people, as the Indigenous leadership would have a better sense of African slavery. Finally, orphans of each gender are counted. Their number may or may not be added to a final tally of all residents of a particular gender.

Next, a list shows the quantities of workers in a variety of professions, including civil servants, carpenters, blacksmiths, and other artisans. The industries that made up a majority of most Indigenous Angolans’ economic activities are notably absent, with no counts for farmers, fishers, traders, salt collectors, or hunters.¹⁵⁷ These occupations are separated by race, but, along with the members of the clergy and military, it is unclear if they form part of the main, gender-based count or if they make up an additional group. Authors’ observations show that the Angolans with specialized occupations noted in the censuses could be free or enslaved.¹⁵⁸ The number of *jisoba* under Portuguese rule in the district is also listed.

The standardized censuses have tables for civil, military, and ecclesiastical budgets, which are often left blank. They also have a section for counting livestock, including horses, cows, mules, sheep, and goats. These are sometimes separated by gender and compared to the previous year. A table with quantities of certain products made in the previous year lists the amount of flour, beans, peanut oil, palm oil, cotton, and other items harvested. This count seems to show the amount harvested for export as it contains very few products and not nearly enough to support local consumption. Plenty of important economic enterprises are completely absent in the

¹⁵⁷ de Matos and Vos 2013 pp. 816, 825

¹⁵⁸ Many censuses of this period from Ambaca list whether the majority of those working in the *officios mecánicos* are free or enslaved, which varies from year to year.

censuses.¹⁵⁹ The censuses are devoid of any mention of the region's robust salt trade.¹⁶⁰ The quantity of houses in the area is also listed, separated into categories of stone houses and straw houses. Many censuses end with an "observation" explaining the intricacies of the count, apologizing for missing data and listing quantities that do not appear in any of the tables. It was common for authors to largely repeat the previous year's observations, changing only listed quantities and a few words, or possibly the order of sentences. This was practiced both by repeat officials copying their own words and by new officials borrowing the previous author's description.¹⁶¹ In some areas, the same observation could last decades, with minimal innovation.¹⁶² This suggests that the authors had access to previous censuses and attempted to keep them as uniform as possible, but not to the point of copying completely. Some authors appear happy to share interesting observations that separate their count from previous years, particularly when the counts have been affected by some issue.

3.1.2 Potential Problems in the Data

The data from the early modern Portuguese censuses is unreliable compared to more contemporary research. As a whole, the censuses are more an exercise in wishful thinking than a set of credible information. They assess each section of the Angolan colony almost as if they were parishes in metropolitan Portugal, ignoring major aspects of Angolan life and including information on relatively minor elements of Angola's demographics that would be easily recognizable to the Portuguese. The separation between the authors and the populations under study was large and relied heavily on estimates and second-hand information. Confusing, vague, and highly improbable numbers are listed perhaps due to errors, misunderstandings, varying estimation methods, poorly defined borders, or general uncertainty. The censuses include white

¹⁵⁹ Many Ambaca censuses mention that cotton is harvested locally for personal use, but little or none is exported, and it is often uncounted in the census.

¹⁶⁰ Henriques 2003 p. 90

¹⁶¹ The counts from Muxima from 1804 to 1807 give almost the same observation shared between three different authors.

¹⁶² Observations in censuses from Pungo Andongo are very similar from year to year.

Africans,¹⁶³ Black Europeans,¹⁶⁴ mixed-race *jisoba*,¹⁶⁵ large gender disparities that quickly resolve,¹⁶⁶ districts with more houses than residents,¹⁶⁷ and birth rates so high they would require most if not all women of childbearing age to have given birth in the previous year, including many twins.¹⁶⁸ Despite the imperfections, the censuses do carry value for historical research. In most cases, the numbers do not appear to be random, meaning the authors clearly have systems in place for gathering information and are observant and interested in their surroundings. Their observations have evidence of awareness and at least passive participation in local affairs. Even if no individual count in the censuses can be fully trusted, particularly with respect to the Indigenous population, collective counts from multiple authors over several years can build credibility. Issues that cause discrepancies or uncertainties in the data can be identified in an attempt to resolve them and create a more accurate understanding of colonial Angola.

Monitoring change in the census data from year to year and district to district requires assessing each document based on possible inaccuracies and the different counting methods used. Data inaccuracies can come from a variety of sources. The larger or more remote an area was, the less likely the author would have been able to gather accurate information. Local *jisoba* enlisted to help count their districts could be enticed to overestimate the amount of people under their rule to show prestige or, contrarily, to underestimate the population so they could enjoy lower taxes and also be responsible for sending fewer citizens to work for the colonial government.¹⁶⁹ As mentioned in the second chapter, Angolan society was extremely mobile. Periodic migrations and trade caravans were common fixtures of Indigenous life. It is clear the authors were aware of these movements, but it is not always clear if they included these traveling populations in their counts. Monitoring trends in the slave trade can also be difficult as the industry changed frequently, clouding information on the origins, movements, and quantities of slaves. The changing limits of colonial control can also contribute to population changes in the

¹⁶³ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 115, Doc 28; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 128, Doc 26

¹⁶⁴ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 115, Doc 28

¹⁶⁵ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 168, Doc 2

¹⁶⁶ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 86, Doc 76; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 168, Doc 2

¹⁶⁷ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 131 Doc 14

¹⁶⁸ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 168, Doc 2

¹⁶⁹ Curto 2004 p 336

data, but fortunately the number of *jisoba* in an area can be used as a rough indicator of political expansion. While there is no easy way to accommodate these issues, they can be considered where recorded demographics seem to change without a clear reason and then used to build a more grounded understanding of colonial events.

Colonial officials did not share a uniform understanding of what each table in the censuses was for or how each should be used. There are two main systems authors used to interpret how to fill each square in the tables that count citizens by age, marital status, continental origin, and whether or not they are enslaved. System 1 counts the same group of people four times according to the four different descriptions so each table adds up to about the same total number.¹⁷⁰ This number is reiterated in the final count of all people of a given gender.¹⁷¹ System 2 counts each section separately, adding together those described by age, marital status, continental origin, and whether or not they are enslaved.¹⁷² In a standard example of this system, the section for unmarried Black people matches the total of Black people counted by age, the section for Black people of African origin matches the total of Black people counted by marital status, the section for free Black people matches the total of Black people counted by continental origin, and the section for all Black Angolans of a given gender matches the total of Black people counted by whether or not they are enslaved. Individual authors are consistent in the method they choose, though they frequently make use of a unique hybrid method that can have elements from both systems.¹⁷³ Many authors skip or adjust the table showing continental origin, particularly for Black populations that are almost always completely African. This causes some counts using system 2 to match in the total population described by marital status and the total free population.

It is not entirely clear if one method is correct and another is a mistake, though system 1 fits better into the matrix of the tables and avoids uncertainties over why someone would be counted in one group and not another. In a system 2 count, a Black, enslaved, 24-year-old widow

¹⁷⁰ An example of this counting system is given in Figure 1.1.

¹⁷¹ Census authors do not seem particularly concerned with accuracy and are comfortable with minor arithmetic errors, often leading section totals to vary slightly.

¹⁷² An example of this counting system is given in Figure 1.2.

¹⁷³ An example of a mixed system is given in Figure 1.3.

could be placed in the section for women aged 14–25, the section for widows, the section for people of African origin, or the section for slaves. Authors using this system seem to use a Boolean process from the largest grouping to the smallest. So, for example, citizens are first divided into free people and slaves, then free people are divided by continental origin, then people from Africa are divided by marital status, and then unmarried people are divided by age.¹⁷⁴ While this method could be just as consistent as system 1 for counting the overall population, it narrows some of the observations¹⁷⁵ and might overestimate some numbers. Total population counts using system 2 are generally about two to four times larger than counts using system 1 from the same region and period, suggesting that authors using system 2 could be counting the same group multiple times and adding the quantities together to form exaggerated totals.

It is possible to group and adjust data from the censuses in order to use them effectively, despite the variations in counting systems. To make estimations on Angolan demographics in 1800, Paulo Teodoro de Matos and Jelmer Vos focused on the category of free and enslaved Angolans and averaged counts over a period of several years to minimize the interference from any individual outlier count.¹⁷⁶ For the purposes of this study, a similar approach is used, ignoring totals and averaging the counts from the four different qualities used to separate the population (age, marital status, etc.) to give each year a more probable, rounded total.¹⁷⁷ This approach attempts to rectify the problem of repeated counts that appears to disturb the census counts, but it also risks excessively manipulating the data and underestimating totals. While this does not help produce numbers that represent the number of Angolans living in the colony more precisely, it does unify the two counting methods to help find overall demographic change that is less affected by which counting method was used.

¹⁷⁴ It is common to skip the continental origin table in this division process.

¹⁷⁵ The age section of system 2 should only analyze free, unmarried Angolans in order to be consistent.

¹⁷⁶ de Matos and Vos 2013 p. 818

¹⁷⁷ In cases where section counts are absent or extremely low, their numbers are ignored and not included in the average.

3.2 Supplementary Sources

The census data is compared to concurrent records of economic and political change to see what shifts in Angola relate to occurrences outside West Central Africa. Additional sources help contextualize information in the censuses and present possible explanations for demographic change.

The events studied are sourced from research on the modern period in the Atlantic world. Import and export value records from the Federico-Tena World Trade Historical Database¹⁷⁸ are used to determine market change and economic health in Angola, Portugal, and Brazil. Important events in the history of the slave trade are borrowed from Roquinaldo Ferreira's work on slavery and its consequences within Angola¹⁷⁹ and Daniel B. Domingues da Silva's study of the slave trade out of West Central Africa.¹⁸⁰ Cycles of weather and disease are sourced from Jill Dias' essay on Angolan ecology¹⁸¹ and directly from the censuses themselves when they offer notes on the year's climate and public health.¹⁸²

The events found in these sources are by no means comprehensive of every happening that could have influenced Angola's demography and economy, nor are they completely descriptive of Angolan trade. They each provide instances of change that, taken together, build a foundational understanding of Angolan economic affairs. The import and export records only give a sense of the status of each nation's external trade, which can relate to internal commerce but is not completely dependent on it. Climate data is also incomprehensive as it is collected from a set of scattered observations instead of a consistent study of annual patterns that would become commonplace in later years. The sources are not to be discredited for their limitations, but events that show consistency throughout a variety of sources are emphasized in the results to minimize interference from unrecorded events.

¹⁷⁸ Federico, Tena 2019

¹⁷⁹ Ferreira 2012

¹⁸⁰ da Silva 2017

¹⁸¹ Dias 1981

¹⁸² Notable examples include Luanda's 1807 Census, Dande's 1819 Census, and Caconda's 1819 Census, respectively: AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 119, Doc 6; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 17; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 52.

3.3 Methods

The primary method used for determining the results of this study is a comparison of each available annual census record from Angola in the period observed to concurrent, relevant local and global events. The method investigates change and a lack of change with equal scrutiny, as both are equally important in finding Angola's economic position in the web of modern global trading. This process searches for possible patterns that suggest a relationship between two events, whether one event could have been a causal factor in another or if simultaneous occurrences are both (partly or fully) results of similar stimuli. It also assesses any event that had potential to inspire demographic change but appears unrelated to any shift. As the group in focus is the Indigenous population of colonial Angola, the only data processed from the censuses was that concerning *negros* and more general information, such as counts of livestock and crop returns. In most parts of the colony, Indigenous people formed a great majority, so removing *branca* and *parda* populations is mainly helpful for observing port cities with larger European communities. Areas with very few extant censuses are ignored as they do not provide any precise understanding of change over time.

The timeline of the study begins in 1797 and ends in 1852, the first and last years with available censuses of a similar, detailed format. Censuses from regions with very few counts or areas added to Portuguese control after 1797 are not processed. All statistics are counted in terms of annual averages as no more specific timeline is offered via the censuses. The metrics used for describing change in the demographics of Angola's Indigenous population are the following: 1. each presidio's and district's overall population; 2. the average age; 3. the ratio of women to men; 4. the ratio of Indigenous residents to non-Indigenous residents; 5. the amount of Indigenous people recorded with an occupation outside of agriculture; 6. the percentage enslaved; 7. the amount of slaves exported; 8. the number of *jisoba*; 9. the amount of livestock; 10. the quantity of staple crops harvested; 11. the value of trade goods exchanged; and 12. each areas' operating budgets. Change and lack of change in each of these metrics is compared in relation to years where a major event with possible effects on the Angolan economy occurred. In chronological order, these eventful years are the following: 1. in 1807, the official end of

slavery in the British Empire and start of British anti-slaving efforts; 2. also in 1807, the French invasion of Portugal and removal of the Portuguese court; 3. in 1826, the brief reduction in Brazilian participation in the slave trade after the passing of a treaty with the United Kingdom; 4. from 1828 to 1834, the Portuguese Civil War; 5. in 1830, a credit crash in Angola; 6. in 1836, the official end of slavery in Portugal; and 7. in 1841, the beginning of government efforts to expand industry in Angola. Change and lack of change in the previously mentioned metrics is also compared to recorded ecological events in colonial Angola, including the following: 1. plagues of locusts in Luanda in 1807, 1835, and 1841; 2. disease outbreaks in Luanda in 1807 and Caconda in 1819; and 3. droughts in Encoge in 1809, in widespread areas from 1816 to 1819, and in Benguela from 1837 to 1840. Finally, changes in the metrics are again compared to the amounts of enslaved people exported from Luanda and nearby ports, along with the total values of products traded each year in Portugal after 1800 and Angola after 1828. These starting years mark the first years with data recorded for each country in the Federico-Tena database, respectively.

Instances where a year with an impactful event occurs alongside or is followed by a potentially related demographic change are listed in the results. Also listed are events with few or no clearly related changes. They are each compared to one another on a regional basis to see if patterns are consistent throughout diverse parts of the colony. A demographic trend observed at the same time as a major event is not necessarily an effect of that major event. As such, trends that are consistent across the colony are valued over demographic change that only is evident in one district or presidio. The totality of data compared from all over colonial Angola determines the most important factors influencing the colony's demography and economic standing alongside factors that may not have had much of an impact on Indigenous Angolans' lives, despite their significance in the region's history. The results are then viewed in relation to issues in Angolan history to see how they might correspond to colonial developments.

4 Results

4.1 Patterns in Angolan International Trade

All Angolans in the late modern period were susceptible to effects from external trade, though fundamentally the colony was economically independent in the late 18th and early 19th centuries. While it remained active, the Trans-Atlantic slave trade provided a commercial link between Angola and the rest of the world, but this relationship was not always significant enough to produce observable effects in Angolan demographics. Changes in the value of goods imported and exported from the colony do not correspond with concurrent movements in the economies of either Portugal (Angola's colonial overlord) or Brazil (a major trading partner).¹⁸³ During the Civil War of the early 19th century, Portugal experienced a long-term drop in the value of its imports and exports, which has no parallel in either Angola's export values and does not match trends in the amount of slaves leaving the colony.¹⁸⁴ While import and export records from this era are more descriptive of colonial business than the economic well-being of Indigenous Angolans, they demonstrate high levels of economic separation from within the colonial system that included Angola. Indigenous Angolan economies were a step further from an already diverse system.

The value of Angola's annual exports in the 19th century can be broken into three periods. Early in the century, export value varied minimally and increased gradually. In the late 1840s, the value of exported goods grew rapidly before crashing in the 1850's. The rest of the century saw relative stability and eventual, gradual growth in the value of exports once again. The rapid, mid-century rise and fall was likely caused by Angola's status as the last major exporter of the international slave trade, though interestingly the annual value of all Angolan exports does not seem to have a relationship with the quantity of slaves trafficked across the sea in the same year. The quantity of slaves exported from Angola could vary by thousands of

¹⁸³ Historical import and export data borrowed from the Federico-Tena World Trade Historical Database, including Angola (<https://doi.org/10.21950/CE3R8P>), Brazil (<https://doi.org/10.21950/QXOLSX>), and Portugal (<https://doi.org/10.21950/YKXQQQ>)

¹⁸⁴ See Figure 3.2

people from year to year.¹⁸⁵ Rather than rise and fall along with the quantity of exported slaves, the total value of exports from Angola had minimal variance before the final loss after 1850. As slaves were the primary export of the colony, the stability may result from fluctuations in the price of slaves caused by changes in supply. This presents a possibility that Angolan exporters had some level of control, even if indirect control, over the value of the slaves they sold. Considering their key ability to exchange goods, currency, and slaves, it is understandable that Angolan exporters would carry quite a bit of commercial power.

Details of Angolan import patterns show less consistency and evidence of monopolistic control. Major changes in the types of products imported and their value are common from year to year in the early 19th century.¹⁸⁶ Possible explanations for the common variances could come from changes in supply, as imported products came from areas across the globe susceptible to unique environmental, political, and economic disruptions, or from changes in demand. As many imported goods were luxury products not needed for general sustenance, it is possible their demand was based almost entirely on local preference and prone to change. Another factor in the import variation is the ability of some Angolans to purchase imported products from other European nations trading at nearby ports outside of Portuguese control. These goods would not necessarily be recorded in Portuguese documents. The fluctuations in imports also relate to the expendable wealth available to Angolans at a given time. While the colonial traders may have been able to adjust slave prices according to supply, Indigenous Angolans may not have been in a position to do the same. Without the convenience of regulation, their ability to purchase imported goods would have relied heavily on the availability of and demand for slaves, trade goods, and services. It is possible that some cyclical patterns seen in the slave trade could relate to the dynamic caused by the meeting of the colonial and Indigenous economies. Angolans could be enticed to sell more people into the Atlantic trade when the amount paid for them was higher or in order to make up for losses when the amount was lower.

¹⁸⁵ da Silva 2017 Figure 1.2

¹⁸⁶ da Silva 2017 Table C.1

In Angola, the advantage that European (and some American) states held by controlling international shipping was mirrored by the advantage that Angolan merchants held by both controlling the slave export system and being able to convert one type of wealth into another. Indigenous Angolan communities in turn took advantage of opportunities to be flexible. They had the luxury of choosing local products over their more expensive, imported alternatives, and, in some cases, Angolans could also choose which foreign traders to give their business. As such, the colonial economy tended towards rigidity and a desire to produce stable returns, whereas the Indigenous economies tended more towards flexibility to contend with irregular patterns of consumption, perhaps tied to the irregularity of the agricultural side of Angolan life.

4.2 Northern Angola

The areas of the Angolan colony north of Luanda were situated between regions long held by the Portuguese administration and territories under sovereignty of Indigenous African rulers. Nearby areas outside of Portuguese control included stretches of Atlantic coastline frequented by slave traders, giving the Indigenous people of the colony's north easy access to foreign trade with non-Portuguese states. The presidio of Encoge and the region of Ambaca represented large, roughly delineated lands where Portuguese cultural influence had limited reach. Parts of the north were newly under Portuguese administration, but trade with Luanda from these areas was firmly established. This region also had a degree of ecological uniformity as the territories shared a watershed connecting the wetter highlands near Encoge's fort to the drier coast, with rivers feeding the Atlantic near Dande and Ambriz. Ambriz did not fall under Portuguese control until the mid-19th century, aiding the ability of Indigenous Angolans in the colony's northern interior to access international markets through non-Portuguese European traders near the end of the slave trade.

The census records from Northern Angola suffer from the same issues as the documents recorded in the rest of the country, but fortunately most are highly descriptive and many maintain the same author several years in a row. This leads to particularly helpful observations

as the long-term administrators can be more aware of demographic change. Colonial administrators note fluctuations in overall population that eventually lead to steady growth. Growth is particularly strong in Ambaca and Encoge,¹⁸⁷ which could be partly a result of military expansion, but not entirely as no large territory was secured and the number of *jisoba* in each region remained about the same from the 1790s to the middle of the 19th century. The population of Dande had a greater variation and less significant growth in the period studied, which could be caused by its proximity to the coastal slave trade. However, the fluctuations in Dande's population do not seem to particularly relate to slave numbers, so factors like ecological change or trade fluctuation were more likely responsible for its waves of population change. Major movements in Portuguese import and export patterns do not seem to significantly influence Northern Angola's people and economies. The Napoleonic and Portuguese Civil Wars caused a severe drop in trade, but they do not appear to have any observable effect on the area's demographics, with the possible exception of Encoge's slightly lower military budget during the Portuguese Civil War.

Changes within the Atlantic slave trade do appear to have measurable demographic effect in the area. Observations from Encoge of the quantity of slaves passing through the presidio in trading caravans to be sold in Luanda in the 1810s correspond to patterns in the amount of slaves leaving West Central Africa in the same decade. 1,232 slaves are observed moving through the area in 1819,¹⁸⁸ more than double the slaves in transit counted in any year from 1810 to 1813.¹⁸⁹ This could relate to an increase of comparable size in the number of slaves leaving Luanda and ports north of Luanda, from the beginning to the end of the decade. However, a similar increase in the quantity of slaves passing through Encoge towards the capital in the previous decade does not relate to any comparable increase in the number of exported slaves, meaning the characteristics of caravans bringing slaves through the area were not entirely dependent on the Trans-Atlantic trade. Landmarks in abolitionist legislation also may have demographic relationships in Northern Angola, though some connections are more likely than others. Ambaca saw a considerable, long-lasting drop in the percentage of residents

¹⁸⁷ See Figure 2.1

¹⁸⁸ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 17

¹⁸⁹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 122, Docs 1, 9, and 21

living under slavery after the British ban of the trade in 1807. Censuses from 1797 to 1806 show a population with an average of 26% of residents enslaved, whereas censuses from 1810 to 1815 show an average of 9%.¹⁹⁰ This change is concurrent with a population increase in Ambaca that could have been mostly free Angolans, possibly negating the potential that the reduction in the percentage enslaved was related to anti-slaving legislation. There is no similar reduction in slave percentages in other parts of Northern Angola other than slight changes in population along the coast, which could be related to a decrease in economic activity after the end of the British trade. More demographic changes around the late 1820s and early 1830s could be the result of intensified British anti-slaving measures or of the Anglo-Brazilian treaty officially banning the Brazilian trade drafted in 1827, though they may also be the result of liberal policies and metropolitan Portuguese interest in the colony's affairs. The percentage of enslaved Ambacans changed again starting around the time of the Portuguese Civil war, growing as high as 55% of residents according to the count from 1844,¹⁹¹ and a coffee harvest is recorded in Encoge in the 1830 census.¹⁹² Both observations demonstrate greater focus on exploiting the land of Angola itself over exporting enslaved labor to lands abroad, seemingly inspired by increasing anti-slaving measures and liberal conceptions of colonial function.

As discussed in the first chapter, ecological phenomena were important drivers of change in West Central Africa. While it is not possible to accurately determine rainfall or disease cycles based solely on the counts in the colonial censuses, there are individual instances of environmental events with probable demographic outcomes. Judging by the censuses' observational notes, these phenomena were well known to the colonial administrators. The *tenente regente* in Encoge mentions little rainfall in 1809,¹⁹³ something that would have likely affected the territories downstream. Unfortunately, the censuses from Encoge in the years near 1809 have several different authors who use different counting systems, leading to difficulty in defining and validating trends from this period, but they do suggest the population of the

¹⁹⁰ Censuses are unfortunately not available for the years 1807–1809.

¹⁹¹ de Lima, Joaquim José Lopes, *Ensaio sobre a Estatística das Possessões Portuguezas*, Livro III, Parte I, Imprensa Nacional, 1846, p. 4-A.

¹⁹² AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 168, Doc 2

¹⁹³ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 121, Doc 32

province could have decreased from 1808 to 1809.¹⁹⁴ While the loss of population might not be particularly accurate or entirely based on rainfall, there are parallels in other parts of the region that suggest the drop or stagnation in population growth was a widespread issue. According to the censuses, Ambaca grew in population from 1806 to 1810 and also added some *jisoba* during this period, meaning growth may have been caused by expansion instead of reliable harvests. However, in Dande the censuses suggest that the population decreased between 1806 and 1809, which could very well be the result of less water flowing down the Dande River and being available for agriculture. The censuses indicate that the area had regained a pre-1809-sized population by some point in 1814.

More demographic movements caused by ecological conditions are described in the census from Dande in 1819.¹⁹⁵ The author, Cândido Francisco da Silva, mentions a loss of over 1,000 Indigenous people returning to their previous home southwest of Dande after arriving during a famine caused by a dry couple of years. According to da Silva, these people arrived in 1816, and many had returned home or gone elsewhere by 1819. He also mentions that the previous year's bean harvest was poor due partly to insects but mostly to flooding late in the previous year. This administrator is clearly cognizant of the movement of people in the area he resides in and the effects of changes in local weather. He had been recording censuses for several years in Dande before the 1819 count, giving consistency and a greater degree of credibility than documents composed by officials new to their posts. The 1819 exodus from Dande was a calculated, opportunistic choice taken by a group of Angolans facing starvation. It is a classic example of the large migrations of people that formed a fundamental aspect of Indigenous Angolan society. Dande's position on the coast hints that at least some of these people were sold into the Trans-Atlantic trade, but colonial law and Indigenous practice make a mass enslavement of all of them unlikely and a migration far more probable. While their movement may have had a degree of spontaneity dependent on changes in weather, it could

¹⁹⁴ The exact reduction in population between the censuses is 943 Indigenous people or about 21% of the total Indigenous population. This is not a particularly unique event in the censuses (the total count in Encoge in 1807 is lower than both 1808 and 1809).

¹⁹⁵ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 17

have been part of a well-established system of movement derived from centuries of inhabiting a region where sporadic droughts were common.

The censuses from Dande in 1819 and surrounding years show little change in the district's number of slaves, artisans, and *jisoba* as the "outsiders" arrive and leave. This suggests that the migrants formed an agricultural group that appears to be neither enslaved, nor aristocratic, nor substantially engaged in economic activities beyond farming. The percentage of the population under slavery in his counts changed from 24% in 1818 to 35% in 1819 after the migrants left: the first significant change since da Silva began to record censuses. Da Silva's understanding of the population he counts in the censuses gives his observation a higher amount of credibility than many Angolan documents. The 1819 census from Dande demonstrates the disuniformity of demographic change in Angola based on social group. In the Angolan colony, slaves, *jisoba*, and workers in a variety of occupations outside of agriculture (of which many could have been slaves themselves) appear less mobile in response to ecological conditions than their free, agricultural counterparts. Members of all social groups could be mobile in the right context. Slaves were trafficked throughout the region, and *jisoba* could travel in times of war or negotiation with their neighbors. But in the case of Dande, these groups did not exit in 1819, indicating that the immigrants came as primarily free, agricultural people, that they left in more or less the same condition, and that they do not appear to have become enslaved in the process. It is possible these visitors brought goods to purchase rights to farm in Dande for the few years while their home region could not produce enough food. It is also possible they worked with the understanding that they may host people from Dande in the future, an attractive arrangement for the Dande *jisoba* considering the constant possibility of drought in their own area. No matter the details, these Indigenous immigrants' experience while temporarily living in Dande shows that not all cases of economic hardship were solved by immediate enslavement. Angolan society offered a range of remedies for hardships felt by people of different economic means. As long as traditional social structures and trust systems were sustained, Indigenous people could exploit them as needed.

The movement of certain groups of people and not others through Dande demonstrates that not all Indigenous Angolans were uniformly affected by either environmental factors or,

likely, external trade. The question of how much an Indigenous Angolan's economic well-being is connected to a global economy might only be able to be determined based on that particular Angolan's social status. Many possible factors encouraged free farmers to move about the region and, conversely, encouraged *jisoba*, artisans, and slaves to remain in place in the dry period. Slaves might not have had the freedom to migrate, and the *jisoba*'s control of resources could have prevented a serious emergency for them, their families, and their slaves in times of food shortage. Also, artisans may have been enslaved or still needed locally, giving them access to food and other necessities.

Many questions concerning the economics of the northern sections of Angola cannot be answered by the censuses or concurrent records, but an overall sense of the factors that did spur demographic change, as well as those that did not, have supporting information in the corpus of demographic data. The growth of the overall population from the late 18th century to the middle of the 19th century was a global trend more so than an Angolan trend, but it demonstrates that Northern Angola was able to feed and maintain a larger and larger population over the decades analyzed. This provides an indication that the agricultural economy was quite literally growing. Despite being a part of the Portuguese Empire, the region does not appear to be integrated in the Portuguese economy at a level where events in Portugal could reliably affect economic or demographic change. Occurrences in the slave export economy have more measurable demographic repercussions in Northern Angola, but with limited reach. The region appears flexible with regards to the cycles of slaving endeavors and continued efforts to reduce or end the Trans-Atlantic trade. Ecological stimuli caused the most notable changes in Northern Angola, as they would have even before the arrival of Europeans. Cycles in rainfall and disease were expected and countered with quick adaptation.

4.3 Luanda

As the capital of the Angolan colony, Luanda formed a major link between metropolitan Portugal and Portuguese territories throughout West Central Africa. Despite the close

connection between West Central Africa and the rest of the world through Luanda's port, only very general demographic changes can be found that correspond to the colony's export economy or more global economic trends. Luanda's population of white and mixed-race residents was very high compared to the rest of the colony, but the majority of the city's residents in the late modern period were Indigenous Africans. Administrators in Luanda had close access to the people they counted, perhaps giving more credibility to their data than their peers in the interior presidios. However, much like the rest of the colony, local censuses are filled with discrepancies lacking simple explanations. Censuses from Luanda are quite detailed when describing military and ecclesiastical institutions but are missing certain data recorded in other regions, including population separated by age, annual budgets, and artisan ethnicities. Economic diversity is clearly present in Luanda; a great variety of industries is represented in each count. Demographic change in Luanda does not demonstrate a clear relationship with the overall Angolan export economy. Changes in annual export values show no obvious relationship with changes in the city's population, social structure, or economic activity. While much of the population, including the Indigenous population, certainly maintained economic connections with Portugal, Brazil, and the rest of the world, these connections did not lead to demographic effects that could compare with more localized issues.

Slavery continued to be a significant institution in the city, where slaves outnumbered free Indigenous Angolans in every year that could be studied with a surviving census. The percentage of Indigenous Angolans living under slavery in the recorded years ranges from 62% in 1810¹⁹⁶ to almost 89% in 1825.¹⁹⁷ It appears the censuses only counted slaves that were not immediately destined for the Trans-Atlantic trade, as the many thousands of slaves leaving Luanda each year would contribute to significantly higher counts for the city's population. In the early 19th century, the amount of slaves leaving the city annually was several times higher than the entire resident population.¹⁹⁸ It is unclear whether this is because administrators did not have a method for recording slaves passing through the port or because they simply did not

¹⁹⁶ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 122, Doc 21

¹⁹⁷ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 141, Doc 49

¹⁹⁸ According to estimations of slaves departing Luanda from "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database" and da Silva 2017 Figure 1.2 compared to the total counts of residents in the colonial censuses.

consider slaves to be a necessary element for the data. Fortunately, the censuses' absence of information on slaves destined for international trafficking allows for a greater focus on the livelihoods of the more permanent members of the city's population.

The importance of the slave trade is clear simply through the huge quantities of enslaved people passing through Luanda's port, but the impact of changes in the slave trade on the city's resident population appears slow and not always profound. A slight reduction in the amount of slaves leaving Luanda may relate to the British ban on the slave trade in 1807, but this trend was quickly reversed. The Anglo-Brazilian accord in 1827 similarly caused a brief reduction in the amount of exported slaves, followed by a huge reversal that doubled the amount of slaves leaving Luanda from the first half of the 1830s to the second. Abolition efforts ultimately prevailed, effectively ending Luanda's exportation of slaves by 1850. Changes in the amount of Africans exported from Luanda under slavery do not have strong connections to the city's demographic changes, perhaps unsurprising given that serious challenges to the institution of slavery did not begin in Angola until well into the era of abolition. The percentage of the population enslaved drops considerably from the 1844 count to the 1850 count. While this is possibly related to the gradual reduction in slaves passing through the city as the Trans-Atlantic trade ended, the lowered percentage is not particularly significant compared to similar changes occurring while the trade was fully active. One possible connection between the Trans-Atlantic trade and slavery in Luanda itself is seen in the late 1810s. A sudden, sustained increase in the amount of slaves living in the capital occurred in 1819, while the amount of slaves leaving Luanda via the Trans-Atlantic trade was declining. 1,298 Black slaves arrived in Luanda in 1819,¹⁹⁹ making up 30% of all city residents that year. The population of free Black Angolans does not follow the trend and actually decreases from the previous year. While these numbers may not be perfectly accurate, the author's account of a major increase in slaves is quite credible as he recorded censuses for several years before the sudden change in 1819. There may be a relationship with the declining amounts of slave exports in the same period, as an abundance of slaves intended for the Trans-Atlantic trade with no foreign buyer could have reduced the price of slaves locally and inspired Luandans to purchase more. Similar cases of

¹⁹⁹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 3

“leftover” slaves appear in other Angolan documents.²⁰⁰ However, this change could have been caused by other factors, from nearby droughts forcing Angolans to sell themselves into slavery to a push for plantation-style industry near the city. Overall, these demographic changes are quite minimal compared to the huge fluctuations seen in the amounts of slaves exported, further suggesting a distance between the economic systems governing international trade and local economic structures.

No external economic event had an observable demographic effect in Luanda comparable to the impact of the arrival of disease. A smallpox outbreak beginning in 1807 produced a significant, sustained decline in population unmatched by any event in the Luanda censuses.²⁰¹ Seasons of smallpox and other contagious diseases can be viewed as an aspect of connection to the global economy, as pathogens were easily spread through long-distance trade and the practice of forcing slaves into compact spaces, but outbreaks could also be caused by movements of troops, groups of people fleeing poor harvests, or more localized trade.²⁰² Almost one-third of Luanda’s Indigenous population was lost during the initial year of the outbreak, and the amount of residents continued to decline through 1810. Growth returned in 1811, but slowly and not without regular periods of decline. According to the censuses, the Indigenous population did not reach a pre-1807 size until after 1844. While the disease successfully diminished every social group’s population, it did not affect each group equally. The Indigenous population of the city declined at a sharper rate than its white and mixed-race counterparts, likely due to a high rate of death from the disease and the opportunities to more easily emigrate to healthier areas. 72% of Luandans were Black in 1806 compared to only 56% just one year later in 1807. Women were particularly vulnerable to the outbreak’s effects: less than half of the amount of Black women recorded in 1806 are seen in the 1810 census. Historical records demonstrate that smallpox fatality rates were very high among women, particularly pregnant women, indicating that this gender imbalance likely

²⁰⁰ Cândido 2008 p. 72

²⁰¹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 119, Doc 6

²⁰² Dias 1981 p. 359

relates to the disease.²⁰³ Enslaved women were more affected than their free counterparts, though this pattern is not matched among male Angolans. The smallpox outbreak is one of the only events specifically referred to in the census observations. While most authors chose to copy the previous year's notes with minor numerical adjustments, the commander writing the 1807 count felt the need to explain the cause behind the major loss of human life seen in the past year. The consequences of this event were more noteworthy even for the colonial administrators than any other political, economic, or ecological event in Luanda.

Unlike the northern regions, the city's population grew and declined cyclically in the late modern period. Sustained growth is not seen until the latter half of the 19th century, beginning with a huge population boom in the 1840s.²⁰⁴ While Luanda's population was overall stagnant in the early century, its residents do not appear to be a static group. Rapidly varying population counts are seen among all social groups, indicating that many of the city's residents were entering and leaving the town in a given year. Population change is easily understood given Luanda's relationship with a volatile slave trade, cycles of hunger and disease, and regular patterns of Indigenous migration and trade, though these factors were also present in areas that experienced sustained population growth. As mentioned above, the censuses do not appear to include slaves in the Trans-Atlantic trade, meaning the trade does not show sole responsibility for the transient nature of the city's population, though it may have been a contributing factor. Luanda seems to draw in new residents while pushing out others, causing the city to peak maximally at a few thousand people. This may be explained by an emphasis on industries and commerce over agriculture. Improvements that allowed other parts of the colony to grow, likely including improvements in agriculture, would have less impact in the port city and its environs. If Luanda was an unsuccessful city from an agricultural perspective in the early 19th century, it was certainly a successful city commercially. The value of products exported annually from the port steadily grew despite regular fluctuations in population.

²⁰³ Lane, J.M. "Remaining questions about clinical variola major." *Emerging Infectious Disease*, vol. 17, no. 4, Centers for Disease Control and Prevention, 2011. EID Journal, doi:10.3201/eid1704.101960; Rutten, Willibrord. "The Demographic History of Smallpox in the Netherlands, 18th–19th Centuries." *Death at the Opposite Ends of the Eurasian Continent: Mortality Trends in Taiwan and the Netherlands 1850–1945*, edited by Theo Engelen et al., Amsterdam University Press, 2011, p. 191

²⁰⁴ Curto 1999 pp. 381–401

Patterns of movement in and out of the city cement an understanding of Luanda as an ideal place for centralizing commerce and government. Most Indigenous Angolans did not depend on products imported at Luanda for basic needs, and they may have arrived and left the area opportunistically depending on the current market. By the middle of the 19th century, the city began to see major overall growth comparable to other parts of the colony, which might be a result of the decline of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Considering the importance of human trafficking in the Luandan economy before 1850, the city would be particularly desperate to develop other industries that could generate products for local and international trade. Luanda's growth in the late 19th century, which followed a notably long period of stagnation, can be explained by a higher demand for manual labor needed for the new industries of focus.

Even without strong ties between Luanda's demographics and external trade in the late modern period, the city's focus on non-agricultural industries and its ability to attract outsiders suggest a greater connection to international trade and the global economy than neighboring regions. Luanda's majority-Indigenous population and the data on Indigenous residents in the extant documents show that the greater connection to the global economy seen in Luanda was not limited to its white population. The Indigenous people had a closer relationship to global trade, as well. The expanse of this closer relationship was, however, quite limited. Demographic change in Luanda is not profoundly different from what is observed in other parts of Angola. Many shifts in Luanda are difficult to classify and could potentially be results of internal or external pressures. Conversely, shifts in global and Trans-Atlantic commerce do not appear to have had an observable effect on the livelihoods of the city's people until the later censuses. In the first half of the 19th century, both Indigenous and non-Indigenous Luandans were more affected by ecological phenomena and opportunities in local commerce than any occurrence in global trade.

4.4 Cuanza Valley and Environs

The settlements, lands, and fortifications controlled by the Portuguese along the Cuanza River served as a vital link between Luanda's port and the African interior. A fluvial region from the Kindonga Islands to the river's mouth just south of Luanda had experienced centuries of European influence and dominance by the early 19th century, but the population remained overwhelmingly Indigenous in overall numbers. The river's economic prominence is clearly seen in colonial censuses where the movement of trade goods and slaves is well recorded. Its strategic political position is demonstrated by the amount of presidios and soldiers managed by the Portuguese along the river's shore. Records of the production of export goods like marble, wax, and cotton are especially common in this area. Potential instances of demographic change caused by external stimuli are more easily found in colonial records from the river valley than other, less accessible territories. However, much like in the rest of the colony, there are only rare instances of shifts that compare with change brought about by more regional causes, or that cannot also possibly be results of local circumstance.

From the Atlantic inward, the Cuanza passed along the districts of Ícolo and Golungo and a series of fortified presidios from Muxima to Pungo Andongo. The presidios by the river formed a line of control that supported one of the colony's essential purposes: to facilitate collecting valuable African goods and slaves from a wide geographical range connected to a network of trade markets. Similar to the rest of the colony, data was not collected uniformly along the river. Presidio administrators seem to count only the population living in the immediate environs of their forts during some years and the population of the entire region surrounding the presidio during others. Colonial agents observe the ease of migration among local peoples taking advantage of agricultural and economic conditions. While data from the Cuanza Valley does not always provide sufficient information for nuanced study of local demographics, the censuses give insight into long-term regional changes, as well as unique economic and political conditions of individual sections of the colony. Available census data also helps suggest likely sources of demographic change.

Much like Luanda and the Portuguese possessions to the north, Ícolo's population experienced demographic fluctuations from year to year in overall population, as well as in the divisions of population by gender, age, race, and social status. While these shifts might be related to the regular agricultural or environmental conditions that inspired Indigenous Angolans to migrate, they seem more likely to be caused by a greater connection to the Atlantic trade by proximity to the coast and Luanda's port. The censuses show rapid changes in the presence of particular groups that are more easily explained by moving trade caravans and groups of slaves than agricultural families in search of better harvests. Percentages of local people enslaved appear to decrease during periods where high amounts of slaves left Luanda and ports to the north and increase during periods when few slaves were exported, suggesting that the slaves counted in Ícolo censuses could be exported in the Trans-Atlantic trade. One shift that appears to relate to external trade is a dramatic increase in the percentage of the Indigenous population enslaved from 17% in 1844 to 46% in 1851,²⁰⁵ possibly an effect of the gradual end of slave exportation. As fewer slaves left Luanda's port, the many who were bound for the Trans-Atlantic trade may have remained on the African coast. A short-lived increase in the value of exports from Angola, followed by a crash in 1850, may have also contributed to the oversupply of slaves along the coast seen in the 1851 census. Ícolo's demographic history shows a greater connection to the contemporary international economy than its neighbors deeper in the interior, but, overall, many major political events and economic trends appear to have little or no effect on the territory.

Data from the district of Golungo shows less evidence of demographic effect from external sources than Ícolo, but cases of potential influence still appear. While not particularly far from Luanda and the Atlantic coast, the inland district shows only loose connections to foreign trade and the Portuguese colonial establishment. The exact size and quality of the population in this region is difficult to determine, as are the limits of control. It is unclear if the censuses are counting the overall population of a set area in each year or, rather, if they are counting the number of subjects loyal to the Portuguese crown within a general area. The 1803

²⁰⁵ de Lima 1846; *Almanak Estatístico da Província de Angola e suas dependências para o ano de 1852*, 1ª publicação, 1852, p. 8

count specifically names rebel *jisoba*,²⁰⁶ and the administrator in charge of the 1806 census explains a loss in local population, noting that many left to engage in long-distance trade and others deserted the crown and now live under Indigenous control.²⁰⁷ Whether or not these Angolans have physically left the region or have simply shifted allegiance, the proximity of non-Portuguese government and trade is well established in Golungo. This may have allowed Indigenous Angolans in the area to operate further from the conditions of the colonial market and in turn show less influence from foreign disturbance. The area had a low percentage of Indigenous Angolans living under slavery, perhaps related to the local distance from the colonial economy, but a slight increase in the fraction of the population living under slavery in times of high numbers of slaves trafficked out of Luanda and ports to the north shows that the region was not entirely disconnected from the Atlantic trade.

Exact figures on Muxima, the Cuanza presidio closest to the Atlantic, are also difficult to determine. Muxima's small population changed erratically over the observed period but eventually grew much like neighboring territories. A large percentage of the Indigenous Angolans living in Muxima's jurisdiction were enslaved, and a significant amount were enlisted in the Portuguese military. Censuses recorded by Muxima administrators use inconsistent systems for counting the local population, though some general observations on demographic change can be made from the data. Connections to the international economy are not particularly prevalent, though they are not entirely absent either. A reduction in population is observed from 1844 to 1851, perhaps following the shrinking importance of the slave trade and Angolan export economy. Much like Ícolo, an increase in the percentage of Indigenous Angolans enslaved over the same years could be a result of a period of heavy slave exportation followed by a period of significantly reduced trafficking, leaving more slaves destined for the Trans-Atlantic trade in Africa. However, the importance of the international economy and political events abroad in the changes observed in Muxima are questionable, as comparable demographic changes are observed in the presidio in years with no clear external influence.

²⁰⁶ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 109, Doc 37

²⁰⁷ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 118, Doc 49

Data from the neighboring presidio of Massangano also shows only minimal demographic influence from external trade and affairs. The counting systems used in Massangano are irregular and deter detailed observation, but they are more consistent overall than records from Muxima. The territory's population grew steadily over the observed period, and the counts' increasing number of *jisoba* suggests that territorial expansion, not simply higher birth and immigration rates, aided in Massangano's growth. The presidio's economy shows close ties to Indigenous industry and divisions of labor. Most censuses show less than 10% of the population living under slavery. Massangano housed a much higher population than Muxima, but it did not export a higher average of agricultural products. Either agriculture was less fruitful around Massangano, or, more likely, residents dedicated more labor to efforts that Portuguese administrators did not notice (or deem noteworthy) enough to record. While only about 35 kilometers inland from Muxima, the presidio appears isolated enough from the centers of colonial trade to maintain a high degree of independence from the international economy. This independence might have contributed to the health of the population and encouraged the growth seen in the censuses.

Further inland, the presidio of Cambambe similarly shows relative independence from the colonial economy, though it also recorded high quantities of trade goods and slaves produced by or passing through the territory. Cambambe experienced steady growth over time, possibly due in part to territorial expansion as indicated by a late increase in *jisoba*. Administrators in the presidio recorded captive slaves passing through the region and the total value of imports in *milréis*,²⁰⁸ both helpful figures in analyzing the region's economic history. Annual values of goods traded vary heavily in Cambambe from year to year. In some cases, recorded trends give evidence for causes of demographic change in the area, but largely there are only weak relationships between the presidio's population, amounts of goods exported, quantities of slaves moving through the region, and total value of exports. The accuracy in determining the value of imports and the actual effect any change in import value would have on the region are also questionable. Since Angolan society was mostly cashless, both

²⁰⁸ It is unclear if this amount represents the amount of *milréis* paid to import goods or the value in *milréis* of goods exported. In either case, the value connects to the presidio's production in the given year.

Indigenous and Portuguese traders had the capacity to adjust trade practices in reaction to changes in supply and value. As such, the radically changing²⁰⁹ total values of goods traded may not have had a significant impact on the local economy or on local demographics. More captive slaves are recorded on average in years of heavy export from Luanda and other Angolan ports, though several years do not follow this pattern. Years with greater overall import value generally have higher quantities of exported goods and slaves, though not consistently.

The presidio of Pungo Andongo sat further upriver, deeper into the Angolan interior. Despite its distance from Luanda, the territory was well integrated into the colony system with a high population of *pardo* residents and plenty of soldiers. Its position near the edge of Portuguese control made it an important way station for exchanging imported foreign wares, valuable Angolan products, and slaves. Pungo Andongo's demographics show stronger possible influence from international trade than some territories along the Cuanza and in other parts of the colony, but they also show plenty of trends related to colonial politics and local phenomena seen throughout Angola. The presidio's composition of the Indigenous population changed frequently and dramatically, and the percentage of Indigenous people enslaved particularly changed regularly and differently by gender. The ratio of men to women in the population also shifted often. Administrators in the region display an impressive level of knowledge of the territory. They describe local agricultural practices and name individual *jisoba* who have died, accepted Portuguese sovereignty, or paid tribute in the service of sons instead of goods. With such detailed knowledge of their presidio's affairs, it seems unlikely that administrators documented these rapid population changes in ignorance or error, though inconsistencies in the counts prove that they are not without inaccuracies.

The total population of Indigenous people in Pungo Andongo triples between 1813 and 1814²¹⁰ and doubles between 1817 and 1819.²¹¹ While political expansion may account for

²⁰⁹ The values of imports in *milréis* in Cambambe vary immensely in years where the value is recorded, with the lowest total value of 3,876\$000 in 1823 almost 10 times smaller than the highest total value of 37,496\$850 recorded in 1829. These values are found in AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 144, Doc 92 and AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 167, Doc 33, respectively. Import values in Cambambe do not generally correspond to trends in Atlantic commerce or the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

²¹⁰ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 128, Doc 26; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 130, Doc 30

²¹¹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 134, Doc 37; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 17

some of the changes, there are not concurrent increases in *jisoba*, which would be expected with expanding territory. Migrating trade caravans likely account for some of the changes seen in the region but are unlikely to be the source of these major increases since the population keeps increasing, as opposed to cyclically growing and shrinking. The counts in 1813 and 1814 were recorded by the same administrator, suggesting an actual increase in population and not a statistical error, though this does not rule out the possibility that said administrator is simply counting a larger area. Other factors that may have influenced large-scale immigration to the presidio are positive agricultural conditions and the slave trade.

While a combination of conditions likely contributed to the population increases, the influence of the slave trade may help explain their rapid speed and unusually large size. Pungo Andongo's connection to slavery was established before the colonial era, and most censuses show a very high percentage of the Indigenous population enslaved. The percentages of people enslaved do not show much change in the years of increased population, but they do remain high, indicating that many of the newcomers are enslaved. This does not directly connect the Trans-Atlantic slave system to Pungo Andongo's demographic trends, but it does suggest an important link via the significance of slavery in the area. In Dande, ecological conditions encouraged residents to move, but slaves remained in place; however, in Pungo Andongo, a large percentage of Indigenous immigrants were enslaved. An inverse relationship exists between the amount of slaves leaving Angolan ports and the percentage of people enslaved in Pungo Andongo, supporting the possibility that slaves who would have been forced into the Trans-Atlantic trade may have remained in Africa in times of less demand, or that less demand in the slave export market may have encouraged the purchase of slaves locally. Pungo Andongo's connection to external trade is significant, but highly localized. While other territories show relationships to the slave trade, the influence seen in Pungo Andongo can only be compared to regions along the Atlantic coast. The influence of trade should also not be overstated. Many observable demographic trends in the region have no clear correspondence with the slave trade or international markets.

The Napoleonic invasion of Portugal and resulting crash of Portuguese international trade made no clear economic impact on the Cuanza River Valley, according to the region's

records. The volume of trade goods generated by the region generally increases after the royal move to Brazil despite the concurrent collapse of the Portuguese economy. Some regions show drops in administrative budgets around the time of the invasion, but these are far more brief than the ensuing war and economic difficulties in metropolitan Portugal, weakening any potential connection between the two events. The Portuguese Civil War and related economic downturn in Portugal also have no obvious economic or demographic effect in Angola.

There are some demographic changes related to slavery in the same period that could relate to the end of the British slave trade and beginning of British anti-slaving measures. In Ícolo, the percentage of slaves drops 21%, and in Golungo it drops 9%, though in both areas the population was growing at the time the British ended their trade. Therefore, the reduction might be more indicative of good local ecological conditions attracting outsiders than European abolition efforts actually reducing the amount of slaves. The total population and percentage of people enslaved lowers in Pungo Andongo after the British end of slavery, but similar changes occur in other periods, and the percentage of women enslaved actually increases in the first census after the British ban. The amount of captive slaves passing through Cambambe may have been affected by the end of the British trade with about half the number recorded in 1809 compared to 1806.²¹² A reduction in slavery is also observable in Cambambe along with a reduction in population, though the data is questionable, and it appears the change may be part of a long-term trend unlikely to be related to foreign occurrences. More demographic disruptions appear to be caused by Anglo-Brazilian abolition efforts. The percentage of slaves as a part of the total population reduced after 1827 in Golungo, Massangano, Cambambe, and Pungo Andongo.

Ecological factors that inspired demographic change in the northern Angolan territories have parallels in the settlements along the Cuanza. A season of little rain recorded in 1809 in Encoge had clear demographic consequences in the river valley. The population of Massangano dropped in 1809, quickly recovering in subsequent years. In Cambambe, the population was only slightly affected, though agricultural exports saw a major reduction. The amount of cassava flour produced for export by Cambambe in 1809 was only 15% of the amount produced

²¹² AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 121, Doc 32; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 118, Doc 49

in the census before.²¹³ Pungo Andongo's population dropped after 1807 and stagnated until 1814. The dry period also seems to have affected the farm animal population, with many fewer animals counted in 1810 than the previous year. The drought observed from 1816 to 1819 seems to have resulted in a brief population drop in Cambambe and might relate to a period of low revenue from imports from 1816 through at least 1823. Agricultural production in Ícolo was severely reduced, where the cassava flour produced for export in 1817 was only 6% of the amount made in 1815.²¹⁴ Pungo Andongo's population was steady from 1814 to 1817 and then rose significantly the following year, perhaps as a result of Indigenous Angolans searching for better agricultural conditions or an increase in slaves resulting from the poverty caused by bad weather.

The censuses from the Cuanza Valley show plenty of evidence of the region's connection to the colony's international commerce, particularly along the Atlantic coast and in the trading center of Pungo Andongo. Nevertheless, most of the local Indigenous population probably was not significantly affected by the colony's political aspirations or economic health, with the major exception being slaves bound for Atlantic trafficking. Also, the changes that appear to be related to foreign trade are not uniform, meaning any could be the result of simple coincidence. As seen in the rest of the colony, uniform environmental patterns and agricultural improvements likely had a greater influence on the demographics of the Cuanza territories than any change in the qualities of Luandan trade or foreign efforts to curb the Trans-Atlantic slave trade.

4.5 The Kingdom of Benguela

In the southern extreme of Portugal's possessions in West Central Africa, the Kingdom of Benguela showed a great resemblance to its northern neighbor, the Luanda-based Kingdom of Angola. Both kingdoms were composed of coastal settlements and military installations

²¹³ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 119, Doc 6

²¹⁴ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 134, Doc 37; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 132, Doc 32

along a river valley where the majority of residents were Indigenous Africans. In the area controlled through Benguela, as in the rest of the colony, the consequences of external trade and politics did not relate with demographic change on a large scale, particularly when compared to more local causes of change. Benguela's importance in the international slave trade grew in the 19th century, resulting in a strong Brazilian economic presence, a long-lasting slave export market, and political strife as international powers moved towards abolition. None of these unique factors appear to have developed any remarkable demographic shift particular to the region.

The city of Benguela's demographic history in the late 18th and early 19th centuries mirrors that of other urbanized settlements in the colony. Its population appears to have already achieved a potential maximum in this period, only showing signs of growth when immediately followed by years of contraction. Also similar to other urbanized spaces in the colony, the population is mostly Indigenous with a very high percentage of people living under slavery. In some years, the majority of Benguela's residents were slaves. With a large military establishment and plenty of Indigenous soldiers, the presence of Portuguese colonial authority was clear in Benguela.

Napoleon's invasion of Portugal does not appear to have caused any demographic repercussions in Benguela. The city's military budget actually increases while Portugal is occupied, showing no strong reliance on the political or economic stability of metropolitan Portugal for Benguela's financial well-being. More political conflicts in Portugal and locally in Angola in the first half of the 19th century also caused no significant, observable change in the city's population. Instability in Portugal and a reliance on Brazilian trade in the 1820s caused plenty of political friction in Benguela where some traders supported pro-Brazilian movements.²¹⁵ International anti-slaving efforts also resulted in political pressure in the city where many non-Indigenous residents were involved in slave trafficking. These shifts do not appear to have profoundly affected the demographics of the city's Indigenous or non-Indigenous populations. Other than a brief drop in the amount of slaves leaving the area in the early 1830s, that may have resulted from traders leaving the slaving industry or seeking out

²¹⁵ Dias 1998 pp. 368–70

friendlier ports, the demographic qualities of the city are quite similar at the start and in the middle of the 19th century. There was a growth in the percentage of Benguelans enslaved from 52% in 1844²¹⁶ to 78% in 1851.²¹⁷ This mirrors similar trends in other coastal parts of the colony but, unlike areas further north, is not concurrent with a population shift. This suggests the newly enslaved residents were not necessarily those who would have been sold into the Trans-Atlantic slave trade but remained in Africa as anti-slaving efforts grew. Instead, it appears that many Indigenous people became enslaved (or many free people left the area) after 1844. There is no obvious local or external cause for this shift, nor is there a comparable change in the north of the colony that could help explain its origin, but it may be indicative of greater efforts to establish plantation-style agriculture and build export industries in the colony that encouraged the growth of local slave labor. While this shift is a possible indicator of increasing connection to external trade, it does compare to shifts in the percentage of residents enslaved seen in other areas of the colony with less clear connections to foreign trade. The most notable aspect of Benguela's demographic history in the late 18th and early 19th centuries is its stability in the face of great changes in Atlantic political and economic structures.

Novo Redondo, another coastal settlement and center of slave trafficking, shows a similar demographic history to Benguela and other coastal areas. The amount of surviving data collected in Novo Redondo is significantly smaller than other sections of the colony, preventing a profound analysis of the town but providing some interesting pictures of a small Angolan port. The population of the town shifts but, like interior parts of the colony, does not grow significantly. Novo Redondo's connection to slavery is profound, with a large portion of the local Indigenous population enslaved and with more slaves passing through the town on the way to Benguela and Luanda than total residents in 1805²¹⁸ and 1806.²¹⁹ Despite the preeminence of slavery in the town's demography, there are no major changes in the handful of censuses from Novo Redondo that appear to be caused by external trade or abolitionist efforts. The only exception was a growth in the percentage of population enslaved from 1844

²¹⁶ de Lima 1846

²¹⁷ *Almanak Estatístico...* 1852

²¹⁸ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 115, Doc 28

²¹⁹ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 118, Doc 49

to 1851, which, like Benguela, does not correspond to a concurrent change in population and, therefore, is not necessarily a result of a diminished Atlantic slave trade. Like Benguela, the town's demographics remained quite constant from the late 18th through the early 19th centuries.

Records from Caconda give the clearest available picture of demographic change in the interior of the Kingdom of Benguela. The area subject to Portuguese control in Caconda was large and not well defined, which may obscure some of the information found in local censuses. It was a stopping point for long-distance caravans²²⁰ and a major center of slave transportation, having moved its presidio in 1769 to better accommodate the trade.²²¹ Some unusual variations seen in the censuses could have resulted from difficulty in determining the limits of the colony's borders. Much like other interior areas in Angola, the overall population of the region grew significantly in the period studied. Most of the growth seems to have occurred in two bursts, one after 1817 and the other after 1844. These huge adjustments in population seem more likely to be clerical adjustments than actual instances of growth. The same administrator counted the population in Caconda from 1803 to 1815. Censuses by this author appear to build off previous years rather than comprehensively counting the population again each year. This could explain the growth after 1817 as it may have been the first detailed count in decades that adjusted for growth that was unexamined in previous counts. The increase in population seen between 1844 and 1851, where the amount of Indigenous people of Caconda triples, may also be indicative of an adjustment in counting methods moreso than rapid growth. Anomalies aside, it is clear that population growth around Caconda was widespread and constant.²²² Political expansion does not appear to be a major contributor to Caconda's growth since the number of *jisoba* recorded from the late 18th century to the early 19th century actually decreases. An expansion of territory would more likely result in a greater number of subordinate aristocrats.

Growth in Caconda is large enough to obscure possible evidence of demographic change that related to external trade and local phenomena. In the 1819 census, the administrator

²²⁰ Cândido 2008 p. 63

²²¹ Curto 2011 p. 23

²²² See Figure 2.3

recording the document describes a “sterility” that killed crops, livestock, and many people.²²³ However, while the effects on plants and animals are easily demonstrated by change from previous years, the effect on people is not clear; the population even grew in this year of widespread death. The agricultural potential of the area is seen through large quantities of food production recorded. This agricultural health was likely a major factor in the area's growth even in the face of environmental difficulties.

There are no clear effects from abolition efforts or major political changes in Portugal seen in Caconda’s demographics, though some effects might be masked by the steady growth experienced in the area. There is also no apparent evidence that could link the data on Caconda’s residents to changes in the Angolan export economy or the slave trade, though plenty of Cacondans were enslaved, and a robust population of local *pardos* certainly facilitated trade in the area and beyond the line of Portuguese control. Ultimately, no external event affected the population of Caconda significantly enough to be recorded in the colonial censuses.

Considering the geographic proximity and political similarities between the Kingdom of Benguela and the neighboring Kingdom of Angola, it is unsurprising that demographic changes observed in both sections of the Portuguese colony are quite similar. However, there were plenty of factors unique to each kingdom that could have provided opportunities for more or less integration in external affairs. The Kingdom of Benguela had unique trading links with Brazil and European commercial agents, bordered unique African cultures with particular economic demands, and grew a unique set of native and non-native crops suited to local agricultural needs. None of these circumstances led to major differences in the demographic history of the Kingdom of Benguela compared to its northern neighbor. Commonalities throughout different geographic regions of the colony suggest that each area developed along similar patterns. The primary distinguishing characteristics among sections of Angola from a demographic perspective were whether a particular area was a coastal settlement or an interior region. Any area’s particular connection to external trade and political affairs does not show strong influence on local demographic change.

²²³ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 52

5 Conclusion

Demographic records from colonial Angola give strong evidence that the economic status of Indigenous Angolans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries was not significantly affected by trends in global commerce. Despite their access to international trade through Angola's Atlantic ports, Indigenous Angolans were more likely to experience economic change as a result of agricultural experimentation, weather patterns, or the arrival of epidemic disease than fluctuations in the slave export market or the economies of Angola's trading partners. The Indigenous Angolans most affected by global trade were by and large those who became victims of the Trans-Atlantic slave market, a sizable minority in all Indigenous communities. People living under Western and Indigenous forms of slavery within Angola's borders were also somewhat affected by international commerce in that their populations increased when fewer slaves were purchased for trafficking to America, but this was not greater than the increases in slave population resultant from local issues. Angolans consumed huge quantities of imported products, and, although Indigenous consumers were certainly subject to market change, the shifts they experienced were not significant enough to inspire observable demographic change. It is unlikely that the consequences of global trade simply skipped over those living in the Portuguese colony and affected only cultures deeper in the interior, especially knowing that the slave trade, West Central Africa's most developed link to global commerce, sourced most of its victims from coastal territory. Indigenous Angolans built economic stability by carefully using the colony's layered trading system and by diversifying the products they traded for imported goods. Both methods ultimately may have resulted in post-slave trade increases in Portugal's economic and political powers in the country by securing profit from the colony's growing long-distance trading system²²⁴ and using that system to tap into more communities' wealth.

²²⁴ Dias 1986 p. 298

5.1 Atlantic Trade and Angolan Social Structure

An explanation for the disconnect between Angola's influential position in Atlantic exchange and Indigenous Angolans' economic well-being is found in the structure of Angolan trade. The rules determining exchange in Angola were the result of overlapping, unequal trading systems. Each system contained methods for adjusting value and reorganizing transportation in order to weaken the effects of disruptions in supply or demand. The monopoly Europeans, and eventually Americans, held over global shipping denied serious Indigenous competition. This gave colonists enormous control over the values of products arriving in Angola and was key to consolidating political dominance, as well.²²⁵ Indigenous communities primarily imported luxury products, not commodities to cover basic needs, reducing dependence on foreign goods. Acting together, the European and Indigenous economic systems enriched a privileged class in Angola's port cities and trading centers. Colonists could adjust prices of imported products relative to the quantities of goods they were able to amass and to the current demand in West Central Africa, while Indigenous peoples could decide to consume either imported or local products depending on current rates of exchange. These powers held by each layer of the trading system could have softened the impact or disguised the effects of disruptions in international trade. Though imported wares had the potential to enrich their consumers' political standing, the simple ability to choose not to purchase expensive foreign products and continue to live according to local societal expectations was certainly a powerful tool. Using these tools allowed Angolan communities to exhibit an apparent paradox: maintaining stable growth in population and industry while experiencing radical shifts in the values of products traded from year to year.

Though it is clear most Indigenous Angolan livelihoods were not greatly affected by the ups and downs of global commerce or even fluctuations in the slave export market, some long-term effects of international trade had widespread impacts in Angolan history and demography. The most demographically consequential result of intercontinental trade in Angola evidenced by the colonial censuses is certainly the introduction of American crops to local agriculture. By the 1790s, cassava was already the favored crop throughout the territory and even remains

²²⁵ Alexandre and Dias 1998 p.347

important to contemporary Angolan diets. The natively American vegetable grew well with less water than alternative crops, providing much-needed sustenance during the cyclical droughts that arrived every few years. This crop and other imported foods allowed Angola's population to grow steadily in the colonial period. The gradual increase in population in Angola's provinces is evidence of decades of farmers' experimentations with planting cycles and selective breeding. New agricultural science led to increasingly successful harvests that could provide for many more people than native plants alone. While the introduction of new species to Angola had a profound impact on Indigenous Angolan economies and was certainly related to global trade, it is an example of a permanent, incidental effect of European expansion that does not demonstrate dynamic Indigenous Angolan integration into a global economy.

Another long-term effect of Angola's economic relationship to the outside world is based on the types of products imported and their significance in maintaining social organization. Imported foreign products found a market among upper-class Indigenous Angolans who used them publicly in traditional observances to demonstrate power, consolidate connection to a *ngundu*, and bolster social capital. As mentioned, the bulk of foreign products bought by Angolans had a local equivalent, but the imported version could have important distinctions. Imported alcohol, for example, was valued because it did not spoil quickly like local drinks and could be consumed outside of the traditional season of availability.²²⁶ Considering alcohol's enduring importance in royal visits,²²⁷ wedding rites, harvest festivals, funerals, military events, trade deals, and as a form of payment for labor and taxes,²²⁸ access to imported alcohol granted considerable political advantages. Those who were able to purchase, trade, and consume alcohol and other imported products gained prestige, probably allowing them to further expand their economic potential, which in turn gave them more wealth to exchange for imported goods. This cycle restructured patterns of trade and firmed Portugal's links to Indigenous commerce. The results of this study show that these links were not strong enough to conjoin metropolitan Portugal's commerce with the Indigenous economy of Angola in the late 18th and early 19th centuries, but the importance of imported goods can help explain the endurance of Portugal's

²²⁶ da Silva 2017 p. 138

²²⁷ Birmingham 2015 pp. 20–1

²²⁸ Curto 2011 pp. 6–7, 19, 25

presence in West Central Africa during this period and appears to have helped the Indigenous and colonial systems in Angola adapt to changes arriving at the end of the Trans-Atlantic slave trade. Alcohol was a key item used to trade for slaves, yet alcohol imports in Benguela increased in the late 1850s after the slave export trade had almost evaporated.²²⁹ While not all imported products were so resilient (trade in Asian textiles suffered after abolition²³⁰), the end of the slave trade was not the end of Indigenous demand for imported products, nor was it the end of Angolans' ability to source products to trade for them.

The early 19th century saw an expansion of interest in a variety of industries inspired by the abolitionist threat to the slave export trade, the independence of Brazil from Portugal's imperial network, and liberal approaches to colonial management. Levels of economic success and quantities of production varied among projects designed to exploit West Central Africa's resources, but trade in valuable minerals, tropical foods, and other harvested materials became increasingly robust. Indigenous Angolans who had potential to be economically affected by the ending slave trade or other external events may have taken advantage of the markets for other products to avoid economic hardship. Production in new industries may have also benefited from the larger pool of labor available in the region when fewer people were trafficked outside the continent.²³¹ West Central African caravans took advantage of slaves to move varied products around the region. When these slaves could not be sold to Europeans, their potential to transport valuable exports remained. *Moradores* who facilitated the slave trade could use their knowledge and capital to transition their businesses to focus on legitimate goods. After an initial drop in trade value, demand for Angolan products was strong enough to sustain foreign imports as the slave trade came to a close. Moving focus to new industries helped soften the economic effects of the early 19th century's most major events, but this shift in production also may have made Indigenous groups more vulnerable to change related to these new businesses. The gradual development of these new, legitimate industries diversified the economic means of Indigenous communities and likely added to their economic independence, at least temporarily.

²²⁹ Curto 2011 pp. 1, 16

²³⁰ da Silva 2017 p. 131

²³¹ Alexandre and Dias 1986 p. 54

5.2 Later Developments in Colonial Angola

Colonial data shows that while Indigenous Angolans were not deeply connected to Portugal's economy before the middle of the 19th century, slow transformations in West Central African societies under Portuguese control may have paved the way for greater economic integration, as well as more vulnerability to the effects of future globalization. Reorganizations in Angolan society that followed developments in science, commerce, and colonial policy make it clear that foreign influence was growing even in areas where Portugal's direct control was mostly superficial.

In addition to motivating population increases, the production of cassava and other new foods very likely shifted Angolan patterns of migration. With drought-resistant crops at their disposal, farmers were less reliant on weather-based migration. The lure of a sedentary lifestyle certainly appealed to agricultural families who lived in territories connected to their *jingundu* and could lose social and economic status by migrating. A more stationary agricultural population may have been more easily enveloped in plantation-style farming and Portugal's endeavors to profit from the colony's industries. A family that did not regularly participate in traditional forms of migration would have faced greater difficulty leaving Portuguese territory than their migratory neighbors and ancestors. The slow end of slavery and growing demand for Angolan products shifted trade patterns, rerouting previous caravan paths that had focused on bringing captives to Atlantic ports. Eventually, these reorganized patterns of trade would inspire demographic change.

Though evidence of change influenced by foreign trade was minimal in Indigenous communities during the decades leading up to the end of Trans-Atlantic slavery, examples of much more substantial economic shifts are more easily found after the final collapse of Angolan slave exportation. Mariana Cândido's description of population decline in Caconda after 1850 shows how quickly demographic change could arrive after slave exports shrunk to a minimum.²³² Caconda was a center of trade that linked the ports of the Kingdom of Benguela with communities in the African interior. Its position made the area particularly vulnerable to change

²³² Cândido 2008 pp. 71–2

stemming from the slave trade. The Portuguese presidio in Caconda had even been moved in 1769 to better control the slaving industry.²³³ Though disease and drought were observed in and around Caconda in the middle of the 19th century, Cândido believes only the end of the Trans-Atlantic trade can account for its massive reduction in population. Many Indigenous people in Caconda likely took advantage of more lucrative opportunities in newly developed industries closer to the coast.²³⁴ Soon after, demand for other products reinvigorated trade through Caconda, causing the population to grow much as it did in the first half of the century.

While Indigenous Angolans in the late 18th and early 19th centuries may have been immune to the strong fluctuations in the slave export market, as well as fallout from wars, revolutions, and depressions in Angola's trading partners' economies, Caconda's story shows that the eventual collapse of the slave market was able to affect Indigenous lifestyles. More evidence of economic integration in the mid-19th century is found in Luanda where a huge burst in Indigenous population is observed, beginning in the 1840s. The city's attractiveness to immigrants came from the new, legitimate industries growing in and around the city. Indigenous people found work both in the new, export-driven businesses and in supplementary, urban trades that concurrently grew in demand.²³⁵ Luanda's growth represents the expansion of commodified, wage-based labor, something that earlier economic shifts were unable to inspire. In many ways, the degree to which Indigenous Angolans were affected by external trade is better understood as a limit of economic change that Indigenous Angolans could endure without severe consequences. Tested by unpredictable cycles of trade, Indigenous Cacondans finally reached a point where demographic consequences were unavoidable when almost no slaves passed through the territory for export. Tempted by a more robust coastal economy, Indigenous Angolans moved to Luanda in droves.

Later developments show that even when Indigenous Angolans retained a high degree of economic independence and a considerable ability to respond to changes in global trade, they were not immune to disruptions caused by circumstances in foreign trade. Over time, these disruptions significantly adjusted relationships between Indigenous Angolans and colonists.

²³³ Curto 2011 p. 23

²³⁴ Cândido 2008 p. 72

²³⁵ Curto 1999 pp. 397–400; Ferreira 2012 p. 98

During the slave trade, Portugal could do little to stop the flow of slaves and other goods to foreign ports or to collect the desired tax from all the *jisoba* under Portuguese control.²³⁶ By the late 19th century, Indigenous West Central African political systems had largely been undermined, stripped of their economic powers, and replaced by a Western form of land ownership.²³⁷ Such a drastic transition would have been nearly impossible without two elements common in Atlantic Africa: both European control over high-demand, imported wares and also European exploitation of African capital through predatory credit systems.²³⁸ The process of Angola's transformation is a testament to the economic bonds that Indigenous and colonial communities maintained. Trade enriched colonial commercial agents as demonstrated by the luxury afforded by the coastal elite described by visitors to Angola.²³⁹ Capable *jisoba* were also enriched by foreign trade, but, unlike their colonial neighbors who amassed capital in the form of currency and convertible assets, these *jisoba* became rich in products designed for quick consumption at rituals with cosmological significance. The prestige they gained from performing ceremonies full of valuable imported products provided them with a certain spiritual capital that could be used to expand ownership of territory and control of labor much like financial assets could, but this intangible system would not retain its purpose nor its value in Indigenous Angolan society much longer. Simultaneously, the disruptions caused by developments in global trade gave European colonists, the Portuguese establishment, and Angolans well connected to them opportunities to expand political and economic power. The "adaptation crisis" that unfolded in West African economies after the end of slavery was formed by a series of crises stemming both from slavery and very likely also from the new industries developed before and after the end of the trade. Abolitionism legitimized Portuguese military aggression in areas where a slave trade survived the Trans-Atlantic collapse.²⁴⁰ Additional 19th century expansion materialized through pressure from colonists interested in exploiting the land and its resources and from Indigenous

²³⁶ AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 138, Doc 17; AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 167, Doc 33

²³⁷ Dias 1986 p. 303; Alexandre and Dias 1998 p. 345–6; Curto and Lovejoy 2004 pp. 267–8

²³⁸ Eltis 2004 pp. 29–30; Richardson, David. "Background to annexation: Anglo-African Credit Relations in the Bight of Biafra, 1700–1891." *From Slave Trade to Empire: European Colonisation of Black Africa 1780s–1880s*, Pêtré-Grenouilleau, Olivier ed, Taylor & Francis, 2004, pp. 47–68

²³⁹ Birmingham 2015 pp. 14–7

²⁴⁰ Ferreira 2012

leaders interested in growing wealth and prestige. Growing industries led to greater profits for the colonial government and economic sources of political aggression, as seen when a group of Indigenous families and colonial administrators suppressed 10 *jisoba* obstructing their coffee trade in 1856.²⁴¹ Evidence from across Africa in the 19th century shows that major pushes in colonization could be sponsored by European nations even when only a small group stood to economically benefit from the colonial project.²⁴² Expansion and development in Angola served to continue a legacy of the slave trade: providing European states with marketable products and access to capital in exchange for the “soft” currencies of Indigenous demand that did not promote future wealth.²⁴³ Growing trade in diverse products diminished Indigenous methods of counteracting economic change and was key to greater Portuguese political control later in the 19th century.

5.3 Questions for Further Research

Colonial Angola offers a sizable collection of original sources and data for historical study and potential to expand on the themes discussed in this work. Aspects of Indigenous Angolan life in the modern era, the development of Angola’s economy, and elements of Portuguese colonial expansion in West Central Africa can be better understood through further study in a variety of disciplines. A comprehensive description of Angolan agricultural history would give insight into the biological implications of importing American crops and the related periods of social and economic restructuring. Regional economic change could be reconstructed using data from the colonial censuses and anthropological study of the diverse but related groups living throughout the limits of Portugal’s African territory. The different layers of social groups in Angolan society could also be better understood through further study. Dande’s census data shows that different groups responded to ecological change in unique ways; perhaps their economic responses are

²⁴¹ Dias 1986 p. 300

²⁴² Pétré-Grenouilleau 2004 pp. 9–10, 14–5

²⁴³ Green 2019 p. 14

equally unique. Later demographic sources could determine Indigenous Angolans' foreign economic connections in subsequent phases of colonialism.

Comparisons between the Indigenous Angolan experience and observations on the economics of other Black cultures could separate features of modern economic change unique to Angola from those experienced more widely in the Atlantic world. Useful information on West Central African social systems may be found in records from the Americas where Angolan slaves and their descendants lived. Future research in these areas could help explain in detail the economic changes experienced by colonized Indigenous Angolans and be used to provide greater depth to demographic analyses.

Figures

Census Counting Systems

Figure 1.1

Source: AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 122, Doc 21.

System 1

Example: Ambaca 1810
AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 122, Doc 21

Black Men

Age				Status			
Up to 7	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed	
1854	1874	1763	9362	14156	399	298	
Total of all ages:				14853	Total of each marital status:		14853

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Men
Free	Enslaved		
13956	897	10	14863
Total by Condition:			

Black Women

Age				Status			
Up to 7	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed	
1283	1980	1944	10987	15631	399	184	
Total of all ages:				16194	Total of each marital status:		16214

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Women
Free	Enslaved		
15202	1012	32	16246
Total by Condition:			

Figure 1.2

Source: AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 86, Doc 76.

System 2

Example: Encoge 1805
AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 115, Doc 28

Black Men

Age				Status			
Up to 7	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed	
86	90	175	665	1016	13	4	
Total of all ages:				1016	Total of each marital status:		1033

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Men
Free	Enslaved		
1034	282	0	1316
Total by Condition:			

Black Women

Age				Status			
Up to 7	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed	
127	167	156	360	810	13	7	
Total of all ages:				810	Total of each marital status:		830

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Women
Free	Enslaved		
830	478	0	1308
Total by Condition:			

Figure 1.3

Source: AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 155, Doc 28.

Mixed System

Example: Massangano 1797
AHU, CU, Angola, Cx 86, Doc 76

Black Men				Status		
Age	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed
Up to 7	68	100	210	394	755	16
						1
Total of all ages:				772	Total of each marital status: 772	

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Men
Free	Enslaved		
50	377		
Total by Condition:		427	0 1199

Black Women				Status		
Age	7 to 14	14 to 25	Over 25	Single	Married	Widowed
Up to 7	52	31	61	215	344	15
						0
Total of all ages:				359	Total of each marital status: 359	

Condition		Orphans	Total Black Women
Free	Enslaved		
65	347		
Total by Condition:		412	0 771

Regional Populations by Presidio/District

Sources for Figures 2.1–2.3: All AHU, CU, Angola censuses (totals averaged by the author); Almanach de Portugal para o anno de 1855, 1854; de Lima, Joaquim José Lopes. *Ensaio sobre a Statistica das Possessões Portuguezas*, Livro III, Parte I, Imprensa Nacional, 1846.

Figure 2.1

Cumulative Indigenous Population, Northern Angola 1797-1852

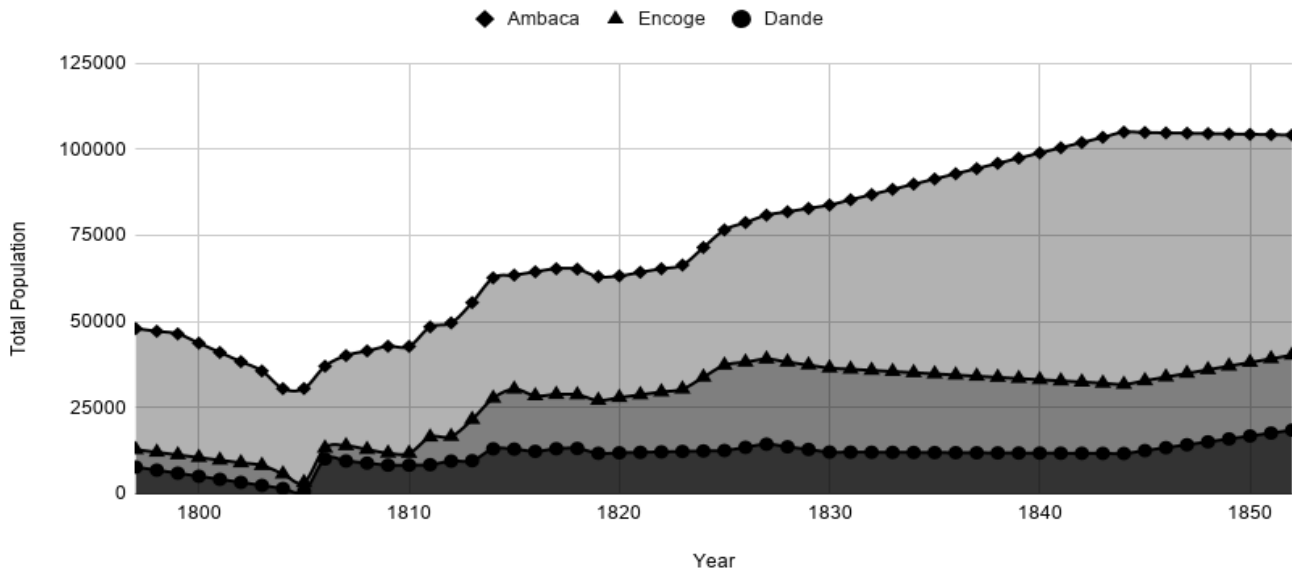


Figure 2.2

Cumulative Indigenous Population, Central Angola 1797-1852

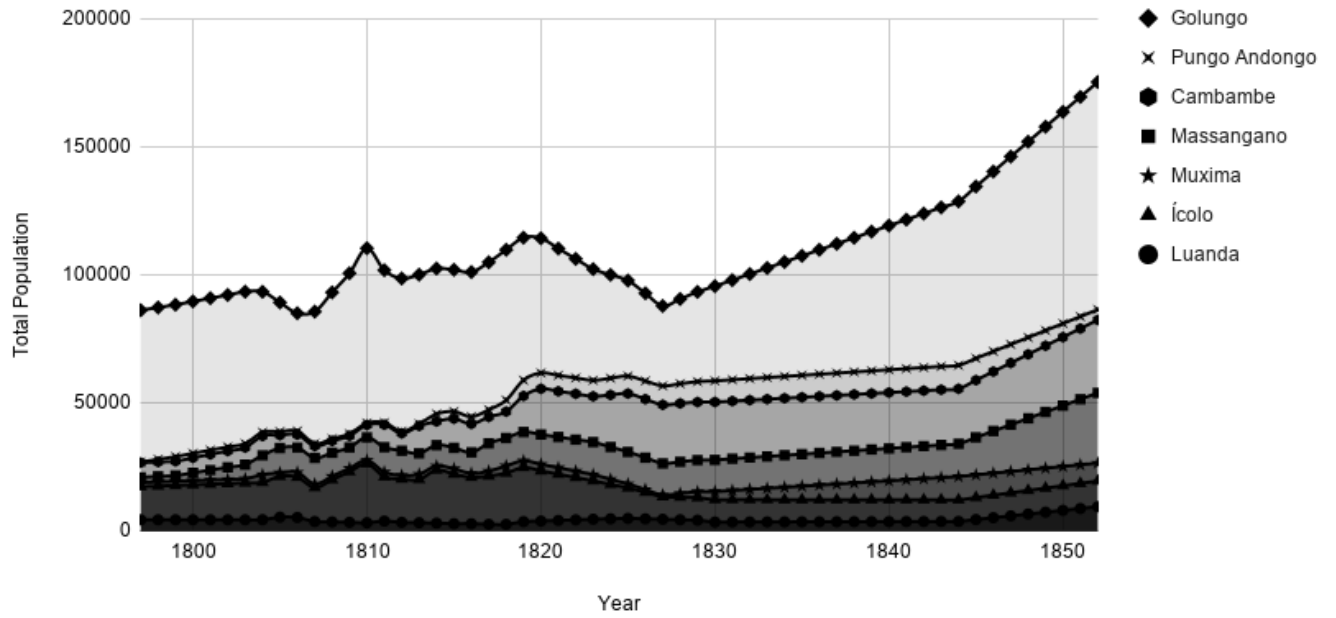
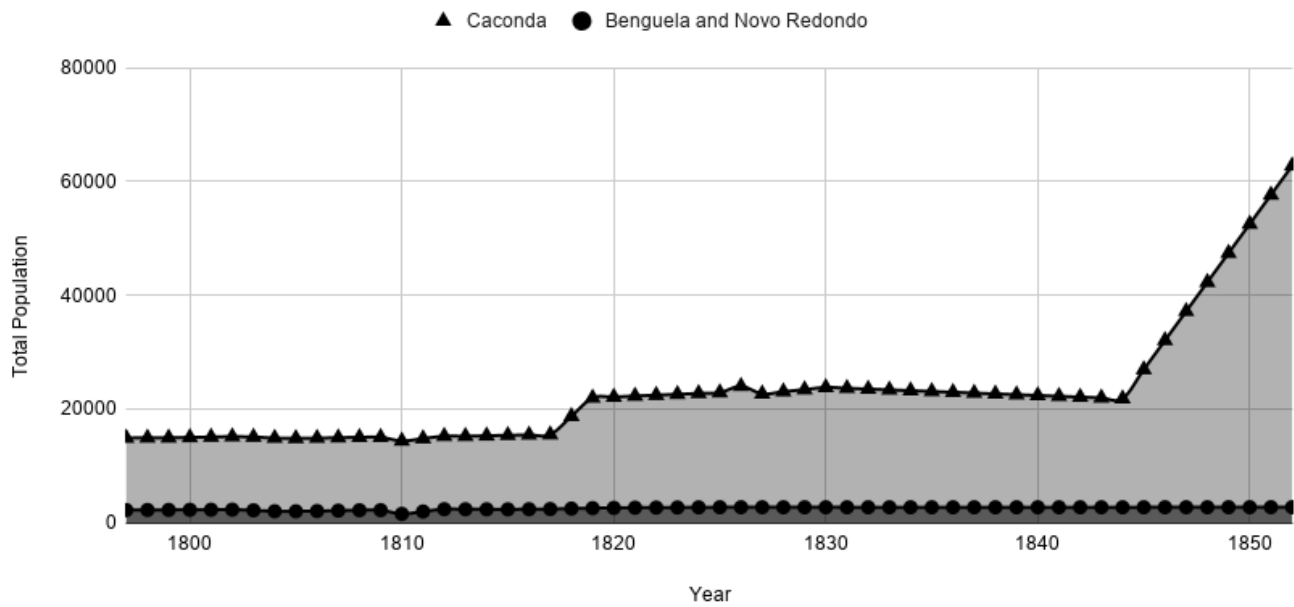


Figure 2.3

Cumulative Indigenous Population, Southern Angola 1797-1852



Angola's Population and Trade

Figure 3.1

Sources: All AHU, CU, Angola censuses (totals averaged by the author); *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*.

Angola's Indigenous Population and the Slave Trade

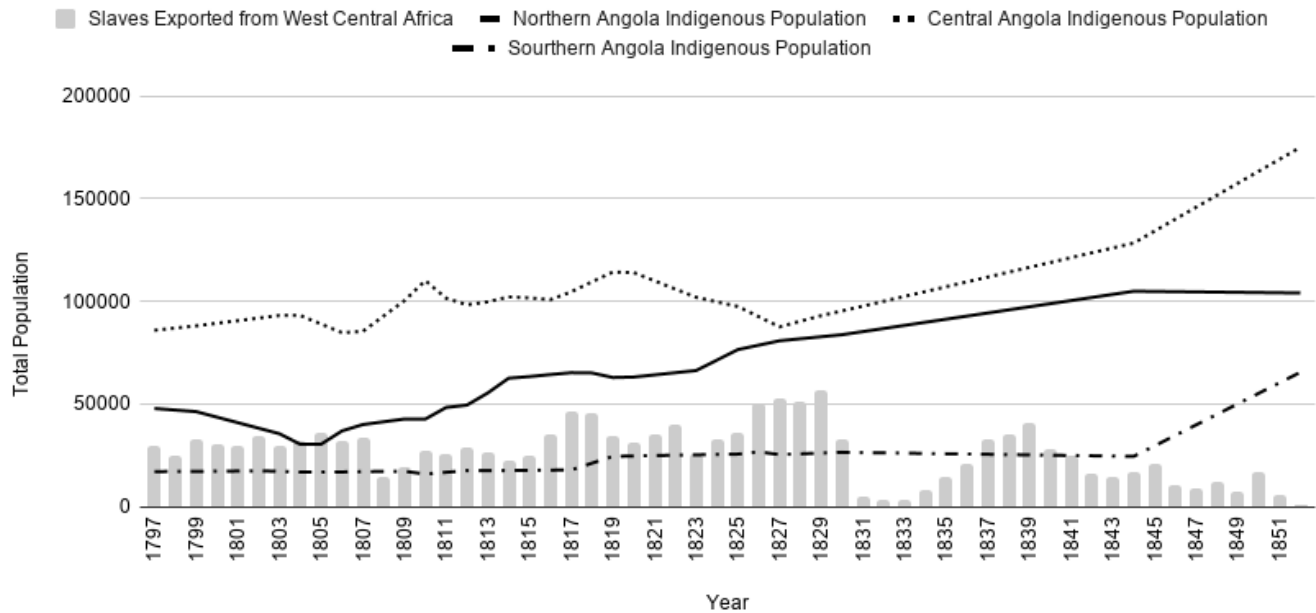
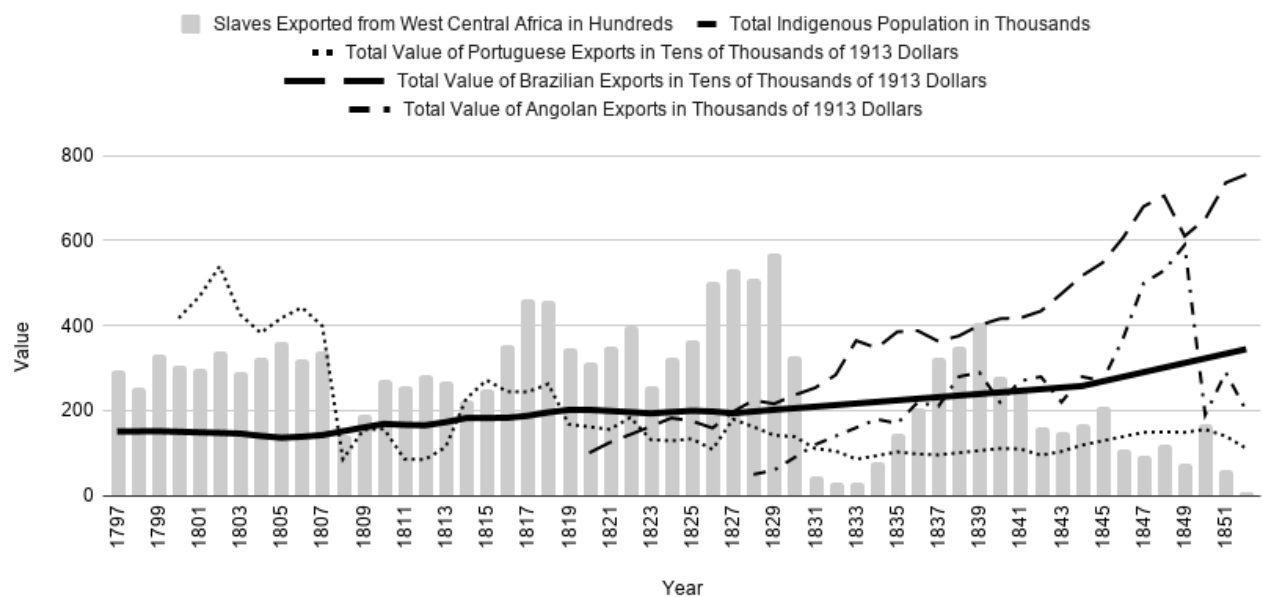


Figure 3.2

Sources: All AHU, CU, Angola censuses (totals averaged by the author); *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*; *Federico-Tena World Trade Historical Databases: Angola, Brazil, Portugal*

Angola's Indigenous Population and Global Trade



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