Volume 23 • Number 2 Portuguese Studies Review Winter 2015

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW

Volume 23 • Number 2
Winter 2015

ISSN 1057-1515

Interdisciplinary

Angola: Then and Now

Special Issue

Guest Editors: José C. Curto and
Tracy Lopes

PRS

VOLUME 23 • NUMBER 2 • 2015 (RELEASED 2016)

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An imprint of Baywolf Press ❈ Éditions Baywolf (2012 –)
Peterborough, Ontario, K9H 1H6
http://www.trentu.ca/psr (mirror); http://www.maproom44.com/psr

Formerly Published by The Portuguese Studies Review (2002-2011)

Printed and bound in Peterborough, Ontario, Canada.
Design, digital setting, general production: Baywolf Press ❈ Éditions Baywolf

Pro Forma Academic Institutional Host, 2002-2016: Lady Eaton College (Trent University)

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National Library of Canada Cataloguing Data
Portuguese Studies Review
ISSN 1057-1515
Semiannual
v. : ill. : 23 cm
1. Portugal–Civilization–Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking–Civilization–Periodicals. 3. Brazil–Civilization–Periodicals. 4. Portugal–Civilisation–Périodiques. 5. Afrique lusophone–Civilisation–Périodiques. 6. Brésil–Civilisation–Périodiques.
DP532 909/.0917/5691005 21

Library of Congress Cataloguing Data
Portuguese Studies Review
ISSN 1057-1515
Semiannual
v. : ill. : 23 cm
1. Portugal–Civilization–Periodicals. 2. Africa, Portuguese-speaking–Civilization–Periodicals. 3. Brazil–Civilization–Periodicals.
DP532 .P67 909/.091/5691 20 92-659516

SPECIAL ISSUE

ANGOLA: THEN AND NOW

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PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW
VOLUME 23, NO. 2 2015 (REL. 2016)

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Abstracts

Another Look at the Slave Trade from Benguela: What We Know and What We Do Not Know *(José C. Curto)*

This contribution reviews and reassesses the recent historiography on the slave export trade from Benguela, with a particular focus on the quantitative data that has been uncovered over the last few decades. Although estimates of exported enslaved individuals are too often posited as factual, redirecting our attention to the known data leads to some interesting conclusions: first, the commerce in human beings effectively operated at higher levels during the first half of the 1800s than was previously known; second, in spite of ebbs and flows, this imprinted a pattern of relative stability upon Benguela's slave export trade from about 1750 to 1850.

Códice 3256, Governo Geral de Luanda, 1854-1858, Registo de Escravos Fugidos: Problems and Possibilities *(Raquel G. A. Gomes)*

This paper draws upon *Códice 3256 do Governo Geral de Luanda, 1854-1858, Registro de Escravos Fugidos* to reconstruct aspects of the Angolan past that remain. Although there are a number of gaps, the source in question lists the origin of escaped slaves that were recaptured, their gender, and at times, the value paid by slave-owners to re-acquire their absconded property. A careful reading of this fugitive slave register offers insights into resistance to enslavement, as well as the political, economic, and social changes occurring in colonial Angola during the mid-nineteenth century.

Bioprospecting and European Uses of African Natural Medicine in Early Modern Angola (*Kalle Kananoja*)

This article discusses European bioprospecting activities in early modern West Central Africa. It argues that, since the sixteenth century, the Portuguese were interested in local medical practices and Angolan medicinals. Early modern Europeans valued indigenous African knowledge and the Portuguese pondered upon the commercial potential of African drugs. The exotic medicines and dyestuffs were marketed locally but also exported to Brazil and Europe. Traders, military officers, and missionaries can be identified as the major agents in collecting and spreading knowledge about Angolan natural medicine. By the end of the eighteenth century, trained naturalists sought to systematize botanical knowledge in the Portuguese colonial world, including Angola. Similar to what happened in other parts of the Portuguese overseas empire, Europeans learned and borrowed eagerly from the indigenous medical knowledge in West Central Africa.

Towards a Social History of Burials in Angola – Benguela, 1770-1795 *(Maryann Buri)*

In the port town of Benguela during the height of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, death was a prominent part of the landscape for Africans and Europeans alike. Many individuals were buried in the church of Nossa Senhora de Pópulo, and the records of these burials give insights into their lives. This paper formulates a demographic social history of Benguela during the slave trade using death and dying as a category of analysis. It focuses on the unique historical perspectives that can come from the use of ecclesiastical burial records. In particular, it argues that these sources, through quantitative analysis, can uniquely contribute to the intersecting historical subjects of gender, family, and social status in Angola.

The Gendered Dimension of Trade: Female Traders in Nineteenth Century Luanda *(Vanessa S. Oliveira)*

African and Luso-African women have engaged in trade along the African coast since pre-colonial times. Alone or as commercial partners of exogenous traders, they were able to enter local, regional and sometimes international economies. In the case of Luanda, the capital of the Portuguese colony of Angola, women acted as cultural brokers and traders, owning sailing vessels, shops, real state, agricultural properties, and captives. This paper examines the participation of women in commercial activities in nineteenth century Luanda. This contribution draws upon travel accounts, license applications, slave registers and the local gazette (Boletim Oficial de Angola) that evidence the participation of women in several commercial activities, ranging from slave traffic to retail trade. This paper suggests that a significant group of female traders was able to acquire considerable social prestige and economic power through their entrepreneurial efforts, intimate and commercial strategies, as well as affiliation with Portuguese culture, which they drew upon to operate in a variety of public spaces in nineteenth century Luanda. Their experiences clearly contradict the image of submission and domestic reclusion all too often attributed to African women before 1900.

Slavery and the Prison: Cases of Imprisonment in Luanda, 1857-1877 *(Tracy Lopes)*

Angola was a penal colony, and convicts from Portugal and parts of the Portuguese empire were confined in the *Depósito Geral dos Degredados*. Although there has been scholarly work on the depósito, convicts were a minority of the population, and Luanda had several prisons, some of which were used to punish enslaved people. Using cases of imprisonment published in Luanda's weekly gazette, the *Boletim Oficial da Província de Angola*, this article highlights the role that the prison played in punishing slaves and libertos during a period characterized by the "slow death of slavery." It argues that masters used the prison and policing to reinforce their power, and draws attention to the role of the colonial state in attempting to ease the effects of full emancipation.

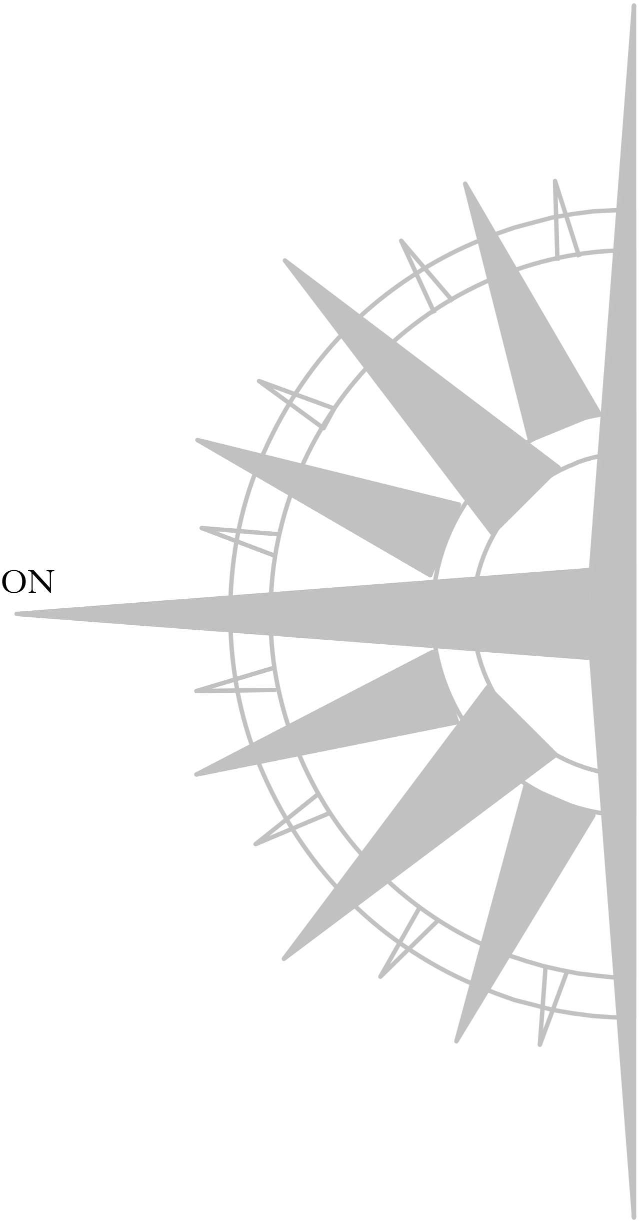
Confronting the *Estado Novo*: Canadian missionaries and a polemic entitled *Angola Awake (Frank J. Luce)*

The presence of Canadian missionaries on Angola's central plateau dates back to 1886 when they formed a joint mission with Congregationalists from the United States. The article first analyses certain aspects of the history of the mission: its participation in the Estado Novo's "civilizing mission," its contribution in the development field, its partnering with an Angolan church whose leaders identified with the post-1961 independence movement. The mission's role in producing the Ross Report (1925) led to the threat of expulsion, in response to which the mission adopted a policy of deferential silence concerning the abuses of colonial rule, including forced labour. However, after 1961 the mission was confronted with increasing pressure from the colonial state, leading Dr. Sidney Gilchrist, a medical missionary, to break the silence by publishing a polemic entitled Angola Awake in which he denounced "the evils of colonialism." The publication was endorsed by the United Church of Canada, signaling the church's increasing engagement with the cause of African liberation.

State-Led Development in Angola and the Challenge of Agriculture and Rural Development *(Jesse S. Ovadia)*

Once a net exporter of food, Angolan agriculture was devastated by 30 years of war. In post-war rebuilding, agriculture is a key to economic diversification and poverty alleviation. However, insufficient investment has been made to promote rural development. Informed by field research, data from Angolan sources and a case study of the government's signature agricultural initiative, *Aldeia Nova*, this paper discusses the challenge of agriculture and rural development in the building of a developmental state in Angola. It is argued that although there has been new private investment in commercial agriculture since the end of the country's civil war, Angola's modernizationist approach to agriculture and rural development hinders the promotion of developmental outcomes. While a participatory or bottom-up model of development is unlikely, state-led development can produce important and meaningful improvements to everyday life. Effective interventions that target small-scale agriculture are essential for the possibility of a developmental state in Angola to emerge.

Introduction



Introduction
“Angola: Then and Now”

José C. Curto
York University

Tracy Lopes
York University

BETWEEN 29 October and 1 November 2013, the Lusophone Studies Association (LSA), dedicated to the promotion and dissemination of scholarship on the Lusophone world, hosted its inaugural meeting at York University in Toronto, Ontario. The Angola Resgate Group, an international research group based at the Harriet Tubman Institute for Research on Africa and its Diasporas (York University), organized a series of panels at this conference under the title of “Angola: Then and Now”.[1] The purpose was to initiate a dialogue with scholars and students who specialize on other parts of the Lusophone world, discuss some of the major themes and trends in the scholarship, and highlight areas for future research. The panels covered a wide range of topics and themes, from methodology, disease, death, women, crime, colonialism, and development. This special issue of the *Portuguese Studies Review*, also titled “Angola: Then and Now”, offers a selection of those papers in revised form. Covering a variety of innovative topics within a wide chronological scope, it offers a comprehensive study of Angola, one that is divided into three sections.

This special issue opens with two papers focusing on the methodological challenges in writing the history of Angola, in particular, and of African history, more generally. Using his own dataset, as well as the *Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, José C. Curto plays the “numbers game” and points to discrepancies between estimates and known numbers for the Benguela slave export trade. Curto argues that between 1699 and 1856, there were about 545,000 individuals known to have been shipped from Benguela, which is

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[1] See http://lsa.apps01.yorku.ca/category/lusophone-studies-association-inaugural-conference.

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 3-5 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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significantly lower than the estimated 760,000 persons that have been put forth by Mariana P. Candido as effectively exported therefrom. While Curto's paper urges scholars to exercise a degree of caution when using sources that are, at times, incomplete, Raquel G. A. Gomes' paper focuses on their potential. She draws upon the problems and possibilities of *Códice 3256, Governo Geral de Luanda, 1854–1858, Registo de Escravos Fugidos,* Codice 3256, a bound manuscript on recaptured fugitive slaves between 1854 and 1858. Although there are a number of gaps in the *Códice*, Gomes demonstrates that this particular document can be used to develop fuller insights into resistance to slavery, as well as the political, economic, and social changes occurring in colonial Angola during the mid-nineteenth century.

The second section of this special issue draws on aspects of Angolan social history. Before the 20th century, Angola had a reputation of being a "white man's grave": consequently, disease and death are important themes in its history. Kalle Kananoja focuses on how European traders, military officers, and missionaries used local knowledge to survive in this environment. In particular, he argues that the Portuguese incorporated Angolan medicine and knowledge into their own medicinal practices and drugs—a process called bioprospecting—and brought this knowledge back to Portugal. Kananoja also argues that medicinal history constitutes an important avenue through which to explore the creolization debate. Like Kananoja, Maryann Buri's paper concentrates on disease and death. However, while Kananoja provides a broad overview of medicine in Angola, Buri's contribution is a microhistory of Benguela between 1770 and 1795. Buri uses burial records from the *Nossa Senhora do Pópulo* church to investigate the impact of disease—and ultimately death—on the demographic and social history of Benguela. She also argues that the *Nossa Senhora do Pópulo* church was an important social and cultural center, with a vibrant and diverse Luso-African Catholic elite.

The next two papers shift focus to Luanda, Angola's colonial capital, and the largest slave port during the era of the Atlantic Slave Trade. The contribution by Vanessa S. Oliveira analyzes the commercial activities of women prior to 1900, and demonstrates that through their affiliation with Portuguese culture, women acquired prestige and economic power. In particular, Oliveira concentrates on women who used their intermediary status to invest in commercial activities, ranging from the slave trade to money lending. Slavery is also an important theme in the study penned by Tracy Lopes, particularly during the period characterized by the "slow death of slavery". Using cases of imprisonment published in Luanda's weekly gazette, the *Boletim Oficial da Província de Angola*, she highlights the role that the prison played in punishing slaves and *libertos* or freed persons, and argues that masters used the prison and policing to reinforce their power.

The last section focuses on development issues during the colonial and the post-colonial period. Frank J. Luce provides, through the life of the medical missionary Dr. Sidney Gilchrist, a history of the United Church of Canada's (UCC) mission in Angola and traces the deteriorating relation between the UCC and the Portuguese colonial state. Although UCC missionaries were initially silent on colonial atrocities and focused on evangelism, they eventually came to view decolonization as the only option. It is in this context that Luce's contribution discusses the role of Protestant missionaries in development, especially education. Jesse S. Ovadia, on the other hand, concentrates his analysis on the role of the current MPLA government. He borrows the concept of "development state", that has been applied to explain the economic miracle that occurred in the East Asian Tigers (Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore, and Taiwan), and applies it to Angola. The "development state" is characterized by strong state intervention in the economy and anti-neoliberal policies. Ovadia argues that Angola should be thought of as a development state, but that the MPLA needs to do more to promote agriculture and rural development.

Overall, this special issue represents the beginning of what has proven to be a fruitful discussion between students, scholars, and the general public. Over the last number of years, York University has become a hub for those interested in Angola and the Angola Resgate Group continues to grow, with members spanning several continents. The contributions presented below demonstrate the potential, not only in terms of sources and methodology, but also with respect to the types of topics that Angola offers for investigation. Through these innovative themes placed within a broad chronology, scholars can begin to paint a fuller picture of what has, historically been, an underexplored landscape.

Methodological Questions in the Angolan Past

Another Look at the Slave Trade from Benguela: What We Know and What We Do Not Know[1]

José C. Curto
York University

OVER THE COURSE of the last two decades, scholarship on the history of Benguela has expanded significantly. Prior to the early 1990s, the past of this port town was by and large perceived through the work of a single individual: Ralph Delgado, a mid-twentieth century colonial administrator who dabbled in the history of the Portuguese in Angola.[2] Since then, however, Benguela's history has come to attract the attention of various scholars who, cumulatively, have been weaving a far more complex past than that offered by Delgado. Indeed the work of Mariana Candido,[3] Roquinaldo Fer-

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[1] Earlier versions of this paper were presented at the inaugural conference of the Lusophone Studies Association, York University, 29 October—01 November, 2013, and the workshop *O tráfico atlântico de escravos – resultados e tendências da nova investigação*, Universidade do Porto, 20-21 May, 2014. I am indebted to those who provided comments, as well as to the anonymous reviewers of this special issue.

[2] Ralph Delgado, *A Famosa e histórica Benguela: Catálogo de governadores, 1779 a 1940* (Lisbon: Edições Cosmos, 1940); Ralph Delgado, *Ao Sul do Cuanza: ocupação e aproveitamento do antigo Reino de Benguela (1483-1942)* (Lisboa: Imprensa Beleza, 1944), 2 vols. The following works, although noteworthy, have been of far less historiographic significance: Antonio Augusto Dias, *Benguela* (Lisbon: Editorial Cosmos, 1939); Abel Augusto B. G. Bolota, *Benguela: Cidade Mãe de Cidades* (Luanda: Neografica, 1967).

[3] Mariana P. Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers: Slavery, Trade and Identity in Benguela (1780-1850)," Ph.D. Thesis, York University, 2006; Mariana P. Candido, "Merchants and the Business of Slave Trade at Benguela, 1750-1850," *African Economic History* 35 (2007): 1-30; Mariana P. Candido, "Trade, Slavery and Migration in the Interior of Benguela: the case of the Caconda, 1830- 1870," in Beatrix Heintz and Achim von Oppen, eds., *Angola on the Move: Transport Routes, Communications, and History* (Frankfurt: Otto Lemberck Publishers 2008), 63-84; Mariana P. Candido, "South Atlantic Exchanges: The Role of Brazilian-born agents in Benguela, 1650-1850," Paper presented at the 12th Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference American Counterpoint: New Approaches to slavery and abolition in Brazil, New Haven, Yale University, 2010, http://www.yale.edu/glc/brazil/papers/candido-paper.pdf; Mariana P. Candido, "Transatlantic Links: The Benguela-Bahia connections, 1700-1850," in Ana Lucia Araujo, ed., *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade: Interactions,*

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 9-26 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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reira,[4] Estevam Thompson,[5] Aida Freudenthal,[6] and Maryann Buri,[7] as well as my own contributions to this topic,[8] have revolutionized what we know about the history of this port town.[9]

Given such a development, it is perhaps fitting to take stock what of has been accomplished so far. This particular contribution, however, will not attempt an overview of the new historiography. Instead, it will focus on a specific theme that persists in any reconstruction of the history of Benguela: the slave export trade.

Identities and Images (New York: Cambria Press, 2011), 239-272; Mariana P. Candido, "Tracing Benguela Identity to the Homeland," in Ana Lucia Araujo, Mariana P. Candido, and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2011), 183-207; Mariana P. Candido, "African Freedom Suits and Portuguese Vassal Status: Legal Mechanisms for Fighting Enslavement in Benguela, Angola, 1800–1830," *Slavery and Abolition* 32 (2011): 447-458; Mariana P. Candido, "Slave Trade and New Identities in Benguela, c. 1700-1860," *Portuguese Studies Review* 19 (2011): 43-59; Mariana P. Candido, "Benguela et l'espace atlantique sud au dix-huitième siècle," *Cahiers des Anneux de la Mémoire* 14 (2011): 223-244; Mariana P. Candido, "Aguida Gonçalves da Silva, une *dona* à Benguela à la fin du XVIII siécle," *Brésil(s). Sciences humaines et sociales* 1 (2012): 33-54; Mariana P. Candido, "Los lazos que unen Centroamérica a un puerto Africano del Atlantico Sur. Benguela y la trate de esclavos 1617-1800," *Boletim AFEHC* 55 (2012) http://www.afehc-historia-centroamericana.org/?action=fi_aff&id=3229; Mariana P. Candido, "Concubinage and Slavery in Benguela, c. 1750-1850," in Olatunji Ojo and Nadine Hunt, eds., *Slavery in Africa and the Caribbean: a history of enslavement and identity since the 18th century* (New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 65-84; Mariana P. Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013); Mariana P. Candido, "South Atlantic Exchanges: the role of Brazilian-born agents in Benguela, 1650-1850," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 50 (2013): 53-82; Mariana P. Candido, "Negociantes baianos no porto de Benguela: redes comerciais unindo o Atlântico setecentista," in Roberto Guedes, ed., *África: Brasileiros e Portugueses – séculos XVI e XIX* (Rio de Janeiro, Mauad X, 2013), 67-91; Mariana P. Candido, "O limite tênue entre liberdade e escravidão em Benguela durante a era do comércio transatlântico," *Afro-Ásia* 47 (2013): 239-268; Mariana P. Candido, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Vulnerability of Free Blacks in Benguela, Angola, 1780-1830," in Jeffrey A. Fortin and Mark Meuwese, eds., *Atlantic Biographies: Individuals and Peoples in the Atlantic World* (Leinden: Brill, 2014), 193-209.

[4] Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Biografia, Mobilidade e Cultura Atlântica: A micro-escala do tráfico de escravos em Benguela, século XVIII e XIX," *Tempo: Revista do Departamento de História da UFF* 10 (2006): 23-49; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730-1800)," in CEAUP, ed., *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Lisboa: Campo das Letras, 2006), 66-99; Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Echoes of the Atlantic: Benguela (Angola) and Brazilian Independence," in Lisa Lindsay and John Sweet, eds., *Biography and the Black Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 224-247.

In 1993-1994, I published what one scholar has recently referred to "as the most complete up to date assessment of the Portuguese slave trade in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries from ... Benguela".[10] Drawing upon serial data brought to light by other social scientists, as well as fiscal and customs sources located in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon), the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia (Lisbon), and the Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (Rio de Janeiro), this study showed a total of 399,267 slaves as having been legally exported from Benguela over an 82

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[5] Estevam C. Thompson, "Negreiros nos Mares do Sul: Famílias traficantes nas rotas entre Angola e Brasil em finais do século XVIII," M.A. Thesis, Universidade de Brasília, 2006; Estevam C. Thompson, "*Negreiros* in South Atlantic: The Community of 'Brazilian' Slave Traders in Late Eighteenth Century Benguela," *African Economic History* 39 (2011): 73-128; Estevam C. Thompson, "Feliciano José de Barros: escravo de sangue negreiro, c. 1775-1818," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em Torno de Angola: Narrativas, Identidades, Conexões Atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 111-141.

[6] Aida Freudenthal, "Benguela: de feitoria à cidade colonial," *Fontes e Estudos – Revista do Arquivo Nacional de Angola* 6-7 (2002): 197-229.

[7] Maryann Buri, " '*Enterro pelo amor de Deus*': Burial Space and Social Institutions in 18th century Benguela", Major Research Paper in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Master of Arts, Department of History, York University, 2013.

[8] José C. Curto, "The Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela, Angola 1730-1828: A Quantitative Re-Appraisal," *África: Revista do CEA-USP* 16-17 (1993-1994): 101-116; José C. Curto, "The Luso-African Alcohol and the Legal Slave Trade at Benguela and its Hinterland (1617-1830)," in Hubert Bonin and Michel Cahen, eds., *Négoce Blanc en Afrique Noir: L´evolution du commerce à longue distance en Afrique noire du 18 au 20 siècles* (Paris: La Société française d´histoire d´outre-mer, 2001), 351-369; José C. Curto, "Movers of Slaves: The Brazilian Community in Benguela, Angola – 1722-1832," Harriet Tubman Seminar, York University, Toronto, 2003, http://www.yorku.ca/nhp/seminars/2003_04/jccurto_tubmanseminar.doc; José C. Curto, "The Story of Nbena, 1817-20: Unlawful Enslavement and The Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola," in Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London: Continuum, 2003), 43-64; José C. Curto, "Struggling Against Enslavement: José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-1820," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39 (2005): 96-122; José C. Curto, "Alcohol under the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade: The Case of Benguela and its Hinterland (Angola)," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 201 (2011): 51-85.

[9] See also Rosa Cruz e Silva, "The Saga of Kakonda and Kilengues. Relations between Benguela and its Interior, 1791-1796," in José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery* (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 249-263.

[10] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade from Angola: A Port-by-Port Estimate of Slaves Embarked, 1701–1867," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46 (2013): 108.

year period between 1730 and 1828.[11] Other archives spread throughout the Atlantic world were subsequently targeted in the hopes of acquiring new quantitative information on legally exported slaves. The pickings however were rather slim. More than one decade later, new data had emerged for only one of the years previously documented and two other years which had previously gone undocumented. While a singular document from the Arquivo Nacional de Angola (Luanda) showed a significantly higher 5,862 slaves exported in 1799 than the 3,942 listed in my original annual "census", the Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro offered a previously untapped source evidencing 3,046 and 2,933 captives as exported in 1823 and 1824, respectively.[12] In other words, after combing numerous archives, a total of 7,899 slaves were further located as exported legally during the period under consideration.

In her 2006 doctoral dissertation, Mariana Candido made the following observation:

> According to Curto, 407,166 slaves were exported from Benguela between 1730 and 1828. The new data for *(sic)* the voyage database suggests 263,394 slaves exported from 1695 to 1860. If the two data sets are combined, then the minimum number of people exported from Benguela between 1695 to 1860 was something in the order of 487,209 people.[13]

The new data referred as from "the voyage database" was part and parcel of the huge body of quantitative information first published in 1998 by David Eltis and that by 2007 began to appear online with serious revisions as

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[11] Curto, "The Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela, Angola, 1730-1828".

[12] Arquivo Nacional de Angola, Códice 441, fols. 122^{v}-123, "Mappa dos Generos que se exportarão … no Anno de 1799 … de Benguela"; and Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, DL82,01.18, fol. 40, "Demostração da qualidade, e quantidade dos generos exportados desta Cidade de Benguela, ... nos annos de 1823, 1824, e 1825". These new figures were first published in Curto, "Alcohol under the Context of the Atlantic Slave Trade," 56.

[13] Candido, "Enslaving Frontiers," 32-33. To arrive at the Curto total, Candido states that she drew upon my 1993-94 census and a 2001 book chapter of mine. I do not offer other data to account for the higher export total that she attributes to me in that particular chapter: Curto, "Luso-Brazilian Alcohol and the Legal Slave Trade at Benguela," 351-369. Still, the new numbers that I had by then located were known to a number of Angola specialists, including Candido who, at the time, was completing her doctoral degree at York University.

Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, or TSTD for short.[14] The new data related not to captives exported annually from Benguela upon whom taxes had been officially paid, but rather to the number of slaves embarked on any given ship that left this West-Central African port-town. The Curto and TSTD datasets thus did not necessarily capture the same historical reality. Nevertheless, in order to establish as chronologically comprehensive a series as possible, Candido combined the two datasets into one by retaining the highest annual figure whenever diverging information was annually available. This was particularly important because the TSTD dataset began at the very end of the seventeenth century and ended in the mid-1850s. The number of people known to have been shipped as slaves from Benguela thus jumped to "something in the order of 487,209" between 1699 and 1856. And this was but a minimum, since many years remained undocumented or were poorly documented.

It did not take long, however, for the numbers to begin to change wildly. Highlighting the fact that "Benguela was an important slave port", Candido informed a 2010 conference that: "Between 1700 and 1850, an estimated 635,160 slaves left the port".[15] In the footnote sourcing this information, she disclosed that:

> *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database: Voyages (sic)* http://www.slavevoyages.org shows 354,115 slaves leaving the port of Benguela between 1700 and 1850. Scholars agree that this is a minimum, limited to the sources available. Based on the calculation of unidentified voyages and incomplete data, the editors of the *Database* estimated the number of slaves embarked in Benguela to be around 635,160 people.[16]

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[14] See David Eltis, Stephen D. Behrendt, David Richardson, and Herbert S. Klein, eds., *The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999); and http://www.slavevoyages.org .

[15] Candido, "South Atlantic Exchanges". Note that both the 2010 web and the 2013 printed versions of this paper contain exactly the same quantitative information. See note 2 above.

[16] Candido, "South Atlantic Exchanges". Candido's sources for this statement are the same in the web and printed versions of the paper: David Eltis and David Richardson, "A New Assessment of the Transatlantic Slave Trade," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 1–60; Daniel D. Domingues da Silva, "The Coastal Origins of the Slaves Leaving Angola from the 18th to the 19th Century," Paper presented at the 124th Annual Meeting of the American Historical Association, 2010.

In other words, the then TSTD figure of 354,115 known slaves leaving the port of Benguela between 1700 and 1850 happened to be lower than the official 407,166 slaves legally exported over a shorter 84 year period between 1730 and 1828. Of course, the lower TSTD number did not account for unidentified voyages and incomplete data. It was only when these factors were taken into consideration, we are told, that the TSTD figure then jumped to an estimated 635,160 individuals embarking at Benguela. How unidentified voyages and incomplete data were calculated to produce such an estimate was not disclosed by Candido, who was part of a small army of researchers largely responsible for collecting the new quantitative information underpinning the revised TSTD. That only 55.75% of the estimate was, at the time, effectively represented by known numbers of slaves leaving this port town does not seem to have been an issue. And, since the revised TSTD by then had data on slaves embarking at Benguela in 1699, as well as 1851, 1854 and 1856, it is difficult to understand why these annual figures were not included in Candido's computations.

Be that as it may, the "estimated 635,160 individuals embarking at Benguela"[17] quickly took on a different meaning. In a subsequently published contribution, Candido thereafter asserted that "[d]uring the era of the transatlantic slave trade, at least 635,160 slaves left Benguela for the Americas".[18] Not only was the "estimate" gone, but the other important qualifier "around" was now replaced by "at least". The certainty was cemented in another publication, with Candido maintaining that "more than 630,000 enslaved Africans were exported from Benguela", although this time "[f]rom 1696 to 1856".[19] An added 150,000 or so individuals had thus been "factually" identified as also being part of this commerce, for an increase of nearly one-third over her 2006 total.

And the numbers of slaves given as exported from Benguela have not remained static. In her recently published monograph, Candido maintains that "more than 700,000 slaves [were] deported from its port."[20] Although this higher figure is not initially accounted for, she explains further on that:

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[17] This same claim shows up in Candido, "Trans-Atlantic Links," 240.

[18] Candido, "Tracing Benguela Identity to the Homeland," 184.

[19] Candido, "African Freedom Suits and Portuguese Vassal Status," 450.

[20] Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World*, 6.

> Although we do not know the number of people shipped from the port in the seventeenth century, current estimates on the size of the slave trade can be found in the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* ... According to the database, at least 342,000 people left Benguela between 1699 and 1867, but if we add to this number estimates from the unidentified voyages from West Central African ports, the number jumps to 679,000, higher than the departures from the ports of Cabinda, Elmina, and Calabar, for example. The database, however, does not provide information on the slaves who embarked before 1699 because no ship records or export data have been located indicating precise numbers. Yet evidence from archives in the Americas reveals the existence of Benguela slaves in Cuba, Peru and Columbia before 1700, indicating that illegal slaving was operating from the port of Benguela and that the number of slaves exported from the port is higher than the editors of the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* acknowledge.[21]

In other words, estimates from unidentified voyages from West Central Africa, unknown numbers of pre-1700 slave exports, and at least 342,000 captives known to have left Benguela between 1699 and 1867 soon add up to more than 700,000 individuals effectively deported as slaves.

The miasma underpinning this type of methodology is particularly striking in two of Candido's two latest publications. In one, she asserts "[r]ecent studies indicate that between 1700 and 1866 more than 760,000 Africans were deported from Benguela to the Americas", with the footnote sourcing this assertion adding that "while the database *Voyages*: the trans-atlantic slave trade (http://www.slavevoyages.org) indicates that 345,115 slaves were embarked in the port of Benguela[, r]esearchers, however, calculate that considering the lack of information over some voyages, the number of slaves exiting from Benguela must exceed 760 thousand people, without here considering the possibility of contraband".[22] In the other, Candido claims back-to-back that "at least 679,000 people were exported to the Americas [from the port of Benguela]"[23] and then that "almost 700,000 of them [embarked] from Benguela alone".[24] That "the lack of information over *some* voyages"[25] would have to account for 414,885 or so individuals (the minimal difference between 345,115 slaves embarked and over 760,000 slaves exiting Benguela), does not seem to have raised any concerns. On the other hand, the no less significant discrepancies between these last overall figures, published within months of each other and representing increases in the order of 39% to 56% over her 2006 total, are never explained. In short, the nuanced, but significant differences between estimates, unknown data, and known numbers have been missed. And, equally if not more importantly, the changing numbers, known, estimated, or otherwise, are never analyzed and thought through.[26]

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[21] Candido, *An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World*, 152.

[22] Candido, "Negociantes baianos no porto de Benguela," 70.

[23] Candido, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Vulnerability of Free Blacks in Benguela," 193.

[24] Candido, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade and the Vulnerability of Free Blacks in Benguela," 194.

[25] My emphasis.

So what do we indeed know? The latest annual slave export numbers known are presented below in Table 1 under their respective series: while column 2 has the Curto series with the new data found since 1993-1994,[27] column 3 has the revised TSTD series last accessed on-line on June 13, 2014. As can be readily seen, although the Curto series starts in 1730, the annual data is quite sparse until the mid-eighteenth century. A complete set of yearly figures runs until 1820, after which we have but a few annual totals until the data dry up altogether following 1828. The revised TSTD series, on the other hand, begins much earlier, in 1699. It too is rather sparse until the late 1740s. Thereafter, however, the revised TSTD runs almost annually until the mid-1850s. It is thus far more chronologically comprehensive than the Curto series.

Let us examine the data found in Table 1. The Curto series presented, and still does, a trade in export slaves starting to become notable only during the 1750s. With each succeeding decade the commerce expanded, reaching its height in the 1790s. But Benguela's export trade in captives thereafter started a slow decline, as evidenced by the data relating to the first three decades of the 1800s. The data presented in the revised TSTD shows quite a different pattern. With a starting date of 1699, it displays a rather diminutive commerce in exported slaves during most of the eighteenth century and emerging as significant only in the 1790s. Over the course of the first half of

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[26] For a different, more salutary, methodological take on the Benguela data, known and estimated, by another researcher responsible for collecting the new quantitative information underpinning the revised TSTD, see: Domingues da Silva, "The Atlantic Slave Trade from Angola," 111.

[27] This column also incorporates a slight change from the original paper: although Curto, "Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Benguela, Angola 1730-1828," 114, shows a total of 6,654 slaves exported during 1798, the actual number was 6,554.

Portuguese Studies Review

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)
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Códice 3256, Governo Geral de Luanda, 1854 -1858, Registo de Escravos Fugidos: Problems and Possibilities

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A FEW YEARS AGO, I arrived at York University as an international exchange student to pursue my doctoral dissertation research on the impact of black intellectuals upon the struggle against segregation policies in South Africa before apartheid. Almost immediately thereafter, I made contact with the Angola Resgate Group (ARG) at the Harriet Tubman Institute. Part of the agreement that professors at my home university had with the AGR was that I could audit classes of interest to me in exchange for assistance with the Lusophone research material that the group had collected over the previous ten years or so in an international effort that had brought together several universities, faculty members, graduate students, and archives in Africa, Europe, and the Americas. For a Brazilian student coming from a context where African History faced (and still faces) several challenges to consolidate its political and academic position, it seemed like a fundamental opportunity was being offered to me. For better or for worse, I jumped upon it. Not long thereafter, I found myself transcribing registers of the Portuguese colonial administration in Angola, dealing with more numbers than I bargained for and facing the tribulations that 18th and 19th century handwritten documents offer to researchers used to the blessings left by Johannes Gutenberg. But I do not want to sound resentful.

In this contribution, I concentrate my attention on *Códice 3256, Governo Geral de Luanda, 1854-1858, Registo de Escravos Fugidos*,[1] a volume of bound manuscript documents produced by the Portuguese colonial administration to register data on recaptured fugitive slaves in Luanda during the years indicated. The idea of using this document as a primary source may seem dis-

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[1] Arquivo Nacional de Angola (henceforth ANA), Códice 3256 Governo Geral de Luanda, Registo de Escravos Fugidos 1854-1858.

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 27-41 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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placed or even *démodé* at a moment when the linguistic turn and several different intellectual movements attached to it have, particularly over the past two or three decades, inspired a great deal of historical research. Some historians influenced by this school may question what a list registering recaptured fugitive slaves in Luanda between 1854 and 1858 has to offer besides a linguistic construction or an attempt to organize a discourse of power within a particular slavocratic society. My intention here is to highlight the research possibilities that I see when I read *Códice 3256*—possibilities, I think, that can offer important contributions to a history permeated by serious gaps.

Studies that reveal agency and the importance of recognizing multiple political articulations in the everyday life of a society built upon slavery have now consolidated their space in the historiography for more than half a century. Flight continues to be referred by scholars as the most frequent method of resistance against slavery throughout the Atlantic world. Yet, over the course of the past few decades, a prolific field of research on slave resistance in the Americas has turned almost invisible the struggle against enslavement and slavery in Africa, with the phenomena given as exclusive to the transatlantic experience. As pointed out long ago by Paul E. Lovejoy, its importance remains largely obscured in the African context.[2] Moreover, as indicated more recently by Richard Reid, the comparative dearth of research on pre-colonial African History has also led to the notion that slavery was an introjected, unchallenged practice amongst African societies prior do the development of the transatlantic slave trade.[3] The case of resistance to slavery in Angola, which was far from specific to the mid-nineteenth century, clearly shows otherwise.[4] A decade ago, José C. Curto also pointed out that although the number of studies dedicated to the Atlantic slave trade and slavery in Africa had vastly proliferated, research concentrating on Africans resisting slavery within Africa was still relatively thin. Since then, this question has been addressed by studies that, focusing on West Central Africa, have gradually brought some light to different aspects of resistance to slavery through an African perspective: Roquinaldo Ferreira, Samüel Coghe, and Curto himself are among those who can be cited in this effort.[5]

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[2] Paul E. Lovejoy, "Fugitive Slaves: Resistance to Slavery in the Sokoto Caliphate," in Gary Y. Okohiro, ed., *In Resistance: Studies in African, Caribbean, and Afro-American History* (Amherst: University of Massachusetts Press, 1986), 71-95.

[3] Richard Reid, "Past and Presentism: The 'Preocolonial' and the Foreshortening of African History," *Journal of African History* 52 (2011): 135-155.

[4] See Beatrix Heintze, "Asiles toujours menacés: Fuites d'esclaves en Angola au XVIIe siècle," in Katia de Queiros Mattoso, ed., *Esclavages: Histoire d'une diversité, de l'Océan Indien à l'Atlantique sud* (Paris: L'Harmattan, 1997), 101-122; Aida Freudenthal, "Os Quilombos de Angola no Século XIX: A recusa da escravidão," *Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997): 109-34; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Slave Flights and Runaway Communities in Angola (17th–19th centuries)," *Anos 90* 21 (2014): 65-90.

What light then does the particular case of *Codex 3256,* including the circumstances that made possible its production in Luanda, bring forth on this issue? This is one of over 12,000 codexes currently housed in the Arquivo Nacional de Angola. It is a forty-one page bound, manuscript document with information on recaptured escaped slaves. *Codex 3256* represents clear-cut proof of one of the many challenges that anyone faces in attempting to fill the gaps in the history of Angola. Pages are missing from the document: the first registers, for example, appear only on folio 16. Considering this and the fact that the last entry of the codex is registered on folio 41^{v},[6] it is quite possible that at least one third of the information once registered in *Códice 3256* is now missing. If that is indeed the case, one may further posit that the fifteen pages missing held information on recaptured slaves in Luanda before 1854.

This hypothesis places *Códice 3256* in a very peculiar moment. Following the 1836 declaration in Lisbon that made slave exports from Portugal's overseas colonies illegal, the international anti-slave trade movement found itself in flux. At the same time, Portuguese entrepreneurship in Africa was expanding and several attempts were made to consolidate Portugal's presence in Angola.[7] In Luanda, in particular, the ban on the export of captives eventually led to a demographic explosion. Between 1844 and 1850, the urban population of this former slaving port jumped from 5,605 to 12,565 individuals, with captives accounting for almost half of this increase.[8] And, as previously exportable slaves accumulated on the littoral, their price dropped significantly from 70-80 to 10-20 USD which, in turn, made increasing numbers of enslaved labourers available for the expanding colonial domestic economy. Sugarcane and cotton plantations, smaller agricultural properties supplying the food requirements of coastal populations, and urban centers all benefited from these demographic and economic changes.

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[5] See José C. Curto, "Resistência à Escravidão na África: o caso dos escravos fugitivos recapturados em Angola, 1846–1876," *Afro-Ásia* 33 (2005): 67-86; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Escravidão e Revoltas de Escravos em Angola (1830 –1860)," *Afro-Ásia* 21-22 (1998-1999): 9-44; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Slaving and Resistance to Slaving in West Central Africa," in David Eltis and Stanley Engerman, eds., *The Cambridge World History of Slavery, Volume 3 – AD 1420–AD 1804* (Cambridge University Press, 2011), 111-131; Samüel Coghe, "Apprenticeship and the Negotiation of Freedom: The Liberated Africans of the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed Commission in Luanda (1844–1870)," *Africana Studia* 14 (2010): 255-273; Samüel Coghe, "The Problem of Freedom in a Mid Nineteenth-Century Atlantic Slave Society: The Liberated Africans of the Anglo-Portuguese Mixed Commission in Luanda (1844–1870)," *Slavery and Abolition* 33 (2012): 479-500; Isabel de Castro Henriques, *Commerce et changement en Angola au XIXe siècle: Imbangala et Tshokwe face à la modernité* (Paris: Éditions L'Harmattan, 1995).

[6] The last entry in the codex is dated 7 August, 1858. No explanation is given as to why the registers stopped on that particular date: several blank folios follow. ANA, Códice 3256, fols. 41^{v}-42.

The mid-nineteenth century was thus a period was of considerable change in Angola, including Luanda. Not surprisingly, a series of important questions arose within the local Portuguese colonial administration. One was how to maintain an expanding economy stable. Another was how to create and preserve an apparatus that would benefit those engaged in developing the colonial economy. Another still was how to prevent growing contingents of slaves from rising up against their masters. These, and other, issues bring us back to the debate on resistance to slavery in Africa and how the colonial administration in Angola managed to deal with the constant threat of rebellion.

Following the 1844-1850 demographic explosion that took place in Luanda, the colonial administration began to develop a legal system that would curb the ever increasing instances of slave flight and thereby protect the expanding colonial economy. In 1852, the *Governador Geral* or Governor General of the colony made public that, with a vast number of traders and slave owners having complained of the significant losses resulting from the constant flight of their human property, a pass system was to be implemented for individuals travelling throughout the interior: while free persons were required to carry passports or passes proving their legal status, slaves were obliged to have *bilhetes* or notes issued by their masters. Particular attention was to be paid by those entrusted with controlling the notes issued by masters so as to establish their authenticity and avoid any kind of transgression or fraud.[9] But, at the same time that the colonial government turned its attention towards protecting the direct interest of slave owners, it also enacted other measures that went in the opposite direction. One of these, which regulated extrajudicial corporal punishment, could be read as a governmental attempt to curb slaveowner violence and thus contribute towards reducing slave flight. Another, enacted in January 1856, reinforced an existing ban on keeping slaves in chains and in irons: slave owners who violated this order were to be fined 20$000 *réis* or 30 days in prison for each slave found enchained; the proprietors of captives discovered in chains along interior trading routes, a likely indication that they were destined for illegal export, would lose their human assets and face the weight of the law. As part of this measure, slaves who denounced other captives being kept in chains would be rescued and liberated by the colonial government if the case proved to be truthful and if the enchained slaves belonged to the same master as he/she did.[10]

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[7] Ferreira, "Escravidão e Revoltas de Escravos em Angola," 9.

[8] José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32 (1999): 381-405); José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda During the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History* 29 (2001): 1-59; José C. Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population: An Analysis of the 1850 Censuses of Luanda", in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em Torno de Angola: Narrativas, Identidades, Conexões Atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios), 225-247.

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[9] The document published in the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Província de Angola*, 6 March, 1852, p. 1, states:

Tendo chegado à presença de S. Ex.ª o Governador Geral da Província um requerimento em que uma grande parte dos Negociantes e Proprietarios desta Cidade pedem providencias para se evitar o grave prejuízo que lhes resulta das repetidas fugas de escravos, e sendo certo que já por diversas vezes se tem recommendado aos differentes Chefes de Districtos, e Commandantes de Presidios, o mais escrupuloso cuidado e vigilânia para com os indivíduos que transitam nas suas jurisdicções, manda o mesmo Exm.º Sr. chamar de novo a attenção de de (sic) V. S.ª sobre este ponto, determinando, que em quanto se não tomão outras providências para reprimir a fuga de escravos, V. S.ª expresa as mais terminantes ordens aos seus subordinados, para que não deixem passar individuo algum sem passaporte ou guia, sendo livre—ou sem bilhete do seu Senhor, sendo escravo; devendo neste caso não comprehender o bilhete mais de 4 escravos, na conformidade da Circular expedida por esta Secretaria Geral em 11 de Outubro de 1845 sob n.º 1824 recommendando S. Ex.ª que se façam as possíveis investigações a taes viandantes com o fim de se conhecer se são os proprios mencionados nos bilhetes, e mesmo se estes não são contrafeitos; devendo ser immediatamente capturados todos aquelles escravos em que recaiam bem fundadas suspeitas de se acharem em contravenção a qualquer destes casos.

Deos Guarde a V. S.ª Secretaria do Governo Geral da Provincia de Angola, 5 de Março de 1852. – Ilm.º Chefe do Districto da Barra do Bengo. – Servindo de Secretario Geral do Governo, Eduardo Augusto de Sousa, Official Maior.

Identicos se expediram a todos os Chefes de Districtos e Commandantes de Presidios.

But we are perhaps getting ahead of ourselves. Indeed, *Códice* 3256 provides a great deal of data on the recaptured slaves themselves. The first registers that now appear in this document are dated 29 March, 1854, while the last entries date from 7 August, 1858. Over the course of this period, a total of 774 slaves in flight were recorded has been recaptured. As can be seen in Table 1, their distribution was far from uniform, with the data pointing to a downward trend. However, this probably has more to do with the incomplete data for 1854 and 1858 than any of the social and political realities of those particular years.

Table 1 Códice 3256—Recaptured Slaves by year of Recapture

1854	203	26.2%
1855	195	25.2%
1856	111	14.3%
1857	151	19.5%
1858	106	13.7%
No information available	8	1.0%
Total	774	100%

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[10] *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d'Angola*, *Supplemento ao n.º 539,* 28 January, 1856, p. 1, Portaria n.º 241:

Art. 4º É renovada a antiga prohibição de ter os escravos acorrentados, ou de qualquer outro modo presos com ferros—como machos, algemas etc. – Os contraventores desta determinação incorrerão na muleta (*sic*) de 20$000 rs. ou prisão de 30 dias, por cada escravo, que puserem em ferros. Se os escravos encontrados em ferros, estiverem em feitoria do litoral, aonde não haja autoridade publica, serão, por esse facto, considerados como destinados para embarque, e ficarão os donos sujeitos ao perdimento delles, além das outras penas legaes, provando-se a tentativa da exportação dos mesmos escravos.

Art. 5º Todo o escravo, que der denuncia de que em algum ponto da costa se acham outros postos em ferros, será, verificada que seja a denuncia, resgatado à custa do Estado, segundo o modo estabelecido no Decreto de 14 de Dezembro de 1854. Se o escravo for do mesmo dono dos que se acharem presos com ferros, a liberdade lhe será conferida, sem nenuma indemnisação para o dito dono."

With *Códice* 3256 kept over a period of four years, more than one person was responsible for entering the data therein. It is not uncommon, for example, to find different handwriting on the same page. Moreover, it is also clear that differences exist in the way and the place where information was registered. Thus, for 1854, it is common to find notes referring to the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Província d'Angola*, the local weekly gazette published by the colonial government, where details about recaptured were published as of 22 August, 1846. In the case of the period between August, 1855 and June, 1857, on the other hand, no information regarding the *Boletim* was penned into any entry. Following this hiatus, notes relating to the *Boletim* re-appear on 1 July, 1857, only to completely disappear again three weeks later. Why this materialized is not altogether evident. However, in quite a few instances, it is clearly possible to go beyond *Códice 3256* to develop further insights into the experiences of the recaptured slaves by drawing upon data published in the *Boletim*. For instance, Antonio Manoel, registered in *Códice* 3256 as recaptured in Icollo and forwarded to the *Obras Públicas* or Public Works division in Luanda on 12 May, 1854,[11] is listed on the first page of the 10 June edition of the *Boletim* with several other recaptured slaves awaiting there to be reclaimed by their respective masters.[12] Between 1854 and 1858, slaves caught in flight who went unreclaimed by their owners were (re)sold by the state on behalf of their respective owners fifteen days following the publication date of their recapture.[13] Neither *Códice 3256* nor the *Boletim* offer further insights into the case of Antonio Manoel. Nevertheless, one thing is clear: not every slaveowner was interested in reclaiming slaves that had absconded.

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[11] ANA, Códice 3256, fol. 17.

[12] *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d'Angola*, 10 June, 1854, p. 1.

[13] As can be determined from the following example: "Aviso: Pela Secretaria do Governo Geral se annuncia pela ultima vez, que existem na Repartição das Obras Públicas, os escravos seguintes: Muta, de Manoel Antonio de Magalhães e Silva, Catraio, do Capitão Cardozo, Anna, de José Maria de Castro, Antonio Manoel, de Francisco da Costa Valadares, Joaquim, de José Maria Mergú, capturados em differentes districtos e Presidios: Quem se julgar com direito aos mesmos escravos, procure tira-los d'aquella Repartição no prazo de 15 dias, contadas desta data, pena de serem vendidos por conta de quem pertencerem, na conformidade do Regulamento da Cadeia." *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d'Angola*, 10 June, 1854, p. 1. There is no added information in *Códice 3256* about the other slaves mentioned in this edition of the *Boletim*.

Códice 3256 presents us with four columns of information pertaining to the slaves recaptured between 29 March, 1854 and 7 August, 1858. The first column details the *Procedências* or locales from where the recaptured captives were dispatched by colonial administrators and/or their representatives under escort to Luanda: this information can be used as a broad proxy to the place where individuals in flight were recaptured. The second column records the names of the slaves recaptured in flight: these can provide insights into both the acculturation levels of the individuals in question, as well as to their sex. The third column provides the date on which recaptured slaves were forwarded to the Public Works division in Luanda.[14] The fourth and last column offers *Observações* or diverse observations ranging from the fates of the recaptured slaves to, sometimes, the names of their owners. Inputted into a dataset, this information becomes extremely valuable at a number of levels.

The data on provenance shows that the majority of the slaves recaptured during the period under consideration emanated from landscapes relatively closed to Luanda. As data in Table 2 show, the neighboring colonial districts of Barra do Bengo, Icollo e Bengo, Dande, Zenza, Calumbo, and Golungo Alto accounted for slightly more than 63% of all recaptives fowarded to Luanda between 29 March, 1854 and 7 August, 1858.[15] A number of answers can account for this concentration: the proximity of interior colonial administrative units to the central government in Luanda; the fact that many of the slaves in mid-nineteenth century originated from places close to the coast; the existence of runaway communities in landscapes relatively close to the colonial capital of Angola; and, by the second half of the 1850s, and greater administrative surveillance of people on the move in the interior. Whatever the case, most of the slaves in flight who were recaptured did not venture far from their place of captivity.

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[14] After they were caught, recaptured slaves were first sent to prison. There, they waited for their owners to reclaim their property while labouring for the Public Works division to help defray the costs of their confinement. *Códice 3256* was not the only register with documentation on the recapture of slaves on the run. Another important repository of information on recaptured slaves is effectively the *Boletim Official do Governo Geral da Provincia d'Angola*: see, in particular, Curto, "Resistência à Escravidão na África". See also Frank Dikotter and Ian Brown, eds, *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America.* London, Hurst &Co. Ltd., 2007; Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Notas preliminares sobre punição de escravos em Luanda (Século XIX)" in Ana Cristina Roque and Maria Manuel Torrão, eds., *O Colonialismo Português: Novos Rumos da historiografia dos PALOP* (Porto: Edições Humus, 2013): 155-176; and the contribution by Tracy Lopes in this special issue.

[15] The prominence of Icollo e Bengo as the place of origin of most of the recaptured slaves is explained by the abundance of *quilombos* or communities of escaped slaves in that region: Ferreira, "Escravidão e Revoltas de Escravos em Angola"; Freudenthal, "Os Quilombos de Angola no Século XIX"; Castro Henriques, *Commerce et changement en Angola*.

Table 2 *Códice 3256*—Recaptured Slaves by Place of Recapture

Barra do Bengo	101	13.0%
Icollo e Bengo	100	12.9%
Golungo Alto	97	12.5%
Calumbo	95	12.3%
Zenza	55	7.1%
Dande	42	5.4%
Other places	282	36.4%
No information available	2	0.25%
Total	774	100%

Códice 3256 does not offer a column with specific data on the sex of the recaptured slaves. Nonetheless, this information can be obtained from the second column of information where the names of the unfortunate recaptives are registered. Most of these are, by and large, first names given in their Christian variation. As such, Christian first names like Joaquim, Gregório, Rosa, or Anna are always gender specific in the Portuguese language.[16] Using this technique, it is possible to determine that 504 or approximately 65% of the total number of recaptured slaves listed were male. While female recaptures slaves account for a further 20%, gender cannot be determined for 155

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[16] See John K. Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Practices," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series, 50 (1993): 727-742; David Eltis and Ugo Nwokeji, "The Roots of the African Diaspora: Methodological Considerations in the Analysis of Names in the Liberated African Registers of Sierra Leone and Havana," *History in Africa* 29 (2002): 265-279; José C. Curto, " 'As if From a Free Womb': Baptismal Manumissions in the Conceição Parish, Luanda, 1778-1807," *Portuguese Studies Review* 10 (2002): 26-57.

Portuguese Studies Review

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)
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Aspects of Angolan Social History

KANANOJA, PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW 23 (2) (2015) 45-69

Bioprospecting and European Uses of African Natural Medicine in Early Modern Angola[1]

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Introduction

Early modern Africa has often been characterized as a "white man's grave." Until the advances in tropical medicine in the late nineteenth century, an unfriendly disease environment hampered European colonization of Africa.[2] Yet, before that, Europeans had been active on the Atlantic and Indian Ocean coasts of Africa for centuries. West Central Africa, in particular, served as a major source of slaves for the Portuguese in the southern Atlantic. In comparison to India and Brazil, however, the Portuguese presence in Angola was demographically small. Some came in service of the crown or the church. Others sought quick profits from the slave trade, while the colony also served as a penal colony to which criminals were forcefully transported.[3] All these men—and a considerably lower number of women–had to find ways to recreate their lives in Africa, including finding efficacious remedies for foreign diseases.

This article discusses how Portuguese settlers pioneered bioprospecting and the uses of African natural medicine in Angola. Although the term bioprospecting was not coined until 1992, it refers to an old practice, namely

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[1] I would like to express my gratitude to the anonymous reviewers of this special issue and its editors for their comments and suggestions. This work is part of the research project # 1267280, "Creolization of Medicine in West Central Africa, 1650-1850," supported by the Academy of Finland and the University of Helsinki, to which I am indebted.

[2] Philip D. Curtin, "The White Man's Grave: Image and Reality, 1780-1850," *Journal of British Studies* 1 (1961): 94-110; Philip D. Curtin, *Disease and Empire: The Health of European Troops in the Conquest of Africa* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

[3] Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978), 59-64; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *The Portuguese Empire, 1415-1808: A World on the Move* (Baltimore and London: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1998), 58-64.

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 45-69 (rel. 2016) ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
JOURNAL HOMEPAGES: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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drug development based on medicinal plants and traditional knowledge from the "biodiversity-rich" regions of the globe.[4] The commercial search for exotic medicines, dyestuffs, and foods outside Europe was common in the early modern era, and many Europeans valued the knowledge of indigenous Africans, Americans, and Asians.[5] Yet, until recently, European interest in African medicine has been treated as a phenomenon that only began in earnest in the second half of the nineteenth century.[6] Although historians have long recognized the contributions of Portuguese physicians among pioneering efforts in understanding tropical diseases, West Central African natural medicine, especially in the early modern period, has received scant attention compared to India and Brazil.[7] Yet, similar to India and Southeast

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[4] Cori Hayden, *When Nature Goes Public: The Making and Unmaking of Bioprospecting in Mexico* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2003), 1.

[5] Richard Grove, *Green Imperialism: Colonial Expansion, Tropical Island Edens and the Origins of Environmentalism, 1600-1860* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Richard Drayton, *Nature's Government: Science, Imperial Britain, and the 'Improvement' of the World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Londa Schiebinger, *Plants and Empire: Colonial Bioprospecting in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, MA, and London: Harvard University Press, 2004); Harold Cook, *Matters of Exchange: Commerce, Medicine, and Science in the Dutch Golden Age* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); Hugh Glenn Cagle, "The Botany of Colonial Medicine: Gender, Authority, and Natural History across Iberian Empires," in Sarah E. Owens and Jane E. Mangan, eds., *Women of the Iberian Atlantic* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2012), 174-195.

[6] Helen Tilley, *Africa as a Living Laboratory: Empire, Development, and the Problem of Scientific Knowledge, 1870-1950* (Chicago and London: University of Chicago Press, 2011); Deborah Neill, *Networks in Tropical Medicine: Internationalism, Colonialism, and the Rise of a Medical Specialty, 1890–1930* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2012); Markku Hokkanen, "Imperial Networks, Colonial Bioprospecting and Burroughs Wellcome & Co.: The Case of *Strophanthus Kombe* from Malawi (1859–1915)," *Social History of Medicine* 25 (3) (2012): 589-607; Abena Dove Osseo-Asare, *Bitter Roots: The Search for Healing Plants in Africa* (Chicago and London: The University of Chicago Press, 2014).

[7] Charles R. Boxer, *Two Pioneers of Tropical Medicine: Garcia d'Orta and Nicolás Monardes* (London: The Hispanic & Luso-Brazilian Councils, 1963). For a comprehensive bibliography up to mid-1990s, see José Pedro Sousa Dias, "Bibliografia sobre a farmácia e a material médica da expansão e da colonização portuguesa (séculos XVI a XVIII)," *Mare Liberum* 11-12 (1996): 165-207. For the purposes of this paper, I have relied on Timothy Walker, "Acquisition and Circulation of Medical Knowledge within the Early Modern Portuguese Colonial Empire," in Daniela Bleichmar, Paula de Vos, Kristin Huffine, and Kevin Sheehan, eds., *Science in the Spanish and Portuguese Empires* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2009), 247-270; Timothy Walker, "The Medicines Trade in the Portuguese Atlantic World: Acquisition and Dissemination of Healing Knowledge from Brazil (c. 1580-1800)," *Social History of Medicine* 26 (3) (2013): 403-431; Márcia Moisés Ribeiro, *A ciência dos trópicos: A*

Asia, East and West Africa, and Brazil, Portuguese were interested in local medical practices and ingredients in Angola ever since they first settled there.[8]

The reasons for acceptance and adoption of natural medicine in different parts of the Portuguese Empire were pragmatic. Pharmaceuticals imported from Europe were expensive and their supply was never sufficient to quench the demand for medical drugs in the tropics. Curiosity also played a part as physicians as well as ordinary European men and women experimented with local products. After all, natural medicine in Africa did not differ significantly from early modern European medicine made up of plants and mineral products. Furthermore, from the mid-eighteenth century onwards, scientific and economic interests started to play a greater role in Angolan medical history.[9]

By discussing a variety of written sources, this article argues that Angolan natural medicine was used and enjoyed widespread popularity not only in West Central Africa but also in mainland Portugal. From the early contacts and acknowledgements of African natural medicine, knowledge began to be systematized in the latter half of the seventeenth century by military offi-

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arte médica no Brasil do século XVIII (São Paulo: Editora HUCITEC, 1997); Vera Regina Beltrão Marques, *Natureza em Boiões: Medicina e boticários no Brasil setecentista* (Campinas: Editora da UNICAMP, 2000).

[8] Among the few English-language contributions discussing West Central African medicine and medical practices in the early modern period are William Simon, "A Luso-African Formulary of the late Eighteenth Century: Some notes on Angolan contributions to European knowledge of materia medica," *Pharmacy in History* 18 (3) (1976): 103-114; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese world, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Kalle Kananoja, "Healers, Idolaters and Good Christians: A Case Study of Creolization and Popular Religion in Mid-Eighteenth Century Angola," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 43 (3) (2010), 443-465; Kalle Kananoja, "Central African Identities and Religiosity in Colonial Minas Gerais," PhD dissertation, Åbo Akademi University, 2012). For an ethnographic perspective, see Eric Bossard, *La medecine traditionnelle chez les Ovimbundu* (Institut d'Ethnologie, Université de Neuchâtel, 1987); Eric Bossard, *La medecine traditionnelle au centre et a l'ouest de l'Angola* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1996).

[9] On Portuguese scientific expeditions, see William J. Simon, *Scientific Expeditions in the Portuguese Overseas Territories (1783-1808) and the Role of Lisbon in the Intellectual-Scientific Community of the Late Eighteenth Century* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica Tropical, 1983).

cials and Capuchin missionaries. Further efforts at systematization are evident in the final decade of the eighteenth century, when botanical samples were collected and sent to Lisbon. European attitudes toward Angolan natural medicine were generally positive, although indigenous medical practitioners were criticized on religious grounds because of their ritual proceedings. Another source of criticism was the arbitrary dosages of medicine used by popular healers.

As Heywood and Thornton have argued, Portuguese settlement in West Central Africa led into processes of cultural creolization between Europeans and Africans.[10] One of the areas affected by creolization, which has not been hitherto studied, was health and medicine. This article argues that, in medical matters, Europeans learned and willingly borrowed more from locals than they gave in return or contributed to African population's health. Early modern European medical thought was dominated by Hippocratic and Galenic ideas of disease and the body. Restoring the patient to health relied on purging the body of "bad humors" by using strong laxatives as well as bleedings to reduce the volume of the blood.[11] These were also common methods in West Central Africa. Moreover, an idea that illness was caused by spiritual forces still prevailed in Portuguese popular culture.[12] Thus, in many ways, early modern European and African medical practices resembled one another and, as Walker has noted, the Portuguese were far more receptive to the adoption and dissemination of indigenous medical practices than has generally been appreciated.[13]

Takula and kikongo in early exchanges

The major endemic diseases early modern Europeans encountered in West Central Africa were venereal diseases, dysentery, malaria (usually referred to only as fever), smallpox and severe gastro-intestinal convulsions. The principal infectious diseases that recurred as epidemics in the region included yellow fever, smallpox, measles, and influenza, and they helped to limit Portuguese territorial conquest. Epidemiological and climatological factors also had an impact on mortality and population numbers in Luanda.[14]

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[10] Linda M. Heywood, "Portuguese into African: The Eighteenth-Century Central African Background to Atlantic Creole Cultures," in Linda M. Heywood, ed., *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 91-113; Linda M. Heywood and John K. Thornton, *Central Africans, Atlantic Creoles, and the Foundation of the Americas, 1585-1660* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007).

[11] Georgina Silva dos Santos, "A Arte de Sangrar na Lisboa do Antigo Regime," *Tempo* 10 (19) (2005): 43-60.

[12] José Pedro Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição num país sem "caça às bruxas" 1600 -1774* (Lisbon: Notícias Editorial, 1997), passim.

[13] Walker, "Acquisition and Circulation."

Medicines that enjoyed widespread use in early modern Angola have been identified and classified by Dias, who has listed 124 different drugs based on their composition—animal, vegetable, or mineral. In Africa, these were used to treat almost 400 diseases and injured body parts. Yet, Dias's schematic listing does not ponder on questions such as which were the most common African medicinals employed by the Portuguese or which ones enjoyed prolonged popularity. Neither does it ponder on regional variations or the movement of different indigenous drugs within West Central Africa.[15] Such questions can only be answered by a careful study of primary sources produced over three centuries.

Early cultural exchanges between the Portuguese and West Central Africans were initiated in 1483, when the Portuguese navigator Diogo Cão and his crew reached Soyo. The kingdom of Kongo's ruler Nzinga a Nkuwu was interested in what the Portuguese had to offer, and he requested priests, carpenters, and stonemasons as well as farmers to teach them to till the soil with plows, and women to teach them how to bake bread. Some children were sent from Kongo to Lisbon to learn to read and write and become Christian. Although European agricultural techniques proved unsuitable to tropical Africa and were quickly abandoned, other cultural practices, such as Christianity and literacy, persisted. According to Heywood and Thornton, this led to the emergence of Atlantic Creole culture in Kongo, and later, in parts of Angola.[16]

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[14] Douglas L. Wheeler, "A Note on Smallpox in Angola, 1670-1875," *Studia* 13-14 (1964): 351-362; Jill R. Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola, c. 1830-1930," *Journal of African History* 22 (3) (1981): 349-378; Joseph C. Miller, "The Significance of Drought, Disease and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West Central Africa," *Journal of African History* 23 (1) (1982): 17-61; José C. Curto and Raymond R. Gervais, "The Population History of Luanda during the Late Atlantic Slave Trade, 1781-1844," *African Economic History* 29 (2001): 1-59.

[15] José Pedro Sousa Dias, "Índice de drogas medicinais angolanas em documentos dos séculos XVI a XVIII," *Revista Portuguesa de Farmácia* 45 (4) (1995): 174-184.

[16] Heywood and Thornton, *Central Africans*, 60-67.

Medical knowledge played an important role in the early cultural exchanges between Europeans and Africans. In 1526, in a letter to King D. João III, D. Afonso I, the king of Kongo, requested Portuguese medical specialists. Pointing that the Kongolese suffered from many and diverse infirmities, King Afonso argued that Kongolese Christians should benefit from Portuguese medical knowledge. Although in Kongo people cured themselves with plants and by traditional customs, Afonso argued that such drugs and ceremonies, in which people put their faith, were of little service to God, thus making a strong case for the eradication of traditional indigenous practices. Afonso had a good sense of what the Portuguese could offer, for he specifically asked D. João III to send two physicians, two pharmacists, and a surgeon.[17]

After these early Kongolese attempts to acquire European medical knowledge, the exchanges seem to have turned around or at least Portuguese acquisitions of African natural products are better documented. *Kikongo* wood (*Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, L.)[18] was one of the earliest wood exports to Portugal as it was often among the gifts offered by African rulers to Portuguese kings. For example, in 1565, 40 pieces of *kikongo* were among the gifts send by Ndongo's ruler to King Sebastião. Father Francisco de Gouveia commented that the tree was very valuable in Angola.[19] When Paulo Dias de Novais entered Angola in 1575, larger and smaller pieces of *kikongo* were again included among the gifts to be sent to the King in Portugal.[20]

In their efforts to cure diseases contracted in Africa, the Portuguese were eager to learn from the local population. Jesuit Father Garcia Simões, who accompanied Paulo Dias de Novais in 1575, wrote about a red dyewood known locally as *takula* (*Pterocarpus soyauxii*, Taub. and *P. tinctorius*, Welw.). Local people used *takula* to paint their bodies from head to toe, and it also had a medical use. *Takula* was used by Africans and some Portuguese to cure fever and headaches. A white man who had tried *takula* told Simões that it worked very well. Simões himself had tried kola nuts but found them bitter like rhubarb. According to him, kola nuts were used as a stimulant by blacks as well as whites.[21]

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[17] "Carta do Rei do Congo a D. João III, October 18, 1526," in António Brásio, ed., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana* (hereafter MMA) (1st series, 15 vols., Lisbon: Agência Gerald o Ultramar, 1952-1988), Vol. 1: 488-489.

[18] In early modern primary sources, kikongo was often referred to as sandalwood. In research literature I have consulted, including Simon, "A Luso-African Formulary," and Bossard, *La medecine traditionnelle*, kikongo is identified as *Tarchonanthus camphoratus*, L., but around Luanda a plant known as kikongo has been referred to as belonging to the *Brachylaena* genus. John Gossweiler, *Flora exótica de Angola: nomes vulgares e origem das plantas cultivadas ou subespontâneas* (Separata of *Agronomia Angolana*, Luanda, 1950).

[19] "Carta do padre Francisco de Gouveia para o Colégio das Artes, May 19, 1565," in Brásio, ed., MMA, Vol. 2: 530.

[20] "História da residência dos padres da Companhia de Jesus em Angola, e cousas tocantes ao Reino, e Conquista, May 1, 1594," in Brásio, ed., MMA, Vol. 4: 557.

In the late sixteenth century, Lopes reported that fever was locally cured by mixing *takula* and *kikongo* wood with palm oil and applying this on the body, from head to toe, twice or three times. According to Lopes, *kikongo* was among the most appreciated medicines, and hence was expensive, one piece costing a slave. He also noted that some trees could be used as antidotes to snake bites, and that certain poisonous snakes provided medicines to cure fever. Early modern Europeans in Africa rarely distinguished between syphilis, yaws, and gonorrhea, and the confusion about syphilis and yaws is evident in Lopes's account. Yaws and syphilis are closely related treponemal diseases, which produce readily identifiable skin lesions. Yaws was endemic in parts of Africa, and quite high frequencies were found in some regions, including West Central Africa.[22] In the Kikongo language, yaws was called *kitanga*, and Lopes likened this with the "French disease" or syphilis. To cure *kitanga*, the Portuguese made an unguent of *kikongo* powder but used vinegar instead of palm oil.[23] The Portuguese willingness to use an African plant product, and mixing it with something they were familiar with from home, can be taken as an early example of creolization of medicine in West Central Africa. As discussed below, there were other similar experiments to come.

Takula's importance for West Central Africans was described in the early seventeenth century by Samuel Brun, who had been trained as a barber-sur-

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[21] Gastão Sousa Dias, ed., *Relações de Angola (Primórdios da ocupação portuguesa)* (Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 1934), 55-56.

[22] Don R. Brothwell, "Yaws," in Kenneth F. Kiple, ed., *The Cambridge World History of Human Disease* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993), 1096-1100.

[23] Filippo Pigafetta, *Relatione del reame di Congo et delle circonvicine contrade, tratta dalli scritti e ragionamenti di Odoardo Lopez portoghese* (Roma: Appresso Bartolomeo Grassi, 1591), 14-15, 32-33, 69.

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)
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Buri, Portuguese Studies Review 23 (2) (2015) 71-92

Towards a Social History of Burials in Angola: Benguela, 1770-1795[1]

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DURING the era of the trans-Atlantic slave trade, the coast of Angola gained the reputation of being a "white man's grave."[2] Indeed, there was a high rate of death among all occupants of coastal ports such as Benguela and Luanda, whether among indigenous inhabitants, free migrant Africans, slaves, Luso-Africans, or recent white settlers. This paper formulates a demographic social history of Benguela during the slave trade using death and dying as a category of analysis. I am focusing on the historical knowledge that can be gleaned from examining *óbitos* (burial records) from the ecclesiastical archives pertaining to the church of Nossa Senhora do Pópulo from the years 1770-1795.[3] This source is particularly powerful because no censuses were taken in Benguela before the second half of the 1790s, and the social historiography of this time period in Angola is relatively sparse. Also, the first municipal cemetery in Benguela began to be constructed only in 1801, which makes the late 18th century a unique scope within which to study church burial space.[4] Overall, this paper explores how

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[1] I am in debt to the anonymous reviewers and the editors of this special issue for their critiques, comments, and suggestions.

[2] See Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988), 284, as one of many examples of this turn of phrase.

[3] Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda (ABL), Freguesia de Benguela, Óbitos 1770-1796. While the *codice* is labelled "1770-1796", the documents contained only extend to 1795.

[4] Delegação do Ministério da Cultura-Benguela, Foto Album, Vol. 3, 3; see also Ralph Delgado, *A Famosa e Histórica Benguela: Catálogo de Governadores* (Benguela: Edição do Govêrno da Província, 1962), 42-43; for architectural and cultural discussions on cemeteries and funerals in Angola in the 20th century, see Costa Alda, "Arte funerária dos 'Mbali' de Angola," in Alda Costa et. al., eds., *As Áfricas de Pancho Guedes: colecção de Dori e Amâncio Guedes* (Lisboa: Câmara Municipal de Lisboa, 1978), 72-77; Gilberto Freyre, *Em tôrno de*

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 71-92 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
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ecclesiastical burial records can offer a unique insight into the demographic and social realities of Benguela for a period from which few written records survive. In particular, I want to argue that these sources, through quantitative analysis, can uniquely contribute to the intersecting historical subjects of gender, family, and social status in Angola.

Historiographical Framework and Methodology

Historically, the study of burial records and practices as a means of reconstructing social history has largely been conducted in parts of the world where vast collections of written documents are readily accessible, such as Europe and North America.[5] In the field of African history, however, only in rare cases have vital statistics been used, usually with the purpose of discerning major demographic trends. One particularly useful example of the use of parish records is the work of Veijo Notkola and Harri Siiskonen, who have used 20th century protestant records not only to uncover the demography of a community but to trace general trends in Christian social life.[6] A general perception seems to persist in the field, however, that it is only possibly to conduct this kind of study for the 20th century, due to the sparseness of written sources previous to that time.[7]

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alguns túmulos afro-cristãos de uma área africana contagiada pela cultura brasileira (Salvador: Universidade da Bahia, 1959); Carlos Lopes Cardoso, "Mbali Art: a Case of Acculturation," in *Memoriam António Jorge Dias* (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1974), 69-80.

[5] For example, see Clare Gittings, *Death, Burial and the Individual in Early Modern England* (London: Croom Helm, 1984); Andrew Reynolds, *Anglo-Saxon Deviant Burial Customs* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2009).

[6] Veijo Notkola and Harri Siiskonen, *Fertility, Mortality and Migration in sub-Saharan Africa: The Case of Ovamboland in North Namibia, 1925-1990* (New York: St. Martin's Press Inc., 2000), 5, claim that "Parish records represent a good source for almost everything that has to do with Christian social life in northern Namibia."

[7] Raymond R. Gervais and Issaka Mandé, "How to Count the Subjects of Empire? Steps toward an Imperial Demography in French West Africa before 1946," in Karl Ittmann, Dennis D. Cordell, and Gregory H. Maddox, eds., *The Demographics of Empire: The Colonial Order and the Creation of Knowledge* (Ohio: Ohio University Press, 2010), 90, consider the period before 1947 to be "pre-scientific", and claim that the sources must therefore be seen as highly problematic and assuming to generally overestimate actual statistics. Patrick Manning, "African Population: Projections," in Ittmann, Cordell, and Maddox, eds., *The Demographics of Empire*, 245, discusses the vastness of underestimation problems. Meshack Owino, "The Discourse of Overpopulation in Western Kenya and the Creation of the Pioneer Corps," in Ittmann, Cordell, and Maddox, eds., *The Demographics of Empire*, 158, deals with the gradual development of methods to create "better" censuses; Bruce Fetter,

As far as the historiography of Angola is concerned, death in the slave trade era has been studied by Jill R. Dias and Joseph C. Miller, but only in terms of the overall impact of mortality on population and the prevalence of disease and famine in different areas.[8] Miller, who has made immeasurable contributions to the historiography of Angola, actually overlooks the existence of vital records in the public and ecclesiastical archives in his article summarizing the archival holdings of Luanda.[9] Of course, it is possible that he was unable to access these files due to some practical impediment. It is far more likely, however, that when Miller was making his assessment of the archives in the 1970s he did not consider vital statistics to be a valuable source because of their perceived lack of "literary" content. Miller was writing at a time when demographic history was frequently disparaged, and it would have been easy for him to dismiss the potential value, both quantitatively and qualitatively, of these sources.

The most extensive demographic work on Angola in recent decades has been conducted by José C. Curto. Curto collaborated with Raymond R. Gervais to produce a study on the demographic history of Luanda from 1781 to 1844, making particular use of censuses.[10] Curto and Gervais examine the reliability of censuses as historical documents, comparing their findings with economic and political trends in Luanda in the time considered. They focus on the social and political role of censuses, asserting that they were first undertaken by the Portuguese colonial administration in order to determine the military and financial potential of the colony at Luanda.[11] The same at-

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"Demography in the Reconstruction of African Colonial History," in Bruce Fetter, ed., *Demography from Scanty Evidence: Central Africa in the Colonial Era* (Boulder: Lynne Reimer Publishers, 1990), 12, claims that "The earliest censuses were, in any event, extremely imprecise instruments". Mwelwa C. Musambachime, "Factors Affecting Census Reliability in Colonial Zambia, 1900-1930," in Bruce Fetter, ed., *Demography from Scanty Evidence*, 61, states that there were no accurate censuses in Zambia before 1963.

[8] See Jill R. Dias, "Famine and Disease in the History of Angola, c.1760-1845," *The Journal of African History* 46:1 (2005), 1-27; Joseph C. Miller, "The Significance of Drought, Disease, and Famine in the Agriculturally Marginal Zones of West-Central Africa," *The Journal of African History,* 23:1 (1982), 17-61.

[9] See Joseph C. Miller, "The Archives of Luanda, Angola," *The International Journal of African Historical Studies* 7:4 (1974), 551-590.

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

[11] Curto and Gervais, "Population History of Luanda," 5.

tention to social context must be applied to parish records: it is important to remember that clerics began to record deaths for a number of reasons. For instance, the Portuguese administration requested they do so for political reasons, and clerics also wanted to give the impression that their missionary work in Benguela had been successful.[12]

Curto has also produced studies relating to the social implications of baptism in Luanda and marriage in Benguela in recent years. On late 18th century Luanda, he uses evidence within baptismal registers from a particular parish in order to examine the social backgrounds of the slaves manumitted in this way, and shows how participation in a particular Catholic ritual (baptism) was a means through which individuals could gain access to the Catholic community and undergo a profound social transformation.[13] More recent contributions on marriage in Benguela problematize notions of family, colour, and women's roles in the early 19th century.[14] Curto's work is one of the first instances in which vital registers have been used to produce a social history in studies of pre-colonial Africa. Using death registers as such has the potential to expand social histories in Angola further, due to the greater volume of surviving documents as well as the profound importance of death in colonial port towns at this time.

Academic theories on the study of death are commonplace and extensively developed within the fields of sociology and anthropology. Several authors have sought to create short "total histories" of death in order to pursue universal theories of dying, usually for the purpose of giving a greater meaning to our current experiences of death.[15] While these works present useful general "types" of death customs based on environmental, political, economic, and social settings,[16] they do not seek to find complexity within the local. It is emotionally satisfying to study the history of dying with the aim of enhancing one's personal relationship with death through absorbing what "other cultures" have to offer. However, this paper argues that the history of death is also valuable in terms of understanding the lives of those in the societies in which it is studied.

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[12] While elaborate funerals were becoming less popular and public cemeteries more important in Portugal, inthe overseas empire the remnants of Baroque catholic ideologies meant that in the 18th century values inherited from the council of Trent, such as the importance of conversion and intolerance of "pagan" practices, remained important. See Voekel, Pamela, *Alone Before God: The Religious Origins of Modernity in Mexico* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2002), 19-25; João José Reis, *Death is a Festival: Funeral Rites and Rebellion in 19th Century Brazil* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 39.

[13] José C. Curto, " 'As If From a Free Womb': Baptismal Manumissions in the Conceição Parish, Luanda, 1778-1807," *Portuguese Studies Review* 10:1 (2002), 26-57.

[14] José C. Curto, "Marriage in Benguela, 1797-1830: A Serialized Analysis," in Maryann Buri and José C. Curto, eds., *New Perspectives on Angola: From Slaving Colony to Nation State* (volume in preparation); José C. Curto, "The *Donas* of Benguela, 1797: A Preliminary Analysis of a Colonial Female Elite" in Edvaldo Bergamo, Selma Pantoja and Ana Claudia Silva eds., *Mulheres Angolanas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2015), in press.

Underlying this paper is the assumption that death has had an incredible power over human beings (and other creatures) throughout history *not* simply because it physically ends lives. The fact that we live in *anticipation* of death is what makes it so profound. The anticipation of death initially generates religious and secular institutions and practices to control and understand death; forthwith, there becomes a mutually reinforcing relationship between local institutions and the anticipation of death.[17] Allan Kellehear argues that without anticipation we would have death, but we would not having *dying* as an experienced social process.[18] However, the awareness of death does not only influence the ways in which people die, socially and physically. It also influences, on a primal level, how people live. Thus, *óbitos* are of value to the writing of a social history not only because they contain descriptions of social relationships[19]; the reality of death as an ominous presence also impacted social institutions, giving death and dying legitimacy as a category of social historical analysis.

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[15] See Timothy Taylor, *The Buried Soul: How Humans Invented Death* (Boston: Beacon Press, 2004); Allan Kellehear, *A Social History of Dying* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2007); Christine Quigley, *The Corpse: A History* (Jefferson: McFarland, 1996); Michael C. Kearl, *Endings: A Sociology of Death and Dying* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1989).

[16] For example, Kellehear, *A Social History of Dying*, 6, 44, and 84, develops basic historical types such as "stone age" and "pastoral" to describe overall societal perceptions of dying.

[17] Taylor, *The Buried Soul,* 16, provides a useful discussion of the development of souls and deities through the anticipation of death.

[18] Kellehear, *A Social History of Dying*, 15.

[19] Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *Caetana Says No: Women's Stories from a Brazilian Slave Society* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 83, writes that wills and burial records were forums for individuals to describe their relationships to God as well as their families and social groups; Richard Graham, *Feeding the City: From Street Market to Liberal Reform in Salvador Brazil, 1780-1860* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010), 2-3, discusses how these documents can inform historians on affective ties.

As previously noted, the main documentation used in this study is a singular *codice,* or bound volume of manuscripts, of *óbitos* covering the years 1770-1795. The *codice* contains some 900 entries totals with varying degrees of physical degradation, some being almost unreadable. While a few of these are rich in detail (up to two pages in length), others simply contain a date of death and commendation. My socio-demographic analysis focuses mainly on 432 entries spanning the years between 1787 and 1795, since this is when the data were most consistently recorded. I will also make comparisons between 225 entries each from 1770-1779 and from 1790-1792, respectively, in order to demonstrate social change over a relatively short period of time: these two subsets of data represent years in which there were no major gaps in documentation and almost all entries can be deciphered. Creating such a dataset allows not only for quantitative and qualitative analysis, but also an examination of individual entries in some detail.

To undertake quantitative analysis of these documents, I have placed each entry into a dataset which contains 23 different categories. The fields were chosen based on the frequency with which information appears within entries, as well as the potential usefulness of a category in determining demographic and social trends through calculation and comparison. Categories of analysis include direct indicators of social position including age, sex, colour, and legal status (free, freed, or enslaved), as well as fields that indirectly indicate wealth and power, including cost of burial, burial clothing, affiliation with religious brotherhood, sacraments performed, and burial location. Statistical analysis of these classifications allows a comparison between how particular groups in society (white men, enslaved women, and infants, for example) were buried.

An Elite, Luso-African Catholic Community

Before discussing the findings of these analyses, I want first to highlight the role of the church of Nossa Senhora de Pópulo within the context of late 18th century Benguela. The population of Benguela at this time has been estimated at between 1500 and 3000 people:[20] it is difficult to determine pop-

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[20] See José C. Curto, "Struggling Against Enslavement: The Case of José Manuel in Benguela, 1816-1820," *Canadian Journal of African Studies* 39:1 (2005), 99; Mariana P. Candido, "Enslaving frontiers: slavery, trade and identity in Benguela, 1780-1850," PhD dissertation, York University, 2006.

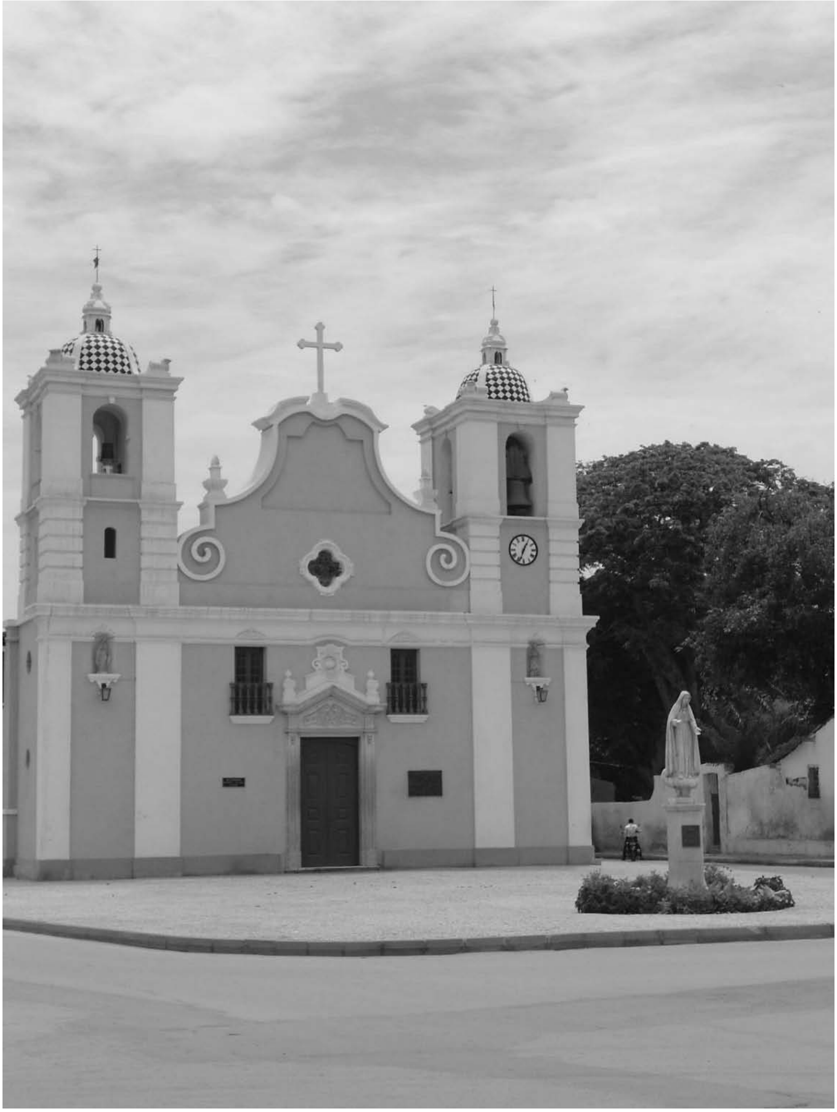

Fig. 1 Nossa Senhora do Pópulo, Benguela
(Source: Frank J. Luce, Angola Resgate Group, 2012, with permission).

Portuguese Studies Review

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)

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OLIVEIRA, PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW 23 (2) (2015) 93-121

The Gendered Dimension of Trade: Female Traders in Nineteenth Century Luanda

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York University

THE ATLANTIC SLAVE trade led to a great deal of interaction throughout Western Africa between local and foreign people. While many of the locals became victims of this interaction, others profited from it. For male African elites, the selling of enslaved individuals provided access to European and American goods such as gunpowder, firearms, horses, tobacco, and alcohol, which increased their capacity to produce more captives and further their control over dependents.[1] The development of the Atlantic slave trade was no less beneficial for some African women, especially those in the emerging coastal slaving entrepôts.

In recent decades, the number of studies that have focused on the participation of women along the western coast of Africa in local and long distance trade have increased.[2] In the case of Angola, the work of Selma Pan-

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[1] Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (New York: University of Cambridge Press, 2012, 3rd edition); Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988).

[2] See, for example: George E. Brooks, "The Signares of Saint-Louis and Goree: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth century Senegal," in Nancy Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Women in Africa: Studies in social and economic change* (Stanford, CA: California University Press, 1976), 19-44; George E. Brooks, "A Nhara of the Guinea-Bissau Region: mãe Aurélia Correia," in Claire C. Robertson and Martin A. Klein, eds., *Women and Slavery in Africa* (Portsmouth, NH: Heinemann, 1997), 295-319; George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteentn to the Eighteenth Century* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003); Philip Havik, "A Dinâmica das Relações de Gênero e Parentesco num Contexto Comercial: um balanço comparativo da produção histórica sobre a região da Guiné-Bissau, séculos XVII e XIX," *Afro-Ásia* 27 (2002), 79-120; Philip Havik, *Silences and Soundbytes: The Gendered Dynamics of Trade and Brokerage in the Pre-colonial Guinea Bissau Region* (Munster: Lit Verlag, 2004); E. Frances White, *Sierra Leone's Settler Women Traders: Women on the Afro-European Frontier* (Ann Arbor, MI: University of Michigan Press, 1987); Emily L. Osborn, *Our new*

PORTUGUESE STUDIES REVIEW (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 93-121 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
ONLINE: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
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toja, José C. Curto and Mariana P. Candido have challenged the image of African women as sole victims of a patriarchal system by highlighting their agency in the socio-economic fabric of the colony.[3] Much of the interest in Luanda has, however, focused upon the singular case of Dona Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, who was also known as the "Queen of Bengo".[4] Dona Ana Joaquina owned land, slaves, ships, and urban realty and carried out commercial transactions as far away as Brazil and Portugal. As interesting as this mid-nineteenth century Luso-African woman was, her case is not necessarily representative of all female traders.

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husbans are here: Households, gender and politics in a West African state from the slave trade to colonial rule (Ohio, Athenas: Ohio University Press, 2011). For West Central Africa, see Douglas L. Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means: D. Ana Joaquina dos Santos e Silva, Mid-Nineteenth Century Luso-African Merchant-Capitalist of Luanda," *Santa Bárbara Portuguese Studies Review* 3 (1996), 284-297; Júlio de Castro Lopo, "Uma Rica Dona de Luanda," *Portucale* 3 (1948): 129-138; Carlos Alberto Lopes Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Industrial Angolana da segunda metade do Século XIX," *Boletim Cultural da Câmara Municipal de Luanda* 32 (1972): 5-14; Selma Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero," in *II Reunião Internacional de História da África: A Dimensão Atlântica da África* (São Paulo: CEA-USP/SDG-Marinha/CAPES, 1997), 75-81; Selma Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras," in Júnia Ferreira Furtado, ed., *Diálogos Oceânicos. Minas Gerais e as novas abordagens para uma história do Império Ultramarino Português* (Belo Horizonte: UFMG, 2001), 45-67; Selma Pantoja, "Women's Work in the Fairs and Markets of Luanda," in Clara Sarmento, ed., *Women in the Portuguese Colonial Empire: The Theatre of Shadows* (Newcastle upon Tyne: Cambridge Scholars Publishing, 2008), 81-94; Selma Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos': um negócio feminino no abastecimento de gêneros alimentícios em Luanda (séculos XVIII e XIX)," in Selma Pantoja, ed., *Entre Áfricas e Brasís* (Brasília: Paralelo 15 Editores, 2001), 35-49; Mariana P. Candido, "Dona Aguida Gonçalves, une *dona* à Benguela à la fin du XVIII siécle," *Brésil(s).Sciences humaines et sociales* 1 (2012): 33-54; Mariana P. Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery in Benguela, ca. 1750-1850," in Nadine Hunt and Olatunji Ojo, eds., *Slavery in Africa and the Caribbean: A History of Enslavement and Identity since the 18th Century* (London/New York: I.B. Tauris, 2012), 66-84; Mariana P. Candido, "Strategies for Social Mobility: Liaisons between Foreign Men and Slave Women in Benguela, c. 1770-1850," in Gwyn Campbell and Elizabeth Elbourne, eds. *Sex, Power and Slavery: The Dynamics of Carnal Relations under Enslavement* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2014), 272-288; see also the case of Dona Joana Gomes Moutinho in Mariana P. Candido, "Os agentes não europeus na comunidade mercantil de Benguela, c. 1760-1820," *Saeculum* 29 (2013), 97-124. For Eastern Africa, see José Capela, *Donas, Senhores e Escravos* (Lisbon: Afrontamentos, 1995); Eugenia Rodrigues, "Ciponda, a senhora que tudo pisa com os pés'. Estratégias de poder das donas dos prazos do Zambeze no século XVIII," *Anais de História de Além-Mar* 1 (2000): 101-131; Eugênia Rodrigues, "Portugueses e Africanos nos rios de Sena: os prazos da coroa nos séculos XVII e XVIII," PhD dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2002.

This contribution analyzes the participation of women in commercial activities in nineteenth century Luanda. It draws upon a series of documents that evidence the participation of females in several commercial activities, ranging from dealing in enslaved persons to the retail trade. Documentation left behind by colonial officials show that women were indeed part of the merchant community in nineteenth century Luanda, not to mention before. Focusing on the gendered dimension of trade during this period not only allows a better understanding of commerce in this particular landscape, but also adds to the complexity of the female experience throughout Africa before 1900.

A Colonial Capital in the Nineteenth Century

Luanda was the capital of the Portuguese colony of Angola and the single, most important Atlantic slaving port until the end of the Atlantic slave trade in the 1860s. Current estimates indicate that about 12.5 million Africans were forcibly shipped across the Atlantic Ocean during the era of slave trading.[5] At least 45% are believed to have come from West Central Africa.[6] It has been estimated that approximately 2,073,650 captives left Angola

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[3] Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero"; Pantoja, "Women's Work in the Fairs and Markets of Luanda"; Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos'"; Pantoja, "A Dimensão Atlântica das Quitandeiras"; José C. Curto, "A restituição de 10.000 súbditos ndongo 'roubados' na Angola de meados do século XVII: Uma análise preliminar," in Isabel C. Henriques, ed., *Escravatura e Transformações Culturais: África-Brasil-Caraíbas* (Lisbon: Vulgata, 2002),185-208; José C. Curto, "'As If From A Free Womb': Baptismal Manumissions in the Conceição Parish, Luanda, 1778-1807," *Portuguese Studies Review* 10:1 (2002): 26-57; José C. Curto, "The Story of Nbena, 1817-1820: Unlawful Enslavement and the Concept of 'Original Freedom' in Angola," in Paul E. Lovejoy and David V. Trotman, eds., *Trans-Atlantic Dimensions of Ethnicity in the African Diaspora* (London: Continuum, 2003), 43-64; Candido, "Dona Aguida Gonçalves"; Candido, "Marriage, Concubinage, and Slavery"; Candido, "Strategies for Social Mobility".

[4] Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means"; Lopo, "Uma Rica Dona de Luanda"; Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva, Industrial Angolana".

[5] For the most recent estimates on the number of Africans exported across the Atlantic Ocean, see: David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 3-68; David Eltis and David Richardson, *Atlas of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); David Eltis et al., "Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database," Online Database, 2008, www.slavevoyages.org

[6] Paul E. Lovejoy, "West Central Africa and the Trans-Atlantic Traffic in Enslaved Africans," (unpublished paper), who I thank for sharing his unpublished work with me.

between 1801 and 1867, with about 732,874 thought to have embarked at Luanda up to 1850.[7] Slave exports remained the main economic activity of Angola's colonial capital until the fourth decade of the nineteenth century, although ivory and wax were also exported.[8]

Luanda was then the sum of two *freguesias* or parishes: the Nossa Senhora da Sé and the Nossa Senhora dos Remédios. The *Freguesia* da Sé was anchored by the church of Nossa Senhora da Conceição in the upper part of town, where the administrative centre of both this urban landscape and the colony as a whole was located. The residences of the governor, the military and ecclesiastical authorities, the *Câmara Municipal* (Municipal Council), the jail, the *Santa Casa de Misericórdia* (Holy House of Mercy) and its hospital were all situated in this part of town. The *Freguesia* dos Remédios, on the other hand, was anchored by the church of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios located in the lower part of town, which was divided into a commercial zone and the periphery. The commercial district was comprised of spaces mainly devoted to trade, including the fish slaughterhouse, the outdoor markets of Coqueiros, Feira Grande, and Venda dos Pratos, as well as the *Terreiro Público* (Public Market) and most of the taverns. In the periphery one could find *quintais* (backyards) packed with enslaved persons waiting to be shipped across the Atlantic Ocean, *cubatas* (straw roofed homes) occupied mainly by slaves who worked in Luanda, the outdoor market of Feira do Bungo, the cemetery, as well as *armazéns* (warehouses) and *sobrados* (house with attics in Portuguese style) of the wealthy merchants. In fact, *sobrados* and *cubatas* were found everywhere throughout this coastal urban landscape, from the periphery to the commercial zone and even in the administrative centre.[9]

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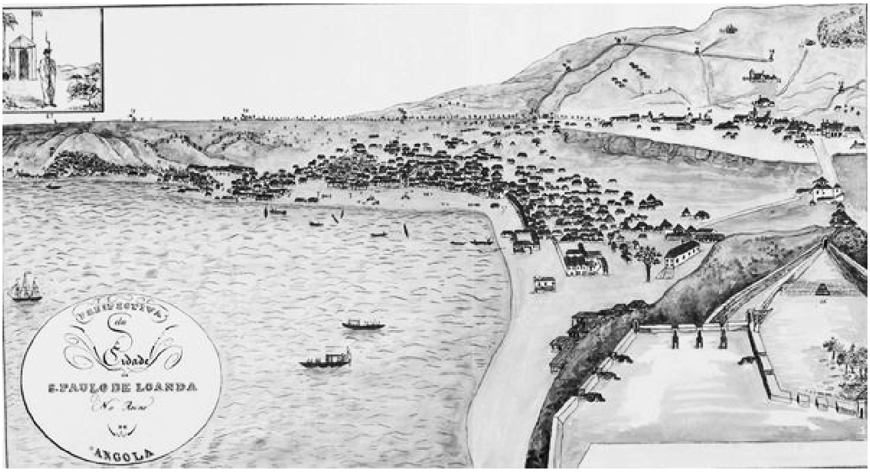
[7] Daniel B. Domingues da Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola: A Port-by-Port Estimate of Slaves Embarked, 1701-1867," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 46:1 (2013): 105-122. For further information, consult Eltis et al., "Voyages". For more information on the legal slave trade from Luanda, see: Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the 18th Century," *Journal of Economic History* 32 (1972): 849-918; Joseph C. Miller, "The Slave Trade in Congo and Angola," in Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The African Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1976), 75-113; Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Joseph C. Miller, "Legal Portuguese slaving from Angola. Some preliminary indications of volume and direction," *Revue Franfaise d'Histoire d' Outre Mer* 62:226-227 (1975): 135-176; Joseph C. Miller, "The Numbers, Origins, and Destinations of Slaves in the Eighteenth Century Angolan Slave Trade," in Joseph E. Inikori and Stanley L. Engennan, eds., *The Atlantic Slave Trade: Effects on Economies, Societies, and Peoples in Africa, the Americas and Europe* (Durham and London: Duke University Press, 1992), 77-115; José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Re-assessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830," *African Economic History* 20 (1992): 1-25; David Eltis, "The Volume and Structure of the Transatlantic SlaveTrade: A Reassessment," *The William and Mary Quarterly* 58:1 (2001): 17-46; David Eltis, Paul E. Lovejoy and David Richardson, "Slave-Trading Ports: Towards an Atlantic-Wide Perspective," in Robin Law and Silke Strickrodt, eds., *Ports of the Slave Trade (Bights of Benin and Biafra)* (Stirling: Centre of Commonwealth Studies, University of Stirling, 1999), 12-35; David Eltis and David Richardson, Atlas *of the Transatlantic Slave Trade* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2010); Roquinaldo Ferreira. *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012).

[8] Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola* (Lisbon: Editorial Ática, 1937), I: 27-32. For ivory and wax exports, see Miller, *Way of Death*, 112-114.

Fig. 1 View of Luanda, 1825



Source: Perspectiva da Cidade de S. Paulo de Loanda no Reino de Angola, 1825, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino.

In 1802, there were some 6,925 people living in this port town: 3,785 men and 3,140 women. Residents were divided by colonial administrators into three main colour groups: 12% were white; 18% were mulatto, and 69%

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[9] Francisco Travassos Valdez, *Africa occidental: noticias e considerações, por Francisco Travassos Valdez impressas por ordem do Ministerio da marinha e ultramar* (Lisbon: F. A. da Silva, 1864), II: 104-5; José Carlos Venâncio, *A economia de Luanda e Hinterland no século XVIII* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1996), 37; Corrêa, *História de Angola*, I: 78-9.

were black. About 41%, or 2,832 individuals, were slaves.[10] Due to intense Brazilian demand for enslaved labourers, the town was then confronted with a decline in the number of inhabitants which lasted until 1844 when the population fell to 5,605. Following the 1836 ban on slave exports from Portuguese possessions and the subsequent increase of anti-slave trade British patrols off the coast of West Central Africa, the number of Luanda's residents began to rise again: by 1850, it had reached 12,565, an increase characterized by José C. Curto as "a demographic explosion" which transformed the port town into an urban center.[11] This population growth largely stemmed from the retention of captives that would have been previously exported to the Americas. With the ban on slave exports, Angola began to experience a transition to "legitimate" commerce in tropical products and raw materials.[12] However, illegal slaving operations continued to occur in the colony until the 1860s, with enslaved individuals being sent particularly to Brazil and Cuba.[13]

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

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

[12] On the transition from slave trade to "legitimate" commerce in Angola, see: Birmingham, David. "A Question of Coffee: Black Enterprise in Angola," *Canadian Journal of African Studies*16:2 (1982): 343-346; Aida Freudenthal, "A Baixa de Cassanje: algodão e revolta," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 18-22 (1995-1999): 245-83; Aida Freudenthal, *Arimos e Fazendas□: a Transição Agrária Em Angola, 1850-1880* (Luanda: Chá de Caxinde, 2005), 149; Jill R. Dias, "Criando um Novo Brasil (1845-1870)," in Alexandre Valentim and Jill R. Dias, eds., *O Império Africano, 1825-1890* (Lisbon: Estampa, 1998), 379-472; William Gervase Clarence-Smith, *Slaves, Peasants, and Capitalists in Southern Angola (1840-1926)* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Clarence-Smith, Gervase. *The Third Portuguese Empire, 1825-1975* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1985); Isabel Castro Henriques, *Percursos da Modernidade em Angola. Dinâmicas Comerciais e Transformações Sociais no Século XIX* (Lisbon: Instituto de Investigação Científica e Tropical, 1997); Isabel Castro Henriques, *O pássaro no mel: estudos de história Africana* (Lisbon: Colibri, 2003); Ferreira, *Dos Sertões ao Atlântico*; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Fazendas em Troca de Escravos: Circuitos de Créditos nos Sertões de Angola, 1830-1860," *Revista de Estudos Afro-Asiáticos* 32 (1997): 76-96; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Fontes para o Estudo da Escravidão em Angola: Luanda e Icolo e Bengo no Pós-Tráfico de Escravos," in *Construíndo o passado angolano: as fontes e a sua interpretação. Actas do II Seminário internacional sobre a história de Angola* (Lisbon: CNPDP, 2000), 667-680; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Negociantes, Fazendeiros e Escravos," *Revista Internacional de Estudos Africanos* 18-22 (2001): 9-28; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Agricultural Enterprise and Unfree Labour in Nineteenth-Century Angola," in Robin Law, Robin, Suzanne Schwartz, and Silke Strickrod, eds., *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade & Slavery in Africa* (Wood-

While the Atlantic slave trade attracted a significant number of foreigners, mainly Portuguese and Brazilian-born men, who sojourned or eventually settled in Luanda, a temporary urban population of enslaved persons waited in the *quintais* to be shipped across the Atlantic Ocean.[14] Despite the in-migration of foreigners, the number of whites remained low in the port town. In 1802, whites comprised only 710 individuals or 12.5% of the total

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bridge: James Currey, 2013), 225-243; Cardoso, "Ana Joaquina dos Santos Silva"; Linda M. Heywood, "Production, Trade and Power: The Political Economy of Central Angola, 1850-1930," PhD dissertation, Columbia University, 1984; Tracy Lopes, "The 'Mine of Wealth at the Doors of Luanda': agricultural production and gender in the Bengo," in Ana Cristina Roque and Maria Manuel Torrão, eds., *O Colonialismo Português: Novos Rumos da historiografia dos PALOP* (Porto: Ediçõs Húmus, 2013), 177-205; Lopo, "Uma Rica Dona de Luanda"; Pantoja, "Donas de 'Arimos'"; José de Almeida Santos, "Perspectivas da Agricultura de Angola em Meados do Século XIX: Pedro Alexandrino da Cunha e o Pinheiro do Cazengo," *Anais da Academia Portuguesa de História* 36:2 (1990): 134-154; Jean-Luc Vellut, "Diversification de l'économie de cuillette: miel et cire dans les sociétés de la forêt claire d'Afrique centrale (c. 1750-1950)," *African Economic History* 7 (1979): 93-112; Wheeler, "Angolan Woman of Means".

[13] On illegal slave trading activities along the Angolan coast, see Mary C. Karasch, "The Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade, 1836-1851," M. A. thesis, University of Wisconsin, 1967); Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Brasil e Angola no Tráfico Illegal de Escravos," in Selma Pantoja, ed., *Brasil e Angola nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand, 1999), 143-194; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Tráfico Ilegal e Revolta de Escravos em Angola entre 1830 e 1860," *Revista Afro-Ásia* (1999): 9-44; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Suppression of the Slave Trade and Slave Departures from Angola, 1830s-1860s," in David Eltis and David Richardson, eds., *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008), 313-334; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Dos Sertões ao Atlântico: Tráfico Ilegal de Escravos e Comércio Lícito em Angola, 1830-1860," M. A. thesis, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, 1996; Daniel B. D. da Silva, "Crossroads: Slave Frontiers of Angola, c. 1780-1867," PhD dissertation, Emory University, 2011; Daniel B. D. da Silva, "The Transatlantic Slave Trade from Angola".

[14] For the presence of Brazilian-born individuals in Luanda, see Karasch, "Brazilian Slavers and the Illegal Slave Trade"; Miller, *Way of Death*; 314-378; Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012); Selma Pantoja, "Entre Luanda e Rio de Janeiro: o padre, o bispo e o coronel," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 87-109. On Brazilian-born individuals in Benguela, see José C. Curto, "Movers of Slaves: The Brazilian Community in Benguela (Angola), c. 1722-1832," Paper presented at the Harriet Tubman Seminar, Toronto, Canada, September 2003; Mariana P. Candido, "Merchants and the Business of the Slave Trade in Benguela, c. 1750-1850,"

population. Even with the overall demographic increase registered between 1844 and 1850, the number of whites actually fell from 1,601 to 1,240 (820 males and 420 females) or by 22.5%. Adding to this contraction, questions surrounding the whiteness of the residents of Luanda previously classified as "white," particularly women, further reduced this population group.[15]

The lack of European women did not go unnoticed by travelers who sojourned in Luanda during the nineteenth century. Following periods of residency in the colony between 1858 and the early 1870s, Joachim John Monteiro stated that "there is not much society in Loanda, as but few of the Portuguese bring their wives and families with them, and there are but few white women."[16] Francisco Travassos Valdez, who worked in this urban landscape during the early 1850s, later remarked that "in consequence of the paucity of white women, the Portuguese formed alliances with women of colour and half-castes, to whom, and to their children, the offspring of such

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African Economic History 35 (2008): 1-30; Mariana P. Candido, "Negociantes Baianos no porto de Benguela: Redes Comerciais unindo o Atlântico no Setencentos," in Roberto Guedes, ed., *Brasileiros e Portugueses na África (séculos XVI-XIX)* (Rio de Janeiro: MAUAD, 2014), 67-9; Mariana P. Candido, "Trans-Atlantic Links: The Benguela-Bahian Connections, 1700-1850," in Ana Lúcia Araújo, ed., *Paths of the Atlantic Slave Trade. Interactions, Identities, and Images* (Amherst, NY: Cambria Press, 2011): 239-272; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Echoes of the Atlantic: Benguela (Angola) and Brazilian Independence," in Lisa Indsay and John Sweet, eds., *Biography and the Black Atlantic* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2013), 224-247 ; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Atlantic Microhistories: Slaving, Mobility, and Personal Ties in the Black Atlantic World (Angola and Brazil)," in Nancy Naro, Roger Sansi and David Treece, eds., *Cultures of the Lusophone Black Atlantic* (NY: Palgrave Macmillan, 2007), 99-128; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "The Atlantic Networks of the Benguela Slave Trade (1730-1800)," in CEAUP, ed., *Trabalho Forçado Africano: Experiências Coloniais Comparadas* (Lisbon: Campo das Letras, 2006), 66-99; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Brasil e Angola no Tráfico Illegal de Escravos," in Selma Pantoja, ed., *Brasil e Angola nas Rotas do Atlântico Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand, 1999), 143-194; Estevam C. Thompson, "Negreiros nos Mares do Sul: Famílias traficantes nas rotas entre Angola e Brasil em fins do século XVIII," M.A. thesis, Universidade de Brasília, 2006; Estevam C. Thompson, "Feliciano José de Barros: escravo de sangue negreiro, c. 1775-1818," in Selma Pantoja and Estevam C. Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola: narrativas, identidades e as conexões atlânticas* (São Paulo: Intermeios, 2014), 111-141.

[15] José C. Curto, "Whitening the 'White' Population: An Analysis of the 1850 censuses of Luanda," in Pantoja and Thompson, eds., *Em torno de Angola*, 225-247.

[16] Joachim John Monteiro, *Angola and the River Congo* (London: Macmillan, 1875), II: 49.

connections, they manifest great affection."[17] As Valdez noted, liaisons between foreign men and local women were quite common in Luanda. Indeed, by entering into intimate relationships with African and Luso-African women, foreign men accessed the personal and commercial logistics necessary to newcomers.

The "casados na terra": Intimate and Commercial Connections

Relatively large numbers of foreign males established themselves in Luanda between its founding in 1575 and the late nineteenth century. They were mainly convicts, voluntary immigrants, military and administrative personnel, merchants, priests, and missionaries. While there was a frequent in-migration of foreign men, the same cannot be said of foreign women, as they were rare in the colony.[18] Indeed, not many females seem to have followed *Dona* (Lady) Guiomar Anacleta de Carvalho Fonseca e Camões, who arrived in Angola in 1772 with her husband, Governor Dom António de Lencastre and their daughter *Dona* Francisca Felizarda de Lencastre.[19]

The gender imbalance amongst new arrivals soon facilitated the emergence of intimate relationships between foreign males and local African and Luso-African women. Foreign men cohabiting with free or in some cases enslaved women outside of Christian marriage became common practice, as was noted by Elias Alexandre Silva Corrêa, Brazilian-born military officer who lived in Luanda during the 1780s:

> The fire of sensuality fuelled by the burning climate devours human nature. The heads of families tolerate the multiplication of their wealth in the offspring of female slaves. Free of conjugal vows, single men dedicate themselves ... to any of the female slaves chosen for their service. ... The scandal of this matter has come to contaminate some members of the most purified class. The multiplication of cases has turned it into a trivial issue: a crime that no longer leads to murmuring.[20]

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[17] Valdez, *Africa occidental*, II, 171.

[18] Selma Pantoja, "Luanda: relações sociais e de gênero," 76. The number of female convicts sent to Angola was always much smaller than that of their male counterparts. For information of female convicts sent to Angola, see: Maria Eugênia Vieira, "Registro de Cartas de Guia de Degredados para Angola (1714-1757)," M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 1966, 94; Selma Pantoja, "Inquisição, degredo, e mestiçagem em Angola no século XVIII," *Revista Lusófona de Ciência da Religião* 3:5/6 (2004): 117-136.

[19] Corrêa, *Historia de Angola*, II: 45.

These informal but consensual relationships were known as *amasiamento* throughout the Portuguese empire.[21] In some cases, however, a Christian marriage was celebrated, particularly when a foreigner married the daughter of a well-established Luso-African family or a wealthy widow. On 2 September 1848, the Portuguese Albino José Soares Magalhães filed a marriage petition with the *Câmara Eclesiástica* (Ecclesiastic Board) to marry the widow *Dona* Tereza de Jesus Pereira Bastos, a local born woman previously married to Félix de Almeida.[22] *Dona* Tereza was the *filha natural* (born from parents who were not married within the Catholic Church) of José António Pereira Bastos. On 16 November 1847, after her father's death, she initiated a judicial procedure to be recognized as one of his heirs.[23] On 25 November 1848, *Dona* Tereza obtained a *Habilitação de Herdeiros* (Entitlement of Heirs) that effectively recognized her as one of Mr. Bastos' heirs. [24] At the time of his death, Mr. Bastos was married and owned, among other property, houses 110 to 114 on Salvador Corrêa Street.[25]

In 1850, Albino José Soares Magalhães was but a shopkeeper. His *casa de molhados* (wet goods store) offered a variety of imported commodities, such as beer, wax, coffee from Rio de Janeiro, as well as guava and *araçá* jelly.[26] In 1855, he founded the Farm *Protótipo* in the District of Cazengo where he began to experiment with coffee cultivation using the labour of 400 slaves and *libertos* (freed Africans). *Protótipo* subsequently became the largest and most productive coffee plantation of the colony, leading Albino to emerge as one of its wealthiest men.[27] In the 1860s, he was awarded the title of *Comendador da Ordem de Cristo* (Commander of the Order of Christ), granted to individu-

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[20] Corrêa, *Historia de Angola*, I: 92.

[21] Silvia Maria Fávero Arend, *Amasiar ou casar? A família popular no final do século XIX* (Porto Alegre: Editora da UFRGS, 2001).

[22] Arquivo do Bispado de Luanda (ABL), Termos de Fiança 1837 a 1857, fol. 92.

[23] *Boletim Oficial do Governo da Província de Angola* (hereinafter *BOA*) 125, 29 January 1848, p. 4.

[24] *BOA* 65, 25 November 1848, p. 2.The certificate of *Habilitação de Herdeiros* (Entitlement of Heirs) is one of the documents required to carry out an acceptance of inheritance in Portugal. This document proves that one is the heir of somebody and no one can carry out an inheritance in Portugal without it.

[25] *BOA* 179, 3 March 1849, p. 3.

[26] *BOA* 237, 13 April 1850, p. 3. *Araçá* is a fruit native to temperate zones of Brazil, that translates into strawberry guava.

Portuguese Studies Review

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)
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Lopes, Portuguese Studies Review 23 (2) (2015) 123-143

Slavery and the Prison: Cases of Imprisonment in Luanda, 1857-1877[1]

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Introduction

Michel Foucault's *Discipline and Punishment: The Birth of the Prison* sparked a great deal of debate around the widespread use of imprisonment that characterized the nineteenth and twentieth centuries.[2] Although this debate was largely limited to the American and European contexts, Africanists have been slowly contributing to the discussion.[3] Florence Bernault, in particular,

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[1] I would to thank the referees of this special issue, as well as Dr. José C. Curto, for their insightful comments and suggestions.

[2] For some of the major works on the history of the prison and Foucault's critical approach see: David J. Rothman, *The Discovery of the Asylum: Social Order and Disorder in the New Republic* (Toronto: Little Brown and Company, 1971); Douglas Hay et al., *Albion's Fatal Tree: Crime and Society in Eighteenth Century England* (London: Allen Lane, 1975); Michael Ignatieff, *A Just Measure of Pain: the Penitentiary in the Industrial Revolution 1750-1850* (London: Macmillan Press, 1978); Dario Melossi and Massamimo Pavarini, *The Prison and the Factory: Origins of the Penitentiary System*, trans. Glynis Cousin (London: The MacMillan Press, 1981); Christopher Harding, et al., *Imprisonment in England and Wales: A Concise History* (London: Croom Helm, 1985). For a defence of Foucault, see Colin Jones and Roy Porter, eds., *Reassessing Foucault, Power, Medicine and the Body* (London: Routledge, 1994). Although most of the works focus on England and the United States, there is substantial literature on Latin America. See for example: Riccardo D. Salvatore and Carlos Aguirre, eds.,*The Birth of the Penitentiary in Latin America: Essays on Criminology, Prison Reform, and Social Control, 1830-1940* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1996); Riccardo D. Salvatorre, Carlos Aguire and Gilberto Michael Joseph, eds., *Crime and Punishment in Latin America: Law and Society since late Colonial Times* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011). Megan Vaughan, *Curing Their Ills: Colonial Power and African Illness* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), has explored some of the major problems with Foucault's theoretical approach in the African context.

[3] See for example: David Williams, "The Role of Prisons in Tanzania: An Historical Perspective," *Crime and Social Justice* 13 (1980): 27-38; C. L. Kercher, *The Kenya Penal System Past and Present* (Washington, DC: University Press of America, 1981); D. Van Zyl Smit, "Public Policy and the Punishment of Crime in a Divided Society: A Historical Perspective on the South African Penal System," *Crime and Social Justice* 21-22 (1984): 146-162; Linda Chis-

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 123-143 (rel. 2106) ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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stressed that unlike its European and American counterparts, the prison in Africa was inextricably tied to colonialism. In fact, African pre-colonial societies generally did not establish prisons as a specific place for incarceration. Although some centralized states possessed prisons, these were used to detain political prisoners or those awaiting punishment, including fines, exile, and enslavement.

Nonetheless, rather than representing a complete rupture from the past, the prison in Africa resonated with older forms of captivity, particularly the "architectures of confinement generated by the slave trade".[4] For instance, Edmund Abaka notes in his work on the Gold Coast that slaves were confined in forts, castles, and dungeons before being forced to cross the Atlantic and that, with the imposition of colonial rule, these structures were converted into prisons and police stations.[5] Despite such continuities, little attention has been paid to the connection between the prison and the "slow death of slavery",[6] a topic that has received some scholarly attention in the

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holm, "Education, Punishment and the Contradictions of Penal Reform: Alan Paton and Diepkloof Reformatory, 1934-1948," *Journal of Southern African Studies* 17 (1991): 23-42; Z. Achmat, "Apostles of Civilised Vice: Immoral Practices and Unnatural Vice in South African Prisons and Compounds, 1890-1920," *Social Dynamics* Vol. 19 (1993): 92-110; H. Deacon, *The Island: A History of Robben Island, 1488-1990* (Cape Town: Mayibuye Books, 1996); Florence Bernault, ed., *A History of Prison and Confinement in Africa* (Portsmouth: Heinemann, 2003); Daniel Branch, "Imprisonment and Colonialism in Kenya, c.1930-1952: Escaping the Carceral Archipelago," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 38 (2005): 239-265; Frank Dikötter and Ian Brown, eds., *Cultures of Confinement: A History of the Prison in Africa, Asia and Latin America* (London: Hurst &Co. Ltd., 2007); Jeremy Sarkin, ed., *Human Rights in African Prisons* (Pretoria: HRSC Press, 2008); Fran Buntman and Lukas Muntingh, "Supermaximum Prisons in South Africa," in Jeffrey Ian Ross, ed., *The Globalization of Supermax Prisons* (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 2013), 80-94.

[4] Bernault, ed., *A History of Prison*, 4.

[5] Edmund Abaka, *House of Slaves and "Door of No Return:" Gold Coast/Ghana, Slave Forts, Castles & Dungeons and the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Trenton, NJ: Africa World Press, 2012). See also: Elizabeth Macgonagle, "From Dungeons to Dance Parties: Contested Histories of Ghana's Slave Forts," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 24 (2006): 249-260. Although not directly related to the prison, there have been several works on slave forts, particularly on the Gold Coast. See for example: Kwesi J. Ankwandah, *Castles and Forts of Ghana* (Paris: Atalante, 1979); Albert van Dantzig, *Forts and Castles of Ghana* (Accra: Sedco Publishing, 1980); Benjamin W. Kankpeyeng, "The Slave Trade in Northern Ghana: Landmarks, Legacies and Conections," *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies* 30 (2009): 209-221.

[6] This term is borrowed from Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death of Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897-1936* (Cambridge, UK: Cambridge

US and in Brazil.[7] As Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn have demonstrated in the context of the Sokoto Caliphate, the British used the power of the colonial state to minimize the "potential disruptions of full emancipation".[8] Therefore, the prison, as a symbol of colonial power, needs to be understood in relation to slavery.

The case of Angola offers particularly fertile ground for a social study of prisons. Towards the end of the nineteenth century, Angola was turned by the Portuguese into a veritable penal colony. From 1881 to 1932, convicts (*degredados*), originating predominantly from the metropole, were imprisoned in Luanda's *Depósito Geral de Degredados*.[9] Anabela Cunha argues that the *depósito* marked the beginning of the penitentiary system in Angola.[10] Timothy J. Coates, in turn, calls it the "hub of the entire [penal] sys-

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University Press, 1993). It describes a process in which the colonial state abolished the legal status of slavery while keeping slaves subordinated to their former owners.

[7] For the connection between the prison and slavery in the US see: Michael Stephen Hindus, *Prison and Plantation: Crime, Justice, and Authority in Massachusetts and South Carolina 1767-1877* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1980); Christopher R. Adamson, "Punishment after Slavery: Southern State Penal Systems, 1865-1890," *Social Problems* 30 (1983): 555-569; Joy James, ed., *The Angela Y. Davis Reader* (Malden, MA: Blackwell Publishers, Inc. 1998); Kim Gilmore, "Slavery and Prison—Understanding the Connections," *Social Justice* 27 (2000): 195-205; Andrea C. Armstrong, "Slavery Revisited in Penal Plantation Labor," *Seattle University Law Review* 35 (2012): 835-876; For the connection between slavery and the prison in Brazil see: Thomas H. Holloway, *Policing Rio de Janeiro: Repression, Resistance in the 19th Century City* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1993); Tatiana Carrilho Pastorini, "Castigos em Escravos na Cidade do Rio Grande (1868-1874)," *Biblos* 17 (2005): 179-185; Rita de Cássia Salvador de Sousa Barbosa, "Da Rua ao Cárcere Do Cárcere à Rua Salvador (1808-1850)," M.A. thesis, Universidade Federal da Bahia, 2007; Flávio de Sá Cavalcanti de Albuquerque Neto, "Reforma Penitenciária? Aspectos do Cotidiano da Casa de Detenção do Recife na Segunda Metade do Século XIX," *Revista Crítica Histórica* 2 (2011): 62-79.

[8] Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death of Slavery*, 2. Although there has been little scholarly work on the connection between the prison and slavery, a similar phenomenon occurred in the Sokoto Caliphate. For instance, masters sent defiant slaves to the Gidan Ma'ajin Watari prison near Kano City. See: Mohammed Bashir Salau, *West African Slave Plantation: A Case Study* (New York: Palgrave MacMillan, 2011), 83-84. For more references to slaves being imprisoned by their masters see: Lovejoy and Hogendorn, *Slow Death of Slavery.*

[9] Hermenegildo Augusto Faria Blanc Junior, *O Depósito de Degredados* (Loanda: Imprensa Nacional, 1916).

[10] Anabela Cunha, "O Quotidiano dos Degredados Enviados Para Angola (1880-1932)," Paper presented at the XI Congresso-Luso-Afro-Brasileiro de Ciências Sociais, Bahia, August, 2011.

tem",[11] attributing the emergence of the *depósito* to "larger events taking place outside the colony", particularly penal reforms in Portugal.[12] Yet, not only were convicts a minority of the population, but Luanda, the colonial capital of Angola, had several prisons that predated the *depósito*, some of which were used to punish enslaved people.

This paper focuses on slave imprisonments as found in the *Boletim Oficial da Província de Angola*, a weekly gazette published in Luanda.[13] On August 29, 1857, the local chief of police Jozé Lourenço Marques began to publish in the *BOA* a section titled *PARTE DA POLÍCIA -Ocorrências* or occurences from the police. Until December 28, 1877, the last publication of the *BOA* before full emancipation came into effect, there were a total of 36,920 cases of imprisonment. Of these, 11,422 or 31% involved enslaved individuals. When *libertos* or individuals with an intermediary status between slavery and freedom are added, the number of bonded individuals incarcerated rises to

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[11] Timothy J. Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire: 1740-1932: Redefining the Empire with Forced Labor and New Imperialism* (Boston: Brill, 2014), 6.

[12] Coates, *Convict Labor in the Portuguese Empire*, 56. For more on *degredo* in Angola see: Gerald J. Bender, *Angola Under the Portuguese: The Myth and the Reality* (Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1978); Anabela Cunha, "O Degredo Para Angola Na Segunda Metade do Século XIX," M.A. thesis, Universidade de Lisboa, 2004; Selma Pantoja, "Inquisição, degredo, e mestiçagem em Angola no século XVIII," *Revista Lusófona de Ciência da Religião* 3 (2004):117-136; Clarisse Moreira Aló, "Angola: Lugar de Castigo ou Jóia do Império. O Degredo Na Historiografia e Fontes Séc. XIX," M.A. thesis, Universidade de Brasília, 2006. Angola was not the only destination for Portuguese convicts. On *degredo* throughout the Portuguese empire see: Geraldo Pieroni, "No Purgatório mas o olhar no Paraíso: o Degredo Inquisitorial para o Brasil-Colônia," *Textos de História* 6 (1998): 115-141; Geraldo Pieroni, "Os Excluídos do Reino: A Inquisição Portuguesa e o degredo para o Brasil-Colônia," *Textos de História* 5 (1997): 23-40; Elisa Maria Lopes da Costa, "O Povo Cigano e o Degredo: Contributo Povoador para o Brasil Colônia," *Revista Textos de História* 6 (1998): 35-56; Selma Pantoja,"A Diáspora Feminina: Degredadas para Angola no Século XIX (1865-1898)," *Análise Social* 34 (1999): 555-572; Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (California: Stanford University Press, 2001); Geraldo Pieroni, *Banidos: A Inquisição e a Lista dos Cristão-Novos Condenados a Viver no Brasil* (Bertrand: Rio de Janeiro, 2003); Elisa Maria Lopes da Costa, "Contributos Ciganos para o Povoamento do Brasil (séculos XVI-XIX)," *Arquipélago. História* 9-10 (2005): 153-181; Luiz Mott, "Raizes Históricas da Homosexualidade no Atlântico Lusófono Negro," *Afro-Asia* 33 (2005): 9-33; Saul Estevam Fernandes, "Purgando Pecados e Limpando a Europa: O Degredo no Cotidiano dos Primeiros Séculos de Colonizacao do Brasil," *Anais do II Encontro Internacional de Historia Colonial. Mneme – Revista de Humanidades. UFRN. Caicó* (RN) 9 (2008): 1-15; M. Toma, "A Pena de Degredo e a Construção do Império Colonial," *Capa* 5 (2006): 61-76.

[13] Henceforth referred to as *BOA*.

19,043 or 52% of the total. These figures are staggering considering that Luanda's population between 1861 and 1866 averaged about 12,600 people.[14] For the most part, the information found in the *BOA* does not provide the reason(s) for imprisonment and is therefore not a good indicator of crime. As we will see, however, the majority of slaves and *libertos* were imprisoned for "correction" at their masters' request. Coinciding with a long process, initiated in 1836, to gradually abolish slavery, these cases thus draw attention to the role of the colonial state in attempting to ease the effects of full emancipation and masters in continuing to assert control over enslaved people and *libertos* through the intermediary of the police and the prison.

The Early History of the Prison in Luanda

Sources on the prison in colonial Angola are scarce prior to the mid-nineteenth century. The first prisons were constructed by the Portuguese following the founding of Luanda in 1575 and emerged within the fortresses of São Miguel, Penedo, and São Pedro. Sometime before 1750, the Portuguese also built a *cadeia pública* or public jail in this port town.[15] These prisons were reserved primarily for European and African elites that rebelled against the colonial regime.[16] Enslaved people deemed to have committed crimes were, on the other hand, usually deported overseas or punished by their respective masters.[17] Nonetheless, some of the mechanisms used to forcibly move slaves from the hinterland to the coast, including chains and iron shackles, were also used on prisoners.[18] For example, when the English sailor Andrew Battell was captured by the Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro and brought to Luanda in June of 1596 he was "taken on ship and put into prison, and sent up the River Quansa, to a town of garrison …"[19] After trying to escape, he was recaptured and taken to Luanda where he "lay in prison three months with collars of iron, and great bolts upon [his] legs".[20] Nearly two and a half centuries later, the German physician Gustav Tams visited a "dark" prison[21] where he saw a prince being held in the "most deplorable conditions … hindered by the weight of his chains".[22] This prince was Dom Aleixo de Agua Rosada of Kongo, imprisoned in one of the five secret cells of the fortress of Penedo for instigating a rebellion against Portuguese rule. When the prince was escorted for "examination", he was allowed to wear his general's uniform. But, upon returning, it was quickly "exchanged for galling fetters and links of iron".[23]

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[14] José C. Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion: Luanda, 1844-1850," *International Journal of African Historical Studies* 32 (1999), 383.

[15] Jan Vansina, "Confinement in Angola's Past," in Bernault, ed., *A History of Prison*, 55-68, provides a general overview of the early history of the prison. He also asserts that there has been little scholarly attention devoted to the connection between slavery and the prison.

[16] Vansina, "Confinement in Angola's Past," 55-68. For more information on the devices used to punish slaves see: José Alipio Goulart, *Da Palmatória ao Patíbulo (Castigos de Escravos no Brasil)* (Rio de Janeiro: Conquista, 1971). Although this work focusses on Brazil, some of these devices were also used in Angola.

[17] Roquinaldo Ferreira, *Cross-Cultural Exchange in the Atlantic World: Angola and Brazil during the Era of the Slave Trade* (Cambridge University Press: Cambridge, 2012), 150, 156. It is important to note that masters continued to abuse slaves despite the "slow death of slavery". See for example: Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Notas preliminares sobre punição de escravos em Luanda (seculo XIX)," in Ana Cristina Roque e Maria Manuel Torrão, eds., *O Colonialismo Português: Novos Rumos da historiografia dos PALOP* (Porto: Edições Húmus, 2013),155-177.

Although the *Ordenações Filipinas*, the early seventeenth century Portuguese legal code, inscribed a wide range of penalties for crime, the prison played a minor role in the "panoply of punishments".[24] That all changed with the demographic and economic transformations that took place in colonial Angola during the middle of the nineteenth century. Until then, Luanda had been the largest slaving port in western Africa: between 1710 and 1830, alone, 1.2 million enslaved people were exported through this coastal town, the vast majority destined for Brazil.[25] After Portugal abolished the export slave trade in 1836 and signed the 1842 anti-slave trade treaty with

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[18] Vansina, "Confinement in Angola's Past".

[19] E. G. Ravenstein, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Batell of Leigh, in Angola and the Adjoining Regions* (London: Hakluyt Society, 1901), 7.

[20] Ravenstein, *The Strange Adventures of Andrew Batell*, 13.

[21] Gustav Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa* (London: T. C. Newby, 1845), II: 19-20.

[22] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa*, II: 23.

[23] Tams, *Visit to the Portuguese Possessions in South-Western Africa*, II: 22.

[24] Vansina, "Confinement in Angola's Past," 58.

[25] José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Reassessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola 1710-1830," *African Economic History* 20 (1992): 1-25.

Britain, however, the economy of Angola's colonial capital economy slowly transitioned to legitimate commerce, creating greater opportunities for wage employment and a series of ancillary outcomes. Between 1844 and 1850, the population of Luanda more than doubled from 5,605 to 12,565 individuals, an increase that was particularly acute within the "free mulatto and black population", which rose from 2,856 to 6,545 inhabitants. With these economic and demographic changes, Luanda emerged into an "urban center": as a result, the size of its police was increased from 45 to 60 individuals.[26] By 1850 there were nine police stations, and by 1851 the number of police had risen to 80.[27] Although this increase was modest relative to the size of the urban population,[28] travellers who visited Luanda remarked that it was well policed. For instance, when Carlos José Caldeira visited Luanda in 1851, he noted the *empacasseiros*, as the local policemen were known, carried out their duties "perfectly", including capturing deserters and thieves that had fled into the interior.[29] Three years later, David Livingstone found Luanda "in a state of decay", but nevertheless highlighted that the city had an "effective police".[30]

Prison Reforms and Prison Conditions

In the wake of Luanda's mid-nineteenth century urban expansion, the colonial administration became interested in reforming its prisons, which had historically been plagued by poor conditions.[31] According to a 1764 report,

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[26] Curto, "The Anatomy of a Demographic Explosion".

[27] For more information on this increase in policing see: *Almanak Statistico da Provincia d'Angola e Suas Dependencias* (Loanda: Imprensa do Governo, 1851), 5; Roquinaldo Ferreira, "Escravidão e Revoltas de Escravos em Angola (1830-1860)," *Afro-Ásia* 21-22 (1998-1999), 33.

[28] Vanessa S. Oliveira points out that despite the increase in policing from 45 to 60 individuals, Luanda had a small police force relative to the size of the population and that each officer was responsible for 209 inhabitants. This made it difficult for the police to enforce anti-slavery laws. See: Vanessa S. Oliveira, "Notas preliminares sobre punição de escravos em Luanda (século XIX)," 164.

[29] José Carlos Caldeira, *Apontamentos D'uma Viagem De Lisboa à China e Da China à Lisboa* (Lisbon: G.M Martins, 1852), II: 208.

[30] David Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches in South Africa* (New York: Harper and Brothers, 1858), 256.

[31] For more on how urbanization resulted in a preoccupation with crime and order see: Richard Burton, *African Underclass: Urbanisation, Crime & Colonial Order in Dar es Salaam*

Portuguese Studies Review

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr (URL not valid after 05 June 2020)
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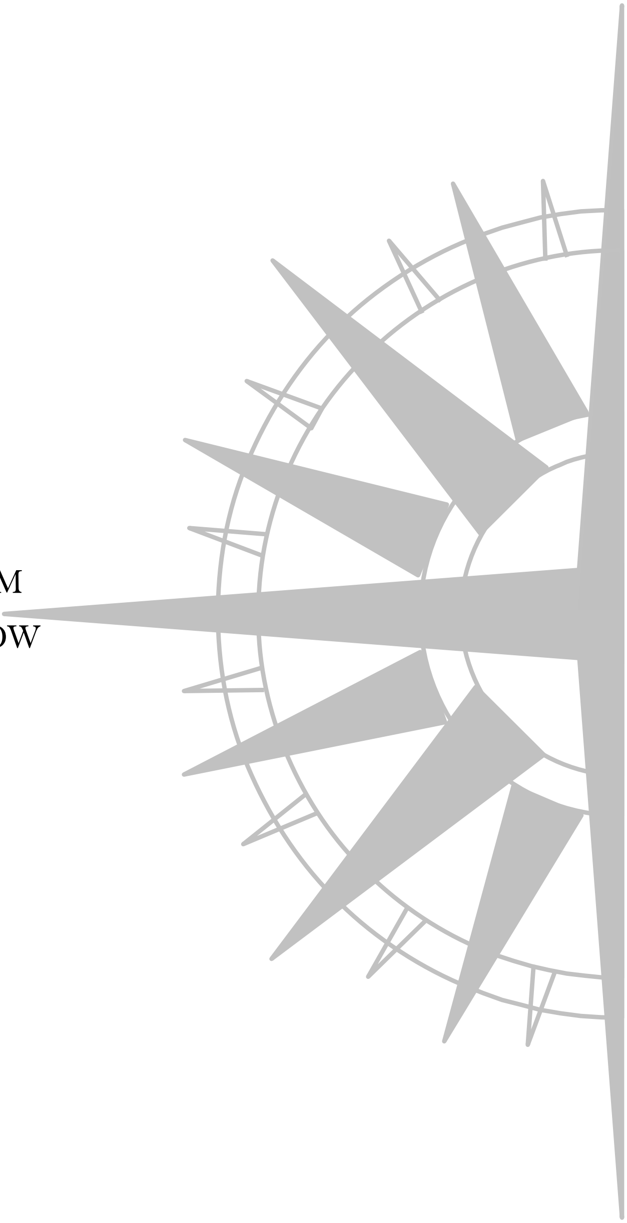
Angola from Then to Now



Luce, Portuguese Studies Review 23 (2) (2015) 147-189

Confronting the *Estado Novo*: Canadian Missionaries and a Polemic Entitled *Angola Awake*[1]

Frank J. Luce
York University

1. *"…the enormity of the evils of colonialism"*

In 1968 the Ryerson Press published a book entitled *Angola Awake,* a polemic authored by Dr. Sidney (Sid) Gilchrist, a medical missionary with the United Church of Canada (UCC). The press was owned at the time by the UCC, and lest there be any doubt that Gilchrist's opinion was endorsed by the church, the publication included a forward under the authorship of Garth Legge, the Associate Secretary for Africa of the UCC's Board of World Mission. The significance of this publication is that the UCC thereby broke a prolonged silence about what Gilchrist referred to as "the enormity of the evils of colonialism". The church's new message was provocative, as *Angola Awake* "was more than a memoir; rather it was an indictment of protestant missionary collaboration with the colonial government in Angola and a demand for missionaries to rethink their priorities".[2]

Gilchrist agonized over the decision to break his silence and did so only after his abrupt departure from Angola two years before publication. For Gilchrist and his colleagues, a policy of deferential silence was what they rendered to the colonizer so that their missionary work could continue. For Gilchrist, however, by 1968 their silence had turned into complicity and condonation:

> It is easy to argue that all the good that we missionaries have been able to do in Angola and other parts of Africa would never have been possible had we spoken

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[1] I would to thank the referees of this special issue, as well as Dr. José C. Curto, for their insightful comments and suggestions.

[2] Kate Burlingham, " 'In the Image of God': A Global History of the North American Congregational Mission Movement in Angola, 1879-1975", PhD dissertation, Rutgers, The State University of New Jersey (2011), 133.

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 147-189 (rel. 2016) ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
and http://www.trentu.ca/admin/publications/psr
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> out clearly against the denial of human rights to Africans. The white colonial rulers would have shown us the way home and lost little time about it. It is much more difficult, however, to convince oneself that we should have waited so long to declare to the world *the enormity of the evils of colonialism* [emphasis added].[3]

Knowing that they would be expelled from Angola if they broke their silence, the UCC missionaries were caught between conflicting political forces. By 1968 they had become aware that the "civilizing mission" of which they had been part was now moribund, and they began to search for a new role within an independent Angola, which seemed inevitable. Their Angolan church colleagues entreated them to remain in active service as long as possible, as intermediaries with the colonial state, while the Angolan community in exile, including the leaders of the liberation movement(s), critiqued the complicity that their silence evidenced, urging them instead to help mobilize international support for the independence cause. For Gilchrist, however, it was his individual consciousness that led him to take this radical step in the direction of African liberation, with the support of Legge and other church leaders.

Gilchrist was not an ordained minister, but he was a deeply religious man who also had deeply held political beliefs which are more fully explored later in this article. The article deals first with the conflicting political forces at play in colonial Angola in the post-1961 period; only later do I turn to Gilchrist's personal beliefs, while privileging his political over his religious belief system, although I acknowledge that the two no doubt intersected. The approach I have adopted is in keeping with an observation made by Didier Péclard in this regard:

> [O]ne should not forget that if missionaries at times appeared very radical in their dealings with colonial authorities and in their support of nationalist movements, it was due as much to their own beliefs and political orientations as to the different political forces between which they were caught.[4]

By 1961, when a liberation war finally broke out in Angola, decolonization had already been embraced as the dominant reality in most of Africa, with Portugal standing out as a retrograde colonizer, albeit with the support of its NATO allies, including Canada. While the Canadian government maintained its position of support for its NATO ally throughout the liberation struggle in Southern Africa, Canadian developmental NGOs (non-governmental organizations), including the churches, increasingly embraced the post-colonial reality, critiqued their own neo-colonial pasts, and debated strategies to channel support to the cause of African liberation.[5]

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[3] Sid Gilchrist, *Angola Awake* (Toronto: The Ryerson Press, 1968), xi.

[4] Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola: The Church, the Colonial State and the Emergence of Angola Nationalism, 1940-1961," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 28 (1998): 164.

By 1968, it is doubtful that any of the UCC missionaries maintained much sympathy for the "civilizing mission" in which the *Estado Novo* dictatorship under António de Oliveira purported to be engaged, although prophetic utterings in favour of a "multiracial" society in Angola were not uncommon within missionary circles. [6] The leaders of the UCC's partner church in Angola , then known as the CIEAC,[7] were committed to the notion of independence long before the missionaries caught on to the extent of their partners' engagement as the CIEAC in fact provided the independence movement with a clandestine network of support.

Meanwhile, Gilchrist's generation, referred to below as the "missionaries of old", continued to espouse a "missionary ethic"[8] that was in a process of disintegration. As late as 1963, this ethic remained focused on a discourse that continued to promote evangelism as the mission's primary purpose to which humanitarian or development work—such as Gilchrist's work in public health—was subordinate.[9] However, by then the discourse was effectively being reversed as a result of the developmental work on the ground and as a discourse it had already lost powere within UCC circles in Canada, as we will see below.

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[5] Ruth Compton Brouwer, *Canada's Global Villagers: CUSO in Development, 1961-86* (Vancouver: University of British Columbia Press, 2013).

[6] Walter Strangway letter to "Dala", quoted in Angola Norte, c. September 17, 1966, United Church of Canada Archives (hereinafter UCC Archives), Alice Kathleen and Walter Earl Strangway Fonds, location number 1986.195, Box 1, file 12.

[7] *Conselho das Igrejas Evangélicas de Angola Central*), now known as IECA (*Igreja Evangélica Congregationalista de Angola*).

[8] Didier Péclard, "Ethos missionaire et esprit du capitalisme. La mission philafricaine en Angola 1897-1907," *Le Fait Missionaire* 1 (1995): 1-97.

[9] Ruth Compton Brouwer, "When Missions Became Development. Ironies of 'NGOization' in Mainstream Canadian Churches in the 1960s," *The Canadian Historical Review* 91(2010): 661-693.

While the old ethic was integral to Portugal's "civilizing mission" at the same time it critiqued specific aspects of the colonial project, slavery and the slave trade in particular, a critique that was later blunted by a policy of deferential silence. While the old ethic gradually disintegrated, the next generation, or "final generation," of UCC missionaries embraced a radically different ethic which led them to support the cause of African liberation. As Kofi Hope explains:

> This final generation of UCC missionaries to Africa had a very different experience from the missionaries of old, coming home inspired by liberation movements and anti-colonial politics and ready to mobilize support within their churches. These 'radical missionaries' were part of a larger cohort of radical churchmen and women that existed within the UCC during the 1960s-1970s.[10]

The article begins with a brief history of the UCC mission in Angola, tracing the policy of deferential silence back to its origins in the infamous Ross Report of 1925. This is followed by an analysis of the relation between the CIEAC (the Angolan national church) and the independence movement, and then an analysis of the deteriorating relation between the UCC missionaries and the colonial state, as the armed struggle for independence intensified. The article then turns to an examination of Gilchrist's political beliefs and his decision to break with the policy of deferential silence. A brief conclusion sets out my opinion with respect to the issues raised in the article, including Gilchrist's assessment that his decision had been long overdue.

2. *"We are here to preach the gospel and civilize the natives."*

Although since 1940 the Roman Catholic Church enjoyed a privileged relationship with Salazar's *Estado Novo*,[11] protestant churches of various denominations also adhered to Portugal's colonial project. While the Catholics established their presence in all regions of Angola, the three major protestant denominations—Baptists, Methodists, Congregationalists—divided the colony into three missionary territories, with Congregationalists from the United States and Canada settled on the central plateau among the Ovimbundu people. The Canadian section of the Congregationalist mission was placed under the umbrella of the UCC Board of World Mission, for males, and the Women's Missionary Society, when the UCC was created in 1925, but at ground level it remained part of a joint mission with the American Congregationalists, until 1956-7 when the CIEAC was founded as a national church. The emergence of the CIEAC as a "partner" church gave rise to a structural change that saw the missionaries subordinated to the governance structure of the national church, reporting to their home mission boards in Canada and the United States through a "Committee of Missionaries". Despite this historical evolution, both the CIEAC and the missionaries continued to be known as Congregationalists ("*congregacionalistas*"); and, because the mission originated in the United States, they were referred to informally as "*americanos.*"

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[10] Kofi Hope, "In Search of Solidarity: International Solidarity Work between Canada and South Africa 1975-2010," PhD dissertation, Oxford University, 2011, 189.

[11] Didier Péclard, "Religion and Politics in Angola," 167.

We have seen that the missionary ethic of the Congregationalists included their opposition to slavery and the slave trade. When the issue of slavery in Africa was taken up by the League of Nations,[12] the leaders of the protestant missionary movement, including the Congregationalists, submitted a report (the "Ross Report") on forced labour in Angola and Mozambique to the Temporary Slavery Commission, under the authorship of Professor Robert Ross, an American sociologist. Based on evidence gathered during a mission-sponsored investigation in Angola and Mozambique, the "Ross Report" implicated Portuguese authorities in the widespread abuse of forced labour. While the Portuguese government at the time was prepared to bring its labour policies into line with those of the other colonial powers, the reaction to the Ross Report both in Portugal and in Angola was extremely negative. On the central plateau, the Congregationalist missionaries bore the brunt of this reaction for several reasons: the involvement of their home mission boards, the involvement of the missionaries themselves as Ross's guides and translators, and finally because Ross concluded his report by contrasting the negative impact of Portuguese colonialism with the positive contribution of the protestant missions. With the complicity of local administrative authorities, Portuguese traders and settlers responded to the Ross Report with threats and acts of violence directed against the Congregational mission, to the extent that the viability of the mission itself was at issue.

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[12] Edward A. Ross, *Report on Employment of Native Labor in Portuguese Africa* (New York: The Abbott Press, 1925).

By 1925 a British-Canadian missionary by the name of John Tucker had emerged as the de facto leader of the missionary cohort, from his position as director of the Currie Institute, the first among several central institutions that the mission established in Dondi. Tucker had been absent from the mission at the time of Ross's investigation but he had played a prominent background role in the lead up to the report, out of a genuine concern about the prevalence of forced labour within the mission territory. The home mission boards expressed "great confidence in the trustworthiness of Prof. Ross and of the evidence which he has presented in this report"[13], but Tucker, who was on the front line of the Portuguese attack, responded to the report as follows:

> Now it is very easy for anyone passing through a country to go home and write a book but it should be remembered that there are people there who get the brunt of things.[14]

In order to protect the viability of the mission, Tucker's strategy was to distance the mission from the report. Faced with the competing ethics of evangelism and opposition to slavery, Tucker's priority was to protect the mission. This strategy, however, did not find favour with his home mission board where "it was felt that the Missionaries must stand behind the Ross Report even at serious costs".[15] Nevertheless, Tucker's position won the day on the central plateau. Having earlier accommodated Portuguese efforts to regulate the activities of the mission, including the imposition of Portuguese as the exclusive language of instruction, Tucker again led the missionaries in a deferral to Portuguese authority by silencing any adverse comments about colonial labour policy or, indeed, about any other negative characteristic of colonial administration. Earning a reputation as a diplomat and a lusophile, "Tucker went an extra mile cajoling and encouraging all and sundry not only to be diplomatic but to try to learn Portuguese as well".[16] Tucker's diplomatic approach was soon adopted by the home mission boards. More tellingly, missionaries on furlough leave broached no critique of colonial administration in their deputation work, a duty which required them to speak about the mission to congregations across the country.

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[13] Ross, *Report,* 1.

[14] Tucker letter to American and Canadian Boards of Missions, September 23, 1925, UCC Archives. United Church of Canada Board of Overseas Missions Fonds 502. Records relating to Angola. Series 2.Subseries 0. Location number 83.012C. Box 1, file 4.

[15] Report of the Conference of the President with the members of the Toronto Section of the Executive Committee, nd, [October 1925], UCC archives. United Church of Canada Board of Overseas Missions Fonds 502. Records relating to Angola. Series 2.Subseries 0. Location number 83.012C. Box 1, file 4.

Tucker's diplomatic action, coupled with the policy of deferential silence, allowed the mission not only to remain viable but also to prosper, despite the privileged position later gained by the Catholic Church. After all, as Tucker explained:

> We have no political affiliations or desires as you well know: we are here to preach the gospel and *civilize the natives*.[17] [emphasis added]

While Tucker's comment makes clear that evangelism was the mission's primary purpose, it begs the question of what method the Congregationalists would use to "civilize the natives". In practice, the mission prospered more because of its developmental program than its preaching of the gospel. The developmental program was extensive, beginning with the central institutions in Dondi which included a hospital, a seminary, a printing press, and two schools (one for boys, one for girls), located on at least 9000 acres[18] of fertile land which was ceded to the mission at a nominal price by Governor General Norton de Matos in 1914, at a time when protestants, not Roman Catholics, enjoyed a privileged relation with the republican regime.[19] In addition to the central institutions, the mission operated through a network of stations and outstations where mission schools, churches, and medical facilities were located, including the Canadian-run hospital in Chissamba, a hospital which gained fame throughout Angola and beyond. Missionaries were recruited more for their professional skills and training than for their ability to preach the gospel, as the developmental program proved to be the most effective tool of evangelization. Indeed, while the mission was often at odds with other aspects of the Portuguese colonial project, respect for its development program was often expressed at various levels of the colonial administration.

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[16] Fola Soremekum, "Religion and Politics in Angola. The American Board of Missions and the Portuguese Government, 1880-1922," *Cahiers d'études africaines* 11 (1971): 341-377.

[17] Tucker letter to American and Canadian Boards of Missions, September 23, 1925, UCC Archives. United Church of Canada Board of Overseas Missions Fonds 502. Records relating to Angola. Series 2.Subseries 0. Location number 83.012C. Box 1, file 4.

[18] R. Arthur Steed, "A History of the C.C.F.M.S. in Angola", B.D. thesis, Victoria University, 1961, 30. This may be a low figure.

[19] Soremekum, "Religion and Politics in Angola", 370.

3. *"Wherever a catechism existed in 1961 there was found also a terrorist leader."*

When the CIEAC was established as a national church in 1957, the UCC missionaries were formally subordinated to the CIEAC governance structure, although they continued to report directly to their home mission boards through their Committee of Missionaries. Readers who are familiar with protestant structures of governance will note that the CIEAC was far from "congregational" since formal power was vested in a council and executive that governed the affairs of all church congregations, assisted a by general secretary, the first of whom was Jesse Chipenda from Bailundo.[20] While Chipenda and his colleagues enjoyed a relative political autonomy, the missionaries remained in control of church finances,[21] imposing a governance structure that resembled the neo-colonial model that was emerging contemporaneously elsewhere in Africa. Besides maintaining financial control, the missionaries continued to occupy the key positions in the Dondi central institutions and they remained as directors of the mission stations, with supervisory responsibility for the Angolan pastors, catequists, and teachers in the mission outstations. Within the CIEAC network, however, Angolan pastors, catequists, teachers, and students were able to function politically in a manner that escaped the supervision of their foreign colleagues. As the notion of political independence caught on within this church elite, the CIEAC network became a vehicle for organizing "subversive" activities. As Lawrence Henderson explained:

> Without doubt the Protestant community provided one of the best networks for the spread of anti-Portuguese propaganda and for the organization of nationalist associations and activities.[22]

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[20] Lawrence Henderson, *The Church in Angola: A River of Many Currents*, (Cleveland: The Pilgrim Press, 1992), 381-2.

[21] Cláudio Andrade de Conceição Tomás, "Discursos e Práticas de Reconciliação Nacional e de Construção da Nação em Angola. o caso da Igreja Evangélica Congregacional de Angola," M. A. thesis, ISCTE Instituto Universitário de Lisboa, 2010, 23.

[22] Henderson, *The Church in Angola*, 279.

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Ovadia, Portuguese Studies Review 23 (2) (2015) 191-214

State-Led Development in Angola and the Challenge of Agriculture and Rural Development[1]

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THE INCREDIBLE irony of juxtaposing Angola's massive natural wealth alongside conflict, poverty and great suffering has been noted by many who have studied its history and politics. In his well-known book on Angola's political economy, Tony Hodges opens with this "terrible, shocking paradox," writing "few countries present such a stark contrast between economic potential and the state of their populace."[2] Although Hodges' book was primarily about the two natural resources that fuelled the final stretches of Angola's devastating civil war—oil and diamonds—one need not dig too deep (so to speak) to find other examples of Angola's wealth.

Blessed with abundant fertile land, especially in the central plateau region, colonial Angola was not only self-sufficient in food production but also an exporter of cereals and cash crops. The failure of the colonial market system was a blow to agricultural production.[3] Ongoing conflict disrupted the ability of food producers to cultivate and especially to transport their products. Since the end of the civil war in 2002, the Angolan state has had to rebuild the country. The entire non-oil economy was devastated by the war and large segments of the population were internally displaced. In this context, state development planning takes on new urgency.

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[1] I am indebted to the referees and editors of this special issue for their comments, critiques and suggestions. The field research for this work was carried out with the aid of a grant from the International Development Research Centre, Ottawa, Canada <www.idrc.ca>, for which I am grateful. I would also like to acknowledge with thanks the support of York University, the York Centre for International and Security Studies and *Acção para o Desenvolvimento Rural e Ambiente* (ADRA-Angola).

[2] Tony Hodges, *Angola: Anatomy of an Oil State* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2004), 1.

[3] Hodges, *Angola: Anatomy of an Oil State*, 105.

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 191-214 (rel. 2016) | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
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Various models of state-led development have been proposed to understand structural change. As McMillan and Headey write: “Structural change entails the movement of labor from low productivity sectors like agriculture into more modern sectors of the economy.”[4] Of course, it also involves raising the productivity of the agricultural sector and linking it to industrial processing. In the past half-century, the most notable case of late-industrialization is found in the newly industrialized countries (NICs) of East Asia. The so-called East Asian Tigers–Japan, Hong Kong, South Korea, Singapore and Taiwan—all achieved high growth and industrialization through the 1980s and 90s based on an export-oriented economy. In each case, the state planned out and facilitated this economic development through coordination with the national elite, making use of regulation, incentivization schemes, and other state interference in the “natural” operation of the market. The concept of a “developmental state”[5] became an explanation for the East Asian “economic miracle,” and in more recent times, an important aspect of the argument against the neoliberal free-market approach of the World Bank and International Monetary Fund (IMF) and for state intervention. In fact, Ha-Joon Chang[6] argues that interventionist economic policies were used by every industrializing country since Britain’s industrial revolution and are therefore necessary to foster economic and social development.

There are numerous and competing definitions of the developmental state. Distilled to its core, a developmental state is oriented to promote developmental outcomes—chiefly economic growth and to a lesser extent poverty alleviation.[7] One of the more robust definitions comes from Castells: “A state is developmental when it establishes as its principle of legitimacy, its ability to promote and sustain development, understanding by development the combination of steady high rates of growth and structural change in the productive system, both domestically and in its relationship to the international economy... Thus, ultimately for the developmental state, economic development is not a goal but a means."[8]

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[4] Margaret McMillan and Derek Headey, “Introduction—Understanding Structural Transformation in Africa,” *World Development* 63 (2014): 1-10.

[5] Chalmers Johnson, *MITI and the Japanese Miracle: The Growth of Industrial Policy, 1925-1975* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1982).

[6] Ha-Joon Chang, *Kicking Away the Ladder: Development Strategy in Historical Perspective* (London: Anthem Press, 2002).

[7] For an excellent review of academic literature on the developmental state, see Laura Routley, “Developmental States in Africa? A Review of Ongoing Debates and Buzzwords,” *Development Policy Review* 32 (2014): 159-177.

Meyns and Musamba write: "When reference is made to the "developmental state" we think of East and South East Asian countries and not usually about Africa. For the past few years, however, there has been a noticeable interest in academic as well as development cooperation circles in the usefulness of the concept for political-economic conditions in Africa."[9] The developmental state has been applied to Botswana, Mauritius, Ghana, South Africa, and other countries. Elsewhere, building on the work of David Sogge[10], the term has been explored by Ovadia[11] in relation to Angola, though he ultimately concluded Angola did not meet the essential criteria and Ovadia is speaking of the *potential* for state-led development. It may initially be difficult to accept the notion of Angola as a developmental state given the widespread poverty and dreadful lack of basic state functions outside of Luanda. However, since 2002 there has been a flurry of new infrastructure and investment in roads, railways, ports, dams, electrification (even of slums or *musseques*), and construction of schools, hospitals and other basic institutions. This investment has extended to most of the provincial capitals and perhaps to some municipalities in more populous and prosperous provinces, but not significantly beyond those areas.

Much has been made of Angola's incredible post-war economic growth (see Table 1). Although sharply affected by the global financial crisis, the IMF estimates GDP growth had already risen past 5 percent and (prior to the oil price shock and its particularly hard-felt impacts in Angola) expected growth to remain between 6-7 percent for the next five years. Such statistics are only useful to a point given the notorious unreliability of GDP statistics in general and in specifically in sub-Saharan Africa. Additionally, the statistics are less impressive when Angola's starting point is taken into consideration. Despite new local content efforts,[12] the oil sector still remains largely an enclave sector. Nevertheless, impressive growth is occurring—even in the non-oil economy.[13] In terms of poverty alleviation, Angola has also clearly made impressive gains in key human development indicators and progress toward the millennium development goals.[14]

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[8] Manuel Castells, 1992, cited in Ben Fine "The Developmental State and the Political Economy of Development," in K. S. Jomo and Ben Fine, eds., *The New Development Economics: After the Washington Consensus* (London: Zed Books, 2006).

[9] Peter Meyns and Charity Musamba, "The Developmental State in Africa: Problems and Prospects" (Institute for Development and Peace, University of Duisburg-Essen. INEF-Report 101/2010), 7.

[10] David Sogge, "Angola: 'Failed' yet 'Successful'" (Madrid: FRIDE, Working Paper 81, 2009).

[11] Jesse Salah Ovadia, *The Petro-Developmental State in Africa: Making Oil Work in Angola, Nigeria and the Gulf of Guinea* (London: Hurst, 2016).

Table 1 Percent Change in GDP 2002-2011

2002	2003	2004	2005	2006	2007	2008	2009	2010
14.5	3.3	11.2	20.6	20.7	22.6	13.8	2.4	3.4

Source: IMF World Economic Outlook Database, October 2013.

It is not all a rosy picture for Angola's post-war development project. Much has been made of Angola's "illiberal peacebuilding approach"[15] and the high levels of state repression. However, authoritarianism is not incompatible with developmentalism. In fact, as Ben Fine argues developmental states are commonly, if not universally authoritarian.[16] In the introduction to their book on *The Democratic Developmental State*, it almost seems Robinson and White have Angola in mind when then write that many developmental states are "illiberal states" where capital accumulation is by means of "corrupt and illegal practices" and "self-interested elites use patronage networks and capture economic power to protect their positions through force and subterfuge" so that enrichment is for a small group of individuals to the detriment of the vast majority.[17] While some may see authoritarianism and neopatrimonial relations as a driver of economic development and even poverty alleviation,[18] I will argue that the heavily centralized and top-down approach of the governing *Movimento Popular de Libertação de Angola* (MPLA) is highly detrimental in many respects, but most notably when it comes to promoting the agricultural sector and encouraging rural development.

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[12] Jesse Salah Ovadia, "The Dual Nature of Local Content in Angola's Oil and Gas Industry: Development vs. Elite Accumulation," *Journal of Contemporary African Studies* 30 (2013): 395-417; Jesse Salah Ovadia, "The Reinvention of Elite Accumulation in Angola: Emergent Capitalism in a Rentier Economy," *Cadernos de Estudos Africanos* 25 (2013): 33-63.

[13] *IMF, Angola: Second Post-Programme Monitoring* (Washington, DC: International Monetary Fund, 2014).

[14] Jesse Salah Ovadia and Sylvia Croese, "Post-War and Oil-Rich Angola: The Dual Nature of Growth Without Development," in Herbert Jauch and Godfrey Kanyenze, eds., *The State of the State in Southern Africa: A Need for a Developmental Intervention* (Harare: Weaver Press, 2016, forthcoming).

[15] Ricardo Soares de Oliveria, "Illiberal Peacebuilding in Angola," *Journal of Modern African Studies* 49 (2011): 287-314.

[16] Fine, "The Developmental State and the Political Economy of Development," 108.

The Role of Agriculture in Angola's Development Planning

Agriculture is often overlooked in the literature on late industrialization. Yet, in a context where the majority of Angolans earn their livelihoods from agriculture, it is hard to imagine structural change (as per Castells' definition of a developmental state) without significant government intervention in agriculture. In this paper, I will review the importance of agriculture and rural development for the promotion of developmental outcomes in Angola. Angola cannot properly by considered a developmental state, let alone a democratic developmental state. However, there are significant aspects of state-led development in terms of oil and gas, industrial policy, housing and infrastructure.[19] Recent progress in agriculture promotion in Angola will be analyzed with reference to agricultural investment and job creation using data collected from Angola's National Private Investment Agency (*Agência Nacional para o Investimento Privado*, or ANIP), which generally targets commercial farms. The limits of Angola's development model are then reviewed through a case study of the challenges facing the government's signature agricultural initiative, Aldeia Nova. More than $100 million has been spent to create a project supporting 600 families of ex-combatants. Although those families and even the surrounding areas have benefitted from the project, which was envisioned to be a model for rural development around the country, it has become a prime example amongst Angolan development practitioners, agronomists, and civil society organizations of waste and misplaced priorities.

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[17] Mark Robinson and Gordon White, "Introduction," in Mark Robinson and Gordon White, eds., *The Democratic Developmental State: Politics and Institutional Design* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), 4-5.

[18] David Booth, "Towards a Theory of Local Governance and Public Goods Provision," *IDS Bulletin* 42 (2) (2011): 11-21; Tim Kelsall, "Rethinking the Relationship Between Neopatrimonialism and Economic Development in Africa," *IDS Bulletin* 42 (2) (2011): 76-87; Tim Kelsall, *Business, Politics and the State in Africa: Challenging the Orthodoxies on Growth and Transformation* (New York: Zed Books, 2013).

[19] See Ovadia and Croese, "Post-War and Oil-Rich Angola".

According to estimates from the Angolan Ministry of Agriculture and Rural Development, the agricultural sector in 2008 employed roughly 4.7 million Angolans, or 63 percent of the working population. Slightly more than half the population (54 percent) was estimated to live in rural areas.[20] In another study, they found that there were 1,861,252 family farms in Angola, as compared to 8,106 commercial farms.[21] Taken together, these numbers suggest that it would be impossible to achieve developmental outcomes for the majority of Angolans or reduce poverty in Angola without focusing on agriculture. Indeed, Sam Moyo argues that "Addressing the agrarian question … is widely recognized in the literature on developmental states as having been critical to generating developmental success."[22] Although he is writing mainly about South Africa, Moyo contends that agrarian reform must be a part of addressing the developmental challenges facing southern Africa as a region; securing food security, addressing high levels of unemployment, poverty and inequality, transforming productive forces (*i.e.* land and labour) and industrialization. His conclusion, that South Africa is unlikely to become a developmental state without agrarian reform,[23] is no doubt equally applicable to Angola.[24]

As many authors have shown, developmental states gain legitimacy by increasing the standard of living for a majority of citizens.[25] In the introduction to his edited volume *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa*, Omano Edigheji writes: "One important policy tool that has been adopted by most developmental states to reduce poverty, address the legacy of dispossession, transform the structure of their economies and ensure equitable growth is agrarian reform." His basis for noting this policy is that "Equitable growth, which should be the major aim of the democratic developmental state, would be near impossible without agrarian reform."[26] As Moyo, writing in the same volume, notes, agrarian reform may involve land reform, enhanced security of land tenure, and interventions that support agro-industrial growth and diversification. As with industrial policy, Moyo argues that agrarian reforms in the Southern African Development Community (SADC) need to be undertaken in the wider context of a national development strategy to enhance accumulation and create significant multiplier effects throughout the economy.[27] This logic is counter to the dominant perspective that in much of sub-Saharan Africa the existing agro-industrial base is sufficient and competitive enough, but agricultural exports are limited by weak concessions to foreign investment and the inefficiency of small producers.[28]

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[20] República de Angola, *Estratégia Nacional de Segurança Alimentar e Nutricional* (Luanda: Ministério da Agricultura e do Desenvolvimento Rural, 2009).

[21] República de Angola, *Resultados da 1ª Época e Estimativas da Campanha Agrícola 2008/2009* (Luanda: Ministério da Agricultura, 2010).

[22] Sam Moyo, "The Agrarian Question and the Developmental State in Southern Africa," in Omano Edigheji, ed., *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges* (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2010), 285.

[23] Moyo, "The Agrarian Question," 308.

[24] For a good history of land resources in Angola, see Allan Cain, "Land Resources and Conflict in Angola," in John Unruh and Rhodri Williams, eds., *Land and Post-Conflict Peacebuilding* (New York: Earthscan, 2013), 177-204.

[25] Adrian Leftwich, *States of Development: On the Primacy of Politics in Development* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 2000); Verena Fritz and Alina Rocha Menocal, "Developmental States in the New Millennium: Concepts and Challenges for a New Aid Agenda," *Development Policy Review* 25 (2007): 531-552.

When it comes to Angola, the context of 30 years of war has created even greater need for government intervention to support agricultural development. Angola is a "high food-production deficit" country in that it imports more than 50 percent of their cereal consumption requirements.[29] As Table 2 shows, the country has by far the most negative balance of trade in the region when it comes to food and agriculture. According to more recent statistics (Table 3), that negative balance has only increased in recent years. While Table 2 shows a balance of negative US$1,719 million in 2004/05 for food and agriculture, Table 3 shows that the negative balance had increased to US$2,127 million by 20010 and US$3,077 million by 2012. The largest increases in agricultural imports have been in live animals, meat and dairy.

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[26] Omano Edigheji, "Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges," in Omano Edigheji, ed., *Constructing a Democratic Developmental State in South Africa: Potentials and Challenges* (Cape Town: Human Sciences Research Council, 2010), 26-27.

[27] Moyo, "The Agrarian Question," 285-287.

[28] Moyo, "The Agrarian Question," 299.

[29] Moyo, "The Agrarian Question," 293, citing Glatz *et al.*, 2007.

The reliance on imported food and food products is particularly damaging for food security in Angola given the effect of oil exports on the cost of imports. The figures are also cause for concern given Angola's potential for agricultural self-sufficiency.

Table 2 Agricultural and Food Trade (US$Million), SADC 2004/05

Country	*Agricultural Trade*			*Food Trade*		
	Exports	*Imports*	*Balance*	*Exports*	*Imports*	*Balance*
Angola	6	985	– 979	1	741	– 740
Botswana	52	126	– 74	49	92	– 43
DRC	39	336	– 297	8	227	– 219
Lesotho	6	60	– 54	1	47	– 46
Madagascar	122	90	32	104	80	24
Malawi	397	100	297	76	59	17
Mauritius	429	426	3	371	335	36
Mozambique	124	343	– 219	0	301	– 301
Namibia	249	278	– 29	145	197	– 52
Seychelles	1	78	– 77	6	67	– 61
South Africa	4184	2753	1431	2680	1731	949
Swaziland	272	74	198	242	54	188
Tanzania	534	342	192	146	278	– 132
Zambia	322	173	149	159	139	20
Zimbabwe	847	468	379	115	371	– 256
SADC	7584	6632	952	4103	4719	– 616

Source: Moyo, "The Agrarian Question," 294, citing World Bank 2007.

Agriculture is not a high priority in terms of public investment. In fact, the priorities set in this area by the Angolan government are a good example of the downside of its overall approach to development. Aside from Aldeia Nova, agriculture and rural development has been largely ignored. The entire budget of the Rural Extension Program for 2009 was a mere

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Portuguese Studies Review (PSR)
BIBLID | ISSN 1057-1515 print
Online: through EBSCO and Gale/Cengage
Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr (URL permanently valid)
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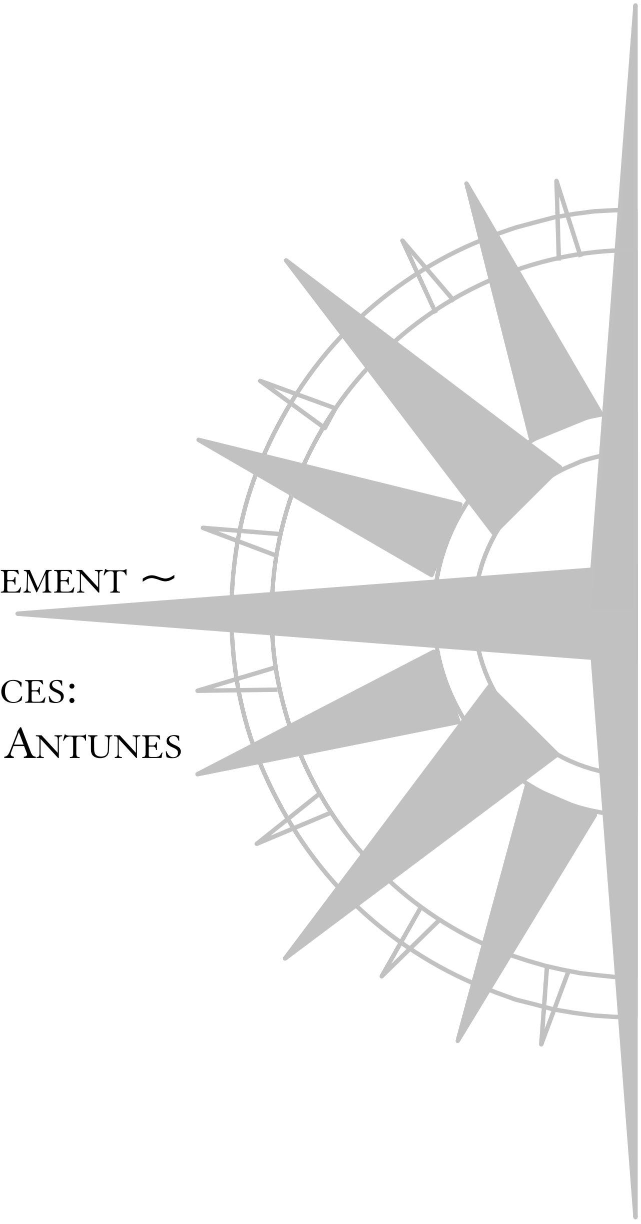
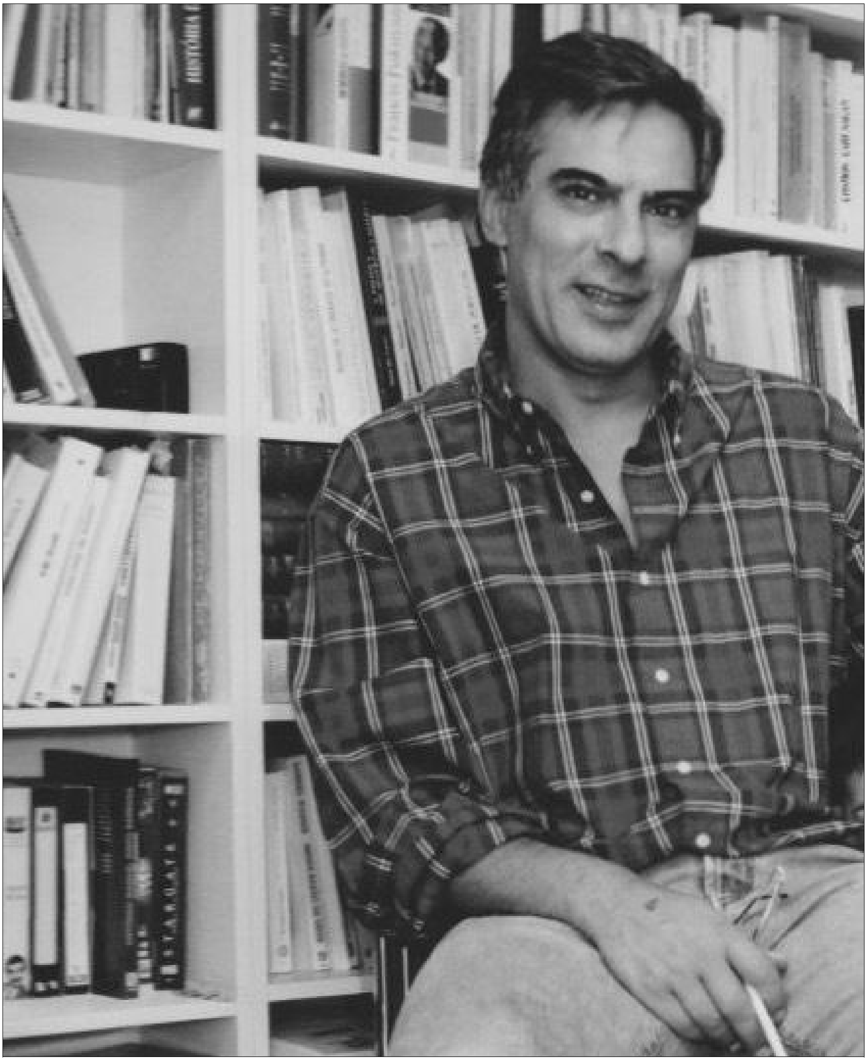
Issue Supplement ~ Historical Reminiscences: José Freire Antunes (1954-2015)





José Freire Antunes (1954-2015)

D. L. Wheeler, Portuguese Studies Review 23 (2) (2015) 217-234

“Where To Now, Voyager?” Remembering José Freire Antunes (1954-2015), Journalist, Historian, Free Spirit, and Admirer of Democracy, and His Voyages of Discovery

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NEWS OF HIS SUDDEN, unexpected death was hard to credit and, somehow, out of the order of things. On January 26, 2015, in Versailles, France, independent historian and journalist, José Freire Antunes, only 61, died in his sleep, far from his *terra*, the Beira Baixa village of Paúl, near Covilhã, where his remarkable life voyage began in 1954. This was a year which in Portuguese life today seems to have been a millennium ago. As for this prolific writer dying at age 61, his was a premature passing for an active man with adventurous future plans, and for a son whose parents lived into their nineties.

Since before the publication of his first book in 1978 until after the last book he published in 2009, Antunes was an unusual presence in Portuguese journalism and historical studies. A notable writer who made inroads in Portuguese journalism, contemporary diplomatic and military history, biography, collecting and editing letters and autobiography, as well as in revolutionary and post-revolutionary politics, he led a peripatetic life with years of residence in the United States, Spain and France as well as extensive world travel. In today’s world of Portuguese letters as well as in politics and government, where personalities more than ideas and institutions insistently remain at the center of everything, Antunes was a personality who defied convention. For all his many publications, with more than twenty books and many newspaper articles, he was neither a member of Portugal’s academic establishment nor a journalist with a permanent newspaper post; instead, he fashioned his own place as an independent historian.

Portuguese Studies Review (PSR) 23 (2) 2015 (released in 2016)
BIBLID 23 (2) (2015) 217-234 | ISSN 1057-1515 print – $ see back matter
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Journal homepages: http://www.maproom44.com/psr
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While his books were on a variety of topics, his journalistic and historical studies favored personality-centered diplomatic and colonial histories, biographies and edited autobiographies of Portuguese Jews and Spaniards. Fairly summing up the life and work of José Freire Antunes is challenging because in everything he did he was exceptional and because even though he published extensively during a period of forty years(1972-2012), constructing a coherent picture of his life story is no simple matter.

After news of his death reached Portugal, most media obituaries were brief rehashes of news service notices and blog tributes added little. One journalist with more than a casual acquaintance with Antunes accurately described him as: " historiador," "pensador livre" and "sempre um viajante."[1] To describe Antunes as a *viajante* captures his adventurous ways. This writer prefers to translate this word as "voyager" rather than "traveller." He was indeed a voyager for a new age, re-discovering and exploring his favorite countries, Portugal, the United States, France, and, oddly enough, Spain.

For a Portuguese who traveled abroad, naturally there was the mandatory pilgrimage to Paris. As early as the 18th century, Portuguese intellectuals and artists sought in France, solace, freedom, inspiration, an escape from a worse life to a better life or even the ultimate escape, death, and so there is a sad logic to the fact that death came to Antunes in Versailles, while at work on his latest book.

But unlike the celebrated master novelist, Eça de Queirós, who died in Paris in 1900, or that of a celebrated exemplar of a versatile writer Antunes admired, Joaquim Pedro de Oliveira Martins, a celebrated late 19th century historian, economist, government finance minister and anthropologist, Antunes was neither a fully credential member of his country's intellectual elite nor a diplomat abroad nor a former Government minister. Again, the native of Paul was an exceptional case. In the 1980s, this writer heard colleagues suggest that Antunes emulated the legendary Oliveira Martins and indeed strove to become for a new age a new Oliveira Martins.

We have to ask, therefore, "Given what he did, did he receive from peers or his superiors honors he deserved?" Among certain academic and other circles in Portugal today, such a question related to José Freire Antunes' work, if posed by a foreigner, might seem either impertinent or irrelevant but, on the other hand, an outside perspective might provoke a fruitful discussion of this unconventional life.

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[1] Rui Pedro Antunes, "O historiador e pensador livre que desafiou Marcelo no PSD. Obitúario. José Freire Antunes ...," *Diário de Notícias* (Lisbon), 28 Jan. 2015. Another obituary was by José d'Annunciação, "Em Paz. José Freire Antunes," *Sol* (Lisbon), 6 Feb. 2015. This one errs on Antunes' birth year: it was 1954 not 1953.

Examining the life of José Freire Antunes allows the historian to examine the story of what happened to a particular individual before and after the Revolution of the 25th of April 1974. This is especially fitting since Antunes was a member of the "Generation of April 25, 1974." He turned twenty only a few months before the 25th of April, so Antunes came of age politically and professionally with the coming of this "Revolution of Carnations." Beginning with his decision to leave his home in central Portugal at age 17 in 1971, and going into the Spring of 1974, Antunes was engaged in his first principal voyage of discovery, his move from remote interior central Portugal to the nation's capital, to become a novice journalist, a graduating high school student, and then a university student.

Antunes' life and many of his publications to a degree reflect a compulsive drive to reinvent himself. Reinventing oneself has been said to be characteristic of contemporary Americans. In his case and on several occasions, Antunes reinvented himself: when he hitchhiked to Lisbon from Covilhã in 1971, to leave his provincial life behind; in 1978 when he published his first book; in 1982 when he traveled to reside for six years in the United States; in 1988 when he returned to readjust to a new Portugal; in 1997 when he went to reside in Spain, get a university Master's Degree in history; in 1999 when he married Patricia Edeline; in 2005 when he was elected to the Assembly of the Republic as a PSD activist; in 2013 when he moved to Paris. Bold plans arose in 2014 and 2015 to relocate to the USA. This was the coda.

This writer knew Antunes during more than thirty years and had close contact during three periods of Antunes' life: first, during 1979-80, when he was a struggling young journalist in Lisbon writing for the *Diário de Lisboa* and the *Diário de Notícias* of Lisbon; next, in 1982-84,when he moved to the United States and following my invitation to study in my University's Department of History was in residence at my University; with my support he won an award of a Gulbenkian research grant and he received my invitation to him to study with me at the University of New Hampshire. His special topic of the history of the modern Portuguese Army and politics was the focus of a brief prelude before he became a research fellow at Columbia University and began his diplomatic history books; and, finally, during four months (Oct.2014-Jan. 2015), before his death, when we renewed contact, corresponded and spoke by phone, regarding his plans to complete a diplomatic history of relations between Britain, France and Portugal in World War II and to prepare to move with his family from France to the United States and to find suitable employment in research work.

I.

Born in January 1954 in the Beira Baixa village parish of Paul, near the city of Covilhã, Antunes was from a middle class family, one of six sons. His father owned a small *pensão* and a private function building in Covilhã, As a youth, his wanderlust was fed as listened to travelers who came to his father's inn. While in Covilhã High School he became a fledgling journalist, wrote for *Jornal do Fundão* and received an award for his reportage.

Eager to escape provincial and home life, at age 17 Antunes dropped out of Covilhã high school and hitch-hiked to Lisbon. There he led three lives, as a novice journalist, as a student who completed high school work at a Lisbon *liceu* and who was about to enter the University of Lisbon's Faculty of Letters, and as a member of a clandestine oppositionist movement.

After he arrived to stay in Lisbon in 1971, Antunes became a student at the Pedro Nuno Liceu and the next year completed his high school course; he then matriculated as a History student at University of Lisbon. He began taking classes in order to get a degree, while he continued to work as a journalist. Soon he began to drink deeply of the heady cocktail of Portugal's increasingly troubled political and economic situation, student politics, student activism regarding the burning issues of early 1970s Portugal, and political activity of emerging radical parties.

Early in his Lisbon voyage of discovery, he joined illegal student organizations, "Estar na Luta," "Ousar Lutar, Ousar Vencer." These, as well as MPAC and CLAC, coalesced with others to give birth in 1969-1970 to a small Maoist clandestine party of militants. The Maoists called themselves the MRPP (Movimento Reorganizado Partido do Proletariado) (Reorganizing Movement of the Party of the Proletariat). It was established as the Portugal's colonial wars in Africa widened and as the government headed by Professor Marcello Caetano grew increasingly frustrated, unpopular and besieged. Antunes experienced aspects of a clandestine life, adopting the code name of "Camarada Afonso," and associating with other young radicals who disdained the PCP and labeled them "social Fascists." Maoist ranks included high school students but were dominated by university students who sought yet more radical fields of action, to dream of a future revolution in which Portugal was to be freed of its faltering dictatorship, costly wars in Africa and a stifling social class system.

Student activism in opposing the dictatorship intensified after the May 1968 student riots in Paris and as Portuguese military casualties increased in the wars in Angola, Mozambique and Guinea/Bissau. By the early 1970s student protest movements became better known to the public. Yet another factor, which is sometimes ignored, was newly available literature which encouraged the radicalization of political activists, including students. This occurred during early in Prime Minister Caetano's governance (1968-74) when book censorship laws related to books underwent a mild relaxation. Results of this could be observed in what was available in city bookstores. Previously forbidden, Marxist-Leninist literature began to appear in bookstores. Such literature was allowed as long as it did not attack the *Estado Novo* regime. Readers could now purchase classics by Lenin, Marx, Engels, Stalin and Trotsky and even works by Che Guevara, works which contained no reference to Portugal's "situation."

Foreign visitors noticed the rising tide of youthful activism and student-regime clashes. One day in May or early June 1973 as I sat doing research in the recently completed new Biblioteca National de Lisboa, adjacent to the University of Lisbon main campus near Campo Grande, I heard outside the reading room and up the hill toward the University campus sounds of crowds of students confronting police and being dispersed. Most readers in the library paid little attention to this, but when I recall this now distant memory I wonder if a newly-matriculated university student radical, then nineteen-year-old José Freire Antunes, might have been among that crowd of protesting students?

Like other groups "against the situation," the Maoists soon were attacked by the political police, PIDE. In February 1974, several MRPP militants were arrested (José Lamego and Miguel Horta e Costa) but Antunes escaped arrest.

2.

A second voyage of discovery for Antunes was his journey into revolution. After the 25th of April 1974, when the Armed Forces Movement's successful

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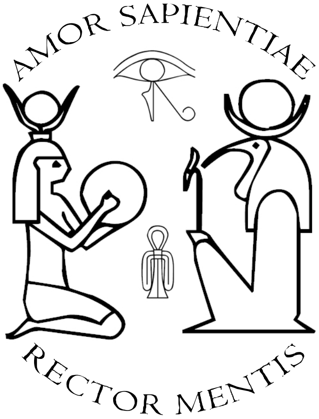
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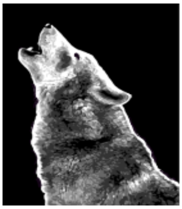

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Lorenzo de' Medici, 1475

Prepared in May 2016
for
Baywolf Press
in
Peterborough, Ontario

Volume 23 • Number 2

Portuguese Studies Review

Winter 2015

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ISSN 1057-1515