

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World

This book traces the history and development of the port of Benguela, the third largest port of slave embarkation on the coast of Africa, from the early seventeenth century to the mid-nineteenth century. Benguela, located on the central coast of present-day Angola, was founded by the Portuguese in the early seventeenth century. In discussing the impact of the trans-Atlantic slave trade on African societies, Mariana P. Candido explores the formation of new elites, the collapse of old states, and the emergence of new states. Placing Benguela in an Atlantic perspective, this study shows how events in the Caribbean and Brazil affected social and political changes on the African coast. This book emphasizes the importance of the South Atlantic as a space for the circulation of people, ideas, and crops.

Mariana P. Candido is Assistant Professor at Princeton University. She is the author of *Fronteras de Esclavización: Esclavitud, Comercio e Identidad en Benguela, 1780-1850* (2011) and co-edited *Crossing Memories: Slavery and African Diaspora* (2011) with Ana Lucia Araujo and Paul E. Lovejoy. Her articles have appeared in the *Journal for Eighteenth-Century Studies*, *Slavery & Abolition*, *African Economic History*, *Portuguese Studies Review*, *Cahiers des Annales de la Mémoire*, and *Brésil(s). Sciences Humaines et Sociales*.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

African Studies

The African Studies series, founded in 1968, is a prestigious series of monographs, general surveys, and textbooks on Africa covering history, political science, anthropology, economics, and ecological and environmental issues. The series seeks to publish work by senior scholars as well as the best new research.

Editorial Board

David Anderson, *University of Oxford*

Catherine Boone, *University of Texas at Austin*

Carolyn Brown, *Rutgers University*

Christopher Clapham, *University of Cambridge*

Michael Gomez, *New York University*

Nancy J. Jacobs, *Brown University*

Richard Roberts, *Stanford University*

David Robinson, *Michigan State University*

Leonardo A. Villalón, *University of Florida*

A list of books in this series will be found at the end of this volume.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World

Benguela and Its Hinterland

MARIANA P. CANDIDO

Princeton University



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

32 Avenue of the Americas, New York NY 10013-2473, USA

Cambridge University Press is part of the University of Cambridge.

It furthers the University's mission by disseminating knowledge in the pursuit of education, learning and research at the highest international levels of excellence.

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9781107011861

© Mariana P. Candido 2013

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements, no reproduction of any part may take place without the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2013

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Candido, Mariana P. (Mariana Pinho), 1975– author.

An African slaving port and the Atlantic world : Benguela and its Hinterland / Mariana Candido, Princeton University.

pages cm. – (African studies ; 124)

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-1-107-01186-1

1. Benguela (Angola)–Economic conditions. 2. Slave trade–Africa, West–History. I. Title.

HC950.Z7B46 2013

387.109673'4–dc23 2012033211

ISBN 978-1-107-01186-1 Hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of Maps and Images</i>	page viii
<i>Acknowledgments</i>	ix
Introduction	I
1. Contacts, Competition, and Copper: Benguela until 1710	31
2. The Rise of an Atlantic Port, 1710–1850	89
3. Benguela and the South Atlantic World	143
4. Mechanisms of Enslavement	191
5. Political Reconfiguration of the Benguela Hinterland, 1600–1850	237
Conclusion	313
<i>Bibliography</i>	323
<i>Index</i>	351

Maps and Images

Maps

1.	Benguela and the Atlantic world	<i>page</i> xiv
2.	West Central Africa and the ocean currents	30
3.	Portuguese fortresses south of the Kwanza River	34
4.	Benguela and its interior	276

Images

1.	“Perspectiva da Pequena Cidade de São Philippe de Benguella, vista do ancoradouro da Bahia de Santo António,” in José Joaquim Lopes de Lima, <i>Ensaio sobre a Statística das Possessões Portuguezas</i> , vol. 3, part 2 (Lisbon, 1846), between pp. 26–27.	2
2.	São Felipe de Benguela. (<i>Source</i> : AHU, Iconografia 001, doc. 317.)	88
3.	Nossa Senhora do Pópulo, Benguela. (Photo by Mariana P. Candido.)	124
4.	Benguela Bay. (<i>Source</i> : AHU, Cartografia 001, doc. 268.)	142
5.	Caconda. (<i>Source</i> : AHU, Iconografia 001, doc. 267.)	172
6.	Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Caconda. (Photo by Mariana P. Candido.)	259

Acknowledgments

This book began to take shape during the months of July and August 2009 while I was at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino and the Torre do Tombo in Lisbon. This was when I finally realized that I had enough material to write a history of Benguela from its foundation in the seventeenth century. Although I have been working on the history of Benguela since 2000, I had not dared to extend my research before 1780, when most scholars agree that the port played a crucial role in the trans-Atlantic slave trade. Some of the ideas presented in my doctoral dissertation are still here, such as the mechanisms of enslavement and the fact that some people were captured not far from the coast. However, this is a different study, the result of extensive research done in 2007 and 2009 and subsequent reflection on the importance of the port of Benguela and its interior to the Atlantic world.

I am most grateful to the many colleagues and friends who have encouraged me at different moments and in different locations. Workshops and lectures in Vancouver, Paris, Mexico City, and Ann Arbor in 2010 were crucial to refining some ideas while I was writing the manuscript. Thor Burnham, Jennifer Spears, Martha Jones, James Sweet, Jean Hébrard, Rebecca Scott, Butch Ware, Bertie Mandelblatt, Silvia Marzagalli, María Elisa Velázquez, and Rina Cáceres, as well as other members of these colloquia, asked me tough questions and pushed me in new directions.

At the Department of History at Princeton University I am fortunate to have generous and extraordinary colleagues who read an earlier draft and provided me with their insights. I am particularly grateful for the careful reading of Molly Green, Jeremy Adelman, and Emmanuel Kreike, who suggested new directions. Zack Kagan-Guthrie helped to locate many of

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

the cases in the parish records used in this study. He also read early drafts of chapters and made valuable suggestions. Samila Xavier de Queiroz, Ana Eliza Santos Rodrigues, and Kássia Pereira da Costa also have provided valuable help collecting data in Minas Gerais. I am very grateful for the assistance and research skills of Zack, Samila, Ana, and Kássia.

Thanks to an academic leave from Princeton in 2009–10, I was able to do more research on the seventeenth century and conceptualize and write most of this book. The chair of the department, Bill Jordan, facilitated several requests for research expenses and leave time, allowing me to go once again to Portugal, Angola, and Brazil. Tsering W. Shawa, from the Princeton GIS Library, generously drew the maps that illustrate this book. I also enjoyed tremendous support from my previous department at the University of Wisconsin–La Crosse. Among many wonderful colleagues, I have to acknowledge the support of the chair of the department, Charles Lee, and the friendship of Victor Macías-Gonzalez. Both helped me to go to Angola to do research in the summer of 2007, which allowed me to consult many of the parish records used in this study.

Generous fellowships allowed me to finish my research and write during my academic leave. The Luso-American Foundation funded two months of research in the Torre do Tombo in 2009. I was extremely lucky to have Hugh Cagle, Drew Thompson, and Cláudia Sousa as research companion and shared with them many of the ideas presented in this book. I am also thankful for the financial support of the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, a University of Wisconsin–La Crosse Research Grant, and the CNPq/Pro-Africa Project, “Acervo Digital Angola Brasil-PADAB,” under the leadership of Mariza de Carvalho Soares. At the John Carter Brown Library I met a community of scholars who helped me to start writing the manuscript. Conversations with Ana Valdez, Karen Graubart, and Diego Pirillo suggested that I place Benguela in an Atlantic context. At the Gilder Lehrman Center (GLC) at Yale University I enjoyed four very productive months in the company of Emma Christopher, Dana Schaffer, and Melissa McGrath. The GLC staff constantly cheered me up, provided chocolate, and offered real conversations, at a time when I was immersed in my bubble and isolated from the world. Stuart Schwartz’s generous feedback on seventeenth-century Iberia helped me to feel more confident about my incursion into early Benguela.

Beatrix Heintze read several chapters and commented extensively, saving me from errors and pushing me in new directions. A marvelous historian, Beatrix has been extremely supportive of my work, and I am very grateful for her support over the years. Joseph Miller, José Curto, Walter

Acknowledgments

xi

Hawthorne, Mariza de Carvalho Soares, Renée Soulodre–La France, Silvia Lara, Olatunji Ojo, Stacey Sommerdyk, Bashir Salau, David Wheat, and Jennifer Lofkrantz read early versions of some chapters and helped me to refine many of the ideas I present in this book. Roquinaldo Ferreira, Roberto Guedes, Daniel Domingues da Silva, Mariza de Carvalho Soares, and David Wheat shared their own research with me, in a clear indication that there is more generosity in the academic world than one might think. Acknowledgment is also due to Marcia Schenck, Morgan Robinson, Edna Bonhomme, and Kristen Windmuller, who read the manuscript and offered valuable suggestions.

In the summer of 2011, I was able to return to Lisbon, Luanda, Benguela, and Rio thanks to the support of the Tuck Fund, the Program in Latin American Studies (PLAS), Princeton University, and the “Angolan Roots of Capoeira” project, funded by the University of Essex, United Kingdom, and under the coordination of Matthias Rohrig Assunção. In Lisbon, Cláudia, Amanda, and Nuno became special friends and offered me a place to stay. António Mendes also made his Alfama available, and I thanked him every day for allowing me to see the Tejo while writing. Research is always more interesting when you can discuss it with friends after the archives are closed, and I thank Jelmer Vos, António Wilson Silva de Souza, Marina Torre, Vanessa Oliveira, Ana Paula Madeira, Pablo Gomez, Cristobal Delgado Matas, Ana Flávia Ciccheli Pires, Augusto Nascimento, and Eugénia Rodrigues for discussing many of the ideas present here over dinner, lunch, a bica, or a *fino* over the past several years. I also have to express my thanks to the staff of the Portuguese archives, particularly Jorge Fernando do Nascimento, who microfilmed and digitized many of the documents from the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, as well as Fernando José de Almeida, Mário Pires Miguel, and Octávio Félix Afonso.

In Angola, I owe a great debt of gratitude to the staff of the *Arquivo Histórico Nacional*, in particular Domingos Mateus Neto, who always makes my research easier and more entertaining. Rosa Cruz e Silva, formerly director of the archive, now the Minister of Culture, also provided much-needed support at different stages. I also benefited from the help of Bernardo Sá, Bonga, and Fernando Miguel Gonçalves. Massalo, Jean-Michel Mabeko-Tali, Carla, and Hermínia Barbosa kindly hosted me in Luanda over the years. Paulo Valongo, Armando Jaime Gomes, and Kajibanga shared with me their knowledge and helped me to navigate Benguela’s archives and libraries. São Neto, Paula Russa, Aida Freudenthal, and Massalo helped to make my trip to Caconda, Dombe

Grande, and Quilengues possible in 2011. Visiting Caconda would not have been possible without the help of Francisco Quina, who offered me a place to stay, fresh bread, and stories of his home town and the recent civil war. Quina also drove me to Lubango and Huíla, making it possible for me to travel further south. Archbishop Dom Damião António Franklin kindly allowed me to do research in the religious archives in Luanda, opening a window into the lives of people usually excluded from official documents. I am very grateful for all those who helped me in Angola, many of whom will remain anonymous but who had a significant impact on my experience there, helping me to navigate markets, archives, churches, kimbos, and libraries. Massalo, Hermínia, Marcia, and Jelmer made my stay in Luanda in 2011 one of the most enjoyable, filled with cheerful conversations accompanied by funge, carapaus, and mufetes.

Kathleen Sheldon read the entire manuscript and helped me to present it in better English. I am especially grateful for her generous insights and suggestions. Eric Crahan at Cambridge University Press has guided me through the process of getting this book published, with lots of attention and patience. Martin Klein and John Thornton, at one time anonymous readers, also read the manuscript carefully and made several suggestions to improve the final result. Paul Lovejoy and Richard Roberts offered me invaluable feedback. I am very thankful for the suggestions and support I have received from these great scholars. I cannot forget the immense support and assistance I have received over the years from archivists and librarians in Angola at the Biblioteca Municipal de Luanda, Arquivo do Arçobispado de Luanda, Arquivo Histórico Nacional, the Biblioteca da Província de Benguela, and the Comarca Judicial de Benguela. In Lisbon, I am grateful to the staff of the Torre do Tombo, Biblioteca Nacional, Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa, and Arquivo Histórico Militar. I also have to express my gratitude to the librarians and archivists in Rio de Janeiro at the Arquivo Nacional, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Arquivos da Cúria Metropolitana, and the Biblioteca Nacional, as well as the Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Mariana in Minas Gerais. The staff of the Interlibrary Loan and Article Express Offices at Firestone Library also made my research easier while away from Princeton, as well as while at Princeton, quickly locating books and articles from around the world.

Many friends kept me sane during the process of writing, revision, and final submission. Susana Draper shared many of the anxieties and joys of the process. She helped me to put things in perspective, and I am very thankful for her optimism. My colleagues in the history department also

Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)*Acknowledgments*

xiii

offered camaraderie and support, in particular Vera Candiani, Bhavani Raman, Tera Hunter, Jonathan Levy, Katya Pravilova, and Helmut Reimitz. Old and new friends in Brazil, Canada, the United States, Portugal, and Angola also kept me grounded and never let me forget that there is life beyond the archives and my computer screen. Alessandra Carvalho, Gabriela Medina, Hermínia Barbosa, Adriana Trindade, Samantha Quadrat, Cláudia Souza, Mônica Lima, Valesca Cerki, Ana Lucia Araujo, and Wendy Belcher offered me rich friendship and were generous enough to forget my silences, missed calls, and the e-mails I never answered. As always, my parents, Roseli M. Valente Pinho and Roberto José de Alagão e Candido; my sisters, Isabela, Fernanda, Joana, and Marcia; and my grandparents, Alberto José do Carmo Pinho and Nilza Valente Pinho, managed to cheer me up and comfort me despite the distance. I am always grateful for their constant support over the years, especially when studying African history was thought to be a bad career choice in Brazil more than ten years ago. More than anyone, Yacine Daddi Addoun has offered me support, comprehension, and friendship, providing a critical reading of my work and helping me to be a better scholar and person. My thinking and most of this book are owed to innumerable conversations, exchanges, and readings with Yacine.

I dedicate this book to all those who supported me, especially my family and Paul Lovejoy, my mentor and academic role model, who has offered me more help than I could have ever imagined or dared to request. Paul Lovejoy has showed me the importance of fair, collaborative work and a commitment to African history. I hope one day to do justice to him and to be as generous a scholar as he has always been to all those around him.

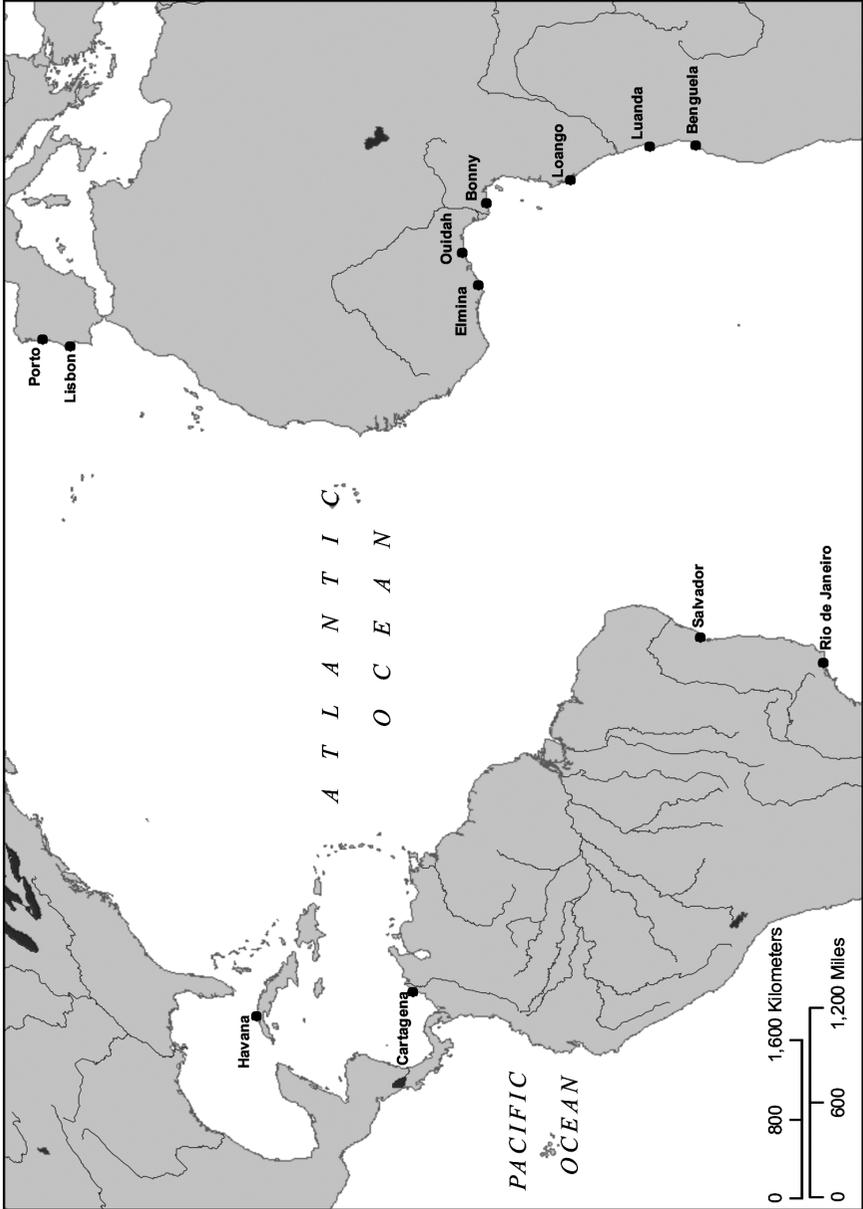
Cambridge University Press

978-1-107-01186-1 - An African Slaving Port and the Atlantic World: Benguela and its Hinterland

Mariana P. Candido

Frontmatter

[More information](#)



MAP 1. Benguela and the Atlantic world. Map by Tsering Wangyal Shawa, Princeton's GIS and Map Librarian.