

## THE LEGAL PORTUGUESE SLAVE TRADE FROM BENGUELA, ANGOLA, 1730-1828: A QUANTITATIVE RE-APPRAISAL

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**RESUMO:** O autor, com base em numerosos documentos, estabelece novas séries relativas ao movimento do tráfico de escravos a partir de Benguela (1730-1828). O autor, que recorre igualmente a autores clássicos na matéria, com base em cálculos próprios, procede a uma revisão das estatísticas.

**UNITERMOS:** Angola/Benguela, Angola/Tráfico de escravos, Angola/1730-1828

Since Philip Curtin published his general census of the Atlantic slave trade over two decades ago, an army of scholars has attempted to quantify the slave trade of the various European carriers<sup>1</sup>. In spite of the veritable publishing industry that has developed on the "numbers game", however, Curtin's initial estimate has only suffered an acceptable readjustment upward. Nonetheless, an important contribution of the new research has been to specify the volume and timing of the traffic according to exporting regions<sup>2</sup>. With respect to the Portuguese commerce from West-Central Africa, the most neglected by this new crop of studies, a recent re-count of legal slave exports from Luanda between 1710 and 1830 has indicated that the traffic from this coastal urban centre was operating only slightly above the level previously believed<sup>3</sup>. Our objective here is to

(1) Philip Curtin, *The Atlantic Slave Trade: A Census*. Madison. 1969.

(2) See the two syntheses of the new research in Paul E. Lovejoy, "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis" *Journal of African History*. Vol. 22, 1982, pp. 473-501; and *ibidem*, "The Impact of the Atlantic Slave Trade on Africa: A Review of the Literature", *Journal of African History*. Vol. 30, 1989, pp. 365-394.

(3) Compared to the previously highest known annual exports, an extra 2,468 slaves shipped were located. Moreover, a further 22,697 captives were found as exported during two years for which sources were thought to be non-existent. See José C. Curto, "A Quantitative Re-Assessment of the Legal Portuguese Slave Trade from Luanda, Angola, 1710-1830" *African Economic History*. (forthcoming, 1992).

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carry out a parallel exercise for Benguela, the second major port town in Angola from which the Portuguese shipped captives to the Americas.

Five different time series have, so far, been assembled on the volume of slaves legally shipped by the Portuguese through Benguela from 1738 to 1828<sup>4</sup>. What has turned the compilation of these various time series possible is the abundance of primary sources found in Portuguese and, to a lesser degree, in Brazilian archives with quantitative data on the traffic<sup>5</sup>. The Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU) in Lisbon, the major Portuguese archive for the history of Angola prior to 1830, alone possesses nearly one-hundred documents with statistics on captives exported through this port town<sup>6</sup>.

Al though one of the relatively well studied ports in terms of the volume of the trans-Atlantic traffic, Benguela has not yet been the object of a quantitative analysis covering the whole period for which documents are available. All of the previously published time series are limited in their chronological scope and do not include the totality of the extant sources<sup>7</sup>. Furthermore, the only synthesis on the volume of Benguela commerce dates from the early 1970s<sup>8</sup>. Since then, a large number of new slave export statistics has come to light<sup>9</sup>. Consequently, a quantitative re-appraisal of the Portuguese slave trade from this coastal urban centre is in order to establish a more precise count of the number of captives that were legally shipped therefrom. This will be done by drawing not only

(4) See table 2.

(5) For a general discussion of sources in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Lisbon, with numbers on slave exports from Angola see José C. Curto, "The Angolan Manuscript Collection of the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon: Toward a Working Guide" *History in Africa*. Vol. 15, 1988, p. 163-189. In the case of Benguela, specifically, only one document with numbers on slave exports exists in the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa (BSGL). It is found in the *Reservados* section under Res/3/Q//33 and covers the period from 1784 to 1788. Similarly, just one source seems to exist in the Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (AIHGB) with statistical data on slave exports from this West Central African coastal urban centre. It is located in L106-Ms1765. On the AIHGB collection, see Claudio Ganns, "Arquivo do Instituto Histórico: Catálogo de Manuscritos que Interessam a Portugal" *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*. N° 250, 1962, pp. 38-117. Selma Pantoja, "Fontes para a História de Angola e Moçambique no Rio de Janeiro do século XVI ao XIX" *Revista Internacional de estudos Africanos*. N°s. 8-9, 1988, pp. 321-337, indicates further possible documentation available in other Rio de Janeiro archives.

(6) See table 1.

(7) See the sources listed for table 2.

(8) Joseph C. Miller, "Legal Portuguese Slaving from Angola: Some Preliminary Indications of Volume and Direction, 1760-1830" *Revue Française d'Histoire d'Outre-Mer*. vol. LXII, n°s. 226-227, 1975, pp. 135-175. As the sub-title indicates, however, this study covers but part of the period for which sources are available.

(9) See the new data listed in table 1.

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upon time series compiled by scholars over the years, but also the large body of documentation still extant in the AHU, the BSGL, and the AIHGB<sup>10</sup>. First, all of the extant AHU/BSGL/AIHGB/ primary sources with quantitative data on slaves shipped annually will be listed<sup>11</sup>. Second, the yearly statistics found in the AHU/BSGL/AIHGB/ data-base will be compared to corresponding annual quantitative information found in each of the previously published time series<sup>12</sup>. Third, a revision of the volume of slaves exported will be worked out from the earlier time series and the available AHU/BSGL/AIHGB data-base, followed by a discussion of the meaning of the new numbers<sup>13</sup>.

## THE AHU/BSGL/AIHGB DATA-BASE: CHARACTERISTICS AND PROBLEMS

All of the sources found in the AHU/BSGL/AIHGB with numbers on captives annually exported from Benguela between 1730 and 1828 are individually listed in table 1, along with their respective quantitative data<sup>14</sup>. This documentation is made up of factors/customs house, fiscal, and governors' reports. Factors and customs house officials recorded port clearances, fiscal officials kept track of the number of taxable slaves shipped, and governors theoretically drew upon both of these types of reports to calculate the volume of slave exports.

(10) Although the traffic legally ended in 1830, no slave export statistics are known to exist for the last two years of the commerce. See tables 1 and 2.

(11) An important result from this procedure will be the presentation of the most exhaustive series of documents on captives shipped yet assembled.

(12) This exercise will not only show where differences exist but, equally important, will also list which sources and, hence, numbers were either missed by earlier research or are no longer extant in the AHU/BSGL/AIHGB.

(13) The AHU/BSGL sources were collected during 1985-1986 while conducting dissertation research. Funding was generously provided by the Social Sciences and Humanities Council of Canada, the Fundação Calouste Gulbenkian, and the University of California at Los Angeles. The AIHGB documentation was subsequently made available on microfilm by Sra. Lucia Maria Alba da Silva, head of the archive, to whom I am grateful.

(14) The compilation of the available primary sources in the AHU, by far the largest available, was as thorough as possible. However, the fact that the majority of these documents are dispersed amongst the Angolana collection of the AHU, which contains some 14,000 folders with manuscripts (both individual and with annexes) on the period from 1700 to 1830, suggests the probability that some of the statistics on captives shipped must have been missed. Furthermore, the overwhelming majority of codexes deposited in the AHU, which also contain statistics on slaves exported from Luanda, are not available to researchers. A large number of primary documents with figures on captives shipped thus remain unknown. For a detailed list of the codexes used in conjunction with this research see Curto, "Angolan manuscript Collection" pp. 169-172.

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Most of these sources are individual end-of-year counts, however, a significant number are short, medium, and long-term retrospective summaries sometimes compiled after the last year to which they relate<sup>15</sup>.

As table 1 shows, the amount of available documents varies appreciably from one year to the next. For a total of nineteen of the ninety-nine years covered, 1731-1737, 1739-1741, 1743, 1745-1746, 1821-1824, and 1826-1827, no documentation was found in the AHU/BSGL/AIHGB. Of the eighty years for which reports were located, one source exists for twenty (1730, 1738, 1742, 1744, 1747-1751, 1803-1804, 1807, 1814, 1816-1819, 1820, 1825, and 1828). For the remaining sixty years (1752, 1754-1802, 1805-1806, 1808-1813, 1815, and 1819), more than one document is available. In many cases (1761-1767, 1769, 1784-1798, 1801-1802, and 1805-1806), anywhere from three to an impressive ten different primary sources are still extant.

The major feature of table 1, aside from the continuously changing number of documents available from one year to the next, is that when multiple annual reports exist they seldom accord with one another as to how many captives were in fact exported. Five major reasons explain the discrepancies evident in the multi-documented years. First, the reports were produced by various colonial administrative units, each responsible for recording different aspects of the commerce. Second, irrespective of their specific administrative functions vis-à-vis the slave trade some colonial officials added but adults exported; others calculated only taxed adults, children, and infants shipped; others still calculated taxed, half-taxed, and untaxed captives of all broad age-groups shipped; and then there were those who indiscriminately combined parts of these addition methods to work out the volume of the traffic<sup>16</sup>. Third, many of the individual reports and retrospective summaries were based on either incomplete or preliminary quantitative information. Fourth, although most of the sources cover a whole calendar year, a few invariably start somewhere during the first week of January. Last, but not least, errors must have inevitably made their way into the documentation as original records were copied by government scribes.

However, if the reasons accounting for the statistical differences found in multi-documented years are relatively well-known, that is not the case with respect to which of the variant annual slave export numbers actually correspond to the overall volume of captives shipped. Indeed, no objective method exists to de-

(15) This latter set of documents had been dismissed by some as appropriate sources for quantifying the slave trade on the basis that they provide only summary figures compiled, in some cases, long after the period which they cover. In quite a few instances, however, they offer the sole statistics still extant on slave exports. This is the case for 1748-1751, 1753, 1759-1760, 1768, 1773, 1776-1782, 1785, 1788-1789, 1799-1800, 1803-1804, 1807, 1814, 1816-1818, and 1820. See table 1.

(16) For a discussion of this issue see Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the eighteenth Century" *Journal of Economic History*. Vol. XXXII, 1972, pp. 903-905.

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termine the correct yearly slave export figure. As a result, the only logical and possible way to solve the problem of variant statistics in multi-documented years is to adopt a hypercritical method: the highest figure available for any given year<sup>17</sup>. Such a method is based on the fact that governors, factors and customs officials, and fiscal personnel rarely included in their estimates all of the taxed, half-taxed, and un-taxed adults, children and infants that were exported. Furthermore, retaining only the highest annual figure available allows us to come closer to the real number of captives that were in effect legally shipped, the precise magnitude of which will probably never be known<sup>18</sup>. The validity of the statistics presented for years for which only one document exists, on the other hand, must be taken at face value, since no other records are available to support or contradict their correctness.

#### THE HIGHEST AHU/BSGL/AIHGB/NUMBERS VS. EARLIER TIME SERIES

The results of the hypercritical approach employed appear in table 2 under the Curto column. Also presented in this table under the names of their respective compilers are the previously published time series on captives shipped. By placing each of the existing time series and the Curto column side by side, which sources and, hence, figures were missed by other researchers or are no longer extant in the AHU/BSGL/AIHGB can thus be precisely determined.

The time series compiled by David Birmingham comes from sources located exclusively in the AHU<sup>19</sup>. It begins in 1754 and ends in 1775, with two years

(17) In a personal communication (11-02-1988), Joseph Miller indicated an alternative method: to divide the documentation according to type (factors/customs, fiscal, and governors reports) so that patterns could be found. The quantitative discrepancies discussed above, however, appeared once again. My thanks to Miller, nonetheless, for this interesting suggestion and his constructive criticism of an earlier version of this article.

(18) This underlying assumption is justified not only on the bases of the incomplete figures provided by the Portuguese administration, but also on two other equally important factors. First, in order to avoid export duties, Portuguese merchants at Benguela must have engaged in a relatively significant amount of smuggling which, by its very nature, can not be quantified. Second, from the Portuguese point of view, other European nationals were simultaneously involved in an "illegal" commerce in coastal enclaves immediately north and south of Angola's second largest port town. Although sources do exist for these other national trades, they relate primarily to carrying capacity and imports in the Americas, not exports. For a general, but extremely lucid, discussion of the immeasurability of the traffic see David Henige, "Measuring the Immeasurable: The Atlantic Slave Trade, West African Population and the Pyrronian Critic" *Journal of African History*. Vol. 27, 1986, pp. 295-313.

(19) David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours Under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1493-1790*. Oxford, 1966, p. 137, 141, and 154-155.

missing. Twelve years show a total of 871 fewer captives shipped<sup>20</sup>. On the other hand, a further eight years list exactly the same number of slaves exported<sup>21</sup>.

Similarly, the first of Herbert Klein's two time series is compiled from documents also in the AHU<sup>22</sup>. This time series starts in 1738 and continues until 1798, with twenty-five years missing. Overall, ten years present a lower total of 1,524 captives shipped<sup>23</sup>. Another twenty-four years list identical numbers of slaves exported<sup>24</sup>. Moreover, Klein's first column also presents data on two years, 1740-1741, for which documentation is no longer extant in the AHU.

The second of Klein's time series contains not only many of the AHU figures shown in his first, but also incorporates other quantitative data subsequently located in Brazilian archives<sup>25</sup>. This time series begins in 1738 and ends in 1800, with five years missing. All in all, nineteen years present an important total of 8,404 less slaves exported<sup>26</sup>. A further thirty-seven years list exactly the same number of captives shipped<sup>27</sup>. Moreover, Klein's second column also replicates the annual data, 1740-1741, from his first column for which documentation is no longer extant in the AHU.

The time series compiled by Mauricio Goulart is drawn solely from one multi-year source located in the AIHGB<sup>28</sup>. It runs from 1759 to 1800, without interruptions. Of the forty-two years covered, twenty-three list a significant

(20) 1755 (-59), 1759 (-320), 1762 (-256), 1763 (-22), 1764 (-46), 1767 (-51), 1768 (-15), 1769 (-67), 1770 (-7), 1771 (-17), 1773 (-4), and 1774 (-7). Of these lower annual totals, 1759, 1763-1764, and 1768-1769 correspond to data found in table 1.

(21) 1754, 1756-1758, 1765-1766, 1772 and 1775.

(22) Klein, pp. 898, 904, and 917-918.

(23) 1744 (-16), 1755 (-59), 1759 (-320), 1760 (-1), 1761 (-51), 1768 (-15), 1770 (-7), 1773 (4), 1774 (-7), and 1778 (-1,044). Only three of these annual lower figures are listed in table 1: 1760, 1761, and 1768.

(24) 1738, 1747-1754, 1756-1758, 1762-1767, 1769, 1771-1772, 1775, 1784, and 1796. In Klein's (a) table, the 1796 figure is listed as that of 1776. However, Klein seems to have misread the date. This error has been corrected in table 2.

(25) Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the 18th Century" in Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Princeton, 1978, p. 254-255.

(26) 1744 (-16), 1755 (-59), 1759 (-320), 1760 (-1), 1761 (-51), 1779 (-3), 1783 (-134), 1787 (189), 1788 (-80), 1789 (-117), 1790 (-93), 1791 (-160), 1792 (-1,952), 1793 (-489), 1794 (-480), 1795 (-1,805), 1796 (-216), 1797 (-1,013), and 1798 (-1,226). Of these lower annual statistics, 1760, 1761, 1779, 1787, and 1798 are found in table 1.

(27) 1738, 1747-1754, 1756-1758, 1762-1778, 1780-1782, 1784-1786, and 1799-1800.

(28) Mauricio Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*. São Paulo, 1950, p. 203-205. The document in question is L106-Ms1765 and is listed in table 1.

total of 13,097 fewer slaves exported<sup>29</sup>. The remaining nineteen years present identical numbers of captives shipped<sup>30</sup>.

The data assembled by Edmundo Lopes comes exclusively from the AHU<sup>31</sup>. This time series runs from 1804 to 1828, with eight years missing<sup>32</sup>. Nine years list an overall 3,109 fewer captives shipped<sup>33</sup>. A further eight years show exactly the same number of slaves exported<sup>34</sup>. Last, but not least, the Lopes column presents data on one year, 1810, which is higher by forty-eight captives.

Compared to the highest annual numbers found in all of the earlier time series, the Curto column in table 2 thus presents the following characteristics. Nineteen of the ninety-nine years covered have no quantitative data on slaves exported<sup>35</sup>. A total of forty-eight years, on the other hand, provide exactly the same numbers of captives shipped<sup>36</sup>. A further twenty-five years show a total of 10,776 more slaves exported<sup>37</sup>. Only one year, 1810 (-48), presents a lower

(29) 1761 (-33), 1762 (-36), 1763 (-17), 1764 (-40), 1765 (-80), 1766 (-65), 1767 (-40), 1769 (-52), 1779 (-3), 1783 (-134), 1784 (-4,777), 1787 (-189), 1788 (-80), 1789 (-117), 1790 (-93), 1791 (-160), 1792 (-1,952), 1793 (-489), 1794 (-480), 1795 (-1,805), 1796 (-216), 1797 (-1,013), and 1798 (-1,226). All of these lower annual numbers also appear in table 1.

(30) 1759-1760, 1768, 1770-1778, 1781-1782, 1785-1786, and 1799-1800.

(31) Edmundo C. Lopes, *A Escravatura: Subsídios para a Sua História*. Lisbon, 1944, p. 103.

(32) On p. 102, Lopes also lists 5,009 slaves as exported in 1772. This figure is just slightly lower than that in the Curto column.

(33) 1805 (-346), 1806 (-606), 1809 (-196), 1811 (-115), 1812 (-670), 1813 (-236), 1815 (-200), 1819 (-624), and 1828 (-116). Only two of these lower annual totals, 1805 and 1812, correspond to data in table 1. In his footnotes, pp. 102-104, Lopes provides another eight totals based on other AIH sources:

1797	7,072	1810	5,237
1805	5,706	1811	4,859
1808	4,490	1812	4,345
1809	5,114	1815	3,776

With the exception of 1805 and 1815, the other annual figures are also lower than those in the Curto column.

(34) 1804, 1807-1808, 1814, 1816-1817, 1820, and 1825.

(35) 1731-1737, 1739-1741, 1743, 1745-1746, 1821-1824, and 1826-1827.

(36) 1738, 1747-1754, 1756-1760, 1762-1778, 1780-1782, 1784-1786, 1796, 1799-1800, 1804, 1807-1808, 1814, 1816-1817, 1820, and 1825.

(37) 1744 (+16), 1755 (+59), 1761 (+33), 1779 (+3), 1783 (+134), 1787 (+189), 1788 (+80), 1789 (+117), 1790 (+93), 1791 (+160), 1792 (+1,952), 1793 (+489), 1794 (+480), 1795 (+1,805), 1797 (+1,013), 1798 (+1,044), 1805 (+346), 1806 (+606), 1809 (+196), 1811 (+115), 1812 (+670), 1813 (+236), 1815 (+200), 1819 (+624), and 1828 (+116). The 1819 total in the Curto column is also appreciably higher than the 4,048 slaves given as shipped during that year in João C.F.C. de Castello Branco e Torres, *Memórias contendo ... a descrição geográfica e política dos reinos de Angola e de Benguela*. Paris, 1825, p. 341; and R. J. da Cunha Matos, *Compendio histórico das possessões portuguesas na África*. Rio de Janeiro, 1963, pp. 309 and 336.

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figure of captives shipped. Finally, the Curto column also provides data on another 25,713 slaves exported over a period of five years, 1742, 1801-1803, and 1818, which were not documented.

## REVISED NUMBERS OF KNOWN SLAVE EXPORTS AND THEIR MEANING

As table 2 clearly demonstrates, the previously available time series on slaves exported through Benguela rarely provide exactly the same numbers during any given year. The reason for these discrepancies lies in the fact the compilers selected figures from the various bodies of documentation or utilized different reports within each corpus of sources. Some exclusively used the governors reports, others only drew upon customs house records, others still solely relied on retrospective multi-year summaries, and then there are those who used all of the then available records. Since the sources themselves almost never provide the same numbers of captives shipped, it comes as no surprise that the quantitative data chosen by each should only be occasionally identical to that of others.

If no objective method exists to select slave export figures from the variant multi-documented years, the same is true vis-à-vis the different statistics on captives shipped provided by the various time series. Consequently, the only possible and logical way to solve this problem is also to adopt the highest numbers known. The results of this selection appear in table 3, where the largest known extant figures are given along with the time series from which they are drawn.

Table 3 lists a total of 399,267 slaves exported through Benguela over an eighty-two year period, or an average of 4,869 per annum. Excluding the figures for 1742, 1801-1803, and 1818, for which sources were believed to be non-existent, the numbers found in table 3 indicate that 373,554 captives were shipped over a slightly shorter period of seventy-seven years, or a yearly average of 4,851. The highest of the previously published numbers in table 2, on the other hand, show 362,778 slaves shipped over the same time period, or a median of 4,711.5 per year. The annual average thus augments by 3.3 percent, while the 10,776 additional captives exported work out to an overall increase in the order of almost 3 percent. In both cases, this is a small upward adjustment over the earlier known volume of the traffic.

Nevertheless, as Graph 1 illustrates, the new data do indicate that a more meaningful revision is required of the volume and timing of the commerce

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during a few specific periods. Most of the additional captives (7,422) were shipped between 1787 and 1798, when the traffic was already known to have attained its peak. Whereas previous research evidence a total of 89,654 slaves exported during this twelve year period, the new figures list 97,076, or a jump of 8.3 percent. The increase is particularly important for 1792 (+1,952), 1795 (+1,805), 1797 (+1,013), and 1798 (+1,044), showing a rise of 21.9, 21, 16.7, and 18.6 percent, respectively. Consequently, the zenith reached by the Benguela slave trade during the 1790s was more voluminous than has been acknowledged. The new quantitative information for 1801 (6,942), 1802 (8,687), and 1803 (5,639), on the other hand, indicate that following the low volume of 1799 the relatively large number of captives shipped thereafter persisted until the end of 1804. Last, while earlier studies report a total of 52,771 slaves exported between 1805 and 1815, the new data record 55,140, or an increase of 4.5 percent. The jump is especially notable for 1806 (+606) and 1812 (+670), with the commerce functioning at 11.4 and 15.4 percent, respectively, higher. The depression that followed the bonanza of the late eighteenth and the early nineteenth centuries was thus somewhat less severe, a re-assessment further re-enforced by the fact that, while the traffic underwent a small increase from 3,480 slaves exported in 1817 to 3,547 during 1818, by 1819 (+624) it was again operating at 14.7 percent higher than has been assumed.

## CONCLUSION

The upward adjustment called for in this re-appraisal of the Portuguese legal slave trade from Benguela traffic falls within acceptable limits. In spite of the new data located and the hypercritical method used, the known overall volume of the Benguela commerce only rises by a few percentage points. Nonetheless, the jump is appreciable enough to alter our knowledge of the Benguela slave trade, especially since the already documented peak of the 1790s is shown operating at a higher level than was previously believed. Although important in and by itself, however, this is not necessarily the only or most significant conclusion to draw. The 10,776 additional captives exported, as well as the 25,715 slaves shipped during years for which no documentation existed, were first and foremost human beings who had to be enslaved, exchanged for trade goods, brought to and maintained at the coast, transported across the Atlantic, and forced to work in the Americas if they survived. It is within the traumatic resulting from these processes that lies their true meaning, a fact often overlooked by those engaged in the "numbers game".

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Table 1. Documents Available in the AIHU/BSGL/AIHGB with Data on Slave Exports From Benguela, 1730-1828.

Slaves	Source	Slaves	Source	Slaves	Source	Slaves	Source
1730	2,035						[a]
1731							
1732							
1733							
1734							
1735							
1736							
1737							
1738	1,793	Cx30-D118					
1739							
1740							
1741							
1742	898	Cx34-D14					
1743							
1744	1,311	Cx35-D41					
1745							
1746							
1747	963	Cx36-D3					
1748	328	Cx39-D84					
1749	916	Ibid					
1750	1,704	Ibid					
1751	1,378	Ibid					
1752	1,921	Ibid	1,921	Cx38-D84			
1753	2,819	Ibid					
1754	2,507	Cx-43-D52	2,787	Cx40-D2			
1755	2,196	Ibid	2,173	Cx40-D77			
1756	1,421	Ibid	2,541	Cx41-D21			
1757	1,460	Ibid	1,461	Cx41-D78			
1758	1,991	Ibid	2,419	Cx42-D33			
1759	3,192	Ibid			3,412	L106-Ms1765	
1760	2,506	Cx54-D28			2,507	Ibid	
1761	3,889	Ibid	3,940	Cx45-D34		3,907	Ibid
1762	4,124	Ibid	3,961	Cx84-D13	4,180	Cx46-D1	4,144
1763	3,423	Ibid	3,428	Ibid	3,445	Cx48-D6	3,428
1764	3,821	Ibid	3,829	Ibid	3,867	Cx48-D62	3,827
1765	6,081	Ibid	6,103	Ibid	6,183	Cx50-D2	6,183
1766	5,084	Ibid	5,095	Ibid	5,160	Cx51-D18	5,095
1767	6,583	Ibid	6,583	Ibid	6,635	Cx52-D5	6,595
1768	5,643	Ibid	5,658	Ibid			5,658
1769	5,531	Ibid	5,546	Ibid	5,598	Cx53-D84	5,546
1770	4,733	Cx55-D3	4,733	Ibid			4,733
1771	5,293	Cx56-D8	5,283	Ibid			5,292
1772	5,021	Cx57-D40	5,021	Ibid			5,021
1773					5,367	Ibid	5,367
1774	4,328	Cx60-D23	4,328	Ibid			4,328
1775	5,739	Cx61-D2	5,737	Ibid			5,739
1776					5,971	Ibid	5,983
1777					3,965	Ibid	3,967
1778					5,505	Ibid	5,510
1779					7,072	Ibid	7,069
1780					6,455	Ibid	6,455

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1781					6,488	Ibid	6,488	Ibid
1782					6,437	Ibid	6,437	Ibid
1783	6,436	Cx68-D17	6,302	Ibid			6,302	Ibid
1784	7,832	Cx70-D12	7,650	Ibid	7,657	Res3/Q/33	3,055	Ibid (b)
1785			6,191	Ibid	6,192	Ibid	6,192	Ibid
1786	5,503	Cx72-D7	5,503	Ibid	5,503	Ibid	5,508	Ibid
1787	7,215	Cx86-D5	7,026	Ibid	7,026	Ibid	7,026	Ibid
1788	6,211	Ibid	6,130	Ibid	6,131	Ibid	6,131	Ibid
1789	6,157	Ibid	6,040	Ibid	6,040	Cx79-D67	6,040	Ibid
1790	6,243	Ibid	6,150	Ibid	6,151	Ibid	6,150	Ibid (c)
1791	6,499	Ibid	6,329	Ibid	6,339	Ibid	6,339	Ibid (d)
1792	9,078	Ibid	8,915	Ibid	10,867	Cx78-D17	8,915	Ibid (e)
1793	11,337	Ibid	11,180	Ibid	11,668	Cx79-D67	11,179	Ibid (f)
1794	9,666	Ibid	9,493	Ibid	9,973	Cx81-D4	9,473	Ibid (g)
1795	10,399	Ibid	10,187	Ibid	10,177	Cx83-D18	8,594	Ibid (h)
1796	8,051	Ibid	8,115	Cx85-D15	7,899	Cx85-D28	7,899	Ibid (i)
1797	6,172	Cx87-D46	6,600	Cx91-D41	7,075	Ibid	6,062	Ibid
1798	4,581	Cx140-D83	6,554	Cx89-D85	6,554	Cx89-D88	5,428	Ibid
1799	3,834	Ibid					3,942	Ibid
1800	6,657	Ibid					7,065	Ibid
1801	6,942	Ibid	6,834	Cx103-D11	6,526	Cx103-D11		
1802	8,402	Ibid	8,687	Cx107-30	8,687	Cx106-D42		
1803	5,639	Ibid						
1804	7,350	Ibid						
1805	5,230	Ibid	5,706	Cx115-D28	5,360	Cx115-D28		
1806	5,616	Ibid	5,902	Cx118-D21	5,309	Cx106-D42		
1807	4,963	Ibid						
1808	4,490	Ibid	4,828	Cx120-D1				
1809	5,114	Ibid	5,325	Cx121-D32				
1810	5,237	Ibid	5,463	Cx121A-D36				
1811	4,859	Ibid	4,970	Cx124-D8				
1812	4,345	Ibid	5,015	Cx127-D1				
1813	4,322	Ibid	4,640	Cx128-D31				
1814	4,504	Ibid						
1815	3,290	Ibid	3,776	Cx131-D45				
1816	4,686	Ibid						
1817	3,480	Ibid						
1818	3,547	Ibid						
1819	4,372	Ibid	4,867	Cx137-D72				
1820	3,360	Ibid						
1821								
1822								
1824								
1825	4,408	Cx153-D29						
1826								
1827								
1828	4,808	Cx167-D33						

NB, The non-AIHU data are all in bold. Cx refers to the caixa or box of the Angolan manuscript section in the AIHU, while D denotes the specific document. Co refers to the codex collection also in the AIHU, while f denotes the folio in each codex. Res refers to the *Reservados* collection in the Biblioteca da Sociedade de Geografia de Lisboa. L denotes the *lata* or box in the Arquivo do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, while Ms refers to the specific document.

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[a] This total is found in the letter of governor Paulo Caetano de Albuquerque to the Conselho Ultramarino, 23-01-1731, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 48.

[b] Cx70-D5 also reports 7,802 slaves exported in 1784.

[c] Other sources for slave exports in 1790 are Co481-f10, Co1633-f24v, Cx76-D17, Cx77-D15, Cx79-D67, and the letter of governor Manuel de Almeida Vasconcelos to Melo e Castro, 22-04-1791, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 118. With the exception of Cx79-D67, which lists 6,151, all of these documents report 6,150 captives shipped.

[d] Cx78-D17 and Cx79-D67 also gives 6,339 slaves as exported during 1791, while Cx76-D105 reports only 6,329.

[e] Co1633-f70v and the letter of Vasconcelos to Melo e Castro, 18-02-1792, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 125 further report 10,858 captives shipped in 1792, while Cx80-D28 lists 8,915 and Cx76-D105 8,910.

[f] Further documents with slave export numbers for 1793 are Co1633-f104, the letter of Vasconcelos to Melo e Castro, 3-03-1794, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 130, Cx80-D21, and Cx81-D5. All report 11,179 captives shipped. Cx76-D105, on the other hand lists 10,375.

[g] Co1633-f123v, the letter of Vasconcelos to Melo e Castro, 7-02-1795, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 134, Cx81-D15, Cx80-D64, and Cx81-D5, all show 9,493 captives as exported in 1794.

[h] Other sources for slave exports in 1795 are Co409-f110v, which reports 10,067; the letter of Vasconcelos to Melo e Castro, 23-01-1796, *Arquivos de Angola*. Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, p. 138, with 10,177; and Co1633-f151v with 10,295.

[i] Co409-f111v, Co1633-f165, and the letter of Vasconcelos to the Conselho Ultramarino, 29-01-1797, *Arquivos de Angola*, Vol. XVI, n.ºs. 66-67, 1959, pp. 142-143, all also show 8,115 captives as shipped during 1796. Cx85-D28, on the other hand, lists 7,899.

Table 2. Known Slave Exports from Benguela by Time Series, 1730-1828

	Curto	Birmingham	Klein(a)	Klein(b)	Goulart
1730	2,035				
1731					
1732					
1733					
1734					
1735					
1736					
1737					
1738	1,793		1,793	1,793	
1739					
1740			898	898	

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1741			774	774	
1742	898				
1743					
1744	1,311		1,295	1,295	
1745					
1746					
1747	963		963	963	
1748	328		328	328	
1749	916		916	916	
1750	1,704		1,704	1,704	
1751	1,378		1,378	1,378	
1752	1,921		1,921	1,921	
1753	2,819		2,819	2,819	
1754	2,787	2,787	2,787	2,787	
1755	2,196	2,137	2,137	2,137	
1756	2,541	2,541	2,541	2,541	
1757	1,461	1,461	1,461	1,461	
1758	2,419	2,419	2,419	2,419	
1759	3,412	3,192	3,192	3,192	3,412
1760	2,507		2,506	2,506	2,507
1761	3,940		3,889	3,889	3,907
1762	4,180	3,924	4,180	4,180	4,144
1763	3,445	3,423	3,445	3,445	3,428
1764	3,867	3,821	3,867	3,867	3,827
1765	6,183	6,183	6,183	6,183	6,103
1766	5,160	5,160	5,160	5,160	5,095
1767	6,635	6,584	6,635	6,635	6,595
1768	5,658	5,643	5,643	5,658	5,658
1769	5,598	5,531	5,598	5,598	5,546
1770	4,733	4,726	4,726	4,733	4,733
1771	5,293	5,276	5,293	5,293	5,293
1772	5,021	5,021	5,021	5,021	5,021
1773	5,367	5,363	5,363	5,367	5,367
1774	4,328	4,321	4,321	4,328	4,328
1775	5,739	5,739	5,739	5,739	5,739

Table 2. Known Slave Exports from Benguela by Time Series, 1730-1828

	Curto	Klein(a)	Klein(b)	Goulart
1776	5,983		5,983	5,983
1777	3,967		3,967	3,967
1778	5,510		5,510	5,510
1779	7,072		7,069	7,069

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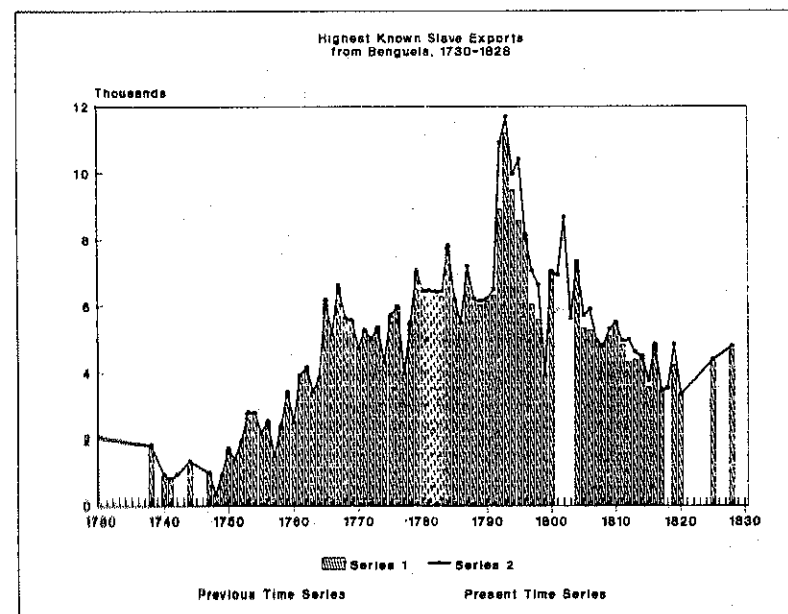
1780	6,455		6,455	6,455
1781	6,488		6,488	6,488
1782	6,437		6,437	6,437
1783	6,436		6,302	6,302
1784	7,832	7,832	7,832	3,055
1785	6,192		6,192	6,192
1786	5,508		5,508	5,508
1787	7,215		7,026	7,026
1788	6,211		6,131	6,131
1789	6,157		6,040	6,040
1790	6,243		6,150	6,150
1791	6,499		6,339	6,339
1792	10,867		8,915	8,915
1793	11,668		11,179	11,179
1794	9,973		9,493	9,493
1795	10,399		8,594	8,594
1796	8,115	8,115	7,899	7,899
1797	7,075		6,062	6,062
1798	6,654	5,610	5,428	5,428
1799	3,942		3,942	3,942
1800	7,065		7,065	7,065
1801	6,942			
1802	8,687	Lopes		
1803	5,639			
1804	7,350	7,350		
1805	5,706	5,360		
1806	5,902	5,296		
1807	4,963	4,963		
1808	4,828	4,828		
1809	5,325	5,129		
1810	5,463	5,511		
1811	4,970	4,855		
1812	5,015	4,345		
1813	4,640	4,404		
1814	4,504	4,504		
1815	3,776	3,576		
1816	4,868	4,868		
1817	3,480	3,480		
1818	3,547			
1819	4,867	4,243		
1820	3,360	3,360		
1821				
1822				
1823				
1824				
1825	4,408	4,408		

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1826		
1827		
1828	4,808	4,692

Sources: David Birmingham, *Trade and Conflict in Angola: The Mbundu and Their Neighbours Under the Influence of the Portuguese, 1483-1790*. Oxford, 1966, pp. 134-155; Herbert S. Klein, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the Eighteenth Century" *Journal of Economic History*. Vol. XXXII, 1972, p. 918 for his first series of numbers and idem, "The Portuguese Slave Trade from Angola in the 18th Century" in Herbert S. Klein, *The Middle Passage: Comparative Studies in the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Princeton, 1978, pp. 255-256 for the second; Mauricio Goulart, *A Escravidão Africana no Brasil*. São Paulo, 1950, pp. 206; Edmondo c. Lopes, *A Escravatura: Subsídios para a Sua História*. Lisbon, 1944, p. 103; and the Curto time series is taken from the highest annual totals found in table 1.

Graph 1



Sources: Table 2.



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**ABSTRACT:** This paper re-examines the volume of the Angolan slave trade from Benguela during 1730-1828 by drawing upon a large series of export figures, many of which were hitherto unknown. Utilizing a hypercritical method, a comparison of the new annual data against the numbers found in previously published time series shows that the overall volume of the traffic was only slightly greater than that already documented. Nevertheless, the new yearly totals are appreciable enough to alter our knowledge of the Benguela slave trade: they relate almost exclusively to the late 1700s and early 1800s, a period which saw the commerce reach a far higher peak and then begin a more protracted decline than was previously believe.