BAPTISMAL RECORDS IN THE STUDY OF THE ILLEGAL HAVANA SLAVE TRADE, 1821-1843

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ABSTRACT

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This thesis describes a dataset drawn from the baptismal registers of four Havana-area churches. Baptism entries date from between 1821 and 1843 and include the baptisms of 7,181 Africans. The goal of creating this thesis is to understand more precisely the demographics of the illegal slave trade, which carried hundreds of thousands of Africans to Cuba over the course of the nineteenth century. It includes data on the age, sex, ethnicity, origin, and legal status of these Africans. Results are then compared to other sources of data on Africans trafficked to Havana during this period and the implications are discussed.

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Introduction and Background

In the historical study of the Atlantic slave trade, the Cuban branch during the 1820s and 1830s is intriguing for several reasons. The first is that it was illegal. While Cuba and Brazil were by far the largest importers of enslaved Africans during the nineteenth century, only in Cuba was the slave trade entirely prohibited beginning in 1820; the Brazilian slave trade remained legal south of the equator for years. Unlike other contraband trades, which were illegal owing to their failure to comply with taxes and regulations, the Atlantic slave trade was prohibited as a matter of humanitarian principle. The inherent immorality ascribed to the slave trade itself made slave trafficking a "qualitatively different" sort of criminal enterprise than other kinds of smuggling.[1] It is somewhat murky the degree to which the growing international consensus against the slave trade on moral grounds affected its manner of conduct—aside from its decline in volume—over the course of the nineteenth century, and while this question is beyond the scope of the present thesis, it remains ripe for future inquiry.

From a methodological perspective, studying contraband trade networks necessarily creates challenges for historians. For scholars of the slave trade in the pre-abolition era, there are a wide range of extant sources in the archive upon which to draw. These include company ledgers, port entry/exit records, shipping manifests, and the figures kept by a variety of government institutions involved in the regulation and taxation of slave traders.[2] Between 1789, when the Bourbon reforms opened Cuba to the Atlantic slave trade, and 1820, when the slave trade was legally prohibited in Spanish possessions, Havana port officials regularly noted the arrival of slave ships inbound from the African coast.[3] After 1820, slavers employed tactics like false itineraries and the clandestine landing of slaves in order to avoid detection. As a result, many of the official sources historians typically rely on for measuring slave traffic were not

produced in settings where the slave trade was outlawed. Study of the illegal Cuban slave trade therefore requires different investigatory methods.

Perhaps the most widely used source of information about the illegal Cuban slave trade are the records of British officials in Havana. Beginning in the 1820s, Britain established an extensive network of anti-slave trade officials and operatives in Havana with the aim of ensuring Spanish and Cuban adherence to the 1817 treaty abolishing the Atlantic slave trade. While some slave ships were apprehended by the British navy as they entered the Caribbean upon return from the African coast, many more escaped capture and successfully ended their voyages in Cuban ports. Their activity was frequently reported to British officials in Havana by a purportedly large network of informants.[4] Unfortunately, few specifics are known about many of these slaving voyages. While a British diplomat in Havana might receive reports of a slave ship disgorging a certain number of African slaves along the coast east of Havana, its point of origin on the African coast and details about its captive cargo could remain obscure. Acting on this information, British officials could request an inquiry on the part of the Spanish colonial authorities, but the resulting reports can be either described generously as half-hearted, or, more accurately, as sandbagging on behalf of slave-trading interests.[5]

The best-documented illegal slaving expeditions were those that ended in capture by ships of the British navy and condemned before Mixed Commission courts established to prosecute slave traffickers in Sierra Leone, Havana, and additional locations in the South Atlantic. In addition to reliable information about a slave vessel's itinerary, Mixed Commission registers note the name, age, height, and sex of every surviving African captive. Over the last decade, historians—most notably David Eltis—have begun to publish large-scale data drawn from Mixed Commission records. Indeed, one of the most exciting developments to come out of

the *Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (TSTD) project, hosted for the last decade by Emory University at www.slavevoyages.org, is the African Names Database, accessible at the primary TSTD website and, with the addition of multimedia content, at its own domain as the *African Origins* project (www.african-origins.com).[6] Currently, *African Origins* contains information on more than 90,000 Africans, including educated guesses as to the ethnic provenance of individuals based on their recorded names.

Henry Lovejoy, a member of the African Origins team, has compiled and analyzed those records produced in Havana and produced a dataset of more than 10,000 liberated Africans, referred to as *emancipados*.[7] In addition to names, physical characteristics, sex, and age estimates, Mixed Commission registers in Havana also noted the supposed African *nación*, or "nation" of *emancipados*.[8] As with the African Origins dataset, this information is available online through the *Liberated Africans Project* (www.liberatedafricans.org). While the Mixed Commission data is detailed and extensive, it represents only a relatively small portion of the African population trafficked to Cuba during the era of the illegal slave trade. Furthermore, it is worth considering the extent to which this portion—comprising those aboard slave ships interdicted by the British navy—is representative of slave trafficking patterns in their entirety.

Aside from the above-mentioned methodological considerations that make the illegal slave trade between Africa and Cuba interesting to historians, the time in question—1821 to 1843—witnessed a number of significant developments in Cuban slave society that would weigh heavily on the remainder of the nineteenth century. Assisted by the application of industrial machinery, sugar production expanded dramatically across the island, prompting a dramatic increase in illegal slave imports peaking only in the late 1830s.[9] Alongside (and in part the inevitable demographic result of) this surge in enslaved Africans arriving in Cuba, a growing

population of free Africans and African-descended people lived and worked in its urban centers. By 1841, white Cubans comprised less than 42% of the island's population, with slaves and free people of African descent forming a substantial majority.[10] These shifts culminated in the slave insurrections of 1843 and the draconian response that followed in 1844—called the "year of the lash" for the widespread violence the colonial state employed in its crackdown on Afro-Cuban communities.[11] Along with the imposition of harsh new restrictions on the activities of free blacks and *pardos*, slave imports were finally curtailed, albeit temporarily and for reasons having nothing to do with anti-slavery.

Given the above-mentioned limitations on the types of source materials available for the study of illegal slave trafficking, it is necessary to reconstruct slave trading patterns from a variety of perspectives. British consular records contain the most comprehensive account of contraband slaving voyages, but they are often limited to only the most general information and rarely mention anything in detail about the African captives themselves, who are of particular interest to historians of pre-colonial Africa and the African Diaspora. Mixed Commission registries, on the other hand, contain significantly richer information about the enslaved Africans who were the victims of the illegal slave trade. As a result, we currently know more about some illegal-era slaving voyages and the composition of their human cargos than we do about otherwise well-documented slaving expeditions during the legal era. However, this information is limited to a relatively small percentage of slave trafficking voyages during the nineteenth century.

One way to get around this obstacle is to employ source materials that may not be directly related to the Atlantic slave trade itself, but can produce data that speaks to its results. When slaves were bought and sold within the island of Cuba, notaries made records of these

transactions, including information about the slave him/herself. Laird Bergad, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia compiled data from more than 23,000 slave sales that took place between 1790 and 1880 in Havana, Santiago, and Cienfuegos.[12] This data set describes slaves' gender, age, nation, occupational skills, and their price. Because African-born slaves were described as belonging to a certain nation, it is easy to identify those individuals who were trafficked to Cuba, although it is not usually possible to connect any one person to the slave ship in which they crossed the Atlantic. On the other hand, unlike the Mixed Commission registers, slave transactions documented in notarial protocol records were not limited to slaves who happened to be aboard one of the several dozen vessels captured by British warships and impounded in Havana. In theory, they amount to a sample taken from the entire African slave population of nineteenth-century Cuba.

This study focuses on a different genre of documents that, like slave sale records, provide a window into the demographics of African slaves within Cuba. These are the baptismal records of the Catholic Church. In Catholic slave societies, like nineteenth-century Cuba, African slaves were frequently baptized and christened in accordance with Church doctrine. As a result, church archives dating from the period (and other periods as well, up to the present day) contain large volumes of baptismal registers, in which priests made note of each baptism their performed. Many historians have already employed these sources to develop demographic datasets with which to study the social history of Catholic slave societies.[13] As Mariza de Carvalho Soares observes, "in the absence of any secular civil registers, the baptism document often provided the only official written information attesting to a person's identity."[14]

One of the advantages baptismal records have over slave sales as a means by which to measure a population is that the same individual, by rule, could not have been baptized twice.

Thus, each baptismal entry in a church register refers to the baptism ceremony of a unique individual. Another strength of baptismal records is their uniformity. While certain priests included details that others neglected, there is a baseline standard of information present in every baptismal entry regardless of circumstances. The purpose of this study is to explore the utility of baptismal records as a source of demographic information about the Atlantic slave trade. While baptismal documents, just like slave sales, do not directly inform us about the process of slave trafficking itself, the very presence of the people whose baptism ceremonies they record can fill in some of the blind spots created in the archive by the illegality of the slave trade after 1820. In addition, these records can tell us something about the lives of African slaves after they left the slave ship.

The data collected from Havana baptismal records and described in this study compels two main conclusions about the Havana slave trade in the decades following the legal abolition of the transatlantic slave trade. First, slave smugglers brought captives to Cuba from across the African continent, with no single provenance predominating.[15] This sets Cuba apart from other major American slave societies, where the slave trade was often dominated by traffic from a few African ports and, consequently, the African-born population was more homogeneous.[16] The sheer diversity of the African population of nineteenth-century Havana was without precedent. Second, the demographics of the illegal Cuban slave trade varied depending on the region of the African coast. While the age of African captives was consistent across the continent, some regions produced far more male slaves for export, while others produced a more even balance of males and females.

Methods

First, I must acknowledge that the present study owes its existence to the work conducted by Jane Landers' *Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies* (ESSSS) project at Vanderbilt University (hosted online at http://www.vanderbilt.edu/esss/). ESSSS is an online collection of hundreds of thousands of digitized documents from archives in Cuba, Brazil, and Colombia, including many thousands of pages of baptismal registers from Cuban churches dating from between 1821 and 1843. Without the arduous work of ESSSS team members who created and assembled this collection of images, the dataset described in this thesis would not have been possible. ESSSS has published images of baptismal registers from seven different Havana-area churches. Of these, only four have published baptism entries dating from 1821 to 1843. They are the church of Santo Angel de Custodio, located in the north end of the old, walled city, Jesús, María, y José, situated in Havana outside the city walls, Nuestra Señora de Regla, across the harbor from Havana itself, and Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, in the town of Guanabacoa approximately two kilometers east of Regla. Fortunately, these records are complete for the entire 23-year period of interest.[17]

Each baptismal entry contains the following information, without exception: First, the priest recorded the date of the ceremony, followed by his own name and title and the name of the church where the baptism was performed. The gender of the individual baptized, their Christian name, and at least one godparent serving as a witness. In the case of Africans baptized in colonial Cuba, the priest almost always made note of an individual's nationality and age grade (almost all were listed as adults). If the African being baptized was a slave, and most were, the name of the slave owner was included as well. Africans who were *emancipados*, or those individuals aboard slave ships condemned by the court of the Mixed Commission in Havana, often were identified along with their official number as a registered *emancipado*, the name of

their appointed supervisor under whom they worked as indentured laborers until they were granted full freedom, as well as the name of the slaving vessel to which their cases pertained. However, for *emancipados* this information was included with much less reliability than nationality and age grade. Before 1840, priests occasionally estimated the age (in years) of the baptized African, but this was exceptional and applied most frequently to *emancipados*. Over the last three years of the sample, priests recorded age estimates for most African slaves and *emancipados*.

I encountered several persistent problems while transcribing baptismal entries into spreadsheet format. Some of these had to do with difficulty deciphering certain priests' handwriting. For this researcher, clarity of writing was most often problematic when attempting to transcribe an unusual African ethnic denomination. If, after consulting Jesús Guanche's *Africanía y Etnicidad en Cuba*, I could not identify the nationality in question, a note was made and the attribute consigned to the category "Other/Unknown."[18] In other cases, the confounding nationality was adjoined to a common meta-denomination, such as *gangá*, or *lucumí*. In these instances, a note was made and the individual was identified simply by the meta-denomination. Individuals' names were often frequently an area of struggle, especially the surnames of slave owners; I made a best attempt at transcription and noted the probable error. The most frequently encountered problems, however, owed to shortcomings in the digitization process. Many ESSSS images are, unfortunately, out of focus (sometimes dramatically so). At times, a reading can still be made of their contents, but some simply require eventual replacement. In other situations where digital imaging was carried out effectively, the binding-style of the church volumes obscures large segments of text when viewed from directly above. In and out of the archive, an

oblique perspective would be required to make a full reading of these entries. When certain categories of information were inaccessible due to these circumstances, they were left blank.

Results

In total, these four churches contain the baptisms of at least 7,181 Africans from January 1, 1821 to December 31, 1843.[19] 3,246 of these baptisms were performed at the church of Santo Angel de Custodio in Havana, 1,661 at Jesús, María y José, 1,312 in Guanabacoa, and 962 in Regla (see Table 1). This distribution is unsurprising given the relative population density of the four parishes. Out of these 7,181 Africans, 6,548 were enslaved at the time of their baptism (See Figure 1). 585 were *emancipados*, and only 23 were free at the time they were baptized. Of those 23 free Africans, several were former *emancipados* who had become fully free residents of Havana. Some of the remainder were granted freedom by their owners at the time of their baptism ceremony, while others' path to freedom remains a mystery. The legal status of the remaining 25 individuals could not be determined.

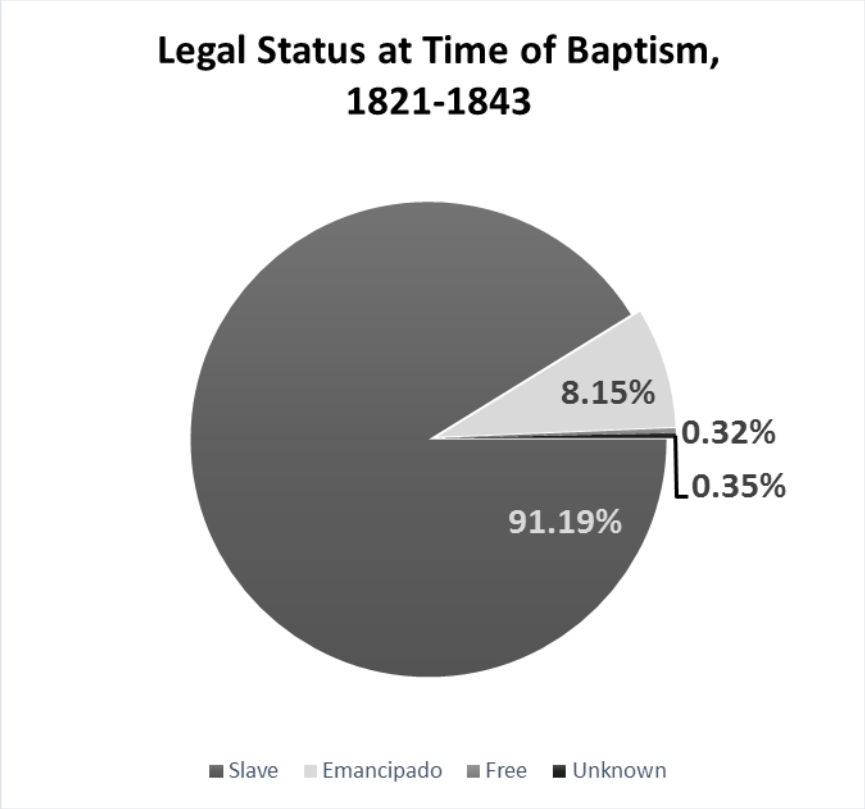
2,956 baptisms were of females, comprising 41.3% of the population. Over the same period of time, 4,203 males were baptized as well, a 58.7% majority. The preponderance of male slaves can be expected, given that slave traders usually carried majority-male cargos. More surprising, at least on its face, are the 6,895 slaves listed as "adults" compared to a mere 20 children and infants (the remaining total were not clearly identified as belonging to either age cohort). As it turns out based on age estimates sometimes included by priests in baptismal entries, many so-called adults were in fact children as young as seven. Henry Lovejoy suggests that the distinction between adults and children in the context of the slave trade was often made by height rather than age or maturity.[20] In this case, it appears that priests used the term "adult" to designate most anyone receiving the sacraments who was too old to be considered an infant or very young child. In the context of Havana baptismal records, therefore, "adult" should simply be interpreted to mean "not an infant."

Table 1.

Africans Baptized at Havana Churches, 1821-1843

Church	Number of Baptisms Performed
Jesús, María, y José	1,661
Nuestra Señora de Regla	962
Nuestra Señora de la Asunción de Guanabacoa	1,312
Santo Angel de Custodio	3,246
All Churches	**7,181**

Figure 1.



Fortunately, age estimates are available for 807 individuals, concentrated heavily in the last three to four years of the sample. While these ages are almost uniformly guesses made by the priest performing the baptism, they still offer a general picture of the age distribution of African slaves in Havana. For reasons having to do with human physical development and

maturation, Havana priests' estimates of age were almost certainly more accurate for children and young teenagers than for adults. In fact, as the estimated age of baptized Africans reached into the twenties and thirties, priests gravitated toward "round" figures such as 25, 30, and 35, making age data valuable only in assigning individuals to age cohorts. Nevertheless, the data is sufficient to paint a clear picture of how old baptized Africans in Havana were. Estimated ages range from a youthful two years of age on one end to 55 on the other. Overall, the mean age estimate was 19.29 years old, with a standard deviation of 6.7 years. The result is a strikingly normal distribution (see Figure 2), with the uneven slope on the higher end of the chart the result of unsure priests assigning many apparent twenty-somethings the approximate age of "25." Women and girls averaged just under 17.7 years of age, while males were somewhat older at 20.03 years.

Out of the 7,181 Africans baptized, 6,962 were identified with an African nation that could be determined. Most of the remainder were also recorded as belonging to a nation, but the precise nationality could not be determined due to document condition and photographic error. Only a small number of baptismal entries neglected to mention the nation of the baptized individual. In these cases, the African was either described simply as an African, or his/her nationality and provenance were omitted entirely. While I identified 72 different nations among this group, nearly 94 percent were referred to only by one of 8 main meta-denominations: *Arará*, *Carabalí*, *Congo*, *Gangá*, *Lucumí*, *Macua*, *Mandinga,* and *Mina*. A large majority of the remaining nations fell within the umbrella of one of these eight denominations. For a detailed accounting of this breakdowns, see Table 2. The significance of these national denominations has been the subject of considerable debate. It certainly reasonable to conclude, as Africanists have, that there is a danger in equating the nationalities attributed to African slaves in Cuba with

Figure 2.

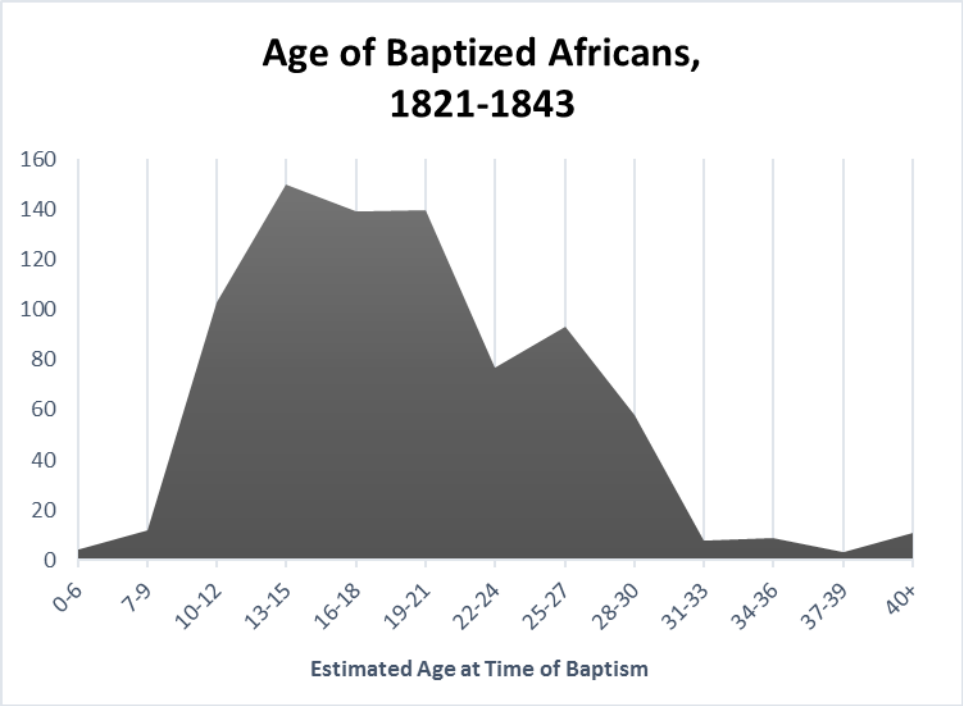


Table 2.

African Ethnic Denominations (Nations)

Arará	
Arará	282
Arará Magi	3
Arará Quatro Ojos	1
Lucumí Arará	4
Arará Total	**290**
Carabalí	
Carabalí	1,203
Carabalí Bambare	1
Carabalí Briani	1
Carabalí Bricamo	20
Carabalí Brican	5
Carabalí Camarón	2
Carabalí Sicuato	7
Carabalí Elugo	15
Carabalí Isa	1
Carabalí Mogo	1
Carabalí Oluso	2
Carabalí Oru	5

Table 2. (cont'd)

Carabalí Ososo	2
Carabalí Osusun	1
Carabalí Papa	12
Carabalí Suama	26
Carabalí Uque	1
Carabalí Viví	23
Carabalí Total	**1,330**
Congo	
Congo	1,345
Congo Luango	59
Congo Mani	1
Congo Mondongo	30
Congo Mozambique	1
Congo Murenque	1
Congo Musconde	1
Congo Musundi	19
Congo Solongo	1
Congo Total	**1,469**
Gangá	
Gangá	1,336
Gangá Beri	1
Gangá Briche	3
Gangá Fai	2
Ganga Longoba	32
Ganga Mani	3
Ganga Nongoa	1
Gangá Total	**1,379**
Lucumí	
Cacanda	1
Lucumí	1,707
Lucumí Chambá	3
Lucumí Ello	42
Lucumí Llebu	2
Lucumí Nago	1
Lucumí Total	**1,756**
Macua	
Macua	242
Mozambique	10

Table 2. (cont'd)

Macua Total	**252**
Mandinga	
Baluandro	1
Cacheu	1
Mandinga	188
Mandinga de Cabo Verde	1
Mandinga Soso	1
Mandinga Total	**192**
Mina	
Mina	230
Mina Ata	1
Mina Fanti	7
Mina Popo	55
Mina Total	**294**
Other/Unknown	
Baza	1
Combe	1
Crinia	1
Guinda	1
Lula	1
Mambaza	1
Unknown	208
Seusiva	1
Tacome Wi	1
Yanvaire	1
Yeru	1
Zambani	1
Other/Unknown Total	**219**
Grand Total	**7,181**

cultural or political identities that would have been meaningful in the African homeland.[21] Nevertheless, the historical literature makes it clear that national denominations played a significant role in organizing colonial Afro-Cuban society.[22] Furthermore, while the significance of shared *Ganga* or *Congo* identity in the African setting is dubious, these nationalities serve as

very reliable indicators of geographical provenance.[23] For example, Africans belonging to the *Mandinga* nation were brought to Cuba by slave ships visiting ports along the coast of present-day Guinea-Conakry and Guinea-Bissau. For *Gangás*, the middle passage began in what is now Sierra Leone and Liberia. *Minas*, *Ararás*, and *Lucumís* would nearly all have been sold to Cuba-bound slavers along the Bight of Benin littoral, while *Calabarí* Africans came from the Bight of Biafra. The denomination *Congo* corresponds to Bantu-speaking Africans embarked somewhere along the Central African coast between present-day Gabon and Angola, while *Macuas* came from the Indian Ocean coastline of present-day Mozambique. I have thus collapsed the eight main national denominations into a set of five geographical regions (see Table 3). "Upper Guinea" includes those Africans belonging to the *Mandinga* and *Gangá* nations. Evidence from the baptismal entries of *emancipados* indicates that *Lucumí*, *Ararás*, and *Mina* Africans could often be shipmates on slaving vessels loaded at locations along the Bight of Benin, such as Ouidah or Little Popo. Given the term *Mina*'s etymological association with the Gold Coast, I have reluctantly included the Gold Coast as an extension of the Bight of Benin region to avoid misidentifying the provenance of any *Mina* Africans baptized in Havana.

Average ages for Africans from each region were remarkably consistent, with no region exceeding 2 years older or younger than the continent-wide average. Males were older among each geographic cohort, except for Southeast Africans (*Macuas* and *Mozambiques*); priests estimated that females were, on average, slightly more than one year older than their male counterparts. The age gap between the sexes can likely be attributed to the Cuban agricultural sector's demand for adult males to perform physical labor—especially for cane cutters on Cuba's sugar *ingenios*.[24] For specific figures on average age of baptized Africans broken down by sex and region of origin, see Table 4.

Sex ratios, on the other hand, differed substantially from one nation to the next (see Figure 3). Although the overall sample was nearly 59 percent male, among *Lucumí* Africans this rose to more than 68 percent. At the other extreme, male *Carabalís* comprised less than 48% of that nation's number. *Mandingas* were split almost evenly between males and females, while male *Gangás* and *Ararás* comprised a slight majority of their respective nations. *Congos*, *Minas*, and *Macuas*, on the other hand, were predominately male. Here I will avoid speculation about the reasons for this variance in sex-ratios, except to argue that they must certainly have their root in African economic, political, and cultural circumstances.[25]

Table 3.

Region of Origin for Baptized Africans, 1821-1843

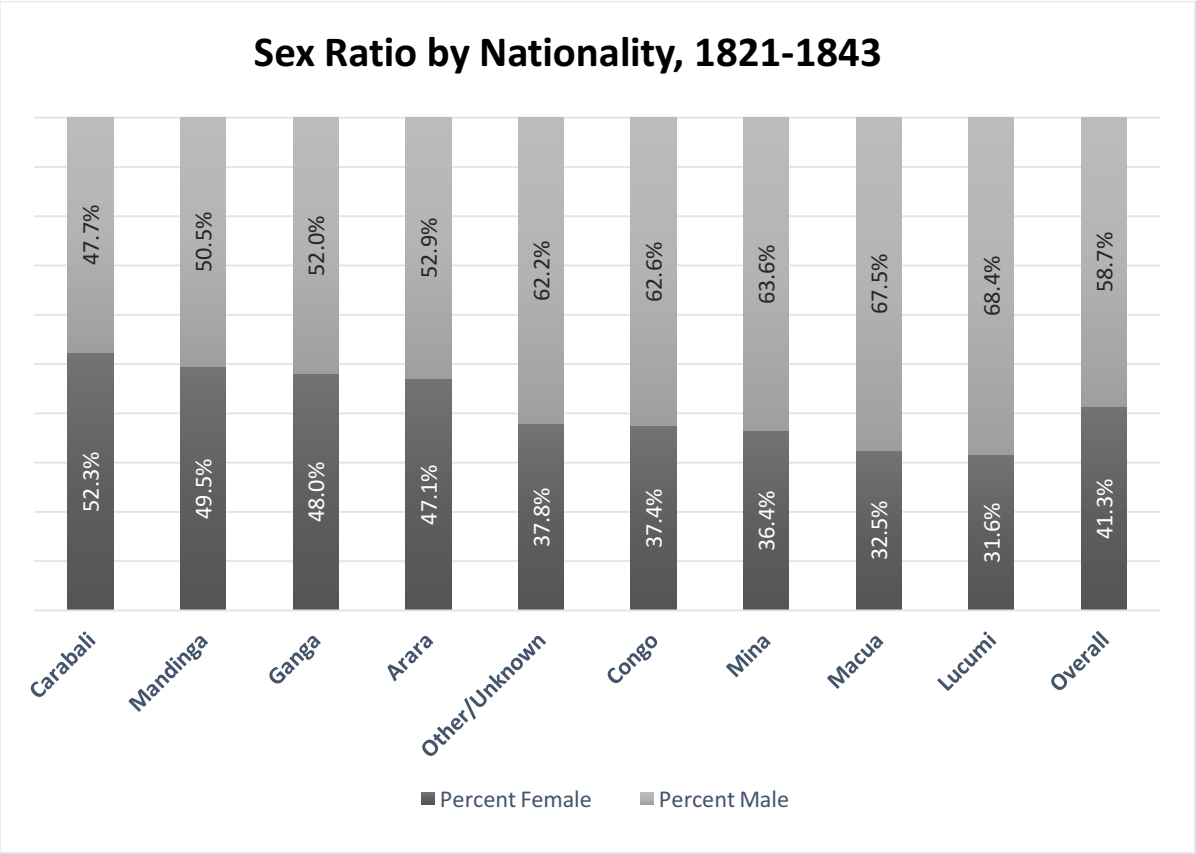
Region	Number of Baptisms
Bight of Benin & Gold Coast	2,340
Bight of Biafra	1,330
Central Africa	1,469
Southeast Africa	252
Upper Guinea	1,571
Unknown	219
All Africa	7,181

Table 4.

Average Age by African Region of Origin, 1821-1843

Region	Male	Female	Total
Bight of Benin & Gold Coast	21.2	17.5	20.1
Bight of Biafra	22.2	18.7	20.7
Central Africa	18.9	16.6	18.3
Southeast Africa	20.9	22.1	21.2
Upper Guinea	18.4	18.0	18.2
Unknown	19.9	16.5	18.7
All Africa	20.0	17.7	19.3

Figure 3.


Sex Ratio by Nationality, 1821-1843
47.7%
50.5%
52.0%
52.9%
62.2%
62.6%
63.6%
67.5%
68.4%
58.7%
52.3%
49.5%
48.0%
47.1%
37.8%
37.4%
36.4%
32.5%
31.6%
41.3%
Carabali
Mandinga
Ganga
Arara
Other/Unknown
Congo
Mina
Macua
Lucumi
Overall
Percent Female
Percent Male

Comparisons and Analysis

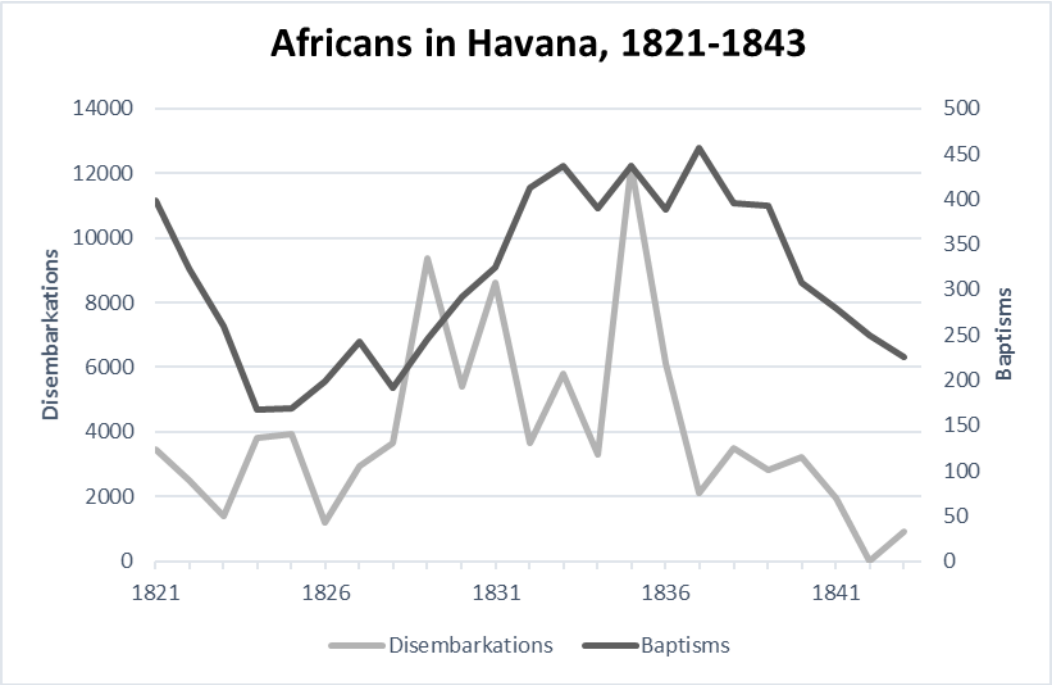
To better understand the significance of this dataset and test the relative representativeness of samples derived from baptismal registers, it is necessary to compare the results to data drawn from different genres of source material. The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (TSTD) is qualitatively different from the baptismal register dataset assembled here in several respects. First, TSTD is organized around slaving voyages as the central unit of analysis, while baptismal entries correspond to an individual African. However, for most TSTD slaving voyages, figures indicate the total number of African slaves embarked and disembarked by the vessel. This allows one to calculate the overall size of the African population trafficked to Cuba and, more specifically, Havana.

According to TSTD, nearly 92,000 Africans arrived in Havana by means of the illegal slave trade between 1821 and 1843. This means that just under eight percent of African arrivals to Havana were baptized in one of the four churches featured in this study. The baptismal registers of these four churches cannot, therefore, be considered a comprehensive account of the Havana slave trade. However, in several respects they amount to a highly representative sample. Of these, 8,826 arrived aboard ships interdicted by the British navy and would have been baptized as *emancipados*, rather than as slaves. *Emancipados* thus comprised 9.59 percent of Africans disembarked in Havana, according to TSTD, while they comprised 8.15 percent of the baptisms performed on Africans over the same period.

Between 1821 and 1843, an annual average of 3,999 Africans disembarked slave ships in Havana. However, the volume of the slave trade varied dramatically from year to year, ranging from a low of zero in 1842 to a high of more than 12,000 in 1835. As a result, the average annual figure of 3,999 over the entire period has a standard deviation of 2,878—more than 72%

of the mean. Africans baptized annually in the four focus churches were an order of magnitude fewer at 312. Unlike the wild ebbs and flows of the slave trade, the number of Africans being baptized was far more regular, with a standard deviation of 93. This relative consistency can be seen clearly in Figure 4, which compares the year-to-year total of Africans disembarked in Havana to the number baptized. This chart also indicates that, while the number of baptisms in each year did not fluctuate in exact accordance with the relative increase or decrease in disembarkations, a broad correlation is discernable with volume peaking in the early-to-mid 1830s before declining steadily at the beginning of the following decade. It is also possible to observe the appearance of a slight lag on the part of baptism numbers, which indicates that Africans arriving in Havana were not necessarily baptized immediately. Instead, some African slaves and *emancipados* lived and worked in Havana for years before their baptism ceremonies were performed.

Figure 4.



Outside Source: Eltis, et al, *Slave Voyages*

Table 5.

Region of Origin for Disembarked Africans, 1821-1843

Region	Number of Disembarkations
Bight of Benin & Gold Coast	6,217
Bight of Biafra	24,121
Central Africa	6,689
Southeast Africa	4,143
Upper Guinea	7,333
Unknown	43,468
All Africa	91,971

Source: Eltis, et al, *Slave Voyages*

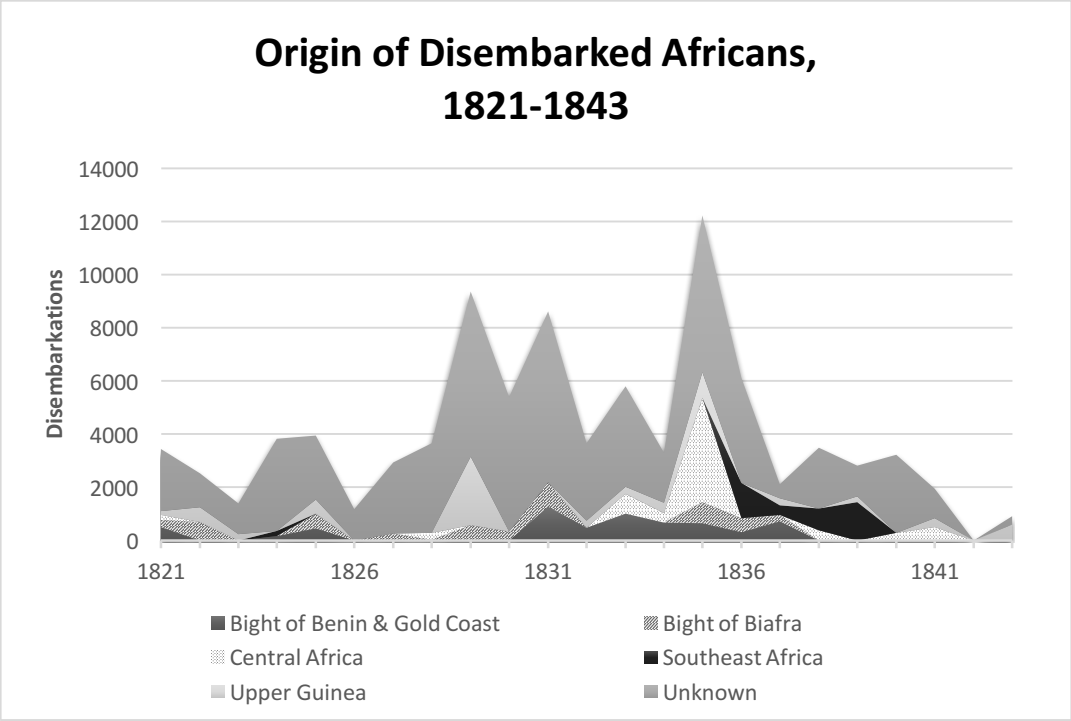
In comparing the geographical origin of Africans in the Havana slave trade, it is first necessary to standardize geographical regions. For organizational purposes, TSTD sorts slave trade ports along the African coast into eight major regions: Southeast Africa and Indian Ocean Islands, West-Central Africa and Saint Helena, Bight of Biafra and Gulf of Guinea Islands, Bight of Benin, Gold Coast, Windward Coast, Sierra Leone, and Senegambia and Offshore Atlantic. Fortunately, this breakdown is quite like the one I have used to impute geographical provenance of baptized Africans. Because this imputation is based on ethnic denomination, rather than on actual geographical information which can be compared directly to TSTD data, five different TSTD regions have been consolidated into two larger regions which fully encompass the possible origin of the Africans to whose nation they correspond. "Senegambia," which in TSTD includes the coast of Guinea-Bissau, "Sierra Leone," which includes Guinea-Conakry, and "Windward Coast" (Liberia) have been combined into a single region: "Upper Guinea." As mentioned above, due to the potential presence of *Mina* Africans in ships loading slaves in both regions, "Bight of Benin" and "Gold Coast" have been combined into a single region as well. Table 5 contains these results.

There are two notable differences between the two datasets. The first is that the TSTD data show a much higher proportion of Africans without a known region of origin—47.3 percent of the population, as opposed to only three percent in the baptism registers. This suggests that baptismal records can provide information which could be used to estimate the origins of this unknown 47 percent. The second is the higher proportion of Africans from the Bight of Biafra region present in the TSTD dataset: Approximately one half of Africans with a known region of origin arrived in Havana by way of the Bight of Biafra. This contrasts to about 18 percent of baptized Africans.

However, the substantial number of Africans from the Bight of Biafra region in TSTD is exaggerated dramatically by the inclusion of voyages to the Gulf of Guinea islands of Sao Tome and Principe. There are several good reasons to believe very few if any of these slaving expeditions ever embarked a single African slave at either Sao Tome or Principe. Many of the vessels accused by British officials in Havana of engaging in the slave trade listed one or both destinations in their voyage itineraries, which were in turn used as evidence by Spanish colonial officials to deflect accusations of slave trafficking on the African coast. Because the islands were not far from many of the major slaving ports of West Africa, Africa-bound slave traffickers could use them as plausible destinations for legitimate commercial activity, providing cover for their actual, illegal objectives.

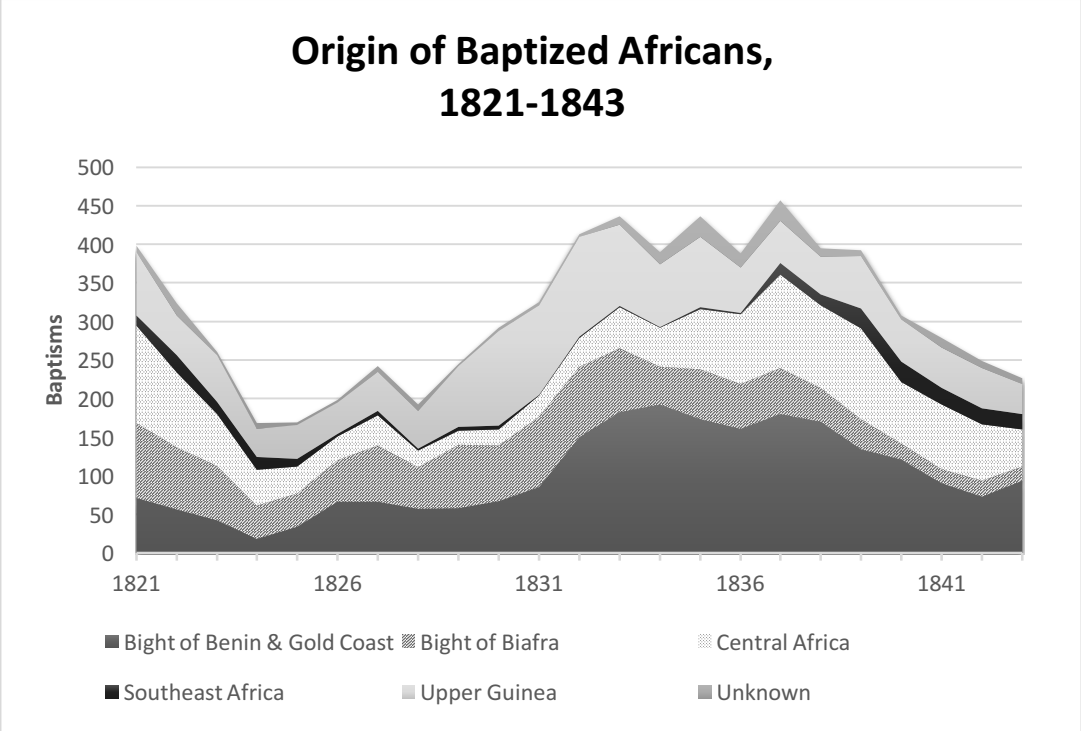
This is evidenced by the frequent discovery of licenses to conduct trade at Sao Tome or Principe aboard Spanish slavers captured elsewhere by the British navy. For example, the Spanish schooner *Maria*, captured in 1830 off the coast of Sierra Leone with 505 slaves on board, carried documents notarized in Havana authorizing "a lawful commercial voyage" to Sao Tome and Principe.[26] The same year, the brigantine *Dos Amigos* was taken in the Cameroons

Figure 5.



Source: Eltis, et al, *Slave Voyages*

Figure 6.



while loading slaves. This vessel too possessed an embarkation license from Havana indicating a "voyage of lawful commerce" to the Gulf of Guinea islands.[27] Despite being authorized to conduct legal commerce in Sao Tome and Principe, the Spanish Brig *Marinerito* apparently sailed directly from Havana to Calabar, where it was captured in April 1831 along with 475 slaves.[13]

Therefore, to obtain a more accurate picture of what TSTD data really tell us about the geography of the illegal slave trade, voyages listed as taking on slaves at Sao Tome and Principe should be considered to have unknown ports of embarkation. This means subtracting 18,878 disembarkations from the 24,121 originating in the Bight of Biafra region and adding them to the ranks of the unknown, leaving 5,243 Africans who were transported to Havana between 1821 and 1843. This brings the proportion of Africans originating in the Bight of Biafra littoral in line with what baptismal records indicate. The overall TSTD figures for region of origin year-to-year (after shifting Sao Tome and Principe from the "Bight of Biafra" region to "Unknown") can be compared to the equivalent data from Havana baptism registers in Figure 5 and Figure 6, respectively.

Unfortunately, TSTD is rather limited in its ability to convey information about these trafficked populations beyond their total numbers. The sex ratio of African arrivals to Havana is available for eight voyages between 1821 and 1843. Overall, 72.5 percent of individuals aboard these eight ships were males, with only 27.5 percent females. This is a substantially higher proportion of men and boys than the 58.7 percent seen in baptismal registers. The *Liberated Africans Project* website is a much stronger source of data on the sex ratio of Africans trafficked to Havana during this period, compiling data on the occupants of 44 slave ships captured by the British navy between 1824 and 1847. Out of 10,391 individuals, 7,509 were male and 2,882

were female. This works out to a 72.3 percent male population—strikingly close to the TSTD figure.

We are further able to compare the sex ratios within each national cohort in the *Liberated Africans* dataset and my data drawn from baptismal registers (See Table 6). None of the vessels tried before the mixed commission between 1824 and 1841 loaded slaves in the Indian Ocean, so I have omitted the baptisms of *Macua* slaves and *emancipados* from this comparison. Across the board, a higher proportion of females of all nations were baptized than were aboard slave ships

Table 6.

Sex Ratio by Nation: Mixed Commission vs. Baptismal Registers

	Mixed Commission		Baptisms		Change
Nation	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**	**Male (%)**	**Female (%)**	**(MC% → B%)**
Arará	55.9	44.1	52.9	47.1	+3.0 (Female)
Carabalí	68.9	31.1	47.7	52.3	+21.2 (Female)
Congo	80.0	20.0	62.2	37.8	+17.8 (Female)
Gangá	62.2	37.8	52.0	48.0	+10.2 (Female)
Lucumí	73.0	27.0	68.4	31.6	+4.6 (Female)
Mandinga	72.8	27.2	50.5	49.5	+22.3 (Female)
Mina	74.2	25.8	63.6	36.4	+10.6 (Female)
Total	72.3	27.7	58.4	41.6	+13.9 (Female)

Outside Source: *Liberated Africans Project* (www.liberatedafricans.org)

Table 7.

Average Age by Sex: Mixed Commission and Baptized Africans

Sex	**Mixed Commission**	**Baptismal Registers**	**Change (MC → B)**
Female	16.1	17.7	+1.4
Male	20.5	20.0	-0.5
Total	19.3	19.3	0.0

Outside Source: *Liberated Africans Project* (www.liberatedafricans.org)

tried by the court of the Mixed Commission in Havana. In the Mixed Commission registers, *Arará*, *Carabalí*, and *Gangá* remain nations with a higher than average percentage of females, while *Congo*, *Lucumí*, and *Mina* are still more male than the mean. It is clear, therefore, that Africans baptized in Havana churches were significantly more likely to be female than the entire African population trafficked to Havana.

To determine the reason for this difference in sex ratio between Africans disembarking in Havana and those baptized in its churches, it is necessary to turn to a second sample of the African population of Havana. Bergad, Iglesias, and Barcia dataset drawn from Havana slave sale records contains entries for 1,594 Africans between the years of 1821 and 1843.[28] Of these, 903 (56.7 percent) were males and 691 (43.3 percent) were females. This figure is much closer to the 58.7 percent of Africans baptized in Havana who were male than it is to the 72.3 percent of liberated African slaves aboard ships tried by the Mixed Commission. The fact that both samples of Havana Africans yield greater proportions of females suggests a geographic split between rural African populations, who largely worked in agriculture on Cuba's coffee and sugar plantations, and Africans in Havana, who worked more frequently as domestic servants and skilled craftsmen.[29] Many male Africans disembarked in Havana, including *emancipados*, may have gone on to work in the nearby countryside and their baptisms (if they took place) would have been recorded in churches located there.

The estimated age of baptized Africans correlates closely to the estimated age of African slaves emancipated by the Mixed Commission court in Havana. In fact, the average age estimate of individuals in both samples is identical. However, females baptized in Havana were approximately 17 months older than females whose ages were recorded by Mixed Commission officials. To the extent that this age gap is statistically significant, which is far from a sure bet

given the unreliability of the age estimates upon which the figures draw, it is probable that it reflects time passed between an individual's arrival in Havana and the date of her baptism. However, male slaves baptized in Havana churches were six months younger on average than the average age of liberated Africans. Assuming this small age gap indeed reflects a different population average and not simple variance in sample, it could be due to rural demand for adult male labor resulting in a younger male African population in Havana.

Conclusions

It is clear from the numbers that baptismal records are a viable source of data on African populations in nineteenth century Cuba. While the four churches surveyed here baptized only a fraction of the total number of Africans disembarked by slave traffickers and British naval patrols in Havana between 1821 and 1843, this fraction appears to be reasonably representative of larger patterns in the overall slave trade. Baptisms did not track slave trade patterns exactly, but there are enough similarities to argue that they were correlated to the ebbs and flows of the overall traffic. As the volume of the Havana slave trade decreased following its abolition in 1820, so did the number of Africans baptized in Havana churches. Then, as slave traffickers expanded their operations in the late 1820s and 1830s, baptism numbers rose as well.

Using the national denominations assigned to Africans in Cuba to impute their regional origins on the African continent, it is possible to estimate the overall regional distribution of the illegal Havana slave trade. During the 1820s, no single African region stood out as a dominant source of slaves for Havana traffickers, with significant minorities of Africans hailing from the Bight of Biafra, Central Africa, Upper Guinea, and the Bight of Benin. In the 1830s, it appears that the Bight of Benin became the most significant region of African slave imports to Havana. The bulk of these slaves (and *emancipados*) were Yoruba-speaking men, perhaps caught up in the violent conflict that took place following the collapse of Oyo.[30] As time passed, Central Africans also comprised a growing portion of the slave trade, based on their increased prominence in Havana baptismal registers. Conversely, *Carabalís* from the Bight of Biafra region were baptized in fewer and fewer numbers, indicating a shift in the slave trade away from what is now southeastern Nigeria and Cameroon.

Based on Havana baptism records, it is possible to say that the middle passage aboard a contraband slaver was a trauma suffered largely by teenagers. Relatively few young children and adults older than their mid-twenties appear to have been trafficked to Havana between 1821 and 1843. Upon arrival in the city and its immediate environs, many of the men and older boys would have been sold to the owners of *ingenios* and *cafetals* and sent off into the countryside, while the remainder worked in their owners' homes and shops in Havana. This second group still comprised more men and boys than women and girls, but the ratio was far more even than in rural areas.

One of the weaknesses of this study is its focus on four Havana-area churches. Baptismal registers from urban churches do not record the baptisms of most African slaves who lived in rural settings and worked in the agricultural sector. Given the significant role of agriculture—sugar in particular—in creating a market for illegally-trafficked African slaves, it is important that historians working with baptismal record datasets to study slave societies attempt to locate and transcribe registers from rural locations, including those located on private estates.

APPENDIX

Table A.1

Jesus, María y José, 1821-1843

1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826	
Baptisms	125	**Baptisms**	120	**Baptisms**	67	**Baptisms**	56	**Baptisms**	25	**Baptisms**	36
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	62	Female	57	Female	30	Female	25	Female	11	Female	18
Male	54	Male	62	Male	37	Male	31	Male	14	Male	18
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	113	Slave	118	Slave	66	Slave	56	Slave	25	Slave	27
		Free	1	Free	1					Emancipado	9
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Carabalí	39	**Arará**	5	**Arará**	3	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	3	**Carabalí**	11
Elugo	1										
Vivi	1	Carabalí	38	Carabalí	17	Carabalí	17	Carabalí	4	Congo	2
Carabalí	41	Elugo	1	Bricamo	1	Elugo	1	Papa	1	Mondongo	1
		Suama	2	Elugo	1	Suama	1	**Carabalí**	5	**Congo**	3
Congo	38	Vivi	1	Osunsun	1	**Carabalí**	19				
Mondongo	1	**Carabalí**	42	Papa	1			**Congo**	4	Gangá	4
Congo	39			Suama	2	Congo	17			Beri	1
		Congo	27	Vivi	1	Luango	1	**Gangá**	6	Longoba	1
Gangá	14	Luango	1	**Carabalí**	24	Musundi	1			**Gangá**	6
		Real	1			**Congo**	19	**Lucumí**	**1**		
Lucumí	17	**Congo**	29	Congo	10					**Lucumí**	13
				Luango	1	**Gangá**	6	**Macua**	2		
Macua	8	**Gangá**	5	Mondongo	1					**Mandinga**	2
				Congo	12	**Lucumí**	**3**	**Mandinga**	3		
Mandinga	2	**Lucumí**	18							**Mina**	1
				Gangá	8	**Macua**	4	Popo	1		
Mina	3	**Macua**	10					**Mina**	1		
				Lucumí	7	**Mandinga**	2				
Unknown	1	Mandinga	9								
Other	1	Cabo Verde	1	**Macua**	5	**Mina**	2				
		Mandinga	10								
				Mandinga	7						
		Popo	1								
		Mina	1	**Mina**	1						

Table A.1 (cont'd)

1827		1828		1829		1830		1831		1832	
Baptisms	37	**Baptisms**	29	**Baptisms**	29	**Baptisms**	53	**Baptisms**	44	**Baptisms**	78
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	13	Female	12	Female	15	Female	33	Female	25	Female	52
Male	24	Male	17	Male	14	Male	20	Male	19	Male	26
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	30	Slave	20	Slave	25	Slave	43	Slave	34	Slave	64
Emancipado	7	Emancipado	9	Emancipado	4	Emancipado	10	Emancipado	10	Emancipado	10
										Free	4
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	1	Carabalí	5	**Carabalí**	12	Carabalí	8	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	6
Quatro Ojos	1	Bricamo	1			Bricamo	1				
Arará	2	Papa	1	**Congo**	2	Elugo	2	Carabalí	19	Carabalí	12
		Carabalí	7			Suama	2	Oru	1	Bricamo	3
Carabalí	9			**Gangá**	8	**Carabalí**	13	Uque	1	**Elugo**	1
		Congo	2					**Carabalí**	21	Papa	1
Congo	5	Bombala	1	**Lucumí**	2	**Congo**	5			**Carabalí**	17
		Congo	3					**Congo**	3		
Gangá	7			Mina	2	Gangá	18			**Congo**	6
		Gangá	7	Popo	2	Longoba	2	**Gangá**	12		
Lucumí	6	Longoba	3	**Mina**	4	**Gangá**	20			Gangá	17
Ello	2	**Gangá**	10					**Macua**	1	**Longoba**	4
Lucumí	8			Unknown	1	**Lucumí**	2			**Gangá**	21
		Lucumí	8	**Other**	1			**Mandinga**	1		
Macua	2					**Macua**	1			Lucumí	19
		Mina	1					Mina	3	Ello	1
Mandinga	2					**Mandinga**	2	Popo	2	**Lucumí**	20
								Mina	5		
Mina	2					Mina	2			**Mandinga**	1
						Fanti	1				
						Popo	5			Mina	3
						Mina	8			Fanti	1
										Popo	2
						Unknown	2			**Mina**	6
						Other	2				
										Unknown	1
										Other	1

Table A.1 (cont'd)

1833		1834		1835		1836		1837		1838	
Baptisms	78	**Baptisms**	108	**Baptisms**	162	**Baptisms**	80	**Baptisms**	96	**Baptisms**	101
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	41	Female	33	Female	69	Female	28	Female	35	Female	36
Male	43	Male	75	Male	92	Male	52	Male	61	Male	65
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	77	Slave	104	Slave	151	Slave	88	Slave	88	Slave	97
Emancipado	6	Emancipado	4	Emancipado	11	Emancipado	8	Emancipado	8	Emancipado	4
Free	1										
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	3	**Arará**	8	**Arará**	5	Arará	4	**Arará**	6	**Arará**	2
Magi	1					Magi	1				
Arará	4	**Carabalí**	13	Carabalí	31	**Arará**	5	Carabalí	19	Carabalí	15
				Bricamo	2			Camarón	2	Bambare	1
Carabalí	19	Congo	13	Vivi	2	**Carabalí**	20	Papa	1	Bricamo	1
Papa	1	Murenque	1	**Carabalí**	35			Suama	1	**Carabalí**	17
Carabalí	20	**Congo**	14			Congo	11	**Carabalí**	23		
				Congo	23	Luango	1			Congo	30
Congo	5	**Gangá**	15	Luango	1	Mondongo	1	Congo	12	Luango	2
Mani	1			Real	1	Real	1	Mondongo	1	Mondongo	1
Mondongo	1	Lucumí	48	**Congo**	25	**Congo**	14	Real	2	**Congo**	33
Real	1	Ello	1					**Congo**	15		
Congo	8	Llebu	1	**Gangá**	31	**Gangá**	12			**Gangá**	17
		Lucumí	50					Gangá	11		
Gangá	19			Lucumí	57	**Lucumí**	27	Longoba	2	**Lucumí**	20
		Mandinga	1	Ello	1			**Gangá**	13		
Lucumí	27			Nago	1	**Macua**	1			**Macua**	5
		Mina	6	**Lucumí**	59			Lucumí	29		
Mandinga	2	Popo	1			**Mina**	1	Ello	1	Mina	5
		Mina	7	**Macua**	1			**Lucumí**	30	Fanti	1
Fanti	1									**Mina**	6
Mina	1			**Mandinga**	3			Macua	4		
								Mozambique	1	Unknown	1
Unknown	3			Unknown	3			**Macua**	5	**Other**	1
Other	3			**Other**	3						
								Baluandro	1		
								Cacheu	1		
								Mandinga	2		
								Mina	2		

Table A.1 (cont'd)

1839		1840		1841		1842		1843	
Baptisms	80	**Baptisms**	69	**Baptisms**	57	**Baptisms**	67	**Baptisms**	58
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	25	Female	27	Female	17	Female	23	Female	17
Male	55	Male	42	Male	40	Male	44	Male	41
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	78	Slave	67	Slave	53	Slave	67	Slave	51
Free	2	Emancipado	2	Emancipado	4			Emancipado	4
								Free	3
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	9	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	1	**Carabalí**	1
Carabalí	4	Carabalí	5	**Carabalí**	3	**Carabalí**	7	**Congo**	18
		Bricamo	2						
Congo	24	**Carabalí**	7	**Congo**	24	Congo	18	**Gangá**	8
						Mondongo	1		
Gangá	19	Congo	20	**Gangá**	9	Real	2	**Lucumí**	16
Nongoa	1	Luango	1			**Congo**	21		
Gangá	20	**Congo**	21	**Lucumí**	11			**Macua**	10
						Gangá	4		
Lucumí	12	**Gangá**	7	**Macua**	7			**Mandinga**	2
						Lucumí	17		
Macua	6	**Lucumí**	16	Popo	1			**Mina**	2
Mozambique	1			**Mina**	1	**Macua**	4		
Macua	7	**Macua**	13					Unknown	1
						Mandinga	8	**Other**	1
Mandinga	2	**Mandinga**	1						
						Mina	5		
Mina	2	Mina	1						
		Fanti	1						
		Popo	1						
		Mina	3						

Table A.2

Nuestra Señora de la Asunción, 1821-1843

1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826	
Baptisms	88	**Baptisms**	85	**Baptisms**	71	**Baptisms**	37	**Baptisms**	48	**Baptisms**	48
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	42	Female	38	Female	25	Female	14	Female	16	Female	28
Male	46	Male	47	Male	46	Male	23	Male	32	Male	20
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	88	Slave	85	Slave	71	Slave	36	Slave	48	Slave	42
										Emancipado	6
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	2	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	1			**Arará**	2
								Carabalí	10		
Carabalí	20	**Carabalí**	16	**Carabalí**	14	**Carabalí**	10	Briani	1	Carabalí	17
								Oluso	2	Suama	1
Congo	35	Congo	32	**Congo**	18	**Congo**	11	Vivi	1	Vivi	2
Luango	1	Mondongo	1					**Carabalí**	14	**Carabalí**	20
Real	1	**Congo**	33	**Gangá**	16	**Gangá**	2				
Congo	37							**Congo**	13	**Congo**	2
		Gangá	10	**Lucumí**	8	**Lucumí**	4				
Gangá	9							**Gangá**	6	Gangá	9
		Lucumí	6	**Macua**	6	**Macua**	7			Fai	1
Lucumí	9							**Lucumí**	10	**Gangá**	10
		Macua	5	**Mandinga**	5	**Mandinga**	2				
Macua	1							**Macua**	2	**Lucumí**	12
		Mandinga	7	**Mina**	2						
Mandinga	7							**Mandinga**	1	**Macua**	1
		Mina	6	Seusiva	1						
Mina	3			**Other**	1			**Mina**	2	**Mina**	1

Table A.2 (cont'd)

1827		1828		1829		1830		1831		1832	
Baptisms	53	**Baptisms**	47	**Baptisms**	48	**Baptisms**	65	**Baptisms**	58	**Baptisms**	78
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	20	Female	15	Female	24	Female	20	Female	22	Female	24
Male	33	Male	32	Male	24	Male	45	Male	36	Male	52
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	48	Slave	47	Slave	39	Slave	52	Slave	55	Slave	73
Emancipado	5			Emancipado	9	Emancipado	13	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	5
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	2	Carabalí	17	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	4
		Bricamo	1								
Carabalí	20	**Carabalí**	18	Carabalí	11	Carabalí	11	Carabalí	15	Carabalí	10
Vivi	1			Suama	3	Vivi	1	Vivi	1	Vivi	1
Carabalí	21	**Congo**	5	**Carabalí**	14	**Carabalí**	12	**Carabalí**	16	**Carabalí**	11
Congo	9	**Gangá**	13	**Congo**	1	**Congo**	6	Congo	13	Congo	18
								Luango	1	Mondongo	1
Gangá	9	**Lucumí**	6	**Gangá**	18	Gangá	25	**Congo**	14	**Congo**	19
Briche	1					Longoba	4				
Gangá	10	**Macua**	1	Lucumí	5	**Gangá**	29	**Gangá**	16	Gangá	17
				Ello	1					Longoba	5
Lucumí	3	**Mandinga**	3	**Lucumí**	6	Chambá	1	**Lucumí**	5	**Gangá**	22
Ello	2					**Lucumí**	1	**Macua**	2		
Lucumí	5	**Mina**	1	**Macua**	1					Lucumí	16
						Macua	1	**Mandinga**	1	Chambá	1
Macua	2			**Mandinga**	2					**Lucumí**	17
						Mandinga	4	**Mina**	3		
Mandinga	1			**Mina**	4					**Mandinga**	2
						Mina	6	Tacome Wi	1		
Mina	1					Popo	2	**Other**	1	**Mina**	1
						Mina	8				

Table A.2 (cont'd)

1833		1834		1835		1836		1837		1838	
Baptisms	119	**Baptisms**	79	**Baptisms**	67	**Baptisms**	59	**Baptisms**	40	**Baptisms**	46
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	29	Female	27	Female	23	Female	28	Female	8	Female	11
Male	90	Male	51	Male	44	Male	31	Male	32	Male	35
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	111	Slave	76	Slave	58	Slave	56	Slave	39	Slave	46
Emancipado	7	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	9	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	1		
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	6	**Arará**	8	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	2	**Carabalí**	4	**Arará**	2
Carabalí	19	**Carabalí**	7	**Carabalí**	7	Carabalí	10	**Congo**	26	**Carabalí**	1
Bricamo	1					Isa	1				
Carabalí	20	Congo	13	Congo	24	**Carabalí**	11	**Gangá**	2	**Congo**	16
		Luango	1	Luango	1						
Congo	25	**Congo**	14	**Congo**	25	**Congo**	27	**Lucumí**	4	**Gangá**	2
Gangá	27	**Gangá**	15	Gangá	8	**Gangá**	9	**Mandinga**	2	**Lucumí**	19
				Longoba	1						
Lucumí	36	Lucumí	26	**Gangá**	9	**Lucumí**	9	**Mina**	1	**Macua**	2
		Ello	1								
Macua	1	**Lucumí**	27	**Lucumí**	21	**Mandinga**	1	Baza	1	**Mandinga**	1
								Other	1		
Mandinga	1	**Macua**	1	Mina	1					**Mina**	1
				Popo	2						
Mina	2	**Mandinga**	3	**Mina**	3					Crinia	1
										Other	1
		Combe	1								
		Other	1								

Table A.2 (cont'd)

1839		1840		1841		1842		1843	
Baptisms	74	**Baptisms**	35	**Baptisms**	26	**Baptisms**	19	**Baptisms**	22
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	22	Female	17	Female	13	Female	6	Female	8
Male	52	Male	18	Male	13	Male	13	Male	14
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	72	Slave	32	Slave	25	Slave	19	Slave	22
Free	1	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	1				
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	1	**Arará**	1	**Carabalí**	2	**Carabalí**	2	**Carabalí**	1
Carabalí	7	Congo	5	Congo	15	Congo	5	Congo	7
		Luango	2	Mondongo	1	Mondongo	1	Mondongo	1
Congo	28	**Congo**	7	**Congo**	16	**Congo**	6	Real	1
Musconde	1							**Congo**	9
Solongo	1	**Gangá**	6	**Gangá**	4	**Gangá**	4		
Congo	30							**Gangá**	2
		Lucumí	18	**Lucumí**	2	**Lucumí**	5		
Gangá	5							**Lucumí**	7
		Macua	2	**Mandinga**	2	**Macua**	1		
Lucumí	25							**Macua**	1
						Mina	1		
Macua	4							**Mina**	2
Mina	2								

Table A.3

Nuestra Señora de Regla, 1821-1843

1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826	
Baptisms	54	**Baptisms**	22	**Baptisms**	41	**Baptisms**	23	**Baptisms**	32	**Baptisms**	30
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	17	Female	13	Female	21	Female	8	Female	13	Female	6
Male	37	Male	9	Male	20	Male	15	Male	19	Male	24
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	53	Slave	22	Slave	41	Slave	23	Slave	32	Slave	29
Free	1									Emancipado	1
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	2	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	1	Carabalí	10	**Arará**	2
								Briani	1		
Carabalí	20	**Carabalí**	16	**Carabalí**	14	**Carabalí**	10	Oluso	2	Carabalí	17
								Vivi	1	Suama	1
Congo	35	Congo	32	**Congo**	18	**Congo**	11	**Carabalí**	14	Vivi	2
Luango	1	Mondongo	1							**Carabalí**	20
Real	1	**Congo**	33	**Gangá**	16	**Gangá**	2	**Congo**	13		
Congo	37									**Congo**	2
		Gangá	10	**Lucumí**	8	**Lucumí**	4	**Gangá**	6		
Gangá	9									Gangá	9
		Lucumí	6	**Macua**	6	**Macua**	7	**Lucumí**	10	Fai	1
Lucumí	9									**Gangá**	10
		Macua	5	**Mandinga**	5	**Mandinga**	2	**Macua**	2		
Macua	1									**Lucumí**	12
		Mandinga	7	**Mina**	2			**Mandinga**	1		
Mandinga	7									**Macua**	1
		Mina	6	**Other**	1			**Mina**	2		
Mina	3									**Mina**	1

Table A.3 (cont'd)

1827		1828		1829		1830		1831		1832	
Baptisms	47	**Baptisms**	35	**Baptisms**	30	**Baptisms**	44	**Baptisms**	48	**Baptisms**	64
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	18	Female	16	Female	11	Female	17	Female	21	Female	30
Male	29	Male	19	Male	19	Male	27	Male	27	Male	34
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	46	Slave	31	Slave	25	Slave	41	Slave	44	Slave	58
Emancipado	1	Emancipado	4	Emancipado	5	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	4	Emancipado	6
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Carabalí	19	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	2
Congo	5	**Carabalí**	10	Carabalí	16	Carabalí	10	**Carabalí**	11	Carabalí	14
				Suama	1	Suama	1			Cicuato	1
Gangá	4	Congo	1	**Carabalí**	17	**Carabalí**	11	Gangá	17	Elugo	1
		Luango	2					Longoba	2	**Carabalí**	16
Lucumí	12	**Congo**	3	**Congo**	2	**Congo**	2	**Gangá**	19		
										Congo	2
Mandinga	1	**Gangá**	7	**Gangá**	5	Gangá	22	**Lucumí**	10		
						Longoba	1			**Gangá**	18
Mina	1	**Lucumí**	4	**Macua**	1	**Gangá**	23	**Mandinga**	2		
										Lucumí	18
		Mandinga	1	**Mandinga**	3	**Lucumí**	2	Mina	3		
								Popo	1	Mandinga	2
		Mina	2	Popo	1	**Mina**	8	**Mina**	4	Soso	1
				Mina	1					**Mandinga**	3
										Mina	4
										Popo	1
										Mina	5

Table A.3 (cont'd)

1833		1834		1835		1836		1837		1838	
Baptisms	64	**Baptisms**	75	**Baptisms**	29	**Baptisms**	46	**Baptisms**	55	**Baptisms**	38
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	23	Female	17	Female	15	Female	21	Female	20	Female	18
Male	41	Male	58	Male	14	Male	25	Male	35	Male	20
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	61	Slave	71	Slave	28	Slave	43	Slave	52	Slave	38
Emancipado	3	Emancipado	4	Emancipado	1	Emancipado	3	Emancipado	3		
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	2	**Arará**	3	**Carabalí**	5	**Carabalí**	6	**Arará**	2	**Carabalí**	7
Carabalí	12	Carabalí	10	**Congo**	3	Congo	10	Carabalí	8	Congo	14
Vivi	1	Cicuato	1			Mondongo	1	Bricamo	1	Luango	1
Carabalí	13	Suama	1	**Gangá**	10	**Congo**	11	**Carabalí**	9	**Congo**	15
		Carabalí	12								
Congo	2			**Lucumí**	8	**Gangá**	12	**Congo**	23	**Gangá**	7
		Congo	8								
Gangá	17	Luango	1			**Lucumí**	7	Gangá	6	**Lucumí**	7
		Mondongo	1					Longoba	2		
Lucumí	23	**Congo**	10			**Mandinga**	2	**Gangá**	8	**Mandinga**	1
Ello	1										
Lucumí	24	**Gangá**	19			**Mina**	2	**Lucumí**	6		
Mina	5	**Lucumí**	24					**Macua**	1		
		Mandinga	1					**Mandinga**	1		
		Mina	4					Mambaza	1		
								Other	1		

Table A.3 (cont'd)

1839		1840		1841		1842		1843	
Baptisms	34	**Baptisms**	35	**Baptisms**	37	**Baptisms**	39	**Baptisms**	40
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	13	Female	9	Female	9	Female	6	Female	10
Male	21	Male	26	Male	28	Male	33	Male	30
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	34	Slave	35	Slave	37	Slave	39	Slave	39
								Free	1
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Carabalí	5	**Carabalí**	1	**Carabalí**	2	Carabalí	1	**Arará**	2
						Bricamo	1		
Congo	12	Congo	12	**Congo**	9	**Carabalí**	2	**Carabalí**	3
Luango	2	Cabinda	1						
Congo	14	Luango	1	**Gangá**	4	Congo	8	**Congo**	6
		Congo	14			Luango	2		
Gangá	6			**Lucumí**	9	**Congo**	10	**Gangá**	2
		Gangá	7						
Lucumí	4			**Mandinga**	2	**Gangá**	17	**Lucumí**	24
		Lucumí	4						
Macua	2			Macua	3	**Lucumí**	5	**Macua**	3
		Macua	4	Mozambique	3				
Popo	2			**Macua**	6	**Macua**	3	**Mina**	2
Mina	2	**Mandinga**	1						
				Mandinga	2	**Mandinga**	1		
		Mina	3						
				Mina	2	**Mina**	1		
				Yanvaire	1				
				Other	1				

Table A.4

Santo Angel de Custodio, 1821-1843

1821		1822		1823		1824		1825		1826	
Baptisms	131	**Baptisms**	96	**Baptisms**	81	**Baptisms**	52	**Baptisms**	64	**Baptisms**	84
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	73	Female	52	Female	53	Female	32	Female	32	Female	38
Male	58	Male	44	Male	28	Male	20	Male	32	Male	46
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	131	Slave	96	Slave	81	Slave	52	Slave	56	Slave	68
								Emancipado	6	Emancipado	13
										Free	3
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	10	**Arará**	7	**Arará**	2	**Arará**	1	**Arará**	4	**Arará**	5
Carabalí	27	**Carabalí**	18	**Carabalí**	19	**Carabalí**	11	**Carabalí**	14	**Carabalí**	16
Congo	38	**Congo**	28	**Congo**	24	**Congo**	9	**Congo**	12	**Congo**	22
Gangá	26	**Gangá**	11	**Gangá**	11	**Gangá**	15	Gangá	14	Gangá	14
								Longoba	1	Fai	1
Lucumí	7	**Lucumí**	5	**Lucumí**	11	**Lucumí**	3	**Gangá**	15	Longoba	1
										Gangá	16
Macua	5	Macua	6	**Macua**	5	**Macua**	5	**Lucumí**	8		
		Mozambique	1							**Lucumí**	19
Mandinga	6	**Macua**	7	**Mandinga**	5	**Mandinga**	2	**Macua**	2		
										Macua	1
Mina	7	**Mandinga**	5	**Mina**	1			**Mandinga**	5		
										Mandinga	1
Yeru	1	**Mina**	3	**Other**	1			**Mina**	2		
Other	1									Mina	2
										Popo	1
										Mina	3

Table A.4 (cont'd)

1827		1828		1829		1830		1831		1832	
Baptisms	105	**Baptisms**	81	**Baptisms**	138	**Baptisms**	130	**Baptisms**	175	**Baptisms**	193
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	52	Female	41	Female	73	Female	63	Female	99	Female	109
Male	53	Male	40	Male	65	Male	67	Male	76	Male	84
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	83	Slave	61	Slave	109	Slave	102	Slave	136	Slave	153
Emancipado	22	Emancipado	20	Emancipado	29	Emancipado	27	Emancipado	37	Emancipado	40
						Free	1	Free	1		
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	6	**Arará**	8	**Arará**	9	**Arará**	9	**Arará**	15	**Arará**	8
Carabalí	23	Carabalí	15	Carabalí	31	Carabalí	31	Carabalí	36	Carabalí	35
Elugo	1	Brican	2	Cicuato	3	Ello	1	Cicuato	1	Bricamo	1
Carabalí	24	Elugo	1	Elugo	2	Elugo	1	Elugo	1	Brican	1
		Papa	1	Suama	3	Suama	3	Mogo	1	Cicuato	1
Congo	20	**Carabalí**	19	**Carabalí**	39	Vivi	2	Oru	2	Oru	2
				Gangá	5	**Carabalí**	36	Suama	2	Ososo	2
Gangá	23	**Congo**	11					Vivi	2	Papa	2
Briche	2			Congo	12	**Congo**	8	**Carabalí**	44	Suama	5
Gangá	25	**Gangá**	13	Luango	1					**Carabalí**	47
				Congo	13	**Gangá**	43	**Congo**	10		
Lucumí	17	Lucumí	14							**Congo**	11
Ello	10	Ello	9	**Gangá**	40	Lucumí	14	**Gangá**	65		
Lucumí	27	**Lucumí**	23			Ello	1			Gangá	61
				Lucumí	16	**Lucumí**	15	Lucumí	22	Longoba	1
Macua	2	**Macua**	1	Ello	2			Ello	1	**Gangá**	62
				Lucumí	18	**Macua**	3	**Lucumí**	23		
Mandinga	1	**Mandinga**	2							Lucumí	40
				Macua	2	**Mandinga**	2	**Mandinga**	1	Chambá	1
		Mina	3	Mozambique	1					**Lucumí**	41
				Macua	3	Mina	12	Mina	5		
						Popo	2	Popo	11	**Macua**	1
				Mandinga	3	**Mina**	14	**Mina**	16		
										Mandinga	1
				Mina	10						
				Popo	1					Mina	11
				Mina	11					Fanti	1
										Popo	10
										Mina	22

Table A.4 (cont'd)

1833		1834		1835		1836		1837		1838	
Baptisms	169	**Baptisms**	128	**Baptisms**	178	**Baptisms**	203	**Baptisms**	266	**Baptisms**	210
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	86	Female	56	Female	77	Female	73	Female	92	Female	62
Male	81	Male	72	Male	96	Male	129	Male	174	Male	148
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	150	Slave	115	Slave	155	Slave	181	Slave	238	Slave	180
Emancipado	14	Emancipado	12	Emancipado	22	Emancipado	21	Emancipado	27	Emanc.	30
Free	3					Free	1				
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	4	**Arará**	10	**Arará**	7	**Arará**	12	**Arará**	13	**Arará**	8
Carabalí	29	Carabalí	15	Carabalí	16	Carabalí	20	Carabalí	23	Carabalí	17
Elugo	1	Ososo	1	Vivi	2	Vivi	1	Oru	1	Bricamo	1
Carabalí	30	Vivi	1	**Carabalí**	18	**Carabalí**	21	**Carabalí**	24	Brican	1
		Carabalí	17	**Gangá**	5	Gangá	22			**Carabalí**	19
Congo	7					Longoba	1	Congo	50		
Luango	4	Congo	12	Congo	20			Luango	3	Congo	38
Mondongo	6	Luango	1	Boma	1	Congo	32	Mondongo	2	Luango	3
Musundi	1	**Congo**	13	Luango	2	Luango	5	Real	2	Mondongo	1
Congo	18			Mondongo	1	Mondongo	1	**Congo**	57	Real	1
		Gangá	26	Real	1	**Congo**	38			**Congo**	43
Gangá	37			**Congo**	25			Gangá	23		
Longoba	1	**Lucumí**	45			Gangá	21	Longoba	1	**Gangá**	18
Gangá	38			**Gangá**	37	Longoba	1	**Gangá**	24		
		Mandinga	1			**Gangá**	22			Lucumí	101
Lucumí	59			Lucumí	66			**Lucumí**	114	Cacanda	1
Ello	1	**Mina**	3	Ello	1	Lucumí	92			**Lucumí**	102
Lucumí	60			**Lucumí**	67	Ello	1	**Macua**	9		
		Mina	2			**Lucumí**	93			Macua	6
Macua	1	Popo	1	**Macua**	1			**Mandinga**	2	Mozambique	1
										Macua	7
		Mina	3			Mozambique	1	**Mina**	2		
Mandinga	1			**Mandinga**	2	**Macua**	1			**Mandinga**	3
Mina	7			**Mina**	1	**Mandinga**	1			**Mina**	3
Fanti	1										
Popo	3					**Mina**	3				
Mina	11										

Table A.4 (cont'd)

1839		1840		1841		1842		1843	
Baptisms	204	**Baptisms**	169	**Baptisms**	159	**Baptisms**	124	**Baptisms**	106
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	71	Female	53	Female	51	Female	42	Female	40
Male	133	Male	116	Male	108	Male	82	Male	66
Legal Status		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**		**Legal Status**	
Slave	194	Slave	163	Slave	146	Slave	119	Slave	87
Emancipado	9	Emancipado	6	Emancipado	13	Emancipado	5	Emancipado	19
Nationality		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**		**Nationality**	
Arará	4	**Arará**	8	**Arará**	5	**Arará**	3	**Arará**	5
Carabalí	22	**Carabalí**	13	Carabalí	9	Carabalí	8	Carabalí	10
Vivi	1			Bricamo	1	Ello	1	Papa	1
Carabalí	23	Congo	32	Papa	2	Papa	1	Vivi	2
		Luango	3	**Carabalí**	12	**Carabalí**	10	**Carabalí**	13
Congo	42	Musundi	2						
Luango	5	**Congo**	37	Congo	29	Congo	27	Congo	11
Mondongo	1			Banba	1	Luango	6	Mondongo	1
Mozambique	1	**Gangá**	30	Luango	1	Mondongo	2	Musundi	1
Musundi	1			Musundi	1	Real	1	Real	2
Congo	50	**Lucumí**	57	Real	2	**Congo**	36	**Congo**	15
				Congo	34				
Gangá	31	**Macua**	8			Gangá	13	**Gangá**	20
				Gangá	27	Longoba	1		
Lucumí	68	**Mina**	3	Mani	1	**Gangá**	14	Lucumí	27
				Gangá	28			Ello	2
Macua	13	**Mandinga**	3			Lucumí	31	Llebu	1
				Lucumí	52	Ello	1	**Lucumí**	30
Mandinga	4	Mina	9			**Lucumí**	32		
		Popo	1	**Macua**	9			**Macua**	6
Mina	5	**Mina**	10			**Macua**	12		
				Mandinga	3			**Mandinga**	5
Zambani	1					**Mandinga**	5		
Other	1			Mina	5			Mina	5
				Ata	1	**Mina**	3	Popo	1
				Mina	6			**Mina**	6

Table A.5

Emancipados

Aguila		*Aurelia Feliz*		*Carlota*		*Chubasco*		*Emilio*	
Baptisms	24	**Baptisms**	3	**Baptisms**	6	**Baptisms**	1	**Baptisms**	14
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
JMJ	2	SAC	3	NSA	1	NSA	1	JMJ	5
NSA	3			NSR	2			NSA	3
NSR	1			SAC	3			NSR	1
SAC	18							SAC	5
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	10	Female	2	Female	4	Female	1	Female	10
Male	14	Male	1	Male	2			Male	4
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Arará	1	Mandinga	3	Gangá	5	Lucumí	1	Carabalí	9
Congo	23							Lucumí	2
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
Earliest	1833	All	1843	Earliest	1835	All	1840	Earliest	1830
Latest	1843			Latest	1837			Latest	1838
Mean	1836.2			Mean	1836.5			Mean	1833.5

Fingal		*Firme*		*Gallito*		*Indagadora*		*Intrepido*	
Baptisms	5	**Baptisms**	71	**Baptisms**	2	**Baptisms**	10	**Baptisms**	21
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
JMJ	1	JMJ	14	SAC	2	JMJ	3	JMJ	1
NSR	1	NSA	14			NSA	1	NSA	2
SAC	3	NSR	4			NSR	1	NSR	1
		SAC	39			SAC	5	SAC	17
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	3	Female	26	Female	1	Male	10	Female	16
Male	2	Male	45	Male	1			Male	5
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Gangá	4	Arará	3	Mandinga	2	Lucumí	9	Carabalí	20
		Lucumí	7					Gangá	1
		Mina	56						
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
Earliest	1826	Earliest	1829	Earliest	1832	Earliest	1833	Earliest	1829
Latest	1828	Latest	1841	Latest	1838	Latest	1843	Latest	1839
Mean	1827.2	Mean	1831.6	Mean	1835	Mean	1836.1	Mean	1831.5

Table A.5 (cont'd)

Isabel		*Joaquina*		*Josefa*		*Joven Reina*		*Julita*	
Baptisms	1	**Baptisms**	3	**Baptisms**	19	**Baptisms**	2	**Baptisms**	4
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
JMJ	1	SAC	3	JMJ	2	SAC	2	JMJ	1
				NSA	4			NSR	2
				NSR	3			SAC	1
				SAC	10				
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Male	1	Female	2	Female	15	Male	2	Male	4
		Male	1	Male	4				
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Gangá	1	Carabalí	3	Gangá	19	Congo	2	Arará	20
								Lucumí	1
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
All	1834	Earliest	1836	Earliest	1830	All	1837	Earliest	1836
		Latest	1838	Latest	1835			Latest	1837
		Mean	1836.7	Mean	1832.1			Mean	1836.3

Magico		*Manuelita*		*Maria de la Gloria*		*Maria*		*Midas*	
Baptisms	17	**Baptisms**	50	**Baptisms**	23	**Baptisms**	1	**Baptisms**	24
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
SAC	17	JMJ	3	JMJ	7	NSR	1	JMJ	8
		NSA	3	NSR	2			NSA	2
		SAC	44	SAC	14			NSR	6
								SAC	8
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	4	Female	3	Female	8	Male	1	Female	14
Male	13	Male	47	Male	15			Male	10
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Arará	2	Arará	1	Arará	1	Lucumí	1	Carabalí	24
Lucumí	13	Lucumí	43	Congo	20				
Mina	2								
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
Earliest	1826	Earliest	1834	Earliest	1825	All	1843	Earliest	1829
Latest	1831	Latest	1841	Latest	1830			Latest	1837
Mean	1827.8	Mean	1837.4	Mean	1827			Mean	1832.1

Table A.5 (cont'd)

Negrita		*Negrito*		*Ninfa*		*Nuevo Campeador*		*Orestes*	
Baptisms	1	**Baptisms**	14	**Baptisms**	10	**Baptisms**	10	**Baptisms**	27
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
JMJ	1	JMJ	1	JMJ	2	JMJ	1	JMJ	3
		NSR	1	NSA	1	NSR	1	NSA	4
		SAC	12	SAC	7	SAC	8	NSR	2
								SAC	18
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	1	Female	6	Female	1	Female	5	Female	6
		Male	8	Male	9	Male	5	Male	21
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Arará	2	Arará	1	Carabalí	8	Carabalí	9	Arará	1
Lucumí	13	Lucumí	12	Congo	1			Lucumí	23
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
All	1835	Earliest	1833	Earliest	1837	Earliest	1827	Earliest	1827
		Latest	1840	Latest	1843	Latest	1836	Latest	1829
		Mean	1835.9	Mean	1841.2	Mean	1829.5	Mean	1827.59

Planeta		*Relampago*		*Rosa*		*Santiago*		*Voladora*	
Baptisms	14	**Baptisms**	12	**Baptisms**	9	**Baptisms**	4	**Baptisms**	34
Church		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**		**Church**	
JMJ	3	JMJ	5	NSA	2	JMJ	1	JMJ	8
NSA	3	SAC	7	SAC	7	NSR	1	NSA	6
NSR	1					SAC	2	NSR	1
SAC	7							SAC	19
Sex		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**		**Sex**	
Female	6	Female	7	Female	4	Female	3	Female	17
Male	8	Male	5	Male	5	Male	1	Male	17
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**		**Metanation(s)**	
Carabalí	11	Gangá	12	Arará	1	Carabalí	2	Arará	3
Lucumí	1			Lucumí	7	Lucumí	1	Carabalí	1
								Lucumí	4
								Mina	25
Year(s)		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**		**Year(s)**	
Earliest	1832	Earliest	1825	Earliest	1834	Earliest	1831	Earliest	1829
Latest	1839	Latest	1831	Latest	1840	Latest	1835	Latest	1840
Mean	1835.1	Mean	1826.75	Mean	1835.9	Mean	1832.3	Mean	1831.8

Table A.5 (cont'd)

Viage		*Xerxes*	
Baptisms	1	**Baptisms**	33
Church		**Church**	
NSA	1	JMJ	6
		NSA	3
		NSR	5
		SAC	19
Sex		**Sex**	
Female	1	Female	17
		Male	16
Metanation(s)		**Metanation(s)**	
Carabalí	1	Carabalí	31
		Lucumí	2
Year(s)		**Year(s)**	
All	1832	Earliest	1828
		Latest	1838
		Mean	1831.3

ENDNOTES

[1] Benjamin N. Lawrance and Richard L. Roberts, *Trafficking in Slavery's Wake : Law and the Experience of Women and Children* (Athens, OH: Ohio University Press, 2012), 7.

[2] For example, see Joseph E. Inikori's examination of British Board of Trade records derived from eighteenth-century Cape Coast Castle: Inikori, "Measuring the Atlantic Slave Trade : An Assessment of Curtin and Anstey," *The Journal of African History The Journal of African History* vol. 17, no. 2, 1976, pp. 197-223: Also using African port records is Joseph C. Miller's data series drawn from eighteenth-century Luanda port entry/exit listings: Miller, *Way of Death : Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1988); Stephen D. Behrendt's comprehensively detailed summary of the last three decades of the British slave trade relies on documents from a range of British government archival sources, as well as private papers pertaining to the slaving business, and newspapers from around the British Atlantic world. Behrendt's work became a central pillar of the watershed Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database: Behrendt, "The Annual Volume and Regional Distribution of the British Slave Trade, 1780-1807.," *Journal of African History* vol. 38 no. 2, 1997, pp. 187–211; David Eltis and Martin Halbert, *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database* (Emory University, 2008).

[3] Herbert S. Klein worked with this (incomplete) collection of documents and compiled its contents into a single dataset. Herbert S. Klein, "North American Competition and the Characteristics of the African Slave Trade to Cuba, 1790 to 1794," *The William and Mary Quarterly* vol. 28, no. 1, 1971, pp. 86–102; Herbert S. Klein, "Slave trade to Havana, Cuba, 1790-1820," (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Data and Program Library Service, 1974), /z-wcorg/.

[4] The seminal work on British efforts in Cuba to effectively abolish the slave trade, including the activities of the Mixed Commission in Havana, is David R. Murray's *Odious Commerce: Britain, Spain and the Abolition of the Cuban Slave Trade* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1980).

[5] In a typical episode, the captain and owners of the Cuban brigantine *Alcatraz* were accused by British officials of slave trafficking upon the ship's return to Havana in the autumn of 1835. According to a Spanish inquiry, the *Alcatraz* departed Havana in October 1834, sailing first to the Cape Verde Islands and then to Sao Tome, where the captain, Francsico Gallardo, apparently anchored over the summer of 1835. "Not finding a cargo," *Alcatraz* subsequently returned to Havana arriving with an empty hold in November. The plausibility of such a 13-month exercise in commercial futility among the Portuguese islands of the offshore Atlantic is dubious: Miguel Tacón to Primero Secretario de Estado, Havana, 11 Nov 1835, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Estado, Legajo 8015, Expediente 27.

[6] David Eltis, Martin Halbert, Philip Misevich, *African Origins* (Emory University, 2009).

[7] Henry B. Lovejoy, "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade Commission: Transcription Methodology and Statistical Analysis," *African Economic History* Vol. 38 (2010) pp. 107-135; "The Registers of Liberated Africans of the Havana Slave Trade

Commission: Implementation and Policy, 1824-1841," *Slavery & Abolition* vol. 37, no. 1 (2016) pp. 23–44.

[8] This study uses the term "nation" in place of the Spanish "*nación*" to refer to these designations out of a desire to avoid complication and convey the language of source materials. The word "nation" in this context should not be confused with its commonplace use in connection to the nation-state, nor does it reflect actual African ethno-polities as they existed in the early nineteenth century. According to Jesus Guanche, whose study of Afro-Cuban ethnicities serves as a reference for the present study, these nations appeared in three-major forms: First, as ethnonyms used to denote an individual's belonging to a certain ethnic community; second, as ethnic denominations used to refer to all individuals belonging to a specific group or sharing a common provenance; third, as meta-ethnic denominations which grouped together Africans of various nations into larger national identities reflecting a region of provenance: Jesus Guanche, *Africanía y Etnicidad en Cuba* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 2009)

[9] Perhaps chief among the technological developments shaping the landscape of the Cuban countryside was the steam train, which opened the whole island to the export market on a large scale. Manuel Moreno Fraginál s writes that "the steam train, and not the steam-powered [sugar] press, is the first element of the industrial revolution to completely transform Cuban conditions of production" (my translation). Fraginál s, *El Ingenio: Complejo Económico Social Cubano del Azúcar, Vol I* (La Habana: Editorial de Ciencias Sociales, 1978).

[10] There are a variety of census figures and estimates historians have used to study the colonial Cuban population. Here I borrow 1841 census figures from Franklin Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba during the Nineteenth Century* (Madison, WI: University of Wisconsin Press, 1970).

[11] See: Robert L. Paquette, *Sugar Is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba* (Middletown, CT.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988); Michele. Reid-Vazquez, *The Year of the Lash: Free People of Color in Cuba and the Nineteenth-Century Atlantic World* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2011).

[12] Laird W. Bergad, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia*, The Cuban Slave Market, 1790-1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995).

[13] See, for example: Ildelfondo Gutierrez Azopardo, "Los Libros de Registros de Pardos y Morenos en los Archivos Parroquiales de Cartagena de Indias," *Revista Española de Antropología Americana,* Vol. XIII, 1983, pp. 121-141; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, IL: University of Illinois Press, 1999); Aisnara Perera Díaz and María de los Ángeles Meriño Fuentes, *Esclavitud, Familia y Parroquia en Cuba: Otra Mirada desde la Microhistoria,* (Santiago de Cuba: Editorial Oriente, 2006); Matthew Restall, *The Black Middle: Africans, Mayas, and Spaniards in Colonial Yucutan* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 2009); Mariza de Carvalho Soares, *People of Faith: Slavery and African Catholics in Eighteenth Century Rio de Janeiro*, trans. Jerry Dennis Metz (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2011); David Martin Stark, *Slave Families and the Hato Economy in Puerto Rico* (Gainesville, FL:

University of Florida Press, 2015).

[14] Soares, *People of Faith*, p. 67.

[15] This finding reinforces Oscar Grandio Moráguez's argument that the Cuban slave trade was typified by geographical diversity on the African end: Grandio Moráguez, "The African Origins of Slaves Arriving in Cuba, 1789-1865" in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database*, David Eltis and David Richardson, eds. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008) pp. 176-201.

[16] For example, see João José Reis, *Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995); Douglas Chambers' work on the Igbo presence in colonial Virginia: Chambers, *Murder at Montpelier: Igbo Africans in Virginia* (Jackson, MS: University Press of Mississippi, 2005); Walter Hawthorne, *From Africa to Brazil: Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600-1830* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[17] While the original records are mostly intact, due to occasional photographical mishaps that apparently took place during the digitization process, some of the images hosted by ESSSS are unusable. More on this later. Records used in compiling this dataset are as follows: "Libros 5-9, Bautismos de Pardos y Morenos, 1821-1844," Documents held at the Iglesia de Jesus, María, y José, Havana, Cuba; "Libros 12P-15P, Bautismos de Pardos y Morenos, 1820-1846," Documents held at the Iglesia de Nuesta Señora de la Asunción de Guanabacoa, Havana, Cuba; "Libros 1-4, Bautismos de Pardos y Morenos, 1805-1848," Documents held at the Iglesia de Nuestra Señora de Regla, Havana, Cuba; "Libros 18N-24N, Bautismos de Pardos y Morenos, 1819-1848," Documents held at the Iglesia de Santo Angel Custodio, Havana, Cuba. All records are available online at *Ecclesiastical and Secular Sources for Slave Societies (ESSSS)*. [http://diglib.library.vanderbilt.edu/esss-cuba.pl] (accessed April 11, 2017).

[18] Guanche, *Africanía y Etnicidad.*

[19] It is probable that the number is marginally higher, due to poor condition of some documents and the illegibility of a small number of ESSSS reproductions. The contents of these pages were consequently excluded from this dataset. The church of Santo Angel de Custodio's baptismal records for the period between September and December of 1822 is in particularly poor condition and is therefore underrepresented.

[20] Lovejoy, "Registers of Liberated Africans," p. 117.

[21] Historians of pre-colonial Africa have argued that these ethnic denominations are a product of the diaspora, rather than contemporary African political and ethnic arrangements. See: Robin Law, "Ethnicity and the Slave Trade: "Lucumi" and "Nago" as Ethnonyms in West Africa," *History in Africa*, vol. 24, 1997, pp. 205-19; Chima J. Korieh, "African Ethnicity as Mirage? Historicizing the Essence of the Igbo in Africa and the Atlantic Diaspora," *Dialectical Anthropology*, vol. 30, no. 1-2, January, 2006, pp. 91-118; David Northrup, "Becoming African:

Identity Formation among Liberated Slaves in Nineteenth-Century Sierra Leone," *Slavery & Abolition,* vol. 27, no. 1, 2006, pp. 1-21.

[22] Philip A. Howard, *Changing History: Afro-Cuban Cabildos and Societies of Color in the Nineteenth Century* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1998); Manuel Barcia Paz, *Seeds of Insurrection: Domination and Slave Resistance on Western Cuban Plantations, 1808-1848* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008); María del Carmen Barcia, *Los Ilustres Apellidos: Negros en la Habana Colonial* (La Habana: Ediciones Boloña, 2008).

[23] John Thornton argues that African slaves boarding slaving vessels in an African port were likely from the same broad geographical region. Africans from the same regions would have had at least some cultural and linguistic commonalities that they did not share with Africans from more far-flung parts of the continent. These regional traits may have served as the basis for the formation of broader, regional identities in the diaspora: John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400*-1800 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); Henry Lovejoy's Mixed Commission data reveals that African ethnic denominations were very closely correlated with the coastal region in which ships took on slaves: Lovejoy, "Registers of Liberated Africans."

[24] Not all rural slave populations were heavily male. William Van Norman shows that Cuban *cafetals*, or coffee plantations, featured a relatively even sex ratio among the enslaved workforce. This contrasted sharply with the overwhelmingly male slave labor employed in sugar production: Van Norman, *Shade Grown Slavery: The Lives of Slaves on Coffee Plantations in Cuba* (Nashville: Vanderbilt University Press, 2013).

[25] G. Ugo Nwokeji argues that a variety of cultural practices were responsible, in part, for the relatively high percentage of women exported to Atlantic slavers in southeastern Nigeria. See: Nwokeji, *The Slave Trade and Culture in the Bight of Biafra: an African Society in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2010).

[26] Alex FIndlay & William Smith, "Report of the Case of the Spanish Schooner 'Maria,' Jozé Rodriguez, Master." Sierra Leone, 25 Jan 1831, in *Irish University Press Series of British Parliamentary Papers / Sessions 1825-1839. Correspondence with British Comm. and with Foreign Powers ... (Class A and Class B). - 1968. 13 = 13* = (Shannon: Irish Univ. Press, 1968), 13-14.

[27] Findlay & Smith, "Report of the Case of the Spanish Brigantine "Dos Amigos," Juan Ramon de Muxica, Master," Sierra Leone, 10 Mar 1831, in Ibid., 16-21.

[28] Bergad, et al, *The Cuban Slave Market*, p. 177-180.

[29] Between 1823 and 1844, an average of 81 percent of slaves living on Cuban *ingenios* were African born, of whom more than 70 percent were men. Fraginals, *El Ingenio, Vol. 2*, p. 86.

[30] Manuel Barcia argues that *Lucumí* slaves in Cuba during this era included an unusually large number of men with military experience due to ongoing conflict in what is now western Nigeria: Barcia Paz, *Seeds of Insurrection*; For more on the significance of the collapse of Oyo in the history of the Atlantic slave trade, see: Kristin Mann, *Slavery and the Birth of an African City: Lagos, 1760-1900* (Bloomington, IN: Indiana University Press, 2010); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: a History of Slavery in Africa*, 3rd Edition (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2012);

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