PORTUGUESE COLONIAL CITIES

Local Dynamics, Global Flows (c. 1500-1900)



MARIA SARITA MOTA
CLÁUDIA C. AZEREDO ATALLAH
RODRIGO DA COSTA DOMINGUEZ
(EDITORS)

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This book is the result of a project originally entitled *Imperial Cities: local dynamics, global flows*. This venture started as a cycle of seminars that has been taking place since November 2018 in Portugal and Brazil (http://www.cies.iscte-iul.pt/np4/219/). The main intention is to explore "imperial cities" (fundamentally, port cities relevant for the economic development of their respective colonial empires) by comparing them within a broader framework.

Essentially, the project was intended to observe the dynamics within the Portuguese Empire's main entrepôts and their connections as maritime hubs, both inside and outside their respective empires. After some thoughts, we decided to rename it as *Cities and Empires: local dynamics, global flows,* and to explore new borders, comparing them with other imperial port cities (English/American, Spanish, French, and Dutch) of the New World. For this purpose, we invited renowned historians linked to different international institutions, who generously accepted to participate in our seminar series. The conferences covered a variety of topics with a focus on historical processes, and cultural, political and socioeconomic interactions, highlighting the networks of the Portuguese Atlantic cities as the common thread. Adopting a global and comparative perspective, they explored issues related to political and commercial networks in the urban economy of cities such as Lisbon, Goa, Luanda, Salvador, Rio de Janeiro, Recife, Belém, São Luís, as well as the structures beyond municipal councils in the formation of inland cities in Brazil and Africa.

Considering that every empire is a global system, along with the strategic importance of capital cities (*cabeças* or "head" of the kingdom, or of the conquered territories) as the seats of power for the Portuguese Overseas empire,

we decided to start an editorial project to bring together studies on the colonial cities. We gathered a group of talented scholars, both experienced and young, to face up the challenge of updating the role of cities awarded the titles of "royal" and "imperial", and of smaller towns and villages. Together they formed a complex urban network that often spanned local, imperial, and trans-imperial connections, shaping the global world of the modern era.

The historiography of this topic in English language is not so vast, which is why we challenged the authors to reassess, review, and update the concepts and approaches already used in Colonial Brazilian History. The purpose of this volume is to highlight the importance of local dynamics and flows within the multiple geographies and connections between hamlets (*arraiais)*, villages and port cities in Brazil, Africa and India, integrally related to the global economic system of the early modern world.

Both the series of seminars and this book are a joint activity carried out by the research group Historical Dynamics and Global Integration of the World, of the CIES-Iscte (Center for Research and Studies of Sociology) from the Lisbon Institute University; Cities, Environment and Regional Development – Global Changes, Local Responses, of the CICS.NOVA.UMinho (Interdisciplinary Center of Social Sciences at the University of Minho); and Justices and Iberian Empires of the Old Regime, from the Federal Fluminense University (UFF/Brazil).

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Lisboa, Niterói and Braga, May 2022.

Maria Sarita Mota
Cláudia C. Azeredo Atallah
Rodrigo da Costa Dominguez

Introduction

On colonial cities of the Portuguese Empire. Themes and debates

Maria Sarita Mota, Cláudia C. Azeredo Atallah
& Rodrigo da Costa Dominguez

As discussed by Sebastian Conrad (2016), Global History can be defined as a type of history reassessment in which "phenomena, events, and processes are placed in global contexts." The editors wanted to present a volume that could highlight this fundamental aspect of cities: being a reference within empires and societies, serving as "dots" to connect the most remote villages in the hinterlands with their center and with most relevant urban areas. Our objective is to show those "nodes of empires" (Brockey 2016) as something more than places whose own peculiar institutions resulted from the merging of Portuguese society's urban institutions with local ones. Rather than maintaining the traditional focus on imperial economic dynamics –also present in this volume–, the editors' efforts were concentrated in emphasizing the importance of urban areas in themselves to tell their own story as a particular societal construction. In this sense, all authors did a great effort to present their case studies on each city as urban development processes, starting from a local perspective, creating connections along and beyond the Portuguese Empire, and telling the stories of the agents involved in each of these processes. Moreover, the main avenues that served as connectors of those spaces were two oceans: the Atlantic and the Indian.

At the same time, those avenues served to add different layers of "globalization" to the Portuguese Empire's connective capacity, expanded to carry on trade and foster the empire's economic development in the Early Modern era (De Zwart and Van Zanden 2018). In this regard, much of the trade that linked those urban centers was part of a fundamental structure that enabled the creation of a Portuguese identity, connecting different parts of the globe and bringing together different regions with a diversity of peoples and ethnicities. Between the 1550s and 1570s, the Portuguese had established five major cities in three different continents –some of them approached in this volume–: São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda, Macau, and Nagasaki; "in this pluricontinental amplitude, the empire's growth was also due to the diffusion of local government institutions, and each important position of the empire had a town hall and a *misericordia*" (Costa 2014).

This model of an "expansive globalization" during the 1500s and 1600s, as defined by Cátia Antunes (2009), enabled the development of a political, military, and economic expansion, which fostered the communication between different markets and, bottom line, created the conditions for cultural-civilizational contacts that marked the early stage of a Portuguese identity building process. That was strongly shaped by the way cities and villages were conceived and adapted to the multitude of factors, such as geography, trade, capital, human relationships and supply-demand international chains.

Furthermore, the integration of different continents and peoples meant the fusion of different backgrounds regarding the shaping process of urban structures, and even the introduction of new natural microscopical agents. As mentioned by J. H. Elliott, "the conquest of America was a conquest by microbes as well as by men, sometimes running ahead of the main Spanish contingents, at others following in their wake" (1984, p. 182). As one of the effects

of globalization and the development of urban structures in colonial territories, the widespread circulation of diseases, science and information became one of the main features in the building process of a modern and more integrated global society. In many ways, this spread of epidemic phenomena and general illnesses is part of a "late organic era" that witnessed the confrontation of "virgin soil" with Old World diseases, "and the disruption and degradation of population ecologies through violent dispossession and enslavement," challenging native societies and settlers with unprecedented precarious conditions, including poor diets and malnutrition, overworking, and "the disruption of delicate subsistence systems compounding disease to shape the ongoing decline" (Brooke 2014, pp. 413-414; 430-433).

Mother Nature also played a fundamental role in the creation of New World cities and labor relationships, with the reduction of African peoples to slavery. The combination of severe droughts and famines in West Central Africa pushed tribes and other groups to coastal areas, forcing them to accept subservience to wealthier families as transitory slaves, by the time Europeans were finding their way to India and South America. As mentioned by other scholars, climate certainly "did not drive the rise of slave trade, but it set the conditions, encouraging the rise of small warring states and increasing the general stress on the population with crop failure and famine" (Miller 1982, pp. 17-61; Brooke 2014, pp. 443-444). In this sense, the structuring of cities and societies in the New World, based on a logic of "new and complementary biomes" to supply international markets with new *commodities* –cocoa, maize, spices, sugar, coffee, tobacco, among others–, also applied the use of slavery to the search of gold and silver. Yet, mining –as well as slavery– is tied to the origin of many of those cities and villages all over the Spanish and Portuguese colonial territories in the Americas (Raminelli 2000, p. 119; Mauro 2012, pp. 449-456; Salvucci 2014, pp. 408-417; Irigoin 2019, pp.

274-276), having fostered the urban development and relevant migration flows that gave rise to the populations and urban cultures portrayed in this volume.

Classic and pioneering research since the end of the 1960s has already explored the trade relations between Portuguese America, Africa, the *Estado da Índia*, and the rest of the empire, drawing attention to the existence of several internal trade circuits. Attentive to a "history of connections and conflicts," in José Roberto do Amaral Lapa's words, it has noted the pre-eminence of port cities such as Salvador da Bahia, among other commercial hubs, as stopover points in the *Carreira da Índia* (Lapa 1968). Since then, the historiography has grown substantially, and it would be impossible to list all the works that have deepened our understanding of the empire's economy. Of special interest are those which have underlined the interdependencies between its various parts (Fragoso 2001; Costa 2002; Bicalho 2003), the importance of global imperial structures —namely, the role of the colonies and the Atlantic trade of silver, sugar and slaves in the context of the Portuguese Restoration (Schwartz 2008)—, or, more recently, the entangled histories of the Iberian empires and their role in the early process of globalization (Herzog 2015; Polónia & Antunes 2016; Santos Pérez 2016; Yun-Casalilla 2019). These major studies promote debates on specific topics such as sovereignty and property rights, settlement of border regions, movement flows between ports, the diversity of trading, merchant, and trafficking activities, trade routes and areas for attracting investments, or the circulation of people and goods. Certain required subjects linked to political and institutional history, cultural intersections, and, more recently, the environmental and ecological dimension have been incorporated.

As mentioned by Liam Brockey, it has been over five decades since Charles Boxer raised the issue about possibly fitting the study of colonial cities into the

broader interpretation of the imperial enterprise (2016: 14). The editors –and authors– of this volume went further and made an additional effort: framing the study of Portuguese colonial cities within the global history approach to underline their insertion into what Wallerstein (2014) called the "historic globalization" and "the modern world-system." Somehow, we do believe that the goal has been successfully achieved, and the editors are very pleased and proud to deliver the results of such a great collective effort.

It must be mentioned that this volume does not start from a descriptive and normative definition of what are conventionally called "Portuguese colonial cities" (Teixeira & Valla, 1999, Teixeira, 2004; Santos, 1999; Rossa, 2002; Dias, 1992; 2004; Lobo & Simões Júnior, 2012; Carbonessi et al, 2022).[1] It does not address the classification criteria guided by Renaissance urban ideals of territory control and assertion of royal power, or by typologies according to function and locality; neither does it attempt to explain the urban hierarchy of the modern era. The editors resisted the idea of identifying categories to define the city and the urban, as they effectively vary according to place and time and exclude other socio-historical experiences. Our purpose is not to establish new generalizations based on theories about the city and urbanism such as have been developed since the 19th century, for which there is an exhaustive and widely quoted and discussed bibliography also present in some chapters of this book. In this sense, we have adopted the common meaning of the term city to encompass different categories of urban entities that stood out in the formation of the Portuguese Empire, with special attention to those

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1 The bibliography on Portuguese urbanism is vast. For a summary of Portuguese America, see the *Guide to colonial towns and cities*: https://bit.ly/3FU8qUP

that received the title of towns and cities but exploring the local/global dialectic.[2]

The main objective is to present new case studies based on historiographical themes with a well-defined theoretical-methodological approach; such studies converge or find their specificity or centrality in the city in a broad sense. These texts discuss topics that shaped the history of Portuguese colonization in the tropics, such as forced labor by native populations, slavery, transoceanic trade, cross-cultural contacts, and migration, including the spread of plagues. Those themes make it possible to explore the relational and global dimension of the urban phenomenon in the past, as pointed out by Castells (1996); Sasken (2013); Friedmann (2002), Kwak & Sandoval-Strausz (2018).[3]

Assuming that every empire is a global system, the concepts of "imperial cities" and "colonial cities" have been useful in the study of the territorialization and urbanization of European overseas empires. For a long time, they allowed researchers to focus on a broader urban system, incorporating all the spaces produced by urbanization understood as a social process. However, rather than comparing Early Modern cities, it is necessary to show how the historical trajectory of some settlements was reflected in their organization as a city (which did not always get to materialize), as well as their insertion in the global context of urban networks.

The study of the urban network, or the city's autonomy beyond its surrounding region, reinforces the non-existence of isolated cities unrelated with the outside world, emphasizing their mutual relations. The change of focus from isolated cities to urban networks reduces the importance of

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2 Recent studies on the city and the urban within the scope of Global History can be mapped in the Global Urban History project: http://www.globalurbanhistory.org

3 For an overview of the reception of these works in Brazil, see Araújo & Santos Júnior (2018). For Portugal, a perspective of postcolonial studies can be found in Domingos & Peralta (2013).

defining the city precisely. In fact, the study of the urban network implies examining the degree of centrality of its different nuclei, thus stressing the concept of centrality in the definition of city. However, if we understand colonial cities as centers of expression of the power and sovereignty of the Portuguese Catholic monarchy over its overseas territories, following the outline of these urban networks —that is, the flow of human creations— will lead us to another possible image of the adopted global perspective.

For Tim Ingold (2012), the flows and counterflows of materials can be understood under the concept of meshwork. In his words, a tangle of things (as aggregates of vital threads) is not a network of connections, but a mesh of interwoven lines of growth and movement. It is an excellent metaphor to understand the creation of urban spaces. However, we can inquire about the geographical concept of meshwork and entanglement in global contexts to understand cultural and commercial exchanges, the flows and counterflows between colonial, imperial, and trans-imperial spaces.

Facing this challenge, the chapters of this book discuss how the political categories of Portuguese urbanism, such as *lugares, arraiais*, *fortalezas*, *praças-fortes, povoações* and *vilas*[4], connected in some cases to imperial and trans-imperial spaces, hiding much more complex dynamics. Understanding that these dynamic spaces are not peripheral in the framework of colonialism as a global project[5], we propose to look at them as part of an "entanglement of cities."[6]

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4 In the case of Portuguese America, the dispute for the status of "imperial city" dragged on over time, materializing, in some cases, in the post-independence period. For a bibliographical debate within the scope of the Portuguese empire, see Vidal (2005), Fridman (2010), Bueno (2012).

5 For a detailed discussion of the Portuguese case, see the introductory study carried out by Domingos & Peralta (2013).

6 By entanglement we mean the complex situation that defines reciprocal articulation, interrelation, integration, mutual dependence in relationships between people, things, and places within a system. In the field of Social Sci-

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This allows to delineate a comparative perspective between different spatial scales, moving from the local to the global and across seemingly distant regions. We hope that reading this edited volume will reveal a part of this plot of local autonomies and broad imperial exchanges.

This volume is structured in 5 parts that incorporate historiographical themes and debates which, far from exhausting the rich complexity of the Portuguese colonial cities, provide more comprehensive approaches to understand the empire and the cities within broader dynamics, with different centers and interactions between the local and the global.

The studies attempt to transcend the experience of specific local urban communities by rehearsing general comparisons based on a set of central themes in the governance and maintenance of the Portuguese empire's sovereignty: forms of organization of conquered or shared territories, justice administration, work organization, the centrality of the slave trade that established a transoceanic bridge between Portugal, Africa and Brazil, the development of trans-imperial trade, and the issue of public health in the fight against that plagues and epidemics that devastated the empire's population. Some important themes, such as demography and religion -especially the role of the *Misericórdias* in the Portuguese empire- could not be incorporated into this volume. However, we include the theme of the presence of indigenous and African peoples (whether enslaved or free) in the cities, especially performing high-skilled work in royal service, reinforcing their role within the intricacies of commercial exchanges in the modern oceanic circuit.

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ences, the concept has been widely used, see Thomas (1991), Gould (2007), Cañizares-Esguerra and Breen (2013).

The studies gathered here emphasize the multiple spatiality of townships, villages, fortified cities, port cities, "royal" or "imperial" cities, that is, the different networks capable of operating through the Atlantic from a strong local rooting, connecting them with global developments. This socio-economic and political history written on the ground floor, based on documents from provincial and national historical archives and combined with a review of relevant international historiography, allows us to better understand the changes and continuities of the Atlantic system and historical capitalism.

The texts can be read in the devised thematic sequence, following the approaches and comparisons between what we call "hubs of empires." Alternatively, by reading individual chapters, the reader can identify these cities and trace the connections initiated from important urban centers and their immediate and wider links, exchanges, and reciprocal actions.

From this perspective, Part 1 brings together studies centered on two cities created in the economic space of the Atlantic during the 16th century, Rio de Janeiro and Luanda, analyzing the dynamics of work, circulation, mobility, and inequality that defined the Portuguese societies of the Old Regime in territories conquered during the Portuguese expansion. The texts review the classic literature on the subject and present new points of view on the forced labor of Amerindians and enslaved African populations. The issue here concerns the role of those Atlantic cities in the formation of diasporic cultures[7] and in the survival of native populations integrated via forced labor to the Portuguese empire. This topic allows us to understand how

7 This issue was discussed in a pioneering study carried out by the authors of the collection *The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade*, edited by Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt. D. Childs, James Sidbury (2013). In this book, in addition to the black African experience, we also include the indigenous experience of urban life.

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violence and inequality mechanisms shaped the formation of colonial cities.

Part 2 explores the power relations established in the urban formation of the Portuguese Crown's overseas territories, together with the setting up of the complex structure of administrative and judicial control imposed on the main cities located on the shores of the Atlantic and Indian Oceans. The imperial experience of cities such as Lisbon, Luanda, Goa, and Salvador da Bahia, analyzed in the sphere of local administration and Atlantic bureaucracy, reveals imperial patterns of information circulation and government.

Part 3 considers the multiple geographies of the Portuguese empire and brings together works that delve into the theme of frontiers and the interiorization of hinterlands and spaces considered uncivilized, exploring economic dynamism and the various political and legal statutes. These regions far from the sea are less contemplated in urbanism studies, so here we introduce some villages created in the hinterlands of Bahia and Minas Gerais, between the 18th and 19th centuries, to analyze less visible connections.

The experiences of colonial frontier towns in the Amazon are mapped in Part 4. The objective is to show, simultaneously, the frontier as a zone of diverse contacts, the formation of an urban network based on cities like São Luís and Belém, and the insertion of economic river routes in the Equatorial Amazonian Forest. Dynamics beyond the local and regional levels are emphasized to show these cities' various types of connections in the economic space of the Portuguese-Spanish Atlantic and in the imperial context.

Part 5 observes the global scope of slavery from the urban networks that constituted the aftermath of transatlantic trade and the exchange of other goods. Both Recife and Luanda capture the dynamics and transnational nature of slave trade. In addition, it considers ecological-biological phenomena, such as the spread of plagues and epidemics in the process of modern globalization.

In Part 1, Silene Orlando Ribeiro's chapter explores an aspect that remains insufficiently studied by the historiography of labor in the colonial period: the presence of indigenous populations in Brazilian colonial cities and the various services they performed in typically urban institutions. Focusing on the recruitment of indigenous workers for the Navy Arsenal in Rio de Janeiro, from the late 1760s towards the 1820s, the author recovers the local experience to show the functioning of a colonial port as an economic center, as well as the emergence of a new profession: indigenous customs rowers. In fact, the transfer of the capital from the city of Salvador da Bahia to Rio de Janeiro, in 1763, and the elevation of Brazil to Viceroyalty mark the end of the General Government period, revealing Portugal's valorization of commercial and military expansion and this port city's primordial role as a strategic point that articulated the territorial and Atlantic borders of the vast central-south region of Portuguese America (Alencastro 2000; Bicalho 2003). As Silene Orlando argues, various official sources, such as correspondence between local agents and royal magistrates, indigenous legislation and, above all, petitions (both from settlers seeking greater control over the workforce and from indigenous people claiming labor rights), certify the ability of the indigenous labor and their own experience of late 18th-century/early 19th-century urban life. These sources also reveal their role in the construction of the city and how they were captured by the Atlantic economy.

Frequently, indigenous labor proved to be a more viable economic alternative than the acquisition of African slaves. In fact, indigenous villagers (*índios aldeados*) were divided into groups and took turns in His Majesty's service in the construction of the city and urban infrastructure maintenance. Acting as porters, fletchers, hunters in rescue expeditions, and rowers employed by Customs, they were underpaid compared to workers from other ethnic groups. Channeling this workforce was a means for the desired acculturation and civilization of native peoples. The growth

of the city of Rio de Janeiro, driven by its connection to the mining regions and with the Atlantic, increased the demand for these indigenous workers in royal service in the port area. This is the limit of indigenous freedom: being available for recruitment by missionaries, settlers, or the Portuguese Crown, and required to serve.

The next chapter, by Roberto Guedes and Ana Paula Bôscaro, reassesses a classic topic among scholars: the transatlantic slave trade. Working from the perspective of an intersection between religion, trade and slavery, the authors debate the relationship that constitutes the history of Brazilian labor supply by comparing both sides of the Atlantic –Luanda and Rio de Janeiro– from the late 1790s to the 1830s. Using the comparative approach with sources from both cities, such as baptism records and registries of arrived slaves, they argue that, though there was a large number of slave market operators, the activity was concentrated in a restricted group. Moreover, this group developed its own logic of hierarchies and inequality among traders and other free men involved in this activity; ultimately, it was also related to well-structured networks and streamlined access to credit, in order to finance their own businesses and ensure slave supply in both coastal and hinterland cities.

In Part 2, using the Marques de Pombal's reforms in the mid-18th century as a motto, along with their impact on the colonies' everyday life, José Subtil presents, in his text entitled "The political apparatus of Luanda and Lisbon at the end of the Ancien Régime," a comparative study of these city councils with a focus on the public health problems that involved the royal service in the capitals, and the articulations of local powers. The author has vast experience studying the impacts of the Pombaline reforms on the kingdom and its conquered territories. This article emphasizes the mostly unsuccessful efforts undertaken by the administration of Luanda to adapt to the reforms promoted by the Marquês de Pombal. Disease, unsanitary conditions on the Atlantic crossing, and a high death rate hampered

the city's political and economic stability. More structurally, the inevitable ethnic and social miscegenation caused by the transit of people from all parts of the empire would have prevented the formation of a strong white elite loyal to the monarchy. Professor Subtil also observes the horizontal movement of royal agents who, once completed their office terms in Angola's capital, did not return to the kingdom but settled in Luanda or crossed the Atlantic to assume other positions in the name of the king.

This section also includes the chapter by Nuno Camarinhas, who had previously published works on the circulation of royal agents of justice throughout the Portuguese empire (2013) and on the complexity of these judiciary networks (2018). In "Lisbon, Goa, and Bahia: Imperial cities in the construction of a Portuguese multicontinental judicial system (16th-18th centuries)," the author presents a well-founded discussion of the concept of city in the modern era. Camarinhas starts from the initial idea of the project "Imperial Cities: local dynamics, global flows," coordinated by the editors of this collection, where the concept of city included those settlements which held the title of "imperial," had consolidated themselves as seats of political, military and economic power, and were characterized by the interconnections between the local and the global. From there, he seeks to identify the general traits of administrative plurality adopted by each of the listed urban centers (Lisbon, Goa, and Bahia). His aim was to re-signify a notion that has illuminated studies on the modern era (Alencastro 2000): the Atlantic Triangle, an image that had controlled Southern Atlantic economic activities since the 16th century, formed by the connection of Europe to South America and the West Coast of Africa via the Iberian Peninsula. In this scenario, the author uses the notion of regional political-administrative centers —but not less important for the imperial articulations with Lisbon—, drawing our attention to the symbioses established between different parts of the empire. The culture of royal political practices

is intertwined with local customs, the dynamics of native peoples, and the structuring constitution of slavery.

The author argues that the demarcations of the Portuguese overseas territory encountered severe implementation difficulties. The strategy pursued by the Crown to enforce the kingdom's laws consisted in an ever-increasing circulation of royal agents of justice, which made the processing of cases more complex. Nuno Camarinhas maps the tangle of bureaucratic networks formed early on and extended throughout the modern era, interconnecting these agents with local peoples and colonial authorities in the Luso-Brazilian Atlantic space, within so different dynamics that absorbed the local elites.

The articles in Part 3 follow the "paths of the *sertões*" (hinterlands), the land and river routes of the great São Francisco river basin (in the Northeast) and of Paraíba do Sul (in the Southeast), which increased trade flows in the Atlantic, highlighting the importance of local networks in building the Portuguese Empire. These works focus on the creation of villages in the *sertões* of Minas Gerais and Bahia between the 17th and 19th centuries, showing how the mercantile flow of gold and livestock favored the integration of gold-producing villages into the empire's geopolitical map. Later on, coffee would also be traded across transnational borders. These studies evince the complexity of the notions of town and city in the vast domains of Portuguese America.

The chapter entitled "Arraial do Tejuco: the multiple geographies of a colonial *urbe*," by Junia Ferreira Furtado, analyzes the various territorial demarcations of Tejuco, an important district for gold and diamond prospecting. During the 18th century, the region demanded strict surveillance from the metropolitan power, which led to the creation of the Royal Extraction of Diamonds in 1771. The numerous demarcations caused an imbalance in population and extraction control in the region and were not efficient in controlling contraband (*extravio*) or the entry and exit of intruders. To analyze this chaotic conjunction, the author

uses district censuses and cartographic sources dating from the last quarter of the 18th century. Her intention is to compare these strictly spatial sources with other elements of social history to assess the multiple cartographic representations produced in this period. Such profusion of maps was intended to control the activities of this important diamond district and its relations with the surrounding villages, as well as the wider connections with Lisbon. With such meticulous analysis of cartographic production in the mid-18th century, she draws our attention to those paths cut through townships and villages which, from the metropolitan point of view, threatened their regional control over population movements and diamond extraction, from the mines themselves to the Lisbon-bound ships.

Next, the chapter by Judy Bieber and Hélida Santos Conceição studies the creation of villages in the central lands of inner Bahia and Minas Gerais, dedicated to gold prospecting, in the 18th century. The authors expose the complex interaction of different agents (residents, merchants, ordinance officials and, specially, the *sertanistas*) that shaped local hierarchies and customs based on connections with the overseas empire. Using a vast collection of documents —including census sources and administrative correspondence from the Secretariat of the *Estado do Brasil*, such as letters (*notícias*) sent by *sertanistas* to the kingdom and to local powers—, the authors analyzed the political vocabulary that shaped the construction of villages in the interior of Brazil. A central argument of this study concerns an assumption of the Old Regime government, in which justice was one of the main prerogatives attributed to the agents who ruled in the name of the King. In the political-administrative entanglement of the Portuguese empire, several other agents whose jurisdiction was guaranteed by statutes or regulations saw their power spheres under constant confusion and/or prone to overlapping due to the lack of definitions in these documents and their inability to avoid the conflicts.

Mapping the political practices of the Portuguese crown, Bieber & Conceição argue that such conflicts were daily and clearly marked the empire's political-administrative fragmentation. Royal officials, local members of government, city council agents responsible for managing the common good, all interfered with each other's jurisdictions and made use of clientele networks to maintain their positions and power status. In this study, the importance of municipal archives and colonial collections is fundamental to understand the role of local politics in promoting the formation of villages in the interior, especially in the hinterlands of Minas Gerais and Bahia, under the logic of the Portuguese Old Regime society.

Going beyond the "golden century", and unveiling the tenuous border between rural and urban, Vitória Schettini's chapter presents a study of the *sertões* of southern Minas Gerais during the 19th century. For decades, the historiography on the subject accompanied contemporary documentary records that described the *sertões* as areas without control, inhabited by "brave Indians" and criminal lords who, whether due to the absence of laws or the royal agents' fear to enforce them, were considered the kings of the *sertões*. This chapter, anchored in a consistent historiographical debate, reveals another face of the Zona da Mata hinterland in Minas Gerais: the passageways between the Atlantic coast and the various interior villages erected with the progress of mining. These terrestrial arteries spurred the process of urbanization and integration for indigenous peoples, settlers, and outsiders, boosting the urban network of commercial activities and land occupation. According to the author, agriculture and trade, in addition to mining, were important factors for the development of settlements. Furthermore, this transience gave rise to an economic diversity capable of meeting regional demands. In fact, the Zona da Mata's proximity to the city of Rio de Janeiro

enabled it to meet the imperial court's supply needs in the tropics.[8]

Further on, the collected texts turn to the formation of the Amazonian Atlantic territories in the context of the union of Iberian crowns, focusing on the different connections during the nascent globalization of trade routes and the circulation of people and goods. This part explores the idea that border cities can be an empire's first line of defense rather than a peripheral region. It sets about to explore the last frontier of the Portuguese empire —the Amazon— as an object of self-perception for the region and its insertion in the modern global production circuits. In this sense, Belém and São Luís, cities created from the ground up, constitute an urban rearguard since the beginning of the 17th century, as demonstrated by the analysis of cartography and studies on the integration of these cities to trans-imperial trade.

Helidacy Muniz Corrêa and José Damião Rodrigues, in the chapter entitled "São Luís in Imperial Iberian Politics. From conquered land to seat of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (Brazil)," use the historical cartography of colonial Maranhão to reflect on the role of Amazonian cities within the dynamics of the Atlantic empires. Initially, the Fort of São Luís, founded by the French on the island of Maranhão in 1612 and designated as "State and Colony", reinforced the ideas of Equinoctial France. In 1615, the Portuguese reconquered the territory, integrating the new fortress city into the Iberian imperial policy. The privileged

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8 In fact, some authors —notably Eduardo França Paiva (2009)—, following the classic studies of Roberto Borges Martins, Robert Slenes and Douglas Cole Libby, had already highlighted the importance of establishing connections between *locus* and *orbi* in the research on Minas Gerais' history, incorporating international political setbacks —especially the transmigration of the Royal Family to Brazil— and their impact on the economic dynamics of Minas Gerais. Schettini, Lamas & Silva (2017) also follows this path and have organized collections which include more recent themes from the perspective of the Global Commodities Chains, contributing to the renewal of historiographical debates.

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geographical location of São Luís, inserted in a gulf between two bays (São Marcos and São José) connected to the Atlantic by its vast river network, allowed a broad commercial and urban development. The authors consider the city of São Luís to be a "border city", a place of intermediation of Iberian politics, but also a territory whose possession was disputed between the French and the Dutch (invaders from 1641 to 1644). This allows us to think of the empire as part of a continuous expansion of war and expropriation, and to understand the transformation of São Luís as a local and regional center of power, finally emerging as an "imperial city". Its connections with Africa and Europe were much closer than with the other captaincies of the State of Brazil.

As a rule, urban studies do not treat indigenous populations as protagonists in the construction of cities. By observing cartographic representations, it becomes clear that Tupinambá logic also contributed to the urban transfiguration of the 17th century, shaping the creation of villages and the city itself. In this sense, "The design acquired by Brazil throughout its colonial period must not be attributed to the Europeans, but to the multiple forms of interaction between Europeans, indigenous peoples and mestizos" (Ramalho *et al.*, 2020).

But the uniqueness of São Luís also exemplifies the projection of colonial urbanism to other parts of the Portuguese empire. The disputes between São Luís and Belém (founded in 1616, to the west of São Luís) for the seat of government of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (created in 1621), as well as the search for urban nobility, honors and privileges, unite these Amazonian twin cities, counted among the most important of the Portuguese pluricontinental monarchy. Supported by an extensive documentation comprising chronicles and testimonies from clerics and Portuguese royal agents, the authors compare the urban plans of São Luís and Belém, following the rhythms of interiorization towards the hinterlands and revealing the transformation

of these fortress cities into port cities integrated to the Northern Atlantic commercial routes.

The chapter by Raphael Chambouleyron and Alírio Cardoso, entitled "São Luís do Maranhão and Belém do Grão-Pará. Cities and the territorial and economic expansion of the Portuguese colonial Amazon region," continues the comparison between these Amazonian cities that, in the mid-17th century, represented "the vanguard of territorial expansion" into an almost unknown world. São Luís and Belém ensured the political and military governance of the vast Amazonian territory and played an important economic role for the region's insertion into the Luso-Spanish Atlantic production circuit. Marked by peculiar physical characteristics, these cities founded on the delta of the Amazon River assumed a strategic position for several economic agents who soon understood their significance: a connection of trans-frontier spaces between the kingdoms of Portugal and Spain. Furthermore, the authors state that "the conquest and foundation of cities in the Portuguese Amazon is, in itself, a connected history"; in fact, they also consider some village creation projects designed by the Portuguese, and their French, English and Dutch competitors. Understanding São Luís and Belém as port structures, the authors analyze the migrations, the expansion of the agricultural frontier, the types of connections with other centers of the Iberian monarchy, and the integration with other regions of the Atlantic.

Closing the volume, we introduced two studies that assess slave trade, with special attention to urban growth and connections between the cities of Recife and Luanda, and several colonial ports. Here, it becomes necessary to read against the grain and remember that these networks are not particularly reasons for celebration, given their use for the trafficking of enslaved people. Another point of interest is the spread of plagues and epidemics in Portugal, seen from a global perspective.

Also related to the slave trade topic, Gustavo Acioli discusses in his chapter the status of Recife and Pernambuco "in between" different levels of globalization, as regards the range of their different economic activities from the 1500s to the 1700s. The author suggests that the northeastern Brazilian city is in a particular spot that allowed for an increasingly prominent economic role since the end of the "early globalization," as defined by de Zwart and van Zanden (2018). Recife's position would be considered "regional", in terms of the reach of its commodities and the scope of action of its businessmen and economic agents. Based on the analysis of the sugar exporting business, and as one of the main ports of entry for African slaves into Brazil, the author demonstrates that Recife is a major outlet for the Brazilian northeastern hinterlands, serving as a fundamental "connecting hub" between local and international markets and fostering the Atlantic economic region.

On the African front of the slave trade business, Maximiliano Menz and Wolfgang Lenk examine the growth of Luanda as a city and as a global market. They inspect different aspects of its economic activities and social indicators, dividing them into three different "flows" –migration, commodities, and capital– to understand how the city developed into the great capital of the Western African slave trade and one of the main ports of the Portuguese empire. Moreover, the authors highlight how Luanda's economy was intertwined with Brazil by studying official Portuguese government correspondence, and the payments and actions of slave traders and businessmen operating between the major Brazilian port cities (Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco) and Lisbon. Their work emphasizes a strong and sophisticated level of connection between those cities and the international financial markets during the 1700s, which afforded them various types of capital, especially from Italian entrepreneurs, during the 1700s.

Within the domain of health, epidemics and the dissemination of science, Matheus Duarte da Silva offers the

readers a comprehensive view of the Plague in Portugal, between the 1700s and the 1900s. Using secondary sources, the author reconstructs the logics and dynamics behind the "old" and "new" plagues, illustrating the connections between different levels of the Portuguese Empire –local, regional, national, and transoceanic– and the need of global structures, i.e., both colonial and metropolitan urban spaces, for the circulation of knowledge. Another relevant aspect highlighted in this article is how the geographical component can play an active role not only regarding the disease itself and its medical solutions, but also in terms of the speed of information circulation: something essential to combat the health problems that have afflicted humanity during modern and contemporary times.

Finally, considering that these studies follow the main lines of analysis proposed by the international agenda, they allow the reader to do comparison exercises. Indeed, we intend to validate the status of the *arraials*, as provincial or port towns that require a spatial and economic link between the port and the city, and which had a strong influence in the organization of remote regions with verifiable long-distance connections. Therefore, the texts gathered here are not restricted to cities properly qualified as such; they also cover other interior spaces (*sertões*), criticizing the idea that they were merely peripheral in the Portuguese empire's process of territorialization and urbanization in the modern era.

Portuguese Colonial Cities presents consolidated research results by specialists interested in the study of mercantile, political, and legal networks derived from the administrative dynamics of the empire. Drawn from collections of Portuguese, Brazilian and African national archives, as well as regional archives comprising a great diversity of notarial, municipal, and local judicial documents, the empirical findings suggest a scenario of circulating royal agents, goods, documents, and ideas that shape the Portuguese empire's specificity. As previously discussed by Dale Tomich (2004),

the sea is the historical space where agents interact and, at the same time, the historical agent that promotes the teleconnections between those cities, enabling "the structural relationship between the continents bathed by the Atlantic," in political, economic, and social terms.

Unveiling the levels of interaction between the local and the global, this volume is an invitation to understand how each of the colonial cities had a special performance within the Portuguese Empire. Together, the collected essays bring an up-to-date historiographical debate on the first modern cities in Latin America and Africa.

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Part I.
Labor and Inequality in the Atlantic Cities

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1

Excellent Rowers of the Navy Arsenal

Recruitment and Indigenous labor in Rio de Janeiro (1763-1820)

Silene Orlando Ribeiro

1. Rowers in the service of the King: the historical formation of a socio-professional category

This text addresses the formation process of a socio-professional category within the scope of the Rio de Janeiro Navy Arsenal (*Arsenal da Marinha do Rio de Janeiro*), between 1763 and 1820: the indigenous rowers. The presence of this group of indigenous workers in an Atlantic port and colonial city such as Rio de Janeiro leads to several reflections. The conquest and occupation of the southern coast of Portuguese America exhibited dramatic sides, and this was no different in the Rio de Janeiro region.

Between the second half of the 16th century and the end of the 17th century, the urban space of the city of São Sebastião, in Rio de Janeiro, developed as a result of colonial wars and establishments, religious orders, the implementation of sugarcane plantations, and indigenous settlements. The indigenous areas, the ancestral territories of the Tupinambá ethnic groups, were gradually traversed by Portuguese projects and territoriality. These dynamics are inscribed in the European Maritime Expansion. Therefore,

the birth of colonial Rio de Janeiro is part of a global dynamic encompassed within Maritime History.

According to Polónia (2010), Maritime History is a research field marked by a profound diversity of objects and interdisciplinary dialogues. Therefore, the trajectories of the indigenous workers recruited for the Navy Arsenal will be approached from a local perspective, although still considering a global scale to understand port and labor relations with the Portuguese Empire. Thus, this chapter required dialogs with other research fields. In this regard, this discussion is permeated by theoretical and methodological issues concerning Historical Geography, New Indigenous History, Anthropology, and Military History. Fusaro and Polónia (2010) argue that Maritime History's interdisciplinary vocation is an important and fruitful aspect of this research field. Furthermore, understanding assessments based on the trajectory of Indian rowers at the Navy Arsenal (1763-1820) highlights other social and economic aspects of the city of Rio de Janeiro.

In the beginning of the 18th century, Rio de Janeiro's geopolitical status, with its port and proximity to the Minas Gerais area, garnered the city prestige and centrality in the South Atlantic. The intense circulation of boats and goods, and the increasing African slave trafficking required the development of a bureaucratic, military and socio-professional apparatus to deal with the needs of this port city.

In a letter dated August 23rd, 1718, Bartolomeu de Siqueira Cordovil, Treasury's Superintendent (*Provedor da Fazenda*) of the Rio de Janeiro captaincy, informed D. João V, king of Portugal, about his intentions of hiring natives for the rowing service of the longboats used by the Rio de Janeiro Customs in its port activities. Would it become common practice for port authorities to hire natives to reduce the shortage of workers? Another correspondence, dated May 18th, 1719, clarifies this regarding Bartolomeu de Siqueira Cordovil's choice:

> I sent for the oarsmen I needed at Your Majesty's Warehouses, as there are always Indians capable for such ministry; and when I did, in fact, they would be ready on every occasion as soon as I asked for them. The reason for this was that buying black people, under their risk, would require spending two thousand cruzados plus their sustenance, while becoming a rower costs almost two cruzados a day. This would be avoided with the aforementioned indigenous persons, who normally earn six vints a day; while the cost of maintaining the aforementioned longboat, if black people are employed, would result in outstanding costs. The natives may, instead, supply the longboat service regardless of how much it is paid to them, as Your Majesty orders.[1]

This document contains important information concerning the workspaces of natives in Rio de Janeiro during the 18th century and indicates that natives were the best choice for "permanent jobs" in the royal warehouses, located close to Customs. These comprised storage areas for products belonging to the Portuguese Crown. Natives were, thus, among the heterogeneous worker population observed in the port of the city of São Sebastião, in Rio de Janeiro. Furthermore, Cordovil asserts that, compared to the purchase of two enslaved Africans for that service, it would be more economical to hire natives, whose daily payment (*jornal*) only amounted to twenty-six *réis* a day. This would save the Royal Treasury (*Fazenda Real*) the two thousand *cruzados* for the purchase of enslaved workers and the entire sustenance cost, i.e., food, housing and clothing. The letter also includes the argument of the natives' suitability for that occupation, being "capable natives" prepared to carry out that sort of activity.

For six years, the employment of indigenous workers as customs longboat rowers remained under discussion and

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1 AHU_ACL_CU_005, CX.10, D.1097. Correspondência de 23 de agosto de 1718 entre o Provedor da Fazenda, Bartolomeu de Siqueira Cordovil, e o D. João V, rei de Portugal.

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provoked a jurisdictional conflict between customs judge Manuel Vasquez and also auditor (*ouvidor*) Bartolomeu de Siqueira Cordovil. Vasquez pleaded for the purchase of the two slaves for the service. He claimed that indigenous people, being free natives, could not work during night shifts as required. After a long dispute, the case ended by royal orders issued in a letter dated August 31, 1724, which approved their hiring.[2]

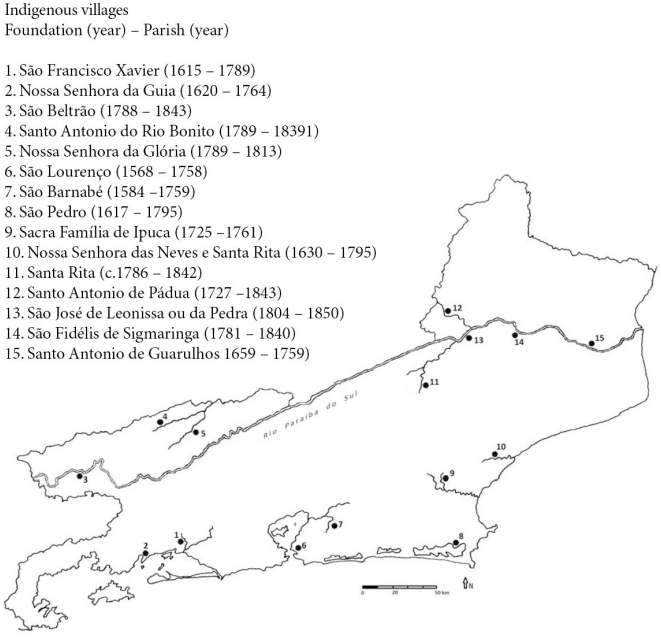
There is strong evidence that the choice of natives over enslaved people was not based solely on economic aspects. Fernandes (2010) highlights that the customs was a space of social and political tensions, with numerous economic activities developed in parallel by its employees and other colonial agents. According to Cardoso (2010, p.71), the Rio de Janeiro customs was marked by "order and disorder, or, in other words, legal collection procedures and illegal fraud procedures."

During Ayres de Saldanha's term as governor (1719-1725), illicit activities at the Rio de Janeiro customs became notorious. Some ships avoided the customs office altogether, landing and unloading at other anchoring spots along the coast of Rio de Janeiro to escape inspection. It was common for products landed at customs not to get the correct stamp, thus avoiding the payment of tithes and relevant taxes, while the loss or disappearance of cargo and goods stored in the customs warehouses was frequent. Located on the premises of the governor's palace, the customs building occupied about 40 square meters, insufficient to properly accommodate the received cargo. In addition to structural problems, the Rio de Janeiro customs office lacked guards to ensure security. Kept in the open and unprotected, it was easy for goods to become lost. It was precisely during this

[2] AHU_ACL_CU_005, CX.14, D.1541. Correspondência de 31 de agosto de 1724 entre o Provedor da Fazenda, Bartolomeu de Siqueira Cordovil, e o D. João V, rei de Portugal.

period when the disputes between the treasury offices and the customs judge, concerning the employment of enslaved natives or Africans, took place. The consulted documentation suggests that *índios aldeados* as rowers could also be part of a strategy to control the illicit activities taking place in the customs complex or, at least, maintain a group of watchmen and/or informers concerning the movements of men and goods.

Map 1 – Indigenous resettlement villages (*aldeias de repartição*) in Rio de Janeiro



Source: Adapted from Fridman (2011).

The indigenous workers employed in the royal warehouses, and later at customs, came from the *aldeamentos* established by the Society of Jesus in the Rio de Janeiro Captaincy (Map 1). This job was part of the so-called "real services", public services for the State performed by indigenous individuals. Almeida identified documentation that requested ten natives from the Aldeamento of São Lourenço to act as paddlers in *Fazenda Real* longboats, in 1793 (Almeida, 2003, p. 202). A letter sent to D João V, dated February 12, 1740, included reports by the native Miguel Duarte on the vicissitudes that he and the natives living in Rio de Janeiro and in adjacent regions experienced in their daily work activities for the Portuguese monarch. Though lengthy, the documentary source is reproduced herein, due to the reachness of information it contains concerning the indigenous work regime:

> Says Miguel Duarte, the Indian speaking for himself and on behalf of all the Indians, that the villagers in the district of the Captaincy of Rio, your loyal vassals, are always willing to offer themselves for your Royal Service, both in the works in said city and in the Captaincies of the Rio Grande, Santa Caharina Island, and Minas de Ouro, where the natives carry materials and other things belonging to Your Majesty's Royal Service. These the supplicantsdo with much humility and obedience, leaving their women and children in their villages and many times lacking the support of their husbands. The pay of only two *vinténs* a day, which the supplicants receive, is barely enough for maintenance and little sustenance, as it does not equal even bread flour and some fish. At the same time, the Supplicantswill not leave the service all day and even many a night, rowing in longboats of the *ouvidor* and the government, since they have no other income than the work of their hands for their livelihood and that of their women and children, who cannot work in these occupations in the villages, where they profit the most from their fields. As for Your Majesty, considering that the supplicants are rustic and miserable people who have no other protection than Your Majesty's greatness, so may Your Majesty's royal clemency

> may consider, having been informed of the truth, to add to the payment of the supplicants who attending to the ever-present executive work of Your Real Service.[3]

Duarte reports the difficulties that the natives underwent in their displacement to Rio Grande, Santa Catarina and Minas Gerais; the royal service imposed a strenuous routine on these workers, impoverishing them and leaving their families in a vulnerable situation. Further information in Miguel Duarte's letter corroborates the result of the dispute between the *ouvidor* and the customs judge. In 1740, the natives continued to receive the two daily payments (*jornal*). Their daily food allowance consisted of salted fish and a measure of flour distributed by the *Fazenda Real*. The consulted documentation does not detail the food delivery procedures for the indigenous workers during the trips, although there are indications that the military who escorted them took care of this. One specific issue raised by Miguel Duarte is particularly interesting. Almost two decades after being formalized by royal order as longboat rowers for the Treasury and the Government, a work regime that ignored the legal status of these natives as free men was established:

> The Supplicants will not leave the service all day and even many a night, rowing in longboats of the *ouvidor* and the government, since they have no other income than the work of their hands for their livelihood and that of their women and children, who cannot work in these occupations in the villages, where they profit the most from their fields.[4]

The information presented by Miguel Duarte in this excerpt contradicts the recommendations for the use of

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3 AHU_ACL_CU_005, Cx32, D.3398. Requerimento do índio Miguel Duarte.

4 AHU_ACL_CU_005, Cx32, D.3398. Requerimento do índio Miguel Duarte.

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indigenous workers living in the Rio de Janeiro Captaincy and its surroundings. Working on the longboats for the Treasury day and night, without the possibility of returning to their original *aldeamentos*, demonstrates the hardships these indigenous workers were subjected to in the royal service. Moreira (2013) draws attention to the fact that the status of natives settled in villages (*indígenas aldeados*) did not release them from having to work for others, and that being free always meant being linked to some type of labor for particulars or the State. The demand for these indigenous workers in the royal service increased in both the port area and in the Navy as the Rio de Janeiro Captaincy grew, due to its connection with mining regions and the Atlantic.

According to the Jesuit Félix Capeli, natives from São Pedro de Cabo Frio who worked in Rio de Janeiro and its surrounding areas spent about 320 *réis* on the round-trip transfer. The wage received by these individuals was equivalent to 1 *conto* and six hundred *réis* a month. As transportation, clothing and food expenses were not covered by the *Fazenda Real*, these workers faced numerous difficulties in providing to their families.

In 1754, during the Conde de Oeiras' government, Father Félix Capeli held a position as attorney for the natives living in Rio de Janeiro. As such, he sent a petition to the king, informing him of the low remuneration received by this group in the service of His Most Faithful Majesty. At that time, the natives received 50 *réis* as daily payment (*jornal*). According to Balthazar da Silva Lisboa, this amount "was insufficient" and also comprised a "subsidy, especially for the individuals who were sent to Santa Catarina, as they had incurred in expenses during the journey until reaching their destination."[5] He also mentions the difficulties faced by married workers and their families. A permit dated

[5] Lisboa, Balthazar da Silva. (1835). *Annaes do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Tip. Imp. e Const. de Seignot-Plancher, v.6 p.22.

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May 20th, 1754, established that the wages of natives who worked in public services should be increased to 100 *réis* per day. However, the available documentation does not indicate whether this recommendation and the new wage were applied, given the troubled times after the expulsion of the Society of Jesus from Brazil.

In view of the warlike atmosphere in South America, the recurring need to repair the ships and vessels that navigated the Guanabara Bay, and the remodeling of the European military forces, the Conde da Cunha created the Rio de Janeiro Navy Arsenal in 1763. This military enterprise highlighted the need for sailors and skilled workers. As soldier and sailor shortages were constant in Portuguese America, the *indígenas aldeados* were asked to render their services to the Navy. It is important to note that the Royal Finance Provider established the rowers as a socio-professional category in the first decades of the 18th century.

Located in the Santa Rita parish, the Rio de Janeiro Navy Arsenal acquired numerous functions in the context of the port area's reorganization throughout the 18th and 19th centuries. One of the Arsenal's duties was inspecting the legality of the vessels arriving in Rio de Janeiro, providing logistical support, and supplying drinking water barrels for the crews. The ships that docked in Rio de Janeiro were verified and inspected by military personnel from the Arsenal. The inspection of cargo and merchandise was performed by customs. In this sense, the port complex included a commercial and fiscal dimension, represented by customs authorities, and a military, policing and enforcement dimension, in charge of the Navy Arsenal. Furthermore, the need to produce shipbuilding inputs led to the establishment of workshops, where worker literacy and socio-professional training activities also took place. Among other duties, these workshops had the function of "civilizing" natives and *indígenas aldeados*. Colonial indigenous legislation hints at a habitual and continuous use of coercive mechanisms to

drive these individuals to work during the colonial period,[6] An important aspect of the legislative body created in the 16th and 17th centuries concerned the association between work and soul salvation. Following the Directory (*Diretório*) era[7], notably marked by secularization and assimilationism, the use of natives for compulsory labor was chiefly justified by the articulation of work, civilization, and integration of these individuals into national society.

By 1776, the *indígenas aldeados* were working as longboat rowers at the Santa Cruz Fortress, responsible for supplying water to vessels docked in the port of Rio de Janeiro. A shortage of workers led the governor to request two natives and another vessel for the adequate provision of water. Three years later, an ordinance established in February 1779 required the Royal Treasury (*Provedor da Fazenda Real*) to supply new uniforms for the indigenous rowers employed in the His Majesty's brigantines. This source is important, as it indicates that, even after the establishment of the Navy Intendant post in 1770, the natives continued under the jurisdiction of the *Provedor da Fazenda Real*.

Norberto de Sousa e Silva (1842) identifies incentives set by the Marquis of Lavradio, in 1786, for 60 natives from the Aldeia of Itinga who would be sent for Navy services and longboat rowing. Concerning the first half of the 18th century, at least two documents mention the difficulty faced by natives employed in longboat services in terms of covering their transportation expenses to Rio de Janeiro, Minas

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6 For a discussion of the Indigenous legislation of the colonial period, see: Domingues (2000) and Perrone-Moisés (1990).

7 The *Diretório* was created for Maranhão and Grão-Pará in the second half of the 18th century, and later applied to the other captaincies. According to Almeida (1997), the Directory of Indians should be understood as "a work regiment" In relation to indigenous labor, the document follows the initial line given by the indigenous legislation in the 17th century. Afterwards, the laws granted settlers an ever-greater control over indigenous workers. Thus, the *Diretório* proved to be marked by continuities. For an accurate historiographical analysis of the Directory of Indians, see: Coelho (2005).

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Gerais, Santa Catarina Island, and Colônia of Sacramento. However, from the second half of the 18th century, certain mechanisms were created for these individuals to remain in the Navy. According to Barros (1922), the Conde da Cunha organized the military forces in colonial Brazil between 1763 and 1767, as the transfer of the viceroyalty's headquarters to Rio de Janeiro demanded such changes.

The adoption of uniforms with specific colors and symbols for Navy troops and regiments was related to this process. The use of military uniforms in colonial Brazil dates back to the 17th century. In the case of Rio de Janeiro, the Marquis of Lavradio was responsible for reorganizing the two companies that comprised the viceroy's guard,the three fourths of Rio de Janeiro's soldiers, and the auxiliary cavalry, between 1767 and 1779. The ordinance issued in February 10, 1779, which ordered natives employed in longboat rowing to wear uniforms, is thought to have been part of the governmental effort to organize the various groups present in Rio de Janeiro. Therefore, unifying the natives would have the double effect of their militarization and guaranteeing their availability as labor for customs and the newly created Navy Arsenal premises.

2. Recruitment of Indians for the Navy Arsenal in the 19th century: legislation under John VI

In 1808, the relocation of the Portuguese court changed the role of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro within the dynamics of the Empire. The city's relevance grew significantly, generating administrative, urban, military, and institutional reforms, but also demands and disputes over land property. The migration of the Portuguese Royal Family to Brazil had a special impact on indigenous populations. John VI waged a bloody war against the Botocudos; this people —deemed as "lousy Indians" in the documentation—, inhabited the

banks of the Doce River, in the areas comprised by Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo and the Coropó and Coroados, in the fields of Guarapuava and Curitiba. The publication of the Royal Charter of August 1st, 1808, marked the beginning of the offensive war against the Botocudos.[8] This document established a 10-year compulsory service for indigenous people "who rise in arms in any attack" (Cunha 1992b, p. 65). The tragic war against these indigenous populations gave to Christian settlers, whose land property rights were guaranteed by letters of donation (*sesmeiros*) access to land for agricultural production. This, in turn, led to establishing a river navigation network with the main tributary located at the Doce River, followed by the construction of roads associated to these hybrid (fluvial and terrestrial) paths. The fate of the fierce natives who fell prisoner in the war was the Navy Arsenal.

According to the Royal Charter, part of the troops that participated in the wars against the Botocudos, the so-called Pedestrian Soldiers, should be composed of "domestic natives who would receive less payment than the other soldiers, about forty *réis*, so that the Captaincy expenses" (Cunha, 1992b, p.61), would represent no great onus for the *Fazenda Real*. The use of indigenous troops against the "fierce natives," the Botocudos, reveals the tension and conflicts within Brazilian society at the beginning of the 19th century, and the continued colonial practice of using platoons of *indígenas aldeados* as a defensive system assembled to annihilate other Indians or contain foreign actions.

John VI's reign (1808-1821) implemented a set of legislation to officialize the recruitment of indigenous people: the *Ofício de 18 de agosto de 1808* (Cunha, 1992b, p. 61), the *Aviso de 22 de novembro de 1808*, and the *Aviso de 19 de maio de 1809*. The Charter of August 18 does not

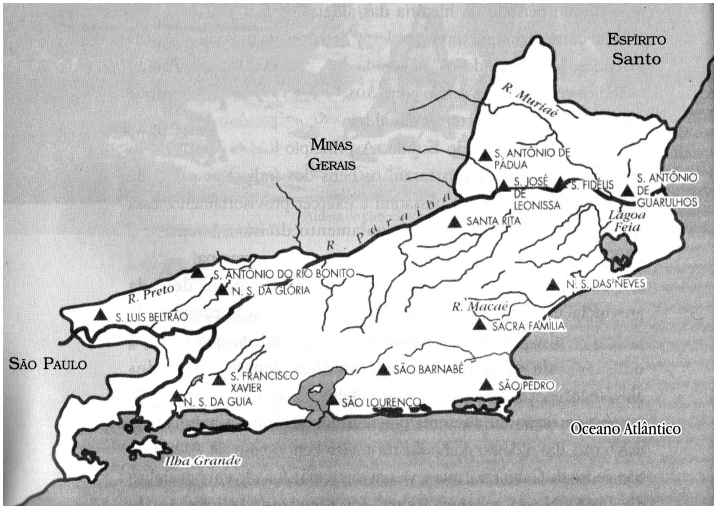
[8] On the subject, see: Cunha (1992b); Morel (2018); Mattos (2004); Resende & Langfur (2008); Moreira (2017), Sposito (2012); Paraíso (1992; 2014).

specify how many individuals should be used. However, it advised that "the number of natives used should be as much as it is customary for the Viceroys of this state at the time." This information is important, as it signals that John VI's legislation included formal and systematic recruitment practices that had been traditionally implemented, though in the absence of any legislative corpus, between 1763 and 1808.

The *Aviso de 22 de novembro de 1808* regulated the duration of service and the number of natives recruited to the Navy Arsenal, recommending that the "Governors of Bahia, Pernambuco, and Ceará send 200 natives, destined to serve one or two years in the Arsenal, from the Aldeamentos of their districts." The *Ordem de 08 de novembro de 1808* granted an allowance of 200 *réis* to the Botocudos who served in the Arsenal. This order is particularly demonstrative of the crown's unscrupulousness in obtaining indigenous labor, opting to recruit ethnical groups that had been conquered through war and not yet adapted to the colonial society. Through the *Aviso de 22 de novembro de 1808,* the daily payment (*jornais*) for the natives was fixed at six *vinténs*, with four extra *vinténs* for meals (daily food stipend).The use of uniforms was also specified in this legislation, through the *Ofício de 19 de maio de 1809*.

According to traditional practices, the employment of indigenous workers in public services could not exceed two months and was paid daily, by *jornais*. The legislative corpus that emerged under John VI's rule created formal coercive mechanisms to recruit natives for the Navy Arsenal and the Armada, with significant increases in the time stipulated for military service in the Navy. The two-month period which, following the common practice of the 18th century, could be extended up to six months was afterwards lengthened to a year or two, and finally fixed at two years or more.

Map 2 – Indigenous villages in Rio de Janeiro (19th century)



Source: Bessa & Malheiros (2009, p.72).

Natives were not always sent from their *aldeamentos indígenas* to work in the Navy as free men with paid wages. In 1807, the natives Luiz da Costa, João Ribeiro, Manoel José, and Valério were taken prisoner and allegedly sent by the chief captain of the Aldeia de Nossa Senhora da Guia de Mangaratiba, Bernardo de Oliveira, a native himself, under the status of "prisoners of the Royal Power." The aforementioned Manoel José was possibly Manoel José the younger, son of Manoel José the older, brother of Pedro Galvão, former chief captain of Aldeia de Mangaratiba, a leader and member of one of the most influential families involved in land disputes during the second half of the 18th century in Mangaratiba. Manoel José had blood ties to two leaders of the political struggles inside the Aldeia de Nossa Senhora da Guia, who were opposed to Bernardo Oliveira, chief captain of the natives at that time. The

arrest of Manoel José and the group of natives may indicate that sending indigenous prisoners as public workers for the city of Rio de Janeiro may have been a way to tackle the shortage of labor, remove local political enemies or opponents, and use the rigor of the law to punish individuals considered harmful to society.

Therefore, internal disputes among indigenous communities were not always a problem for the Crown, as arresting some people was a mechanism to obtain labor for public works. These men were usually sent to the Cobras Island prison, and from there taken in chains to carry out their imposed service. There could be sentenced to work at the dry docks, the Arsenal workshops, or else, sent to pave public roads or to public building constructions. The consulted sources does not indicate the existence of specific spaces for sentenced natives; indeed, the different social strata that coexisted at the Arsenal were separated by a fine line. Still, free men, indigenous individuals, slaves, and prisoners were not to be confused. For example, the natives serving as forced labor never acted as Arsenal longboat rowers. However, being stationed at the Navy Arsenal meant living in an environment marked by hardship and violence, inhabiting a universe governed by a precarious, provisional way of life and a set of rules that were not always precise. In other words, the difficulties inherent to labor in the Old Regime society were even more pronounced for those recruited to Navy services. The restriction and repression of individual freedom, the punitive dimension, the strong discipline of bodies and habits, the physical punishments, and the military hierarchy: all of this affected more severely those who were not part of the states or the pure-blood strata. Absenteeism, desertion, drunkenness, malfeasance, or any kind of political action, such as associative action or socio-professional groups' struggles for better working conditions, could turn individuals into prisoners. Individuals worked in a precarious

atmosphere governed by changing and interchangeable social places.

According to the documented sources consulted herein, there was an inflow of natives from Rio de Janeiro who were recruited for the Navy, during the first decade of the 19th century. Mangaratiba, Cabo Frio and São Lourenço were systematically and fully settled. An Arsenal inspector's office contained information about Rio de Janeiro, such as a list of the "Natives' places of origin," which indicates that these people were also sent from two other localities, called São Gonçalo and Vila Nova. We could not identify whether the first region was part of Rio de Janeiro or if it refers to cities in other provinces. However, concerning Vila Nova, another document identifies it as a Macacu district located in Rio de Janeiro. In the case of external flows from Minas Gerais, Espírito Santo, the fields of Guarapuava, and Curitiba, many indigenous people came after the offensive against the Botocudos.

All Brazilian provinces, according to the model adopted in Portugal, had to send indigenous people to the Navy Arsenal. The Navy Archive documentation consulted herein is quite dispersed and fragmented, and did not allow for the identification of Botocudos among the Navy rowers. No records identify indigenous workers by ethnicity, but simply by location. This could mark the application of strong ethnic erasure mechanisms for anyone who entered the Navy ranks.

According to the *Relação de Pagamentos Feiros aos Indio por José sé de Souza Neto* of March 20th, 1809, about 144 natives worked in the Royal Warehouses and in vessel services.[9] It is important to note that the number of natives engaged in the various Navy Arsenal services was surveyed after the publication of five of the laws

[9] Relação dos pagamentos. Contadoria da Marinha.1809. Ms. BNRJ,20,4,2n.83

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that regulated indigenous recruitment during the first year of John VI's reign (1808-1821).[10] Table 1 identifies the socio-professional occupations of the natives and the number of workers during this period.

Table 1 – Socio-professional occupations of natives and number of workers (1801-1821)

Socio-professional occupation	Number of Workers in 1809
Royal Warehouse Servants	04
Gelota rowers	18
Savana rowers	16
Escaleres and (?) da Ribeira rowers	106
Total	**144**

Source: Relação de pagamentos feitos por José de Souza Neto. Contadoria da Marinha, 1809. Documento 20,4,2 nº 8. Seção de Manuscritos. Biblioteca Nacional.
*Due to a gap in the document, it was not possible to verify whether it was a name, or another note from the Accounting Office.

It is important to note that the larger number of indigenous individuals was allocated to Ribeira long-boats. Another gap in the sources made it impossible to transcribe the name of the second type of vessel at the time. The mapping of socio-professional occupations based on the payment list also revealed different spaces and work dynamics, with some continuities which worth highlighting. The sources revealed that, at least since 1718, indigenous workers acted as servants, inspecting cargo, policing the space, and possibly working on goods transportation. Thus, the first insertion of natives in the Rio de Janeiro port area was through Royal warehouses.

10 Cunha (1992, p.317) identified that the process of recruiting indigenous people for the Navy Arsenal of Rio de Janeiro during the reign of John VI (1808-1821) was regulated by a specific set of laws, unlike in the 18th century.

Almost a century later, they were still working at this port, and the engagement of these indigenous recruits continued in the following years.

In 1810, correspondence between the Arsenal Inspector and the Prince Regent revealed that the number of natives employed in the Navy Arsenal was still high:

> I have the honor to place the requirements of the main ferry pilots, João Pereira Marcelino, Francisco José Fernandes Barbosa, Manoel Francisco de Oliveira, Luíza Ma. Do Sacramento, Joaquim Antonio da Cruz, and Antonio da Cunha in the presence of Your Highness. I should inform Your Serene Highness that in this Arsenal there are one hundred and eight oarsmen, excluding the brave natives and those who are in the service of the Warehouses: sixty belong to His Royal Highness's galleon, fifteen to Your Serene Highness's longboat, nine to the longboat that serves Uxaria, six to the longboat that is available at Paço — which is designated on the weekly map as Terceiro —, six to the longboat that goes almost every day to send potable water to his Royal Highness, called da Ribeira, and five from the Brigade dinghy, so that only seven indigenous workers remain to guard the Barca longboat and dinghy; the first of these two vessels is only enough to supply water to the different workshops of the same Arsenal, consequently the longboat called Barca is equipped with two men to provide all the other services that take place in the aforementioned Arsenal (…).[11]

Table 2 identifies the socio-professional occupations of indigenous workers in 1810, according to the data contained in the Navy Arsenal Inspector's *Ofícios*, dated March 24th. A relevant piece of information in this document is the mention of "fierce natives" among the Navy personnel, although they were not classified according to ethnicity or region of origin.

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11 Arquivo do Arsenal da Marinha. Ofícios do Inspetor do Arsenal. 24 de janeiro de 1810, Livro 17025, fls. 104-105.

Table 2 – Socio-professional occupations of indigenous workers in 1810

Socio-professional occupation	Quantitative of Workers in 1810
Galeota rowers	66
Royal longboat rowers	15
Uxaria longboat rowers	09
Ribeira longboat rowers	06
Brigade longboat rowers	05
Ferry rowers	02
Dinghy rowers	05
Total	**108**

Source: Ofício do Inspetor do Arsenal de 24 de janeiro de 1810. Arquivo do Arsenal da Marinha/SDGM.Livro17025. Ofícios do Inspetor do Arsenal (1808-1814). folhas 104-105.

The document is neither specific about where the "fierce indigenous" workers were inserted. Was there a special regime for the civilization of these men in workshops or Royal Warehouses? Were they held at the Cobras Island prison or in the *presiganga*[12]? What was the point in sending them to the Navy Arsenal? Enormous gaps concerning these issues are noted in this documentation.

According to the sources, about seven vessels were staffed exclusively by indigenous workers at the Navy Arsenal around 1810. The legislation implemented by

12 According to Paloma Siqueira Fonseca (2008, p. 95), the *presiganga* constituted "a Portuguese warship that served as a prison in Brazil, anchored in the port of Rio de Janeiro between 1808 and 1831. This floating prison was like the tip of an iceberg comprising ancient and long-lasting practices that persisted for centuries, updated in a very specific context up to Brazil's independence process: traversing various structures and conjunctures, the *presiganga* emerged from the deep seas to the surface of events associated with the formation of the national state. Among those old practices, forced labor and corporal punishment made of the *presiganga* a vessel in the mold of the old Roman galley. Therefore, this prison ship was a receptacle, an ark that added ancient signs concerning legal punishment."

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John VI's Government formalized practices dating back to the *aldeamentos indígenas* period, under the administration of the Society of Jesus. The native workers faced a series of adversities in the exercise of their professional functions. On March 13th, 1810, it appears that a group of men comprising Bernardino José Freire, Miguel Alvares, Antonio José Mafra, Januário Miguel Antonio, and their royal rope officers, the two oarsmen from Barra Fortress, sent requests to the Regent in the Arsenal Inspector's Offices. The first three individuals were ship guardians and there is no mention of what motivated their requests. Such is also the case of Januário Miguel, master of the rope workshop, and his officers. However, according to the Inspector, "they deserve to earn the grace that they beg for." Generally, ship keepers and workshop masters were men of Portuguese descent. Their names appear on the document. However, cordage officers and natives did not have their names mentioned in the document; nevertheless, their claims are included explicitly:

> Regarding the two native rowers from Fortaleza da Barra, according to the information gathered by the Sea-and-War Captain, it appears that the petitioners do not have a daily stipend equal to most indigenous workers' in the service of this Arsenal, and judge them with less work; but attending to their greater need for food, they seem to deserve a higher remuneration for their subsistence[13]

The "Fortaleza da Barra" is very briefly mentioned and cannot be identified. However, a complex system of forts and fortifications existed in Rio de Janeiro between the 16th and 19th centuries. The fortresses located at the Barra entrance were, respectively, the São João da

[13] Arquivo do Arsenal da Marinha. Ofícios recebidos dos Juízes e Política, 13 de março de 1810, Livro 17025, fl. 110.

Barra Fortress, in Rio de Janeiro, located at the foot of the Cara de Cão Hill, in the present-day Urca neighborhood. This fortress protected the access to the Guanabara Bay, as did the Santa Cruz da Barra fortress, located on the other side of the bay, in Niterói, and the Laje Fortress, located in the middle of the bay's entrance. It is likely that the two indigenous rowers may have been assigned to the São João da Barra fortress, given their proximity to the Navy Arsenal. In this particular case, the question of a different remuneration for the natives at the Barra fortress must be problematized, as it highlights the hierarchies established by the Navy for its body of indigenous workers.

What is observed is that those who served at the Barra fortress were considered less important, worked less and, hence, their wages were not enough even to cover their food. Reflecting about the two aforementioned oarsmen reveals that they were many miles away from the Navy Arsenal and their journey form one point to the other must have been extremely exhausting, as only the two of them were employed in that service. In this episode, the demands of the two indigenous workers also reveal a precarious situation regarding daily food (meals). The use of legal dialogue channels with the government, such as the submission of requests, demonstrates the plurality of actions/strategies that arose among Navy Arsenal workers.

According to the consulted sources, the natives sent to the Navy Arsenal often deserted due to a series of problems, among them lack of payment, violence, and the search for better working conditions at other establishments in the Rio de Janeiro Province. The trajectory of Manoel da Conceição is quite telling about the issue of desertion. In Portuguese military tradition, workers at the Ribeira das Naus de Lisboa Arsenal were considered military too, and the nonfulfilment of their duties was punished with imprisonment and convictions. Their low wages and precarious working

conditions fostered escapes[14]. Costa (2010, pp.321-322) describes the effects of the permit of September 6, 1765, on Portuguese society, and relates that desertion became a "heinous offense." But even after establishing regular wage payments, desertions continued. The repressive apparatus also reached those who sheltered deserters, with fines of up to 200.000 *réis*, denaturalization, death penalty, and a prohibition to appear before the King as some of the deterrents imposed in Portugal.

The episode involving Manoel da Conceição began on June 3rd, 1809, as follows:

> Most Serene Sir,
> I have the honor to place in your presence the letter that was addressed to me by the General Administrator of the Administration of Whale Fisheries, claiming that the native Manoel da Conceição, for the reasons stated in said letter, was arrested by the colonel of the competent district, and afterwards sent to me, as a deserter from this Arsenal.[15]

It was quite common for indigenous workers to desert and seek jobs in fisheries and wharfs in the vicinity of the Rio Janeiro Port, in the area called Prainha and its surroundings. If they were recognized and arrested, they had to return to the hostile environment of the Arsenal under police custody. There is evidence of an existing network of district authorities, workspace administrators, and Arsenal inspector, meant to trace workers and develop control mechanisms even when working in non-militarized spaces. A month later, Manoel da Conceição was arrested and sent to the Navy Arsenal again:

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14 Ofício do Inspetor do Arsenal de 1º de agosto de 1812. Apud. Greenhalgh, Juvenal. O Arsenal da Marinha na História. 1763-822. Rio de Janeiro: Editora A Noite, 1951. p.100.

15 Ofício do Inspetor do Arsenal de 03 de junho de 1809. Arquivo do Arsenal da Marinha/SDGM. Livro17025.Ofícios do Inspetor do Arsenal (1808-1814). folhas 76-77.

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> Honorable Sir,
> Realizing that the blacksmith Manoel da Conceição was no longer working at Master José Maria's store, in charge of the works for the Royal Residence carriages, I sent for information, and in fact, upon finding him working in another store, I drove him to prison under the guard of this Arsenal, where he still remains while you determine whether you wish him to remain exempt from the service of the same Arsenal.
> God guard Your Excellency for many years. Royal Navy Arsenal, August 14th, 1809.[16]

This second escape and subsequent imprisonment is also enlightening as it demonstrates the migration of the Arsenal's working sailors to other activities in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Manoel da Conceição, professionally specialized as a blacksmith, was in charge of the "works for the Royal Residence carriages", probably in a smithy workshop under the supervision of Master José Maria. Brasil Gerson (2013) identifies a Blacksmiths' Alley near the lower part of Castelo Hill, close to the Navy Arsenal, located in the extinct Misericórdia neighborhood; this was an area for workshops that would be later inhabited by the Chinese, famous for its opium houses in the second half of the 19th century. According to the Arsenal plan drawn up by Master Ignácio Pinto in 1809, the area included a workshop that supplied the Navy with materials and craftsmen for ship repairs. Indeed, blacksmiths, carpenters, and caulkers were highly sought-after professionals.

Manoel da Conceição's employment for the Royal Residence carriages denotes that he was a competent craftsman. Though indigenous and a "deserter" under surveillance, surrounded by different authorities, he still remained a practicing professional. This marks that his superiors considered it useful to keep him for the Arsenal, as they could benefit

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16 Ofício do Inspetor do Arsenal de 14 de agosto de 1809. Arquivo do Arsenal da Marinha/SDGM. Livro17025. Ofícios do Inspetor do Arsenal (1808-1814). Folha 82.

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from specialized and expensive labor for small amounts. It is also evident that there was a communication and collaboration network between different royal power agents, the district police apparatus, workshop owners, and Navy authorities who acted to regulate the work of individuals like Manoel da Conceição, maintaining them under state power control and exploiting them as permitted by law.

This desertion process also highlights the limited freedom of these workers. Studying military institutions and desertions in Minas Gerais during the second half of the 18th century, Mello (2004) observed the existence of a pact between local and royal powers to operate in support of "military regimentation". with mechanisms for controlling and punishing deserters. The pact must be understood as a "bilateral exchange relationship between the subjects' fidelity and obedience to the Crown, and the protection and maintenance of their properties and privileges" (Mello, 2004, pp.67-84). These relations between the different instances of local and royal political power are patent in the case of the Manoel da Conceição. We believe that there were also pacts and agreements among Rio de Janeiro's surrounding society, military organizations, and political elites —a microcosm of the Old Regime society— to discipline certain social groups and keep them under the control of the Navy Arsenal. In parallel to the pacts between hegemonic groups, the indigenous workers had their own agencies, sociabilities, and strategies to deal with the typical hardships of this society.

Final considerations

In Rio de Janeiro, the demand for a workforce of *indígenas aldeados* took on new meanings after the 18th century. The increasing traffic of African captives altered the scenario of the existing labor in the Rio de Janeiro Captaincy. However,

this process did not result in the suppression of indigenous workers from the various occupations in and around the city. The presence of these natives was made invisible by the discourse of royal power representatives and the ethnic classifications of the 19th century. Miguel Duarte, an indigenous voice that echoed in the 18th century, gave visibility to a group of indigenous workers in Rio de Janeiro who demanded better wages and better working conditions. In fact, the deletion of native presence belittled their innumerable works in the Rio de Janeiro region, in rural areas and in Minas Gerais. Miguel Duarte highlighted, among other issues, the performance of Navy workers.

Cotta (2007), Gomes (2010) and Jeha (2011) perceived the militarization process of indigenous labor as a tradition dating to the colonial period. Indigenous militias were essential in the occupation and colonial construction processes of the later imperial society. Moreira (2013) demonstrated how the insertion of natives in the Navy and the other armed forces was an important social organization mechanism. Throughout this research, it was possible to establish a dialogue with these theoretical perspectives to understand the process of recruiting natives for the Rio de Janeiro Navy Arsenal between 1763 and 1820. Navy recruitment was also understood by the royal authorities as a process to organize and discipline the natives. However, the sources analyzed herein demonstrated that other issues could also be at stake.

The main motivation for their recruitment was the low cost of maintaining natives, widely recognized for their river navigation and wood selection capabilities. In other words, the incorporation of natives followed a tradition originated in the colonial period and guaranteed state control over a specialized workforce that could be further improved in the workshops of the Navy Arsenal itself. Under the ruse of civilizing and assimilationist ideals, natives were gradually subjected to increasingly repressive and sophisticated practices to capture their workforce. The indigenous legislation

of the first half of the 19th century[17] granted the necessary legal support for seizing natives and sending them to the Navy Arsenal, far more efficiently and violently in previous centuries. Indigenous freedoms were, therefore, obstacles to effective recruitment.

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[17] Comprising the *Carta Régia de 1° de agosto de 1808,* the *Carta Régia de 13 de Agosto de 1808,* the *Carta Régia de 05 de novembro de 1808*, the *Aviso de 22 de novembro de 1808*, the *Aviso de 19 de maio de 1809*, the *Ordem de 04 de Agosto de 1809*, and the *Resolução 3a de 23 de novembro de 1811*; published in Cunha (1992b, pp. 61-172).

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2

Cabeças and escravos novos[1]

Widespread social commitment to slavery and inequality (Luanda and Rio de Janeiro, 1798-1833)

Roberto Guedes & Ana Paula Bôscoro

The city of Luanda was the greatest slave-exporting port in Africa in the Modern Age, oriented to meeting the immense demand created by slavery in the Americas, especially Brazil. The captives brought from the slave frontiers of Western Central Africa waited for embarkment in Luanda —just as in other slave ports (Miller, 1988, ch. 5 and part II; Candido, 2013, ch. 4; Sparks, 2014, ch. 5)—, where the adults were called *cabeças* (heads) and the children, *crias* (offspring). These terms were used even during the captive's baptism at the Parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios (Our Lady of Remedies). For its part, Rio de Janeiro was the

1 The Portuguese expressions *cabeças* and *escravos novos*, which were commonly used at the time, can be translated literally as "heads" and "new slaves". They refer, respectively, to adult slaves destined for sale via Transatlantic trade and to African slaves newly arrived to Brazil. We employ them to understand the contemporary perception of the so-called resgate or carregação. Not even the word tráfico (literally, "traffic"), which we adopt, was recurrent. This article has been translated into English by Carolina Perpétuo Corrêa.

most important slave disembarkation port[2] during the 18th and 19th centuries (Florentino, 1995; TSTD). From there, the so-called *escravos novos*, the recently arrived Africans, were redistributed to the South and Southeastern regions of Brazil. Upon taking possession of the newly arrived slaves at their final destination, their masters re-baptized them.[3] Therefore, baptisms of *cabeças* and *crias* in Luanda, the Atlantic crossing, the redistribution of newly arrived African slaves from Rio de Janeiro, and re-baptism of slaves in Brazil were constituent parts of a global history[4] that intersected religion, trade, and slavery.

The transatlantic slave trade is a classic theme among scholars, but there is still ground for advancement by comparing the business operation in Luanda and Rio de Janeiro. What was the market share of the various slave traders operating in each city? How many people were involved in the business? Who were the major traders? What were the similarities between the markets of the two cities?

In order to answer these questions, we resorted to three baptismal record books from the Parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios (1797-1804), located in the *cidade baixa* (lower town), where the harbor was also situated. Between 1770 and 1786, all baptisms of *cabeças* and *crias* took place in Remédios, since the Parish of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Our Lady of Conception), found in the *cidade alta* (upper town), only baptized children.[5] During this period, the total of children baptized in both parishes was 4,604. However,

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2 See *The Transatlantic Slave Trade Database, Voyages* (TSTD). *Online*. On Central Africa ports and other slave ports, see Miller (1988), Eltis (2000), Ferreira (1997), Curto (2002); Eltis, Richardson (2008), Candido (2013), Silva (2017) and Oliveira (2017).

3 On work and baptism as means of converting a captive into a slave, see Mattoso (1982).

4 On Global History, see Casalilla (2019) and Subrahmanyam (2017).

5 Arquivo da Arquidiocese (AA) de Luanda, Livros de Batismos da Freguesia de Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, (LBFNSR) (1797-1799; 1800-1802; 1802-1804); Livro de Batismos da Freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição (1760-1786).

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when these children and their parents were slaves, they were not destined to the transatlantic market; they are thereby not within our scope. The baptisms of *cabeças* and *crias*, on the other hand, did allude to the transatlantic slave trade.[6] Altogether, the 3,888 baptismal records from the Remédios parish comprise 52,093 *cabeças* and 1,593 *crias*, totaling 53,686 captives baptized between March 1798[7] and June 1804 (around six years and three months). From this point on, we will refer to both *cabeças* and *crias* simply as *cabeças*, since they are the majority among the captives found in the documentation. A baptismal record could comprehend one or hundreds of *cabeças*, but in most records there were only a few.

For Rio de Janeiro, we have resorted to five codices of dispatches of newly arrived African slaves (*despachos de escravos novos*) produced by the *Polícia da Corte* (Court Police), and we have chosen to emphasize the period between 1825 and 1830.[8] Altogether, these sources count 114,854 *escravos novos* sold in the South-Southeast axis of Brazil. Each dispatch could represent, approximately, a sale of newly arrived Africans for some location outside the city of Rio de Janeiro. For example, "João Afonso de Moraes dispatched to Minas thirty-nine unbranded *escravos novos*, belonging to *Desembargador* (Judge) Manoel Inácio de Melo e Souza".[9]

It should be noted that there are inaccuracies and gaps in the aforementioned corpora: having been produced in

6 On the differences between baptisms of *cabeças* and of children with Christian names, see Ferreira and Guedes (2020). On baptism in Angola and Benguela, see also Thornton (1983), Curto (2002), Candido (2015) and Oliveira (2016, chapter 3).

7 Only six records were produced in 1797; given the scarcity of baptisms that year, we included them in the 1798 records.

8 Arquivo Nacional, Brazil, Rio de Janeiro, Coleção Polícia da Corte (AN-RJ-CP). Codices 390, 411, 421, 424, and 425. The documents cover the period from 1809 to 1833 but, concerning the trade in newly arrived African slaves (*escravos novos*), they are most reliable for the 1820s (Fragoso; Ferreira, 2001).

9 AN-RJ-CP, 424, vol 2, p. 24.

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a pre-statistical period, they do not contain records for every trader operating in each city, every *cabeça* shipped from Luanda, or every *escravo novo* leaving Rio (Marcílio, 2000). Likewise, we do not know whether the owners of the *cabeças* and *escravos novos* operated by themselves, through intermediaries, and/or in commercial partnerships, nor is it possible to assess the financial sources, etc. However, the documents provide a unique opportunity to scrutinize comparatively the slave market share for each city, by informing the number of baptized *cabeças* and the name of their owner (in the case of baptismal records) and the names of the *escravos novos* and their seller/owner/guarantor (in the case of dispatches). The two types of sources— baptismal records and dispatches— lead to similar results.

Though the slave trade seems to have involved thousands of people on each side of the Atlantic, the market was concentrated in the hands of a relatively small number of traders (Miller, 1988, ch. 6). Thus, in addition to producing captives, the activity created a hierarchy within the mercantile community and, consequently, within free people themselves, since the access to the slave market was very unequal. However, the broad participation of different social segments indicates the dissemination of the captive market in both cities, exposing the social acceptance of enslavement and social inequality among free persons. Hence, the trade of people was more than the mere exchange of goods for captives in an integrated mercantile system: it also engendered a kind of trafficking way of life (*modus vivendi traficante*) that was inoffensive to a large segment of society, with its broad combination of social groups. Indeed, quite the opposite was the case.

There was no contradiction in a slave-trading business that was at once concentrated and widely supported by different social groups. Indeed, its acceptance stemmed from its openness to various social sectors (Bôscaro, 2021, chapters 2 and 4). Free or freed individuals and families, companies and mercantile groups, religious and secular

institutions: all of them took part as they could. The "flux and reflux" between Africa and Brazil through "the river called Atlantic" (Verger, 1987; Costa e Silva, 2003) was also based on the moral backing for human trafficking.[10]

Having specified the object, the sources and the perspective of the investigation, we have divided the analysis into three sections. First, we have attempted to determine the structure of the market of *cabeças* in Luanda, then the structure of the market for *escravos novos* in Rio de Janeiro, and, finally, concluded with a brief comparison of both markets.

Luanda: from one to 519 *cabeças* and seven *crias*[11]

On March 6, 1804, a priest baptized in a single ceremony "519 *cabeças* and seven *crias* belonging to Colonel Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho".[12] The Luanda-born Coutinho was one of the largest slave traders in the city between the end of the 18th and the beginning of the 19th centuries, having been responsible for 5% of all captives embarked in Luanda between 1768 and 1806 (Silva, 2010, 55). Similarly, he owned 7% of the *cabeças* baptized between 1798 and 1804.[13] Coutinho was at the top of the rank of slave traffickers, but was certainly not the only one. However, the vast majority operated on a much smaller scale.

Despite the competition that characterized the slave-trading activity (Miller, 1988; Silva, 2010), the baptismal records inform 1,071 different names of *cabeças* owners in Luanda.[14] The large amount of people that took part

10 On moral questions related to slave trade and slavery, see Davis (2000).
11 A first version of this section was recently published in Portuguese with a few modifications (Guedes; Bôscaro 2021).
12 AA-LBFNSR, 1802-1804, p. 254.
13 AA-LBFNSR, 1797-1799; 1800-1802; 1802-1804, *passim*.
14 This number does not include the names that were illegible and whose identification is doubtful. Very common names, such as *João da Silva,*

in the business suggests a very wide diversity within the market of *cabeças*: from men like Colonel Coutinho, who had 3,778 heads baptized; passing through a "sailor" who owned six *cabeças*; to a "Camossanda black man" or a "squad corporal (*cabo de esquadra*) nicknamed Cahengo", who owned one *cabeça* each[15]. Thus, great businessmen shared the market with occasional sellers like Annamaboe, for example (Sparks, 2014, chapter 5).

How each merchant participated in the business and the rhythm of baptisms varied according to the arrival of captives from the interior, as well as the imminent departure of ships to the Americas. For example, on November 20, 1771, the governor of Angola, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, wrote a letter to the captain of the Presídio[16] of Ambaca to warn "Pedro de Matos and all of Matias da Costa's correspondents that, by December 15, [they should] send to this capital [Luanda] as many *cabeças* as they could before the ship's departure".[17] There seems to have existed an organized information network between the coastal cities (Luanda and Benguela) and the *presídios* in the interior, so as to quickly load soon-to-depart ships with slaves. Luanda, therefore, hastened the supply of *cabeças* from the interior.

However, some commercial transactions took longer, owing to other facets of the African circuit prior to setting sail for Brazil. On December 1 of that year, 1771, the same governor sent a letter to the captain-major of

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were neither taken into account. There are 195 "lost" names comprising 999 heads. Cross-referencing helped in the identification of these names. The same procedure was conducted while dealing with dispatches/passports.

15 AA-LBFSNR, 1800 to 1802, p. 134, 202v, 268v.

16 The *presídios* of Angola were fortresses that functioned as administrative, military and mercantile units in strategic locations in the interior (translator's note).

17 Arquivo Histórico de Angola (AHA), Códice 80, Unnumbered (approximately sheets 12 and 42).

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Benguela (a port located south of Luanda), ordering him to take measures regarding a ship owned by captain Domingos Furtado de Mendonça. A partner of Mendonça's had insinuated that the ship "carried 800 *cabeças*, 500 of its own and 300 belonging to [other traders of] the local mercantile community (*desta praça*)".[18] The Benguela transaction was considered unjust and harmful to Mendonça, as the vessel's delay at the port would increase the risk of damage to its equipment and rigging, leading to the death of captives and disrupting tax collection by the *Fazenda Real* (Royal Treasury). The governor alleged that if the ship lagged behind at the port, two other vessels would be favored by setting sail first, which would cause losses to Captain Mendonça. Thus, the governor's words demonstrate that the procurement of *cabeças* for slave ships depended on supplies from the interior, which were consigned to the merchants established in different posts. as it had not completed the quota of *cabeças* necessary to depart, Mendonça's ship had to wait while other vessels went ahead, cutting the line. In an attempt to get over that obstacle and favor Mendonça, the governor justified his orders on the grounds of the "affection" he owed the captain and the "great" care for "his goods". Governor Sousa Coutinho confirms that affection and personal ties did interfere with the supply of captives and the vessels' times of departure. It is well known that these kinds of bonds were essential for the operation of slave trading networks in Angola.[19] Hence, the market for adult slaves without Christian names in

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18 *Idem*.

19 Thompson, E. (2006). *Famílias traficantes nas rotas entre Angola e Brasil em fins do século XVIII. Brasília*: UNB, Programa de Pós-Graduação em História, Dissertação de mestrado; PANTOJA, S. (2010). Laços de afeto e comércio de escravos. Angola no século XVIII. *Cad. Pesq. Cdhis*, Uberlândia, v.23, n.2, jul./dez.

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embarkation port cities was not based exclusively on the law of supply and demand.[20]

Sousa Coutinho wished that captain Mendonça's ship would set sail in that year of 1771. If it could not depart due to the "lack of *cabeças*," then the captain-major of Benguela should help Mendonça. Such help, however, could not involve the abuse of "extorting more and more *cabeças* from the local mercantile community (*da praça*)"; moreover, the captain-major should be "a little more indulgent with the sailors' slaves," including those 300 belonging to the local traders. Unless the vessel had *feitos próprios* —that is, owned the goods that made up its cargo—, it could not carry more than "50 *praças* [captives] belonging to sailors".[21] By transferring his dilemma to the captain-major, the governor aimed to favor his friend Mendonça without causing harm to the sailors and the other merchants from Benguela.

Coutinho's dilemma reveals that there were different ways to procure captives in the port cities, even going as far as resorting to extortions or competing over *cabeças* at the local market. Nevertheless, the sailors' quota had to be respected. The source does not specify the crew size; nevertheless, the *cabeças* that arrived in coastal cities were unequally divided between the different parties of the transaction, which ranged from sailors to major traders. The foregoing situation indicates that amassing *cabeças* in Luanda depended partly on the capability of capturing the supply of captives coming from the interior. Even the sailors' and the other slave merchants' quota depended on these factors.

Because captains, crewmembers and other merchants received and embarked their captives in the

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20 Polanyi, K. (1944). *A grande transformação*. Rio de Janeiro: Campus, 2002.

21 Arquivo Histórico de Angola (AHA), Códice 80, Unnumbered (approximately sheets 12 and 42).

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port of Luanda, The priests of the Parish of Remédios, who charged emoluments for the *cabeças* they baptized[22], identified 1,071 different slave owners, comprising the captains, crewmembers and other merchants who transported captives from Luanda. Their unequal market access opportunities are manifest in the baptismal records, which detail ceremonies with at least one *cabeça,* and up to 519 "*cabeças* and seven *crias*".[23]

Significance of the *cabeças*

To understand the significance of the magnitude of *cabeças* baptized in Luanda, it is necessary to compare it with that city's population and with the volume of captives exported and disembarked in the Americas. In Table 1, note that the number of slaves exported from Luanda was higher than that of its residents, either free or enslaved, between 1798 and 1804. Thus, exportable captives formed the bulk of the population of Luanda. They were, however, a fluctuating contingent. The city was mainly a place of forced passage and the magnitude of the flux itself indicates that many social groups dealt with slave trade. Indeed, feeding the *cabeças*, accommodating them in the *quintais* while they waited for embankment, conducting them to the ships, etc., involved a series of social agents. The large part of the population that could be bought and sold was overwhelmingly present in the city. In 1798, for instance, the sum of all baptized *cabeças* alone (not the total of

22 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Avulsos de Angola (AHU), Cx. 66, doc. 92.

23 There certainly were large-scale merchants among the occasional participants. However, out of the 676 owners whose names only appeared once in the sources, 364 (53.9%) sold one *cabeça* each, 178 (26.3%) sold between two and five captives, and only 11 (1,6%) sold more than 50.

exported captives) corresponded to 87.8% of the total population of Luanda, almost doubling the size of the city's free population. It also exceeded the resident slave contingent. Except for 1804, a year in which baptisms only took place between January and June, the *cabeças* exceeded the free and slave populations, considered separately (Table 1). For city dwellers, it was almost inescapable to be somehow tied to slave trade.

Indeed, *cabeças* accounted for a significant proportion of the captives exported from Luanda and disembarked in Rio. Between the years 1798 and 1803, they represented from 66.8% to 89.7% of all captives exported from Luanda. During those years, at least 70% of the *cabeças* baptized in Luanda disembarked in Rio de Janeiro, at times surpassing the number of Africans disembarked in the largest slaving port of the Americas at the end of the 18th century (Table 1). The number of *cabeças* baptized in Luanda could be smaller than that of enslaved Africans arriving in Rio, since the latter city receive captives coming from other places besides the African port city. On the other hand, the *cabeças* were also shipped to other American ports during the years when the number of enslaved Africans exceeded the number of arrivals in Rio.

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Table 1 – Estimates of the resident population, captives exported, and baptized *cabeças* and *crias* (Luanda, 1798-1799)

	Resident population						Captives exported from Luanda (b)	*Cabeças* and *Crias* (c)			(2)	(3)	Captives disembarked in Rio de Janeiro (d)
	Free (a)		Slave (a)		Total (a)								
Year	#	%*	#	%*	#	% (1)	#	*Cabeças*	*Crias*	Sum	%	%	# and %
1798	3,651	34.6	4,362	41.4	8,013	76.0	10,544	6,830	209	7,039	66.8	87.8	6,780 (103.8%)
1799	3,150	37.5	3,264	38.9	6,414	76.4	8,394	6,312	151	6,463	77.0	100.8	8,857 (73%)
1800	–	–	–	–	–	–	8,110	7,054	221	7,275	89.7	–	10,368 (70.1%)
1801	–	–	–	–	–	–	10,140	7,487	318	7,804	77.0	–	10,011 (78%)
1802	4,093	59.1	2,832	40.9	6,925	57.8	11,978	10,142	393	10,532	87.9	152.1	11,343 (92.9%)
1803	3,560	51.5	3,347	48.5	6,907	48.2	14,342	9,714	224	9,938	69.3	143.9	9,722 (102%)
1804	3,587	51.7	3,352	48.3	6,639	49.2	13,498	4,554	77	4,631	34.3	69.8	9,075

Source: (a) Curto and Gervais (2001, p. 50, 58); (b) Curto (2002, p. 343); (c) AA-LBFNSR, 1797-1799, 1800-1802, 1802-1804; (d) Florentino (1995, p. 59).
OBS.: * Percentages in relation to resident free and enslaved populations. (1) Percentages of the population in relation to the number of captives exported from Luanda. (2) Percentages of cabeças and crias in relation to the number of captives exported from Luanda. (3) Percentages of cabeças and crias in relation to the total population of Luanda.
There is no population data for 1800 and 1801. For calculation adjustment purposes, six baptisms of cabeças that took place in October 1797, involving a total of 127 captives, were added up to those of 1798. During the year of 1804, baptisms were only recorded between January and June.

In short, due to its magnitude, the baptisms of *cabeças* are trustworthy indicators of the market share of the various traders from Luanda, since, in this city, baptism was mostly oriented to human trafficking purposes, rather than the salvation of children's souls, judging by the number of each sort of baptism.

The unequal trade of *cabeças*: operation and market share

Most *cabeças* were baptized in small ceremonies involving few captives. The slight majority of the 3,888 baptism records referred to ceremonies involving only one *cabeça*. There were 1,156 (31.3%) ceremonies in which only one *cabeça* was baptized, but if summed up, these ceremonies account for only 2.2% of all baptized captives. In fact, the 2,527 (57.4%) records of ceremonies involving up to 10 *cabeças* constitute the bulk of the baptismal records. However, they do not even account for 10% of all baptized captives (Table 2). The fact that only a small number of *cabeças* were baptized per ceremony is consistent with the nature of the operation, as many traders sold just a few slaves at once. Even major traders occasionally sold single captives or small groups of captives. A single trader never boarded all of its property on the same boat, in order to reduce the risk of losses (Silva, 2010). Thus, large-scale merchants also stocked their ships with small groups of slaves but, unlike occasional traders, they did so regularly.

Therefore, the baptism of the 519 *cabeças* and seven *crias* belonging to colonel Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho was an exception that proves the tendency towards the monopolization of a few transactions and the concomitant supply of a few *cabeças* in most deals. Added up, the ceremonies for more than 20 *cabeças*, which represented only 20.1% of all baptismal records, encompassed 74.3% of the

cabeças. The large collective ceremonies, involving from 51 to 100 *cabeças*, accounted for 23.7% of all the souls blessed at the Parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios (Table 2).

Table 2 – *Cabeças* and *crias* per baptism (Parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, 1798-1804)

Cabeças and/or *Crias* per baptism	Baptisms		Total of Captives	
#	#	%	#	%
1	1,156	31.3	1,156	2.2
2	452	12.2	904	1.7
3	242	6.6	726	1.4
4	156	4.2	624	1.2
5	113	3.1	565	1.1
Subtotal from 1 to 5	**2,119**	**57.4**	**3,975**	**7.5**
From 6 to 10	**408**	**11.0**	**3,176**	6.0
From 11 to 20	**427**	**11.6**	**6,407**	12.2
From 21 to 50	**497**	**13.5**	**16,004**	30.4
From 51 to 100	**178**	**4.8**	**12,482**	23.7
From 101 to 200	**54**	**1.5**	**7,460**	14.2
Over 200	**10**	**0.3**	**3,183**	6.0
Total	3,693		52,687	100.0

Source: AA-LBFNSR, 1797-1799, 1800-1802, 1802-1804.
The cases which were not clearly legible have been excluded.

Baptisms, in short, could be classified in terms of the number of slaves baptized per ceremony: collective ceremonies were extremely concentrated at the top but, at the bottom, the small ceremonies involving a few captives prevailed. These distinct, albeit customary, ways of baptizing *cabeças* reveal that the city was part of an Atlantic *trafficking society*[24], highly committed to buying and selling people, since everyone was

[24] The expression was coined by Bôscaro (2021).

involved in the trade: occasional small-scale merchants or large-scale traders; men orwomen; military officers and priests; civilians, soldiers, and sailors; freed, white, black, or mixed-race (*pardos*) people; single or married men; widows and *donas*.[25] There was no occupational, color or gender barrier that would pose an insurmountable obstacle to becoming part of the business: being a free or freed person, or even a captive residing in the city, was enough. The trade, however, was monopolized by the elite and top merchants.

The elite and the top: the owners of the *cabeças*

Antônio José da Silva Lisboa was a top-ranking merchant, as he sold almost five thousand *cabeças*. Occasional sellers (who baptized up to 10 *cabeças*) were at the bottom of the pyramid, followed by small-scale sellers (who baptized between 11 and 50 *cabeças*), medium-scale sellers (between 51 and 300 *cabeças*), large-scale sellers (between 301 and 700 *cabeças*), elite sellers (between 70 and 1,000 *cabeças*), and top sellers (more than 1,000 *cabeças*) (Table 3). Mirroring the business hierarchy, the number of *cabeças* in Silva Lisboa's baptismal records was way above the average trader. Thus, in spite of the wide social reach of trafficking, the market was concentrated in the hands of a few men. In one sense, the captive trading elite, which was composed of only five people/families (0.5%), accounted for more sold *cabeças* (4,034) than those of the 767 occasional sellers (2,002 *cabeças*) or the 170 small-scale sellers (4,006 *cabeças*), if considered separately. In another sense, the further removed from the top, the more widespread the business became. At

[25] In Angola, the title *Dona* designated women of higher social status who were familiar with the Portuguese culture (translator's note).

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the foundation of the pyramid, one could find the 364 sellers who baptized just one *cabeça* each. They represented 34% of all sellers, but, as a group, sold only 0.7% of the captives (Table 3).

Together, all 767 occasional sellers and 170 of the small-scale ones (with up to 20 *cabeças*) represented 87.5% of the total sellers, but only controlled 26.2% of the market. Many were opportunists, especially those who held up to 10 captives, because in this group only 21% had baptized more than one captive. It is possible that not all of the *cabeças* belonging to owners of this category were destined for the Atlantic trade, but for the perpetuation of slavery in the city of Luanda itself. In fact, the occasional sellers were behind the small ones. The average number of slaves sold was substantially higher among small-scale sellers, and so was the frequency of their transactions, as 62.4% of them baptized *cabeças* more than once. As for the occasional merchants, the overwhelming majority of them (79%) only performed one baptismal act.

In short, the city's slave business hierarchy was not a mere top-bottom division; it was multi-layered. For this reason, the proportion of sellers who performed more than one baptism tended to increase, starting from the group of small-scale sellers and reaching 100% among those who sold more than 200 *cabeças*. Although the baptismal records we have investigated cover a period of slightly more than six years, we could affirm that certain owners of *cabeças* were large-scale sellers whose presence was frequent on the Luanda market, as will be detailed below.

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Table 3 – Market share of local slave traders in Luanda (1798-1804)

Number of slaves baptized	Sellers			Sellers in the group with more than one baptism	Slaves baptized			Total baptisms per group		Average number of slaves per baptism
#	#	%	#	%	#	%	Average	#	%	#
1	364	34.0	–		364	0.7	1.0	364	9.9	1.0
2 – 3	217	20.3	76	35.0	496	0.9	2.3	217	5.9	2.3
4 – 5	82	7.7	45	54.9	363	0.7	4.4	169	4.6	2.1
6 – 10	104	9.7	44	42.3	799	1.5	7.7	203	5.5	3.9
1 – 10 (Occasional)	**767**	71.6	**165**	21.5	**2,022**	3.8	2.6	**953**	25.8	2.1
11 – 20	84	7.8	44	52.4	1,226	2.3	14.6	223	6.0	5.5
21 – 50	86	8.0	62	72.1	2,780	5.3	32.3	329	8,9	8.4
11 – 50 (Small-scale)	**170**	15.9	**106**	62.4	**4,006**	7.6	23.6	**552**	15.0	7.3
51 – 100	42	3.9	34	81.0	2,920	5.5	69.5	239	6.5	12.2
101 – 200	38	3.5	36	94.7	5,332	10.1	140.3	298	8.1	17.9
201 – 300	16	1.5	16	100.0	3,892	7.4	243.3	257	7.0	15.1
51 – 300 (Medium-scale)	**96**	9.0	**86**	89.6	**12,144**	23.1	126.5	**794**	21.5	15.3

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301 – 500	18	1.7	19	100.0	6,109	11.6	339.4	386	10.5	15.8
501 – 700	9	0.8	9	100.0	5,157	9.8	573.0	242	6.6	21.3
301 – 700 (Large-scale)	**27**	2.5	**27**	100.0	**11,226**	21.3	415.8	**628**	17.0	17.9
701 – 1.000 (Elite)	**5**	0.5	**5**	100.0	**4,034**	7.7	806.8	**196**	5.3	20.6
Over 1.000 (Top)	**6**	0.6	**6**	100.0	**19,203**	36.5	3,200.5	**481**	13.0	39.9
Total	1,071	100	395	36.9	52,675	100	49.2	3,691	100.0	14.3

Source: AA-LBFNSR, 1797-1799, 1800-1802, 1802-1804.
OBS.: The cases which were not clearly legible have been excluded.

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Table 4 – Top and elite owners of *cabeças* (Parish of Nossa Senhora dos Remédios, 1798-1804)

Name	Place of birth	Title	Number of baptisms	Baptisms with up to 20 *cabeças*	Baptisms with over 20 *cabeças*	Baptized *cabeças*	Average number of slaves per baptism	Time period of the baptisms	Estimated minimum period of operation in Luanda
Antônio José da Silva Lisboa		Captain of *Ordenança*	112	50	62	4,871	43.5	26/03/1798 to 03/06/1804	1787 to 1804
Manoel Gomes de Araújo		Tenant, Sergeant-Major	75	38	37	4,000	53.3	30/03/1798 to 25/05/1804	
Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho	Luanda	Colonel	132	77	55	3,778	28.6	07/05/1798 to 24/05/1804	
Ricardo da Silva Rego		Second-Lieutenant and Captain of *Auxiliares do Terço de Luanda*	74	34	40	2,468	33.4	09/07/1798 to 02/03/1804	
Manoel da Cruz	Portugal	Surgeon-Major	194	166	28	2,103	10.8	07/05/1798 to 05/10/1800	1784 to 1800
Manoel José de Sousa Lopes		Tenant	46	27	19	1,983	43.1	13/05/1798 to 04/06/1804	

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João Inácio Coelho		Vessel captain	36	21	15	911	25.3	31/03/1800 to 25/07/ 1803	
João Ferreira Leite		Tenant	37	22	15	903	25.4	01/09/1798 to 22/05/ 1804	
Manoel José da Rocha e Silva		Sergeant-Major	28	17	11	759	27.1	14/12/1798 to 14/04/ 1804	
Paulino Pinto da Mota		Vessel captain	40	27	13	737	18.4	26/03/1798 to 03/11/ 1798	1793 to 1798
Manoel Francisco Regadas		Sergeant-Major	55	43	12	724	13.2	02/05/1798 to 26/07/ 1803	
		Total	**829**	**522**	**307**	**23,237**	**28.0**		

The group formed by the top and elite merchants was composed of only 11 people (0.1% of all captive owners) who, together, amassed no less than 23,237 (44.1% of the total) baptized *cabeças* during little more than six years. This is equivalent to almost three times the entire population of Luanda in 1798 or a little more than half of the urban population of Rio de Janeiro in 1799. Besides the aforementioned Coutinho (Silva, 2010; Pantoja, 2014), who were they? How did they operate?

Except for the surgeon-major Manoel da Cruz, the top and elite traders were men who held military ranks. The vessel captains were different from Angolan military personnel in that the latter were significantly more integrated into the social, economic and political life of the city and the *presídios* of the interior. Their business activities probably extended to the northern ports of Benguela, (Cabinda, Ambriz, etc.) High military posts, such as colonel and sergeant-major, stand out in the sources, but captains and lieutenants, like Ricardo da Silva Rego, were also from families whose members occupied (high) military positions in Luanda and/or in the *presídios*. As shown by historiography (Couto, 1972; Santos, 2005; Carvalho, 2014, 2020) and the aforementioned words of Governor Sousa Coutinho, military officers in general, and captain-majors in particular, were central to the process of producing captives. They used their positions to operate on the Angolan market of *cabeças*.

It is not possible to analyze the trajectory of every elite and top trader in this chapter, but we can obtain some insights by considering and comparing some examples of high-ranking merchants.

Captain Antônio José da Silva Lisboa had 4,871 *cabeças* baptized in 112 ceremonies, an average of 43.5 *cabeças* per baptism. His captives were sold in a period of about six years and two months, between March 26, 1798, and June 3, 1804. Silva Lisboa's enormous array of captives represents 9% of the total number of baptized *cabeças*. The sum of

the slaves he sent to the Americas in 1798-1804 surpassed the population of free and enslaved people in Luanda (considered separately) in each year of that period. Had Silva Lisboa continued exporting captives at this pace, it would have been equivalent to selling almost all permanent inhabitants of Luanda every six years.

Silva Lisboa's prominence does not stand out only considering the population of Luanda: the 4,871 *cabeças* sold by this sole trader correspond to 48% of the captives disembarked in Rio de Janeiro in 1800 (Table 1), 32.5% of the enslaved population of that city's urban parishes in 1799, or 55.3% of all its freed contingent.[26] Thus, the profile of captain Silva Lisboa symbolizes the extreme concentration of the *cabeça* market in Luanda. To a greater or lesser extent, it is representative of the group of top and elite traders.

Silva Lisboa paid frequent visits to the port of Benguela, and probably the port of Luanda as well, since at least 1787. In 1790 he was promoted to captain of one of the *Companhias de Ordenança* at the Kwanza River, a very important outlet for the captives coming from the *presídios* of Muxima, Massangano, Ambaca, among others, to the city of Luanda. In 1791, Silva Lisboa was mentioned as captain and master of two corvettes that carried natural history maps, made by Joaquim José da Silva, and correspondence from the governor of Angola to the Secretary of State for the Navy and Overseas (*Secretário de Estado da Marinha e Ultramar*) in Lisbon. The vessel would stop over in Pernambuco[27], certainly carrying *cabeças* that Silva Lisboa had baptized in Luanda, where he died around 1815, by then a colonel.[28]

In view of the foregoing, captain Silva Lisboa was connected to the interior of the African continent through the Kwanza River and rendered services to the governor of Angola and the central power in Lisbon, similarly to colonel

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26 On the population of Rio, see Karasch (2000, p.109, 110, 111).
27 Cf. TSTD, Names of Vessel Captains; AHU, Cx. 76, doc. 86.
28 Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Microfilme 132.

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Anselmo da Fonseca Coutinho (Silva, 2010) and other families whose members held military posts in Luanda, Benguela and the *presídios*, such as the Pereira Bravo (Ferreira, 2012, pp. 92-94). The difference between Silva Lisboa and Fonseca Coutinho seems to be that the latter was a *filho da terra* (literally a "son of the land," a locally born man) from a family whose ancestors probably had been in Angola at least since the early eighteenth century. This may have been the reason why he was much more connected to internal trade networks linked to the *sobados*, with whom many of Luanda's great slave merchants had kinship ties (Silva, 2010; Pantoja, 2010a; Orioli, 2013, pp. 13-62).

Anselmo Coutinho, in turn, resembled Ricardo da Silva Rego, the fourth merchant in terms of number of slaves (Table 4). The Silva Rego family had long been trading in slaves based on a kinship network —although for not as long as the Fonseca Coutinho family—, occupying mainly the posts of second-lieutenant (*alferes*), captain, and colonel of the *Terço de Auxiliares* of Luanda, between 1779 and 1796. In 1770, José da Silva Rego sold goods to a vessel belonging to the royal treasury, and João da Silva Rego was acknowledged, in 1782, as a "trader in the city of Luanda" (*negociante da praça de Luanda*). A nephew of Paulo da Silva Rego was appointed to the position of *ajudante* (auxiliary) at the *presidio* of Pedras do Encoge in 1794. On the other hand, there is no one named Silva Rego on the list of vessel captains available in the TSDT database.[29] The basis of the family business apparently revolved around the flow of captives from the interior to the city of Luanda, without taking part of the Atlantic crossing.

Quite different is the case of Paulino Pinto da Mota, who occupies the tenth position among the traders in Table 4. He was an experienced ship captain who traveled between

[29] AHU, Cx. 62, doc. 24; Cx. 65, doc. 97; Cx. 73, doc. 36; Cx. 84, doc. 113. AHA-IHGB, Padab, Códice 87-A-19-1, 126, 00233; Códice 271-C-14-4, 00211.

the ports of Central Atlantic Africa and Southeastern Brazil. In 1793, he was the captain of the corvette *Cabo Frio*, which left the port of Santos, in the captaincy of São Paulo, afterwards returning to the same city with a stopover in Rio de Janeiro.[30] It is improbable that he owned either the corvette or its "effects"[31], as it was commonly said at that time, since, in 1797, he captained the ship *Ana de Lisboa*, but did not own the vessel. The "hull and effects" (*casco e efeitos*) worth 49:051$610 belonged to the Lisbon dealer Manoel Joseph de Sousa Freire & Co. The *Ana de Lisboa* left the Portuguese capital around August 1797 to buy captives in "Cabinda, Molembo, Loango and other ports north of this coast". The ship, however, could not reach the northern coast and arrived, damaged, in Luanda, on October 30 of the same year. In 1799, the owner of the *Ana de Lisboa* still requested the governor of Angola, in Luanda, to grant an exemption from paying royal duties on Indian trade goods, because he had already paid them in Lisbon.[32] The baptismal records from the parish of Remédios show that captain Paulino Pinto da Mota baptized 737 *cabeças* between March 26 and November 3, 1798, certainly acting only as captain, not as owner. He transported slaves whose owners were established in the ports of Lisbon, Santos and Rio de Janeiro. He was undoubtedly associated with them in order to receive his share in *cabeças*.

In turn, the Portuguese Manoel da Cruz, who occupies the fifth place in Table 4, must have made a fortune with the slave trade in Luanda. On February 9, 1784, he was in Salvaterra dos Magos; two days later, he was appointed to the post of surgeon of the kingdom of Angola. He requested an exemption from fees for letters issued by the chancellery, claiming that he had "limited

30 TSTD, Names of Vessel Captains; Padab, Códice 314 -D-1-3, 00022; Códice 273-C-15-2, 00238.

31 Literal translation of e*feitos*, term used for the products carried by merchant vessels (TN).

32 AHU, Cx. 89, doc. 49.

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means". In April 1784, Cruz arrived in Luanda[33], where he had 2,103 captives baptized between 1798 and 1800. He seemingly based his fortune on trading captives in Angola, especially in Luanda. If Cruz started trafficking upon his arrival in town in 1784, his commercial activities lasted 16 years. It took a long time for him to become one of the main traders in terms of the number of *cabeças* registered at the parish of Remédios, in the late 18th century. But he was not the kind of merchant connected to interior networks through kinship; instead, he relied on intermediaries called *aviados*[34], who were sent to the *presídios* to send him captives. His main commercial base was the city of Luanda (Corrêa, 2019, p. 216-220). Among the top traders, he held smallest number of baptism ceremonies with more than 20 captives. Unlike him, the *filhos da terra*, who spoke Portuguese and Kimbundu, generally occupied the military posts necessary for trading in the inland *presídios* and dealt with slave-supplying *sobados*.[35] This was not the case of Cruz, who was married to a Portuguese woman, the widow of a servant of the Baron of Moçâmedes.[36] Although he had no military rank, his position of surgeon-major linked him to the military, as his mission was to treat the "military body" of Angola.[37] Probably, the position helped to create mercantile networks with military participation.

When he asked permission to return to Lisbon in 1795, Cruz claimed that he was sick and that he had

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33 The information on Manoel da Cruz is from AHU, Cx. 68, docs. 21, 25 e 40; cx. 82, docs. 47, 65.

34 The term *aviado* referred to itinerant traders who travelled around the interior, transporting goods borrowed from large-scale merchants established in coastal towns. These goods were subsequently traded for slaves (TN).

35 Cf. Pantoja (2010a, 1994, p. 196); Couto (1972); Santos (2005) and Carvalho (2014; 2020).

36 AHU, Cx. 82, doc. 65.

37 AHU, Cx. 84, doc. 91 and 100.

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served in Angola for more than ten years. His request was granted by the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council) on May 23, 1796.[38] Cruz's imminent departure to Portugal seems to have led him to invest the resources he had accumulated during his life in Luanda thanks to the slave trade. It is not certain whether he left town before the baptisms of his *cabeças*, leaving a proxy in his place.

What we do know is that even within Luanda's elite and top traders there were different types of merchants, with diverse access to captives and engaged in distinct personal and mercantile networks. Thus, even though it is debatable whether the trading groups in Luanda and Benguela were dependent on Brazilian or Portuguese mercantile capital, it is certain thar Luanda's trafficking society was capable of sustaining itself based on its interests.

Leaving the city of Rio de Janeiro: from one to 240 *escravos novos*[39]

As in Luanda, the business of redistributing the newly arrived African slaves in Rio de Janeiro was both concentrated and widespread. Multitudes of traders participated actively in the trade. Between 1809 and 1833, for example, 1,313 people were involved in the trafficking of *escravos novos* along the route that linked the city of Rio de Janeiro and the captaincy/province of São Paulo alone. They drove 25,719 *escravos novos* in

38 AHU, Cx. 82, doc. 65.

39 The analysis concerning Rio de Janeiro, with some changes and additions, is derived from Fragoso, Guedes (2001 and 2001a), Guedes (2015) and Bôscaro, Guedes (2020; 2020a). It is worth noting that, for Rio de Janeiro, we deal with varying absolute numbers, as there are fluctuations in the availability of information for each period.

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2,103 shipments. In the same period, along the route that linked the capital city to other locations in the captaincy/province of Rio de Janeiro itself, 2,963 merchants sent 6,050 shipments that drove 59,162 *escravos novos*. For Minas Gerais, we have located 4,144 merchants, responsible for 8,354 shipments involving 67,471 *escravos novos* (Fragoso, Guedes, 2001a, p. 30; Bôscaro, 2021, pp. 72, 81). The numbers of merchants, shipments and *escravos novos* per province are proportional. As the 19th-century Minas Gerais was the largest slaveholding captaincy/province in Brazil (Martins, 2018), many more people participated in that regional branch of the internal slave trade. As the distribution of captives intensified, more people became involved in the business. As in Luanda, occasional merchants, Atlantic traders, *donas*, priests, captains, among other groups/families, were part of the social consensus around the trade of human beings. Within their possibilities, people from different municipalities participated in the distribution of the 167,539 *escravos novos* registered by the *Polícia da Corte* (Court Police) in Rio de Janeiro between 1809 and 1830 (Table 5). The shipments brought from one to 240 *escravos novos* — the latter being the number of slaves sent by Veríssimo José Coelho & Co. to Campos, after buying them, in 1830, from José Luís Teixeira, Francisco dos Santos Ferreira, Joaquim Antônio Ferreira and Domingos Carvalho de Sá.[40]

[40] AN-RJ-CP, 424, Vol 4, p. 109.

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Table 5 - Shipments of *escravos novos* per captaincy/province, and total number of captives in the codices and the transatlantic slave trade (1809-1830)

	Escravos Novos												Total: transatlantic slave trade (a)
	Minas Gerais		Rio de Janeiro		São Paulo		Rio Grande do Sul		Other		Total		
Years	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#	%	#
1809-14	**2,916**	**44.0**	**1,607**	**24.3**	**1,617**	**24.4**	**294**	**4.4**	**188**	**2.8**	**6,622**	**9.7**	**68,271**
1815-21	**6,909**	**36.1**	**10,728**	**56.1**	**1,050**	**5.5**	**23**	**0.1**	**405**	**2.1**	**19,115**	**14.0**	**136,210**
1822	2,506	25.8	2,656	27.3	1,931	19.9	2,168	22.3	463	4.8	9,724	41.8	23,280
1823	0	-	625	13.4	1,998	42.7	1,172	25.1	883	18.9	4,678	23.8	19,640
1824	4,112	32.8	3,617	28.8	2,099	16.7	1,780	14.2	938	7.5	12,546	51.0	24,620
1825	5,641	61.6	2,598	28.4	834	9.1	0	-	82	0.9	9,155	34.9	26,240
1826	6,038	32.5	5,760	31.0	3,676	19.8	1,985	10.7	1,094	5.9	18,553	52.2	35,540
1827	6,152	47.0	4,118	31.5	2,050	15.7	336	2.6	433	3.3	13,088	46.2	28,350
1828	10,610	41.0	9,506	36.7	4,727	18.3	631	2.4	409	1.6	25,883	57.0	45,390
1829	9,318	44.9	7,039	33.9	2,864	13.8	946	4.6	588	2.8	20,755	43.9	47,280
1830	12,053	44.0	10,735	39.2	2,771	10.1	1,153	4.2	708	2.6	27,420	88.7	30,920
1825-30	**49,812**	**271**	**39,756**	**201**	**16,922**	**87**	**5,051**	**25**	**3,314**	**17**	**114,854**	**53.7**	**213,720**
Total	**66,255**	**39.5**	**58,989**	**35.2**	**25,617**	**15.3**	**10,488**	**6.3**	**6,191**	**3.7**	**167,539**	**34.5**	**485,741**

Source: AN-RJ-CP, 390, 411, 421, 424 and 425. (a) Florentino (1995, p. 51).
OBS.: The years 1809-1821 have been grouped together to save up space.

The significance of the *escravos novos* in the trafficking Rio

However, the language of the business was ever-changing, and the so-called *escravos novos* only started being so when their presence became more frequent than that of other kinds of enslaved persons from 1821 on. Thus, we have chosen to emphasize the period 1825-1830, since the documents dealing with the African slaves disembarked in the city of Rio became more standardized only after 1824. After the prohibition of the Atlantic slave trade in Brazil, in 1831, the *escravos novos* gave way to the *ladinos* (African slaves already familiar with the Portuguese language), who ranged between 72.9% and 97.3% of the slaves registered by the *Polícia da Corte*. Not surprisingly, the series of dispatches ended in 1833, perhaps so that the police would not have to document the clandestine trade. But even so, the dispatches show the social acceptance of slave trade, which was in fact embraced by the entire society, as well as the State (Mamigonian, 2017). The nascent Brazilian Navy, financed by large-scale merchants, aimed to protect the Atlantic trade of captives in the recently founded Empire of Brazil (Oliveira, 2017).

Hence, the number of *escravos novos* sent from Rio de Janeiro was significant when compared to the city's population. Between 1824 and 1830 alone, the 127,400 slaves dispatched from Rio were equivalent to almost three times the 43,376 (free, freed and enslaved) inhabitants of the city's urban parishes in 1799. This would be tantamount to selling out the city's entire population three times every seven years; or to twice the urban population in 1821 (which comprised 79,321 inhabitants), or even, with a large surplus, all of the parishioners in 1838.[41] Although Rio was the main market in the South Atlantic, being the political

41 On the population of Rio, see Karasch (2000, p.109, 110, 111).

and economic center of the Empire of Brazil, born in 1822 (Fragoso, 1992), the city was also a place of passage (Faria, 1988) for an enormous fluctuating population of *escravos novos*. Therefore, the *escravos novos* found in the dispatches registered by the police between 1825 and 1830, which represent between 46.2% and 88.7% of the Africans disembarked in the port of Rio de Janeiro (Table 5), are also a reliable sample for this analysis.

The unequal market of *escravos novos*: operation and distribution from Rio

Table 6 shows 121,448 *escravos novos* and *ladinos*, between 1825 and 1830, attempting to identify a pattern in the quantity of slaves per dispatch. We have noticed that small shipments of one or two slaves prevailed. But though they represented 51.6% of the dispatches, they only account for 10,766 slaves (8.9%). However, despite the predominance of occasional traders' shipments (up to 2 captives), small shipments (3 to 5 captives) and medium shipments (6 to 10 captives), some dispatches included 11 to 50 captives, and we have labeled them as "large shipments". Accounting for 16.4% of the dispatches, the large shipments sent 58,954 (48.5%) *escravos novos*. Above them, there were mass shipments with more than 50 slaves, which represented only 2.3% of all dispatches but were capable of supplying almost one-fourth (22.3%) of the regional markets.

Table 6 – Dispatches and *escravos novos leaving Rio de Janeiro (1825-1830)**

Number of slaves shipped per dispatch	Dispatches	%	Total of *Escravos Novos*	%
1	5,470	34.8	5,470	4.5
2	2,648	16.8	5,296	4.4
3	1,315	8.4	3,945	3.2
4	971	6.2	3,884	3.2
5 to 10	2,398	15.2	16,876	13.9
11 to 25	1,726	11.0	28,301	23.3
26 to 50	853	5.4	30,644	25.2
51 to 75	233	1.5	14,111	11.6
76 to 100	85	0.5	7,367	6.1
Over 101	**40**	**0.3**	**5,554**	**4.6**
Total	**15,739**	**13.0**	**121,448**	**100.0**

Source: AN-RJ-CP, 421, 424 and 425.
* 6,594 slaves that were not escravos novos have been included, as sometimes crias and ladino slaves were also traded.
For the number of slaves per dispatch, we have used categories that are different from those used in the analysis of the baptismal records, considering that the biggest shipment of escravos novos from Rio was half the size of the Luanda baptismal record that involved 519 cabeças and seven crias.

Thus, small-sized dispatches were the most frequent ones. The hierarchy of the shipments was also multi-layered, growing from the broad base to the narrow top of the pyramid, which largely explains the participation of thousands of small merchants, some of them regular and some occasional, as in Luanda. In some cases, the small groups of captives described in the dispatch had been purchased directly by the people/families who ordered them in Rio de Janeiro for their own farms in other regions. The process, however, was directed by a reduced elite. In short, there were myriad ways to market captives.

For example, some masters resorted to their sons and/or to *tropeiro*[42] slaves who trafficked on their orders or by negotiation, while others brought slaves from Rio just to supply their own estates. In 1805, in Porto Feliz, captaincy of São Paulo, captain-major Francisco Correa de Moraes Leite counted with 26 slaves in his residence, but requested there four more "of their [African] nations that he ordered from Rio de Janeiro" to supply his sugar mill.[43] On the other hand, some traders went to Rio in order to buy slaves and resell them at their hometown. In 1803 and 1813, Francisco de Oliveira Setúbal "made a living out of his business of buying slaves in Rio de Janeiro and selling them in this town," an expression that shows that the reproduction of slavery in the interior had the port of Rio as a reference[44], just as the city of Luanda could foster enslavement in the *presídios*.

Therefore, making a living out of the business of buying and selling people in the internal market consolidated social and family bonds. The Franciscos de Oliveira Setúbal, father and son, remained in business and took at least 58 *escravos novos* from Rio to Porto Feliz. The Portuguese father and his São Paulo-born son were involved in an enterprise that passed from one generation to the next. Everything suggests that the father was no longer involved in the activity by 1815, when, at the age of 63, he was described as a farmer. The son, however, succeeded him in the trade he had been learning since he was at least 14 years

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42 *Tropeiro* refers to one of the members of the caravans of donkeys and mules that carried products and drove enslaved persons through the interior of Brazil (TN).

43 Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo, Lista Nominativa de Porto Feliz (AESP-LNPF), 1805, fogo (f.) 1.

44 All the information about the Setúbal family come from AESP-LNPF, 1803, 2ª cia, f. 33; 1805, 2ª cia, f. 31; 1808, 2ª cia, f. 5; 1810, 2ª cia, f. 5; 1813, 2ª cia, f. 77; 1815, 2ª cia, f. 108; 1818, 2ª cia, f. 74; 1820, 2ª cia, f. 7; 1824, 2ª cia, f. 6; 1829, 2ª cia, f. 78; 1843, 3º Quarteirão, fogo 187; Museu Republicano Convenção de Itu (MRCI), Pasta 110, doc. 5; e AN-RJ-CP Códice 421, vol. 16, p. 173 e 309; Códice 424, vol. 2, p. 185 and 242.

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old. At this age, and accompanied by the *crioulo* (a black man born in Brazil) named Adão, Leite Setúbal, the son, left for a five-day journey to Cuiabá, in the distant captaincy of Mato Grosso, a place that had been receiving slaves from Porto Feliz since the 18th century. In 1822, when he left Rio de Janeiro for São Paulo, via Itaguaí (a stop on the route), the junior Setúbal was already 26 years old. That year, accompanied by a comrade and three captives "brought by him", he drove 19 *escravos novos* to São Paulo. In 1828, he drove another 39 *escravos novos* through the same route. In 1830, Setúbal again arrived in Rio via Itaguaí with two *ladino* slaves, Crispim Mina and José *pardo* (mixed-race man), and a comrade. His family had been active in the domestic slave trade for as long as some Luandan families.

In 1854, within that world that mingled personal and business relationships, the slaver Francisco junior, at around 60 years old, freed the slaves that had been his business comrades. In his will, he declared free the slaves "Crispim and his wife Manoela, both from the *Mina* nation; and Antônio, the overseer, and his wife Joaquina, both also *de nação* (that is, African born)". If his *terça* (the third part of half the inheritance, of which the testator could dispose as he wished) did not cover the cost of the manumissions, the apportionment "[should] never weigh upon the four freed slaves, who [should] enjoy their freedoms, without any further responsibility". Maybe his trafficking comrade José Pardo was already dead or freed when the will was written, but we know that Crispim had been transporting captives from Rio to Porto Feliz, together with his master, since at least 1822. If they bought and sold people until 1850, when the Eusébio de Queiroz Law prohibited the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil, then master and slave would have been working side by side for 28 years. Crispim Mina had also spent time with Setúbal senior. The trust between the captive and the Setúbals does not derive from the fact that the slave had been born in his master's house (which he had not, since he was a Mina slave), but from the years of coexistence

that shaped the relationship between an African man, a Portuguese man, and his Brazilian son, all of them slave carriers on the Rio-São Paulo circuit. The testator's codicil, dated 1863, shows that Crispim Mina had died before his master, but his wife Manoela was freed. The overseer Antônio was also manumitted. The bonds of affection between masters, a slave overseer, and a *ladino* Mina who helped in the trafficking of *escravos novos* were essential for the reproduction of slavery in the inland towns of Porto Feliz and Cuiabá. The consensus around the commerce of people in the trafficking society overcame distances and social boundaries.

Evidently, the family organization that distributed captives from Rio de Janeiro to different locations in the South-Southeast axis of Brazil was not specific to the Rio-São Paulo circuit. The captaincy of Minas Gerais, the largest slaveholding province in the 19th century (Martins, 2018), was the most closely linked to Rio. Such family enterprises were chains composed of different forms of commerce and kinship relations. This is exemplified by Valentim Gomes Tolentino, a prominent mixed-race caravan slave trader (*traficante tropeiro pardo*), moneylender, farmer and second-lieutenant (*alferes*); and by the powerful Antônio Dias Tostes, the largest slave owner in the Zona da Mata region of Minas Gerais at the beginning of the 19th century, who belonged to the third-generation of a family of conquerors established in the area since 1742 (Bôscaro, 2021, chapter 5). These traders and their families preserved strong commercial ties with merchants from Rio de Janeiro, quite as Pereira Bravo, Fonseca Coutinho, and Silva Rego, who connected the inland *presídios* and Luanda, for example.

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Elite and top traders: supplying the internal market from Rio de Janeiro

Who were the major traders of *escravos novos*,directly or indirectly controlling the physical reproduction of slavery in different regions supplied by Rio?

Based on the 19,461 *escravos novos* sold between 1825 and 1830, where the seller's name has been mentioned explicitly[45], Table 7 shows that the 545 merchants had a quite unequal participation in the market. The 348 small-scale traders (63.9%), those who sold between one to ten captives, only account for 1,054 captives (5.4%). Among them, 287 (82.4%) made just one sale in six years. Of the 138 merchants who sold up to three captives, only 22 (15.6%) made more than one transaction. In short, despite the differences among small-scale merchants, most of them traded in only one regional market (area).

This feature changed as the number of slaves sold increased. In the range from 51 to 300 slaves, the number of large-scale merchants decreased to 62 people, 11.4% of all traders, but they were responsible for the sale of 7,281 (37.4%) slaves. Among them, there were regional merchants such as Oliveira Setúbal from Porto Feliz and Dias Tostes from Zona da Mata in Minas Gerais, but also traders established in Rio de Janeiro. Large-scale merchants made more than one sale during that six-year period more frequently than medium-scale ones: 57 out of 62 large traders (92%) did so. Similarly, they tended to have links to different regional markets, as 48 (74.2%) of them did (Table 7).

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45 Names of guarantors and dispatchers of *escravos novos* are also mentioned. In other words, the same person could be a seller in one record, but a guarantor or dispatcher in other records. To avoid the risk of overestimating the group of elite and top traders, we have decided to take into account only those explicitly referred to as sellers in Table 7. In Table 8, however, we consider separately the shares of the elite and top traders in individual and collective sales.

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However, excluding collective sales, the traders in the last two ranges (elite and top sellers) were the real owners of the regional captive distribution business. This group was composed of only 13 sellers who sold 6,271 slaves. All of them made more than one shipment of captives and operated in different regions. Having sold about one-third of the population under study, they certainly shipped fewer slaves (around 1,000) than the large-scale sellers. However, they represented only 13 (2.4%) of all traders (Table 7).

Once again, the evidence suggests that the market was extremely concentrated, a feature that definitely stands out when we add up the last three ranges (large-scale, elite and top traders), which, together, made up only 13.8% of all sellers, but were responsible for the sale of almost 70% of the *escravos novos*. It was definitely a pre-industrial market, just like the market of *cabeças* in Luanda. At the bottom there were a multitude of occasional small-scale traders and, at the summit, a more stable group that controlled the flows of the internal slave trade (Table 7). In fact, the regional distribution of captives, as a business, does not differ much from other business activities in Rio de Janeiro at the time, such as cabotage and cattle transportation, and even the Atlantic slave trade. All these segments had the same characteristics: the numerical predominance of occasional sellers in a business controlled by a very reduced group (Fragoso, 1998).

We will now take a closer look at the major traders, comparing them to others when convenient. Table 8 shows the names of the elite and top sellers, considered individually and collectively. Analyzing the individual sales, we notice that the large-scale merchants were among the top five, collectively selling 3,528 captives (18% of Table 7). They are the so-called *negociantes de grosso trato*, who were involved, at the same time, in large enterprises and different types of business, including the Atlantic crossing of captives (Fragoso 1998; Florentino 1995).

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Table 7 – Total of slaves and businessmen per number of dispatches of *escravos novos* (1825-1830)

Slaves sold per seller	Sellers		Slaves sold		Shipments	Slaves per shipment	Sellers with more than one shipment	Sellers with shipments to more than one area
#	#	%	#	%	#	Average	#	#
1	121	22.2	121	0.6	121	1.0	0	0
2 – 3	117	21.5	279	1.4	143	2.0	22	10
4 – 5	55	10.1	244	1.3	79	3.1	16	9
6 – 10	55	10.1	413	2.1	94	4.4	23	13
1 – 10 (Small-scale)	**348**	**63.9**	**1,057**	**5.4**	**437**	**2.4**	**61**	**32**
11 – 20	57	10.5	874	4.5	143	6.1	27	21
21 – 50	64	11.7	1,934	9.9	219	8.8	46	25
11 – 50 (Medium-scale)	**121**	**22.2**	**2,808**	**14.4**	**362**	**7.8**	**73**	**46**
51 – 100	31	5.7	2,100	10.8	274	7.7	26	20
101 – 200	22	4.0	3,084	15.8	398	7.7	22	20
201 – 300	9	1.7	2,097	10.8	159	13.2	9	8
51 – 300 (Large-scale)	**62**	**11.4**	**7,281**	**37.4**	**831**	**8.8**	**57**	**48**
301 – 400	8	1.5	2,743	14.1	300	9.1	8	7

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401 – 500	2	0.4	899	4.6	99	9.1	2	1
301 – 500 (Elite)	**10**	**1.8**	**3,642**	**18.7**	**399**	**9.1**	**10**	**8**
628	1	0.2	628	3.2	45	14.0	1	1
994	1	0.2	994	5.1	35	28.4	1	1
1.007	1	0.2	1,007	5.2	62	16.2	1	1
Over 600 (Top)	**3**	**0.6**	**2,629**	**13.5**	**142**	**18.5**	**3**	**3**
Collective sales*	1	0.2	2,044	10.5	139	14.7	–	–
Total	545	100.0	19,461	100.0	2,310	8.4	205	138

* Collective sales = Collective sales made by more than one trader, but often without indication of the main trader relative to the number of slaves sold.
Source: AN-RJ-PC, 421, 424 and 425.

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Table 8 – (a) List of elite and top traders who individually sold over 301 *escravos novos* between 1825 and 1830, and (b) their participation in collective sales between 1809 and 1833

#	Name	1825-1830			1809-1833		
		Place of birth/ occupation	Slaves sold	Individual sales	Slaves sold	Collective sales	Overall period of operation*
			#	#	#	#	
1	Joaquim Antônio Ferreira	Minas Gerais	1,023	63	2,887	61	1809-1833
2	José Francisco de Mesquita	Minas Gerais	994	35	1,147	97	1817-1832
3	João Alvares da Silva Porto		632	45	756	68	1815-1830
4	Antônio José Moreira Pinto		534	28	896	58	1826-1832
5	Francisco Xer Dias da Fonseca	*Trader of the local mercantile community*	424	73	1,214	191	1817-1832
6	Viúva Carmo e Filho		396	51	396	51	1829-1830
7	Antônio Joaquim de Macedo		386	4	448	13	1825-1830
8	João do Nascimento Natal	Gipsy	344	56	1,033	174	1821-1830
9	José Pereira Cardoso	*Trader of the local mercantile community*	350	80	605	114	1826-1833

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10	José Fernandes de Oliveira Pena		345	19	894	44	1825-1831
11	Manoel Francisco de Oliveira	Minas Gerais	327	22	896		1814-1831
12	Antônio José de Castro (and *Brothers* or & *Co.*)	Porto/Portugal	319	35	382	53	1822-1832
13	Francisco José dos Santos	Resident at Main Street (c)	304	33	503	67	1820-1832

Source: AN-RJ-PC, 390, 411, 421, 424 and 425.
(a) Only cases where there is explicit mention of the seller's name in the period 1825-1830 have been taken into account.
(b) Includes individual sales and participation in collective sales as guarantor of dispatches or dispatcher for the entire period 1809-1833.
(c) In Portuguese, Rua Direita: street where Rio de Janeiro's mercantile elite resided.
* Assessed only through the dispatches without cross-referencing with other sources, that is, it is a minimum estimate. All the cases in which there were doubts about the names were excluded.

Among the 13 elite and top traders, there were people like João Alvares da Silva Porto, a merchant involved in different businesses, including the Atlantic slave trade. Silva Porto's importance can be grasped from the analysis of his 1832 bankruptcy filing. In that year, he owed 85 people the enormous sum of 1:611:572$279, whereas 221 merchants owed him the equivalent to 1:618:365$315. These numbers make him one of the members of the reduced economic elite that controlled the main businesses in Rio de Janeiro: credit, slave trade, etc. (Fragoso, 1998, p. 276).

However, in Table 8, other people connected to the international trade of enslaved Africans can be found next to Silva Porto, such as Joaquim Antônio Ferreira and Antônio José Moreira Pinto (Florentino, 1997, pp. 254-256). The presence and the importance of these gentlemen in the distribution of captives to various localities suggest the hypothesis that Rio de Janeiro's large-scale traders (*negociantes de grosso trato*), who controlled the international Atlantic slave shipping, also dominated large shares of Brazil's internal slave trade, redistributing captives from the city of Rio de Janeiro. This reveals the direct influence of these major dealers in the reproduction of slave society in different regions of the South-Southeast and, consequently, their 'dependence' on the Rio merchant community, at least regarding the supply of captives.

It was common for farmers to take out loans in the form of slaves (not money). Such "credit-in-slaves" agreements linked traders established in Rio to the distant town of Porto Feliz, a food and sugar-producing municipality (Guedes, 2008, chapter 1), which means that the financing for agricultural activities came largely from loans from slave traders. As early as 1799, one year after the creation of the municipality, the procurator of the *Senado da Câmara* (municipal council) stated that Porto Feliz was a newborn town in which the "principal" residents were "establishing themselves after the beginning of the sugar trade". All or almost all of them became "heavily burdened" with debts "to

raise their sugar factories" (*engenhos*). However, they could not pay their debts "in time" and were "forced to sell sugar in advance," which caused them "great losses". This state of affairs threatened production, especially because "the value of slaves has reached such a highly excessive price that it has become a proverb among us: the sugar mill men work only to pay for slaves (…)".[46] In fact, between 1803 and 1829, the captives of African origin went from representing 42.6% to 72.8% of the town's slave population, or rather, increased from 781 to 2,745 people and reached 84% of the adult slave population (over 14 years old) (Guedes, 2008, pp. 135, 138). The reproduction of local slave labor depended on the slave trade. Therefore, the town, especially the booming sugar sector, was heavily dependent on the port of Rio de Janeiro.

In fact, setting up a sugar mill required enough capital to put up sugar factories and acquire tools, slaves, etc. For the annual operation, the proprietors had to take out loans, since the agrarian nature of the economy at the time created a mismatch between the annual agricultural cycle and the daily needs of inputs and food. Due to this mismatch, the merchant advanced the producer the necessary goods, mainly slaves, in exchange for his future harvest (Sampaio, 2002, pp. 30-31, 45). Therefore, the words of the procurator of Porto Feliz, a municipality that is representative of the colonial/imperial sugar economy, highlight the inexorable dependency on mercantile credit provided by slave traders (Sampaio, 2002, pp. 29-47; Fragoso, 1992).

The procurator's words coincide with those of the traveler Saint-Hilaire about the difficult access to credit by those who were setting up sugar mills: "the new settlers of Porto Feliz were undoubtedly too poor to afford having many slaves" (Saint-Hilaire, 1976, pp. 181-182). The debts of the sugar mill proprietors and/or sugarcane producers could reach large proportions throughout the first half of the 19th century, ranging from 35% to 84% of their assets.

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46 AESP, Ordenanças de Itu, Cx. 55, Pasta 2, Ordem 292.

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Many debts came from the purchase of slaves, since these represented, on average, 44.2% of the assets of 38 sugarcane plantation owners whose estate was inventoried after their death, while the real estate —including town houses, mills (with all their utensils), other buildings, and the land itself— accounted for 32.8% (Guedes, 2008, chapter I).

The shipments of *escravos novos* sent from the city of Rio de Janeiro to the town or other locations indicate the centrality of the credit system in the mercantile networks. For example, in 1836, the assets of the deceased Jesuíno José da Rocha, a "mixed-race sugar mill proprietor from Porto Feliz," were valued at 7:997$008, and his debts totaled 1:862$734 (23.3%). The debts basically comprised slaves which the widow had to hand over to creditors. The largest creditor was Antônio Joaquim Lemos Gomes, from Rio de Janeiro, whose credit of 1:520$000 (81,6% of the total debt) was obtained in 1827 and had to be paid within three years, in equal instalments. Lemos Gomes was likely the slave trader established at the Court of Rio de Janeiro who bought slaves in Africa between 1801 and 1830 (Florentino, 1995, pp. 281-282). Lemos Gomes does not figure among the 13 largest sellers in Table 8, but he sold 161 *escravos novos* in ten operations between 1826 and 1830. Out of those slaves, 51 were sent to São Paulo in seven shipments. He also sold 80 *escravos novos* in a single operation for the coffee town of Valença, in the province of Rio de Janeiro. He even reached the interior of Goiás, where he sold 30 captives. This Portuguese from Braga, who lived in Rio, was already making trips to São Paulo by 1811, passing through Santos. Therefore, he had been trading slaves for almost two decades.[47] A small part of Rocha's debt to Gomes was paid in sugar, but six out of the deceased's 17 slaves were drawn from his assets to pay off the creditor.

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47 AN-RJ-CP, 390, vol 6, p. 10; 421, vol 2, p. 51, vol 22, p. 38 e 65 e vol 23, p. 31; 424, vol 1, p. 118 e 142, vol 3, p. 7 and 63.

Another example of such dependency is the case of the merchant Antônio Tertuliano dos Santos, who was not among the 13 largest traders in Table 8. Fragments of his mercantile trajectory reveal that the "credit in slaves" system and personal relationships were at the core of his business of redistributing slaves from the city of Rio to inland markets. In 1828, the mixed-race second-lieutenant Joaquim Barbosa Neves, a trader and sugarcane producer from Porto Feliz, owed "money he had in his possession" to Antônio Tertuliano dos Santos, also a second-lieutenant. The money referred to the settlement "of accounts [resulting from the purchase] of ten slaves" received on credit. Alone, Tertuliano shipped 192 *escravos novos* through Rio de Janeiro between 1828 and 1830, 139 (72.4%) of which were sent to São Paulo, his preferred market. By the end of the 1820s, Neves bought about 5% of the slaves sold by Tertuliano. In other words, at least one-fifth of his 41 slaves were purchased by one single merchant from Rio de Janeiro. When Joaquim Neves passed away, slaves represented 58.5% of his assets, but he had debts for 5:202$300 (25% of his assets), 86.9% of which came from the purchase of slaves. Just like Neves, other sugar producers from Porto Feliz were indebted to Tertuliano. Manoel Martins Bonilha, for instance, sold his 1834-1835 sugar production to that merchant.[48]

In the mid-19th century, Tertuliano still traded captives and was a creditor in Paraibuna, Rio Claro (Graham, 2005, pp. 33, 101-102) and Iguape (Valentim, 2006, pp. 35-36, 255), the last two located in São Paulo. Whether as a seller, guarantor, or dispatcher of *escravos novos*, dealing alone or in partnership, he is listed in the dispatches as "a trader of the local mercantile community" (*negociante desta praça*) of Rio de Janeiro, and he intervened in 221 sale operations

48 MRCI. Inventário *post-mortem* de Ana Joaquina de Almeida (Inventory of the Estate of the Decedent Ana Joaquina de Almeida). Pasta 243, doc. 5.

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involving 1,924 slaves between 1822 and 1833.[49] Tertuliano was born in the province of São Paulo[50]. This turned out to be his preferred market as well, since 166 (75%) of the collective deals in which he took part were directed to that province, sending 1,588 (82.5% of the total) *escravos novos*. Considering that in the West of São Paulo (Bacellar, 1997) kinship was fundamental to economic operations, the case of Tertuliano is similar to those of the Luanda merchants who had family ties to the residents of the inland *presídios*.

Moreover, as we have seen before, Francisco de Oliveira Setúbal junior used to go "to the Mines of Cuiabá [on] business," and the town of Porto Feliz was a point in the internal slave trade route to such mines. That is why the export map of 1814 mentions that Manoel de Souza took 12 slaves bought in Rio de Janeiro to Cuiabá.[51] Thus, the captives that left Rio arrived at different backlands of Portuguese America and, later, the Empire of Brazil. These markets depended largely on the supply of slaves and credit (in the form of slaves) provided by traders established in Rio. Antônio Tertuliano dos Santos and Antônio Joaquim Lemos Gomes are examples of merchants linked to the towns in the interior of São Paulo and to other localities via the regional slave trade. This commerce not only hierarchized traders, but also made the producers dependent on such traders.

However, these merchants had different profiles. Lemos Gomes was an Atlantic businessman and probably did not have as many links to the trade networks of the interior of São Paulo as Tertuliano, of whom no connection with the Atlantic crossing is known. Tertuliano, who was a *Paulista*, operated mainly in his province's market, even though he had settled in Rio. The same has been noticed regarding José Francisco de Mesquita, future Marquis of Bonfim, the

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49 We have not included all the archival references, as they would take up too much space.
50 AN-RJ-CP, Códice 421, vol 16, p. 270.
51 AESP-LNPF, 1805, 1a cia., f. 47.

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second largest individual trader in Table 8. According to his will[52], he was from Congonhas do Campo, Minas Gerais, and, according to Lenharo, during the 1820s, he had been responsible for taking large cattle herds from Minas Gerais to supply Rio de Janeiro (Lenharo, 1979, p. 62). His sales of slaves were also directed mainly to his province of origin.

On May 18, 1818, "the captain José Francisco de Mesquita, from Minas, resident in this Court [Rio de Janeiro], aged 26, left for Minas via Paraibuna with two comrades, one of them a slave, which he brought with him". [53]Between 1817 and 1832, he operated in the internal slave trade as a dispatcher, guarantor and seller, and he was involved in 97 deals, resulting in the sale of 1,162 *escravos novos.* Minas Gerais was the final destination of 1,128 of these slaves, negotiated in 92 deals. The *Mineiro* José Francisco de Mesquita belonged to the select group of families that managed be part of the business elite of Rio de Janeiro and its surroundings throughout the entire 19th century. His cousin, the sergeant-major and knight of the Order of Christ, Francisco Pereira Mesquita, had been one of the most important large-scale traders (*negociante de grosso trato*) of the beginning of the century and the only heir to José Pereira Guimarães, one of 36 merchants listed by the Viceroy of Brazil, Count of Resende, in the late 18th century. Following the transformations in the Brazilian economy, José Mesquita and his family diversified their business. At the beginning of the century, belonging to the economic elite meant being involved in the slave trade and in usury, having investments in urban real estate and owning transatlantic businesses. When Francisco Mesquita died in 1821, then-captain José Francisco de Mesquita and his relatives had a business with branches in Lisbon, Porto and other cities. Therefore, the family definitely belonged to the business elite of Rio de Janeiro (Fragoso, 1998; 2001). Decades

52 AN-RJ, Verba testamentária, Livro 18, no 151.
53 AN-RJ-CP, 421, Vol. 10, p. 168v.

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later, in the 1870s, already bearing the title of Count of Bonfim, José Francisco de Mesquita was the director of the *Caixa Econômica e Monte Socorro do Rio de Janeiro*, one of the Court's main financial institutions. As we know, one of the objectives of *Caixa Econômica* was to take "families out of the clutches of usury". It is certainly ironic that part of the Mesquitas' fortune was made at the expense of usury and the slave trade (Fragoso, 2001).

Mesquita, however, is quite different from João do Nascimento Natal, who occupies the eighth position among the individual traders in Table 8. He was responsible for several shipments of slaves, totaling more than 300 *escravos novos* in the second half of the 1820s, and was described, in a passport dated August 6, 1821, as a "28-year-old gypsy man, of ordinary height, with a round face, a full beard, who left for Campos with his brother José Soares, gypsy, dark-skinned, 30 years old, of ordinary height, with a long face, big eyes and not much of a beard".[54] Thus, the gypsy Natal had been active in the internal trade for at least nine years. Around the 1820s, the French traveler Jean Debret stated that the "gypsy caste" prioritized "their exclusive trade of *escravos novos* and civilized slaves [*ladinos*]" (Debret, 1989, p. 107).

Debret realized that gypsies also participated in the internal trade of captives, but alongside marquises, mixed-race individuals, regional elites, etc. Natal, however, greatly expanded his trafficking capital by being recognized as guarantor and dispatcher, and by taking part in collective sales, thus going from 344 to 1,033 *escravos novos*, sold mostly to Minas Gerais. The internal slave trade derived its strength from the shared, intense and lasting participation of marquises, barons, knights of Christ, Christians, gypsies, men, women (almost absent in baptismal records and in dispatches as slave traders), free people, freedmen, and even

54 AN-RJ-CP, 421, Vol. 15, p. 75.

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slaves, as well as *sobas* from the other side of the Atlantic, among others. The construction of the global trafficking society was a collective work.

By way of conclusion

Diverse *corpora* of historical documents —baptismal records from Luanda and dispatches from Rio de Janeiro— have revealed many similarities between their respective regional slave markets. The wide participation of thousands of small-scale and occasional traders coexisted with the concentration of the enormous business in a few hands, on both sides of the Atlantic. In Luanda, a few families with kinship ties to the inland *presídios*, such as the Fonseca Coutinho, the Silva Rego and the Pereira Bravo, were interwoven in a mercantile network. These families had much in common with José Mesquita and Tertuliano dos Santos, who, operating from Rio, developed their businesses mainly in their native regions, where they had family ties. To a greater or lesser degree, the elites and the top traders in each city exercised political power or were strongly tied to it. Therefore, the trade of souls revolved around the organization of power (Miller, 1988; Florentino, 1997). Likewise, everything indicates that those who controlled the flows between the interior and the port cities, on both sides of the Atlantic, did so through a credit system and solid personalized mercantile networks. In Angola, merchants established in the coastal towns of Luanda and Benguela depended on the influx of captives from the inland *presídios*; therefore, trying to gain control over the captive supplying networks was essential. Similarly, the inland towns of Brazil depended on the supply and credit provided by traders established in Rio.

On the other hand, in Luanda, vessel captains may have worked more often for others than for themselves, just as, in Brazil, some traders left their inland towns to resell slaves

in their parishes, although not always negotiating by their own means. Perhaps, neither of them was the main owner of the business. However, far below them, a multitude of sailors, *tropeiros*, freedmen with scant possessions and even *ladino* slaves also legitimized, from the bottom up, the global trafficking society based on the exploitation of *cabeças* and *escravos novos*.

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(ANTT) Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Microfilme 132.
(AHA-IHGB) Padab, Códice 87-A-19-1, 126, 00233; Códice 271-C-14-4, 00211.
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Part II.
Political apparatus and Administration of Justice

3

The political apparatus of Luanda and Lisbon at the end of the Ancien Régime

José Subtil

Introduction

This text does not intend to compare the town of Lisbon and Luanda, as this would be proper to a greater debate on the empire, with a comparative analysis of Brazilian cities. The objective of our analysis is only to evaluate the administrative resources of each *câmara municipal* and their jurisdictional scope to exercise power in their territories. This will reveal the enormous difference between the two towns, emphasizing the problems of disease and mortality that involved the royal service in Luanda. What we know about the administrative resources of Luanda is very little; it virtually boils down to the works of Maria Goretti Leal Soares referred to throughout the text. Therefore, we chose to make use of symbolic resources much worked on by Catarina Santos (see bibliography).

The second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century corresponded to a singular period of reforms in the Kingdom, with consequences in the overseas domains (Hespanha, 2001). Comparing the political apparatus of Lisbon, head of the Kingdom and the Empire (see Santos, 2008; Hespanha, 1998), with Luanda, capital of the

Angola colony, allows us to unveil the signs of this reform and its weaknesses (Hespanha, 2001 and 2006).

By political apparatus we mean the central government instruments (bodies, bureaucracy, political decision-making, actors, and demography) and the peripheral mechanisms of power, such as city councils, courts, charities, prisons, missions and schools, as well as the security and military forces; in the case of Angola, especially, we also refer to symbolic powers.

After the 1755 earthquake, the plan to rebuild Lisbon changed the urban configuration. It defined a new political territory whose centrality became the new *Terreiro do Paço*, from which a political system illuminated by the *Police* State emerged (Monteiro, 2010; Subtil, 2020). The reform attempted in the African colony was ultimately unsuccessful, and Angola returned to the situation of abandonment and disorder it had been in at the beginning of the reign of King Joseph I (Cruz, 2015; 2014).

In a letter dated3 June, 1792, sent to the *Secretário de Estado do Reino* José de Seabra da Silva, his cousin Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos, governor of Angola, described the chaotic, ruinous state of the colony and asked for help: "Under such principles and circumstances, it is very difficult to achieve the successes which I tirelessly promote and desire, if His Majesty does not help me and Your Excellency should stop helping me with Your Protection and Wise Instructions" [1]. The same complaint was made four years later by the *juiz de fora* (external royal magistrate) of Luanda, Félix Correia de Araújo, who, in another letter to the Secretary of State, chose to resign for disagreeing with the disastrous governance. For his part, the most reformist of governors, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, wrote to the *Secretário de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos*,

[1] Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Ministério do Reino, box 708, b. 606.

Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, brother of the Conde (Count) of Oeiras, to tell him that he "deserved the Royal and innate Clemency of His Majesty, so that I can have my bones buried in a more benign and pious land, because this one has consumed the most of me".[2]

The aim of this paper is to compare the development of the cities of Lisbon and Luanda at the end of the *Ancien Régime*, emphasizing the fact that Angola was unable to carry out reforms and obtain a strategic place in the pluri-continental system of the Portuguese Empire. We present a political analysis of the two cities, the reforms and their limitations, from the second half of the 18th century until the period of the last reformist governor (1802), Miguel António de Melo (Conde (Count) of Murça).[3]

I. Luanda, a city averse to change

At the end of the 18th century, in the aftermath of the Enlightenment reforms, the city of Luanda had a population of 1,200 soldiers and militarized citizens, a hundred bureaucrats, and another 5,712 individuals: 521 white, 1,022 *pardos* (mixed-race) and 4,169 blacks. From this group, 5,340 were single, 244 were married and 128 were widowed. The whites were less than 10%, black people stood close to 75%, and the *pardos* accounted for about

2 *Idem,* (16 May 1769).

3 Studies on the colony of Angola are few and, therefore, I want to highlight two unfortunately unpublished works. The first one is the doctoral thesis by Catarina Madeira Santos (Santos, 2005), which is very far-reaching in its systematization of Pombal's reforms and, above all, in its original use of symbolic devices. Throughout our text, we also refer to many other works by her. The second, which is an inventory of the political resources (structures and actors) of Luanda in the 18th century, is the master's degree thesis by Maria Goretti Leal Soares (Soares, 2003 and 2004).

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15%, with slaves representing about 35% of the population. This demographic picture shows us an indigenous, illiterate city, lacking in family nuclearization, with difficulties to assimilate the European cultural model, and weak capacities for development. The situation became more acute in the mid-18th century, although we do not have viable data for that period (Soares, 2003, 2004).

Magistrate Francisco Xavier Peçanha characterized this situation as "Portuguese acculturation," dominated by the use of the Ambundo language instead of Portuguese, even among the white people, who spoke "Portuguese as guests and Ambundo as Africans." This assessment was corroborated by D. António Álvares da Cunha: "It comes as a surprise to see that this city, though full of ministers of God, temples, preachers, and European men, has forgotten the religion, language and customs of our nation; because none of this exists in these miserable people, their customs are barbaric, their language is Ambundo, and their Law is pagan".[4]

Besides the problem of the emigration of whites, due to the travel's high mortality rate and the disabling illnesses caused by the environment and the climate, there was the issue of the "Africanization" of the white population, which explained the social concern with the distinction between mulattos, *pardos*, *fuscos* and blacks, and the progressive admittance of mulattos and *pardos* into the government, the military forces and the administration. Miscegenation was, therefore, the only way to increase the population and make it subordinate to colonial political power; the missionaries, however, said that the majority did not want to be baptized and kept the indigenous language and customs. The demographic "program" of Governor Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, which did not achieve the expected success, included promoting marriage to undercut the

4 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Angola, Box 26.

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high celibacy rate by granting farms and matrimonial dowries to overcome "the rejection of marriage due to the lack of means (…) and to produce a kind of nuptial enthusiasm" (Delgado, 1960).[5]

The lack of Portuguese natives was reflected, naturally, in the political and social characterization of the formation of local elites, despite the efforts to educate and prepare the locals. For example, in the premises left by the Jesuits after their expulsion, a school for boys was created as "the kindest way to bring barbarian peoples into civilization." The school was divided into two classes: one for the poorest, whether blacks, mulattoes or whites, and another one for those in a better economic position. The same occurred with "poor girls who were daughters of white Christian parents or blacks, or rich coming from rich families, so that they could learn the Christian Doctrine, how to read and write Portuguese, and at least spin, cut, knit, cook, and learn home economics to manage the family, at least for those from Luanda and of Benguela."

The political apparatus reflects this structural insufficiency that blocked the development of the Africans. Let's start with the political and judicial institutions. The central government in Luanda was based on three fundamental pillars. The first was formed by the governor, his assistant for military affairs and the secretary of state. The second pillar was made up of government Juntas, the *Junta de Justiça Criminal* (including the governor, the *ouvidor/geral* and the *juiz de fora*, who heard appeals to the *Casa da Suplicação*), the *Junta das Finanças* (composed of the governor, the magistrate and the *juiz de fora*), the *Junta do Comércio* (the Trade Board with merchants and traders) and, most importantly, the *Junta de Estado* (comprising the governor, the *ouvidor*, the

[5] Letter by Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho (16 May 1769), ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Box 708, b. 606.

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bishop, and the military commander). The third institutional axis was formed by an organic network that included the *Casa dos Contos* (1783), the *Terreiro Público* (1761) and the Customs House (1784).

The other nucleus of "central" power, the judicial, included the group of judges of law, the *juiz de fora* —who presided over the municipal Senate—,the court of first instance —which dealt with civil and criminal cases—, and the general magistrate—who also worked as royal magistrate and presided over the *Ouvidoria*.

These institutions were administratively supported by a small group of about eighty bureaucrats, including officers, clerks, writers, treasurers and notaries.

1. The executive power

The instructions given to governor Aires de Saldanha de Meneses e Sousa (1676) remained valid until the end of the *Ancien Régime*, with guidelines on catechization, provision of officials and religious persons, conservation of churches, discipline of the captains-general, control of "beatings.," ,"There were specific commands for conflicts, such as "to bring to my obedience all the rulers through gentle means and without rigor" (Carvalho, 2013). Another aspect had to do with military matters and ordinances; for instance, decreeing that soldiers "should take their weapons and perform military exercises on Sundays and Holy Days, as you see fit."

These procedural rules guided the governors' terms of office, but some problems remained unresolved, such as the replacement issue: under normal circumstances, it took about six months until the arrival of a new governor. However, in cases of sudden deaths or permanently disabling accidents, the substitution process posed political problems that were resolved through the creation of triumvirates. This figure would eventually be enshrined in law by the *Secretário de Estado da Marinha e Domínios*

Ultramarinos, Martinho de Melo e Castro (Licence of 12 December 1770). They consisted of the highest religious authority, the highest ranked military officer, and the highest ranked magistrate.

This actually occurred several times. Before Conde do Lavradio took office (1749), a triumvirate with a bishop, a sergeant-major and the *ouvidor-geral* (a magistrate with jurisdiction in a territory donated by the king) was formed. The same happened in the period between José Gonçalo da Câmara Coutinho's death (December 19, 1782) the Baron of Moçâmedes acceptance of the office, when two triumvirates were formed: the first until May 23, 1783 (bishop, *ouvidor-geral* and colonel) and the second until September 8, 1784 due to the death of the colonel and the resignation of the *ouvidor-geral*.

Chart I shows the list of governors and their terms of office. No governor left the group of magistrates, except António Álvares da Cunha, future Count of Cunha, judge of the Court of Bahia and, later, of the Porto Appeal Court and the *Casa da Suplicação*, ending up as *Presidente do Conselho Ultramarino* (President of the Overseas Council). All the rest were military and Crown grantees, noblemen of the *Casa Real* (Royal House) (75%) who received various royal favors.

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Chart 1 – Duration of terms of office of Governors and Captains-General (1750-1802)

Governor	Start	End	Duration of term of office (months)
Count of Lavradio b)	12 January 1749	23 July 1753	53
António Álvares da Cunha c)	31 July 1753	? October 1758	63
António de Vasconcelos	14 October 1758	? June 1764	68
Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho	6 June 1764	? November 1772	101
António de Lencastre	21 November 1772	? December 1779	85
José Gonçalo da Câmara Coutinho	5 December 1779	19 December 1782	36 (died)
Triunvirate	20 December 1782	8 September 1784	21
Baron of Moçâmedes a)	8 September 1784	? September 1790	72
Manuel de Almeida e Vasconcelos d)	6 October 1790	? August 1797	81
Miguel António de Melo e)	1 August 1797	24 August 1802 a)	60
Average duration of terms of office			73 (one sexennium)

Source: Soares, 2003 e 2004. Notes: a) José de Almeida Vasconcelos Soveral e Carvalho; b) António de Almeida Soares de Portugal; c) Count of Cunha; d) Count of Lapa; e) Count of Murça.

The average duration for a term of office was around six consecutive years. Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho had the largest commission (almost nine years). Only José Gonçalo da Câmara Coutinho did not complete his term of office, owing to his death.

Most of the governors' deputies did not return to the Kingdom, and those who left Angola went to Brazil: Felisberto Caldeira Brandão Pontes went to the Bahia Regiment; José Correia de Castro was sent to the Rio de Janeiro Cavalry Regiment; José Joaquim da Silva went to the Regiment of Militias of Grão-Pará; and José da Silva Costa became Secretary of the Government of Madeira. Domingos da

Fonseca Negrão, the deputy who worked along with secretary António de Campo Rego as the main supporters of Governor Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, never left Luanda until the end of his life.

The office of secretary of State (see Chart 2), who was responsible for government books,archives, and everyday work, was instituted in 1 April 1688. The royal appointments were for three-year periods and implied a residence permit at the end of the term of office.[6]

Chart 2 – Secretaries of State of the Kingdom of Angola (1750-1800)

Year	Secretary of State	Service time (years)
1746	João José de Lima	19
1765	António de Campos Rego	11
1776	João José Pinto de Vasconcelos	3
1779	José Hilário Valadares	10
1789	Francisco António Pires de Morais	13
1802	Joaquim José da Silva	2
1804	António de Melo Varajão	3

The most important of the secretaries, António de Campos Rego, had been a controversial *juiz de fora* in Luanda for 15 years (1748-1765) and played a crucial role in Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho's team. Another secretary, José Hilário de Valladares, had held various positions in Brazil and, upon ending his term in Luanda, he became Secretary of the Government of Minas Gerais.

6 The archives were organized by the governor-judge, D. António Alvares da Cunha (1753-1758), who ordered the inventory of the secretariat and the notary's documentation, creating the archive and defining the documentary series. These guidelines were reinforced in the government of Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, who ordered the collection and inventory of all royal documentation since 1654.

2. Administration and justice

In 1721, the position of *juiz de fora* in Luanda was created. It was both a judicial and an administrative role, insofar as the post holder was the mayor of Luanda and, as a graduate judge, presided over the civil and criminal courts. As a rule, these judges held the post of magistrates for the estates of the deceased and absent. Due to their far-reaching jurisdiction, they had frequent conflicts with the *ouvidor* and the governor, especially on account of the captains-general who acted as first instance judges in the prisons.

Chart 3 – *Juízes de fora* of Luanda (1750-1800)

Year	Name	Years in Office
1748	António de Campos Rego	15
1763	João Delgado Xavier	9
1772	Luís Ferreira de Araújo e Azeredo	4
1776	António Pereira Bastos Lima Varela	5
1781	Anacleto José da Mota	6
1787	José Francisco de Oliveira	3
1790	Jerónimo Caetano de Barros Araújo e Bessa	4
1794	Félix Correia de Araújo	10

Chart 3 lists those who held the position. Although the average term of office was around six years, António de Campos Rego was *juiz de fora* for 15 years and Félix Correia de Araújo was in office for 10 years. Out of the eight office-holders, only one returned to the Kingdom and two accepted positions in Brazil: Jerónimo Caetano de Barros Araújo e Bessa was appointed magistrate of Elvas (1800) and subsequently became judge of the *Relação* of Porto (1806), of the *Casa da Suplicação* (1823), and Advisor to the Council of Finance (1827). José Francisco de Oliveira became judge of the *Relações* of Bahia (1794) and Porto (1803). Luís Ferreira de Araújo e Azevedo was an *ouvidor* in Brazil (1779), ending

up as judge of the *Relação* of Bahia (1791). All of these *juízes de fora* had held no offices prior to their appointment, which means that they were unexperienced judges looking for an opportunity and a professional "adventure."

The case of the *ouvidor-geral*'s position (see Chart 4) was different, as these were magistrates with ample professional experience. This explains and justifies why they were granted favors and promotions. Due to the lack of magistrates, the *ouvidores* always assumed their functions.

The first *ouvidor-geral* was appointed in February 2, 1609. The order of June 23, 1751 prevailed until the Liberal Revolution (1820).

Chart 4 – *Ouvidores-Gerais* (1750-1800)

Year	Name	Years in Office
1750	Manuel da Silva Leal	3
1753	João Baptista de Oliveira Baena	10
1763	Manuel Pinto da Cunha e Sousa	9
1772	Joaquim José Coutinho Mascarenhas	4
1776	Joaquim Manuel Garcia de Castro Barbosa	7
1783	Francisco Xavier de Lobão Machado Pessanha	4
1787	João Álvares de Melo	10
1797	António Rodrigues da Cunha	7

Just like the *juízes de fora*, the average terms of office of the *ouvidores* lasted six consecutive years, although João Baptista de Oliveira Baena, Manuel Pinto da Cunha e Sousa and João Álvares de Melo far surpassed it, with three trienniums in office.

All *ouvidores-gerais* were magistrates and played a very important role in the control and audit of the royal accounts, ensuring the good collection of revenues, and preventing corruption and money thefts. Regarding administrative resources, there were close to eight

hundred employees, including royal officials, secretaries, deputies, magistrates, different types of clerks, treasurers, and notaries. To address the situation of documentary chaos, the governor-judge of appeal D. António Alvares da Cunha started a major reform (1753-1758). He ordered the magistrate to carry out an inventory of the registry and assigned a house next to his palace to store the archive. He gave instructions to collect all documents in the custody of cavalry captains, later extending these measures to other branches of the administration.

His reform was continued by Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, who created the office of bookkeeper and drew up a document classification plan. He informed the Count of Oeiras that "I found the Secretariat of this Government with many papers (…). I now have a clear index (…) so that nothing will be said about my time that cannot be accounted for" (Soares, 2003, p.50).

3. The government of the periphery

The model adopted for the government of indigenous communities had no precedent, which is why the development of Angola was unique. This singularity had to do with two uncontrollable realities: first, the independence of indigenous communities, and second, the fragile resources of domination and the poor geographic knowledge of the territory.

The captains-general formed the base structure of the government on the periphery (Couto, 1972), and in their fortified *presídios* (prisons), occupied by troops (Santos, 2012, pp. 127-148), they exercised ordinary jurisdiction beyond the administration of the territory. As they were, for the most part, illiterate, they worked with an assistant appointed by the governor-general. Their judgments also had to be confirmed by the *Junta das Missões*, where indigenous

representatives sat. At the beginning of the 19th century, there were six prisons and eight unfortified districts.

On February 24, 1765, Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho changed the rules of the captains-general to force compliance with royal orders and satisfy new political needs, since the excesses practiced by these officers caused discomfort among the African chiefs. In the same vein, on August 12, 1782, the *Secretário de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultamarinos*, Martinho de Melo e Castro, ordered the governor of Angola to act against the captains-general "due to their evil behavior, and to expel those appointed by that government (…) and suspend those appointed by His Majesty." At the same time, he changed the formula used in the residency records, notably attributing a supervisory function to new captains-general perform a true audit of the outgoing office-holders.

However, any effective control strategy was conditioned by the fact that most of these officers were born in Angola, came from the military ranks, and were appointed by the governor-general, coupled with the unappealing character of the position. This contributed to the fragility of the royal power in the periphery.

4. The military

With the African colony permanently at war over the capture of slaves and the need to control indigenous communities, the military and the militia proved to be the main force in maintaining peace and security for the governors, magistrates and administrative staff.

These military forces were divided into three groups. The first group was largely formed by whites and Portuguese commandos, including the Luanda Cavalry and Artillery Regiment and the personnel of the city's forts (Santo Amaro, São Miguel, Nossa Senhora da Guia and São Filipe do Penedo). The second group, which assisted the first-line troops, was made up of blacks and was commanded by

indigenous chiefs. Finally, there were the *ordenanças,* groups of civilians with military training that enforced security in the city through patrols and police surveillance.

Following Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho's major military reforms, the general framework comprised: i) four companies of *ordenanças*, totaling about two hundred men; ii) seven hundred first-line troops, combining artillery and cavalry; iii) the militias, with about three hundred troops. The total number of these soldiers was close to 1,200, counting the military and militarized civilians, which represented a quarter of Luanda's population. For every four inhabitants, one was either military or militarized (Soares, 2003, p. 47).

In addition, there were approximately two hundred soldiers housed in the prison fortresses under the command of the captains-general, though lacking in resources and with very poor discipline, according to the information given by the governors general.

5. Symbolic domination

All of the aforementioned shows us a colony implanted in the city of Luanda, with weak demographic resources and regulation, control and repression mechanisms. These weaknesses were counteracted by practices of political and cultural inculcation, using the violence of symbolic power that proved essential for colonial domination (Santos, 2005).

This included the intellectual appropriation of space through inventories and cartographic representations, and the imposition of writing as a way to legitimize political communication, especially in markets, missions and prisons. The markets inculcated the knowledge of accounting skills through clerks. The missions (Capuchins, Jesuits and Carmelites) Christianized through the use of the Portuguese language, even if rudimentary, to promote songs, biblical readings and catechism (Santos, 2009, pp. 767-795). And the prisons signed agreements and contracts with the

indigenous people, emphasizing the formalization of written documents.

In general, the quantification and systematization of information, cartography and the archives constituted symbolic resources to expand the areas under the influence of military prisons, stimulating economic development and bureaucratization, which led the indigenous peoples to abandon their "so-called barbarous lifestyles" (Santos, 2010, p. 3).

The intellectual appropriation was effected through the mapping of the territory and the production of a new colonial space based on statistics, information quantification, bureaucratic organization and technology standardization. The cartography and bureaucracy on which this process was based exhibited, at times, an unusual quality level for a colony.

The most relevant aspect, the development of cartography, began with governor D. Antonio Álvares da Cunha (1753-1758) and culminated a few years later with a collection of maps known as the *Atlas de Angola*, a fundamental step for political action (Santos, 2014). The map made in 1790 by engineer Luís Cândido Pinheiro Furtado is a paramount example of the intellectual appropriation of this territory (Coutinho, 2010; Madureira, 1992).

As for the bureaucratic system, *Secretário de Estado* (Secretary of State) Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado reformed the administrative communication system between the Kingdom and the colony in 1766, based on three types of workflows: i) political communication; ii) military affairs; iii) financial issues. This classification of circuits forced each administrative report to be organized by subject and produced according to forms and tables (for instance, population composition, baptisms, marriages, deaths and causes of death, state of agriculture and mineral resources). These practices are well reflected in the discovery of archives kept by indigenous communities, which demonstrate the willingness of the *sobas* to validate their

agreements and seek the political recognition of the government of Luanda.

However, the most emblematic symbolic power was undoubtedly the *undamento* (Couto, 1972)[7], an act of vassalage that took place after the elections for indigenous chiefs. This procedure was intended, on the one hand, to confirm the choices of the *sobas* and, on the other hand, to seal an act of fidelity and obedience from the indigenous rulers to the Portuguese Crown. The *soba* was invested in the vassalage by the captain-general of the respective prison, thereafter enjoying political and military protection, and the offer of social peace with the authorities of Luanda and with the *sobados*. This unilateral recognition caused discomfort within the indigenous communities towards the *undado* (Santos, 2006) as, in most cases, the captains-general imposed the *sobas* themselves on the indigenous peoples or rigged the elections to favor some factions of the *sobados*, although they were always warned that "elections should be carried out according to custom and to their formality and will".[8]

In conclusion, it can be said that contact with written language and forms of symbolic domination became binding expressions of colonial power, an "ideologically manipulable technology" insofar as it implied learning, practice and dissemination among indigenous rulers. It enabled their submission as vassals of the King of Portugal, avoiding war and to the use of military and financial means that the Crown did not have (Santos, 2006). The mapping of the territory also allowed the design of a political area imagined as an appropriated and represented colonial space. The acts of vassalage culminated, therefore, in the peaceful submission

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7 The term means the "ceremony by which a vassal chief was generally confirmed in the government of the tribe by the first magistracy of the province, at the time of his election or succession" (Couto, 1972, p. 253).

8 Letter from D. Manuel de Almeida and Vasconcelos to Lieutenant Joaquim Xavier, regent of the Pedras prison (1797), Couto, 1972: 256.

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of the indigenous communities and functioned as links to the Crown.

II. Lisbon, a city in transformation

1. Demographic and political centrality

The city of Lisbon, head of the Kingdom and, hence, of the Empire, represented a different urban reality. With a population that had been increasing since the 16th century and a marked expansion of the urban perimeter, it had between 110 and 120 thousand inhabitants (including greater Lisbon) at the beginning of the 18th century. After the 1755 earthquake, it experienced a profound housing and political change (Subtil, 2007a and 2007b).

Before the earthquake, we can distinguish three geographic circles with their own political-administrative specificities. The first circle corresponded to a river front between Belém and Xabregas, with a northern boundary in S. Sebastião da Pedreira. The central nucleus of the city was corresponded to a rectangle formed between Ribeira das Naus, Sé, Portas de Santo Antão, and Mouraria. Although this territory was ruled by the city council, the entire apparatus of the royal administration was based on this perimeter. The second circle corresponded to the Court, which was "where the King is, and five leagues around it," a diameter between 30 and 35 km with its center in Paço da Ribeira. The third circle covered the space between five and ten leagues around the Court, which corresponded to a vast territory surrounding the city, both to the north and to the south, with great mobility difficulties. This periphery, with an area of about 60 km, encompassed several municipalities around the capital and a very heterogeneous population. Both the civil and criminal magistrates of the Court had increased jurisdictional powers within this space.

After the earthquake, the city lost around 12% of its population. One of the several reports on this tragedy, *Portugal Afflicted and Troubled by the earthquake of 1755*, provides a detailed account of the situation in the city, particularly at the administrative and political levels, making it unique in terms of the information it provides.[9]

The reconstruction of the city transformed its urban architecture, changed political and social actors, as well as sociability practices, and gave rise to a new space of administrative centrality (Rossa, 1998). However, the city had been showing signs of urban transformation since the beginning of the 18th century, by virtue of both royal initiative and the municipal senate. This process particularly favored opening new roads, widening streets, improving circulation, and introducing codes of conduct in the Court area, beset by frequent conflicts between sedan chair and coach riders (Carreira, 2014).

As a result, from 1780 onwards, the average rate of population growth was 1.2% per year and, by the end of the century, the city had between 175 and 200 thousand inhabitants, accentuating the population imbalance with the other cities of the Kingdom (Serrão, 1993 and 1996; Pinto, 1993). The first itineraries, created at the beginning of the 19th century, show the city's urban and demographic growth (Coutinho, 2007); they came in portable format and aimed to guide visitors and even Lisbon residents within the city. The emergence of cartographic maps and itineraries is explained by the difficulty to walk around the streets and identify places (Vidal, 2007; Lousada, 1995). These effects of urban territory growth, personalized the relationship between residents and the city.

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9 See, for example, the edition of *Portugal Aflito e Conturbado pelo terramoto de 1755*, a project undertaken by Inês Viegas and Sara Loureiro, with scientific coordination by José Subtil and the participation of Sara Loureiro, Adelaide Brochado, and Cecília Cameiro, Lisbon, Lisbon City Council, 2005, p. 520.

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At the administrative level, Lisbon was governed by a council with a president and six areas of responsibility: health, sanitation, construction, meat provision, wheat provision, and *almotaçaria* (inspection of weights and measures, and control over taxation for food prices) (Ferreira, 2014). The latter played an important role in the regulation and inspection of foodstuff, city cleanliness, prices, hoarding, and smuggling. This councilor was responsible for appointing the *almotacés* (officials) who exercised police authority and acted as public health agents, ensuring compliance with the council's policies and dispositions(Fernandes, 1996 and 1999). A total of six *almotacés*, one for each neighborhood (Alfama, Bairro Alto, Mouraria, Ribeira, Rossio and Rua Nova), formed a network with ample effective powers within the city's government; their appointment thus required great care and good judgment.

With regard to maritime connections, the port of Belém was supervised by a magistrate and five officials who oversaw the cargo and its state of conservation, certifying passports and, if necessary, diverting and quarantining vessels in the Trafaria lazaretto to avoid contagions and epidemics.

One of the most unique aspects of the city was that the entire political and administrative apparatus of the monarchy, including councils, courts, boards and secretaries of state (Hespanha, 2019), was housed there. This also included the headquarters of the new emerging bodies of the State Police (Subtil, 2013 and 2020). At the beginning of the 19th century, this institutional complex had around three thousand employees within specialized and stratified levels. Therefore, a large part of the city's territory was dedicated to three jurisdictional spheres: the municipal, the Court's territory, and the royal administration. This led to conflicts of power and the imposition of royal jurisdiction, with the monarch resolving according to circumstances and opportunities.

During the Pombal, Queen Maria and King John periods, the main overseas government office was the

Secretário de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos. Chart 5 lists its successive holders, highlighting the terms of Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado —who took office after returning from Brazil as governor of Maranhão and remained as Secretary until his premature death (1760-1769)— and his successor, Martinho de Melo e Castro (1770-1796). For nearly four decades, they were the architects of a reform program for Angola, relegating the *Concelho Ultramarino* to a diminished political position of routine bureaucratic practices, in contrast with its formerly central role in the government of the colonies, together with the Tribunal *Mesa da Consciência e Ordens*.

Chart 5 – Secretários de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos (1756-1801)

Year	Secretary of State
1750	Diogo Mendonça Corte Real (son)
1756	Luís da Cunha Manuel
1756	Thomé Joaquim da Costa Corte Real
1760	Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado
1770	Martinho de Mello e Castro
1796	Luís Pinto de Sousa Coutinho
1796	Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho
1801	Visconde de Anadia

This fading out of the *Concelho Ultramarino* in relation to the *Secretário de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos* represents the most important political and institutional aspect of the reformist Enlightenment period at the end of the *Ancien Régime*.

2. Organization of the army and the urban police

It was in the context of the Fantastic War (1762), when Portugal declared war on Spain and France over border issues, that the Count of Lippe reorganized the army, imposing

discipline and training until 1768. According to his proposal, the army should have 25 infantry regiments, one regiment of volunteers and another of the navy, 10 cavalry and 4 artillery regiments. It was only in 1796 that a war scenario (the Roussillon campaign) came up again, a harbinger of what would become the military test of the French invasions (1807). Other measures included reducing military service, increasing salaries, and reorganizing the artillery, infantry and cavalry regiments. In 1800, the military organization plan indicated that the army had 24 infantry regiments —38,400 men—, 12 cavalry regiments —5,544 men—, and five artillery regiments —6,000 men—.

Overall, the first-line troops added up to a little more than 50,000 soldiers. However, in reality, roughly half of them were enlisted (between 25 and 30 thousand). In addition, there were militias as second-line troops, comprising 34,400 paramilitaries divided into 43 regiments. The fleet had 65 high-board ships (14 ships, 23 frigates, 3 corvettes, 17 brigs, and 8 three-mast boats) with 12,560 sailors and officers, although not all posts were filled (Borges, 2008, pp. 47-60). In each municipality, the ordinances acted as one of the supporters of the local government by ensuring security.

A large part of this military potential was concentrated in Lisbon, which turned the city into a depot for arms, ammunition and troops. The capital was the seat of the military power of the Kingdom and, accordingly, suffered many organizational problems and deficiencies, mainly related to recruitment. Mobilization was weak and had serious social implications. For this reason, the waves of recruitment triggered desertion and, consequently, the growth of banditry and armed groups dispersed throughout the city's urban areas. The reports of this instability illustrate a split between the armed forces and society that resulted in the inoperability of the army (Costa, 1995). This military environment's influence on Lisbon at the end of the 18th century was became palpable in terms of security,

the violent spectacle of the recruits, the imprisonment of deserters, growing criminality, and conflicts involving the various authorities.

The creation of the position of General Intendant of the Court and Kingdom Police (*Intendente-Geral da Polícia da Corte e do Reino*) through the Permit of June 25, 1760 offered a new control over crime ministers and security strategy, with the purpose of ensuring the population's social regulation and welfare. The support services for the new intendant extended police supervision beyond the capital. This new and broad jurisdiction ended up creating serious authority conflicts with the Senate of the Lisbon City Council, the neighborhood ministers, the courts of *Desembargo do Paço* and *Casa da Suplicação*, and, outside of the city, with the various city council and royal magistrates (*juízes de fora*, and senior magistrates).

On December 10, 1801, the *Guarda Real da Polícia de Lisboa* (Royal Guard of the Lisbon Police) was created by decree, on the initiative of minister D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. It was the first professional police body, and its command was given to the Count of Novion. The headquarters were set up in the Largo do Carmo barracks, ever after at the service of the new "guards". This police force included 638 soldiers: 424 in the eight infantry companies, 204 in the four cavalry companies, and 10 in the General Staff, with an intervention force of 227 horses. The number of military troops soon grew to 1,241 (1805) and 1,326 (1810). In addition to providing security and fighting crime, these forces played an important role in controlling smuggling, and tax and customs evasion, monitoring the flow of goods to the capital (Andrade, 2018).

After the French invasions (1807) and the liberal wars, the growth and development of the city stagnated, only to recover after the Regeneration (1851).

Conclusion

In the second half of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, there was a great mismatch between the urban dynamics of the towns of Lisbon and Luanda, differing in terms of structures, political apparatus, demography, elite composition, economic dimensions, and cultural models. Whereas this difference between the capital of the Empire and the African colony was somehow to be expected, its enormous dimension represents a devaluation of the city of Luanda. This was mainly for two reasons: demography and the political peripheralization caused by the slave trade.

After the earthquake, Lisbon experienced the reconstruction of an old city. This gave rise to a modern urbanity, the expansion of borders, demographic growth, and an increase of traders and merchants driven by the political program of the reformist elite. As for the town of Luanda, after experiencing the contagion of this Enlightened administration for a few years, the end of the 18th century saw its return to the decay in which it had always been immersed.

It is important to stress that Luanda's growth impossibility was linked to the slave trade, demographic composition, climate conditions, and tropical diseases. In a different way, the interruption of the city of Lisbon's development was caused by an external factor: the impact of the French invasions (1807). When we refer to Luanda's reformist novelty, we want to emphasize the project of political autonomy, meant to transform Angola into a "settlement colony," and not a mere slave trade entrepot. This project had four essential goals: a) increasing the population —especially white people— and forming a Portuguese-African elite capable of leading the modernization; b) expanding urban and rural areas in order to extend jurisdiction over the territory covered by the captains-general, who showed little interest in abdicating their prerogatives and links to the indigenous world; c) bureaucratizing the government

and, at the same time, reinforcing central mechanisms; and d) making the colony economically autonomous through trade, industrialization and agriculture as an alternative to the slave trade.

However, there were many difficulties and setbacks. Demand for royal jobs was very low because of the dangers of travel, the mortality caused by disease and the weather, and, above all, the meagre financial benefits. The same reasons explained the scarce migration of white couples to reinforce the European component of the city's urban population, making the circulation of a literate culture adapted to the royal model impossible. Therefore, there was a population of mulattos or blacks who held a variety of command and decision positions, except for the few offices of central government occupied by the white population (governor, deputy, secretary, *ouvidor*, *juiz de fora*, and magistrate). This systemic situation justified the distancing of the Crown from Luanda's interests.

The effects on justice inequality between white and indigenous people, the violence conducted during the "civilization" process, the disagreements, oppositions and jurisdictional conflicts between the higher authorities: all of this created an unstable chart social and political environment. Replacing the power of the captains-general and transferring it to new actors to extend Luanda's power to the most remote areas of the city was nothing but an illusion. The disciplinary mechanisms were never adequate to respond to the lack of compliance with the governor-general's or the Luandan authorities' decisions.

In any case, it is true that both cities shared a reformist wave that infected political and social communication between Lisbon and Luanda, attested by the transformation effort promoted by reformist governors and the *Secretários de Estado da Marinha e dos Domínios Ultramarinos*: Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado, Martinho de Melo e Sousa, and D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho. Particularly under Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho, the Crown invested on

a radical transformation to alter the stalemate of the administration, starting with changes in military command posts and dismissals of some *capitães-gerais* (captains-general). The same happened in the Luandan government and in the relationship between the various jurisdictional, religious and mercantile authorities. However, as this process was effected by the same groups who were involved in mutual agreements and complicity, resistance to change ended up overcoming political and administrative dynamics.

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4

Imperial cities in the construction of a Portuguese multicontinental judicial system (16th-18th centuries)

Nuno Camarinhas

This text uses the generic concept of 'imperial cities' in a rather general sense. The concept is usually used in the literature to designate a category of 19th-century cities that followed the French model of Paris as capitals of empires extending their dominance over diverse populations and territories, most often with overseas dominions (Driver and Gilbert, 1999, pp. 1-17). These cities would be, in their materiality, the expression of the power that gave origin to and sustained this empire over territories and peoples.

The concept we use here is different. From the outset, it is not focused on the idea of a single capital of the empire, the central seat of political power, but rather on the quality that made each of the chosen cities – Lisbon, Goa, and Bahia – a pole of the Portuguese imperial experience. Within the chosen framework of "imperial city", we consider the notion of regional political-administrative centers. If Lisbon is the indisputable capital, Goa and Bahia will be the first centers of the two main regions in which we can subdivide the Portuguese overseas dominions: the State of India (*Estado da Índia*) and Brazil. As imperial cities, both Goa and Bahia will be at the receiving end of a transposition of urban and administrative models. With their distinct genesis – Goa was conquered from the Sultanate of Bijapur, while Bahia

was founded and built from scratch as a fortress city –, they will experience quite different political, social, economic, and cultural dynamics. Being cities built in the colonies, they are characterized by a complex intersection of influences, interactions, impositions, and adaptations (Nasr and Volait, 2003, pp. xi-xxxviii)[1].

A city built overseas is always a synthesis of the knowledge, power practices and social interactions constructed by the society that promotes it. At the same time, it has a dynamic component of appropriation of local solutions, influence from indigenous cultures, and adaptation to territories with vastly different conditions. Finally, they are always the result of an imposition from an external power in a strange territory (Pinol, 2003, pp. 279-281). Unlike the Spanish imperial experience, where cities were "the backbone of the empire," "instruments of conquest" and "instruments of colonization" (Pinol, 2003, pp. 287-290), in the Portuguese experience the first territorial settlements consisted essentially in the occupation or construction of coastal posts that were articulated with navigation and the shipment of goods. The development of overseas cities occurs at a more advanced moment in the colonization of these territories. However, Goa, a pre-existing city that was captured in 1510, will be an exception from an early stage, raised as the "the State of India's central core of power" (Bethencourt and Curto, 2010, p. 213), and endowed, from the 1530s, with governing and administration institutions transferred from Europe (Santos, 1999). In the 17th century, Goa will be matched by the rise of Bahia as a political center. Both imperial cities will become centers of power in their respective regions, headquarters of the Crown's delegated representatives (governors and viceroys) and, of particular interest for our text, poles that will structure a multicontinental system of justice administration —and, thereby,

[1] The authors propose an interesting discussion on the creation of cities in the colonial context for a later chronology: the 19th and 20th centuries.

of government— and of circulation of agents, with the subsequent circulation of administrative culture, knowledge and power.

In early modern times, especially from the second half of the 17th century onwards, we witness the extension of the Portuguese Crown's justice administration apparatus from mainland Portugal to some of its overseas territories. This movement certainly trails the increasing importance of overseas exploration, but at the same time constitutes itself as the logical consequence of the impulse given by King Philip I's reforms. These reforms, however, did not suppress the previous reality, but contributed to better structure and regulate it, providing institutions of justice that sought to respond to the old demands of the kingdom's population for a decentralized judicial structure, by attempting to systematize the accumulated legislative corpus. These are the main milestones of the transition from the 16th to the 17th century. Portugal and its overseas domains received a new compilation – the *Ordenações Filipinas* – which summed up and updated the pre-existing body of laws,[2] while the judicial system was equipped with an institutional structure extending from the center of power in Lisbon to a series of municipalities in the kingdom. This logic of territorial hierarchy aimed to be more rational, while accommodating previously granted privileges and autonomies, as well as the *habitus* of the former dynasty. The end of the union of the Portuguese and Spanish crowns (1581-1640) and the first decades of the new Braganza dynasty would see the consolidation of these structures, especially in mainland Portugal.

The first Portuguese experience of creating judicial posts in overseas territories took place in the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira, where judges (*ouvidores*

2 The *Ordenações Manuelinas* were the first printed compilation of laws in Portugal, and they were published between 1512 and 1521. Prior to this compilation, the *Ordenações Afonsinas* were the first attempt at collecting Portuguese legal texts, in a process that lasted from 1404 to 1448, if we include its revisions.

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and *corregedores*) were appointed at the end of the 15th century[3]. In the mid-16th century the islands witnessed the creation of municipal judges (*juízes de fora*): in 1554, both in Ponta Delgada, in the Azores, and in Funchal, Madeira.[4] While these territories could be seen as the first trials of the transposition of judicial administration structures from mainland Portugal, the launching of the Courts of Appeal (*relações*) in the Portuguese overseas dominions would not occur until the 1580s. Earlier, in the 1540s, a first step towards the creation of the *Ouvidorias-gerais* was taken in the State of India and Brazil. This was a special itinerant jurisdiction held by a judge called *ouvidor-geral*. In the case of the *ouvidor-geral* of the State of India, the regulation of 1544, proposed by chancellor Francisco Toscano and *ouvidor-geral* Simão Martins, draws the rudiment of a future appeals court in Goa. This text sought to respond to the need for "more officials to administer justice-related issues"[5] due to the increasing number of people sent there or converted to Christianity (Rivara, 1865, p. 177). This first regulation already defined a mixed judicial body which received the proceedings that took place wherever the court was held but also reviewed appeals from lower instances. These appeals were revised by a collegiate body, called *relação*, including a special judge with jurisdiction over the affairs of orphans and deceased people (*provedor dos defuntos*) and a judge in charge of the Crown's interests (*juiz dos feitos da coroa*). The appeals could be brought before the Central Court of Appeals in Lisbon (*Casa da Suplicação*). Thus, in the first half of the 16th century, we have a first line of judicial appeals

3 Brás Afonso in 1485, for Madeira (Arquivo Regional da Madeira, Índice dos tomos do registo geral, tomo II, fól. 1); Afonso of Matos in 1495, for the Azores (Gregório, 2005, p. 35).

4 Arquivos Regionais dos Açores, Registo da Câmara de Ponta Delgada, Livro 3.°, fól. 6; Arquivo Regional da Madeira, Registo Geral da Câmara Municipal do Funchal, Liv. 1213, fl. 13v.

5 «*mais officiaes para ministrarem as cousas da justiça*» – all source citations used in this text were translated by the author in the text and given in their original form in the footnote.

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which, despite the existence of a viceroy or governor in Goa, linked this territory directly to Lisbon in matters of justice administration. We do not have any documentation to clarify whether it was effective or used by litigants.

Four years later, in 1548, a second regulation sought to respond to the logistical difficulties posed by the mission of the three Goa judges, "as they are few [the judges] and the cases, many"[6] (Rivara, 1865, p. 206). The regulation of September 26, 1548, increased the number of judges, although it did not mention their number. In 1554, thanks to a provision of viceroy Afonso de Noronha, we learn that it was difficult to gather five judges to decide on death sentences, for example, commanding that those cases should be heard by just three magistrates instead.

Less than two years later, a new regulation was issued to clarify the duties of the prosecutor (*promotor da justiça*) appointed for Goa. We realize that this first experience of a Court of Appeals was still somewhat organic and advanced hesitantly, trying to face local needs and always tied to the possibility of sending qualified people to India. At that moment, the Goa Court of Appeals was not yet a territorially fixed institution; it was itinerant, actually consisting in the assembly of the judges who composed it. The document refers to "the city or fortress, where said Court is"[7] (Rivara,1865, p. 227), just as in mainland Portugal. However, with this third regulation we see that the structure becomes interestingly more complex, with the transfer of many of the *ouvidor-geral*'s former functions, namely the reception of inquiries made where the Court resided and the inspection (*devassas*) of fortresses and outposts in India, Ormuz, Malacca, and Sofala.

On October 10, 1550, a provision from Governor Jorge Cabral (1549-1550) ordered that, in his absence from Goa, the Court would act as deputy seat of power, for the

6 «*por serem poucos [os letrados] e as causas muitas.*"
7 «*da cidade ou fortaleza, onde a dita Relação estiver.*"

purpose of assessing the cases that the *Ordenações* stipulated as pertaining to the Civil Court in Lisbon (Rivara, 1865, p. 235). There is a clear parallelism with Lisbon: the Goa Court of Appeals had not only been created by the king in the image of the capital's court, but it also assumed a jurisdiction equivalent to that of the Civil Court which operated wherever the king and his royal entourage resided.

If we regard this effort to build a higher court in the Portuguese State of India, we must also take into account that the justices of the scattered territories in said State fell within the remit of the fortress captains. These captains had criminal jurisdiction and could apply capital punishment without appeal. However, the noblemen (*fidalgos*), fortress governors (*alcaides-mores*), outpost governors (*feitores*), clerks and ship captains at their ports were outside of their jurisdiction: these cases were referred to the viceroy. In civil law, they had jurisdiction over cases involving up to 50,000 *réis* (100,000 in the cases of Malacca and Maluku, due to their distance from India), also without appeal. They could impose penalties of up to fifty *cruzados*.

In March 1571, a mission of four magistrates presided by Duarte Carneiro Rangel, judge of the High Court (*Desembargo do Paço*), was created and deployed to Goa. Just as in mainland Portugal, the mission would inquire about "justice issues"[8] in the State of India (Rivara, 1865, p. 770-783). This mission (*alçada*) was utterly necessary and unprecedented in India since the Portuguese first settled in those territories, as distance prevented the swift provision of justice. In addition to its president, the group was composed of three judges (a *chancellor*, a *corregedor,* and an adjunct), a bailiff, and a clerk. The president of the *alçada* would apply the regulations of the *Regedor* of the *Casa da Suplicação* and of the *Desembargo do Paço*, which reveals how important was the mission, even symbolically. Under these regulations, the mission could "remedy the defects of any

8 *«as cousas da justiça»*.

cases and inspections"[9] (Rivara, 1865, p. 771), arbitrate on pecuniary penalties, or exonerate from deportations (*degredos*) or penalties of up to four years.

The procedure for this *alçada* was generally similar to the inspections and enquiries in mainland Portugal. Headquartered in the city of Goa, of the court held the status of "head of State" and catered to all sorts of "ships and people from everywhere else"[10] (Rivara,1865, p. 779), who could likewise be called in as witnesses. It could act upon cases from any location and even send judges to fortresses or places of interest. One of its peculiarities was of the faculty to make public announcements in "Moorish and infidel lands to where some Portuguese have fled"[11], with the aim of reincorporating them to the community (Rivara, 1865, p. 772). In addition to justice administration, the *alçada* also had the responsibility of assessing the viceroys and governors who had been in office since 1557, mainly regarding issues of power and jurisdiction. They even intervened on the relations with "Gentiles and infidels"[12], dealing with their conversion, the nature of armed conflicts, and even cases of oppression or injustice towards them.

All matters under the purview of the Crown's administration were subject to the Court's inquiry, including what is most relevant to our analysis: the magistrates that constituted the nascent Goa Court of Appeals. The *alçada* was meant to evaluate this particular body in just as with the inspection of "*corregedores*, judges, and other justice officials"[13] in mainland Portugal (Rivara, 1865, p. 775), but paying special attention to the following affairs: whether they prevented the conversion of Gentiles; whether they oppressed or extorted the latter, acting unjustly in the cases that involved them; the trafficking

9 «*suprir os defeitos de quaesquer autos e devassas*».
10 «*as armadas e gentes de todas as outras partes*."
11 «*terras de mouros e infieis onde andão lançados alguns Portuguezes*."
12 «*gentios e infieis*."
13 «*corregedores, juizes, e mais officiaes da justiça do reino*».

of weapons with "Moors and infidels"[14]; the imposition of new taxes on the Gentiles, or whether they took bribes from them. The *alçada* also scrutinized the practice of the "abominable and nefarious sin"[15], carnal involvement with "Moorish, Jewish, or infidel women"[16], sorcery, and commodity monopolies (Rivara, 1865, p. 777). Regarding the crimes that fell under the scope of these enquiries, the *alçada* had powers to execute its sentences without appeal, as long as the capital punishment resulted from the agreement of five judges after a vote.

Thanks to a 1574 royal provision on the payment to the judges who composed the *alçada*, we know that the chancellor António Cerqueira succeeded Carneiro Rangel in its presidency (Rivara, 1865, p. 894). There is scarce information on the actual work of this *alçada*, but some scholars frame it in what could be described as a "competition between two capitals," or a "clearly competing body of the vice-royal institution" (Santos, 1999, p. 320).

During the reign of King Philip I, in February 1587, a justice reform was carried out by establishing a new regulation for the Goa Court of Appeals and the magistrates in the State of India. For the first time, an overseas higher court was granted a modern structure, in line with the reforms that were taking place in mainland Portugal: five years earlier, a new regulation for the *Casa da Suplicação* in Lisbon had been established, and a new Appeals Court had been created in the city of Oporto. All of these actions seemed to follow the same logic of imparting justice closer to the population. The creation of the Court in Oporto aimed to tackle the discomfort of "coming before the *Casa da Suplicação* and the Civil Court [in Lisbon] with their appeals, often concerning such petty cases over amounts so small as to be worth less than the expense of litigating them".[17]

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14 «*mouros e infieis*».

15 «*abominavel e nefando peccado*».

16 «*mouras, judias, ou infieis*».

17 «*em virem às ditas Casas [da Suplicação* and *Cível*, in Lisbon] *com as suas appellações e aggrauos, e muitas vezes por casos tão leves, e de tão pequenas contias que importarão menos que a despesa que nisso fazem*."

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In criminal cases, the new Oporto Court of Appeals would be the second and final instance for the northern regions of mainland Portugal. Regarding civil matters, the Court's jurisdiction covered cases involving up to 100,000 *réis* in chattels and 80,000 *réis* in real estate. Any litigation over higher amounts could be appealed to the *Casa da Suplicação*.[18]

The reform of the Goa Court of Appeals is part of the reformist policies at the start of King Phillip I's reign. This ambition is explained in the preamble of the 1587 Regulation:

> being […] informed that in the city of Goa, head of the said States [of the parts of India], the Kings my ancestors, of glorious memory, had ordained the creation of a Court of Appeals in which some Judges, chosen as in a supreme court, should decide on the cases, according to regulations that ought to be reformed as time passed; and wanting to uphold the same intention in the performance of my duties, I have therefore provided for the needs of said Court, for which purpose I have ordered some members from my council to deal with these issues, both in terms of its regulation and of expanding the number of judges, that it may proceed on matters of justice with greater authority and ease[19] (Rivara, 1865, pp. 1124-1125).

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18 «Regimento da Relação da Casa do Porto," July 27, 1582 (Figueiredo, 1790, p. 198 ss).

19 «*sendo [...] informado que na cidade de Goa, principal e cabeça dos ditos Estados [das partes da Índia], tinhão ordenado os Reis meus antepassados, de glorios a memoria, ouvesse huma casa de Relação, em que alguns Desembargadores por elles escolhidos como em supremo tribunal detreminassem as causas, dandoselhe pera isso em diversos tempos differentes regimentos, os quaes pela mudança das cousas convinha serem reformados, querendo eu por minha obrigação continuar com o mesmo intento, e mandar prover no que ao presente fosse mais necessario para bem da dita casa, e pera este effeito mandei algumas pessoas de meu conselho de letras que tratassem do que se nisso devia fazer, assi na ordem e regimento da dita casa, como no acrecentamento dos ministros della, para que com mais autoridade e facilidade se podesse proceder nas cousas da justiça, e avidas as enformações, e feitas as deligencias necessarias, sendome de tudo dado conta em Relação.*"

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Similar to mainland Portugal, the purpose of King Phillip I was not to transform Portuguese institutions in the image of their Castilian counterparts, but rather to update the legal order, building on the previous legislative corpus, just like with the *Ordenações Filipinas* (Silva, 2000, p. 313). The Oporto Court of Appeals, first, and the overseas Courts of Appeals, afterwards, replicated the operative and organizational logic of the *Casa da Suplicação* in its dimension as an appeals court. In Goa's case, we must consider the pre-existence of a *relação* which, however, had never been endowed with a structure comparable to a superior court. The scarcity of human resources in previous decades precluded such endeavor. That proto-Court of Appeals was essentially itinerant between 1544 and 1587, focusing on the figure of the *ouvidor-geral* and some judges who performed the various court duties, often cumulatively. With the 1587 regulation, the number of judges was fixed at ten: an officer who would act as both a 'regular' judge and the judge of the chancellery (*chancellor*); an officer for civil matters (*ouvidor-geral do cível*); an officer for criminal matters (*ouvidor-geral do crime*); an officer for matters pertaining to the Crown's interests, treasury and taxes (*juiz dos feitos da coroa, fazenda e fisco*); a prosecutor; an officer for matters pertaining to the deceased and the orphans (*provedor-mor dos defuntos*); and four substitute judges. The *chancellor*, the *ouvidores*, the prosecutor and the *provedor dos defuntos* would act as associate judges (*desembargadores dos agravos*) in cases with which they were not previously involved. The substitute judges served in the absence of any of the associate judges. The Viceroy had a role equivalent to that of the Governor of the *Casa da Suplicação*, being excluded from voting or signing sentences. His role was essentially political, concerning the use of royal grace and the symbolic weight of his office to act as a guarantor of the royal administration agents' compliance with the law.

The judges held the same criminal and civil jurisdiction as in the Lisbon Court. They considered the appeals that

were beyond the purview of the *ouvidor-geral do cível* and the *provedor-mor dos defuntos*. They also heard civil appeals from the *ouvidor* of Goa, and judges of orphans and other lower.ranking judges (*juízes ordinários*) from the city, as well as from the *ouvidores* of the State of India's fortresses and the captains of fortresses with no *ouvidores*. Finally, they assessed criminal and civil petitions from the city of Goa and its surroundings. Both the criminal and the civil *ouvidor-geral* had jurisdiction over crimes perpetrated in the city of Goa and its surroundings, and over appeals of their competence from the territories of the State of India and the city of Goa. They also assumed a role like that of the criminal and civil *corregedores* at the *Casa da Suplicação*.

The *juiz dos feitos da coroa* had jurisdiction over the matters related to the Crown's interests, the treasury and royal taxes. He ruled on appeals from cases that occurred not only in Goa and its surroundings, but also from every corner of the State of India. Once again, this position was modelled on the *juiz dos feitos da coroa* of the *Casa da Suplicação*. The *provedor-mor dos defuntos* followed the regulation given to the *provedores* of the city of Lisbon and mainland Portugal. He heard appeals from judges of the orphans in Goa and the fortresses of the State of India; the appeals from their *provedores*, however, were judged by the collegiate body of the Court of Appeals.

It is interesting to note that, similarly to the *Casa da Suplicação*, Goa Court of Appeals had this dual nature of first instance and appeals court for the city and the region. In addition to the Court of Appeals' judges, with direct jurisdiction over the urban territory of Goa, the city had an *ouvidor* and a judge of the orphans whose regulations were updated by the letter of 1587.

The 1587 Regulation constitutes a true reform of justice administration in the State of India, including a title dedicated to fortress judges on the territories of Mozambique, Ormuz, Diu, Daman, Vasai (*Baçaim*), Chaul, Malacca, Maluku, and, in a second title, Macao. Their powers were equivalent to those of the *ouvidor* of Goa but, given the administrative nature of the

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fortresses and their territorially isolated character, the regulation stipulated in detail the coordination with their captains and, if necessary, their financial superintendents (*vedores*). The criminal cases that exceeded their jurisdiction would be referred to the Goa Court of Appeals, where they would be judged by the *ouvidor-geral do crime*. The *ouvidores* of the fortresses farthest from Goa (Mozambique, Ormus, Malacca, Maluku, and Macao) had increased powers to issue insurance letters[20] and a wider jurisdiction for civil cases. The purview for criminal cases was the same as that of overseas fortress captains. In fact, the mainland model-role were the *corregedores*.

In those years, the crown was considering the need to bring to Brazil an appeals court to replace the *ouvidor-geral*, an office established since the time of the first Governor-General, Tomé de Sousa (1549-53). Between 1586 and 1588, the new structure was drafted and planned for Bahia (Schwartz, 2011, pp. 63 ss), in line with the process of administrative reform that the Crown had been promoting since the beginning of the dynastic union. In mainland Portugal, requests for reform dated back to the times of King John III's parliament (*cortes*), whereas for Brazil, the opinion of the *Desembargo do Paço* was that a court of appeals would prove better in to administer justice (Schwartz, 2011, p. 63).[21] In 1588 —the date clearly demonstrates the multi-continental scope of this reform—, "the king sent […] to the State of Brazil a Court of Appeals, with a number of judges that would suffice for the proper administration of justice and its affairs; which then had no effect on account of the successes of the sea"[22] (Silva, 1854, pp. 258-265).[23] On this trip was Francisco Giraldes, appointed governor of Brazil, accompanied by

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20 The *Cartas de Seguro* were a judicial guarantee that the defendant would not be imprisoned before the conclusion of the ordinary procedure.

21 Referring to the assessments of Brás Fragoso and Cosme Rangel.

22 *«houve por bem de mandar [...] ao Estado do Brazil uma Relação, com um numero de Desembargadores bastante para a boa administração da Justiça, e expediente dos negócios; o que então não houve efeito pelos sucessos do mar."*

23 «Regimento da Relação do Estado do Brasil» from March 7, 1609.

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ten judges. Faced with adverse winds, they were unable to reach Bahia, being afterwards diverted to Santo Domingo, from where they had to return to Portugal. We do not know the content of these judges' regulations, but their number suggests that the structure would be similar to what had been implemented the previous year in Goa.

The project to create the Bahian Court of Appeals was suspended for a few years, largely due to insufficient financial resources in the territory to sustain such a high number of magistrates (Schwartz, 2010, p. 65). Unlike Goa, where there were judges acting jointly with the *ouvidor-geral* and a regular structure of justice administration since the 1550s, the establishment of a court in Brazil would be postponed until 1609. Until then, King Phillip II maintained its *ouvidor-geral* in Bahia and a couple of magistrates in Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro.

According to Schwartz (2010, p. 65), the 1609 regulation was probably close to the 1588 one. The Court's structure resembled that of Goa, with some specificities. In Bahia there was a smaller number of substitute judges (two instead of four). There was only one *ouvidor-geral*, which joined both criminal and civil justice, and three associate judges without a defined role, whereas in Goa all judges occupied specific court functions. But the department distribution was the same: chancellery; criminal and civil justice; prosecution of Crown, treasury, and taxes' issues; and matters regarding the deceased and the orphans. As for the Goa Court of Appeals, the referent of each of these functions was its counterpart at the *Casa da Suplicação*, in Lisbon.

The troubled life of the early years of the Court of Bahia would end with its abolition in 1626, following the crisis caused by the Dutch invasion of northeastern Brazil. It would not be reinstated until 1652, after the restoration of the Portuguese crown, with a reduction in the number of judges to eight. The position of substitute judge was abolished and the role of criminal and civil *ouvidor* was split into two different positions.

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From a functional point of view, in this transition from the 16th to the 17th century, both overseas courts of appeals had a perfectly established organization, with well-delimited functions that covered the pertinent areas of the great judicial courts of mainland Portugal. In both we find the ambivalence of uniting the city court and the regional court of appeals under a single jurisdiction. It is an important milestone in the transition from an itinerant justice, as administered by the *ouvidores-gerais*, to a justice that was both more regular and more integrated into the procedure mechanisms characteristic of early modern royal justice. Each of these functions was served by judges specialized in their duties.

One of the characteristics of imperial cities as conceived in this text is their location in territories with populations of very diverse origins, where coexistence implied different types of interaction ranging from tolerance to repression and violent domination. What these regulations tell us about these populations is revealing of the period in which they are created. Goa's case is quite illustrative in this respect. The only references to indigenous people ("*gente da terra*") are found in the sections related to the *ouvidores* of the State of India's fortresses and Macao. In the first case, these populations are put under the criminal jurisdiction of these *ouvidores*, following what the *Ordenações Filipinas* stipulated for the captains of African fortresses[24]. In the case of Macao, in the last article of their regime, we find the express order not to "interfere in the Mandarin jurisdiction over the Chinese and Chinchews, and to rightly administer justice in the affairs between them and the [Portuguese] residents"[25]. As far as the Court of Appeals is concerned, it was clear that their legal action would essentially be reserved for the population of Portuguese origin. A letter from the Viceroy of India D. Jerónimo de Azevedo to King Phillip II, probably

24 Article VIII of the «Titolo do Regimento dos Ouvidores letrados das fortalezas de Moçambiqne, Ormuz, Dio, Malaca, Damão, Baçaim, and Chaul. (Rivara, 1865, p. 1141), referringto Ordenações Filipinas, Liv. II, tit. 47.

25 Article XXXI of the «Titolo do regimento do Ouvidor de Macáo nas partes da China» (Rivara, 1865, p. 1150).

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dated December 1616, on issues of justice administration and projects to reduce expenses through a possible reduction of personnel, shows that the viceroy not only defended the existing configuration of the court but also called for its expansion. In this letter, he refers to the importance of creating a "private judge for the people of the land, who overflow the magistrates with litigation"[26], arguing that "the causes of these people should be judged by said judge verbally, as per ancient custom," in order to "put a limit to these terrible people. It seems that the ancient kings of these parts, who knew their humor, used to rule this way"[27] (Rivara, 1865, pp. 1151 ss).

This absence of non-European populations in the 1587 regulation contrasts with some of the previous documentation, namely the *ouvidor-geral* regulations, where these references were sometimes abundant. The 1548 regulation authorized the *ouvidor-mor* to flog without appeal "captive slaves, and people of the land"[28], excluding those traders, goldsmiths, Brahmins or Gāunkārs (village administrators).[29] At the same time, it limited the judicial access of the "people of the land" only to "cases of death or serious injury, and false oaths or falsehood".[30] The same regulation included a series of measures that imposed a time limit on the imprisonment of "people of the land" without trial or charge, both in criminal and civil matters. The regulation of the *alçada* had multiple references to the need to inspect practices involving non-European populations, either with

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26 «*um juiz particular para os homens da terra, que são os que mais embaração assi aquelle como todos os mais juízos*».

27 «*as causas desta gente se determinem pollo dito juiz verbalmente, como antigamente se fazia para pôr limite e termo a esta gente, que he terribel, e parece que por os Reis antigos destas partes lhes conhecerem o humor, os governavão por este modo*."

28 «*escravos captivos, e gente da terra*."

29 «Segundo Regimento, que El Rey nosso senhor enviou a estas partes para o despacho da Relação e negocios da justiça, o qual veio a 26 de setembro de 1548, governando o Governador Garcia de Sá," Article V (Rivara, 1865, p. 208).

30 «*casos de morte ou aleijão, e juramentos falsos, e falsidade*», Artigo VI (Rivara, 1865, p. 208).

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regard to the "issue of the conversion of Gentiles and infidels"[31] (Arts. VII, XXVII and LXII), or the acts of "unjust war on infidels and Gentiles"[32] (Art. VIII), their oppression (Arts. IX and XXVIII), or whether justice was done and kept "especially regarding the Gentiles"[33] (Arts. XI and XXIX). The fact that the *alçada* should be announced also in the lands and villages that suffered under Crown officers (art. XXI) reveals some concern to collect information about their misconduct in the interaction with the non-Portuguese population. Finally, a provision of the Governor of India António Moniz Barreto, dated December 10, 1573, sought to clarify the cases in which the *ouvidor–geral* could deal with disputes from the "people of the land," due to their alleged conflicting nature and the mandatory bail required to conduct the proceedings (Rivara, 1865, pp. 888-891). The rest of the disputes would be referred to the future position of a specialized judge (*conservador dos christãos da terra*) who would decide on all their causes, hence alleviating the *ouvidor-geral*'s workload (Rivara, 1865, p. 889).

This earlier legislation refers to a model of separation of jurisdictions in which mainland Portugal's legal order was applied to the Portuguese overseas communities, while maintaining local legal systems for other populations (Hespanha, 1995). This legal separation was also a physical separation, with the existence of separate neighborhoods and villages where the different communities lived. This model depended on the kind of power that was viable in each territory, granting a degree of autonomy that made of the Portuguese king "more of a suzerain than a 'sovereign'" (Xavier, 2006, p. 4).

The regulation of the Court of Appeals and the obliteration of references to non-European populations demonstrate "a new homogenizing model that did not accommo-

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31 «*negocio de conversão dos gentios e infiéis*».
32 «*guerra injusta aos infiéis e gentios*».
33 «*se se fizera e guardara justiça «em especial aos gentios*».

date the presence of different communities" (Xavier, 2006, p. 15). The Bahia Court of Appeals' regulation points to a similar reality, with a total absence of references to the other populations present in Portuguese America. They fell, instead, under other disciplinary and judicial frameworks; the Court of Appeals, the highest institution of the Portuguese judicial apparatus, was intended as a justice administration system for the population of European descent. In the later development of Portuguese America, the justice boards, collegiate bodies composed by magistrates and governing officers (*juntas de justiça*), were in charge of dealing with the non-European population.[34] At the beginning of the 17th century, these populations fell under the purview of the lower jurisdictions of the captaincies.

We described the creation of the two overseas poles that, together with Lisbon, structured the early-modern Portuguese judicial apparatus. The new model of justice administration it entailed would remain in force until the end of the Ancient Regime, with some rational adjustments in the second half of the 18th century. The previous model had followed the practices of inspection and visitation developed in the later Middle Ages, which were based on extraordinary, itinerant judicial bodies and the *ad-hoc* allocation of jurisdictions. What we showed is that, in the mid-16th century, this model experienced a change in the State of India, the first step towards providing that extraordinary jurisdiction with a less personal character and promoting collegiate decision, with a larger or smaller number of agents who would tend to be learned jurists. The new model was based on functional diversification, a sedentary jurisdiction, and the collegiate activity of the Court of Appeals. The presence of several judges meeting to reach the main court decisions is a clear mark of such innovation.

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34 On the case of Paraíba in the 18th century, see Yamê Paiva's doctoral dissertation (Paiva, 2020, pp. 191 ss).

From the point of view of royal administration, these courts in a way anticipate the creation and expansion of the administrative structure that will be built in various parts of the Portuguese pluricontinental empire. They are not the culmination of this process but precede or go along with it. From the moment they became active, the lower structures of the justice administration apparatus began to develop through a process of capillarity. It is a phenomenon common to both poles and is representative of a conjuncture of new structures established on the ground. At the time of creation of the Rio de Janeiro Court of Appeals, however, the reverse process is verified, as many of the lower administrative structures had already been established, and so they were endorsed by a higher decision-making institution.

These two poles would form the basis of a self-structuring apparatus that grew organically, obeying to very diverse expansion logics and stimulated by multiple dynamics (demographic, economic, political, symbolic), of which the courts of appeals are the main referents: on the one hand, from the point of view of the justice administration itself, in their capacity as higher instances of appeal; on the other hand, as gateways to the upper stages of the judicial career. Served by learned judges enjoying the privileges of chief justices (*desembargadores*), the highest stage of this career path, it was in these courts where the members of this royal officers' corps could attain a permanent appointment. The entry into these courts depended, to a large extent, on the individual merits of each judge, which could be based on previous service in other places or, following the logics of the Ancient Regime, on belonging to privileged social groups or the benefit of mercies and royal privileges (Camarinhas, 2010, p. 266 ss). What emerges from both the proceedings and the agents' trajectories is the extremely interconnected character of this system and its high degree of inner circulation, an idiosyncrasy of the Portuguese judicial apparatus (Camarinhas, 2018). In this

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respect, Goa and Bahia stood out as the main nodes of this multicontinental network, functioning as arrival points and key places in the communication with mainland Portugal and the decision center of the apparatus. The higher instances in Lisbon were accessed through these cities. Within a common apparatus, sharing common operating logics, the same legal system and the same body of agents, it is interesting to note the establishment of tacit rules and differentiated circulation practices. At the higher level, the two hemispheres whose centers were Bahia and Goa held very different symbolic statuses until the end of the Ancient Regime. Goa, even after the decline of its economic importance, would always keep a symbolic ascendant over Bahia: from Goa, judges ascended directly to the *Casa da Suplicação* in Lisbon; coming from Bahia, they would necessarily have to go through the Oporto Court of Appeals until the 19th century (Camarinhas, 2015, p. 123).

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Part III.
Boundaries and inland cities

5

Arraial do Tejuco

The multiple geographies of a colonial urbe

Junia Ferreira Furtado

Introduction

The objective of this chapter is to unravel some of the multiple geographies of *Arraial* do Tejuco, today the city of Diamantina. This study proposes to make the pioneering collation of a census and a cartographic document based on the locality, both produced in the last quarter of the 18th century. The information extracted from these sources was associated with other information collected during several research projects I carried out on the village of Tejuco and the Diamantina Demarcation over the last few decades, as well as with data from records by foreign travelers and various studies on mining cities.

In 1771, a decree of King Joseph I turned diamond mining into a Crown monopoly by creating the *Real Extração dos Diamantes*, the royal company responsible for diamond exploitation run by an Intendent, a *Fiscal* (auditor) and three clerks who formed the *Junta Diamantina*. In 1771 the Diamond District Regulations were published, also known as the *Livro da Capa Verde* (Book

with the Green Cover). The *Junta* was based in Arraial[1] do Tejuco, now called Diamantina, since the main town of the county (*comarca*)[2], Vila do Príncipe, was located outside the Diamond District (Figure 1). Local residents, who had been prohibited from directly mining diamonds since 1729, lived on the *jornais* (day rate) which the company paid for hiring slaves. On average, between one and two thousand slaves were used; between March and July 1781 alone, 985 new slaves were brought to the area.[3] This resulted in economic stability and brought opulence to the village. It is thus no wonder that, in 1821, the traveler Auguste de Saint-Hilaire considered Tejuco to be the most pleasant and richest urban settlement he had visited in the entire captaincy, where the educated elite were capable of speaking his language, French, fluently (Saint-Hilaire, 1975, pp. 29-33).Based on the analysis of the map and the census, this chapter looks at some of the geographic layers of Tejuco's physical, social, economic, and political reality, unveiling a panorama quite different from the elite *urbe* idealized by the French traveler.

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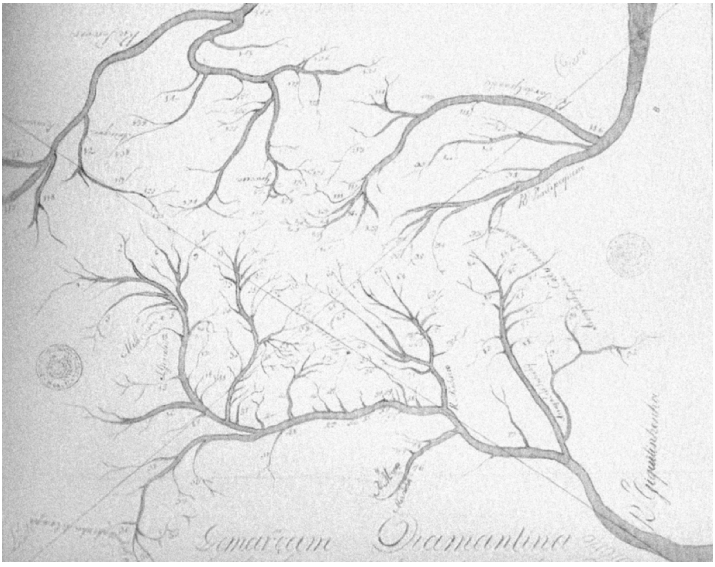
1 In the Portuguese administrative organization, an arrayal (*arraial*) is submitted to a main village (*vila*). The *vila* holds the main administrative and judicial institutions, the most important being the Municipal Council. Some *vilas* were also the seats of counties.

2 In Minas Gerais, at this time, there were four counties, subdivisions of the captaincy: Rio das Velhas, Ouro Preto, Rio das Mortes, and Serro do Frio. The Diamond District was located in the latter.

3 Princeton University (PU), Firestone Library, Rare Books (FLRB), Diamond Codex (DC), f.2-10v. This figure grew up to around 5,000 slaves for some years.

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Figure 1 – Map of the Diamond Demarcation, 1787



Source: Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), Cartografia (C), n.260/1167.

In 1774, a little after taking up his position, the Intendent João da Rocha Dantas e Mendonça carried out a census of the *arraial*, called *Mapa dos moradores da cidade de Tejuco, de acordo com cada uma das ruas que compõem a cidade*,[4] in which he listed all the heads of households, grouped by the streets on which they lived. Stated for each were their name, color, condition —when they were freed (*forro(a)s*), i.e., former slaves who had been manumitted—,[5] profession, and civil status. The census also recorded the total number of residents in each household, excepting slaves, and specified their relationship with the head of household —relative, farm hand (*agregado*)[6] or servant—, and whether the property was rented or owned. From the names listed it is possible to know the gender of each person. This census was sent to accompany the *Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco* (Figure 2), an anonymous manuscript map in color that measured 17 x 21.7 cm. The precautions of the authorities —residents were always under surveillance, as entrance to and residence within the Diamond Region was restricted[7]— left two valuable registers whose comparison reveals the geographies around which the *arraial* was structured.

4 It was sent to Portugal on February 15, 1775. AHU, Manuscritos Avulsos de Minas Gerais (MAMG), caixa 108, doc. 9, f. 1-9.

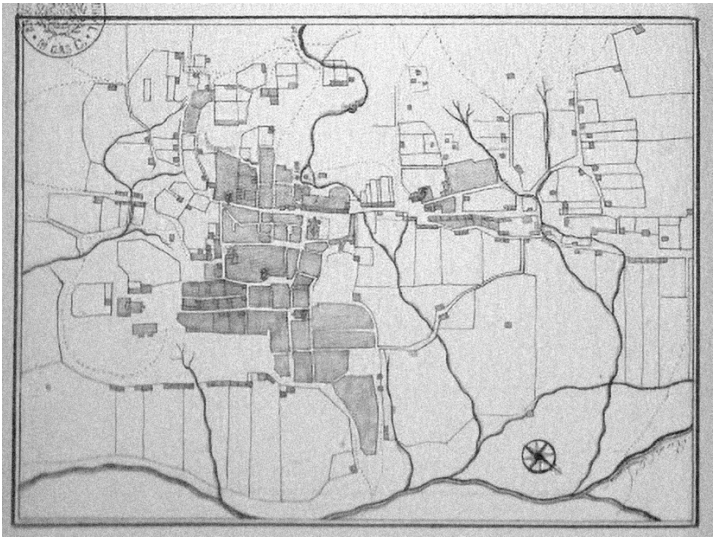
5 The condition of being free is not stated, though it is the omission of the condition of *forro* (manumitted) which evidences this.

6 *Agregado*, meaning farm hand or hand, is part of a relationship of subordination with the head of household which implied not only cohabitation, but also work and political patronage.

7 Tribunal de Contas de Portugal, Livro 4.088, doc. 135, 20/6/1775, Letter to the *Intendent*, referring to the order that those considered useless or suspicious should leave the *Demarcação Diamantina*.

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Figure 2 – Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco, 1774



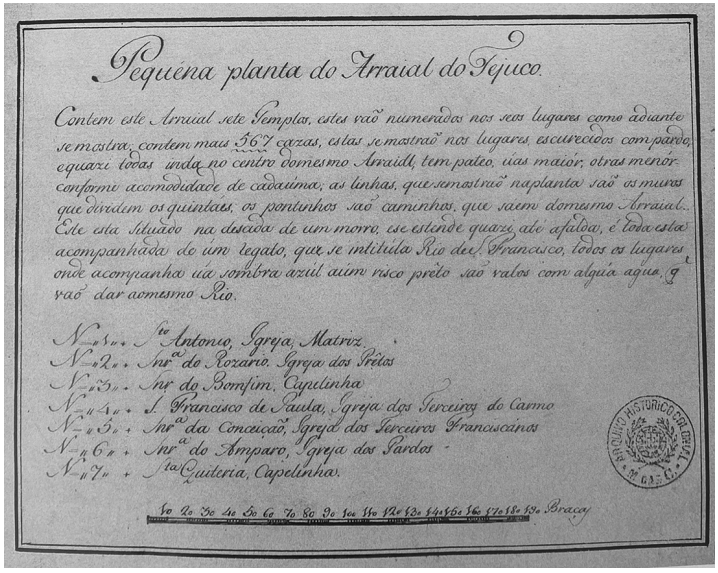
Source: AHU, C, n.255/1162.

Geography of Farewell

The upper part of the map sheet *Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco*, as can be seen by the compass rose, is not oriented to the north but rather to the southwest. It was no coincidence that the mapmaker should choose this very particular point of view, since Tejuco is located on the side of the Santo Antônio mountain range and faces the São Francisco mountain, both separated by the river valley also named as the latter. Its best view was (and still is) afforded to those who positioned themselves on top of the São Francisco mountain range, from where the *arraial* could be seen spreading along the opposite slopes. The subtitle of the map, which along with the title and the legend are written

on a separate page (Figure 3), explain this shape, determinant in the choice of the position in which it was drawn: "It is located at the face of a hill, and extends almost to the riverbank below."

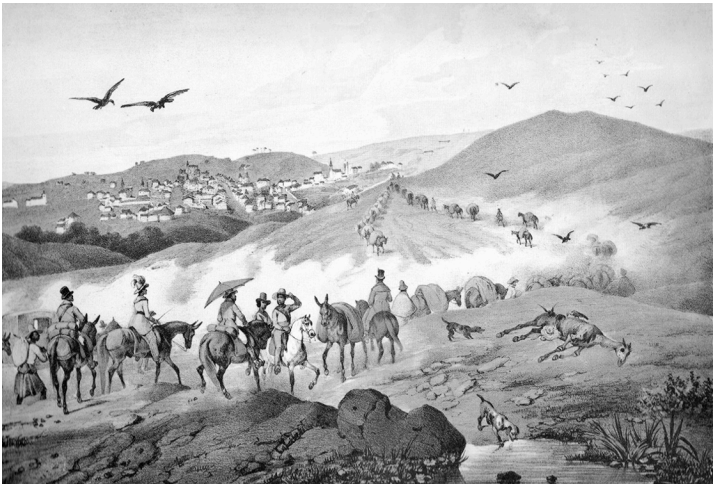
Figure 3 – Title and key of *Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco*, 1774



Though impossible to perceive from the map, being drawn in only two dimensions (length and width), Tejuco looked like a little crib from the distance, due to the simplicity and rusticity of its houses and chapels, built in clay and stone. The buildings painted in white and covered with clay-colored roof tiles can be better seen in a drawing by the Prussian traveler Johann Moritz Rugendas, who was in Brazil between 1821 and 1825 (Figure 4). Snaking up and down the mountain, the streets of Tejuco appear dotted with white houses, surrounded by gardens with fruit trees

and flower beds, vegetables and greens, like an oasis in the middle of the inhospitable and stony landscape of the region (Gardner,1942, p. 382).

Figure 4 – Caravanne de Marchands allant à Tijuca, 1835, Rugendas



Source: Rugendas, J. M. (1998) O Brasil de Rugendas. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia.

Not coincidentally, Rugendas chose the same perspective as the map to portray the *arraial*. In the image, a caravan of traders arrives as another caravan departs; the former is on top of the São Francisco mountain range, from where Tejuco can be seen far ahead, on the opposite hill. From that precise spot, all travelers saw Tejuco for the first time or gave it their final farewell. As in a game of mirrors, the *Planta* adopts the same point of view with a birds-eye perspective, but it is incapable of reproducing the profundity of the scene captured by the human eye.

Despite this limitation, the geography of arrivals and departures, of the *adeus* (farewells), is made visible, since

once a year the diamonds had to be transported to a port, while goods and people, most of them slaves, came in the opposite direction and were redirected to the principal villages and mineral beds explored by the Royal Diamond Company in the Diamond District. The geography of the farewell mirrored the maps' drawing of the three principal access routes, carrying away from the center of the settlement in the form of arrows, and, as explained in the map's subtitle, "the dots are the roads which leave the same *arrayal,*" connected to the urban area through the suburban streets of Rosário, Campo, Macau, and Burgalhao.

One of the roads led to the settlements and mineral beds located in the Diamond District, running to the Minas Novas village, from where the routes to Bahia could be reached. Along the road passed goods coming from outside, including slaves, and foodstuff produced in the county (*comarca*) of Serro do Frio (Meneses, 2000). This is what Rugendas portrays, and the image shows the loaded mules going from one side to another (Figure 4). Those who arrived by this route reached the top of the São Francisco Mountain, from where a small trail curved down to the bottom of the valley. After crossing the river, it went through the *Arraial de Baixo*, climbing the Santo Antônio hill and entering Tejuco by Burgalhao, the central street, or by Macau, a more peripheral street located to the west, until it reached the urban center, built on a plateau halfway to the top, where the main church was located.

Burgalhao and Macau, which ran up to the suburbs, can be seen in Rugendas' image. The former rises from the valley which separates the two mountain ranges —the view of which is partially covered by the São Francisco mountain— and runs to the center, where the two towers of the central church can be seen. From this church, Macau runs northwest, on the right of the image. As the street is located in the middle part of the village, parallel to the Santo Antônio mountain range, the painter only drew the frontage of the

houses and the tower of São Francisco church, which was located there.

The second road could be reached from the suburban Campo street, the principal route which ran southwest from the center until the top of Santo Antônio hill. On top, before saying goodbye to Tejuco, travelers would pass through *Arraial de Cima* (not drawn on the map), where they took the road running to the south of the captaincy until reaching Vila Rica, its administrative center. The road, which was called Campo Road and gave its name to the urban access route, ran along the west of the so-called *Serra Grande*, now called Espinhaço Mountain, and.

On the east side of the *arraial*, starting in Rosário Street, was the third road, which ran to Vila do Príncipe and from there to the village of Conceição do Mato Dentro. For this reason, it was known as the Mato Dentro Road, or Gerais, running along the east side of Serra Grande up to the county of Rio das Velhas, into the village of Sabará. It was frequently used to reach the Convent of Macaúbas, where select women from the local elite received a proper education; among these were the daughters of the famous former slave Chica da Silva, nickname of Francisca da Silva de Oliveira. This was almost the only educational institution available for the female population of the captaincy (Algranti, 1993; Furtado, 2009, pp. 198-201). In Rugendas' image, we can see Rosário Church, which gave its name to this street that appears isolated on the extreme left of the image, a peripheral area that was scarcely populated at that time.

Suburban Geography

The use of colors is never random on a map. In the *Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco*, the subtitle clarifies that it "contains more than 567 houses; these are shown in the

darkened places and almost all of them are still in its center." The aim was to highlight in ochre a part of the *urbe*, the central axis of the village, distinguishing the place and its residents from the uncolored suburbs, something that could be immediately understood by the reader. However, there are some discrepancies between what is illustrated on the map and stated in the census. The latter lists only 521 residences; some of the absences can be explained by the fact that the properties occupied by the Royal Diamond Company administration, such as the building of the diamond intendency, where the *Junta Diamantina* met, are not counted. However, the *Arraial de Baixo*, located at the foot of the hill, and Burgalhao —which was not named as a street in the census, thus accentuating its peripheral nature— are colored ochre on the map. This is explained by the antiquity of these two places' settlement (dated back to the origins of Tejuco), thus distinguishing them and their residents from the rest of the periphery, in white.

The center of Tejuco was built around the Santo Antônio Church and the *urbe* acquired a "quadrangular, concentrated, and reticular" appearance, different from other urban settlements of Minas Gerais, generally more scattered and disordered (Vasconcelos (1959, p. 121). A distinct outline can be observed in its suburban streets, which became more irregular towards the edge of the urban reticle, located alongside the frame of the map. Burgalhao, Cavalhada Velha, Campo, and Macau fit into this category of not being labelled as streets in the census. The latter two suburban streets had a much greater number of properties than the streets located in the town center (23 and 103 houses respectively), with Macau being the longest of all.

In terms of gender, the heads of household who lived on Campo Street were almost equally balanced: 12 were men and 11 women. The same occurred with the typology of the properties: 12 were owned and 11 rented. However, the similarities stop there. In relation to civil status, there were predominantly unmarried people, with a total of 16, against

six married people and one widow. In relation to color, the majority was white (9), and there were seven *pardos*,[8] five blacks[9] and two *crioulos*.[10] When crossing the data according to the geography of the blocks, the hierarchies among their residents become evident.

In the first part, or block, consisting of just seven houses, there were only white men, four of whom were married and only one, Manoel Francisco de Souza, was a tenant. Agostinho dos Santos, Manoel Vieira Couto, Pedro de Oliveira Lage, and Domingos Gomes Tibaens, lived with their wives and had extensive offspring, while Domingos dos Santos Barros, despite being single, lived with three sons and a daughter. Manoel Vieira Couto was the father of José Vieira Couto, who became a famous naturalist and latter investigated the economic potential of the region. In 1774, as he was studying in the University of Coimbra, his house was inhabited only by his father, his mother Antônia Teresa do Prado and his two sisters, since the rest of his brothers was also absent. As we can see, the part of the street that was closest to the center housed the most distinguished residents.

In the third and fourth blocks, there were also seven houses. All of these were headed by people of color, most of them tenants, with the exception of the *pardo* Florêncio Gonçalves, who owned his property. There were four black African women (Ana Pereira, Jacinta Gomes, Luiza de Macedo, and Josefa de Sousa), two *pardo* men and a *parda* woman, a widow who lived with her daughter, unlike the others, who were single and lived alone. In other words, the periphery of the street was restricted to the darkening of skin, the precariousness of conjugal relations, and the worsened economic condition of its residents.

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8 *Pardo* or *parda* refers to a mixed blood mullato(a) with lighter skin.

9 Being referred to as black in the census points to an African origin.

10 *Crioulo* or *crioula* refers to a black slave born in Brazil who could be freed afterwards, as the cases listed in this article.

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As the streets moved away from the center, the hierarchical geography of the blocks revealed the progressive social declassification of its residents. The second block confirms this tendency. It had nine houses, and the heads of household had an intermediate profile in relation to the previous two, establishing a transition zone between the elite, who lived closer to the center, and the plebeians at the end of the street. Six women and three men lived in it. The white tenants, José Dias Barbosa and Antônia Maria da Conceição, had as their neighbors two *crioula*[11] women, three *parda* women, a *pardo* man, and a black man. Five heads of household —the *crioulas* Ana Pereira and Maria Antunes, the *parda* women Josefa Teixeira and Romana Tereza, and the *pardo* tinsmith Caetano de Azevedo— lived in their own houses, while the other four rented their properties. Only the latter and the white Manoel Lopes were married; the others were single, but the two *crioulas* lived with their children. The transitory nature of this area is reaffirmed by the absence of black African women on the block.

Macau, the longest street in Tejuco, which ran northwest away from the *arraial*, had a profile of properties and heads of household compatible with its peripheral and transitory nature between the urban and rural. The white man Cosme João had a small farm there, where he was a horticulturist, while the black woman Inácia da Cunha had her own *rancho*, a very precarious *pousada* or inn, which was a "house, or mobile stall, built along the paths" (Moraes Silva,1799, v.2, p. 287).

The first part of the street, which had eight houses, is very revealing of the geographical hierarchy of the blocks, increasingly fluid towards the periphery. Its heads of household were three white men, two *pardos*, a crioulo, and a black man. They all shared the facts of being men and

11 *Crioulo* or *crioula* refers to a black slave born in Brazil that could be freed afterwards, as in the cases listed in this article.

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having a trade, such as the *crioulo* Manoel Soares, tenant of the first house, who was a carpenter; Antônio Fernandes, a *siriqueiro*, a weaver of ropes and threads of silk; or the tailor José Luís Veloso (the latter two were white). The male residents worked all along the road. The black man João de Matos was the only who exercised no profession, living in his own house and certainly surviving on the daily work of his slaves. In turn, João da Rocha, another white man, installed an inn in his own residence.

The most distinguished residents of Campo, spread among different blocks, were the *Guarda-mor* José Soares, Captain Antônio Machado, and *Dona* Ana Marcelina Perpétua da Fonseca, all white and living in their own houses. Soares lived alone; Machado, with his wife, and his brother-in-law and sister-in-law; and *Dona* Ana, with two sons and a daughter, since her husband, the doctor Luís José de Figueiredo, had been expelled from the Diamond District, accused of misappropriating diamonds (Furtado, 1996, p. 98). Fr. João Correia, Chaplain of Rosário Church, lived in the house owned by his mother, while Fr. Pedro Machado, from São Francisco Church, lived in a rented house. There was a certain Maria da Costa, a black woman who lived in her own house and was, as everything seems to indicate, the mother of Chica da Silva. Just like her, another 11 black women lived alone (five in their own houses and eight in rented property), revealing the eclectic profile of the street's heads of household on the street and its fluid geography.

Topographic Geography

Some street names are revealing of the social profile or economic functions exercised by their residents. This is the case of those streets named after an old or important resident, creating a geography of citizenship. The adnominal adjunct *de-da-do* (of), which connects the street's name

and the name of the person being honored, suggests either the latter's importance or possession or dominion over the place, distinguishing one head of household over his neighbors. An example of this is Luís Gomes Street, named in tribute to Luís Gomes da Fonseca, attorney of the brotherhoods, who lived there. His father had been notary of the Court of Orphans of Rio das Velhas county, and a few years later, in 1799, he reached the rank of Captain of Cavalry of the Vila Rica militia, a fact that shows his importance.[12] Strangely, the record does not detail whether he owned or rented his house, though the former is more likely. Though probably unrelated, there were two neighbors with the surname Gomes: Captain José Gomes Ferreira, a surgeon from the Royal Diamond Company Hospital, nephew of another surgeon, Luís Gomes Ferreira, who authored the famous medicine book *Erário Mineral*; and Carlos Gomes, who lived with his wife and daughter in their own house.

On Fr. Bartolomeu Street, which had 22 houses, lived the eponymous priest, who was Chaplain of the Lady of the Rosary chapel (*Senhora do Terço*). The main church housed a brotherhood formed by free whites. By one side of the property where the priest lived, a black African freedwoman, Ignácia Barbosa, lived in a rented house; by the other side, there was the house of Captain João Gonçalves Ramos, who lived with his son and traded dry goods. On the corner, Manoel Barboza de Souza, married, also had a dry goods business in his own house. 14 of the heads of household living there were white, among the most notable being Luís de Almeida Vila Nova —commissioner of the Brotherhood of Mount Carmel (*Carmo*)—, Dr. Manoel Neto da Silva, and Sebastião Francisco, respectively a doctor in the Hospital and a Royal Diamond Company clerk. Of the seven colored heads of household, there were three black African women, four *pardo* men —three of whom were tailors and one a hairdresser—, and one *parda* woman. All the African women

12 AHU, MAMG, caixa 51, doc.42 and caixa 150, doc.52.

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were single and lived alone, two in rented houses and one in a property she owned.

In the aforementioned Fr. José Guedes Alley lived the priest of the same name, chaplain of Chapel of Souls, also housed in the main church. The priest who had lent his name to Fr. Manoel da Costa street, on the other hand, is not listed as living there and was probably a former resident. Within the 25 houses of this street, 14 of the heads of household were freed Africans, 12 of whom were women. All of them, except for Josefa Pimenta, who owned her house, were single and lived alone in rented houses. The two Black men were Joaquim da Silva, a miner, and the lodger José Francisco Pinto. There were also five *crioulos,* two *parda* women, a *cabra,*[13] and three white men. Most were single and lived alone. The exceptions were the married *crioulo* Francisco Gomes; the single *parda* women Juliana Francisca, who lived with a handyman and her daughter, and Maria Angélica, who also lived with a handyman. Only five of the houses were owned; besides the two mentioned above, the rest were owned by the whites Francisco Ferreira Campos and Custódio Alves da Costa, and the *cabra* Anna dos Santos.

The geography of citizenship also prevented some names from being forgotten. Such was the case of Julião Antônio and Custódio Barbosa Streets and Tomás de Aquino Alley, where the honored individuals no longer appear as residents, nor was it possible to get any information about them. This is a toponymy meant to commemorate certain individuals who, at some point, were important for the neighborhood or were the first to settle there. It is noteworthy that they were all men. The memory of the women who lived there was erased from this toponymy, revealing that the geography of the streets, which echoed the geography of command, was hierarchical, and had both gender and color: masculine and white.

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13 A *cabra* was a person of mixed blood with Indian origins.

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Geography of Commerce

Streets were also named in accordance with their economic function, forming Tejuco's geography of commerce, concentrated in Quitanda and Vendas streets. It should be noted that the opening of commercial establishments in the village was regulated. Each commerce required the authorization of the *Junta Diamantina* and had to be located in the owner's house. In December 1789, its members stated that, "in relation to dry goods stores and taverns, both were reduced after the [1771 Diamond District] Regulations. So, in Tejuco, in the year of 1772, there were 19 stores (*lojas*) and 21 taverns; in the year of 1773, there were 18 stores and 19 taverns; in the year of 1774, there were 16 stores and 15 taverns; […] from which it can be seen that the number has always been falling". However, the administrators warned that his could be detrimental, as they depended on taxes to support the "troops of this detachment," and the commercial monopoly of a reduced number of establishments would increase prices, affecting the residents and the Royal Diamond Company itself.[14] The 1774 census used a different classification when not referring to the establishment, informing that there existed 20 heads of household "with dry goods," six with "with wet goods," two apothecaries, one selling china from India and wet goods, a *casa de corte* (a cutting house or butcher's), two *algibebes* —who sold old or patched clothes—. five taverns and three *vendas* (small shops): a total of 40 houses with commercial establishments. Let us look at them.

Most of this activity was concentrated in Quitanda Street. *Quitanda*, from the African language Kimbundu, signified a street food market and called attention to the importance of African women in this type of commerce in the captaincy, following the custom in Africa (Pantoja, 2001,

14 PU, FLRB, DC, 29/12/1789, f.129.

pp. 42-67). However, on Quitanda Street, out of a total of 25 houses, only three were headed by colored women (one Black, one *crioula,* and one *parda*), but none of them were involved in any commercial activity. Nevertheless, in the past there had been a black African *quitandeiras* market on the street, until the prohibition of this activity in 1732 (Furtado, 1996, p. 77). Later, there came to exist a "house established for the *roceiros* [small farmers], commonly called the *Quitanda de Santo Antônio*",[15] which served as a market of wholesale products sold by county farmers. It is not listed in the census, indicating that the property did not belong to a private individual but to the Royal Diamond Company administration. The name of the neighboring *Quitanda* Alley appears to derive from its location and not from the economic function of the properties there, since none of the heads of household performed any commercial activity, and among them only Josefa Gonçalves was a black African woman.

On Quitanda Street, heads of household were involved in the dry goods trade, three sold wet goods and two were *algibebes*: Martinho Alves and Domingos Rodrigues.[16] There was also a tavern and a *venda*. Of the total of 15 traders, 14 were white and only one was a woman, the widow Joana Maria de Lião. (It was common for women to take over the business in the absence of husbands.) Manoel da Encarnação, a *parda* woman living, unlike the rest, in a rented house, sold wet goods and also china from India, revealing how luxuriously local tables were adorned and also the connections between Tejuco and India, from where the first diamond cutters came. Three male traders were married, though only one of them and a widow lived with their children. In relation to the properties, eight were owned and

15 PU, FLRB, DC, 27/4/1781 f.4v.

16 It was probably to take advantage of this trade that two tailors also established themselves on the street, João Branco and Mateus de Souza, a *pardo* man, both in rented houses.

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seven rented, and the commercial establishment was commonly located on the ground floor.

In the stores of the widow and of Jerônimo da Silva Ferreira, a dry goods seller, the clerks also lived in their homes. The census informs the typical profile of these clerks. There were 20 in Tejuco, all young white men and probably Portuguese. Fifteen of them lived in the homes of their employers and their names were not listed; three lived alone, and only one was a hand in the house where he worked. Except for Custódio Vieira da Costa, the clerk of judge João Fernandes de Oliveira(who was married and lived on Fr. Bartolomeu Street with his wife, two sons, two daughters, and a nephew), the others were single, indicating that they were young (Furtado, 1996, pp. 251-255).

Commercial networks were frequently used as conduits to introduce poorer relatives who looked for social ascension, tapping on the capital of being literate. Many clerks were relatives of their employers. This was apparently the case of João Batista Bitancour, who sold wet goods on Quitanda Street,; João Marinho, a *pardo* ensign; and João Gomes Leal, another wet goods merchant. They probably worked as clerks for their respective uncles, who introduced them to the trade.

Another street related to commerce was Vendas Street. A *venda* was a retail shop, normally selling food or wet goods directly to the customer. On this street, there were three heads of household. The *pardo* man Francisco Pereira da Fonseca ran a dry goods business in a rented property, while Manoel Gonçalves Sá, who was an itinerant trader, transported cargo from the coastal ports and had a wet goods business of a reasonable size, employing two clerks who lived in his own house. The third commerce belonged to the aforementioned João Gomes Leal, who lived in a rented property.

Traditionally, it was believed that the name given to commercial establishments referred to the type of product sold, with shops selling dry goods and *vendas*

selling wet ones. However, although the census covered what kinds of products were sold by each head of household, not the establishment itself, the distinction between shops and *vendas* was more properly based on the property's central or peripheral location; the size of the business, measured by the number of clerks employed; and the profile of its owners and customers. This explains why the census lists 20 dry goods merchants, but the *Junta* lists only 16 shops, where it purchased "powder, iron, steel, salt, and various items from the warehouse".[17] A clearer example was the establishment of the *pardo* Manoel da Encarnação, who sold both wet goods and china from India. The shops were larger establishments located on the more central streets which employed clerks and required large amounts of capital; the *vendas* were located on the more peripheral streets and alleys and sold wholesale and retail food,[18] while taverns offered drink and food. This is confirmed by the fact that all clerks were employed in shop establishments on central streets, such as Intendência (6), Fr. Bartolomeu (4), and Direita (4); Quitanda, Vendas, and Bonfim, for their part, had two clerks each. Only three *vendas* are listed, thus reinforcing this hierarchy despite their central location. They all belonged to white men, although two of them were single and did not even have surnames: José Antônio was on Quitanda Street and Felis Antônio was in Custódio Barbosa Alley (both in rented properties); conversely, the owner Antônio Alves Pereira[19] was in Mandioca Alley.

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17 PU, FLRB, DC, 29/12/1789, f.129.

18 In the captaincy, these *vendas* were commonly established on the hills, by the mining areas, to provide food for the slaves working there. In Tejuco, it was strictly forbidden establish them near the fields, and thus they had to be lodged in the merchants' houses in the urban centers. PU, FLRB, DC, 22/04/1785, f. 62v; 28/06/1785, f.81.

19 Perhaps it was the same inherited property mentioned in 1785: "the closure of the *venda* of Antônio Luis Pereira de Campos has been ordered after his removal from the respective registration book, hav-

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The name of this alley – Mandioca (Manioc) — referred to the most popular native diet, often given to the slaves employed in mining. In consonance with its peripheral nature, the alley contained 15 houses, eleven of them rented by black freedwomen. There was also the butcher shop belonging to Capitan Antônio Machado, where the white Manoel de Souza supervised another four comrades employed in it. The denominations alley and *venda* are almost transitive and denote the inferior social and geographic situation of the place, its owners, and even its customers. Furthermore, there were five taverns, all of them belonging to Portuguese men, only one of whom was married. Four out of five of these properties were rented, and they were dispersed throughout the center: on Direita, Intendência, Quitanda streets, and in Custódio Barbosa Alley.

The commercial establishments spread around the center reinforced the geographic hierarchy that distinguished the most important streets. Intendência Street appears to have been the most important and distinguished commercial axis, due to its proximity to the building from where all the power of the Crown emanated, the Intendance House, thus granting a higher value to the properties located there. Of the six private houses, four housed commercial establishments, where the six clerks who lived there worked. Two heads of household sold dry goods, one had a tavern, and the *marechal de campo* Ignácio Correa Pamplona, who traded wet goods, lived with his clerk in his own house. Ignácio was not a fixed resident of Tejuco; he was from Vila de São João del Rei, where he was a prominent figure, but ran an important business in the *arraial*. Three dry goods traders lived in their own properties on Direita Street:

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ing abandoned this continent and county." PU, FLRB, DC, 22/04/1785, f.63.

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the *pardo* ensign João Marinho, Manoel de Figueiredo Banha, and Julião Antônio de Araújo. However, everything indicates that the latter two had larger businesses and could be called shops, since they employed two and one clerk, respectively. Caetano da Silva Feio traded wet goods, and there were also two taverns.

On Fr. Bartolomeu Street there were another three dry goods establishments, all belonging to white men, probably Portuguese, one of them being Captain João Gonçalves Ramos. On Bonfim street, Captain Antônio José Barbosa and Antônio José Soares had dry goods businesses in their own houses, the latter helped by his clerk. The geography of commerce was concentrated in the town center, which was easier to control. This central location conferred distinction to some of its streets, where the largest establishments were located.

Geography of water

The subtitle of the map states that at the foot of the hill, below the *arraial*, is the São Francisco River, and then informs the reader that "all the places [on the *Planta*] where a blue shadow accompanies a black mark are valleys with some body of water that flows into the same river." The geography of water, which is clearly illustrated on the map, calls attention to its importance not only for the survival of men, animals, and plants, but also as an indispensable component for mining, being used to separate sediment from diamonds and gold nuggets. To prevent the water collected on the hills from falling directly into the rivers, a series of long canals, called *regas*, were opened to drain it into the mining areas on the hills, or into storage tanks called *mundéus*.

In Tejuco, the springs located on the upper parts of Santo Antônio hill were accessed early on and the water

was drained to the canals and ditches opened on the slope. The first of them, around half a league long and built in 1740, was used to wash of gold in Grupiara, where the mining was carried out by a company called *Lavra da Roda*. The canal began in one of the streams that ran down from Santo Antônio hill, called Pedras stream, whose "waters were diverted to the settlement." Before reaching the *arraial*, a tank was built to capture the mud and water which ran down the hill mixed together, separating by decantation the gold from the sediments. Even after this mineral bed was disactivated, the canal continued to supply the city, but since the water quality was low, "it was only used for the washing of clothes and gardens."[20]

Portrayed on the map are five springs: three above the urban center, forming three main streams (Tejuco, Piruruca, and Bicas); one in the central southeastern part; and one below the *urbe*. All of them ran into the São Francisco River, an affluent of the Grande River, located at the foot of the hill. This network was organized into four canal distribution systems —painted blue and black on the map— which distributed water among the public fountains and private residences, a great luxury in the panorama of other urban centers in the captaincy. Although Vila do Príncipe (now Serro) was the capital of the county, it did not have a water system, nor even a fountain in the town center, at this time. The water was instead supplied by slaves who carried barrels from the surrounding area. The geography of water revealed that there was a hierarchy among the mining municipalities, with Tejuco having a favorable position as a reflection of its diamond wealth.[21]

The first public canal for supplying drinking water was a derivation of the oldest one, opened in 1752 to

20 See Santos (1976, p. 103); Saint-Hilaire (1974, p. 29).
21 See Tedeschi (2014); Delforge (2009); Furtado (2019).

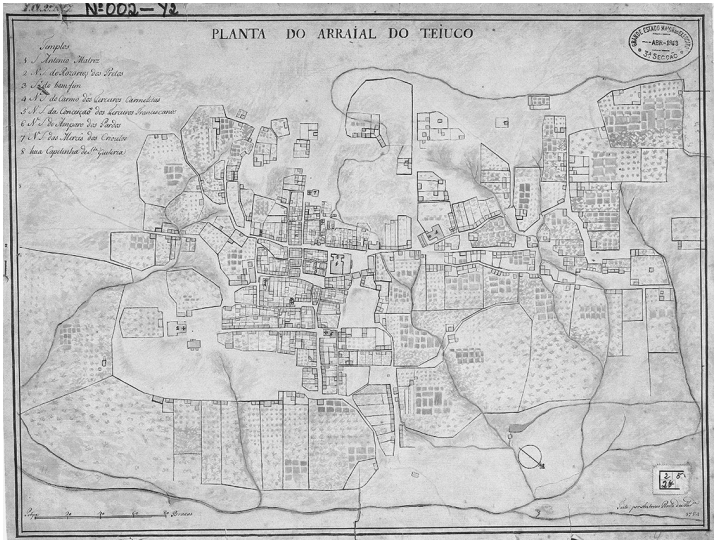
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collect the water from the Tejuco stream, a tributary of the Pedras stream, which also ran down Santo Antônio hill (Vasconcelos, 1959, p.127). Part of this canal appears on the upper part of the map under the label "Water canal", and the decantation tank, used to purify the water for human consumption, appears in the middle of the way to Tejuco. Below it, the canal is divided into two to directly supply the back gardens of some of the residences on Direita Street.

This pluvial system fed public water sources and private taps in the main local residences. Initially, the canal that brought drinking water from the Tejuco stream only supplied the sole public fountain, built in the center, around 1752, at the beginning of Direita Street, beside the head church and the house of José da Silva de Oliveira. As we can see on the map, from that point the water passed through an underground channel, reappearing on the other side of the street and becoming divided into two canals to supply some nearby houses. These canals later reunited and ran down the hill, passing under Paciência Alley. At the end of the 18th century, with the growth of the population and the settlement's expansion, Tejuco gained a second fountain, built near Rosário Church, which is not shown on the map as it did not exist in 1774.[22]

22 D'Orbigny (1976, p. 135); Vasconcelos (1959, p. 127).

Figure 5 – Planta do arraial do Tejuco, 1784



Source: Arquivo Histórico do Exército, 06.01.1131, CEH 3207.

The 1784 *Planta do arraial do Tejuco* (Figure 5), by Antônio Pinto de Miranda, also portrays this ingenious pluvial system. The *arraial* had expanded in all directions, covering a slightly larger territory than in the 1774 map: there appears a fifth canal, situated to the west (extreme right), as well as a larger part of the canal which carried the water from the Tejuco stream, situated to the southwest (upper right).

Gardens and flower beds, colored green and yellow respectively, proliferated all over the *urbe*, benefitting from this irrigation system. This is clear in the case of the Tejuco stream: as soon as it enters the map (upper right) a small open canal runs into the garden of a private residence just below, feeding its fountain, drawn in the form of a square. There are two new reservoirs. One of them, represented

by a square on the two maps, is located above the compass rose;the other is above the scale, in the left corner. The water collected in the former benefitted the property located nearby.

Another interesting aspect of this map is that the ditches, colored brown, are in some parts blurred, suggesting that they were drained underground. An underground supply system was built in the central part of Tejuco, using tubes or "*bicames* (pipes with rectangular sections made from wood, with a lid on top)" (Delforge, 2009, p. 1), which redistributed the precious liquid to the residences located there. Some remnants of this system are still extant in the present-day Mota and Alecrim alleys, and in Mercês, Augusto Nelson, and Silvério Lessa streets, which were recent sites of excavation. They reveal the sophistication attained by the geography of water in the town, privileging the center and some of the most distinguished houses.

This is what can be observed with the canal which supplied water to the garden of Chica da Silva's house, where there existed two sources of water, now dry, fed by nearby springs (Number 8 on the key). It is known that, like the latter, private residences captured water directly from "small springs in the mountain where the village is built" and, in some there were "springs in their gardens." While the precocious capture of water benefitted all residents of Tejuco, the presence of the central underground system, canals made to supply just some houses and private sources, reproduced in the geography of water the hierarchy of spaces and residents of Tejuco, to the detriment of the less privileged (Saint-Hilaire, 1974, p. 29; Delforge, 2009, p. 10).

Geography of faith

The subtitle of the map stated that "this *Arraial* contained seven Churches, which are numbered in their places, as will

be shown later." Below this line on the map, there is a list with the names of the churches and chapels, as a city ordered by the geography of faith. Number 1 referred to Santo Antônio Church and called it the "Head Church," highlighting its importance and its location in the central square. Three streets were named after the religious buildings located on them: "Lady of the Rosary (*Senhora do Rosário*), Church of the blacks," number 2; "Lady of *Bonfim* (*Senhora do Bonfim*), a small chapel," number 3; and "Lady of *Amparo* (*Senhora do Amparo*), Church of the *Pardos*," number 6. The first was the oldest and dated from the first half of the eighteenth century; it initially housed the brotherhood that included all people of color. In 1756, the divisions between slaves and freed people generated the need for exclusive representation for mulattos and *pardos*. These sought to distinguish themselves from the blacks, the majority of whom were slaves, resulting in the emergence of new brotherhoods to congregate them. First, they built *Senhora do Amparo dos Pardos* Church and raised an altar dedicated to *Nosso Senhor dos Passos*, in Bonfim chapel. In 1771, the *crioulos* founded the brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercy (*Nossa Senhora das Mercês*), afterwards starting the construction of their own church. This church was portrayed only in the 1784 *Planta* of the *arraial* (number 7 in the key). It should also be noted that, despite their later construction, the latter were constructed on the more central streets, while Rosário Church was built in a peripheral zone, reflecting the lower status of the black brothers.

The churches listed as numbers 4 and 5 were also constructed in the second half of the century, and were aimed only at the white population. São Francisco de Paula, Church of the Third Order of Mount Carmel, was built mostly at the expense of Judge João Fernandes de Oliveira, one of its most important members; Senhora da Conceição, Church of the Franciscan Third Order, was built on Macau street. Though the latter congregated only white people, Chica da Silva was buried there, as a clear sign of her

importance. The 'small chapel' built in her house, dedicated to Santa Quiteria, the saint to whom the Judge's family was devoted, confirms her distinction. It was the last to appear, listed as number 7 on the 1774 map and as number 8 ten years later.

However, the census reveals the existence of other chapels or spaces of faith around the city, such as one in the Royal Diamond Company Hospital, or the *Almas* and *Senhora do Terço* chapels. The last two did not occupy their own properties —they were housed in altars within the main church— and thus were not portrayed on the map, but their priests (7), all of them white, appeared as residents of various streets around the center. While the chaplain of Santa Quitéria chapel lived on Direita Street, in his own house, that of São Francisco Church rented a more peripheral house in Macau, revealing that faith and its representatives in Tejuco also had an earthy hierarchy.

Geography of professions

A society based on *Ancien Regime* values despised manual labor, something reinforced by colonial slavery. The geography of color and gender thus had its reflection in a geography of professions, since there were gaps between serving the king and working. In the former category were the military, royal officials, the clergy, those in the liberal professions, farmers, and, more recently, wholesale merchants and miners (Stumpf, 2014). The latter category included those who practiced the *mechanical* or manual trades. In Tejuco, as in the Portuguese empire as a whole, the majority of whites served, and of the people of color worked.

Among the mostly serving white men, there were 17 royal officials, 30 merchants, seven priests, two *doutores* —probably lawyers—, a miner, a farmer, and a doctor. In total they held 26 military ranks, with the lowest being the

dragoon trooper Custódio Rodrigues, who lived in his own house on Amparo Street. However, the people of lower birth (a total of 43, or 21.3% of the white population) worked or exercised some manual trade. The majority were tailors (10), shoemakers (7, one of them only repaired shoes), carpenters (5), blacksmiths (3), and saddle makers (3). Some were more distinguished than others and had been educated, such as the "teacher of boys," the apothecaries, and the surgeon; others were specialized in a craft, such as the watchmaker, the cutler, the *ventanário* (a carpenter who made doors and windows), the *salteiro* (who played the stringed instrument called the psaltery), and the *siriqueiro* (who wove threads); a few of them did physical work, such as the *caboqueiro* (a stone breaker), a bricklayer, or a carter.

The situation of the freed men was very diverse. Out of the total 88, the majority (56, or 67.4%) had some sort of manual trade: there were tailors (14), shoemakers (11), blacksmiths (6), hairdressers (3), barbers (3), carpenters (2), a painter, a *siriqueiro*, a sculptor, and a tinsmith. The establishment of the *pardo* shoemaker João Simões Roza on Vendas Street, despite being in a rented property, was of a considerable size, since he had three employees. Three musicians, whose work was much demanded both in the Opera House and in religious ceremonies, confirmed the opinion of Antônio da Mota e Magalhães, a notary in Vila Rica who, missing the concerts held by the slaves of Judge João Fernandes de Oliveira, stated that, as musicians, "one could never enjoy the blacks from Africa; [only] some *crioulos* and mulattos are good" (Furtado, 2009, pp. 196-197).

Among the freed people, access to these trades depended on complexion, since 44, or 78.5%, of the men of color who had a trade were *pardos*. For men and women, the geography of freedom was based on different colors: for women it was black, but for men it was brown. And while most of them depended on savings to buy their manumission, the women soon abandoned the world of work,

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but freed men continued to exercise their professions. Not by chance, among the freed, all those who practiced the most distinguished trades were *pardos*, including the surgeon Vitorino José Barbalho, who lived on Direita Street; the teacher Francisco Pacheco; the "teacher of boys" José da Silva Lopes; the miner Joaquim da Silva, who had his own property; the "royal Blacksmith" José da Silva Julião; the "royal saddlemaker" Joaquim Xavier dos Santos; and three merchants, such as the dry goods traders, Francisco Pereira da Fonseca, on Vendas street; and Captain João Ferreira de São Miguel, on Intendência Street, the only one who held a military rank.

Medicine was one of the few areas where professionals from the two worlds intersected, but each occupied their place within the hierarchical geography of the professions. In Tejuco, most of them worked in the Royal Diamond Company Hospital, treating the enormous mass of captives under the Royal Company administration. At the top were the doctors, white men who had had the privilege of a university education in Portugal. The *arraial* had only one doctor, Manoel Neto da Silva, who worked in the Hospital and rented a house on Fr. Bartolomeu Street. The commercial profile of the profession of apothecary required not only training in the regulated profession, but also capital to acquire the products used in medical treatments, most of which came from Portugal. It is no coincidence that the apothecaries of the Contract, the Captain Manoel Rodrigues de Carvalho and his brother, were whites; they both lived on Bonfim Street in a rented house. Antônio Pinto de Miranda, also a white, had an apothecary business in his own house on Macau. This was the only commercial establishment located in the periphery of Tejuco. Surgeons, most of whom were white, held an intermediate position. This was a manual trade which required training in a hospital or with a regulated professional, and a license from the Municipal Chamber, granted by the First Surgeon (*Cirurgião-mor*).

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The aforementioned captain José Gomes Ferreira was the surgeon at the Hospital, while the *licenciado*[23] Francisco Jacinto practiced the profession in his own house on Macau street. The bottom of the pyramid was occupied by barbers and midwives, whose training was informal but required a license. They were generally people of color and frequently applied knowledge learned in Africa. None of the midwives working in Tejuco was listed as a head of household; instead, the black barber Felis lived in a rented house on Cavalhada Nova.

It is striking that a quite common and essential trade in Europe at that time does not appear in Tejuco: the baker. The reason is that wheat was rarely planted in the zone and bread from this cereal was not part of the daily diet, having been replaced by homemade corn and mandioca flour.[24]

From the geography of captivity to freedom

The slaves were tied to a geography marked by absence. A deafening silence abounds in the *Mapa de População* about the captive mass, the hands and feet of their masters, who lived in large numbers in the *senzalas* (slave quarters) of the houses. The fact that only the heads of household, their relatives, and hands were listed reveals their exclusion from the geography of citizenship. Just to have an idea, in 1772, Tejuco had 4600 inhabitants, of whom 3610 were slaves; this was 78.5% of the population. Two years later, they were not considered by the authorities in the census sent to Portugal. Two *coartado* slaves, however, were included: the blacks Vitoriano and Anacleto, who shared a rented house on Rosário Street where they worked as shoemakers.

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23 *Licenciado* (licensed) means a license holder examined and approved by the First Surgeon.

24 In contrast, in 1804, there were 4 bakers, all women of color, in Vila Rica. Mathias (1969, pp. 34, 63, 80, 154).

Coartação was a process which allowed slaves to buy their freedom, specifying a period to pay their owner, either in money or in services. Their inclusion in the list speaks of an intermediate condition between slavery and freedom.

Another resident of Rosário Street was the *capitão do mato* (a slave hunter, literally "captain of the bush"), Manoel da Fonseca Milanês, a *pardo*. The world of slavery is here revealed from the perspective of repression, with the administration keeping a watchful eye over the fleeing slaves who sought their freedom outside the few existing legal means. Manoel da Fonseca Milanês' color reveals that the geography of complexion did not necessarily produce ties of solidarity with his fellow men.

However, there are cases which reveal ties of solidarity between freed people and captives, or perhaps only among the latter. This is the case of some of the female heads of household who shared their properties with their parents or relatives, revealing successful processes of familial strategies to obtain freedom (*alforria*) and reconstruct kinship ties in liberty. This strategy seemed to be more accessible to women from a clan, of which there were 10 cases in Tejuco. The single *cabra* Anna Maria lived on Direita Street with her mother and sister; on Amparo Street lived the mixed Anna Verônica with her mother, probably a black African, as well as the black woman Josefa Granada and her sister. On Luís Gomes Street, the *parda* Felipa Antônia lived with her sister, and in a rented house on Burgalhao Street, Teresa Maria sheltered her mother, the same case as Josefa Maria in Macau; all of the latter were *crioulas*. The four colored male heads of household who had relatives at home were all *pardos*. Both Francisco Pereira da Fonseca and João Ferreira de Carvalho lived with their parents, and the hairdresser José Pimenta lived with his brother. The geography of familial freedom had gender gaps: women showed solidarity with mothers and sisters, while men did so with fathers and brothers. The *pardo* captain João Ferreira de São Miguel, who housed his mother and sister, was an exception.

Although most heads of household in Tejuco were freed (286, or 54.6% out of the total), the geography of the memory of captivity is a silence underlying the data obtained from the census. *Malungo* was the name given to Africans brought to Brazil on the same slave ship, a journey that established important ties of solidarity which lasted for the rest of a slave's life. But more generically, the term signified companionship, friendship, and a shared destiny, ties which could also be forged in the slave quarters, principally among those born in Brazil, and many freed people brought to the world of freedom their *malunga* experience.

The intersection of multiple geographies, even those which lay hidden under the data of *Pequena Planta do Arraial do Tejuco* and the 1774 *Mapa dos moradores*, reveals a heterogeneous local society. The two documents evince the physical aspects of the city and how men and women, whether white and colored, free or freed, lived very close to each other, As well as the economic, religious, and social activities that characterized Tejuco.

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6

Beyond the Municipal Council

Pluricontinental frontier towns in the hinterlands of Bahia and Minas Gerais

Judy Bieber & Hélida Santos Conceição

Introduction

This chapter analyzes the formation of gold mining towns in the Brazilian *sertões*, in spanning the local and the global, as proposed by Giovanni Levi (2018). We offer a number of historiographical interventions; the first is emphasizing the importance of the Bahian mining sector, as evidenced by the incorporation of three towns in the 1720s.[1] The second is reevaluating the role played by *sertanistas* in establishing urban centers in the Bahian interior. While the *sertanistas*, especially in their traditional portrayal as *bandeirantes*, were often depicted as existing above or beyond the law, we highlight explorers who sought to become inserted into the institutional structures of the Old Regime. They did so both pragmatically and symbolically, fully participating in the rituals associated with the creation of incorporated towns and in forms of communication appropriate for centralized

1 The marginalization of Bahian mining is notable, as compared to Minas Gerais. Early works by Calógeras (1904) and Calmon (1929, 1950) did not inspire significant further scholarship until recently (Almeida, 2012; Ivo, 2012; Conceição, 2017, 2018; Bieber, 2019).

authorities. We argue that their frontier location was precisely what made it vital for these urban centers to integrate themselves into the socio-spatial, institutional, and economic dynamics of the *Portuguese pluricontinental monarchy*.[2] Third, we emphasize structures beyond the municipal councils in the formation of interior towns. Mining communities depended on multiple authorities to fulfill their primary mandates: the collection of the Royal Fifth or *quinto* (the 20% tax on minerals), and the maintenance of social order. Consequently, we also focus on the role played by militias (*ordenanças*), paid troops of dragoons (*tropa de Dragões*), magistrates, fiscal authorities, and mining superintendents, all of whom created interlocking networks of patronage and influence.

Studying the interior territories of Portuguese America presents a two-fold challenge. On the one hand, we reconstruct how the pluricontinental Lusitanian monarchy mapped governability on the *sertão*. On the other, we assess the agency of local historical actors who engaged in frontier expansion and territorial conquest. These two dimensions were linked by clientelist networks within which countless men created innovative administrative strategies to facilitate the exploitation and taxation of natural resources and trade. In so doing, they equilibrated local and global interests. We employ the concept of Portuguese pluricontinental monarchy because it allows for a nuanced analysis of political negotiations between local actors who operated according to established customs and centralized authorities informed by bureaucratic norms.[3]

Our objective is to demonstrate how towns in the interior, although unequally positioned due to their remote

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2 The concept of the "pluricontinental monarchy" was first proposed by Monteiro and Cunha (2005) and has been since refined in the works of Fragoso and Gouvêa (2009, 2010, 2017) as well as in doctoral theses and articles by Conceição (2018) and Kuhn (2013).

3 See Fragoso & Gouvêa (2009, 2010); Fragoso (2017); Monteiro (2010); Monteiro (2017); Kühn (2013).

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geographical location, nonetheless participated in the global process of urbanization defined by Portuguese conquest. As Roney has observed, all imperial cities could be "dynamic economic hubs and nodes deeply linked in trade, information, and political circuits. Cities of all types might be crucibles of economic, cultural, and political transformation" (2017, p. 650). These interior towns participated in administrative strategies to facilitate their territorial insertion into broader imperial networks according to modes typical of the *Old Regime of the Tropics* (Fragoso, Bicalho, and Gouvêa, 2001). The creation of juridical spaces like parishes, municipalities, and judicial districts provided opportunities for prominent local men to broker administrative inclusion for ensuring payment of the *quinto*. Providing services to the King afforded access to the center by developing patronage relationships through which local power was articulated. By the mid-1700s, the Bahian *sertão* would possess the fundamental political and judicial architecture of the Lusitanian pluricontinental monarchy.

The creation of interior towns in Bahia owed as much to local actors as it did to actors located in imperial political centers. Our case study includes the three gold mining towns of Jacobina (1722), Rio de Contas (1725), and Minas Novas do Araçuaí (1730), established along the ill-defined borderlands of the captaincies of Bahia and Minas Gerais. This territory encompassed more than 200 leagues, between the São Francisco River to the north and the Doce River to the south (Santos, 2010). The geographical area encompassed by these three municipalities was correspondingly vast. We refer to this region as a *pluricontinental frontier* due to its contested nature, being disputed by diverse agents: European, Luso-Brazilian, indigenous, or enslaved Africans.[4] Through innumerable quotidian interactions, these individuals competed for natural resources (gold, silver,

[4] On the disparate historical definitions of frontier and *sertão*, see Santos (2010) and Langfur (2014).

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gemstones, saltpeter, lands, livestock), economic assets (trade routes, tax contracts, *sesmarias*, mining claims, and slaves) and marks of symbolic prestige (privileges, honors, boons, and titles).

Our research employs documentation that goes beyond what colonial administrators produced, privileging what Santos (2018) calls *notícias*, reports developed by *sertanistas*, based on local knowledge and framed within narratives of self-sacrifice for the Crown and the common good (*o bem comum*). These were used to consolidate networks of influence and to leverage favors from the Crown. Particularly valuable is the correspondence written by the mining superintendents and *sertanistas* Pedro Barbosa Leal and Pedro Leolino Maris, as well as numerous other local officials, prospectors, soldiers, and guides who left detailed descriptions of local power dynamics, conflicts, and contested territories. For the historian, these previously neglected documents enable the reconstruction of dynamics of conquest and creation of institutions within the normative administrative framework of the Old Regime. They also enable us to compensate for the fact that little documentation from these municipal councils survives. We also use *Cartas de patentes* (letters patent) as a previously underutilized source that shows how *sertanistas* laid the territorial claims that would undergird the eventual formation of incorporated towns. While most letters patent are formulaic in content, some describe the nominee's prior administrative experience, patronage networks, and knowledge of interior landscapes and their economic potential. The *sertanistas* often sought patents as the basis to make subsequent territorial claims and achieve broader political ambitions.

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Bahian gold mining towns and their insertion into the Portuguese Pluricontinental Monarchy

Intensive gold prospecting extended along river basins connecting Bahia to the captaincies of Sergipe D'El Rei, Pernambuco, Piauí, Maranhão and Minas Gerais. While the development of an interior cattle economy was undeniably important, it was gold mining that decisively elevated the Bahian interior to its strategic integration into the political body. The Crown then installed a political-jurisdictional apparatus that replicated the Portuguese Old Regime society. The institution of courts, municipal councils, and fiscal administration transformed perceptions about *sertanejo* territory, in particular its capacity for dialogue between local and central government. This play of interactions did not revolve exclusively around the collection of the royal fifth. Settlers also developed a deeper and more enduring sense of political self-representation, albeit mediated by the political and demographic instability typical of mining towns. Over time, the Crown came to appreciate the internal logic and particularities of mining towns, and thus reformulated the rules of the political game. This ability to adapt on the part of the Crown and its officials enabled the development of new approaches towards the fluid and often adventurous process of gold mining.

The process of embedding the Bahian interior within the pluricontinental monarchy began with the founding of the incorporated towns of Jacobina (1722), Rio de Contas (1725) and Minas Novas de Araçuaí (1730). They established councils by which residents practiced self-governance over vast municipal jurisdictions. Two foundry houses were built to ensure the collection of the royal fifth. The Crown authorized the creation of militia companies and salaried dragoons to maintain social order and collect taxes. The new judicial district of Southern Bahia was created in 1737 but only secured its first *ouvidor* in 1742 (Conceição, 2017). The region's growing economic and demographic importance

and its distance from the city of Salvador da Bahia justified the implantation of a judicial apparatus in a geographically peripheral region.

Crown decisions were influenced by an extensive network of royal officials, *sertanistas* and the fixed and itinerant populations of the territory. Local actors developed interactive strategies that we call the "political grammar of conquest," based on an understanding of the importance of their "peripheral" area as a conduit for global flows of governance, administration, and revenue within the pluricontinental monarchy. These individuals of the *sertão* knew how tapped on this grammar to their advantage and refined a social and political vocabulary to establish and preserve long-term channels of communication with both overseas administrators and the Crown, embedding hinterland towns into the hierarchical norms of the Old Regime. As will be demonstrated, this political grammar invoked simultaneously hierarchical and reciprocal relationships of power between local actors and centralized authorities.

Closely following the mining discoveries along the Rio das Velhas in the 1690s, which inspired Brazil's first gold rush in what would become Minas Gerais, prospectors also explored the Bahian *sertões*, seeking gold, silver, saltpeter, and gemstones (Boxer, 1969; Russell-Wood, 1987). Gold was discovered in the districts of Jacobina, Serro do Frio and Itacambira between 1701-1703, leading the Crown to prohibit further exploration out of fear of foreign invasion and the inability to contain smuggling (Accioli, 1940, p. 16).[5] However, this ban did not deter *sertanistas* from exploring the region in search of mineral wealth nor Bahian governors from issuing letters patent sanctioning conquest in the *sertões*. By the 1710s, clandestine gold mining was

[5] Only in 1720 did an expedition by engineer Miguel Pereira da Costa, commissioned by Vasco Fernandes, demonstrate conclusively that the route to the mines was too arduous to lend itself to infiltration by foreigners (*RIHGB*, 1843, pp. 42-54).

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widespread in the Bahian interior at Jacobina and Rio de Contas, located about 80 leagues inland from the city of Salvador. This region had been occupied by farmers and ranchers since the 17th century. These settlers would serve as the foundation for self-governance for the mining towns of Jacobina and Rio das Contas. The "New Mines" near the Araçuaí and Fanado rivers would not be discovered until 1727. This region had not been previously populated by the Portuguese. It would be hotly contested by the governor general of Minas Gerais and by decentralized autonomous indigenous communities that occupied the principal river basins to the east.

On December 2, 1720, Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Meneses ordered Justice Luiz de Siqueira da Gama to appoint a clerk and bailiff to establish an incorporated town at Jacobina and to implement the collection of the royal fifth. However, the viceroy's plans were frustrated when the judge fell ill 30 leagues into his journey and was forced to return to Salvador. Reporting the failed endeavor to D. John V, Meneses commented that he had been "perplexed for some time" by the contradictory nature of the reports about gold mining in Jacobina. He therefore resolved "to send an intelligent person [to] investigate to inform his decision." The viceroy, the highest authority in the State of Brazil, chose colonel and *sertanista* Pedro Barbosa Leal to fulfill this objective.

By royal decree and in consultation with the viceroy, in 1721 Colonel Pedro Barbosa Leal was appointed superintendent of all the mineral districts of the *sertão*. He was ordered to oversee the collection of the fifth accumulated since 1720, to demarcate and confirm existing mining claims, and to establish an incorporated town. It is noteworthy that a *sertanista* was appointed to fulfill these tasks which customarily corresponded to magistrates. Viceroy Vasco Fernandes Cesar de Meneses justified his choice with reference to the Colonel's character, stating that he "*is not only zealous, active, and disinterested, but has all of the other*

attributes that make him worthy of my trust in him (emphasis added)" (Costa, 1951, pp. 204-205).

It was essential for Barbosa Leal to establish his authority. On February 15, 1722, he published an edict on the royal right to a fifth of all gold collected and to tax other goods that entered and left the mines, including "cattle, flour, all other foodstuffs and beverages, manufactures, dry goods, and any other merchandise."[6] As there was no nearby foundry or mint, gold dust was the principal form of currency in the mining districts. Before leaving the region, traders were to declare their goods and the amount of gold dust received upon arrival and departure at certain checkpoints, where one fifth would be deducted.

After instituting tax collection in 1721, the colonel mobilized the residents to install the town of Jacobina. The viceroy instructed them to choose a house to hold meetings, investigations, judicial proceedings, and to organize cavalry regiments (*Documentos Históricos*, 1939, p. 210). The viceroy and Barbosa Leal coordinated through extensive correspondence the establishment of councils at Jacobina and Rio de Contas. Despite the considerable distances between the interior towns and the city of Salvador, the turnaround time for correspondence was normally only 30 days. These communications indicate that the collection of the fifth was far more urgent than the construction of the chamber, which would not be completed for two years. Colonel Barbosa Leal was to guarantee tax collection immediately, mediating the needs of local miners and the structures imposed by centralized Crown authorities. A similar situation prevailed in Minas Gerais, where *mineiro* chambers negotiated the value of the fifth with the King (Oliveira, 2019, p. 119).

Town councils were seen as the fairest means to promote justice and the common good, by correcting imbalances

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6 The proclamation published by Pedro Barbosa Leal was one of the first attempts to normalize tax collection. AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 15, D. 1338 (1722).

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that might threaten the social order. This model extended to unincorporated areas of conquest, and it is in this sense that we understand the Crown's commitment —especially during the reign of D. John V— to elevating these gold mining villages into incorporated towns. The Bahian viceroy suggested procedures that would foster an effective political body at the mines of the *sertão,* such as the appointment of the most reputable men to serve in the militias. Letters patent conferred prestige and incorporated local potentates into the viceroy's clientelist network. These militia officers were responsible for supervising miners, ensuring the collection of the fifth, and maintaining law and order. Office holders functioned as an informal local nobility by gaining public recognition from both the community and centralized decision-makers. Colonel Pedro Barbosa Leal, as the viceroy's local representative, was responsible for recommending these essential appointments for confirmation by the viceroy.

> While the house that will serve as a chamber is not yet established, you will be able to propose to the viceroy capable and suitable subjects to serve as judges, councilors, clerks and other officers […] they will be able to learn about the causes and duties that affect you. Likewise, you will propose to His Excellency persons for the posts of colonel, lieutenant colonel, sergeant major and other militia officers that should be created in this district (*Documentos Históricos*, 1939, p. 211).

On June 24, 1722, the Colonel convened "the residents who inhabit this site and its surroundings, both farmowners and some miners, to gather the most noble, wealthy and influential people" (Costa, 1951, p. 272). These residents [*moradores*] of Saí, the parish seat of Santo Antônio da Jacobina, adjacent to the mission of Nossa Senhora das Neves, participated in the town's act of foundation. At the inauguration, along with Jacobina's scribe and Colonel Pedro Barbosa Leal, 28 individuals were present, including new councilors, *moradores* and miners. On July 22, 1722,

just one month after the town was established, the city officials sent the following document to King D. John V:

> His Majesty has deigned by his Royal Greatness and piety to order Vasco Fernandes César de Meneses, viceroy and captain general of this State, to create in the district of Jacobina a town with a magistrate for the inhabitants, so that they might live closer to the service of God and the laws of His Majesty, and that it be carried out with such zeal and promptness as all these peoples supplicate loudly and piously His Majesty; and we, the council officials in the name of the aforesaid humble and grateful peoples, rectify and promise the utility and obedience we owe as good and loyal vassals of Your Majesty. We swear to obey and to observe everything that Your Majesty commands us to do in your royal service. May God protect your Majesty's person for many years as your loyal vassals require.[7]

Jacobina's council consisted of three councilmen, a justice of the peace, a financial guarantor (*procurador*) and a scribe, assisted by militia officers. With rare exceptions, patents were granted to the most respected men of the community, who received orders, proclamations, and letters directly from the viceroy to ensure the good government of the King. In 1725, Colonel Manoel de Figueiredo Mascarenhas was entrusted with the community's social order:

> I highly recommend to Your Excellency the tranquility of these residents and I hope that their respect and prudence will reduce them to such obedience as will generate no disarray among them, nor the least disorder that otherwise might result in disservice to His Majesty, may God protect him; and as all those who find themselves entrusted with the military

7 The letter was signed by five recently nominated chamber officials: the judge Miguel Teles Barreto; and councilmen André Roiz Soares, Belquior Barbosa Lobo, Pedro Alvares Brandão and Francisco da Costa Nogueira, who signed as *procurador* of the chamber. AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 15, D. 1301(1722).

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> governance of that district should attend to His Excellency with some particularity (*Documentos Históricos*, 1940, p. 213).

In 1723, just a year after the town's foundation, local residents led by Colonel Garcia de Ávila Pereira, an important landowner of the region, appealed to the Crown to change the location of the town's seat. The colonel claimed that it had been erected on his lands; settlers and miners residing in an *arraial* called Jacobina Nova, near the Bom Jesus da Glória mission, endorsed the colonel's cause. Jacobina Nova was located approximately 18 leagues from Jacobina Velha, the seat of the parish of Nossa Senhora das Neves do Saí, where Pedro Barbosa Leal had erected the town. The petitioners alleged that the site did not take into account what would be "more suitable for the convenience of the residents."[8]The king granted their request by sending *ouvidor* Pedro Gonçalves Cordeiro to the *sertão* in February 1724, with orders to transfer the town's seat to the site of the mission of Senhor Bom Jesus da Glória. The change took effect on June 5, 1724. This location was deemed the best "due to being in the middle of the mines, affording considerable advantages for litigants, who may retire to their homes every day after dealing with bureaucratic demands and appeals." A little more than thirty residents lived in the Bom Jesus mission, not counting the indigenous village, and a church where they could hear Mass and "attend divine services." It was the location most frequented by the populace, with a road leading to the São Francisco River, Arraial, and Minas Gerais (Costa, 1951, p. 281). Jacobina's jurisdictional boundaries extended, to the north, to the Captaincy of Sergipe Del Rei; southeast, in the direction of the Recôncavo, to the municipal boundaries of Cachoeira and Maragogipe; south, to the captaincy of Ilhéus up to the coast; to the Rio das Mortes on the boundary with Minas

8 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 15, Doc. 1338 (1722).

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Gerais, and to the border with Pernambuco, at the islands in the middle of the Rio de São Francisco.[9]

In 1724, Colonel Pedro Barbosa Leal proceeded to the *arraial* of Mato Grosso, where the town called Nossa Senhora do Livramento das Minas do Rio de Contas soon would be established (Almeida, 2012, pp. 25-36). He reasoned that the creation of a town and a magistrate would yield social order, as had occurred in Jacobina. The expenses of the town hall and the jail were to be borne by the *moradores*, as required of royal subjects. Moreover, a resident had donated the site for said town hall and jail (Accioli, 1940, p. 80). After the town was established and the accumulated fifth collected, the viceroy promptly ordered Colonel Barbosa Leal to return to the city of Bahia, "after having opened a road from Jacobina to Rio das Contas"[10]which integrated the supply routes from the Rio de São Francisco to the Bahian mines and Minas Gerais. It was used mainly to transport gold from the districts of Rio de Contas. On this route, Pedro Barbosa Leal suggested installing a customs house (*casa de registro*), through which all persons entering and exiting the mines would pass.

When Colonel Pedro Barbosa Leal returned to Salvador after five years of service as superintendent of the Bahian mines, he delivered to the Viceroy a *quinto* payment of "more than 4,000 eighths"[11] (31.25 pounds) for the gold mined in 1724. This yield corresponded to 800 "pans" or *bateias* (shorthand for laborers) on the Rio das Contas and its tributaries. In reporting this yield to D. John V, the viceroy affirmed that the establishment of the main pillars of colonial administration —towns, magistrates, and tax collection— in the *sertão*, had been worth the Crown's investment.

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9 BNRJ. Divisão de Manuscritos. CEHB 6383. I-31,29,17 (1724).

10 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 20, Doc. 1832 (1725).

11 An eighth or *oitava* was one-eighth of an ounce. IHGB. DL 56.1-3 f. 11 (1724).

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The contested town of Minas Novas de Araçuaí

The town of Minas Novas de Araçuaí would follow a different trajectory, grounded in a longstanding dispute between *mineiro* governor Lourenço de Almeida (1721-1732) and Governor of Bahia and viceroy Vasco Fernandes de Meneses (1720-1735). Each of them awarded competing licenses and concessions along the São Mateus, Fanado, and Araçuaí rivers to diverse *sertanistas* during the 1720s. The Paulistas Domingos Dias do Prado and Sebastião Leme, after reporting gold discoveries at the headwaters of the São Mateus River in 1727, proceeded inland along the Araçuaí, Itamarandiba, and Fanado rivers. Along the banks of the Fanado, they found an immense portion of gold mixed with sand and gravel, and then called the site "Bom Sucesso" or "Good Fortune" (Accioli, 1940, p. 60). They notified the Bahian governor and sent to the Royal Mint in Salvador approximately 7,060 pounds of gold, of which 20% would go to the Crown.

This unprecedented windfall propelled one of the most controversial chapters in the history of Bahian mining: the creation of the contested town of Minas Novas. Bahia would retain primary control for a number of reasons. First, Bahian governors had awarded letters patent to *sertanistas* in nearby Itacambira and Serro do Frio as early as 1705, clearly stating that these districts belonged to the Bahian government.[12] Similar claims were made in four additional letters issued between 1705-1707, describing Itacambira, located just to the west of the Araçuaí mines as "*sertão* of this captaincy of Bahia."[13] Second, the *sertanistas* had made concerted efforts to establish patron-client relationships with Vasco Fernandes de Meneses since his arrival to Salvador da Bahia in 1720. These networks, cemented through the

12 APEB cód. 337, Cartas Patentes, 1703-1712, f. 31-31v. (1705).
13 APEB cód. 337, Cartas Patentes, 1703-1712, f. 31v.-32, 18/03/1705; APEB 337, f. 59, 74v., 77-77v

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strengthening of militias, would be deeper and more extensive than what the Mineiro governor, Lourenço de Almeida, was able to achieve. Third, Vasco Fernandes astutely appointed Pedro Leolino Maris as mining superintendent of the new mines. Maris was quick to introduce effective governance and fiscal oversight through the creation of an incorporated town, a foundry, a *Tropa de Dragões*, and licenses and titles for *sertanistas* to extend the exploration to the east. Minas Gerais retained partial control over the new mines, as the region would be incorporated juridically into the *mineiro* judicial district (*comarca*) of Serro do Frio. The town be definitively and completely transferred to Minas Gerais only in 1760.

The rivalry between Vasco Fernandes and Lourenço de Almeida began almost as soon as the two took office, in 1720 and 1721, respectively. Almeida had arrived shortly after the suppression of a foundry rebellion in Vila Rica. Both he and Vasco Fernandes were eager to exert effective administrative control over mining in their respective territories. They quickly clashed over the boundaries of their respective jurisdictions, leading the Crown to set a vague boundary between the two captaincies at the Verde River in 1721.[14] By February 1722, Vasco Fernandes had already begun to complain about Almeida, stating that "as governor of Minas, he considers himself omnipotent."[15] In a letter to the governor general of Rio de Janeiro, Vasco Fernandes referred to "the uncivil and unfortunate practice by which the Governor of Minas Gerais sought to disturb the respect of Your Excellency, harming his vassals."[16] One can imagine Almeida's reaction when the king informed him, in 1723, that he was to report to Vasco Fernandes as the newly elevated viceroy of Brazil. The incensed *Mineiro* governor

14 "Transcrição da 2a parte do códice 23 seção colonial: registro de alvarás, cartas, ordens régias e cartas do governo ao rei 1721 – 1731," *RAPM* (1898), p. 76.
15 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 15, doc. 1271 (1722).
16 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 16, doc. 1439 (1723).

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protested, citing his direct experience with unruly miners and adding; "With them one cannot govern well speculatively, but only by practical science".[17]

Clearly Almeida felt that Vasco Fernandes's oversight did not contribute to the *bem comum*. However, Almeida was not particularly well-informed about Bahia's southern interior, and his vision for the region was far less ambitious than that of the viceroy. The *Mineiro* governor had distributed numerous licenses for *Paulistas* to explore and search for gemstones and gold in Bahian territory, between 1723 and 1727.[18] However, Vasco Fernandes awarded competing concessions to *sertanistas* to engage in *both* prospecting and territorial conquest. He authorized Domingos Dias do Prado to wage war against "the barbarian heathens" along the Jequitinhonha River and all of its branches, including the Piauí and Araçuaí (Barros, 1920, pp. 280-282). The viceroy also relied upon Colonel Pedro Leolino Maris, a militia officer with many decades' experience in the *sertões* of Rio das Contas and Jacobina, to seek mineral resources and extend Portuguese territorial control.

The viceroy's broader objectives were evident in an expedition from the Contas to the São Mateus River, organized by Colonel Maris in 1727.[19] Maris had ordered Colonel Andre da Rocha Pinto to lead a party of nearly 100 men, consisting of white, indigenous, and Afro-Brazilian soldiers, *Paulistas*, and several slaves.[20] They were to map the region, seek mineral wealth, identify promising locations for settlements, farms, and ranches, and engage in native conquest. The group was to establish a settlement at the juncture of the Pardo and Contas rivers and build roads from there, connecting the coastal town of Ilheus with Minas Gerais, and the Doce and Pardo rivers. As they progressively secured

17 *RAPM* (1898), p. 199.
18 AHU CU 011, Cx. 4, doc. 362, (1723).
19 BRNJ, seção de manuscritos, cód 15, 02, 035, doc. 8 (1727).
20 ANTT, Cartas e outros papéis oficiais relativos ao Brasil, cód. 7, f. 123-24.

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territory, they would settle farther into the *sertão*, "with the campaign leaving [the territory] cleaned out and safe, with the Indians settled under the control of missionaries."

This initiative is yet another example of the territorial dynamics described by Santos (2010). This expedition, largely dominated by *Paulistas*, sought both mineral discoveries and to lay a groundwork for permanent territorial settlement. This was made clear in Colonel Rocha Pinto's request that the "*conquistadores*" be rewarded with the title to any land they conquered. He proposed that any secured territory should be divided into eight parcels of graduated size to be distributed among the participants according to rank.[21] In addition to arms and ammunition, the party carried axes, hoes, scythes, and machetes to clear the land for roads and farming. The council of Rio as Contas, which supported the endeavor, exhorted the *sertanistas* to establish "large cattle ranches, sugar mills, and sawmills" once they had consolidated the conquest.[22]

The ambitions of Vasco Fernandes and his network of *sertanistas* went clearly beyond the formation of isolated mining settlements. Shortly after his arrival in Bahia, the viceroy quickly embraced the goal of indigenous conquest. Motivated by reports that Tupinambá raiders were attacking merchants on the road connecting Minas Gerais to the coastal community of Cairu, he authorized punitive expeditions there and elsewhere.[23] In exchange for letters patent and licenses to explore new territories, the viceroy typically required *sertanistas* to conquer and convert native peoples. Maris would further these objectives by using Minas Novas de Araçuaí as a base to expand the Portuguese settlement from the forested river basins to the east. However, Jê

21 BRNJ, seção de manuscritos, cód 15, 02, 035, doc. 6 (1727).
22 BRNJ, seção de manuscritos, cód 15, 02, 035, doc. 8 (1727).
23 AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 15, Doc. 1313 (1722); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 16, doc. 1376 (1722); AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 24, doc. 2145 (1725); AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 27, doc. 2468 (1726); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 45, D. 4027 (1733); AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 47, doc. 4220 (1734).

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speaking populations would successfully resist these incursions well into the 19th century (Paraíso, 2014; Bieber, 2014).

The "New Mines"

Rumors of new mines located along the Araçuaí and Fanados rivers attracted extensive migration from both Bahia and Minas Gerais. Governor Almeida's views regarding the discoveries would prove contradictory. While he hoped to secure jurisdiction over Bahian mining territory to the north of Serro do Frio, he also firmly opposed the creation of additional towns, a stance that dated back to 1722. He stated: "In no instance does it benefit your Majesty's royal service to create more towns in these mines, because it serves no other purpose than as a workshop for disobedient vassals." He argued that the residents merely "aspired to be councilmen solely to avoid payment of the royal fifth."[24]

Governor Almeida also spoke out forcefully against the creation of new foundries and mints. He maintained that the expense of the equipment, its transport and maintenance, and the costs of processing the ore vastly exceeded any foreseeable profit. Moreover, popular resistance was intense: "All of these people have conceived a great horror for these houses, because they inflict great loss." Miners purchased everything on credit, including slaves, and had to invest in costly sluice works (*oiteros*), as the easily extractable gold from the streams was long gone. Profit margins were too slim to demand full payment of the fifth.[25]

Nonetheless, the *Mineiro* governor was infuriated upon learning that Vasco Fernandes had nominated a *Guarda Mor* to formalize mining claims at the captaincy border. In a

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24 *RAPM* (1898), pp. 113-114.
25 *RAPM* (1898), pp. 113-114.

series of letters to the Crown, Almeida alleged that Vasco Fernandes had acted improperly and hastily, given that the mines were not located within his jurisdiction. Moreover, he claimed that the quality of the mines had been exaggerated by their *Paulista* discoverers. According to his sources, they were "of little convenience, produce ordinary yield, and won't last."[26] He alleged that miners from Rio das Contas, Jacobina, and Minas Gerais had already abandoned the area, leaving behind only vagrants, debtors, and criminals.[27] It is curious that he tried so hard to claim a region that ostensibly offered so little. He falsely insisted that the mines were "undisputedly" located in the *mineiro* comarca of Serro do Frio".[28]

Governor Almeida predicted that Vasco Fernandes's actions would lead to massive gold smuggling through the Bahian *sertões*.[29] He also objected to the reduced tax rate established by the newly appointed Regent and Mining Superintendent, Pedro Leolino Maris. Maris charged only half an ounce per pan annually, one eighth of an ounce less than the then-current rate in Minas Gerais. Lacking a local foundry, Maris certified yields in writing and instructed the miners to submit their gold dust to the mint in Salvador da Bahia. Almeida predicted, with some justification, that *mineiros* would travel to Minas Novas to pay a lower tax and would then circulate their unprocessed gold illegally, thereby evading the royal treasury.[30]

Almeida's complaints were in vain. In 1729, the king ordered a survey to map the boundary between the two captaincies.[31] D. John V ruled that the districts of Araçuaí and Fanados belonged to Bahia but granted a compromise by granting the *ouvidor* of Serro do Frio (in Minas Gerais)

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26 *RAPM* (1898), p. 253.
27 AHU CU 011, Cx. 13, D. 1065 (1728).
28 *RAPM* (1898). p. 246.
29 *RAPM* (1898), pp. 257-258.
30 AHU CU 011, Cx. 13, D. 1065 (1728); *RAPM* (1898), 248.
31 AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 34, doc. 3142 (1729).

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interim jurisdiction over the area.[32] In 1731, the Overseas Council put forth a proposal to create a separate government for the *comarca* of Serro Frio and the disputed border territory, "due to the contrariness with which the Bahian viceroy and the governor of Minas Gerais always speak with respect to these new discoveries of Araçuaí"; the effort, however, came to naught.[33] This divided structure remained contentious, as ambitious miners alternately sought confirmation of privileges from Bahian or *Mineiro* authorities, sometimes resulting in multiple claims to the same territory.[34] *Mineiro* historian Diogo Vasconcelos plausibly claimed that miners preferentially dealt with whichever government was easiest to fool (1918, p. 46). Only in 1760, following Maris's death, would Minas Novas de Araçuaí be transferred wholly to the captaincy of Minas Gerais.

The political grammar of conquest

How, then, was Crown authority established at the New Mines? Vasco Fernandes chose well when he appointed Pedro Leolino Maris as "General Mining Superintendent of the mines of Rio das Contas and all lands that have been or will be discovered in the continent and all of its territories with both military jurisdiction and that of the Republic." In 1719, he was appointed as a militia colonel in Jacobina, covering an immense region bordered by the São Francisco, Paramirim, Verde Grande, Velhas, Rio Verde Acima, Rãs and Contas rivers.[35] Over three decades as superintendent, he consistently sought Crown endorsement for further

32 *RAPM* (1898), p. 777.
33 AHU CU 011, Cx. 18, D. 1458 (1731).
34 AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 38, doc. 3466 (1730); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 39, doc. 3488 (1731).
35 APEB, Seção de Arquivo Colonial e Provincial, cód. 347, f. 53. (1719).

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explorations to the east and to pursue the fabled lost silver mines of Moribeca.[36]

Maris was particularly astute in building patronage networks that connected the viceroy to *sertanistas* and local officeholders. This was evident in a meeting he convened with "persons of distinction," at a chapel dedicated to São José in the *arraial* of São Pedro de Fanados, on December 17, 1728. The group included a scribe from the royal treasury, three priests, numerous militia officers, a *procurador*, and at least one merchant. Among them were three wealthy slaveholders who had migrated from Minas Gerais: the brothers João and Francisco da Silva Guimarães, and Belchior dos Reis.

As Pedro Barbosa Leal had done before him in Jacobina and Rio das Contas, Maris first announced to the assembly that he had been appointed by the viceroy as Regent and Superintendent to quell unrest, preserve the *bem comum*, oversee the collection of the *quinto*, establish customs houses, and appoint judicial and military authorities. Although he claimed that those assembled had accepted his authority, he would later run afoul of some ambitious priests, the *ouvidor* of Serro do Frio, some *Paulistas*, and a Minas-based merchant, Manuel Rodrigues Costa. Maris's conflict with Costa reveals what was likely at stake for the governor of Minas Gerais. According to Maris, Costa posted false public notices, claiming that all roads were legal and that no taxes were required for transporting goods from Minas Gerais.[37] The conflict between Maris and Costa reveals that tax evasion on goods was rampant. Demand for foodstuffs at the new mines was so great that it caused shortages in Minas The imports included corn, wheat, manioc flour, olive oil, vinegar, wine, *aguardente*, cheese, tools, and dry

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36 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 36, doc. 3310 (1730); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 36, doc. 3317 (1730); AHU CU 011, Cx. 18, doc. 1458 (1731); AHU CU 011, Cx. 26, doc. 2131 (1734); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 45, doc. 3988 (1733).

37 ANTT, Cartas e outros papéis oficiais relativos ao Brasil, cód. 7, ff. 123-125 (1728).

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goods. What is perhaps most telling is Costa's assertion that, "from Minas to Minas, there can be no crime."[38] These traders could only be accused of tax evasion if Minas Novas were part of Bahia. The taxes on trade, at least initially, far outweighed those collected from gold. In 1728 the customs houses in Minas Novas had collected just over 180 pounds of gold, as opposed to 20.45 pounds in *quinto* payments. Taxes on trade are all the more striking when one considers that Maris had suspended taxes on imported foodstuffs.[39]

The volume of trade sustained by the new mines in the early boom years suggests that the amount of gold mined far exceeded what was being taxed. Maris initially had decided to charge the reduced fee of ½ ounce per pan, as many miners were already heavily indebted upon arrival and provisions in the area were scarce and expensive. He then obtained the viceroy's support to establish a foundry in Minas Novas. In addition to providing a more consistent means of collecting the *quinto*, the foundry would reduce the amount of unprocessed gold smuggled from Minas Gerais through the new mines.[40] As Governor Almeida had predicted, the townspeople opposed the foundry. The *Paulistas* Brás Esteves Leme and Sebastião Leme led an uprising, compelling Maris to call upon the wealthier *moradores* to provide funds, ammunition, and men to quell the mob. These included the Silva Guimarães brothers and Belchior dos Reis, who armed their slaves in Maris's defense. [41]

Maris would reward these men for their loyalty. He advised the viceroy that Belchior dos Reis e Melo should command and organize a troop of soldiers. Belchior had

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38 ANTT, Cartas e outros papéis oficiais relativos ao Brasil, cód. 7, f. 125 (1728).

39 ANTT, Cartas e outros papéis oficiais relativos ao Brasil, cód. 7, ff. 161-167v. (1728).

40 ANTT, Cartas e outros papéis oficiais relativos ao Brasil, cód. 7, ff. 161-167 v. (1728).

41 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 37, doc. 3429 (1730); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 43, doc. 3833 (1732); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 47, doc. 4218 (1734); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 65, doc. 5480 (1739); AHU ACL CU 011, Cx. 20, doc. 59 (1729).

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served in militias for over sixteen years, in his native Bahian *Recôncavo* and in Vila Rica. His letters patent revealed his willingness to arm his own slaves and fund expeditions into the *sertões* to apprehend criminals. He also supported the Crown during a Vila Rica foundry rebellion in 1720, mobilizing and provisioning a force of 70 enslaved and free men in a successful campaign that lasted over a month.[42] Vila Rica's municipal council had appointed him as a tax collector and as interim magistrate of the *comarca* in 1722, following the death of the *ouvidor*. He fulfilled these duties honorably "with clean hands, accepting no bribes."[43] He then relocated to the mines of Araçuaí with the governor's permission and was established there by the time Maris arrived in 1728.

Belchior's letters patent instructed him to organize a troop of 60 soldiers who were to ensure the collection of the *quinto* and crack down on "the unrest of seditionists who want to be kinglets in that colony." He was to use his own funds to purchase uniforms, arms, and munitions. The Crown would pay salaries, but required organizing a corps of at least 40 men. Belchior's willingness to establish and fund the dragoons represented a significant service to the Crown for the common good.

It is important to note that Belchior was partially of indigenous descent, "in large part caboclo." How he amassed his fortune is unknown, but his wealth and slave ownership were quite likely crucial to his social ascent within the royal bureaucracy. While men of partial African descent sometimes were able to rise socially through frontier service or by filling lower-level administrative positions in smaller communities, it was unusual for a man of indigenous heritage to obtain significant wealth and power during this era (Russell-Wood, 2000). Having served as interim *ouvidor* was even more unusual and implies that Belchior was

42 APM SG Cx. 02, Doc. 08 (1720).
43 *RAPM* (1898), pp. 103-105.

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well-educated. It is also possible that Belchior might have served initially as Governor Almeida's eyes and ears on the field in Araçuaí. However, he quickly inserted himself into Maris's web of patronage, as evinced by his appointment to command the dragoons. The viceroy approved the troop's formation late in 1729, despite his reservations about Belchior's racial background and his belief that the soldiers were predominantly "criminals from Minas Gerais fleeing their debts." He concluded that the troop represented the Crown's best chance at securing payment of the *quinto*, and the Overseas Council concurred.[44] The dragoons would be deployed in ten detachments extending eastward to the Itacambiruçú, Pardo, and Jequitinhonha river basins. Belchior would prosper, marrying a woman of *Dona* status and fathering two sons, one of whom would enter military service, obtain a medical degree in France, and continue to reference and his father's and his own many services to the Crown to secure additional privileges and offices.[45]

Maris discovered that the local populace was indeed as unruly as Governor Almeida had claimed. Bemoaning the "pestilent disorder, discord and uprisings" emanating from "the fumes of gold and the vapors of vice," he requested permission to establish a town.[46] The viceroy authorized the creation of the town of Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso das Minas Novas do Araçuaí. While under the administrative purview of Bahia, due to its remote location, the *Mineiro ouvidor* of Serro do Frio presided over the town's inauguration on October 2, 1730 (Fonseca, 2011, p. 170).

As Governor Almeida had predicted, Bom Sucesso's bust quickly followed the boom.[47] The town's population peaked at around 7,000 and then declined after the easily exploitable deposits found in stream beds became quickly

44 AHU CU 011, Cx. 18, D. 1458 (1731).
45 AHU CU 005-001, Cx. 109, Doc. 21213 (1).
46 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 61, doc. 5241, (1738).
47 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 37, doc. 3418 (1730); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 38, doc. 3466 (1731).

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exhausted. To exploit the rich ores in the *serras*, miners had to divert watercourses using costly sluice machinery. However, few had the technical knowhow and wealth to invest in this approach.[48] The region was also prone to drought, which affected the productivity of farms, ranches and mines. Periodic drought, food shortages, and correspondingly high prices contributed further to the community's economic precariousness. Consequently, the municipality requested relief from payment of the *quinto*, the head tax, and the obligation to pay the dragoons out of local tax revenues.[49]

Well-capitalized miners with diversified holdings in agriculture, trade, and slaves had the resources to weather droughts and fund expeditions into the eastern *sertões*.[50]Most prospectors were poor, however, and constantly on the move, seeking new strikes of gold and diamonds elsewhere in Bahia, Minas Gerais, and Goiás.[51] Declining production and emigration were mutually reinforcing, and so the price of contracts correspondingly declined.[52] To limit this population drain, Maris endorsed expeditions of river basins to the east, especially the São Mateus River, rumored to possess a fabulous mineral wealth.[53] Maris also coveted the river basin's fertile soil, the stands of valuable hardwoods, and the indigenous souls that might be rescued "from their enslavement to the Devil."[54]

Maris's right-hand man in this endeavor was João da Silva Guimarães, the son of Pascoal da Silva Guimarães, a Portuguese merchant, miner, and slaveowner who had

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48 IHGB, DL 865.3 f. 99-100 (1730).
49 AHU CU 011, Cx. 40, doc. 3,270 (1740); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 76, doc. 6,293 (1743); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 86, doc. 7,095 (1746).
50 AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 38, doc. 3466 (1731); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 40, doc. 3603 (1731).
51 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 32, D. 2949 (1728); AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 46, doc. 4099 (1733).
52 AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 36, doc. 3308 (1730).
53 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 42, doc. 3781 (1732).
54 AHU ACL CU 005, Cx. 38, doc. 3466 (1731).

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made his fortune in Minas Gerais. Pascoal was one of the ringleaders of the 1720 foundry rebellion in Vila Rica, for which he was arrested and died during his trial. His sons, João and Francisco, relocated to the Bom Sucesso mines, bringing considerable wealth and at least 200 slaves, whom they armed to avert a foundry rebellion in Minas Novas de Araçuaí. The brothers also funded the town jail's construction.

João da Silva's support at a crucial moment seems to have been decisive in securing Maris's patronage. The mining superintendent authorized him to lead an expedition into the São Mateus River basin in 1730. João da Silva returned four years later, having lost his fortune and numerous followers, including his brother, Francisco, and many of his slaves. With Maris's support João da Silva would spend the remainder of his life seeking additional mines and brokering treaties between indigenous leaders and the town authorities of Minas Novas. He obtained the position of *mestre de campo da conquista do Rio São Mateus*, but neither his formulaic claims of personal zeal, hardship and expense, nor his mineral discoveries were sufficient to leverage continuous support from the Crown for subsequent expeditions (Bieber, 2019).

Concluding remarks

The formation of these towns derived primarily from Viceroy Vasco Fernandes's appreciation of *sertanista* knowledge and initiative. He cultivated mutually beneficial relationships with Pedro Barbosa Leal and Pedro Leolino Maris that facilitated the institutionalization of the *sertão* in the form of municipal councils, militias, infrastructural development, and more effective taxation of mining and trade. The viceroy understood the need of negotiating authority through a network of clients to harmonize his dispatches

and decisions with the local conditions and hierarchies. These networks became somewhat more precarious following Pedro Barbosa Leal's death in 1734 and Vasco Fernandes's departure in 1735. The mining economy of Rio das Contas dwindled fairly quickly and shifted to ranching and farming. Jacobina's mining economy persisted for a longer period, but also saw economic diversification over time. After 1735, Maris sought favor from both Bahian and *Mineiro* governors. While he secured additional positions for himself in 1738, he was less successful in obtaining Crown subsidies for subsequent *sertanista* expeditions as Araçuaí's gold revenues dwindled.[55]

The theme of local powers and councils is vast, beyond what can be exhausted in the space of this chapter. What matters is to point out that the villages of Jacobina, Rio de Contas and Minas Novas do Araçuaí were located strategically to facilitate the circulation of agents who employed the political grammar of conquest. The creation of councils in the interior marked the consolidation of monarchical authority within a complex territory fraught with internal disputes, both among the miners themselves and with indigenous populations, particularly at Minas Novas de Araçuaí. The creation of town councils was thereby mutually beneficial and desirable for both centralized and local interests. Towns were also able to generate income to fund urban infrastructure, roads and defense, which in turn supported the Crown's interest in collecting revenue, maintaining law and order, and enforcing the "common good."

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[55] AHU ACL CU 011, Cx. 29, doc. 2305 (1735); AHU ACL CU 005, cx. 66, Doc. 5570 (1739); AHU CU 011, Cx. 70, doc. 5893 (1756); Barros, 1920, p. 285.

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7

From hinterlands to coffee production

São Paulo do Muriahé in the long 19th century

Vitória Schettini

Introduction

The aim of this work is, first, to assess the occupation of the Minas Gerais eastern hinterlands (the *sertões*)[1], more precisely the central region, throughout the 19th century. Second, it seeks to understand the São Paulo do Muriahé parish, emphasizing its economic development between 1848 and 1888. The main objective is to approach the occupation of this territory and demonstrate how the villages, and later the cities, followed a logic rooted in the abundance of land, the workforce, and food production, especially coffee.[2] The analysis will be based on *post-mortem* inventories, and parish, notarial and census documents.

The Zona da Mata region in Minas Gerais was more effectively occupied by white people after the reduction of gold exploitation and the governmental incentive to extend the frontiers beyond mining. For over a century, its vegetation would remain almost untouched, despite the forests

1 On the concept of backwoods and its difference in relation to the coast, see Amantino (2008).

2 It is worth clarifying that the concepts of parish, civil parish, city and town are administratively different. For more details, see: Chaves (2013).

being the path for traders who circulated from São Paulo and Rio de Janeiro to the interior of Minas Gerais in search of gemstones and precious metals. For this reason, the eastern *hinterlands* of the Zona da Mata Mineira were effectively occupied at the end of the 18th century. Before this period, there was a political blockage imposed by the Crown, aiming not to expand the areas beyond mining to strengthen surveillance and metal smuggling. These constraints and the natural difficulties led the Zona da Mata to a late development, in comparison with other mining areas (Lanna, 1986, p. 82). However, we know that, much earlier than previously thought, there were already residents dedicated to agricultural activities, especially in areas bordering the mining region, near the valleys of the Piranga and Pomba rivers (Carneiro, 2013, p. 228).

From this moment on, the natives who lived in the region joined other groups. Paths were opened, farms were conquered, and ranches were built. Gradually, trading activities gained body and shape until becoming smooth around the middle of 19th century; this, however, could vary between parishes, as this dynamism is directly linked to the logic of occupation (Freire & Andrade, 2019). Initially, the crops of maize, beans and sugarcane took some proportion, but coffee would eventually stand out as a reference product, granting the region the title of largest producer of rubiaceous in the Province at the end of the century (Orlando, 2020; Pires, 1993), as well as the largest in number of slaves (Martins, 2018; Libby, 1988).

According to Patrício Carneiro (2008, pp. 65-153), some ideas obscure the understanding of the processes of Mata's occupation and formation, even into the colonial period. The first of them is linked to the period before the discovery of gold, as the East was an unstable, conflicting space with variable rushes of grubbing up and territorial occupation. The second view is explained by Mata's geographical location, as it is situated on the edge of the mining region, transforming it into a transit and frontier

area mainly characterized by population mobility. The third factor revolves around the end of the occupation of the Mata space, as determined by the colonial administration to inhibit the advance of smuggling, an action which turned to be unsuccessful. This area had been occupied gradually throughout the golden phase of mining and, with greater intensity, during and after the crisis of the extraction activity. In the latter period, the land's soil, topographical and vegetation characteristics constituted, along with its open frontier condition and cheap workforce, the main stimulus to the violation.

Patrício Carneiro (2008, p.234) divides this process of the Mata's grubbing up and occupation into three periods. The first, between 1694 and 1750, comprised two moments: the beginning, marked by the *bandeirantes* who patrolled the area since the 16th century with the aim to capture indigenous people, and who discovered gold there at the end of 17th century; a second moment comprising the first half of the 18th century, defined by the displacement of the population to the bordering areas (eastern edge of the parishes of Itaverava, Guarapiranga and Caminho Novo). The second period, which lasted between 1750 and 1813, saw the migration of inhabitants from the old zone of Minas (Termos de Mariana, São José Del Rey and São João Del Rey – parishes of Barra Longa, Sumidouro, Furquim, Guarapiranga, Caminho Novo, Itaverava, Borda do Campo, Cidade de Mariana, etc.) to the open frontiers of the valleys of Pomba, Doce rivers and Serra da Mantiqueira. The third period, which developed from 1813 onwards, featured the migration of large landowners, slaves and gold dates from the Ouro Preto, Barbacena and São João Del Rey to the Paraíba valley. Its main consequence was the formation of a new agro-exporting agrarian core in the south of Mata, arising from coffee activity. It is precisely this last phase which interests us in this article.

As a consequence of this logic, between the end of the 18th century and the beginning of the 19th century, the

territorial control in the eastern Mata area was intersected by the disputes between the settlers who expanded the agricultural, cattle breeding and mining activities, and the Indians who tried to defend their land possessions. One of the measures taken by the metropolis to solve this clash was establishing villages, prisons, and military divisions. In this case, there were proposals to intervene the space through the catechization and civilization of the forest dwellers, constituting one of the main strategies to dominate the groups considered undesirable (Chysóstomo & Santos, 2016).

This political attempt to civilize the indigenous contributed to gradually integrating the forest of central Minas Gerais with the northern Fluminense and other nearby settlements, presenting an open frontier site until the middle of 19th century. However, we should note that the formation of the Mata space was marked by heterogeneity in its general configuration, derived from the territorial occupation process and directly linked to the categories of colonizing agents, the implemented economic activities, the land use systems, the property regimes, and the evolution of the means of transportation (Carneiro, 2008, pp. 31-64). These factors are fundamental to understand that, at each moment of occupation, there were various economic and social profiles in its intra-regional cut.

1. Occupation and population growth at Zona da Mata Central

Elsa de Souza (1951), using the 1940 census, divided the Zona da Mata Mineira into three sub-regions: the Northern sub-region, composed of the municipalities situated on the right and left banks of the Doce river; the Southern sub-region composed of the valleys of the Paraíba do Sul River and its tributaries, the Preto and Paraibuna rivers; and the Central sub-region, composed of the valley of the

Pomba river, the municipalities ranging from the left bank of the Pomba River to the upper valley of the Doce River, and from there eastwards to the limit with the province of Espírito Santo.

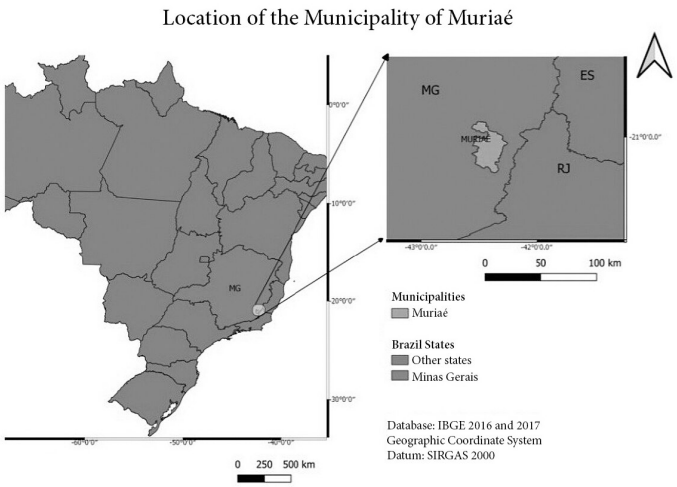
Based on this distinction, Ângelo Carrara (1999, p. 13) points out that the average property area in the north of the Zona da Mata was less than 60 hectares (148 acres), of which 40% was destined to agriculture, with the exploitation of wood for firewood and charcoal for the steel industry also occupying an important place. Around 60% of its territories were occupied by rural properties and 30% by virgin forests. This region comprised an authentic frontier zone, where half of the area had farms and ranches that shared landholding structures with the north of Espírito Santo.

Regarding the Zona da Mata's south, Carrara (1999, p. 13) points to less divided properties in comparison with the north. Its average property area was over 79 hectares (195 acres), with less than 34 inhabitants per km^2. This area included the municipalities of Recreio, Leopoldina, Volta Grande, Além-Paraíba, Mar de Espanha, São João Nepomuceno, Rio Novo, Bicas, Matias Barbosa, Juiz de Fora, and Santos Dumont. He also notes that more than two-thirds of these municipalities were occupied by pastures.

According to Carrara (1999, pp. 13-16), the Central Zona da Mata was the core of the largest concentration of indigenous population. The municipalities that comprised this sub-region (Ervália, Guiricema, Visconde do Rio Branco, Senador Firmino, Ubá, the northern part of Rio Pomba, Mercês, Rio Espera, Viçosa, and Teixeiras) had more than 40% of its usable area occupied by farming, with an average of 34 inhabitants per km^2, the highest of the entire region. Its average property area was generally less than 35 hectares (86 acres).

My analysis will be focused on this sub-region, more precisely on the São Paulo do Muriahé parish, the territory illustrated in Figure 1.

Figure 1 – Location of the municipality of Muriaé – MG ***



Sources: Image produced using the free software QGIS version 3.10, from the Municipal Cartographic Base (IBGE, 2016-2017). QGIS Development Team. QGIS Geographic Information System. Open-Source Geospatial Foundation Project. 2020. Available in: <http://qgis.osgeo.org> Acessed on: Jan 20, 2020; Instituto Brasileiro de Geografia e Estatística (IBGE). Cartographic Base of Brazil, 2016, Available in: https://www.ibge.gov.br/geociencias/organizacao-do-territorio/malhas-territoriais/15774-malhas.html?=&t=downloads Acessed on: Jan 20, 2020.

The parish is located on the left bank of the Pomba River and is precisely surrounded by the Muriaé and Glória rivers, tributaries of the Paraíba do Sul River. Between these water courses, there were several paths, farms and inns, which led to the population of the province's eastern region (Mercadante, 1973). This settlement in the *hinterland* had the *Caminho Novo* as its main entrance. This path was responsible for a greater circulation of trade between parishes belonging to Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais and allowed the presence of new explorers. According to Carrara (1999, p. 10 and 22), at the

beginning of the 19th century, land occupation and access to land in the Central Zona da Mata comprehended two distinct areas. The first was constituted by the indigenous villages of Presídio, Guido-Wal and Manoelburgo, as well as the nuclei of the present municipalities of Visconde do Rio Branco, Guidoval and Muriaé; the second, where indigenous presence was relatively smaller, was located along the riverside of the Ubá River, between the three villages and the old village of Rio Pomba, founded in 1768.

As the spaces became gradually occupied and agriculture developed, there was a growing need to explore and cut down the forests, whether for building houses or ships, land transport, work tools, river navigation, among other purposes. These actions created some clearings in the middle of the forest.[3] Gradually, the potential of the hinterland's natural resources gave a more objective sense to the notion of wealth. The obtention of hardwoods, flowers, dyeing products, medicinal plants, furs, birds, capuchin monkeys, and the exploitation of "less precious" minerals, such as iron, copper, manganese, etc., became the aim of these explorations (Espíndola, 2005, p. 84).

Cunha (2002, p. 2) helps us to understand the dynamics of redefinition of the mining spaces against the background of the final cooling of the mining economy, proposing a new regional delineation that explains the geographical redesign of Minas Gerais by virtue of the centrifugal effect. Cunha states that:

> The population growth in other areas was a gradual process, but which, already in the second half of the 18th century, marked the development of many other areas beyond the mining core, as evidenced by the increase in the number of settlements and the creation of several new parishes in different parts of the territory (Cunha, 2002, p. 11).

[3] For more details about the exploitation and use of wood of Mata Atlântica, see: Dean (1996); Pádua (2004); Cabral (2007).

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The impact on Vila Rica is clearly seen in the continuous population losses in the old mining nuclei and introduces a specific characterization of mining. Together with this migration, the sub-regionalization of the territory —which can be based on the idea of urban and rural— emerges to understand that gold not only articulated geographical distribution but also redefined the mining space. Rodarte (1999) also affirms that, in the last quarter of 18th century, it is possible to envisage the importance of the old mining core in the network of cities. For the author:

> […] the change in the network of cities of Minas Gerais in the analyzed period, which occurred with the displacement of hierarchically superior centers to the southern portions of Minas, is in agreement with the economic historiography. These cities, which emerged as major centers in the 1870s, flourished with the new economic opportunities created by the coffee economy in the Zona da Mata, Vale do Paraíba, and in São Paulo (Rodarte, 1999, p. 91).

From this perspective, we must understand that the localities that began to emerge followed an internal logic, that is, the return to the agrarian world and the search for new frontiers. The cities, however, did not cease to be a reference point for this growth; the occupational dynamics in the east of the Zona da Mata emerged from the urban influence, as the political and legal support continued to remain in the pole-cities. Thus, the new villages did not cut the umbilical cord that tied them to the more developed centers.

According to the 1872 census, São Paulo do Muriahé comprised a wide territory, with a total of 11 (eleven) districts: São Paulo do Muriahé (headquarters), Nossa Senhora das Dores da Vitória, Nossa Senhora da Glória, São Francisco do Glória, Santa Luzia do Carangola, Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos Tombos do Carangola, Divino do Espírito Santo, São Sebastião da Cachoeira

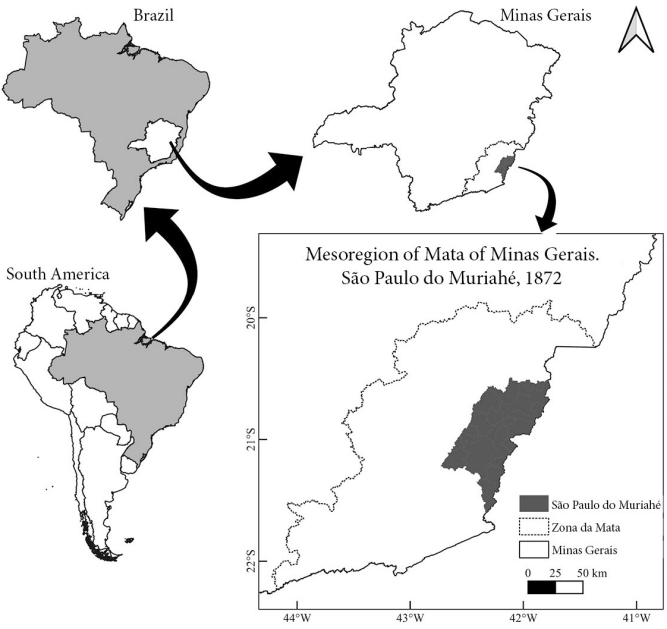
Alegre, São Francisco de Assis da Capivara, São Francisco de Paula da Boa Família, and São Sebastião da Mata[4] (Andrade, 1995, p. 155).

Obviously, the area occupied by São Paulo do Muriahé, in 1872, was not equal to the current municipalities, as its district territories became subdivided into several other cities. Besides the 11 districts mentioned, we can enumerate some later fragmentations: Fervedouro, Miradouro (Santa Rita do Glória), Vieiras, Barão do Monte Alto, Eugenópolis, Antonio Prado de Minas, Pedra Dourada, Espera Feliz, Caiana, Caparaó, Faria Lemos and Patrocínio do Muriaé (Costa, 1970).

This panorama marked by Muriaé's great territorial extension, in 1872, is presented in the Figure 2. In the illustration, the municipality of Miraí is not eliminated, since at that time it was incorporated in the district of Dores da Vitória. The image also indicates, in different shades, the cities of Palma and Caparaó. However, it should be clarified that neither city belongs now to the micro-region of Muriaé, but to Cataguases and Manhuaçu, respectively.

4 At that time, the districts of Nossa Senhora das Dores de Vitória and Divino Espírito Santo held the status of Curates, i.e., they were under the responsibility of a vicar or assistant parish priest.

Figure 2 – Mesoregion of Zona da Mata of Minas Gerais. São Paulo do Muriahé, 1872



Source: IBGE 2022 e Census 1872.[5]

Entering this space denominated Mata Mineira led to new geographical, political, social and economic contours. Gradually, as the landscape changes, trade becomes more object-oriented, tracing a new configuration of the villages. The great majority of the new settlements were installed

5 The 1872 Census lists the following municipalities belonging to São Paulo de Muriahé: Fervedouro, Divino, Espera Feliz, Caparaó, Caiana, Carangola, Faria Lemos, São Francisco do Glória, Miradouro, Tombos, Pedra Dourada, Eugenópolis, Vieiras, Muriaé, Rosário da Limeira, Miraí, Antônio Prado de Minas, Patrocínio do Muriaé, Barão do Monte Alto, Palma and São Sebastião da Vargem Alegre.

around a church and near the river. Their inhabitants' everyday life for was transformed by the availability of dry and wet markets, public services, the centralization of power, and an increased circulation of people. Some houses began to be built in rows, taking an unprecedented feature that granted the characteristic "spontaneity" and "organicity" of most mining cities (Fonseca, 2000, p. 98). At the same time, there were various initiatives to confer greater regularity to the streets and buildings, mainly linked to topographical characterization and the receptivity of the population.

Land appropriation for subsistence, which was the initial aim for the region, yielded a surplus that led to producing coffee for export. This dynamic was stimulated by the construction of railways and the presence of slaves. However, the flow of these products was difficult at first, as there were no roads to transport the surplus. One of the solutions found were donkey droves. According to Paulo Mercadante (1973, p. 62), Mata would send droves of donkeys with sugar, tobacco, bacon, and maize, and receive in turn other products from Corte and Recôncavo da Guanabara, such as weapons, ammunition, boots and tools, thus defining an initial economic flow (Andrade, 1995).

Given this exchange of people and goods, we can see that the slave workforce was essential for the occupation and settlement of the sub-regions of Zona da Mata (Martins, 2018; Carrara, 1999; Libby, 1988). At the time of the 1872 census, Mata – whose area corresponded to about 5% of the territory of Minas Gerais – held 16.57% of the total population and 24.39% of the slave population of the Province (Freire, 2009, p.25). However, the size of the slave population within each parish was quite uneven, according to the diffusion of production: the farther away from the area of coffee monoculture, the lower the proportion of slaves in the plantations. Out of a total of 157,909 inhabitants in the southern Zona da Mata South (comprising the municipalities of Rio Preto, Juiz de Fora, Rio Novo, Mar de Espanha, and Leopoldina), 55,584 (35.20%) were slaves. In the central

Zona da Mata Central (Viçosa, Muriaé, Ubá, and Rio Pomba), 27,240 (19.94%) of the 136,603 total inhabitants were slaves. Finally, in the northern Zona da Mata North (Ponte Nova) out of the 54,032 total inhabitants, 7,551 (13.97%) were slaves (Carrara, 1993).

In Muriahé as a whole, including all its parishes, the slave population's profile was quite evident from the censuses, and parish and civil documents. According to the 1872 Census, the parish included 6,938 slaves, of whom 6,348 were Brazilians or Creoles (91.49%), and 590 (8.5%) Africans; 47.2% were female and 52.8% were male, most of them single. The number of captives in São Sebastião da Cachoeira Alegre, Nossa Senhora da Glória and São Francisco de Assis do Capivary was 1,122, 918 and 902, respectively[6]. Despite "a certain balance" between men and women, in most studies of the time and region the parish was characterized by the prevalence of illegitimate or bastard births (Andrade, 2011), which fits the profile of small and medium slaves, as clarified by Andrade (1995).

Due to this new spatial organization of Minas Gerais, the Zona da Mata region saw a significant population growth between the censuses of 1872, 1890 and 1900. Braga (2017) informs that, in 1872, the entire population of the eleven parishes belonging to São Paulo do Muriahé was composed of 34,620 individuals. Eighteen years later, in the same territory of the eastern region of Zona da Mata, there were 50,189 individuals: 26,388 (52.8%) men and 23,801 (47.2%) women. This is a 31% increase in eighteen years. When comparing the censuses of 1872 and 1900, Braga (2017, p. 38-39) notices a population increase of 51.32%, a demographic growth that signifies the development of the region and which, in our view, deserves to be better analyzed.

In order to understand the connection between the occupation of the Mata hinterlands and their economic

6 General Census of the Brazilian Empire, 1872.

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development, we will discuss the economic characteristics of the region and, more specifically, the parish analyzed here. The main objective will be to present the dynamics of investments between 1848 and 1888, pointing to the monetary investments after that time. Such analysis confirms the hypothesis that land, coffee and workforce were the main sources of economic investment in the region until 1888, after which period the rubiaceous became the dominant economic driver.

2. Economic characteristics of the region: dynamics and investments

The definitive occupation of the Mata Mineira region is directly related to the change of Minas Gerais's economic axis. We reinforce that the first urban formations were inserted in the mining center, among them Vila do Carmo (Mariana), Vila Rica (Ouro Preto) and Conceição do Sabará (Sabará), from which several other administrative divisions would derive. It is also understood that these towns, parishes and cities grew more and more as the 19th century approached (Andrade, 2011, pp. 1-63). According to Costa (1970, p. 16), the creation of the villages, parishes and counties depended on the establishment of economic and personal interests available for the exercise of public functions, besides the existence of community spirit based on moral principles.

Following this logic, we can see that agriculture in the Mata Mineira begins even before the definitive settlement of the white people. The trade of *Psychotria ipecacuanha* —an emetic plant of great commercial and exporting value, which the Indians exchanged for rum (José, 1958, p. 45)— is a good illustration of this, being a commercial incentive for clergymen, traders, military and adventurers who circulated throughout the region. However, over time, other

crops also stood out, such as maize, beans, sugar cane and, later, coffee.

The documents that record everyday life in the region leave no doubt that coffee was the main economic product of the Zona da Mata Mineira in the 19th century. However, we insist that such model must be reviewed if we consider the Zona da Mata as a whole. The affirmation holds when thinking about the production of the rubiaceous from a comparative perspective. It is also based on the centrifugal effect generated by the (re)ordering and (re)distribution of the economic space, and by the model of coffee crop prevalent in the Sul Fluminense region. We consider, instead, that the agricultural diversity of the Mata region enabled each parish to have an exclusive model that cannot be taken as a whole, including coffee production.

When we refer to the Paraíba Fluminense valley, we note that coffee production was based on an extensive agrarian system, founded on rudimentary techniques, with the use of few technical implements, long fallow periods, forest clearings, and root burnings. The ample availability of land led to the use of the soil without any kind of concern regarding its depletion (Fragoso, 1993; Muniz, 2005). Of course, this factor was decisive to understand the agricultural production framework of the Mata Mineira and was the cause why coffee did not arrive at the same time in all sub-regions, being directly linked to land appropriation. As the white people entered the region, they brought along their economic forms of survival, leading the previously productive soil to its bankruptcy.

When studying the transition to the agrarian-export system, Oliveira (2005, p. 249) concludes that, rather than a mere extension of the Fluminense agrarian system, coffee cultivation in Minas Gerais developed thanks to the endogenous accumulation of mercantile capital in the province, differing from the models of Rio de Janeiro (by the absence of wholesale capital in

the first investments) and of São Paulo (by transferring capitals prior to subsistence cultivation or exporting as commercial activities).

Pires (1993) reinforces this logic by affirming that the study about agrarian capital, investment and crisis in coffee growing in Juiz de Fora, between 1889 and 1930, is based on the agro-exporting model. For the author, it was coffee production that which favored industrial development; furthermore, this production did not go into decadence right after abolition, instead remaining active for many years.

According to Oliveira (2005), the expansion of coffee production in the Zona da Mata of Minas Gerais began in the first decades of the 19th century, accelerating from 1850 onwards; however, the huge production peak occurred at the beginning of the 20th century. According to Pires (1993), between 1847 and 1851, the Mata Mineira concentrated almost 100% of the state's overall coffee production, especially Juiz de Fora and, from 1880 on, São Paulo do Muriahé, as we shall see later on. The Zona da Mata Mineira, in turn, represents, only 5% of the territory of Minas Gerais. The region benefited from its proximity to the Paraíba Fluminense valley, previously considered the largest coffee producer in the country, as well as from its suitability for the product, according to Lanna (1986, pp. 30-31). Due to its favorable conditions, it soon became one of the main commercial centers for the export of rubiaceous.

Thus, the commercial dynamism of the region owes to agriculture, the major cause of investment. However, being a lately settled area, this growth required larger amounts of workforce, seed programs, seedlings, and specific agricultural techniques. It was necessary to cultivate the land and to invest in improvements, which demanded time and capital. This scenario saw the first plantations of sugarcane, cassava, maize and, later on, coffee.

Table 1 allows reveals the substantial participation of the region in Minas Gerais's coffee production until 1926. The percentages of production remained consistently high throughout the years, with small declines only in 1886, 1903, 1904, which are explained by the surge of coffee plantations in the south. Giroletti (1987) states that, in 1890, 75% of the state's revenue came from coffee production. From 1870 to 1930, coffee constituted around 60% of Minas Gerais' exports.

Table 1 – Proportional ratio of coffee production in the Zona da Mata to production in the state of Minas Gerais (selected periods)

Period	Minas Gerais*	Zona da Mata*	%
1847/48	745.381	743.707	99,77
1850/51	900.264	898.184	99,76
1886	5.776.866	4.316.067	74,71
1888	5.047.600	4.433.800	87,83
1903/04	9.404.136	5.993.425	63,73
1926	12.793.977	9.105.543	71,17

Source: Pires (1993, p. 96).
* In arrobas (a unit of measure equivalent to 25 pounds).

The rapid expansion of the domestic market in the coffee region had a favorable impact on the productivity of the subsistence sector (Fragoso, 1992, p. 976). However, Oliveira (2005) warns that the Mata Mineira profited from internalized capital in the province, which helped in the formation of an autonomous model of transition to coffee. Coffee growing in Minas Gerais did not depend on the expansion of the western frontier of coffee growing in Rio de Janeiro and, above all, it did not need to resort to mercantile capital, benefitting from the province's self-produced capital. The Center-South exchange provoked a true mutation of food producers,

traders and capitalists, raising them to the condition of great coffee growers.

As pointed out in previous research[7], we should reinforce the region had its own peculiarities, such as the existence of small and medium owners without *plantations* who relied on slave workforce as economic support. Thus, socioeconomic position was defined by the number of captives belonging to a family. The land was not conditioned to that number of slaves, given the amount of unproductive soil, resulting in a variable agricultural production.

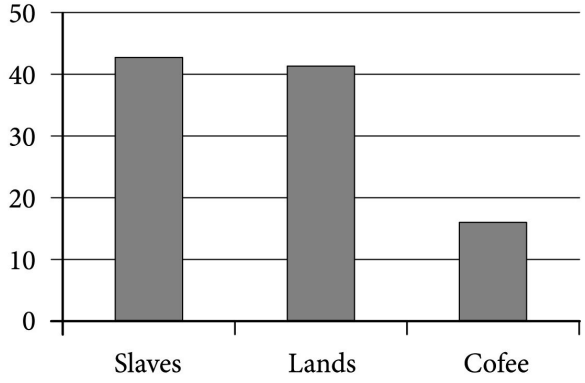
We tried to surmise the transformations from the monetary applications of the most salient categories of the *post-mortem* inventories in São Paulo do Muriahé, between 1848 and 1888. This corpus adds up to a total of 190 documents and will allow us to know the most important social groups and interests involved in the established relations. To better understand this reality, we will present the categories of the material goods comprising most of the fortunes we analyzed, along with their respective financial values. Having digitized the inventories' data, we catalogued the part referring to the amount of goods, which are divided into original goods, self-moving (slaves), furniture, and active debts. After cataloguing, the main generators of wealth were selected through each gross total.

In the first period under analysis, between 1848 and 1859, the inventories had a combined value of 97:920$000; this amount comprised slaves (48:200$000, or 49.22%), land (43:100$000, or 44.01%), and coffee (6:620$000, or 6.77%), as shown in the following graphic.

7 For more details, see Andrade (1995) and Andrade (2006).

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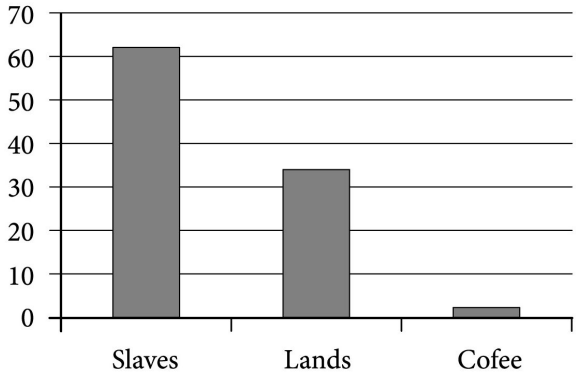
Graphic 1 – Asset analysis. São Paulo do Muriahé, 1848-1859



Source: Inventários post-mortem, 1850-1859. FTPM, Muriaé – MG.

Between 1860 and 1869, out of a total of 93:648$825, captives amounted to 59:050$8000 (63.05%); lands, 32:514$825 (34.71%); and coffee, 1:900$000 (2.24%). We see, therefore, a significant increase in investments in slave workforce and a reduction in land and coffee in relation to the previous period.

Graphic 2 – Asset analysis. São Paulo do Muriahé, 1860-1869

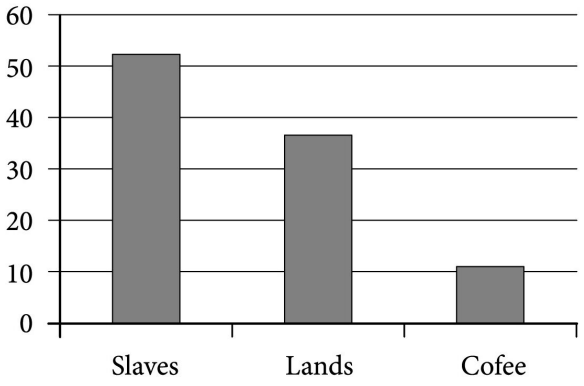


Source: Inventários post-mortem, 1860-1869. FTPM, Muriaé – MG.

Between 1870 and 1879, out of a total of 308:283$000, slaves accounted for 75:700$000 (52.65%); land, 43:100$000 (36.67%); and coffee, 15:600$000 (10.68%) of the amount of 308:283$000 of the inventories applied. There is an increase of monetary investments in coffee plantations and land.

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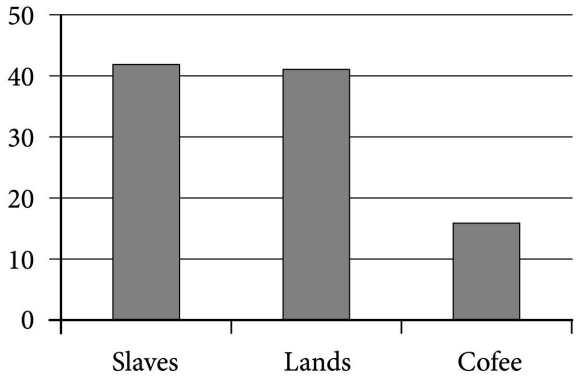
Graphic 3 – Asset analysis. São Paulo do Muriahé, 1870-1879



Source: Inventários post-mortem, 1870-1879. FTPM, Muriaé – MG.

Between 1880 and 1888, out of a total of 377:360$391, captives amounted to 160:340$000 (42.49%); land, 156:016$191 (41.34%); and coffee, 61:004$200 (16.17%). As a consequence of the debates about the end of slavery, we can see in this period a reduction of investment in slaves, —though the values remain high— and an increase of investment in land and coffee. Such data come from the very logic of the closing of the agricultural frontier and the greater circulation of capital.

Graphic 4 – Asset analysis. São Paulo do Muriahé, 1880-1888



Source: Inventários post-mortem, 1880-1889. FTPM, Muriaé – MG.

Analyzing the *post-mortem* inventories, we may observe that the personal wealth in São Paulo do Muriahé, one of the main parishes of the central Mata Mineira, was mostly based on slave ownership, though land and coffee became increasingly important with the decline of slave prices in the last period under study. From 1880 to 1888, the value of land was close to that of slaves, while coffee remained relatively minor in all the analyzed periods; rubiaceous production, however, grew consistently, except between 1860 and 1869. From 1888 on, coffee production intensified considerably, favored by its flow via railways, which arrived in the parish in 1886. The train can be considered a distinct factor of urbanization and an incentive to the city's economic and population growth.

Although the region was characterized by its relatively small groups of slaves, this sector always represented the highest applicable value, even throughout the final periods of slavery and the times of intense economic changes. In turn, land increased its value as a consequence of the

closing of the agricultural frontier and the Land Law of 1850. The land inserted in the middle of coffee production presents considerable price variation and economic instability. Regarding the captives, their market value decreased only in the last period (1880s), close to the abolition, while land value exceeds 40% between 1880 and 1888, regaining the financial importance observed between 1850 and 1859.

We can affirm, thus, that there were changes in the asset distribution of the parish; however, scrutinizing the data will help us avoid the traditional model (land, coffee and slaves) verify the investments in an progressively self-organizing economic structure. The increase in the value of land can be seen as a form of control of the farmers, revealing itself as one of the safest assets during periods of change, despite not being the main asset until the end of slavery. But it is important to highlight that certain other factors, such as the closing of the agrarian frontiers and the improvement in the conditions of the city, contributed decisively to the appreciation of land.

Andrade's research (1995, p. 93), despite presenting a different cut and methodology from our own, is very far from the data achieved. By making an accounting study based on the significant investments for the productive process (such as slaves, land and coffee), he points out that, between 1872 and 1884, slaves represented more than half of the investments, followed by land and coffee. Another remark by the author is that small owners bore little relevance in the set of investments, since large and medium owners concentrated more than 90% of them. This has historically justified its characterization as an extremely unequal society in relation to income distribution: most of the land and profits were in the hands of a few, while the vast majority lived in terrible economic conditions. Thus, the small and medium properties absorbed the large contingent of slave population.

Table 2 – Muriahé's landowners and the concentration of slaves, land and coffee, 1872-1884

Owners	N°	Slaves	Coffee	Land	Total
Small	10	34:194 (10%)	8:640 (8%)	18.686 (8%)	61:520 (9%)
Medium/ Large	10	314:495 (90%)	96:770 (92%)	209.280 (92%)	620:545 (91%)
Total	20	348:689 (100%)	105:410 (100%)	227.966 (100%)	682:065 (100%)

Source: Andrade (1995, p. 63).

We see, therefore, that the locality analyzed was defined by land concentration, with a small minority dominating vast extensions of land, while the number of slaves and coffee growing were comparably modest, at least until the 1880s. But from this date onwards, coffee production took on new contours, and the region became one of the great exporters of the product by the end of the century.

However, we see that before coffee became the region's main economic product, other foodstuffs were produced as well. This diverse production continued to supply the domestic market even after the intense cultivation of the rubiaceous, spurred by the units' own sustenance and generating surpluses that were traded in other parishes and provinces. Thus, groceries agriculture contributed to laying the infrastructure for the development of coffee and the region's definitive entry into a large-scale economy. This idea is affirmed by Carrara (1999, p. 31), when he assures that, before coffee and until the 1840s, the rural landscape of central Mata was dominated by maize, bean and sugarcane plantations, and also a few rice fields. More specifically, the documentation of Muriahé shows that maize and sugarcane production was present in all the analyzed periods between 1848 and 1888, but with a fast and notable decline in varied periods.

Câmara (2014, p. 59) throws light on this dynamic by stating that the number of bushels dedicated to sugarcane production falls considerably from 1858 to 1867, with

1866 being the least productive year, as only 19 bushels were dedicated to produce this crop. The same can be said of maize. The decrease in grain production is remarkable, although it was more balanced than sugarcane, with more bushels dedicated to production in 1858.

According to Table 1, there was also a decline in grains of rice, beans and fruit, following the same trend as sugarcane and maize. This fall can also be seen in the number of bushels used for production. In general, there is a visible reduction in these crops over the years, with an inversion in relation to coffee production. From the documents consulted, coffee appears timidly in Muriahé in the middle of the 19th century and takes on great proportions from 1880 onwards. At this time, the parish began a framework of export economy, facilitated by the flow of production with the arrival of railway tracks. These data are observed in Table 1.

Table 3 – Agricultural production in São Paulo do Muriahé, 1850-1888[8]

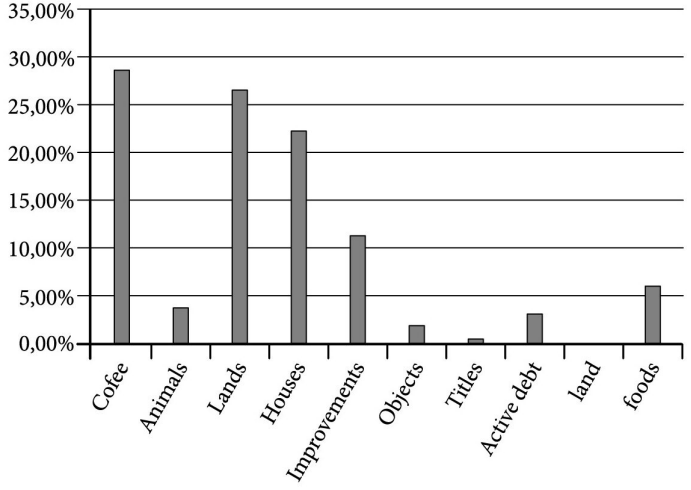
Year	Cane (in *alqueires*)	Maize crops (in bushels)	Other crops (in bushels) *	Coffee (feet)**
1850-1859	1.883	2.333	1.451	157.830
1860-1869	382	1.243	995	525.403
1870-1879	494	702	345	2.430.108
1880-1888	455	576	305	7.416.537
Total	3.214	4.854	3.096	10.529.878

Source: Adaptation made by the author to the tables of Câmara (2014).
* Rice, beans, oranges, etc., in bushels.
** Even though the author does not use the same standard for coffee (feet) as for other products (bushels), Table 1 allows a glimpse of the growth in production relative to the increase in coffee production, an analysis made previously by Andrade (1995) and Andrade (2011).

8 1 *alqueire* is equal to 48.400 m2. SILVA, Marcos Noé Pedro Da. Medidas Agrárias. Brasil Escola, [S.l], [201-?]. Available in: https://goo.gl/cZRbq. Acessed in: Mar 9, 2022.

As we can see, sugarcane, maize and other crops, such as rice, beans and oranges, constituted the internal supply of the parish. Furthermore, between 1848 and 1888, the investments in slaves, land and coffee stood out, representing the main assets in of the composition of wealth. However, new "wealth dances"[9] would occur in the municipality after abolition, at least until 1910. The table changes significantly, as coffee takes over as the largest financial investment item, as analyzed by Orlando (2020, pp. 116-133). Such result helps us to understand Prates's statement (1906, p. 18) that, in 1905, São Paulo do Muriahé was the most important agricultural municipality in Mata and that coffee was the predominant crop.

Graphic 5 – Share in the amount of wealth – Assets – São Paulo do Muriahé, 1889-1910



Source: Orlando (2020, p. 124).

9 Expression used by Almico (2001).

For Orlando (2020), land represented the basis for structuring the coffee plantation, which justifies the strong presence of this item in most of the consulted documents, in some cases even as the highest ranking asset. Coffee, houses and land form the group of the largest assets invested. The significant presence of houses strengthens the idea of the city's urban growth. Investments in improvements are not far behind, followed by active debts, animals, objects, food, and securities.

There is a traceable change in the values invested over the years under study, but agricultural production remains constant in all the periods presented. There is a decline in the production of maize and sugarcane as a consequence of the greater presence of coffee, with the rubiaceous becoming the city's largest asset by the turn of the century. Obviously, these data point to the statement that coffee only reached the level of export product thanks to the production surpluses generated by the cultivation of basic commodities such as maize, sugar cane, rice and beans.

Final considerations

Throughout this work, we tried to highlight the dynamics of occupation and development of the Zona da Mata Mineira, especially its central sub-region, from before the definitive opening of the territory by the competent bodies until the beginning of the 20th century. This logic did not occur randomly; on the contrary, it originated in the open frontier profile, due to the availability of workforce and the favorable conditions for the cultivation of foodstuffs. The reduction of gold mining had a considerable impact on the increase of internal migration, which brought new designs to the Minas Gerais landscape. Given its proximity to the edges of this area, Zona da Mata was a privileged region for the entry of a significant population contingent.

As previously emphasized, the emergent villages were not organized according to pre-established schemes aiming at a territorial organization; instead, growth occurred rapidly and continuously throughout the 19th century. With the mining crisis, the responsible bodies needed to populate them quickly, so that they could obtain new dividends generated by the collection of taxes and tithes. This search for other spaces contributed decisively to a new territorial outline of Minas Gerais and new dynamics in social relations. In this sense, the economic factor was crucial for the solidification of this society.

With an initially shy economy, São Paulo do Muriahé started to show signs of sufficiency, coming mainly from small and medium plantations, and slaves; these production units were responsible for starting its market power and participation in the economic life of the parish. But the little representativity of small owners in the set of investments and values gave way to a hierarchical and unequal society in terms of income distribution. We believe, therefore, that large-scale coffee production was only possible due to the production surplus originating from medium and large owners, although we do not exclude the participation of minority groups in relation to the number of slaves. Our analyses allow us to identify a gradual growth of the coffee crop throughout the analyzed periods, which leads us to affirm with certainty that its success came in the late 19th century, unlike what was previously thought.

With the arrival of the railway, a new production and investment scheme was outlined, and coffee became one of the major investments in the locality, visibly changing its landscape. The city grew, new investments were made, and new population groups were introduced, making its economy even more dynamic and directly impacting on its growth. However, we should clarify that it was the monetary resources resulting from the accumulation of capital generated by basic crops which contributed to Muriahé's entry into a larger economy.

To conclude, we reinforce that coffee was not the driving force for the occupation and expansion of frontiers in the region, even if we understand that the product would become the great driver of urban growth in the late 19th and early 20th centuries. But this success was mainly due to a logic that integrated the abundance of land, workforce, and agricultural production.

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Part IV.
Cities between the Atlantic and the Amazon Rainforest

8

São Luís in Iberian Imperial Politics

From conquered land to seat of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (Brazil)

Helidacy Maria Muniz Corrêa[1] & José Damião Rodrigues

São Luís, imperial city

In the past few decades, various fields have produced studies aimed at explaining the dynamics of urbanization and globalization waves. Nevertheless, these studies have often stemmed from antagonistic models, contributing to the sense of miasma that sometimes seems to affect the social sciences. Beyond the ongoing debates, however, it is generally acknowledged that contemporary hierarchies and scales do not reflect the historical reality and collective

[1] The starting point of this chapter is Helidacy Maria Muniz Corrêa PhD Thesis. See Corrêa, Helidacy Maria Muniz, Para aumento da conquista e bom governo dos moradores: o papel da Câmara de São Luís na conquista, defesa e organização do território do Maranhão (1615-1668) [To increase the conquest and good government of the residents: the role of the Council of São Luís in the conquest, defense and organization of the territory of Maranhão (1615-1668)]. PhD Thesis in History. Federal Fluminense University, Institute of Human Sciences and Philosophy, Niterói, 2011, 299 f. This work is financed by Portuguese national funds through FCT - Foundation for Science and Technology, I.P, in the scope of the projects UIDB/04311/2020 and UIDP/04311/2020.

imagery of the centuries that preceded the modernity of the 19th and 20th centuries.

In this context, historical studies have contributed to illustrating the dynamics of succession and coexistence of imperial cities, commercial emporiums, and centers of pilgrimage – cosmopolitan urban worlds which, in their multiple dimensions, became objects of admiration and cupidity for their coevals. These urban poles were presented and represented in countless works of travel literature or fairly well-known maps or paintings. As a social construction, they shaped the territories and regions over which they exerted – or aimed to exert – their capacity of attraction by playing a world-leading role (Brockey, 2008; Keene, 2005; Metcalf, 2013).

Stemming from this framework, and based on the case of São Luís do Maranhão as an imperial city, this text aims to analyze the city's structuring forms of political and social organization as a center of power at a local and regional scale, and as the producer of an identity – Portuguese and Catholic – primarily originated through symbols and the segregation of differences, enforced over a territory with undefined borders. Accordingly, this text contributes to reevaluating the concepts of "territory" and "border" based on the conceptual proposal of 'border city' (Gitlin, Berglund and Arenson, 2012), insofar as São Luís was an imperial city and laid on the border of Conquest and the Portuguese empire, founded in a period when Portugal and its possessions integrated the Habsburg Catholic Monarchy.

Figure 00- Albernaz I, João Teixeira. Pequeno atlas do Maranhão e Grão-Pará [ca. 1629]



Source: Biblioteca Nacional Digital (Brazil): https://bit.ly/3V02BcX

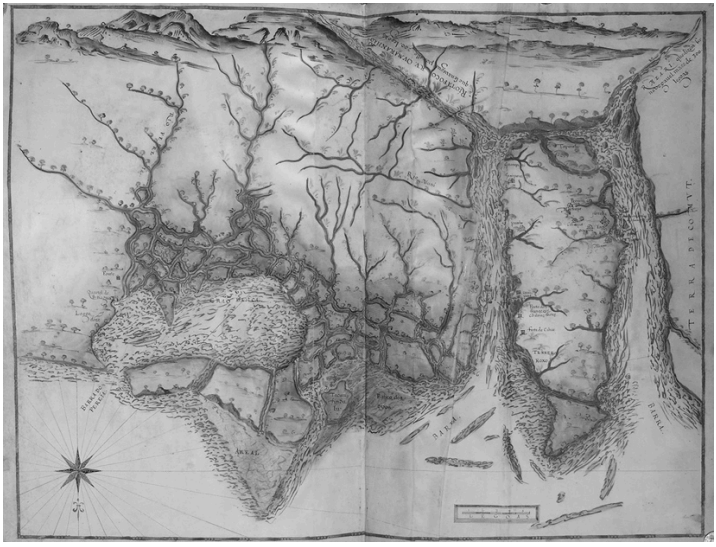
Upaon-Açu, Saint-Louis, São Felipe, São Luís: from *taba* to city

Before considering the fortified Saint-Louis (1612) or the commercial city, products of the so-called "Pombal Reforms" (1755), we should assess the existence of the indigenous villages of the Tupinambás, who inhabited Upaon-Açu Island. Several studies indicate that, before the French invasion, there were about twelve thousand Tupinambás living in twenty-seven villages, led by Chief Japiaçu (Meireles, 2012, p. 25). The European presence profoundly changed the configuration of Tupinambá life, from the rationale of occupation to foreign relations. The first impact was the implementation of the territorial domination process by the French, whereby they implanted the cross, constructed the Fort and projected the idea of a city.

By looking into the conflictive process of transforming the *tabas* into villages, towns and neighborhoods, we may bring

to light the vibrations and organizations of indigenous populations before and after the invasion, departing from the supposedly natural view that the Europeans found nothing when they landed on the beaches in the north of Brazil. This new perspective questions the Eurocentric view of the creation of São Luís, which privileges the idea of a 'blank slate', and reconsiders elements of the Tupinambá rationale in the process of territorial and urban formation, as the city did not appear out of thin air. The rare cartographic records produced in the 17th century (Figure 01) point to the transformation and integration of the village's outlines for the foundation of the city of São Luís (Sbrana, 2020, p. 57).

Figure 1 – Map by João Teixeira Albernaz (1612) containing representations of the Tupinambá villages on the Island of São Luís do Maranhão



Source: Arquivo Digital CM-Porto (Portugal): https://bit.ly/3HDfLcH

Owing to the dispute for territorial domination in the north of Brazil, particularly Maranhão, many indigenous villages were fragmented, regrouped, integrated into the missionary efforts, or established exclusively to forward the Conquest efforts. This movement that resulted in the elimination, transformation and incorporation of villages can be observed in the 17th-century cartographic representations of Maranhão by João Teixeira Albernaz (Sbrana, 2020, p. 69). In the early decades of the Conquest, maps still identified several villages, and the name of São Luís was directly associated with the Fort. However, from the end of the 1620s, the city of São Luís started to be represented as a much bigger location, while the names of other villages on the island started to fade. Little by little, the drawings indicate the 'cidade de São Luís' [city of São Luís] projected beyond the Fort, almost undistinguishable from the island itself. Thus, the original Upaon-Açu Island was gradually giving way to the city. However, what did that toponym actually refer to?

Saint-Louis, founded by the French (1612), was a small settlement spanning "little more than a kilometer" and located between the Fort (today, the Lion's Palace) and Saint Francis Convent (near the Rosário Church and Saint Teresa School). Located in the vicinity of the current Pedro II Avenue, the city extended to Egito Street (Meireles, 2012, pp. 28-29). The integration of Saint-Louis into the great political milestones of European imperial expansion began with the first actions of the Capuchin friars and other French authorities, when they set the "Fundamental and Inviolable Laws" (Abbeville, 1975, pp. 126-129) on how to lead a good life on the island. These general rules issued by the clergymen constituted the fundamental principles of what would be the creation of the French "State and Colony" in Maranhão and adjacent lands, and the conversion of the natives to Christianity. These rules show how much the Catholic policy was in tune with the project of building Equinoctial France.

It was an ordinance, a kind of political-religious statute with specific dispositions on the moral conduct of the inhabitants, the recognition of religious authority and the typification of a series of crimes, such as disturbance to the work of the Capuchins' mission; lese-majesty; patricides; attacks, betrayals, monopolies, insults to the inhabitants; concealment of crimes; cowardice; disloyalty to the king; disobedience to the authorities; disturbance of the public peace; homicides; false witness; theft; beatings, injury, outrage or death to indigenous people; adultery or rape against indigenous women; and theft from the natives. The document also establishes penalties for those crimes, such as death penalty; equal penalties for offenders and accessories after the fact; scourging at the foot of the gallows, at the sound of the trumpet; obliged public services for one year; and loss of dignities, wages and privileges.

The Fundamental Laws of Saint-Louis also defined the terms of the relationship between the new inhabitants and the native population, recommending them to instruct the natives on the knowledge of "human and divine laws with gentleness" and preventing anyone from "beating, insulting, outraging, or killing them". Moreover, the inhabitants could not practice "dishonest acts with the daughters of the natives" or steal their crops or anything else from them. The penalties for these crimes included the enslavement of the offenders, having their feet pressed in iron shoes, or even punishment after a "fair trial." However, this care for the natives did not necessarily mean an appreciation of their way of living; instead, it was a strategy implemented by the French, based on rapprochement, meant to co-opt the natives to their cause. The attempt to avert abuses against the natives, as well as all the "humanity and gentleness", were actually effective ways to avoid possible reactions and the natives' resistance, overcoming conflicts and rebellions that could in turn could jeopardize the French

mission. Behind the soft-spoken methods, the establishment of friendships (bonds) and limited legal recognition was the project of Equinoctial France. The guidelines of the French Catholic policy contained in the Fundamental and Inviolable Laws directed the new inhabitants according to ethical and moral standards, helping them to lead a good life in the colony, and aligned conquerors and vassals with the precepts of "good governance".

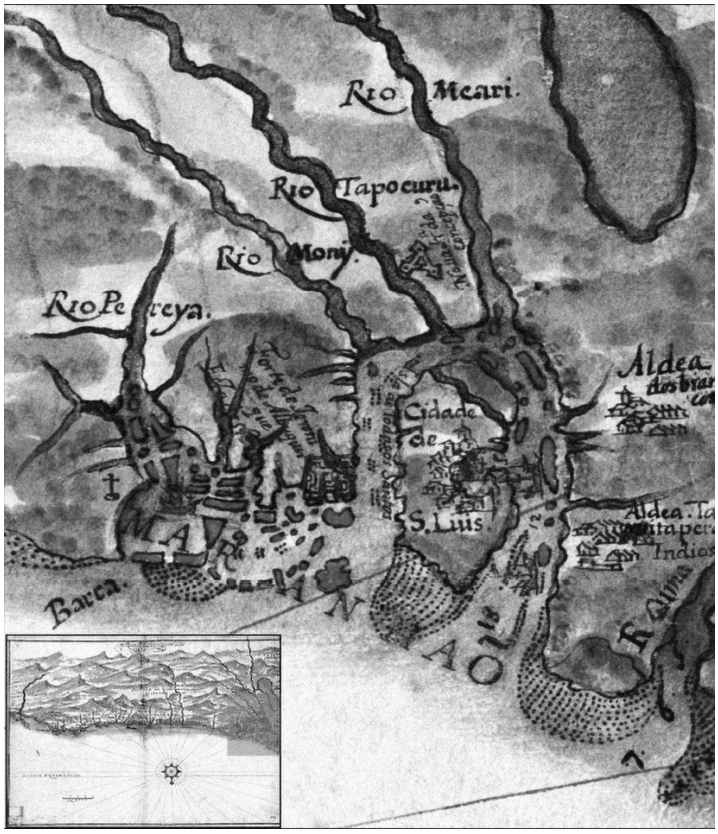
We intend to highlight two features of this document. The first is that the directives were not addressed to Crown representatives (captains, governors, or even clergymen), as was the common practice of the Portuguese in their conquests, but to subjects, the "habitantes da Ilha do Maranhão e circunvizinhança" [inhabitants of the Island of Maranhão and the surrounding area]. This practice was different and unusual in the Portuguese colonial experience, since a regiment was never allocated to a fortress, state, captaincy, city, or town (Meireles, 2012, pp. 33-34). The second distinctive feature of French laws was the designation "State and colony," precociously conferred on the "Island of Maranhão." At the same time as it institutionalized Fort Saint-Louis as "head of an Equinoctial France" (Meireles, 2012, p. 34), the identification of State and colony in the document reaffirmed the French pretensions to a new government of the land.

In that same spirit, Alexandre de Moura, after the battle of Guaxenduba, whereby the Portuguese took the land back (1615) (Lacroix, 2008), held a ritual of possession to legitimize Portuguese sovereignty, announce the military and religious character of the Conquest, and impose the Portuguese government on that territory. As a result, Fort Saint-Louis was renamed and officially became São Felipe [Saint Philip], in honor of the King of Spain and Portugal. The inauguration ceremony, a precise symbolic, political and military apparatus, followed by a Company of about eighty soldiers, infantry, clergymen

and other officials, marked the second moment of the city-fortress of São Felipe's integration to the imperial Iberian policy. However, although the Fort had received a new name, custom prevailed and 'São Luís' continued to refer to the island, the Fort, and the city continued to be referred to as "São Luís." But how did the city integrate into the vast Hispanic empire?

The island's geographical location made São Luís strategic and attractive to those who ventured into the conquests of northern Portuguese America. The island, embedded in a gulf between two bays (São Marcos and São José), connects the territory directly to the Atlantic. The Mearim, Itapecuru, Pindaré and Munin rivers, the main natural pathways into the territory, were the most distinguished features in the scarce cartographic representations of 16th-century Maranhão. The river network connected the island and the continent to the commercial interests of the Hispanic monarchy like few other places known to the conquerors until then. However, for the fringes of the empire to extend to those parts, the urban network had to be necessarily expanded.

Figure 02- Detail of the representation of the city of São Luís in Albernaz's map



Source: Albernaz I, João Teixeira. Pequeno atlas do Maranhão e Grão-Pará]. [c. 1629]. Biblioteca Nacional Digital (Brazil): https://bit.ly/3V02BcX

The cities of São Luís, Filipeia (1585) — now João Pessoa — and Natal (1599) derived from the Hispanic monarchy's need to build a vast defensive urban network along Brazil's east-west coast. This was an essential

measure to define and consolidate the legal framework of sovereignty in the north of the Iberian overseas domains in America. However, this budding São Luís, still only a fortress, would be considered an *urbs* only after the granting of the first government regiment of Maranhão to Jerônimo de Albuquerque, in 1616, and the appointment of Francisco Frias de Mesquita, the chief engineer of Brazil, todraw up the city's layout. According to the Regiment, Jerônimo de Albuquerque, *capitão-mor* of Maranhão, had to follow the drawings made by the chief engineer to attain the "*acrescentamento desta cidade de São Luís, fazendo que fique bem arruada e direita, conforme a traça que lhe fica em poder, e para [que] a seu exemplo o façam todos os moradores* [expansion of this city of São Luís, ensuring that the streets be well-ordered and follow a straight plan, according to the layout that is in his power, so that following his example all the residents do the same]." The *capitão-mor* also had to build his house within the city limits, following the lines left by the engineer, so that the other residents would see in his attitude an example to follow and understand that everyone should follow the established urban pattern. The guidelines determined that under no circumstances would the *capitão-mor* make a home inside the fortress, except on occasions of serious enemy threats which would require his presence there (Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, 1905, p. 232).

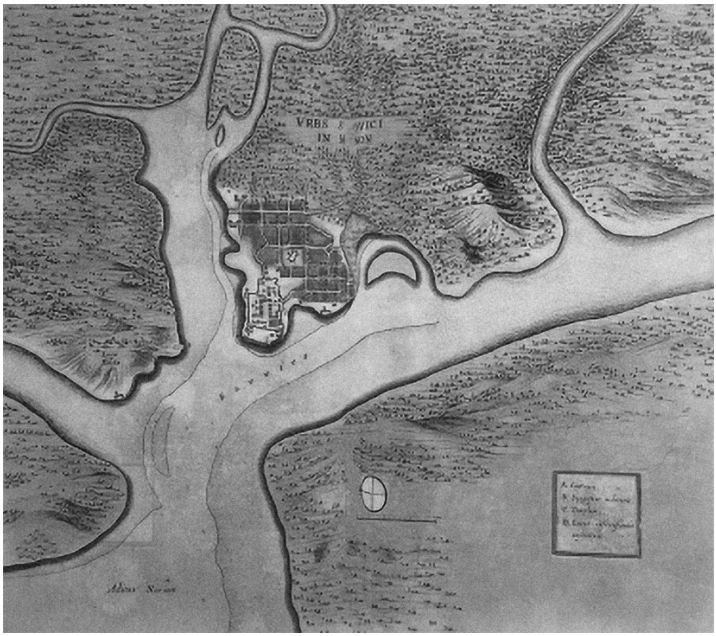
Among the inhabitants who remained after the war of reconquest, there were some French married to natives, more precisely "*ferreiros e gente de préstimo à conquista e os que melhor sabem a terra* [blacksmiths and people of service to the Conquest and those who know the land best]" (Silveira, 1979, pp. 30-31). Founding and building a city was linked to the goal of creating an urban nucleus that would be the hub of the political and social organization of space. For this purpose, it had to

be shaped according to *"a regular forma de Republica* [the standard form of a Republic]" (Berredo, 1905, p. 116).

São Luís and Belém: twin cities

Continuing the policy of expanding the Conquest of the north, Alexandre de Moura engaged Francisco Caldeira Castelo Branco, Captain General of Grão-Pará, to advance the Conquest of the Amazonia. While Caldeira was fighting in Grão-Pará to carry out his mission, Moura was determined to turn São Luís into a city, initiating the work of Frias de Mesquita. Mesquita was an experienced engineer with a solid education acquired in Lisbon, under the best masters of the kingdom — including Nicolau de Frias and João Batista Lavanha, chief cosmographer, from whom he learned architecture and geometry (Corrêa, 2011). Since the original plan of the city of São Luís has not been found, the drawings included in the 1647 work of Gaspar Barlaeus (Figure 03) are the earliest accessible references to the urban form of the city. Based on the engravings of Barleus's book, other drawings of the city of São Luís were made, with minor changes (Reis, 2000). In Figure 03 we can see clearly the concern to reaffirm the strategic position of the city and the rivers, which grant inland access and provide a connection with the Atlantic.

Figure 03 – "Urbs S. Lodovici in Maragnon" (1641-1644)



Source: Reis, N. G. (2000).

By zooming on that image, the outline of the city designed by Frias de Mesquita is becomes more evident. However, while the chessboard layout of São Luís is a nod to its possible Iberian influence, the urban topography reaffirms the Portuguese pragmatism and style of the colonial cities (Bicalho, 2003, p. 175). The city of São Luís was designed to boost the Iberian (and specially, the Portuguese) imperial policy, focusing on defense, the expansion of territorial dominions, and the implementation of maritime trade. Similar to the urban networks spread throughout the Portuguese empire –Angra, Luanda, Bahia (Bicalho, 2003, p. 169)–, the city of São Luís had two central urban areas: the upper part, where political, administrative, military and

religious institutions were concentrated; and the lower part, the residential and commercial area.

In the upper part of the city, the prominence of the Fort showed its status as the irradiating center of urban life and security in the Portuguese imperial dominions (Camilo, 2009). Measuring about 200 meters wide and 300 meters long, the Fort was protected by a large wall that surrounded approximately 45 units. Said units resembled the houses of the lower city, implying that part of the population lived inside the building. Did local officials live there? Deeper within the Fort, in the background, was the convent of the Jesuit priests. Facing the sea, at the building's entrance, stood Saint Philip Castle, the warehouse where supplies were kept, and, at the foot of the hill, the batteries that protected the residents. The Fort had three gateways: the main gate, facing the sea; a side pathway connecting the fort to the lower part of the town; and another pathway that led to the main road (Reis, 2000).

The city sprawled symmetrically outside its walls to the west and the north, connecting the upper and lower parts by means of two main roads intersecting at various points. The drawing shows 31 blocks with some 163 houses that could shelter between 600 and 800 residents, in addition to the people living inside the Fort. The houses painted with different colors (Figure 03) represent different types of constructions and roofs. Other buildings also stand out in the image, such as Our Lady of Mount Carmel's Church, in the central and high part of the city; Saint John's Church; to the south, further inland, Saint Francis's Convent; Saint George's Church, in the lower part of the city, by the sea, near the Dutch docks; the batteries, in front of the sea (Reis, 2000, p. 43).

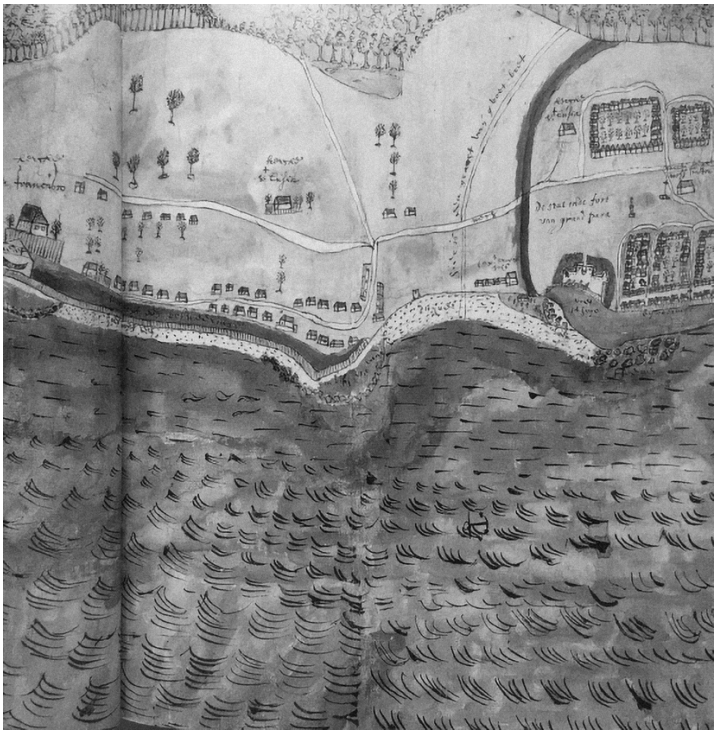
Regarding the layout of the houses, the urban population was concentrated in the vicinity of the religious buildings and the port, but there were more inhabitants near the latter, in the lower part. The town had three streets with direct access to the sea, but anyone arriving or departing

would have to go past Saint George's Church or the batteries by the sea. The precise location of the religious buildings (at the port's entrance in the city center, inside the Fort, and in the area that stood between the city and the inland area) denotes the direct relationship of the Catholic policy with the defense system, urban planning and economic life of the city and its territory. Being hubs of colonial cities (Araújo, 1998), the forts needed them to act as fundamental political and social cores, as nuclei of occupation, diffusion and consolidation of power; conversely, the cities needed military protection: an essential interdependence in the expansion of Iberian urban networks, both Portuguese and Castilian.

Following the organization of São Luís's urban layout, the house of the Captain General of the Fort was transferred to a specific location, indicating a vital distinction between military, political, and residential areas in the city. Forts served explicitly to protect and ensure the safety of the inhabitants and the land, while the house of the Captain General represented the center of local power, in charge of governing the land and its inhabitants. Thus, the city of São Luís, besides being a nucleus of occupation, became the seat of local government and a center for the "distribution of power" (Araújo, 1998).

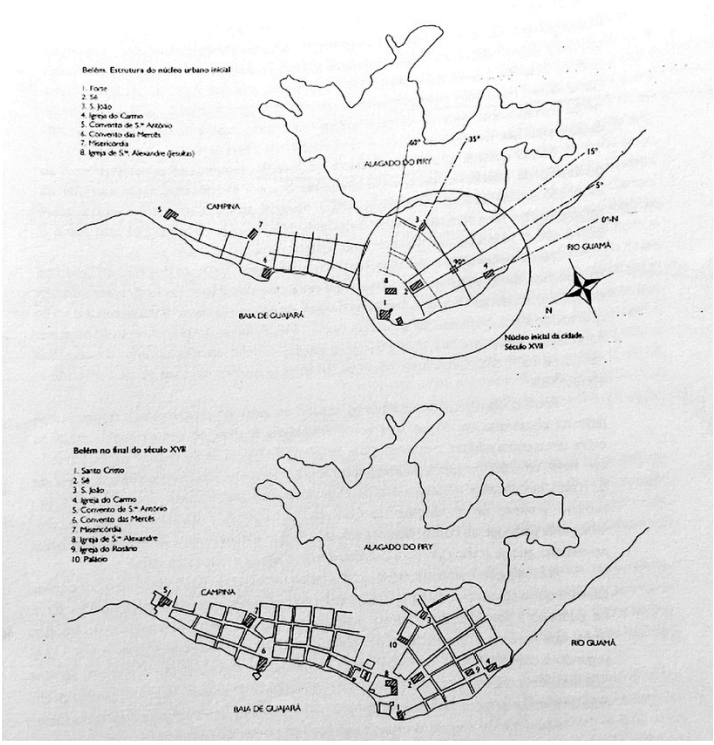
According to the same rationale, the city of Santa Maria de Belém, founded in 1616 soon after São Luís was taken, was another significant step in the expansion of the defensive urban network in the north. Although we have no records of the authorial drawings of Belém's urban project, the representation of the city (Figure 04) published by Nestor Goulart Reis, one of the rare records of Belém in the 17th century by an unknown author, and the drawings of the first buildings of Belém presented by Renata Malcher de Araújo (Figure 05) allow us to think about the features that relate these two cities.

Figure 04 – "dw stat ende fort van grand para". Original manuscript of the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague [ca. 1640]



Source: Reis, N. G. (2000, pp.266-267).

Figure 05 – Plan of the city of Belém. Urban implementation, 17th century



Source: Araújo, R. M. de (199, p. 82).

In Figure 04, we can see Belém's urban core clustered in the east, on flat terrain, surrounded by the Guamá River, the Guajará Bay, a flooded area (the Piry), and a canal that divided east from west. This geographic feature delimited the urban area (to the east), making it an "island fort" of sorts, which placed the city "on a curve drawn by the contours of the rivers" (Araújo, 1998, p. 81). Inside this natural circle, formed by flat terrain, a few elements stand out: the fort, the pillory, the Parish Church (1619), Saint

John's Church (1622), and Mount Carmel Convent (1626), besides three blocks with about 106 houses connected by the main street (Rua do Norte), continuing past the canal, to the west (Campina District). In this part of the city, the number of houses and streets is much smaller, and at the end of Campina is located Saint Anthony's Convent (1626). Still on the west side (to the reader's left), by the sea, the land appears to be walled up to the end. This was the city of Belém around 1640. In Figure 05, besides a more accurate placement of the previous representations, we can see the urban evolution of the city of Belém, with more buildings indicated and the increased number of blocks and streets in the first five decades of the 17th-century occupation of Grão-Pará (Araújo, 1998, p. 82).

While, on the one hand, we have no documents naming the engineer or even the original plan of the city, on the other hand, Belém has more ancient records concerning its evolution in the 18th century. Besides these cartographic records, chroniclers like the Jesuit priest João Felipe Bettendorff left important descriptions of both cities. About Belém, the clergyman revealed the evolutionary stage of the city still in the second half of the 17th century: Saint Alexander School, belonging to the Society of Jesus; the square; the wattle and daub Fort built on a rocky hill, with its artillery pieces; Saint Christ and Our Lady of the Rosary Chapel; Our Lady of Mount Carmel Convent; the Town Hall; the New Mount Carmel Convent; Saint John's Chapel; and the whitewashed Governor's Palace, made of stone. According to the missionary, there was also a school in Campina; the King's warehouse; Our Lady of Mercy Convent; Holy House of Mercy; and Saint Anthony Convent (Bettendoff, 1990, pp. 22-23).

Bettendorff also had something to say about São Luís, disclosing the limited urban picture of the first fifty years of that urban nucleus. According to the Jesuit, *"não era a cidade de S. Luiz cousa de consideração, se não mais que uma fortaleza cercada de um muro grosso para banda do rio Mony*

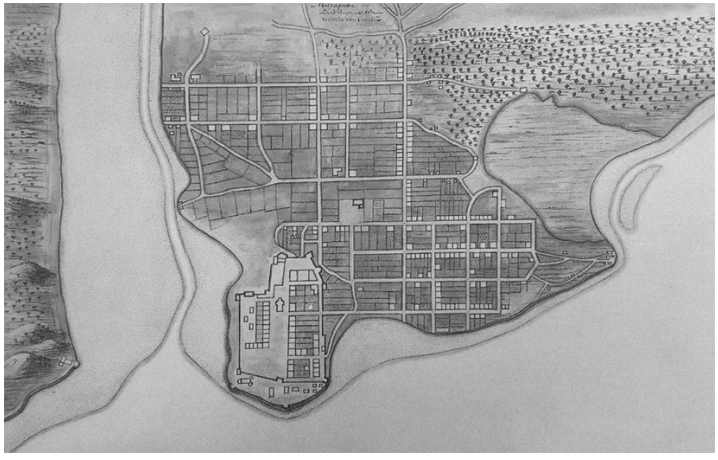
[there was not much to see in the city of S. Luiz, it was little more than a Fort surrounded by a thick wall, placed by the Mony River]." In it "*encerrava o Colégio, e por banda da rua ia fechando-se com um portão feito pelos primeiros conquistadores com umas poucas casas espalhadas por várias ruas pouco povoadas* [the Jesuit School was enclosed, and the street was closed by a gate made by the first conquerors, with a few houses scattered through a few little populated streets]." After revealing the city before 1641, in the second part of the text, the clergyman provided a detailed description of São Luís after the Dutch invasion:

> But after the expulsion of the Dutch, it grew little by little, both to the east and to the south, so much so that today it is a city with more than six hundred families, mostly poor, but so fertile that their children are enough for another settlement; it has its own parish church, which Dom Gregório dos Anjos, the first bishop of the State, wanted to erect as the See of the Bishopric, in addition to the See in the square; it has the House of Mercy on its fringes. Right there, the Governor's Palaces, and the New Town Hall, with its dungeon underneath near the sea; there are other four religious houses, namely: the School of the Priests of the Company of Jesus; Our Lady of the Light, right behind the See; Saint Anthony Convent to the east over the river Acoty (sic); Our Lady of Mount Carmel Convent, on a little altar almost in the center of the city; and behind it, to the west, Saint John the Baptist's Church, which the Governor Ruy Vaz de Siqueira ordered built at his expense and for the soldiers. Finally, to the south, there is Our Lady of Mercy Convent, and further upstream, by the river Abacanga (sic), at the end of the city, all through the south, Our Lady of Exile Chapel. All these churches are very beautiful, but the most beautiful of all due to its grandness and its stone and lime structure is Our Lady of the Light Church, with its altarpiece commissioned by priest João Felipe (Bettendorf, 1990, p. 18).

After the recapture of Maranhão from the Dutch, in 1644, the city of São Luís gained new momentum, with

increased demographic growth and the construction of public buildings. This "increase" was also reflected in the Conquest and is evinced by the revenues of the Council of São Luís throughout the second half of the 17th century. In 1650, the House received 53:860 reis; in 1668, it added 178:230 reis, reaching 180:700 reis by 1671. This growth can also be observed in the second map published by Barleus in the 17th century (Figure 06), where urban growth becomes quite apparent in relation to Figures 04 and 05, for example.

Figure 06 – Map showing the expansion of the city of São Luís (land demarcation) [c. 1640-1660]



Source: Reis, N. G. (2000, p. 142).

In fact, both the images presented and the priest's testimonies show us that the city of São Luís and the city of Belém had expanded the landmarks of Portuguese domination by the end of the 17th century, going beyond their primary function and defensive purpose as mere fort cities. Since then, there was a deepening of their dimension of

"city-territories" extending into a vast and unknown land, the *sertão* [backland]. Finally, at the dawn of the 18th century, they became port cities with harbors integrated into the North Atlantic trade routes. Such characteristics brought them together and made them identical in their purpose, despite their peculiarities.

The City and the Council of São Luís

The city of São Luís was also kept in line with imperial dynamics through the actions of the City Council, the main channel of political communication, essential in the institutional ordering of the conquests (Corrêa, 2011). In effect, and according to the already celebrated formulation by English historian Charles Ralph Boxer, the Councils, together with the charitable institutions called *Misericórdias*, had constituted *"os pilares gémeos da sociedade colonial portuguesa desde o Maranhão até Macau* [the twin pillars of Portuguese colonial society from Maranhão to Macau]" (Boxer, 1981 [1969], p. 263). Indeed, from the very beginning, the councilors of the city of São Luís demonstrated an awareness of their position within the Portuguese imperial fabric.

In a letter to the King announcing the start of the Council works in the city of São Luís, officeholders confirmed their willingness to follow the example of past conquerors, offering their lives in the service of the King to *"fundar aqui um novo império* [found a new empire here]." With the installation of the "*República e cidade* [Republic and city]," they were complying with the King's and the Governor-General of the State's orders. In their letter, they expounded on the organization of urban life in São Luís, asking for the means to renovate streets and build fountains, churches, the commissioner's house, a jail, and other buildings; all of this required the exploitation of indigenous labor, without whom *"não haveria o acrescentamento* [there would be no addition]" to the city (Studart, 1904, p. 236).

According to the newly appointed officials, the only way to demonstrate the zeal required to *"fundar uma nobre cidade* [to found a noble city]" would be the freedom to *"reduzir-se os gentios a nossa santa fé católica e haver nele as grandezas e utilidades* [reduce the gentiles to our holy Catholic faith and derive from them the greatness and utility]" (Studart, 1904, p. 238). For the *principais da terra*, the principal families of the land, the political constitution of the *res publica* would not be complete without the urban organization needed to give life and vitality to the dominion, just as they saw it impossible to build the city without the support of the Crown and resorting to indigenous work, essential for many other works in the entire State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará.

In fact, time would show the difficulties faced by Council officials to organize the city, especially regarding the maintenance of public buildings. An example from São Luís illustrates the dilemmas of administering colonial cities all over Portuguese America. Already during the Restoration period, in 1646, the Council Solicitor set out before his peers the need to repair the water fountains and the senate building itself, which were in a sorry state (Maranhão, 2015, pp. 72, 96, 184, 185, 190, 193). Just like in other Portuguese Councils —and notably those of Brazil, Maranhão and Grão-Pará—, income in São Luís basically came from meat revenues, land rents, and taxes on wine, brandy, sugar, tobacco, cotton, salt, mechanical services, and transport (to Tapuitapera, now Alcântara). However, by then, the small trade of these products did not allow the Council to provide for its own needs.

On the other hand, the collection of pecuniary penalties resulting from the constant transgressions of municipal rules was meagre, and the Council's accounts were constantly in the red. Throughout almost a decade (between 1646 and 1654), Council Solicitors put on the agenda the problems of public building maintenance, especially the fountains and the Town Hall. During this long period, the

solutions proposed by the Council to solve the problem ranged from collecting levies due to the House; increasing taxes on products (wine and brandy); alms; going to the house of the State Governor to ask for money; and resorting to freed Indian labor. When the Council obtained thirty thousand *reis* from the Royal Treasury in 1649 to undertake those works, half of that money was embezzled and there was no further news of it (APEM, 1651). The ordeal of maintaining public buildings in the city of São Luís dragged on until the second half of the 17th century, with several solicitors presenting this item in the sessions and always alerting the Council that they should "*tratassem do conserto da Câmara e seu telhado visto estar caindo* [repair the Town Hall and its roof since it is falling down]" (APEM, 1651). Eight years later, the Council finally bought wood to build the roof; but in March 1654, the solicitor reported that half of the wood cut for the works of the Town Hall was on the city's beach, while the other half lay scattered elsewhere, and, so he requested sending blacks from the land – local Indians – to get the wood and the tile (APEM, 1654).

Judging by Father Bettendorff's description of the buildings of the city of São Luís, we believe that the "new Town Hall" was built only in the 1660s, and it is also likely that, until then, the building's roof had been covered with palm leaves, the popular *pindoba*, just like most houses in Maranhão. While these structural problems point to the great difficulty of maintaining buildings in colonial cities in the tropics, those situations did not prevent the Council of São Luís from preserving the jurisdictional precepts of the Portuguese empire. An accusation brought before the Council of São Luís by *ouvidor geral* António Figueira Durão, the general chief magistrate of the State of Maranhão, confirms our argument. According to Durão, the city's judge for orphans, Félix de Holanda, had violated the *Ordenações Filipinas* [King Phillip's Code] by carrying a white stick without authorization from the House, *"visto não poderem alçar varas brancas julgadores que não fossem bacharéis ou tivessem alçada de Sua*

Majestade [as judges who were not bachelors or lacked the authority of His Majesty could not carry white sticks]." Lest any doubts of the transgression remained, Durão told the local officeholders how officials of the same rank acted in other places: Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Angola, Cape Verde, and the kingdom of Portugal, the town of Tomar, the University of Coimbra, and so on. None of them carried a stick "*por não serem letrados nem terem alçada* [because neither were they jurisconsults nor had any authority]." Only the judges of orphans that were bachelors could carry them, as provided in the *Ordenações Filipinas*. In view of the explanation, the magistrate requested that the Council order Félix de Holanda not to carry a stick (Maranhão, 2015, p. 97).

In the arguments of the *ouvidor geral*, we can notice that the magistrate establishes a significant parallel by equating São Luís to important cities of the kingdom and the Portuguese Atlantic world: Coimbra, Tomar, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Luanda (Angola), and Cape Verde. In the chief magistrate's view, São Luís should follow the same jurisdictional rules respected in the main cities of the realm and the empire. Furthermore, for this hierarchical society, carrying a white stick was a privilege reserved to jurisconsults, magistrates who knew the laws of the monarchy. Therefore, only those trained in law, i.e., judicial authorities, could carry them. Moreover, São Luís, like other important cities, should integrate with the jurisdictional rules of the empire.

It was not the first time that São Luís was compared to other cities of the kingdom or the Portuguese empire. Since 1619, Council officials had been asking the Crown for the same privileges as the citizens of Porto; this was granted only when Belém associated itself with São Luís and their solicitors filed a petition to the King. In the document they claimed that the favor had been promised to them since the time of the expulsion of the Dutch (AHU-ACL-CU-009, cx. 3, doc. 361). Lest any doubts should remain, they attached the provision of 20 July 1655, which afforded them such privilege.

In effect, the desire to be of like standing with the citizens of Porto not only gave the local notables, the "good men," an absolute advantage over the other residents, but it also placed São Luís among the cities of the Portuguese pluricontinental monarchy which had received this privilege for services rendered (Rodrigues, 1994, p. 52; Krause, 2014, p. 219). The motive for the request was obtaining the benefits in terms of honor and privileges: the license to bear arms; avoiding arrest or, at least, being liable only to house arrest; avoiding any punishment with iron or royal tortures; and even exemption from military service (Silva, 1988). On the other hand, the justification for receiving such benefits always derived from the services rendered by their ancestors during the conquest of São Luís and its recovery from the Dutch, but also from the efforts of preserving the *sertão* by fighting against the indigenous populations (Lisboa, s/d, p. 48). It is no wonder, then, that another imperial city, São Salvador da Bahia, the seat of the State of Brazil, claimed and obtained the same privilege by invoking the example of São Luís (Krause, 2014, p. 219).

São Luís was the seat of government until the 18th century. However, the creation of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (1621) triggered heated debates among their political elites, especially from 1625 to 1654, over the definition of the seat of government. São Luís claimed the leading role of the general government, while the more commercially promising Belém defended the implementation of two independent governments. Nevertheless, throughout the back and forth of decisions, the Crown maintained São Luís as the State's political center (AHU-ACL-CU-009, cx. 1, docs. 94, 104, 107; AHU-ACL-CU-009, cx. 3, docs. 277, 303, 339). This centrality of the city of São Luís in political decisions across the State was decisive, as along with its role in the territory's administrative and economic organization. With the creation of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão by the royal charter of 6 August 1753 (Meireles,

1980, p. 76), Belém took on the pre-eminence of communications and decisions between the State and the Crown.

Final considerations

São Luís, from the very beginning of the colonizing process in Maranhão, was at the center of the political interests of the great modern powers, notably France, Portugal, Spain, and the United Provinces. Focused on the sea but embraced by the contours of the mainland, it experienced this dual function – maritime and continental – intensely from the outset. Moreover, as both subject and object of conquest, it became an important nucleus resulting from political mediations between Portugal and the Hispanic Monarchy, precisely because it was located between important Iberian domains: on the one hand, the State of Brazil and, on the other hand, the Spanish domains. The difficulty in defining the contours of these vast worlds further increased the importance of São Luís. Conquering it meant breaking through the barriers of the unknown towards *El Dorado* and, at the same time, defending the frontier on the fringes of the empire. In this sense, few colonial cities experienced the intensity and significance of Iberian imperial politics like São Luís.

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9

Cities and the expansion of the Portuguese colonial Amazon

São Luís do Maranhão and Belém do Grão-Pará (Seventeenth and early Eighteenth century)

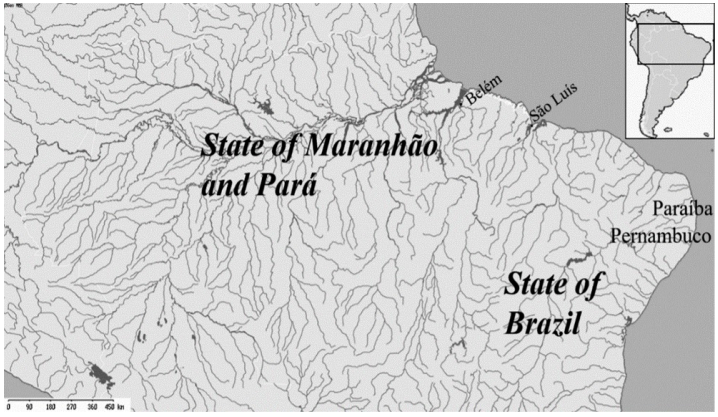
Rafael Chambouleyron & Alírio Cardoso

This chapter analyses the role played by the cities of São Luís and Belém in the territorial and economic expansion of the Portuguese in the Amazon region during the 17th and early 18th centuries. In colonial times, the Amazon region constituted an independent province named State of Maranhão, or State of Maranhão and Pará (see Figure 1). The French founded Saint Louis in 1612, which was afterwards conquered by the Iberians in 1615 (renaming it São Luís), invaded by the Dutch, in 1641, and recovered by the Portuguese in 1644. The city of Belém was founded by the Iberians in 1616 to the west of São Luís, at the delta of the Amazon River. One of the main characteristics shared by both cities, the existence of aquatic landscapes, had important consequences for warfare and the economic, political, and social life in the region. These special conditions were not unknown to navigators, adventurers, pirates, traders, and even cartographers, who, already since the 16th century, imagined this vast region as the limit between "Brazil," to the East, and the "Indies," to the West.

During the union of the crowns of Portugal and Castile (1580-1640), throughout the first half of the 17th century, São Luís and Belém represented the forefront of territorial expansion.

In the first part of this paper, we will analyze the key role of both cities in the peculiar insertion of the Portuguese Amazon region into the economic, social and political construction of the Portuguese-Spanish Atlantic. This issue will be examined from three main perspectives: migration towards São Luís and Belém; their connections with other centers of the Monarchy; and proposals for commercial development or economic integration with other regions of the Atlantic. In the second part, we will address how, after securing a considerable dominion over the main (fluvial) routes and territory in the Amazon during the mid-17th century, the Portuguese expanded towards the hinterland (the *sertão*). This process was twofold. In the captaincy of Pará, the gathering of native Amazonian wild fruits, barks and roots in the backland, the search for indigenous labor, and the establishment of religious missions along many rivers extended the Portuguese dominions westward. This process had the city of Belém as the main center of expansion. In the captaincy of Maranhão, throughout the second half of the 17th century, the Portuguese expanded south and eastward, through conflicts against Indian groups and the spread of cattle and sugarcane. As in the case of Pará, the city of São Luís was the main nucleus of economic extension. Moreover, both cities were central for the political and military government of the vast Amazonian territory.

Figure 1 – State of Maranhão and Pará / State of Brazil



Source: Elaborated by authors using i3geo MMA (public software).

In Brazilian historiography, the debate regarding the foundation of cities in the Portuguese world seems to be based on explanatory models supported by the logic of modern-day national states (Santos, 2001; Reis, 2000; Sánchez Gómez and Santos Pérez, 2010). According to this explanation, in the Amazon region, the cities and towns founded north-west of the captaincy of Pernambuco (see Figure 1) represented the outcome of the development of peripheral economies, during the Portuguese territorial expansion along the coast, in response to foreign threats. The agents of this expansion often appear as archetypal and generic: the Portuguese conqueror, the missionary catechizer and the indigenous (labor) (Paxeco, 1912; Amaral, 1921; Meirelles, 1982). However, in recent years, we have discovered more about the complexity formation and consolidation of the first urban centers in the region, especially the cities of São Luís (captaincy of Maranhão) and Belém (captaincy of Pará). Data on population, economy, circulation of products and

people, and connections with other regions can be obtained from a fragmented set of sources, not only Portuguese but also Spanish, French, and Dutch.

The first inhabitants of these urban centers were aware of the many possible connections that could link São Luís to Santo Domingo, or Belém to Bengal. Therefore, the conquest and foundation of cities in the Portuguese Amazon is, in itself, a connected history (Gruzinski, 2004). The Portuguese takeover of São Luís from the French, for example, was militarily organized in Olinda and Recife (Pernambuco), between 1613 and 1614, but its objectives were thoroughly discussed in places like Madrid, Valladolid, Seville, and Paris. Its consequences, on the other hand, were explored in English and Dutch reports. Its economic dimension was mentioned in letters from Spanish-Peruvian authorities, mainly after the founding of the city of Belém, owing to concerns about the proximity of these urban centers to the Indies of Castile (Cardoso, 2017).

There is no doubt that the cities created in the State of Maranhão and Pará represented one of the most important military events in South America at the time of the Iberian Union (1580-1640). This Spanish-Portuguese conquest embodied the new economic exchanges between Spain and Portugal. The creation of these towns consolidated the conquest of a frontier still unknown at that time. Not by chance, in 1615, the *Consejo de Portugal* treated the military feat based on the importance of the new lands' geography, located "in the middle of the American dominions of the crowns of Castile and Portugal"[1] Thus, the formation of these cities cannot be divorced from the favorable setting for new colonial projects in the context of the union of the crowns. We should remember that, during this period, there was a significant increase of Portuguese agents in

[1] "Consulta Del Consejo de Portugal al Rey de España Felipe 3º sobre la empresa del Marañon." Madrid, 6 April 1615. *Archivo General Indias* [*AGI*], Patronato, 272, R. 3.

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Spanish commercial areas. These Portuguese traders, merchants, financiers and smugglers who resided in Peru or New Spain tried to take advantage of their status as vassals of the Habsburg kings (Luxán Meléndez, 1993, pp. 127-134; Bouza Álvarez, 2000; Valladares, 2000). In 1615, the capture of Saint Louis itself was a military operation that required significant financial resources. The crowns divided the expenses. Part of the conquest was financed directly by the Spanish Crown; the other part had private resources from the military and Portuguese-Pernambuco traders, in addition to the participation of other vassals who went there as volunteers, fascinated by the reports of wealth in nearby lands (Cardoso, 2011). In fact, volunteers of all kinds, coming from distant places, were common in such military endeavors. An example was Paolo Garrafa, a citizen of the Kingdom of Naples, who, following his services in Flanders, requested to the king to be sent to São Luís as artillery captain.[2]

In Brazilian historiography, however, the creation of permanent cities in the Amazon region would be solely a Portuguese response to the "Equinoctial France" project (1612-1615).[3] However, we should consider the multiple projects that were underway at the moment. Portuguese from different regions and social strata, Spanish military and traders, foreigners from different places, missionaries, and Indians from different nations took part in this process, although not necessarily with the same interests and agenda. Allied to this, shortly after the foundation of these urban centers, there were waves of migration, including Azorean immigrants, between 1619 and 1677 (Rodrigues & Madeira, 2003).

During the period when the city of São Luís was effectively French, between 1612 and 1615, due to the agreements

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2 "Sobre Constantino Paulo Carrafa", 30 de mayo de 1620. *Archivo General de Simancas* [*AGS*], Secretarias Provinciales, 1552, fol. 290

3 In regard the French in São Luís, see: Daher, 2002; Martinière, 2011.

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between General Daniel de La Touche and the Tupinambá Indians, the French built an efficient smuggling network of local products, which even attracted the attention of Dutch agents.[4] From São Luís, the French negotiated for tobacco, pepper, cotton, and dyestuff in Europe, obtained from areas close to the city of São Luís, and using routes unknown to the Spanish.[5] Like the Portuguese and the Spanish, the French were used to long-distance connections. At the same time, they had commercial activities in other areas of the Atlantic besides Guyana, from the Mississippi River valley to the Antilles, forming an important counterpoint to the Spanish Monarchy (Eccles, 1972; Parrott, 2006). Owing to the French experience in the region, Portuguese and Spaniards had sufficient information on the route between the city of São Luís and the Amazon River delta, crucial for the later founding of the city of Belém.[6] In fact, Daniel de La Touche was considered one of the only Europeans specialized in that type of river navigation, which constituted unknown routes to the Portuguese and Castilian sailors.[7]

Years later, the route between São Luís and Belém turned into a short course, which sometimes included a stop at Tapuitapera (current city of Alcântara) and later at the Indian village of Maracanã (see Figure 2). The most experienced navigators knew that the indigenous canoe – a smaller ship, better adapted to river channels – was the only effective means of transportation in many of these

4 "Avis anonyme – Nouvelle de Portugal." 28(?) April 1621. *AGS*, Estado K (de Francia) 1431, A42, n. 116-143.

5 "Avizos tocantes à la India Occidental," Palácio, 24 May 1615, *AGI*, Patronato 272, R3; "Interrogatorio dos prisioneiros francezes do combate de Guaxenduba," 20 November 1614, *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, vol. 26, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, p. 264-266.

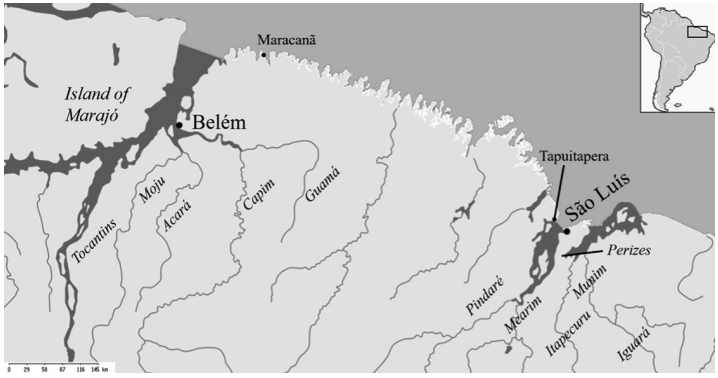
6 "Treslado do requerimento que fizerão alguns oficiaes e soldados desta Conquista ao capitão mor Francisco Caldeira Castellobranco a efeito, de que fosse adjunto, e collega do Capitão mor Hieronimo de Dalbuqueque." *Annaes da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro* [*ABN*], vol. 26, Rio de Janeiro, 1905, pp. 206-229.

7 "Carta del Marques de Alenquer a el Rey sobre los franceses en el Marañon," 11 February 1619. *AGS*, Estado K (Francia), 1431, A2.

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crossings. This is made explicit in a manuscript from the beginning of the 17th century, which stated that the best transport between cities were the *"barcas llamadas canoas* [the so-called canoe ships]."[8] In São Luís, the city Council regulated all issues related to the route between São Luís and Belém, establishing what type of vessels could transport people or goods, what types of goods were transported, and their respective weight (Corrêa, 2011, p. 130). In 1656, for example, the local authorities of São Luís ordered that boat masters should not leave without first informing the officials about the income from these crossings.[9]

Figure 2 – Rivers surrounding Belém and São Luís



Source: Elaborated by the authors using i3geo MMA (public software).

Throughout the first decades of the 17th century, several Portuguese lived in one city and had businesses in the other. In fact, there were cases in which the city councilors

8 "Declaração do que contem o Mapa dos portos do Rio das Amazonas atè à Ilha de Santa Margarida, donde se// pescão as perolas." [início do século XVII]. *Biblioteca Nacional de España*, mss 3015, fol. 139.

9 São Luís, 20 February 1656. *Arquivo Público do Estado do Maranhão* [*APEM*], Câmara Municipal de São Luís, Livro de Acórdãos, livro 3, fol. 41.

of São Luís did not reside there, preferring to manage their business directly in the neighboring cities and towns of Pará. The council registrar records delays in the meetings due to the absence of councilors, who spent several months taking care of their sugar mills outside the city.[10] The navigability conditions between the two urban centers motivated commercial projects of all kinds. In 1648, residents of both cities spoke openly about constructing shipyards to build galleons or caravels, thus meeting the demands of the *Carreira das Índias* and taking advantage of the depth of the ports in São Luís and Belém.[11] Some projects were even encouraged by the difficulties in terms of defense, such as the idea of changing the location of the city of Belém itself in the mid-1640s, as it was considered too vulnerable to piracy.[12]

As we said, the two main cities in the region, following a well-known Portuguese occupation formula, were also port structures. For this reason, French, English and Dutch navigation through these waters had always justified several proposals to strengthen its security.[13] Some of these proposals were related to the newly discovered spices, above all, clove bark (*Dicypellium caryophyllaceum* (*Mart.) Nees*) and *pixurim* nuts (*Laurus Pixuri*).[14] In the 1650s, many sources claimed that the Dutch were interested in settling too close to the Portuguese Amazon towns in order to exploit these resources. One of these projects would be led by Dutchman Gijsbert de Witt, former governor of Paraíba (Figure 1), in the State of Brazil, between 1644 and 1645. The idea was to

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10 4 January 1648. *APEM*, Câmara Municipal de São Luís, Livro de Acórdãos, livro 2, fols. 73v-74v.

11 Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei. February 1648. *Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino* [*AHU*], Maranhão-Avulsos, caixa 3, doc. 241.

12 Requerimento do capitão do presídio do Grão-Pará, Manuel de Sousa de Eça. 13 January 1623. *AHU*, Pará-Avulsos, caixa 1, doc. 23.

13 Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei. 18 September 1648. *AHU*, Maranhão-Avulsos, caixa 3, doc. 267.

14 "Sobre as varias Experiencias q. se fizerão cõ as Especiarias E drogas do Maranhão." 22 August 1648. *AHU*, Codex 14, fols. 130-130v.

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form fortified towns or ports on the route between São Luís and Belém, taking advantage of the large number of islands in the region.[15] Similar information motivated the fortification of pre-existing cities and towns in the Amazon.

For the Dutch, Amazonian towns were essentially indigenous urban centers that revolved around the trafficking of local products. We must remember that the city of São Luís was governed by the Dutch between 1641 and 1644. The Dutch style of domination was especially feared by the Spanish and Portuguese due to the efficient incorporation of natives into the process (Klooster, 2016; Hulsman, 2006). In the midst of the Dutch rule of São Luís (1641-1644), Pieter Janssen Bas, one of the commanders based on the city, carried out a census. The counting recorded just over 700 Europeans —soldiers and residents— and more than a thousand allied Indians, whom the Dutch called *Brazilianen*.[16] Regarding Belém, data from the 1637 report by commander Gedeon Morris stated that there were about 10,000 Indians close to the city; this information, however, was never confirmed by later documents.[17]

One of the motivations for the formation of new urban spaces in the Amazon was integrating these cities to pre-existing commercial circuits. This idea is supported by many sources. In 1626, for example, a resident of the city of São Luís sent an ambitious project to the Spanish court, which included the establishment of a new city. The Portuguese Simão Estácio da Silveira intended to integrate São Luís and Belém into the circuit of the Spanish Indies. His idea was to create a new fluvial route to transport local

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15 Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei. 23 August 1657. *AHU*, Maranhão-Avulsos, caixa 4, doc. 408. Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei. 11 September 1657. *AHU*, Maranhão-Avulsos, caixa 4, doc. 409.

16 "Brief (kopie) van J.J. Bas, te St. Luis de Maranhao, aan gouverneur-generaal en raden." São Luís do Maranhão, 8 April 1642. *Nationaal Archief* (Den Haag). NL-HaNa. OWIC 1.05.01.01. inv. n. 57(85).

17 "Beschrijving van Maranhão, Ceará, Grand Pará en andere rivieren liggende in het stroomgebied van de rivier van Amazonas". Middelbourg, 22 October. *Nationaal Archief* (Den Haag). NL-HaNA_OWIC 1.05.01.01, inv. n. 46.

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goods from the Amazon River to Havana (Cuba), protected from the piracy of the Caribbean Sea. This new route, the captain argued, would be much more efficient and cheaper compared to the already known sea routes. To this end, Silveira requested the King's permission to create a new town. The new urban nucleus would be located somewhere along the Amazon River, with 500 inhabitants of Azorean origin and a fort protected by 200 soldiers. Although it never succeeded, this project is a good example of what the Portuguese thought at the time about the relationship between the exploration of the hinterlands, the routes, and the role of cities in the imperial context. These potential urban centers would be necessarily connected to a chain of overseas processes, experiences, and expectations.

From the second half of the 17th century onwards, when the colonization of the Amazon region became arguably consolidated, the cities of Belém and São Luís preserved their importance in the territorial expansion of the Portuguese dominions. The role played by both cities was not limited to their surroundings or juridical limits (Fonseca, 2011, pp. 26-31). On the contrary, both had what could be defined as an enlarged spatiality, which projected them into the vast hinterland – the *sertões*.

From the late-19th century onwards, Brazilian historiography consolidated an opposition between the coast (*litoral*) and the hinterland (*sertão*) as a reading key for the birth of the nation (at that time, the passage from a monarchy to a republic). Basically, the *litoral* represented the modern and urban part of the nation, connected to the civilized world through the seas; whereas the *sertão* was the rural backward of civilization, yet more genuinely "Brazilian" (Souza, 1997; Amado, 1995; Oliveira, 1998; Lima, 1999; Sterling, 2008). Scholars projected this understanding to the colonial past and to the entire territory of what was then called Portuguese America.

However, we should not generalize the opposition between *litoral* and *sertão* to all provinces of Portuguese America. In fact, São Luís and Belém cannot be understood but through the hinterland, even if they were both located on the coast. At the same time, they were closely connected to the Atlantic and Europe through trade and migration.

Exemplary of this double territorial dimension of São Luís and Belém are two commercial transactions that took place in the late 17th century in São Luís. The first occurred in the city council, in 1689. Diogo Fróis de Brito, a sugar mill owner from the Mearim River, bought six slaves "distributed by the council for the production of sugar."[18] In the second transaction, a few years later, Fróis de Brito paid almost 1,5 million *réis* for nine slaves.[19] These captives acquired by the mill owner, however, were from a completely different origin and condition. In fact, the first six slaves – Cunhapuis, Coruru, Julia, Curibere, Catarina and a "nameless Indian" – came from the hinterland of the Amazon region, thousands of miles to the west of São Luís. The latter nine slaves – whose name, unfortunately, we ignore – came from the east, probably from the Guinea Coast, also thousands of miles from the city, brought by slave ships through the Atlantic Ocean. Cunhapuis and her unfortunate companions were taken by the ransoming troop of Francisco Ferreira Bernardes in the *sertão* of the captaincy of Pará; the nine Africans, by the master Manuel Luís de Macedo in his vessel *Nossa Senhora da Conceição e São João Batista*. Thus, at the end of the 17th century, native and African slaves met in the city of São Luís, traded by a businessman who would take them to work in his sugar mill, named *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*, located not in the city but in its surrounding *sertões* of the Mearim River (see Figure 2).

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18 9 July 1689. *APEM*, Câmara Municipal de São Luís, Registro da Receita dos Resgates, livro 26, fols. 3-3v.

19 Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino ao rei. 16 November 1696. *AHU*, Maranhão-Avulsos, caixa 8, doc. 869.

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The case of sugar mill owner Fróis de Brito calls our attention to the close relationship established between the coastal cities of Belém and São Luís, and the *sertões* of the State of Maranhão and Pará, especially from the second half of the 17th century onwards. This connection can be understood from a different set of relations tied to 1) agropastoral expansion; 2) the settlers' mobility; 3) economic activities in the hinterland; 4) the economic and political government of the religious orders; and 5) wars in the *sertão*.

In the surroundings of Belém and São Luís, an agropastoral zone began to emerge from the second half of the 17th century. The governors performed systematic land distributions (called *sesmarias*) among the settlers, especially on the late 17th century, when the Amazonian colonial economy began to expand (Chambouleyron, 2010; Arenz & Matos, 2014). This expansion was coordinated from both cities, where governors alternatively resided.

In the captaincy of Pará, settlers cultivated foodstuff, mainly manioc, beans, and cacao. Since the late 17th century, the Crown sponsored the cultivation of cacao orchards in Pará. Although the Portuguese already exploited this plant, especially by gathering wild fruits in the hinterland (as we will examine), cacao cultivation thrived from the 1720s onwards owing to the boom of cacao prices. The rivers Tocantins, Moju, Acará, Capim and Guamá (and their tributaries) were gradually occupied by *sesmarias* (see Figure 2) (Chambouleyron, 2019). In the case of the captaincy of Maranhão, the main locus of territorial agropastoral expansion was found in the Itapecuru and Mearim rivers (see Figure 2). Contrary to the case of Belém, Maranhão's expansion implied a violent offensive against Indigenous peoples – labelled corsair Indians (*índios do corso*) –, which lasted from the late 17th to the mid-18th centuries. A series of wars were launched from São Luís, in order to "disinfect" the territory, as stated by the authorities (Melo, 2017; Roland, 2017). The destruction and enslavement of Indian

communities preceded the arrival of sugar and cattle, which spread towards the southeast of the captaincy.

The expansion of this agropastoral frontier was closely linked to both cities. It was coordinated by the governors of the State, who resided alternately in São Luís and Belém (Santos, 2017a). Contrary to other parts of Portuguese America, in the State of Maranhão and Pará, governors concentrated land grant concessions (Alveal, 2007). *Sesmarias*, thus, had also a political meaning, and favored the elites of colonial cities. The inhabitants of Belém and São Luís had their lands in the closer hinterland and resided both in the cities and in their lands, as mentioned before.[20] Mobility was central here. In 1685, Judge Antônio de Andrade e Albuquerque explained the difficulties of collecting the goods of those who died or were absent from the land, since the inhabitants of Belém lived "in their lands and in the *sertões*, many leagues away from this city."[21] Years later, in 1705, one of the representatives from the city council of São Luís did not vote, since he was "absent in his land."[22]

Nevertheless, many of those who received and resided in their lands were sworn as municipal authorities. Those elected for the municipal council – the *Senado da Câmara* – represented the elite of the cities and were identified as "citizens" (*cidadãos*) (Bicalho, 2001; Bicalho, 2003). Although they symbolized the city, especially when serving in the council, many of them declared possessing or living in their estates in the surroundings rivers. A *citizen* called André de Oliveira Pinto served in the council of Belém in 1703, 1713, and 1718. Still, in 1706, he declared being a dweller of Belém and, at the same time, that he "has been living in his

20 See: Schilipake, 2020.

21 Carta de Antônio de Andrade e Albuquerque. Belém, 12 August 1685. *AHU*, Pará-Avulsos, caixa 3, doc. 250.

22 1 July 1705. *APEM*, Câmara Municipal de São Luís, Livro de Acórdãos, livro 7, fol. 10v.

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land for 15 years."[23] José da Costa Leitão stated that he was a dweller (and citizen) of Belém, in whose council he served in 1725 and 1739. He even belonged to the brotherhood *Nossa Senhora do Socorro*, kept by the Jesuits in the city, since 1722. Nevertheless, when demanding the official confirmation of a land located on one of the tributaries of the Acará River, in 1730, he declared that he lived in his homestead there (*sítio onde assiste*).[24] In the captaincy of Maranhão, Captain Paulo Pires Tourinho, dweller and citizen of São Luís, had a corral in the Mearim River (1705), even though he served in the council in 1703-1704 (as judge) and 1706-1707 (as councillor). Manuel Amado da Fonseca, also dweller and citizen of São Luís, who served as judge in the council in 1708 and 1714, and was a member of the *Casa da Misericórdia* in São Luís, demanded a land in the *Perizes*, south of the Island of São Luís, in 1720.[25]

Many of those settlers who belonged to Belém and São Luís, yet lived in their estates, had also a close link with the distant hinterland. In fact, the economy(ies) of the State of Maranhão and Pará were not only developed in the *sertões*: they were also intimately linked to both cities. We should examine three different issues here.

The first is the organization of labor. For most of the colonial period, indigenous peoples, whether enslaved or free (although compelled to work), constituted the main source of labor in colonial Amazonia (Sommer, 2005; Guzmán, 2008; Mello, 2009; Dias & Bombardi, 2016; Dias 2019). The Portuguese captivated natives mainly in the hinterland of the captaincy of Pará (through negotiation with different Indigenous

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23 Land grant confirmed by the king on 9 December 1707. *ANTT*, Chancelarias Régias, Dom João V, livro 28, fols. 343-344; Feio, 2013, Appendix D.

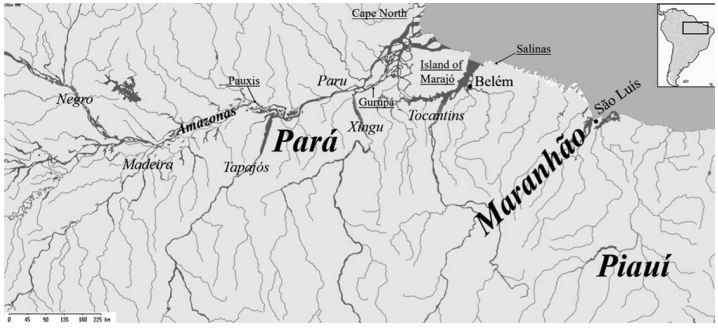
24 *Arquivo Histórico do Tribunal de Contas*, Junta da Inconfidência, n. 239, f. 16; Land granted by the governor in 6 December 1730. *APEP*, Sesmarias, livro 10, fols. 180-180v; Feio, 2013, Appendix D.

25 Land granted by the king on 13 November 1711. *ANTT*, Chancelarias Régias Dom João V, livro 58, fols. 114v-115v; Feio, 2013, Appendices A to C. See also: Scilipake, 2020.

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peoples, illegal enslavement, and war) and in the hinterland of the captaincies of Maranhão and Piauí (especially by war). Slaves had to be found in the distant *sertões*, particularly of the captaincy of Pará, such as the rivers Amazon, Xingu, Madeira, Tapajós, Negro, and many of their tributaries (see Figure 3). Expeditions to enslave Indians or bring indigenous peoples close to the Portuguese towns were organized from São Luís and Belém. Moreover, these cities constituted the distribution center of Indian slaves to owners such as the aforementioned Fróis de Brito, who bought his native slaves in the municipal council of São Luís. That was also the case of Luís Pinheiro Lobo and Felipe Santiago Vieira, both of them citizens of São Luís and owners of a corral by the Mearim River, who asked permission to bring slaves from the "*sertão* of the Amazon River."[26] Geographer Eidorfe Moreira (1966, p. 40) stated that the city of Belém, located in the Amazon delta, "became the largest enslavement center of Brazil," since canoes bringing indigenous peoples from various *sertões* arrived continuously in its docks.

Figure 3 – *Sertões* of Pará



Source: Elaborated by the authors using i3geo MMA (public software).

26 *ABN*, 67 (1948), p. 118, 119-120. Land granted by the king on 6 March 1715. *ANTT*, Chancelarias Régias Dom João V, livro 48, fols. 334-335v.

But the Indians were not the only ones who arrived in Belém. Moreira (1966, p. 15) has already pointed out that no other region "relied so much upon a city as the Amazon region upon Belém. Everything was based on it or done through it". Since the second half of the 17th century, an economic system that connected the city to the furthest hinterland became consolidated. In fact, the gathering of wild Amazonian fruits, barks and roots became the most important economic activity at least until the late 18th century. Cacao, clove bark, sarsaparilla and copaiba oil were collected by Indians who also rowed and guided canoes into the hinterland, via the complex Amazonian river network (Cardoso, 2015; Ferreira, 2018). These products were largely exported to Portugal through the port of Belém. Thus, canoes arriving from the *sertão* and ships coming from Portugal were loaded and unloaded in the docks of this city. Belém was not only a port through which these Amazonian products, known as *drogas do sertão* (hinterland spices), were dispatched to Europe. It was *from* Belém that authorities, settlers and, in a lesser extent, clerics coordinated journeys to the hinterland in search of spices (and slaves). The city, thus, became the vertex of an economic system which spread over the vast Amazon valley and its tributaries, such as the Tocantins, Xingu, Tapajós, and Madeira rivers (Roller, 2010; Pompeu, 2021). Between 1699 and 1701, the only period for which we have a systematic registry, settlers sent 226 canoes into the hinterland to collect *drogas do sertão*.[27]

The regular priests' religious and economic activities in the Amazon region are exemplary of the close relationship between the cities, the agropastoral zone and the hinterland. This is notably the case of the Jesuits, who had two colleges: *Santo Alexandre* in Belém, and *Nossa Senhora da Luz*

[27] "Treslado das receitas que constaõ do livro do almoxar.do com que servio o almox.e que foi desta capitania do Parâ Luis Pereyra," 1704. *Bibliothèque Nationale de France*, Manuscrits Occidentaux, Portugais 39, ff. 60v, 61, 63v, 67v, 69, 76v-77, 79v.

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in São Luís. These institutions represented not only the religious power in the middle of the urban centers but also performed a series of other important operations in and out of the cities. The colleges were a locus of religious sociability and education, where the settlers' sons and other clerics were educated (Chambouleyron, Arenz & Neves Neto, 2011; Arenz, 2016). The two establishments, however, were also important centers of economic government. The Jesuits had a series of estates in the same agropastoral region as the settlers: in the captaincy of Pará, *fazendas* on the Moju, Acará and Tocantins rivers, and in the Island of Marajó; in the captaincy of Maranhão, in the Island of São Luís (where the city was located) and on the Itapecuru and Munim rivers (Neves Neto, 2013).

But the Society of Jesus also had a network of missionary towns (*aldeias*) spread all over the Amazon River's south bank (along the Tocantins, Xingu, Tapajós, and Madeira rivers), and on the main rivers of the captaincy of Maranhão (Itapecuru, Mearim, and Pindaré) (Azevedo, 1930; Leite, 1943; Arenz, 2012; Carvalho Júnior, 2017; Guzmán, 2017). The administration of these *aldeias* and estates was undertaken from the colleges in São Luís and Belém. Clerics and Indians commuted from the colleges to the estates and missionary villages where economic activities took place, such as the cultivation of sugar and cacao, and the gathering of the Amazonian spices in the *sertão* (Ravena & Acevedo Marin, 2013).

Besides their role in the functioning of economy, the cities of São Luís and Belém were crucial for the consolidation of colonial rule in the region. As discussed in the first part of this chapter, both towns became the spearhead of the Iberian conquest of the region, against other European powers and a myriad of indigenous groups. Once the conquest became consolidated, São Luís and Belém kept a role as centers for the military organization of the State of Maranhão and Pará. Governors and captain-majors commanded a network of fortresses, which increased in number

over the colonial period. In the captaincy of Maranhão, until the mid-18th century, the Portuguese built forts in the city (*Fortaleza da Barra*, *São Cosme* and *Damião*), on the island of São Francisco, and on the Itapecuru, Mearim and Iguará riers (see Figure 2). In the captaincy of Pará, several fortresses and strongholds were constructed in the city or surrounding Belém (*Forte do Presépio*, *Fortaleza da Barra*, and the strongholds of *Nossa Senhora das Mercês* and *Santo Antônio*), along with the fortress of Gurupá (on the Amazon River, near the Xingu River) and forts or strongholds on the rivers Paru, Tapajós, Negro, Guamá; the fort of Pauxis and, in the Cape North, strongholds in the island of Marajó, and in *Salinas* (see Figure 3) (Viana, 2021). Although the chain of command became progressively dim with distance, Belém, São Luís and their authorities represented the base of military government of these set of fortresses. As in several parts of Portuguese America, governors held not only administrative authority, but also the military government of the State of Maranhão and Pará; that was the reason why they were sworn both as governors and captain-generals, and generally had military experience (Santos, 2017b).

The cities of the Portuguese Amazon region cannot be understood only as part of an inevitable Portuguese expansion to the north or based on formulas inspired by the current Brazilian territorial formation. Moreover, understanding them as peripheral areas of the modern Northeast Brazil's Southern Atlantic sugar economy does not seem pertinent. After all, the cities of the Amazon were not even located in this part of the Atlantic. These were urban centers born in a frontier economy and society, which had many similarities with the old cities and towns of the State of Brazil, but also important differences. On the other hand, there was an undeniable proximity to the Spanish territory in America. The complexity of these cities came was precisely from this crossing of border references and identities.

Another issue to be considered is the appeal that the riches of the Spanish Indies, whether real or imagined, had in the Portuguese mind. In this context, although the State of Maranhão did not take part in these economic and spatial dynamics, it was geographically close to one of the most important routes of the Western world economy: the silver traffic between Peru and Seville via the Caribbean Sea. No wonder that the first settlers conceived and proposed routes and connections linking the newly founded Amazonian cities to the Spanish commercial plazas and production sites. Therefore, the border condition was never presented as a disadvantage. On the contrary, the Portuguese who lived in the Amazon region understood this particularity and created new social, political, and economic opportunities for the Portuguese population, or at least part of it.

For all these reasons, São Luís and Belém had a very diverse population in the 17th and 18th centuries. Although the majority of the white population was of Portuguese origin, there was a fluid circulation of French, English, Spanish, and Dutch people, and Indians from different peoples lived close to the cities, while missionary groups went to and from them. Moreover, these towns functioned as ports — being adapted to oceanic and fluvial daily life —, military fortress, trade hubs, political centers, religious and missionary nucleus, and even passageways to other places. These people brought with them diverse experiences and ties, connecting these Amazonian cities to other urban centers, seas, rivers, and oceans around the world.

The study of Amazonian towns leads us to a necessary reassessment of the classic historiographical opposition between the *sertão* and the *litoral*. These cities were integrated to Atlantic routes through the Atlantic islands, but were also intimately connected to the Amazonian rivers. The fluvial nature of these cities and towns was present in all activities developed by its inhabitants. Instead, the rivers in the State of Brazil, especially in the captaincies close to Pernambuco, did not have the same ubiquity, and were often

considered obstacles rather than means of connection. The cities of the Amazon, on the contrary, developed not only trade but also politics, religion, and war through the rivers. Thus, we cannot strictly speak of *sertão*, merely as opposed to the coast or as a barrier, whether physical or imaginary, to any type of connection.

Yet, many aspects of the history of Amazonian colonial cities in the 17th and early 18th centuries remain unknown, since the analysis of their urban aspects and population has concentrated on the second half of the 18th century. We know little about everyday life, especially during the French and Dutch occupation period. We do not have much knowledge about urban indigenous peoples, who lived in Belém and São Luís, or in Portuguese towns close to them. We barely understand the spatial urban organization of both cities. We do not even know, precisely, the distribution of the social strata of the Europeans who lived there. This article is an incomplete but necessary step towards a more reliable idea concerning the complexity of the territory we know today as the Amazon.

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Part V.
Going global: producing urban networks, slaves and plagues

10

Early Globalization in a corner of the Atlantic

Recife and the global Atlantic Economy (from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth centuries)

Gustavo Acioli

Introduction to the studies of early globalization[1]

To begin, we should make clear what we understand by early globalization, by outlining the main aspects of this widely debated process. However, it is not my purpose to go over this matter, but only to make as clear as possible my standpoint, which is mainly circumscribed to to Economic History.

There has been an increasingly historiographical trend to support the reasoning which sees the late 15th and/or early 16th centuries as the globalization's starting point (Bodley, 2002, pp. 118, 136; Flynn & Giraldez, 1995; Santos,

[1] I'm grateful to Bruno Miranda, Diego Martins, Leonardo Marques, Maximiliano Menz, Pedro Puntoni and Wolfgang Lenk for their contributions to improve this chapter. I would also like to thank the two anonymous referees, whose remarks were very useful to enhance the paper's arguments and clearness.

2002, p. 23; Zwart & Zanden, 2018, pp. 10, 20-24).[2] Even one scholar who points out the limits of interconnectedness and exchanges among the continents, particularly in reference to Eurasian trade before the 19th century, recognizes a "soft globalization" process in the Early Modern Age (Vries, 2010, pp. 711, 731). In this sense, the origin of 19th-century globalization phenomena lies in the European expansion from the late 15th to the 18th centuries. In this period, the Eurasian trade grew steadily, with moderate price convergence between Asia and Europe, and/or Europe and America. The trade of Asian goods in the European market had a real impact on the "effective augmentation of consumer's choice," which concurred to produce the *soft globalization* process (Vries, 2010, pp. 721-722, 728-729; Zwart & Zanden, 2018, pp. 45-50).[3]

The European seaborne expansion and empire building, from the 16th to the 18th centuries, set in motion people, commodities, knowledge, edibles, and fruits from all over the world. The exchanges entailed by this process established a worldwide trade network, sometimes spanning the Pacific, Atlantic, and Indian oceans (plus South China's sea) at once (Bodley, 2002, p. 119; Cañizares-Esguerra, 2017, xxv; Vries, 2010, pp. 715-6; Zwart & Zanden, 2018, pp. 20, 24, 46-7, 56). We may say that the cornerstones of this early globalization were two trade flows: the Atlantic slave trade and the stream of American silver toward Asia, chiefly to China and India (Flynn & Giraldez, 1995, pp. 2002, 2008; Strobel, 2015, pp. 52, 70-1; Parthasarathi, 2011, pp. 46-50).

Actually, while China and India swallowed tons of silver (Flynn & Giráldez, 1995, p. 204; Parthasarathi, 2011, pp. 46-50), millions of yards of Asian cotton textiles (mostly

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2 Flynn & Giraldez (1995, 2002, 2008) have led the way in this debate regarding the role of "silver cycles." They even point out a date to the origins of globalization: 1571; Flynn & Giraldez, 1995, p. 212.

3 Zwart and Zanden argue in favor of the early modern globalization, however, they intend "move beyond the dichotomy of hard and soft globalization" (Zwart & Zanden, 2018, p. 4).

from India), and silk and porcelain (from China) found their way to the West, mainly from the 17th century on (Steensgaarden, 1990; Chaudhuri 1978; Riello, 2009; Parthasarathi, 2011, pp. 27-34).[4] Those cotton fabrics, in turn, were the chief sort of good which made up the "bundles" in the purchasing of enslaved people in Atlantic Africa – from Senegambia to Angola –, whence millions of men, women and children were deported to toil in the New World's lands (Green, 2012; Green, 2019; Miller, 1988, pp. 314-378, 445-481).[5] Thus, those trade flows were entangled, sometimes in the hands of the same merchants' houses (Drayton, 2008, pp. 426-7, 429; Bohorquez, 2020).

The existence of globalization phenomena in the Early Modern Age is a contention that has been strongly denied by some scholars (mainly O'Rourke & Williamson, 2002; 2006 [1999]). They argue that globalization, understood as "the integration of international commodity markets" (O'Rourke & Williamson, 2002, pp. 25) is a 19th-century process, related to the steep decline of transport costs.[6] In fact, one historian that goes even further, by denying not only an early globalization, but even the existence of an economic Atlantic system (Emmer, 2003).

Nevertheless, among the very supporters of the early globalization thesis, we find disagreement about the nature of this historical process. While it may be viewed as a win-win game, several researchers underscore the unbalanced nature of the relations between some of the constituents of that global economy. As Robert Duplessis states, the European merchants "not only occupied some knots of the

4 At least one scholar deems Flynn and Giraldez's estimates of China's share in the world silver trade as overrated; see Vries, 2010, pp. 735-6.

5 On the West-East silver flow, see Flynn & Giraldez, 1995; on the role of textiles in the Atlantic slave trade, see, among many others, Duplessis, 2010; Heintze, 2007, pp. 473-506; Miller, 1988, pp. 71-104; Lopes & Menz, 2019.

6 O'Rourke & Williamson, 2006 [the first edition is from 1999], pp. 13, 31, seem to suggest that the globalization process cannot take place without trading liberalization. For a challenge of this view, see Rönback, 2009, pp. 96, 106-8, 111; Zwart & Zanden, 2018, p. 44).

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global Atlantic network but also operated most of the links between the knots" (Duplessis, 2010, pp. 51-2).[7] This view is congenial with one of the pioneering global approaches in the 1970s: the World-System Analysis.

If, on the one hand, Wallerstein (as other of his contemporaries) chose the entire modern European world-economy as the unity of analysis, on the other hand, he emphasized the inequality created and reproduced within this system. In this way, the World-System Analysis was one of the first approaches to go beyond the nation-state frame, while always drawing attention to the distinct and uneven role of the economies and societies which made up this totality (Wallerstein, 2004).[8]

In this chapter, we consider the city of Recife as a place whose economic role was born with the very process of early globalization; nevertheless, we should bear in mind that this place was embedded in the periphery of the modern European world-economy. However, seeing Pernambuco's capital as part of the early globalization does not entail looking at each of its economic activities as "global." Even though we may say that Recife was connected to several places abroad – sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly –, some of those activities might well be "more than local," but "less than global" (Cooper, 2001, p. 202).[9]

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7 In the original: "Não apenas ocupavam alguns dos nós da rede global atlântica, como também operavam a maior parte das ligações entre todos os nós." This perspective is akin to the sociological concept of "nodes" in the network of the "global system's city systems," which highlights the hierarchical nature of the global network (Timberlake & Ma, 2007, pp. 255-6, 266).

8 On the contribution of the World-System analysis to and its shared points with global history, see Kuntz, 2014, pp. 7-10; Conrad, 2016, pp. 47-52; for its contribution to the sociological field in linking "social change and global process," see Timberlake & Ma, 2007, pp. 257-8. As an example of a historical approach to early globalization which, in lieu of unbalance and hierarchy, emphasizes reciprocity in the relations between cities and economies, see Antunes, 2009.

9 Some scholars demonstrate the "trans-imperial" nature of economic relationships in the Atlantic economy, without labeling them as "global," see Borucki, 2012; Ribeiro da Silva, 2016; while others may underscore the

The roots of colonization: Recife, sugar, and the Atlantic market

> The manner in which international trade affected a town could sometimes exert more influence on it than its everyday connections with nearby places. Local history might be swallowed up in a broader history.[10]

South America's Atlantic shore became known by the Portuguese as a stopover on their way to the other side of the globe, that is, while sailing the route to the Indian Ocean. Only three decades after the first Portuguese contact with the lands and peoples of the then baptized *Terra de Vera Cruz* or *de Santa Cruz*, the subjects of the Avis's dynasty established settlements in the New World.

One of those hereditary captaincies was Pernambuco, which thrived by growing sugar cane, processing it and exporting sugar. Since its inception, this economy's main connection with the world was through foreign trade, since sugar plantation was the cradle of this colony, as it was for most Portuguese settlements in Brazil's shore, and for British and French Caribbean colonies as well (Schwartz, 2004; McCuscker & Menard, 2004, pp. 289-330; Blakburn, 1997, pp. 277-306, 401-456). From Pernambuco's sugar mills, tons of the sugarcane sweetener found their way toward European markets since the middle of the 16th century. If Brazil became the major Atlantic sugar supplier by the late 16th century, this was due mainly to Pernambuco's production and exports (Schwartz, 2004; Costa, 2002, pp. 273-4).

For almost one century, Recife was just the captaincy's sugar outlet and remained under the jurisdiction of Olinda, Pernambuco's first capital; nevertheless, it was a pivotal space for the settlement of Olinda and the riverine

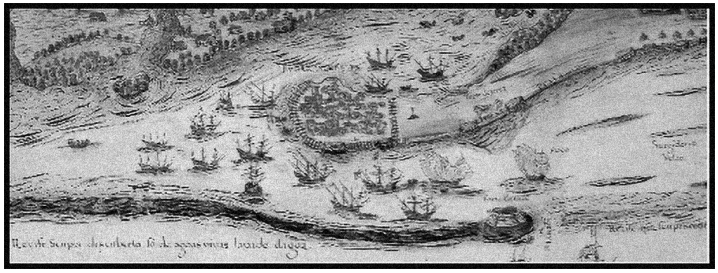
multiple connections of the Atlantic slave trade, without approaching it as "global": Harms, 2002.

10 Braudel, 1983, vol. II, pp. 190.

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lands (Menezes, 2000, pp. 146, 148-9). However, during the quarter of century under Dutch rule, in the time when the West India Company (WIC)[11] conquered and controlled Pernambuco and the neighboring captaincies (1630-1654), Recife took over as the main political center. This enhanced its role as harbor and trade place, through which sugar and other tropical goods were exported and, in turn, several trade goods (and people) were imported.[12] Its centrality was not hampered by the ousting of the WIC from Brazil; on the contrary, Recife grew to the point of becoming a city in its own right, as decreed by the Portuguese crown in 1711, a clear sign of the power of Recife's merchant community vis-à-vis the sugar-mill owners (Mello, 2007; Mello, 2003, pp. 353-770).

Figure 1 – Recife c. 1626. Detail of a map by João Teixeira Albernaz

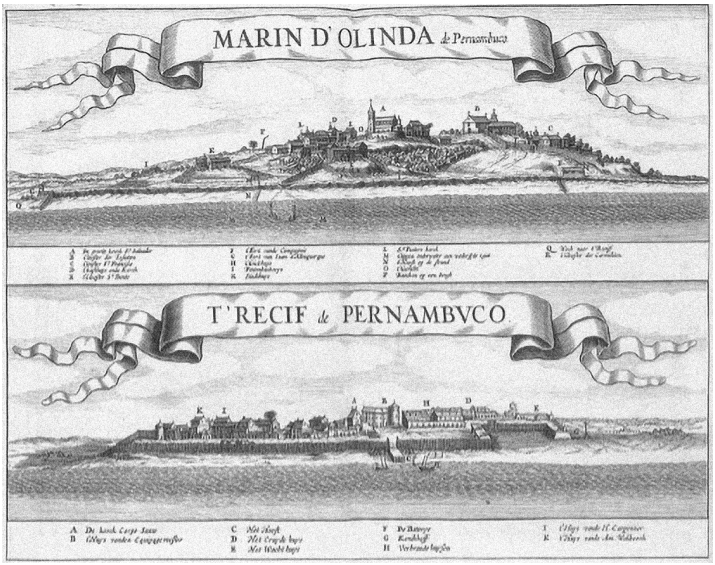


Source: Reis, N. G. (2000, p.327).

11 Marquese, Berbel & Parron (2017, pp. 26-7) connect the rise of Dutch economy to what Giovanni Arrighi calls "the Dutch cycle of accumulation," the second phase of the rise of capitalism; Arrighi, 2009, pp. 130-47.

12 For a matter of convenience, I will refer to it as Recife, even though the sources between the 16th and 18th centuries often named the city as "the port of Pernambuco", or simply Pernambuco; however, the appellation *Recife* has been attested already in the early 17th century; see: Salvador, 2010 [1627], pp. 142. The city's name, Recife, literally "Reef," stems from the coral reef along the shore, called *arrecife* in Portuguese.

Figure 2 – "Marin d'Olinda de Pernambuco/T'Recif de Pernambvco," anonymous author, c. 1630



Source: Publicado em Joannes de Laet, Historie ofte Iaerlijck Verhael ... Leyden: Bonaventuere ende Abraham Elsevier, 1644. (Subtitles in Dutch).

We may fairly say that, from the start, the port of Recife was directly connected with cities and places beyond Lisbon, the center of the Portuguese empire. Ships that set sail from Europe's northern and northwestern ports would come straight to Recife, where they loaded cargoes of sugar and dye wood (brazilwood). The chief European port with direct connections to Recife was Antwerp, the main European port for the re-exportation of overseas commodities in the 16th and early 17th centuries. However, Hamburg's huge ships (hulks or *urcas*) also used to load sugar in Pernambuco, as did English vessels (Mauro, 1997, pp. 311-3; Mello, 1993, pp. 27-30; Costa, 2002, pp. 116-7; Schwartz,

2004, pp. 173-4). In the 1590s, Brazil's sugar represented 86%of Antwerp's sugar imports, largely surpassing the supplies from St. Tomé supplies; of those imports, Pernambuco's share was tantamount to two thirds. This trend went on when Amsterdam took over Antwerp's role as distribution hub for overseas commodities (Ebert, 2003; Ebert, 2008).[13]

The sugar wars and the rise of Recife

From the middle of the 16th century on, Pernambuco's sugar reached the tables of European nobles, affluent families and, eventually, common people, as scores of Northwestern European ships, mainly from the Netherlands, shuttled between Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and Recife (Mintz, 1985, pp. 74-150; Stols, 2004; Mello, 2002, pp. 102-9). In the early 18th century, Brazilian sugar still held a strong position in Hamburg's colonial goods imports; however, by the 1730s, it was superseded by French Caribbean sugar (Arnold, 2018, pp. 4-5; Arnold, 2020, pp. 102-5, 109). In the latter half of the 17th century, when Pernambuco was recovered after the wars with the Dutch (Mello, 2007), its sugar production rose to the second place in terms of volume (behind Bahia, but above Rio de Janeiro), a position sustained until the early 19th century (Lopes, 2018, pp. 21-37; Melo, 2017, p. 8).

Amsterdam's merchants were engaged in a thriving re-exporting trade of the Iberian colonies' goods, which in turn involved them in the African slave trade (Ribeiro, Antunes, 2012, pp. 7-8, 10, 14-5). Despite the supposed Iberian proclivity to mercantilism, Recife enjoyed direct connections with non-Portuguese ports, since the sugar trade was not under strict government control (Godinho, 1982, pp. 112-3). However, this openness to the Atlantic world

13 On the economic rise of Amsterdam, see Israel, 1989, pp. 29-42.

was suddenly curtailed by the Spanish Habsburgs some years after they became rulers of Portugal (1580-1640). The Habsburgs' trade embargo imposed on the Netherlands (1585-90, 1598-1603 and 1604-1609) actually thwarted the Dutch access to Pernambuco's sugar, which meant that Recife was no longer being visited by Dutch ships as it used to (Ebert, 2003; Ebert, 2008).

Conversely, the Spanish efforts to drive the Dutch out of the sugar market led them to covet the Portuguese settlements, from which sugar poured into European societies. The conquest of Pernambuco and its neighboring captaincies by the West India Company (WIC) was a point of no return for Recife (Mello 2007, pp. 19-70). From its simple role as Olinda's auxiliary harbor, under the WIC's control Recife would become a city, in a moment when this port's connections were as global as ever (Miranda & Clementino, 2020)[14].

In the quarter-century under Dutch rule, Recife became a cosmopolitan city, as the merchant cities used to be[15]. Soldiers, sailors, preachers, traders, and male and female workers from several European places lived in its streets, having come from the Netherlands, England, Scotland, France, Poland, and German lands (Klooster, 2016, pp. 120-3). Besides sundry European people, the Dutch Brazil's capital was crowded with West and West Central Africans, most of them enslaved workers, even though the WIC was not as successful in the slave trade as the Portuguese (Boogaart & Emmer, 1979, pp. 367-9; Postma, 1990, pp. 20-2; Puntoni, 1999, 150-62). Furthermore, allied Indians (*Tabajara*, *Tairariu*, *Potiguar*) also lived or passed through Recife and its hinterland. Though these peoples were diverse and not always lived side by side, they often created close ties,

14 The global feature of the Dutch-Iberian wars was signaled by Boxer half a century ago; Boxer, 1957; Boxer, 1969, pp. 117-135.

15 The cosmopolitan character of merchant cities is pointed out by Braudel, 1992, pp. 30-1.

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for instance through intermarriage. Even Catholics, protestants and Jews shared the city's spaces (Miranda, 2014, pp. 55-61, 78-83; Miranda, 2020, pp. 8-10; Noorlander, 2011, pp. 103-121; Mello, 2001, *passim*).

Nevertheless, we should remember that the Portuguese in Pernambuco never accepted the Dutch rule, and Recife was afflicted by warlike deeds, such as skirmishes and the burning of sugar mills, even during the *Pax Nassoviana*, that is, the years of Johan Maurits of Nassau-Siegen's government (1637-1644) (Mello, 2007, pp. 13; Klooster, 2017, pp. 3-4, 67-9).

The Dutch-Portuguese conflicts were "sugar wars" (Mello, 2007, p. 12) and, as such, shaped the sugar market in a global scale.[16] When the WIC waged war and encroached on Pernambuco, playing havoc with the sugar mills, the sugar supply declined and its prices rose. Hence, the Dutch East India Company (VOC) started to export sizable volumes of sugar from Taiwan to Europe. After the end of Dutch Brazil, the increasing amounts of Brazilian sugar supply turned the "Chinese sugar" less competitive in Europe, making the VOC cease to load that commodity toward Europe (Israel, 1989, p. 174; Strobel, 2015, p. 133).

Since the 16th century, Recife became the center of the northern captaincies due to its role as the main outlet for the hinterland's output.[17] Besides sugar, through this port were exported wood, hides, tobacco, cotton, and other less relevant commodities to the Atlantic world and beyond (even to the far East). Those goods used to come from places very close to Recife, such as Olinda, but also from plantations in the Capibaribe valley or the sugar-producing zones north and south of

16 "Sugar wars" means that both sides fought for control of sugar producing areas, but also that sugar sustained both sides' finances.

17 For this conceptualization of center and peripheries inside colonial Brazil, see Schwartz, 1984, pp. 421-500.

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Recife, and from the neighboring captaincies. Cattle and cotton, especially in the late 18th century, were funneled from the far interior (the so-called *sertões*) of Pernambuco and the other northern captaincies (Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, and Ceará) toward the coastal market. Cow hides could be exported either *in natura* or previously tanned (*vaquetas*). Eventually, those remote places became connected to the Atlantic economy due to their export production, which was channeled through Recife channeled.[18]

The mercantile role of Recife not only prompted it to become the center of the northern captaincies (Paraíba, Rio Grande do Norte, Ceara, and Piauí)[19], as reflected in its spaces. Recife's buildings and streets were named after its functions in the city's trade life: there were two *casas da alfândega* (customs houses), the *rua da Senzala* (Slave Quarters street), the *alfâdega dos escravos* (slaves custom), and the *rua dos Tanoeiros* (Coopers street). To cope with the growing need of space, streets and buildings, the port's narrow area was enlarged, beginning in the 17th century, by reclaiming land from the sea.

Customers of Pernambuco's merchandises

Among the variety of goods which Recife exported during the first three centuries of Portuguese settlement, sugar had the lion's share, except for the late eighteenth

[18] For a good demonstration of the direct and indirect global economic connections between far apart areas in the Early Modern age, see Kobayashi, 2019; in the Atlantic basin, the connections among continents went beyond the coasts, once the sea lanes, and the African and New World rivers became part of a single transport system; see Thornton, 1998, pp. 14-21.

[19] And Alagoas, but this place was not a captaincy.

century.[20] If the price of sugar was the single concern of sugar-mill owners, it was due to this commodity's pivotal role in the development of the captaincy and, hence, for its colonial elite.[21] The prime connections linking Recife to European ports and – indirectly – to several other Central and East European markets were built upon the sugar trade. Up to the mid-17th century, the sweet delicacies and pastries in the tables of the nobles and other affluent groups in Lisbon, Madrid, Seville, London, Paris, Antwerp, Amsterdam, Hamburg, Genoa, and Venice certainly included some sugar, which was also supplied to European refineries from the greatest sugar cane producer of that time: Pernambuco (Mintz, 1986, pp. 31, 38, 90-6; Schwartz, 1984, p. 424).[22]

Pernambuco's sugar exports faced hard times between the end of Dutch rule (1654) and the late 18th century. Nevertheless, the captaincy held the second position as sugar exporter, except for a brief period of a few years, when Rio de Janeiro supplied more sugar than Pernambuco in the latter half of the 17th century (Lopes, 2015, p. 48; Melo, 2017, p. 8; see Graphic 1).

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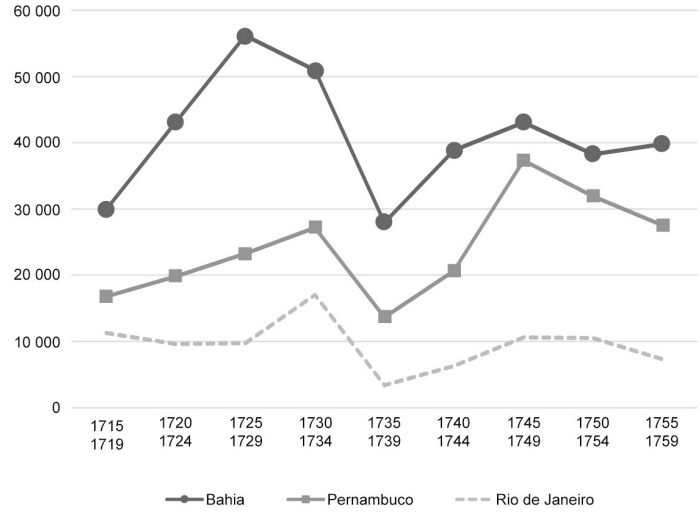
20 Data on Pernambuco's sugar and cotton exports can be found in Arruda, 1980, and Melo, 2017.

21 By the way, sugar prices showed a strong convergence in the Atlantic economies from the 1620s onward, what can be deemed as one sign of Early Globalization; see Ronback, 2009, pp. 107-9.

22 Around 1629, there were about 350 sugar mills in Brazil; Pernambuco accounted for more than 50% of total production; Schwartz, 1984, pp. 424. Mauro (1997, p. 313) points out Poland, Denmark, Sweden and Bohemia as further destinations for Amsterdam's sugar imports.

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Graphic 1 – Brazil's sugar exports (crates)



Source: Melo, 2017, pp. 8.

If Recife was the outlet for its hinterland's commodities, it was also the gateway of the capital goods needed for sugar production. Most of the sugar mills' parts were procured abroad, since neither Portugal nor the Portuguese settlers had enough manufactured hardware. Thus, the milling gear and the sugar mill equipment (*cobres*: *caldeiras, tachos, parói*s, *bacias*) — as those owned by a wealthy merchant who passed away in the middle of the 18th century[23] — were supplied by Recife's merchants to the sugar mill owners, who commonly paid for them in sugar (Antonil, 1837 [1711], pp. 42, 73-4). Those capital goods came from Europe through Portugal, mainly from British manufacturers, at least in the

[23] Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano. Inventory of José Vaz Salgado, 1759.

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18th century,[24] even in the period when the Brazilian sugar was not purveyed to British costumers.[25] Hence, we could affirm that Recife provided global upstream and downstream connections for commodity growers.

Furthermore, Pernambuco's inhabitants had access to foreign consumption goods. Thanks to post-mortem inventories, we can have a glimpse of Recife's dwellers' patterns of consumption, which demonstrates that those people, at least the slave owners, could readily obtain goods from several places outside Brazil and its metropolis. One good example is a former female slave, Teresa Afonso, who became a petty slave owner and had several foreign pieces of clothes, textiles, and other imported goods: kitchenware from Veneza, pieces of *baeta* (British baize), taffeta, *bretanha* (Brittany), *camelão*, *riscado*, xamalote, French linen, *panos da costa* (textiles from the Slave Coast).[26] Thus, this simple old

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24 In the first half of the 17th century, S. Tomé imported *caldeiras* from the Netherlands, and it is likely that the same was true concerning Brazil; see Mauro, 1997, pp. 249. However, as the British ironware manufacturers came to be the main consumers of Baltic iron from the early 18th century on, superseding Dutch producers, it is not unlikely that they supplied Portugal and its Atlantic empire. See: Evans & Rydén, 2007, pp. 46, 48-9, 54-8.

25 See Dias, 2017, pp. 140-1, where the author provides examples of sugar mill parts ordered in London to be dispatched to Pernambuco in the last quarter of the 18th century. Among the goods related to José Vaz Salgado's sugar mill *Camorim*, there were the usual *cobres grandes e miúdos* – large and small hardware. Vaz Salgado was a successful merchant of the 18th century, one of the wealthiest inhabitants of Recife, owner of lands and thousands of cattle heads. See: Souza, 2012, pp. 130-1. The sugar mill equipment is described in Inventário dos bens do Capitão Mor José Vaz Salgado, 1759. Instituto Arqueológico, Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano, Arquivo Judiciário, cx. 001

26 Instituto Histórico Arqueológico e Geográfico de Pernambuco – Inventário de Thereza Afonso – 1768. fl. 17-20, 25. About Thereza Afonso's life, see Melo, 2014, pp. 216-7. I am grateful to Gian Carlo de Melo for sharing with me the transcription of this document (there are other personal inventories at IAHGP, but they are in very bad conditions, making them almost impossible to read). For the role of European and Asian textiles in the Atlantic slave societies, see Duplessis, 2010; Duplessis, 2016. The meaning of the textiles' name can be found in Duplessis, 2010; Miller, 1986, pp. 242-246. For the use of inventories as sources to demonstrate pre-industrial patterns of consumption, see McCants, 2010; Shammas, 2000.

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woman amassed clothes and textiles from Europe, Asia and Africa as personal belongings.

As Pernambuco also became a land of tobacco growers – at least since the 17th century – this product was yet another commodity shipped from Recife that reached several societies in the Atlantic. Besides the Portuguese, several customers of British, French, Spanish, Dutch, German and Italian origins smoked and snuffed Brazilian tobacco in the 17th and 18th centuries. Furthermore, Portuguese settlers during the Iberian Union (1580-1640) sowed tobacco in Spanish America and acted as intermediaries between the Spanish growers and the British, helping to spread this culture in the Caribbean colonies and Venezuela and providing access to tobacco consumption in England even before this country's colonies grew tobacco (Norton & Gizbert, pp. 254, 260-1, 267-71).

In the 18th century, however, the chief destination of Pernambuco's tobacco was the Slave Coast. Slave ships departing from Recife loaded thousands of tobacco rolls, which the captains and other agents exchanged for manufactured goods and enslaved Africans in the Bight of Benin.[27] Thus, thousands of small and medium-sized tobacco growers (including slave owners) in Pernambuco, Alagoas (whose tobacco boasted the best reputation), and Paraíba were also connected to the Atlantic and the Indian Ocean thanks to Recife's exports.

Nevertheless, Pernambuco's involvement in the Atlantic tobacco market was not as prominent as in the case of Bahia. This captaincy's tobacco production was quite superior to Pernambuco's in the 18th century, when Bahia exported twenty times more tobacco to Portugal, while its tobacco exports to West Africa were

[27] Lopes, 2018, pp. 143-217; see also Ribeiro Da Silva, 2016, pp. 57-61.

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four times greater than Pernambuco's (Lopes, 2018, pp. 148-9; Nardi, 1996, pp. 150, 224).[28]

At the same time, along with sugar and tobacco, the ships sailing from Recife included cow hides in their cargo. Tens of thousands of cattle heads were tended in the dry hinterlands of Northeast captaincies (the *sertões*, including the lands in Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte). Those lands were conquered in Portuguese military campaigns against the indigenous peoples between the late 17th century and the 1720s; those peoples were eventually subordinated, repelled or killed (Puntoni, 2002).

By the end of that century, Pernambuco's settlers (and the neighboring captaincies' as well) were harshly hit by a global phenomenon: a severe drought stemming from natural causes: *El Niño*. The shortage of rainfall was felt also in Angola, where it destabilized the societies already disrupted by the slave trade. Starving people were pushed into slavery and hence into the Atlantic slave trade. In the eastern shore of the south Atlantic, the 1790s drought provoked the death and/or dislocation of hinterland dwellers, decimated most of the cattle and brought about dearth of foodstuff in the cities (Miller, 1982; Felipe, 2020, pp. 101-132; for a critic review of Miller's approach, see Candido, 2013, pp. 94-112).[29]

Global connections under the metropolis' shield

We should recognize that Recife did not profit from connections as wide and diverse as those of London or Mexico City.[30] Portuguese subjects in Brazil had to deal with the

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28 In fact, the data for Pernambuco are very scattered and far from complete.

29 For a global perspective about the interplay of natural phenomena and historical processes, see Parker, 2013.

30 For London, see Hancock, 1995; for Mexico City, see Gruzinski, 2014.

royal laws devised to set up a shield over its overseas possessions, designed to eliminate business relations with foreigners.[31] Thus, Recife's inhabitants (as in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia) used to resort to every opportunity they found to engage in business with non-allowed trade agents. Sometimes, they carried out this kind of trade under cover of the law; sometimes, the trade relations were openly illegal, being, nevertheless, tolerated or even sponsored by the colonial authorities. These trade opportunities were loopholes for global connections.

The Portuguese Crown forbade foreign ships from anchoring in Brazil's harbors, except when captains informed that their ships needed rigging, or to provide water and food to the crew.[32] In those cases, the Portuguese laws allowed the royal authorities, chiefly the governor of the captaincy, to host the foreign ship and let its captain and crew purchase what they needed.[33] Thus, as several non-Portuguese ships called at Recife (even though not as much as in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro), particularly from the early 18th century on, Recife's dwellers were in touch and carried out business with people from sundry places. In the years 1723-1725, for example, five foreign ships anchored in Recife; all those vessels were attached to the Ostend Company, though one of those was English.[34] When a foreign ship was allowed to anchor in Recife, its crew used to engage in business with local merchants, purportedly under

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31 In fact, all the European seaborne empires were legally closed to foreigners, as per the so-called mercantilism; although rather criticized, the concept of mercantilism was not discarded: the classical work on this subject is Hecksher,1983; his presumptions were addressed by Wilson, 1957, and Coleman, 1980; one fresh approach, which revisits the rationale of mercantilist policies and thought, can be found in Magnusson, 1995, pp. 1-48. For a critical review of mercantilism as a historical subject, see Pincus, 2012.

32 The Portuguese named these ships' necessary visits as *arribadas*.

33 The law (*Alvará*) which stated the rules for "arribadas" of foreign vessels is dated October 5, 1715.

34 AHU, Pernambuco, Documento Avulsos, Cx. 32, Doc. 2898. On the Ostend Company, an East India Company based on the Southern Low Countries and set up in 1723, see BAGUET, 2015.

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the royal authorities' supervision; however, as the Crown's advisers pointed out, it was an opportunity to smuggle (Pijning, 2001, pp. 403-407).[35]

Global links at West Africa

Recife was one of the major Atlantic slave ports, trading slaves mainly from the Bight of Benin and Angola (Domingues da Silva & Eltis, 2008, pp. 122). It is likely that the greatest cosmopolitan place where Recife's merchants and seafaring men used to work was West Africa, especially the Slave Coast.[36] In the several ports of the slave trade, people from England, France, the Netherlands, Denmark, Portugal, Brazil and British America carried out business, exchanging African enslaved people for trade goods and commodities from Europe, India, China, East Asia and America.[37] The African involvement in the Atlantic slave trade, in turn, brought African kingdoms closer to global patterns of consumption, making them dependent on imported goods as a way to buttress the rulers' authority.[38]

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35 To date, no one, as far as I know, has demonstrated how many Indians called at Recife during the three first centuries of Portuguese settlement. The number of Portuguese ships which stopped in Salvador/Bahia while going to or coming from the Indian Ocean is addressed by LAPA, 1968, pp. 327-343.

36 As Pétré-Grenouilleau underscores, the Atlantic slave trade calls for a global approach: "Comme toute bonne histoire, l'histoire globale est forcément comparative. Cela semble aller de soi dans le cadre du trafic négrier, étant donné la variété des régions et des acteurs concernés". Pétré-Grenouilleau, 2004, p. 10.

37 The literature on this subject is quite extensive; see Law, 2006; Manning, 1976; on the trading relations among European slave traders at West Africa, see Ruderman, 2016. The case of Angola is addressed by Lenk & Menz on this volume.

38 Harms, 2003, pp. 170-173; Inikori, 2010. For the political impact of the Atlantic slave trade in Bantu polities, see Miller, 1988, pp. 40-139.

Since the last quarter of the 17th century, ships cleared from Recife loaded with tobacco rolls, *jeribita* (sugar cane spirits) and manufactured goods. Once at the Slave Coast, captains and their crew bargained for slaves and European or Asian goods. To procure a full load of slaves, they carried out business with African agents, offering a bundle that usually included tobacco. However, since the discovery of gold in Southwest Brazil, it became usual for slave traders from Bahia and Pernambuco to trade with British, French, and Dutch merchants in West Africa. In the first half of the 18th century, gold possibly comprised half of Recife's slave ships' cargoes, becoming one of the chief products to purchase the manufactures demanded by African traders. Hence, Recife's slave vessels brought home thousands of enslaved people and foreign goods purchased with gold and tobacco.

One example of the aforementioned trade can be found in a slave ship voyage of 1752. The ship *Aleluia da Ressurreição e Almas* sailed to the Slave Coast, laden with tobacco and manufactured goods.[39] Even though the ship's log does not report the presence of Brazilian gold (given that the Portuguese Crown forbade any gold transactions beyond metropolitan supervision), we may suppose that there was indeed gold in the cargo, thanks to several 18th-century British records. For example, in 1719, a certain João da Silva arrived in the Slave Coast aboard a Pernambuco vessel, where he traded 118 ounces of gold in exchange for slaves.[40] This is just one

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39 [ENTRADA da Carregaçam que no Recife de Pernambuco me consignou o Sr. Jozé de Freitas Sacotto, na sua galera por invocação Aleluya da Surreição e Almas; a mim Jozé Francisco Rocha]. Costa da Mina, 1752. AHU, CU, S. Tomé, Cx. 8, Doc. 100. For a detailed analysis of this voyage, see Lopes, 2018, 164-177. Also Almeida, 2018.

40 Among many records involving Portuguese slave ships' captains and traders, at least one mentions Pernambuco as the origin of those slave ships; see Gold debtor to adventures to Brazil […]. Whydah Journal

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of several records of Portuguese traders departing from Brazil's ports and delivering gold to the British in West Africa, during the first half of the 18th century.[41] The Dutch West India Company, which had been collecting (or extorting) tobacco from Portuguese slave traders for one quarter century, also got access to Brazilian gold flowing to West Africa.[42]. Even the Danish slave traders made efforts to attract the Portuguese with the aim to obtain gold, but as successfully as the British and the Dutch (and, perhaps, the French).[43]

The slave vessel *Aleluia da Ressurreição e Almas* moored off at several West African ports and at the St. Jorge da Mina castle (the Dutch, once Portuguese, fortress). In Anamobu, the ship's captain purchased Asian fabrics, iron, cowries, and liquors from Dutch and British slave traders.[44] Even if slave ship departures from Pernambuco peaked between the 1690s and the 1730s, it was Bahia which held the lion's share of Brazil's slave imports from the Bight of Benin (Graphic 2).

(1718-1721). PRO. T.70/592-93, Journals of Accounts, William's Fort, 1718-1727. 15/08/1719, Fl. 44.

41 See Whydah Journal (1718-1721). PRO. T.70/592-93, Journals of Accounts, William's Fort, 1718-1727. Also Verger, 1987, pp. 62-4.

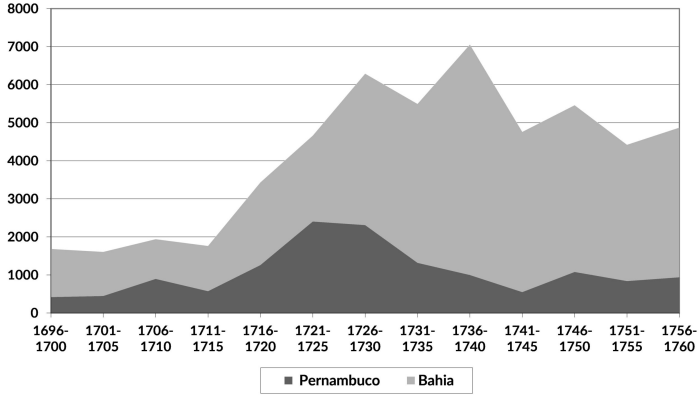
42 See Verger, 1987; Postma and Schwartz, 2003; Heijer, 2003.

43 See *Danish Sources for the History of Ghana*,1657-1754. Vol 1, pp. 151, 241.

44 The role of Anamobu in the 18th-century slave trade is addressed by Shumway, pp. 4-6; chapter one.

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Graphic 2 – Volume of Bahia's and Pernambuco's slave imports into Brazil from the Bight of Benin (1696-1760)



While in West Africa, Portuguese slave traders had the opportunity to openly deal with Europeans and Africans, and to purchase Asian and European manufactures (mainly textiles), cowries from the Indian ocean and, of course, African human beings. This was the multilateral pattern of trade at the Slave Coast for Recife's slave ships, at least in the years of Brazil's enormous gold output.[45] If there was a global arena which had Brazilian merchants as active players, that was the West African slave trade.

Final remarks: global periphery

In the previous lines, we tried to point out the economic activities in which Recife used to be involved and which can be fairly connected to global history. Insofar as most of those activities (as well as some aspects of Recife's material

45 Besides Lopes, 2018, see Almeida, 2018; Ferreira, 2010; Acioli & Marques, 2019; the pioneer work is Verger, 1987.

life) were framed by Atlantic connections, this is one way to pursue a global perspective (Marquese & Pimenta, 2015, pp. 35-6).

From its very inception, the rise of Recife as a port-city was strongly enmeshed with networks that connected central and peripheral areas of the European world-economy. Its place and role inside those networks, in turn, were defined by the city's features as an outlet for colonial commodities and transformed Pernambuco into a gateway for highly desired and needed manufactures. Surely, Recife's engagement in and contribution to the evolution of the European world-economy was not steady. Its linkages with the global economy could be direct — as in the second half of the 16th or the earlier half of the 18th centuries — or indirect, since most of Pernambuco's exports were conveyed only to Portugal for almost two centuries.

Recife's contribution to the globalization process was a response to the core areas' demand for "colonial groceries" (McCants, 2008, pp. 173-4), which Northeast Brazil's conquerors and settlers tried to fulfill since the 16th century. From sugar to cotton, raw materials and semi-processed goods have been the cornerstone of the region's integration into the global economy. Recife thrived as the port whence those goods departed toward the Atlantic and as the entrance gate for the thousands of African bonded men and women who toiled in the Northern captaincies' fields.

In short, although one can fairly sustain that Recife was part of the "soft globalization" process, we may better understand its contribution to and how it was shaped by globalization if we see this city as being embedded in the periphery of the early Modern global economy.

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11

Luanda, Global Capital of the Slave Trade

Maximiliano M. Menz & Wolfgang Lenk

Albeit being a relatively modest and underdeveloped town, in the 1700s Luanda was the port with the largest single volume of exportation of African slaves to the New World. The city's top position in the slave trade derived from its connection with world trade routes since its foundation; its development from a diverse and, at the same time, specific composition of Portuguese and African social elements; and its crucial involvement with people and capital from Europe and Asia. In the next pages we will analyze this involvement under three aspects: (1) movement of people, foreign presence in the Angolan colonial society and its origins; (2) movement of goods, trade routes and business deals (including smuggling activities) involving the port of Luanda; and (3) movement of capital, the financing of slave trade and how these transactions intertwined with Portuguese and African social institutions. For this purpose, a broad collection of historical sources was used, notably customs and notary records from the Portuguese Crown.

The history of Luanda and the slave trade in Angola has been marked by interpretations with varying degrees of methodological nationalism. Most importantly, the formation of Luanda has been usually presented as a consequence of Brazilian interests, overplaying the role of Brazilian merchants and merchandise in the development of the

Angolan economy and society.[1] A global perspective, nevertheless, must point to a bigger picture, and the movement of products and agents from Brazil is not enough to understand the scale and characteristics of slave trade in Angola and Luanda.[2]

In order to engage in the African slave trade, a typical Portuguese merchant vessel in the 18th century would sail south-west from Europe until it came close to the Brazilian East coast. It would then continue south as far as the 27th or 28th parallel, from where it would take the same route as the Brazilian colonist traders, turning east-north-east, following the South Atlantic Current. Upon reaching the African shores, the voyage would turn northward. Beyond Cape Black was the Bay of Cows and the village of Benguela, the southernmost port in West Africa. Before 1760, some of these ships would board slaves in Benguela, but few of them went straight to the American continent. As a rule, they would sail on north up to Luanda, the capital of the so-called "Kingdom of Angola."[3]

Angola was the key Portuguese domain in Africa. It was called a "Kingdom" because Luanda and its hinterland were conquered from the *Ngola*, who ruled over Kimbundu-speaking areas of Ndongo and was considered by

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1 This interpretation can be found in works such as Delgado (1948), Couto (1971) and Santos (1973), and, more recently, in Alencastro (2000) and Ferreira (2003). It has been object of criticism and reviews, for example by Menz (2012) and Bohorquez (2019).

2 Even the share of the Brazilian market in the acquisition of African people enslaved in Angola during the 1600s and 1700s must not be overstated, as more recent works have shown the relevance of re-exports to the Spanish-American colonies. See Rodrigues (2019), Borucki, Eltis and Wheat (2015), Santana Perez (2015), Borucki (2011), and Khun (2017).

3 Letter from D. Miguel Antônio de Mello (17/6/1799). ANTT, Conde de Linhares (maço 91, doc. 110). Between 1699 and 1760, the TSTD database shows only 73 direct voyages between Benguela and Brazil. See at <https://www.slavevoyages.org/voyages/yllf38c3> (2022, May 3).

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the Portuguese as an equal to the king of Kongo. The Portuguese traded in Ndongo through the island of Luanda and the Kwanza River since the 1520s, and the city was built in 1576 as part of a new and aggressive regional strategy by D. Sebastian I. The conquest of that land would span most of the 17th century, resulting in the dissolution of the Ndongo chiefdom and the submission of its population to Portuguese rule. The remaining groups that continued to claim the title of *Ngola* were pushed inland and reorganized around the Matamba chiefdom. Further north, the Portuguese presence would also lead to the disorganization of the Kongo monarchy.[4]

During the 1600s, the Portuguese claimed domain over the entire West Central African coast south of the Zaire River, if not the entire region between Cape Black (Cabo Negro) and Cape Lopez, near the Equator. In fact, farming contracts on the slave export tax were, for a long time, named the "Contract of the Kingdom of Angola, Kongo, Loango and Benguela," which meant that the Portuguese monarchy assumed the right to tax all slaves leaving the Kongo-Angolan zone.

Nevertheless, the area under effective Portuguese control was much smaller. It was restricted to the coast between the Dande and Kwanza rivers and penetrated less than 300 km inland, just as far as the garrison (*presídio*) of Ambaca. Within this area, the government of Angola had jurisdiction over the districts and garrisons of Ikolo, Bengo, Dande, Golungo, Pedras de Pungo-a-Ndongo, Cambembe and Massangano. Furthermore, it ruled over the enclaves of Encoje and Novo Redondo, which had no direct territorial connection. To the south, separated by a desert inhabited

4 On the conquest of Angola, see Delgado (1948), Birmgham (1966), Vansina (1966). For an analysis of the political entities (Kingdoms, "mini-states" or chiefdoms) of West Central Africa and their differences, see Heintze (2007), Gonçalves (2005) and Miller (2015). For a more recently published history of the region, based mostly on African sources, see Thornton (2020).

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by the hostile peoples of Kissama, were Benguela and the garrison of Caconda (Correa, 1792; Venâncio, 1996).

Two centuries after its foundation, and despite its imperial character, Luanda was home to probably less than 5,000 people. A few fortifications protected the harbor while dozens of churches, dedicated to the usual saints of Iberian devotion, governed the souls. The well-known pattern of the upper and lower city, common among Portuguese colonial settlements, was also present in Luanda. The difference in social strata would also be noticeable in the language, with a Kimbundu-speaking majority living under an Empire that wrote and spoke in Portuguese.[5] Still, Luanda would have seemed small to a traveler from the Atlantic world, even if compared with the underdeveloped urban areas in Portuguese America. Founded in 1563, for example, Rio de Janeiro probably had 39,000 people at the time, and many of the towns in Brazil were significantly larger than the capital of the Kingdom of Angola.[6]

Historical records contain many descriptions of Luanda, and they are generally less than flattering. Elias Alexandre da Silva Corrêa, for example, wrote:

> Most of the houses that make up the streets of the city find themselves obscured by the decay of their surroundings, in a vile condition of slums. The more imposing the façade, the greater the threat of ruin. The owners' wealth is little to restore them to the state of their ancestors (Correa, 1792, p.77-78).

The tone is well known to the reader who is familiar with the sources of the period. The theme of decadence was recurrent among the entire generation of Portuguese reformists of the Enlightenment (Cardoso, 1988).

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5 See Venâncio (1996: pp. 31-6) and Vansina (2001). On the "imperial dimension" of Luanda and its social structure in the late 1700s, see Santos (2008).

6 On the subject, see Helleiner (1967, p. 80), Alden (1999, pp. 527-592), Curto and Gervais (2002), and Lopes and Menz (2018).

Even before the 1700s, it was common among memorialists and arbitrators to oppose the decadent present to the glorious past of the Age of Discovery. But the long lines of slaves waiting to be boarded on the anchored ships, or the slave houses (*senzalas*) filled with captives all along the coast, could hardly have produced a more optimistic view of Luanda. There, specifically, the Portuguese decline was usually associated with the rise of European competition in the slave trade in West Central Africa during the 17th century.[7]

And yet, the majority of the enslaved workers boarded to America came from the docks and beaches of Luanda. No other West African port had the same volume of slave exports in the 18th century.

It is true that Luanda and Benguela were just two ports in a wide network of paths and rivers which linked the slave-selling markets of the interior and the West Central African coast[8]. As part of the Portuguese Empire, their trade was subject to the typical mercantilist restrictions of the time, at least until 1808: vessels carrying slaves should only be owned by Portuguese masters, manned by Portuguese crews, and dispatched only to other Portuguese territories, where slave prices were usually lower than in the Caribbean (Beer, 1958;

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7 Request from the merchants of Angola, attached to the correspondence for the Trade Office (10/6/1800). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 96, doc 6). On the Dutch, British and French trade in northern Angola, see Sommerdyk (2012) and Martin (1972)).

8 According to Miller (1985: pp. 7, 165, 173-174, 207, 225), captives deported by the ports of Luanda, Benguela and Loango at the beginning of the 19th. century were obtained between latitudes 6º and 8º, which is an area of 2,500 square kilometers where something between 10 and 20 million people lived, distributed in small villages. This estimation is questioned by Daniel Domingues da Silva (2017: pp. 85, 103), based on the ethnic identification of the enslaved and population estimates by Portugues courts dealing with the illegal slave trade. In his interpretation, slaves sold in Angola came from within 400 kilometers of the coast, mainly from west of the Kwango River. For a reply by Joseph Miller on this topic, see Lopes and Menz (2019).

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Hecksher, 1935; Novais, 1995; Coleman, 1980). But slave trade networks were filled with merchants from other places. In Lobito Bay, at the mouth of the Ambriz River, and in the port of Novo Redondo, English and French vessels boarded slaves undisturbed, under the noses of Portuguese officers. Cargos were occasionally seized, but the foreigners' trade was never stopped altogether – it was too difficult a task. In 1784, when Portugal tried to build a fortress in Cabinda to control the movements along the Loango coast, the slave caravans were simply diverted to other ports, such as Molengo. In the same year, a dealer reported to the Portuguese ministry that, between Loango and Benguela, he had sighted 105 ships with foreign flags.[9]

Still, Luanda had the largest single share in the trade. Throughout the second half of the century, it boarded an average of between 8,000 and 10,000 slaves every year. Caravans of captives came from the interior, mainly Ambaca, and small boats came from Benguela and Dande to supply the ships arriving from the Atlantic[10]. Furthermore, until the 1730s, many of the slave voyages to the Loango coast, under Portuguese command, were organized in Luanda. The enslaved who were sold on the northern beaches were also declared and registered by the capital's tax authorities. A network of trade agents provided the merchants of

9 Letter from Antonio Alves do Rio (2/7/1784). AHU, Avulsos, Bahia, Castro de Almeida (11.651-11.654).

10 Mariana Candido (2013) is critical of the TSTD database for counting 18th-century voyages from Benguela, despite earlier records of "Benguela" slaves in America. In fact, the southern port was already mentioned among "pumbos" as early as 1664 (AHU_CU_ANGOLA, Cx. 8, D. 959, Consulta de 15/11/1664). Nevertheless, fiscal documents and those related to the Angola Contract show that, up until the 1760s, captives in Benguela were dispatched mainly from Luanda, where taxes and documents were duly paid and registered. The first direct voyage from Portugal to Benguela and then to Brazil dates back to 1725 (AHU_CU_001, Cx. 23, D. 2370; Gazeta de Lisboa. *In*: Notícias Históricas de Portugal e Brasil. Coimbra, 1961, pp. 113, 115, 117). Of course, this does not rule out the possibility of illegal trade on this route before 1725.

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Angola with information and captives acquired in distant places.[11]

Such a structure of human trafficking developed after centuries of Portuguese presence in West Central Africa. They had had diplomatic and trade relations with African authorities since the late 1400s, and many spent their lives among different peoples of the Kongo and Angola, acting as mercenaries, merchants and/or priests. With the founding of Luanda, these scattered elements of dubious loyalty were joined by soldiers, exiles and immigrants who mingled with the Africans.[12] They developed formal and informal bonds with the country and became the city's diverse land and save-owning group . This social structure played a major role in transforming the port and city of Luanda into the center of an efficient enslavement machinery, accounting for its record numbers in slave trade in the 18th century.

Between 1701 and 1800, Luanda exported at least 662,000 enslaved Africans, more than 10% of all the African slave trade during this period. It was only surpassed by deportations from Whydah, during the first three decades of the century (which could also be a distortion due to insufficient records in the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database (TSTD)). Still, no port deported as many slaves as Luanda, according to the available data.[13] Even Murzuk,

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11 This can be seen in the mercantile correspondence of Governor Luís César de Menezes (IHGB, can 72, folder 8). See also AHU_CU_ANGOLA, cx. 22, doc. 2288, attached to the Consultation of 01/26/1723).

12 For examples of the varying interests and loyalties of the Portuguese community in West Central Africa before 1575, specially in Mbanza Kongo and the court of the King of Kongo, which would later move to Luanda and Angola, see Thornton (2020), chapters 1-3.

13 This number is based exclusively on the survey of known voyages. Fiscal records compiled by José Curto (2002) and used in TSTD estimations suggest that Luanda exported more than 800,000 people during this period. See at http://bit.ly/3FrOo2t and https://bit.ly/3FrOo2 (2022, May 2). It should be also noted that a large number of TSTD voyages that have Luanda as the main slave port were collected from the codices of the Secretary of Government of the State of Angola or the Luanda City Council. These records, however, start only in the 1720s. "Costa da Mina" also appears in the TSTD

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Ghadames and Ghat, the great Saharan slave markets of the 19th century, were surpassed by Luanda in this regard (Wright, 2006). In that sense, it was the global capital of the Atlantic slave trade.[14]

This is illustrated by the broad array of connections from other ports and places to the city and the ample movement of people, goods and capital within it. Many forms of finance, production and trade, and even a variety of social formations, were linked to Luanda by the money from slave trade – and thus, to a degree, were part of the common history of the first globalization.[15] We shall observe this, firstly, by looking into the movement of people.

Although the white population of Luanda had mostly come from Portugal, there were a few who had come from other European countries and managed to climb the social and political ladder. During the first half of the 17th century, when the Crowns of Spain and Portugal were united under the same ruler, Spanish merchants were common in Luanda and some took up residence in the city.[16] After the independence of Portugal and the restoration of Angola from the Dutch West-India Company (WIC) in 1648, some of the mercenary soldiers and merchants from Northern Europe did not leave and continued taking part in the slave trade and holding positions in the local government. One of

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as a "port" with figures comparable to the city of Luanda at the beginning of the 18th century, but this denomination refers to a region and not to a specific maritime port.

14 The term "global" can also be understood here in the way that the social history of Angola in the 17th and 18th centuries can only be understood as part of a process which happened in a spatiality far beyond the borders of the nation-state that emerged after the Portuguese rule. In this sense, and considering the processes of social change and social history, it could be argued that a large part of colonial history has been written as "global history" for a long time (Conrad, 2016).

15 We use the term "first globalization" here in the same sense as Allen (2011).

16 Santana Perez (2015) and Salvador (1973, p. 44).

them was Tomás Figueira Bultão, a Flemish trader who had obtained the Angola Contract in partnership with Diogo Sanches Xarroso and later held office as *provedor e feitor da Fazenda Real* (chief of the Royal Treasury).[17] There was also Baltasar Vandunem, who (according to his descendants) had come from Rotterdam and who had already been living in Luanda before the WIC occupied the city, in 1641. He was later regarded as one of the city's most prominent residents.[18] Finally, there was Simão Vandernes, who held office as *provedor*, the highest position in the local administration of the Crown's finances, and who was the son of a foreigner. They all had businesses linked to the Angola Contract, the farming of taxes on the exportation of the enslaved, which was certainly one of the best deals in town.[19]

These foreigners mingled with local families and founded powerful lineages that operated in the slave trade. Their story is yet to be told in detail. For example, there was Dª Catarina de Ares, one of Vandunem's granddaughters, who moved to the Portuguese Court with her husband Manoel Monteiro da Rocha in 1720. He would later obtain the Angola Contract (1730 to 1742), as well as the Tobacco Contract (1735 to 1737), while she would personally manage a large part of their business. Her Dutch ancestry possibly favored them in dealing with Northern investors with an interest in these contracts.[20]

In the 18th century, due to the gold rush in Brazil, the government increased restrictions on outlanders in Portuguese territories. Even so, given the high mortality rates of Europeans, owing to tropical diseases, it was impossible to

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17 Consulta do Conselho Ultramarino (13/11/1654). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 5, doc.579). See also Caldeira (2013).

18 Habilitação de Manoel Monteiro da Rocha (n.d.). ANTT, Tribunal do Santo Ofício, Conselho Geral (Maço 104, doc. 4386).

19 Letter from Tristão da Cunha (7/9/1666). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 9, doc. 1092). See also Salvador (1973, p. 53).

20 See Salvado (2014, p. 153), Menz (2015), Lisboa, Miranda and Olival (2012, p. 293). See also the Last Will and Testament of Manuel Monteiro da Rocha (1749). ANTT, 3º CNL (box 133, livro 594, ff.40v-42).

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forbid their presence. In 1767, Governor Francisco Inocencio de Sousa Coutinho noticed there were foreigners among the soldiers arriving from Portugal. He wrote "[these] are the best settlers Your Excellency can bring to the African Coast, since they fill these lands with industrious inhabitants without depleting the Kingdom." [21]

Besides soldiers and merchants, artisans and missionaries would also come to Angola from different parts of Europe. Whether voluntarily or not, members of minority groups such as the Romani and the New Christians also made Luanda their home. Therefore, the local society was comprised of a complex array of cultural and ethnic origins. This possibly had a positive influence in the formation of the cross-cultural trade network that extended to the African countryside, which was the cornerstone of its businesses. It should be noted that, in one way or another, all of these diverse elements were involved with the trading of the enslaved (Ferreira, 2012; Silva, 2016).

By the mid-1700s, however, very few people among the most powerful families in Luanda were not Portuguese.[22] Foreigners had trouble climbing the market ladder beyond the interior trade circuits, an activity under a shadow of prejudice and stereotype – the Count of Oeiras saw it as a business for "gypsies."[23] Moreover, the connection to the high finances of the European economy was no longer under the management of Angolan residents. It was the so-called *homens de mar em fora* ("men from the sea") sojourning in Luanda who raised credit from the centers of global capitalism to finance trade in the countryside. Late in that century, a memorialist remarked that a large number of people in the African hinterland had outstanding debts to

21 Letter from Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho (16/12/1767). ANTT, Ministério do Reino (maço 605, n. 12).

22 On the relationships among merchants, see Pantoja (2010a and 2010b).

23 For an example of prejudice against gypsies acting as traders, see: Report by the Count of Oeiras (1790). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 43, doc. 111).

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people in Luanda, adding that "perhaps a large share of it is owed to the Lisbon market".[24]

It was a business of high risk and high reward. Most of these loans were never paid, but the margins obtained through the distribution of goods in the African networks more than compensated for the losses. Reputation, trust and kinship were fundamental to net a good profit. In addition, the creditors relied on formal institutions, such as military authorities and judicial courts established in Luanda. In the hinterland, loans were guaranteed by the so-called *Mucano* courts: customary courts that existed in the African villages and could be chaired by Portuguese captains or by *sobas*. They arbitrated in disputes between passing merchants and the local population or cases of disputed debt and enslavement. An unfavorable ruling could imply debt bondage and deportation, but usually resulted in transfer of property of slaves, as was customary in the region. Consequently, farms and villages in Angola were packed with enslaved men and women who served as collateral for various financial operations.[25]

Among the *homens de mar em fora* who financed trade in the hinterland was the relatively infamous Raimundo Jalama. Despite his exotic name, he was born in Lisbon into a family of French merchants who had been trading in the Empire's capital for some time (Labourdette, 1988, p. 473). He came to Luanda around 1760 as an agent of the General Company of Pernambuco and Paraíba. Soon after, he started working with the management of the Angola Contract, which at the time was under the control of a group of Lisbon investors. Jalama lived in Luanda up to the 1770s and became notorious for flooding the area with high-value loans, which produced a sort of local credit bubble.

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24 Document by José Victo da Silva, (1792). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 77, doc.86).

25 See Miller (2017), Menz (2019). On the *mucano* councils, see Ferreira (2012) and Guarda (2017).

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His operations extended to the hinterland by means of two local associates, to whom he supplied large amounts of merchandise. In the end, his adventures led to the "burst of the Angola Contract" and ended the farming of the slave export tax (Menz, 2017 and 2019).

Still, the majority of these traders did not spend too long or too much money on the African Coast. Most were captains, sailors and casual traders. Luis Cantofer, a German capitalist who apparently resided in Madras and was a subject of the English Crown, would fall under the latter category. In 1770, his ship stopped in Luanda on a journey from Goa. According to a report by the governor, he brought a highly valuable cargo of goods from India, which he intended to sell on the spot and then buy slaves to send to Bahia, where he would install a business house. His permits were blocked by the authorities, but despite the hassle he ended up settling in the Iberian Peninsula and continued investing in the slave trade.[26] In 1782, he obtained a license from the Spanish Monarchy to sell 1,000 enslaved Africans in Buenos Aires (Pesavento, 2009).

Many foreigners sought to legally enter the Angolan market from certain points of the Empire that were less inspected than the Portuguese and even Brazilian ports. Goa certainly was a gateway, particularly during the time when direct trade between the Portuguese State of India and the Kingdom of Angola was permitted. A French trader named Jacques Felipe Landracete, for example, was more successful than Luis Cantofer – in 1767 he shipped 15,929,360 *réis* worth of goods from Goa aboard the *Nossa Senhora da Conceição*.[27] The Island of Madeira was another foothold from where to take part in the Portuguese African trade, especially in the first decades of the 18th century. Many of these strategies can be observed in records at Funchal Customs

26 Letter from Francisco Inocêncio de Sousa Coutinho (10.7.1770). IEB-USP, Coleção Lamego (82.241); ANTT, Casa da Índia, Consulado (livro 239).

27 Untitled document (20/5/1767). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 51, doc.71).

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Office. Ships with English names and captains entered the port and, a few days later, left for Angola with a new captain and a very Portuguese name. For example, a vessel coming from Boston in 1735 under a captain named Edio Sheaff was "naturalized" as *Nossa Senhora do Monte dos Varadeiros*, just before sailing to Angola.[28] Many did the same. In fact, there is evidence that merchants from Madeira hired foreign crews and probably also ships and capital to invest in the slave trade. In 1710, the galley *Nossa Senhora do Bom Despacho* sailed to Elmina but eventually berthed in Luanda, manned by Portuguese and Dutch sailors.[29]

It should be noted that, even if the remaining documents rarely provide a full record of the facts, enterprises such as these were not exactly smuggling. They were ultimately undertaken within the Portuguese mercantilist legal framework, and the goods were regularly registered and taxed by the King's customs. Now and then, the Crown would adopt policies of limited trade liberalization (such as the opening of direct trade between Goa and Luanda), which favored such operations. Still, these policies were always short-lived.[30]

The government's true concern was the actual large-scale smuggling along the coast, in hidden beaches and inlets, or on small boats which slipped through customs in collusion with the guards. In 1792, the Portuguese Navy and Overseas Secretary had the information that the French were smuggling in Benguela in two ways: either with the consent of or covered up by local port authorities, or

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28 ANTT, Alfândega do Funchal (liv. 147, f. 77). These businesses with Angola were probably a means of portfolio diversification on the part of wine merchants in Madeira, but Africa never really became an important market for them (Hancock, 2001).

29 Letter from António de Saldanha de Albuquerque Castro e Ribafria to Pedro de Faria (21.11.1710). ANTT, Família Saldanha e Castro e Falcao Trigoso (maço 19, pt.1, n.17).

30 The Marquis de Pombal wrote about the commerce between Goa and Angola in several missives, for example: Letter to the *Junta da Fazenda* of Angola (14/12/1770). AHTC, ER (cód. 4193, ff. 94-95).

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by previous arrangement with the residents of unguarded beaches.[31] The fiscal consequences were very damaging. An anonymous document from the end of the 18th century estimated that, every year, some 2,300 slaves left Benguela in this way, representing a loss of 46:745$200 in unpaid taxes to the Crown.[32] It is surprising that Angolan residents and merchants smuggled slaves at this scale, especially considering the risk posed by insecure property rights and the inability to resort to court arbitration, a much frequent situation among licensed traders.[33]

Despite these many stories and examples, it must be noted that foreign presence and global connections involved a minority within a minority of the inhabitants of Luanda. After all, in a population of roughly 5,000 people, no more than 500 were white (Venâncio, 1996, p. 45). As it happened, Luanda's role in the global economy was exporting people, not settling them, and the success of such traders and European "adventurers" was measured by the speed with which they turned a profit and left. In the year 1800, a petition against new taxes and the "decay" of the local economy summarized the aspirations of the mercantile community:

> There was a time when (…) the Kingdom of Angola was a flourishing colony, where quick fortunes could be made and men were continuously going off rich to Brazil or Portugal, where they settled in solid and opulent houses.[34]

Angola's exports were mainly the enslaved, but there was also ivory and wax. The latter were sold to Portugal, while the former was sent to Portuguese America, and a small part

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31 Document by José Victo da Silva, (1792). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 77, doc.86).
32 ANTT, Ministério do Reino, Maço 605, n. 41.
33 See Haggerty (2012, p. 84) and Lamikiz (2013).
34 Petition by the merchants of Angola (10/7/2020). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 96, doc.6).

was traded for silver with the Spanish. In Brazil, the enslaved worked mainly in sugar plantations and gold mines, but also in the production of hides, tobacco, foodstuffs and others, intended for both exportation and local consumption. The lion's share of these Brazilian exports was sent to Portugal, from where it would be redistributed across Europe. Most of the sugar, leather and tobacco went to Hamburg and Italy, from where they were sold to the Mediterranean and central-eastern Europe. Gold was minted into currency and used as payment for imports from other countries. Until the end of the 18th century, Portugal's trade balance was structurally in deficit with England. The silver that came from the slave trade was also coined, but a large amount was used in the ships that made the Cabo route to India. The Angolan slave trade was inherently connected to all these businesses.[35]

Luanda's imports were much more diverse than its exports: textiles, spirits, foodstuffs, weapons, metal goods, etc. The largest share belonged to textiles, but their types and origins varied greatly. Cotton fabrics from Asia were the most important, although linen and counterfeit European fabrics had an increasing share in the early 19th century. the former comprised dozens of kinds, but in the second half of the 1700s the so-called *Zuarte*, *Cadea* and *Coromandel* stood out. These were made and dyed in bright colors in the Gujarat and Coromandel regions of India. According to Pedro Machado, the manufacturing of textiles for Eastern Africa was concentrated in Jambussar, south-west of Cambay, in a manner similar to the European putting-out system. The *Vāniyā*, a Hindu and Jainque merchant community from Western India, provided credit to middlemen who, in turn, financed the weaving peasant population.[36] It is likely that the Portuguese in Goa were supplied by these peasants and that, especially after 1757, they received

35 See Pinto (1979), Arruda (1980) and Fisher (1984).
36 See Machado (2009, p. 72), Prakash (2009) and Beckert (2014).

supplies from the British in Bombay (Mumbai).[37] These fabrics were then brought to the Atlantic through the Portuguese convoy system around the Cape of Good Hope, the *Carreira da Índia*. Most of them went to Bahia, where they were called "fabrics for blacks" (*panos de negro*), to be sold in Angola by slave traders. There are also strong indications that Lisbon merchants also supplied Luanda with Asian textiles bought from London, as the *Carreira da India* was a very unreliable convoy.[38]

Cachaça was imported from *engenhocas* (sugar distilleries) in Brazil, produced mostly with African slave labor. It was a cheap by-product of the sugar mills in Bahia and Pernambuco, but the produce from Parati, in Rio de Janeiro, was the most favored. In Luanda, these spirits were the only relevant American import, but they were essential to the slave trade. During the 18th century, the total value of this market was roughly equivalent to 15% of all slave exports. Other than *cachaça*, Brazilian ports also sent tobacco, wood and construction materials to Luanda, which were mostly traded to be used as ballast.[39]

European imports were much more diverse. Textiles comprised a large share, but never had the same importance as their Asian counterparts. Linen cloths, sometimes called *Bretanha* (probably referring to Britanny in France, not the British Isles), also came from Hamburg, northern Portugal, Madeira, and the Azores.[40] These were cheap fabrics, mostly supplied by domestic peasant production financed and traded through a putting-out system (Kriedte, Medick and Schlumbohm, 1986). Woolen cloths, especially

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37 See Pinto (1994) and Prakash (2009).

38 See Lapa (2001). The books of the CGPP demonstrate that it frequently bought Asian merchandise from foreign merchants in Lisbon. See "Livro de enfardamentos," ANTT, CGPP, Junta de Lisboa, 484.

39 See Alencastro (2000) and Curto (2002). For a revision of Curto's calculation on the importance of cachaça in the Angolan trade, see Lopes and Menz (2008).

40 For more on *bretanha* textiles bought from France and Hamburg, see Lopes and Menz (2019).

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the *baetas*, were also a regular Angolan import mainly of British origin – in this case, the putting-out system coexisted with craft corporations and small factories employing wage-earning workers. The Portuguese also produced wool, but mostly for domestic consumption. Cheap, light and sometimes mixed with linen, these fabrics found some acceptance in colonial markets, but cotton was undeniably more popular.[41]

Other than textiles, a variety of European goods were sold to Luanda: gunpowder, wine, spirits (specially the Portuguese *aguardente*), beads and adornments from Venice, padlocks and weapons from Holland, etc. All of these trades were connected to the re-exportation of colonial goods: a ship taking Brazilian sugar to Hamburg could return with a load of grain for Portuguese consumption, but also bolts of linen cloth from Silesia to be capitalized in the Angolan trade. Trading vessels could be built in Brazil or bought second-hand in Britain; most of the canopies, ropes and naval equipment, however, was purchased from the Baltic Sea.[42] As a result, a few sectors – like wine production in Portugal – concentrated the economic benefits of being "global" businesses and having connections to the colonial economy (regarding not only direct profits, but also the many positive externalities that resulted in the expansion of the Empire and colonization).[43]

Once in Luanda, all these imports were arranged in small loads, each worth between 1:200$000 and 1:600$000, to be sold and traded for slaves in countryside fairs, *pumbos* and *sobados.* The merchandise that made up these loads varied according to the region for which they were destined.

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41 As already described in Ashton (1969) and Coleman (1969).

42 Balança Geral do Comércio do Reino de Portugal com os seus Domínios e Nações estrangeiras. Lisboa, Instituto Nacional de Estatística (1777 e 1796).

43 On the debate about the colonial influence on Portuguese economy, see Pedreira, (1994 and 1998), Alexandre (1986) and, more recently, Costa, Lains and Miranda (2011), and Costa, Palma and Reis (2015). On the more general debate on the issue, see Inikori (2002).

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To the north and around the Encoje garrison, where competition was fiercer given the supply of French and British exports from the Zaire River and the Loango Coast, *cachaça* was the most important item. To the east and south, in the Imbangala chiefdoms of Matamba and Cassange, these lots were quite diversified: iron, *cachaça*, coarse linen cloths, *zuartes*, *coromandeis*, *bretanhas.*[44] To avoid competition, the Portuguese also went farther from the coast to buy slaves, but other parties and trade routes were always at work. One Portuguese official wrote:

> The French black emissaries who bring their merchandise to the aforementioned Ginga [Matamba] and adjacent hinterland do not (…) equal our tradesmen, as they lack geribitas, calamanhas, serafinas, Portuguese weapons and other goods, which those blacks consider more important than satins, chintz and printed zuartes; while [the buyers] have already acquired a taste for our products.[45]

Therefore, the competition, was balanced by complementation and even collaboration. The back-country trade networks activated by the English, French, Dutch and Portuguese did not always operate in the same slaving areas and often traded goods and slaves with each other. Still, it is on the field of high finance that the most sophisticated forms of connection and cooperation among investors in the slave trade were to be found and where the global character of the Luanda slaving business became clearer.

We have already observed that merchants from other countries participated, whether legally or not, in the Angolan trade, using smaller ports or arranging for the right papers.

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44 Document by Dom Miguel Antonio de Melo (24/04/1798). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 87, doc.65).

45 Document by Francisco Xavier Lobão Machado Peçanha (27/06/1783). AHU, Angola (box 70, doc.29).

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The most powerful, however, were able to take part in these businesses from their offices in Lisbon or elsewhere. This could take the form of indirect investment, normally by selling goods and equipment on credit to ship-owners and captains, by means of a specific kind of sea loan called "bills of risk" (*letras de risco*). With these instruments, the supplying merchant would transfer the goods to the trader in exchange for a bill of future payment at a fixed price plus a premium.[46] Thus, the creditor would hold the sea risk, while the freighter would assume the market risk.[47] Occasionally, these obligations were not paid, and the notary archives still house the ensuing documentary litigation. For instance, in 1765, when the market for colonial goods was impacted by the aftermath of the Seven Years' War, numerous defaults from merchants in Angola and Rio de Janeiro were recorded by English, Dutch and Italian businessmen.[48]

It is impossible to measure precisely the scale of this sort of foreign indirect investment. In 1725, through his correspondents in Lisbon, a certain Diego Lamberto financed, from London, a trading voyage to Elmina with a sum of 2:000$000 in credits in a single operation.[49] Foreigners also played a major role in the insurance business for slave voyages starting in Portugal.[50] We may evaluate the scale of such investments in the records of the Pombaline Companies. For instance, in two of the vessels used by the Pernambuco and Paraíba General Company (CGPP), 46% of the cargo was purchased by advancements from foreign capitalists.[51] A similar share was found by Martins (2019) in a report on the Grão-Pará and Maranhão Company: 42% of

46 See, for instance, Contract between José Torres, Manoel José Telles and João Sherman (6/12/1725). ANTT, CNL 2 (box 84, book 400, ff. 73-76v).
47 For the same practice in the Spanish convoys, see Bernal (1992, p.176).
48 Copy of a Dispatch from the Governor (2/7/1770). ANTT, Cartório do Distribuidor de Lisboa (box 41, livro 126).
49 Unnamed Document (19/2/1725). CNL, (Ofício A, book 395, box 70, f.79-80).
50 Silva, 2015, pp. 84-87.
51 "*Livro de enfardamentos*," ANTT, CGPP, Junta de Lisboa, 484.

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the goods were acquired from non-Portuguese merchants.[52] It should also be noted that private traders from the colonies also sought this form of credit for their operations. For instance, in 1758 a partnership established by Francisco Pereira Santos, in Rio de Janeiro, and José dos Santos Torres, in Luanda, was indebted to five foreign merchants residing in Lisbon.[53] In fact, it is likely that traders like these were even more dependent on foreign credit, since, unlike the Pombaline companies, they were not able to deal with suppliers of European goods at their home-ports. As observed by Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (2015: 88), in the case of slave voyages financed in Amsterdam at the end of the 17th Century, the slave trade became "a low-investment and high-return business in which ship officers could afford to take bottomries and loans to finance activities, using trade goods, return cargos, or even the ship itself as collateral."

To a certain degree, foreign capital also financed Portuguese trade in India, which was another form of indirect investment in the slave trade, as they were connected. Jesus Bohorquez has demonstrated the existence of a speculative market in Lisbon involving sea loans based on trading voyages to Goa, in which a vast array of capitalists from Europe participated. The return trade from India was also financed by European, Hindu and Chinese merchants who operated there (Bohorquez, 2020). Likewise, foreign investors were directly involved in the Angolan slave trade, as we have noted, and the presence of Asian capitalists is particularly relevant to describe it as a business of "global" character. At least a few Hindu merchants sent their goods to Angola during the time when direct trade with Goa was allowed[54], and it is likely that they had commissioners operating in

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52 MARTINS, Diego de Cambraia. *A Companhia Geral do Comércio do Grão Pará e Maranhão e os Grupos Mercantis no Império Português.* (Doctoral thesis in Economic History). FFLCH/USP, São Paulo: 2019, p. 285.

53 ANTT, *Cartório do distribuidor*, book 119, box 38.

54 AHU, *Caderno de Fazendas Nau Nossa Senhora da Caridade*, São Francisco de Paula, 1772 códice 1243.

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Bahia for some time. Though the overall volume of their business is unknown, this evinces a global economy that was still polycentric at the end of the 18th century (Pomeranz, 1999).

Naturally, merchants operating in Lisbon are much more frequently cited in the available sources. According to the Customs Office records, foreign traders were only responsible for 3% of the total value of exports from Lisbon to Angola between 1748 and 1760.[55] The company formed by Albertini, Frisoni and Juvalta (two Italians and a Dutch) was the largest foreign investor in the Portuguese-Angolan trade according to the Customs records of Lisboa, with a total of 20:590$925 in investments between 1748 and 1760. Still, this figure may be misleading, since it does not account for a large share of the trade owed by foreign capitalists by means of sea loans and other financial instruments.

The story of the ship *Nossa Senhora do Bom Despacho e Santo António* is an interesting and illustrative example of the global nature of these businesses. In the year 1755, this galley was apprehended in Luanda and her captain and crew were arrested under the accusation that she belonged to a foreigner. An investigation was opened, and one of the depositions mentioned the name of Paulino Lombardini, an Italian merchant living in Lisbon. He had allegedly bought the vessel in London through one of his partners, a piece of information given by another Italian, Fortunato Albertini. It was also stated that Lombardini had approached a trader named Manoel da Costa Luz to act as the ship's sailing master and move its cargo in Luanda, which the latter refused, claiming that it was not in his best interest. Lombardini then hired another master and sold part of its cargo

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55 This estimation takes as a sample the thirty most important traders. See ANTT, alfândega de Lisboa, Casa da Índia, Registro de Saída, Livros 1, 2,3,4, (1748); 192, 208, 300, 347 (1749); 41, 30, 213, 169 (1750); 73, 72, 70, 71 (1751); 93, 91, 92, 90 (1752); 235, 233, 237, 236 (1753), 110, 111, 112, 113 (1754). 114,115,116 (1755), 335, 336, 337 (1756), 293, 294, 295, 296, (1757), 180, 181, 182, 183 (1758), 181, 292, 310 (1759), 362, 364, 365 (1760).

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to a Lisbon merchant, Francisco Luís de Almeida, who was not one of the usual slave traders.[56]

Of course, there was nothing illegal in the operation and "it [had] never been forbidden in the commerce of [that] Kingdom." This was stated by Almeida in a petition to the Overseas Council (the highest authority under the monarch in the government of the colonies).[57] It was probably not even unusual. In the end, the galley and its cargo were returned to their owner, but the losses were significant.[58]

As it happened, Lombardini's operation stepped on the toes of powerful people in the Angolan trade. It is impossible to say for certain, but the initial complaint may have come from Costa Luz himself. This merchant and captain was very well-known among Lisbon and Luanda traders, and was often called upon to testify in commercial disputes. His business accounts for the third largest shipment volume to Angola between 1748 and 1760. Even so, he was not among the most important Portuguese merchants of the time (Pedreira, 1995, p. 164-7), and there is no indication that he ever took part in any of the larger Angolan contracts.

It is possible that he acted mostly as a frontman in Portugal for the aforementioned company of Albertini, Frisioni & Juvalta, of which there are several indications in the Lisbon registries.[59] That would explain the unusually low profile of a merchant responsible for the impressive sum of 96:561$700 in shipment of goods to Angola, during that period. In the end, it is probable that the seizure of the galley's cargo and the arrest of her crew in Angola were the

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56 Testimony annexed to a Letter from João Baptista Baena (29/2/1756). AHU, Avulsos Angola (box 43, doc.4028).

57 Petition by Francisco Luis de Almeida (c.1755). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 43, doc.3973).

58 Document by António Álvares da Cunha (10/6/1757). AHU, Avulsos, Angola (box 44, doc.4111).

59 Letter of Attorney from Albertini, Frisoni & Juvalta and Manoel da Costa Luz to Francisco Vasquez (1765). ANTT, Cartório do Distribuidor de Lisboa (Livro 126, caixa 41).

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result of a trading dispute between Italian commercial firms acting in the Portuguese Empire.

Finally, there is an important detail of the Angolan slave trade which marked its particular character in that global business scheme. The slave trade itself was mostly done by residents of Luanda – rich merchants and financiers cared little for the "slave risk" and rarely accepted payment in slaves, as the actual deed of imprisonment and deportation to America implied a high mortality among the "goods." Therefore, dealers and commissioners in that port would normally pay their imports with bills to be discounted in Brazil, on the proceeds from the sale of the enslaved sent to Rio de Janeiro, Bahia and Pernambuco. That is to say, the trade balances of Luanda had to be covered by Brazilian exports.[60]

Furthermore, given the time it took to close such operations, the merchants in Lisbon would normally hold large funds in Angola. But what appeared as numbers in their books, assets and receivables from Angolan traders, was in reality a capital fund applied in goods and slaves constantly moving between Luanda and Ambaca, Cassange, Matamba, etc.[61] The local counterpart of global finance and its European centers was the population of enslaved Africans who served as debt collateral all along the Angolan ports, villages and encampments. For Luanda, a city that emerged from the process of the first globalization, it meant, first and foremost, becoming a major center in the business of enslavement.

60 See Miller (1988) and Menz (2012).
61 See Miller (2017) and Menz (2019).

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12

Plague in Portugal[1]

Between the local and the global (1700-1899)

Matheus Alves Duarte da Silva

When presenting breakthrough discoveries about plague or synoptical accounts of old and contemporaneous plague pandemics, the doctor Ricardo Jorge often stressed a few particularities of Portugal regarding this disease. The country was one of the first European kingdoms to become free from it at the end of the 17th century,[2] when the disease started an apparent process of retrocession from the Mediterranean basin that would be completed in the second half of the 19th century. Nonetheless, Portugal had the fate of being impacted by an important outbreak when the plague returned to the West at the dawn of the 20th century, in Porto in 1899. Ironically, according to Jorge, this time plague spread from China and India, two places that had stronger connections with other European ports, including Lisbon itself, when compared with Porto. Yet, this return did not reach the magnitude of older epidemics, and despite other small outbreaks in the following years, the plague

1 I am very grateful to the peer-reviewers of this chapter and to the editors of this book. Research leading to this chapter was funded by the Wellcome Trust (grant ID 217988/Z/19/Z) for the project "The Global War Against the Rat and the Epistemic Emergence of Zoonosis."

2 Before its return in 1899, the last plague outbreak in Portugal dated from 1680 (Fernandes Alves, 2005).

was controlled in Portugal. On the other hand, for the first time in history, it sailed to the Americas and other regions never touched by it before, becoming a truly global scourge (Jorge, 1927, p. 1105, 1933, p. 7).

Although he used history as a rhetorical tool, Jorge was not a professional historian. Therefore, in describing the apparent retrocession of plague from the Mediterranean and its return to Portugal in 1899, Jorge had a very concrete and present project. He aimed to convince his colleagues that the "old" and the "new" plague were identical, and only the hygienic habits of European populations had changed over time, which could explain why the disease did not take ground in the Old Continent after touching Porto in 1899 (Jorge, 1933).

In the past decades, historians have examined the history of plague in Portugal, discussing this subject not only as a question of hygiene, but also as a social and cultural phenomenon. *Grosso modo*, the recent literature on plague in Portugal might be divided into three main groups: firstly, works dealing with medieval and early modern plague outbreaks, at times influenced by Foucauldian explanations and discussing how they unsettled but specially accelerated the concentration of power in the hands of the Portuguese Crown (Abreu, 2006; M. J. da M. Bastos, 2009); secondly, studies focusing on quarantine measures implemented between the 17thand 19th centuries against plague and other infectious diseases such as cholera, which stressed that these measures reinforced the statical power and fostered new international relationships between Portugal and its neighbors (Garnel, 2009; Abreu, 2018a, 2018b); And, finally, examinations of the 1899 Porto plague outbreak, with special attention to the role of Jorge in identifying the presence of plague in the city, the social reactions against the *cordon sanitaire* implemented by the central authorities, and how this outbreak heralded a period of hygienic modernization in Portugal (Fernandes Alves, 2005; Echenberg, 2007; Almeida, 2014; Costa, 2018a).

Albeit important and rich, the main deficiency of this literature was that it posed no challenge to national and Eurocentric perspectives, since the scale deployed in most of these works covers only Portugal or Western Europe. Even when the Mediterranean basin is the subject, we are often informed by what Portugal and other European countries thought about the Muslim countries and the Ottoman Empire, with rare exceptions discussing the other side of the story. Moreover, works dealing with plague outbreaks on the Portuguese possessions during the Third Plague Pandemic (1894-1959) are still exceptional, as are analyses of how knowledge about the disease circulated between these Portuguese colonies, Portugal, and other European empires.[3]

Jorge's reasoning provides useful insights precisely in view of this lacunae, since he took the plague as a global phenomenon. I propose to examine two connected global shifts in the history of plague that can be particularly illuminated by looking from the point of view of Portugal: firstly, the geographical shift, stressing how the locus of plague infection – whether imagined or real – passed, according to the Portuguese empire, from the Mediterranean to China and India; secondly, the shift in knowledge production, discussing the passage from a narrow sphere of circulation of knowledge on plague,[4] centered on the Mediterranean basin, to a wider sphere connecting Europe and Asia.

By examining these two shifts, I intend to dialogue with the main ideas of this edited volume: empires and cities. On the one hand, the changes in terms of fear and

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3 An outstanding exception is (Bastos & Saavedra, 2006).

4 Debates on the circulation of knowledge are bourgeoning in the field of history of science. Circulation can mean, at times, a simple geographical displacement of a scientific instrument, a book, or an idea. But in a deeper sense, it can relate to the emergence of new knowledge because of movements beyond national borders. In this chapter, I use the word circulation in this second sense. On the circulation of knowledge, see, among others (Fan, 2012; Raj, 2013; 2017; Gänger, 2017).

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knowledge about the disease were invariably linked to the European expansion towards Asia. Imperial formations not only provided an infrastructure of transport that spread diseases (McNeill, 1998; Echenberg, 2007; Harrison, 2013), but also shaped and conformed the circulation of knowledge on these scourges, an assumption that resonates with broader discussions on the history of science (Raj, 2010b). On the other hand, cities were the scene of the major plague outbreaks since the Middle Ages, and, as I will highlight at the end of the chapter, the place where new knowledge on microbiology could emerge.

The proposed scope of this chapter can give rise to at least two main criticisms. On the one hand, it can appear as a contradiction in terms to examine two global phenomena, such as the spread of plague and the global production of knowledge on it, while paying attention to a particular place, i.e., Portugal. Nonetheless, any historical examination of knowledge production in a single location is not in opposition to a global history of science. Indeed, as shown by a bourgeoning literature, it was precisely in specific spaces positioned at the crossroads of local and global dynamics — mainly imperial cities in the Americas and Asia — that modern science emerged (Cañizares-Esguerra, 2017; Raj, 2010a). On the other hand, the epistemological problem of the nature of plague over the centuries, or in other words, whether the pre-microbiology plague was the same as the post-microbiology plague. This question is part of a broader philosophical debate between realist and constructivist approaches, evidenced by two classic accounts, in the case of plague. The first is William McNeil's *Plagues and Peoples*, which took medieval and modern plague outbreaks as being caused by *Yersinia pestis* and used contemporaneous knowledge to explain the emergence and spread of the disease through time. The second is Andrew Cunningham's chapter "Transforming Plague", which argued, instead, that Alexandre Yersin transformed the plague's identity when describing the plague bacillus for the first time, in 1894,

because from then onwards the disease was no more linked to its symptoms – the buboes – but to laboratory evidence (Cunningham, 1992, p. 234). Cunningham concluded that historians cannot ascertain whether plague epidemics before 1894 were caused by the same bacillus or were spread by the same mechanisms discovered in the 20th century (Cunningham, 1992). In this chapter, I do not intend to produce any synthesis of these approaches, or to defend one against the other. I acknowledge McNeil and Cunningham's powerful insights as well as the tensions between their arguments. Instead, I will consider as plague what the involved actors considered as such, without stating whether the outbreaks before and after 1894 were caused by the same microorganism or not.

The chapter starts at the dawn of the 18th century, when the plague began to be framed as an external problem to Portugal. It discusses how plague transmission was explained, which sanitary measures were applied to avoid its importation from the Mediterranean, and which knowledge circulated on the disease in that area. Then, the chapter turns to the first decades of the 19th century and examines an "epidemiological transition," represented by the apparent disappearance of plague and the emergence of cholera as the main global scourge. However, this situation changed again, and the chapter examines the beginning of the Third Plague Pandemic in China, and how it affected the Portuguese Empire in Asia. Finally, the text focuses on the Porto outbreak of 1899 and investigates how new microbiological knowledge constructed in Asia about the treatment and prevention of plague circulated and was slightly transformed in Portugal.

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A foreign but constant menace (1700-1820)

From the perspective of early 20th-century actors, such as Jorge, the plague started a process of retrocession from Europe and the Mediterranean basin from the 17th century onwards (Jorge, 1933, pp. 7–10). However, this retreat was not linear, and the late 17th and 18th centuries sometimes witnessed violent epidemics, like those of London (1665), Marseille (1720–1722), Messina (1743), and Moscow (1771). During this period, Portugal, just like its European neighbors, strengthened sanitary regulations to avoid importing plague from contaminated places, imposing quarantines, isolation, and prohibiting the importation of some merchandise suspected of transmitting the disease (Chircop & Martínez, 2018). These measures were anchored in a deep-rooted belief that plague was a contagious disease transmitted by direct contact with sick people or by indirect contact, for instance, with contaminated merchandise. Nonetheless, as remarked by Abreu, the decision to apply such measures was also informed by political calculations, which at times, even though targeted against foreign places, sought to tip the balance of power in Portugal (Abreu, 2018a).

An important symbol of this framing of plague is a 1695 royal decree on the measures to be applied in Portugal to avoid importing the disease. The document stated the necessity of imposing sanitary cordons at the border if plague appeared in Spain, requiring soldiers to fire at any person trying to enter Portugal. Likewise, it decided on a series of measures against ports situated in infected areas, such as the Barbary Coast, seen as a perpetual plague threat.[5] It thus established the necessity of creating health passports to be delivered by the authorities living in those ports. However, the royal decree acknowledged the possibility that the ships

5 This assumption, which combined epidemiological and religious anxieties, stayed broadly present in the European imagination and legislation long after the 18th century (Chiffoleau, 2012).

carrying valid passports could nevertheless carry infected passengers or objects, as they might have departed their ports right at the beginning of an epidemic. Consequently, it imposed that Health Officers should interview the crews to reconstruct the ship's journey and ascertain any death that might have occurred onboard or whether some people were showing signs of buboes (*tumores*), a common symptom of plague. As soon as their presence was confirmed, passengers and merchandise[6] would be sent to the lazaretto to undergo a quarantine (*Regimento do Provimento da Saúde para o Porto de Belém*, 1695).

The rules set up in 1695 to avoid the importation of plague were applied in several moments of the 18th century (Abreu, 2018a), as stated in correspondences issued by British diplomats based in Lisbon, mentioning that commercial and war ships that departed from infected places were inspected and, at times, forced to stay in quarantine in the Tagus before being admitted to the port of Lisbon (*Letter from the Portuguese Secretary of State to Earl of Galway*, 1709). Although the Barbary Coast continued to be framed as the main region of concern for Portuguese authorities, containment measures were also imposed against ships coming from Corsica, Morea, France, and Dantzig, to name a few (*Letter from the Consul Burnet to the Secretary of State*, 1720).

The epidemic crises in the Mediterranean and Europe were also a moment of fluid scientific exchanges about the plague. Five years after a major outbreak in the Sicilian city of Messina, in 1743, the *Tratado sobre os meyos de preservação da peste*, compiled by Pedro Villela, was published in Portugal by royal ordination. Vilela was not interested in the clinical and therapeutic aspects of plague, given that he was not a doctor but a magistrate. Therefore, his first goal was to propose sanitary legislation that should be imposed to prevent

6 Among the products to be put in isolation, or whose importation could even be banned during times of plague, the royal decree listed copper, wax, therapeutic drugs, silk, leather, and cotton and its derivatives.

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plague importation. Vilela's suggestions continued to target people and merchandise coming from infected places – an assumption reinforced by contemporaneous outbreaks in Marseille and Messina – especially cloth made of "wool, linen, and cotton, because [they] more easily receive and conserve the spikes [*spículos*] of infected air." Those goods had to be put in isolation and exposed to air and sunlight (Villela, 1748, p. 8). Likewise, Villela imagined what could happen if the disease arrived in any Portuguese city, basing his advice on old and contemporaneous accounts of plague. Since the air was the principal vehicle by which plague spread in a city, the government should focus on purifying measures, such as lighting bonfires, cleaning the streets, and removing beggars, dogs, and cats from the center, [7] because they could "catch" the contagium in their fur (Villela, 1748, pp. 11–15). He also recommended placing the sick and potential patients in isolated hospitals, as well as disinfecting their houses with different essences and destroying the furniture of those who had died (Villela, 1748, pp. 48–55).

By the end of the 18th century, another treaty was published in Portugal, intitled *Advertências dos meios que os particulares podem usar para preservar-se da peste, conforme o que tem ensinado a experiência principalmente da peste de Marselha em 1720, de Toulon em 1721, e de Moscou em 1771*. It was attributed to Alexandre Antônio das Neves Portugal, of the Portuguese Royal Academy of Sciences. Given that the country had been free from plague for more than a century, the proposals suggested by Neves Portugal were mostly based on foreign contemporaneous experiences and the knowledge extracted from them.[8] *Advertências* reached

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7 There is no mention of rats in the treaty.

8 Coherent with the Academy's mission of reuniting modern and ancient knowledge, *Advertências* was accompanied by a 16th-century plague treaty, *Recompilação das cousas que convem guardar-se no modo de preservar a cidade de Lisboa*, by Tomas Alvarez and Garcia de Salzedo, from where Neves Portugal expected his readers to extract some useful knowledge.

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great popularity and was republished eleven times by 1801. Such interest suggests that, until this date, the Portuguese public did not consider plague to be a disease of the past but a potential risk that could return anytime. The last European epidemics listed in the treaty's title had surely played a role in keeping this fear alive, as did the news of plague epidemics throughout the march of the Napoleonian army during the campaign of Egypt and Levante. In any case, the book continued to describe plague as a contagious disease transmitted by the touch of "sick people, their rags, or infected cloths."Most of the measures proposed by the author were not new and continued to focus on avoiding potential contact with infected people and goods, by means of quarantines, isolation, and disinfection of merchandise (Neves Portugal, 1801, p. 7).

Shortly after this publication, at the very beginning of the 19th century, "macro-parasitism," rather than microparasitism, became the main scourge of Portugal. The country would live nearly twenty years of social and economic turmoil following the French invasion and the transfer of the crown to Brazil in 1807. Popular unrest against the invader until its expulsion, the Porto Revolution of 1820, the Brazilian independence two years later, and the liberal wars from 1828 to 1834 provoked perhaps as many societal and economic losses as any previous epidemic. In this ravaged country, it was no longer plague, but cholera, that would become the main cause of sanitary apprehension in the following decades.

An apparent epidemiological transition (1820-1893)

From the perspective of Portugal and other Western European countries, the first half of the 19th century was marked by an "epidemiological transition." Despite plague remaining an international menace at least until 1851,

cholera gradually substituted it as the most feared scourge (Chiffoleau, 2012; Garnel, 2009). An endemic disease in the Ganges Delta whose main symptoms are violent diarrhea and dehydration, cholera started spreading around the world in the 1820s. These first "pandemics," — though the word did not exist at the time — are often presented by historians of medicine as a collateral consequence of the increasing British presence in India (Chiffoleau, 2012; Harrison, 2006). However, Portugal was a colonial power in Asia far before the British, and the Portuguese seemed to have been plagued by pathological manifestations similar to cholera since the 16th century, which cost the lives of many officers and clergymen sent to the *Estado da Índia* (C. Bastos & Saavedra, 2006, p. 218). In spite of this previous contact with what could arguably be cholera, it only became a real threat upon its arrival to Porto in 1833, after killing thousands in Paris, London, and other European capitals. This first outbreak in Portugal provoked severe economic and social disruptions, and more deaths than the civil war (Almeida, 2014, p. 694). In May 1855, cholera returned, following a similar path to the first outbreak: it affected Porto and the north before reaching Lisbon and the Algarve. The next year, another outbreak started in Lisbon, from where the disease sailed to Madeira Island (Almeida, 2011, pp. 1064–1065).

It is commonly assumed that the cholera epidemics in Europe opposed the medical schools of contagionists and anti-contagionists. The first believed that cholera, like the plague, was spread by inter-human contact or infected objects. Therefore, the measures adopted should be like those implemented or advocated to stop plague in the 18th century, such as quarantines. Anti-contagionists, on the other hand, supported that cholera symptoms were caused by corrupted airs – the miasmas – emanating from swamps, industrial areas, and slums. This alternative position criticized restrictive measures, such as quarantines and isolation, seen not only as useless but as an attack against

the liberties of movement and commerce. Instead, anti-contagionists sustained politics centered on miasma emanations, such as suppression of wetlands and better urban sanitation (Heaman, 1995).

Nevertheless, as argued by Garnel, this binary position never existed in practice, and all countries adopted a variety of measures – depending on their geographical position, the violence of the epidemic, and other factors – that eventually combined contagionist and anti-contagionist positions (2009, p. 232). In Portugal, as in other parts of Europe, cholera became rapidly associated by the medical and political elites with the working class and poverty, and accusations of lack of hygiene were commonly coupled with moral denunciations. Some insisted on the necessity of better sanitation in the slums and on fighting against alcoholism and prostitution among the poor. But contagionist-informed measures were also applied. When Porto registered cases of cholera in 1855, Lisbon imposed a sanitary cordon to contain the outbreak, and no boat could depart from the city before staying in isolation. Fairs and markets were also prohibited because they reunited many people in a single place. Those measures drew strong criticism, especially in Porto. In this city frankly associated with the liberal cause, the press and local elites were commonly against measures decided by Lisbon, instead supporting anti-contagionist approaches (Almeida, 2011). Anyway, it is worth noting that the strategies usually suggested to fight plague in Portuguese cities throughout the 18th century came to fruition at this moment, when trying to stamp out cholera.

In parallel to these national approaches, the European powers and the Ottoman Empire met several times in the 19th century on international sanitary conferences. Starting in 1851, when plague was still a possible menace in the Mediterranean, these conferences aimed to reach an international agreement on sanitary legislation to prevent the spread of cholera to Europe while mitigating commercial disruptions caused by quarantines, isolation, and

importation bans. Plague, after 1851, was no longer seen as a menace thanks to its disappearance from the Mediterranean. The main object of discussion at the sanitary conferences was the annual peregrinations to Mecca, feared as a likely focus of cholera. This apprehension went in hand with the increasing presence of European powers in Muslim regions throughout the 19th century (Chiffoleau, 2012, 2016). The measures to prevent the importation of cholera into Europe were strongly debated, opposing contagionists and anti-contagionists, represented respectively by France and Great Britain, in the international arena. Despite being its oldest ally, Portugal never completely supported the quarantine-free position of Great Britain and aligned with France several times to back rigorous measures against infected places (Garnel, 2009). The first sanitary convention, signed only in 1892, set a compromise between these two antagonistic positions by insisting more on disinfection and reducing the time of quarantines. In 1897, a new sanitary conference was summoned. Nonetheless, it dealt no more with cholera but with plague, a disease that had shortly returned to the center of political discussions in Europe (Proust, 1897).

From Hong Kong to Porto (1894-1899)

The spread of plague at the end of the 19th century — later christened the beginning of the Third Plague Pandemic — started in Hong Kong in 1894. From this British colony, the disease sailed to India in 1896, touching first Calcutta (present-day Kolkata) and then other parts of the British Raj. In later years, Bombay (present-day Mumbai), then the capital of the Presidency of the same name and a major economic hub, became the epicenter of the global plague pandemic (Arnold, 1993; Catanach, 1988; Chakrabarti, 2012, Chapter 1). Following new maritime routes aboard fast

steamships, the disease spread from India all around the world, returning to the north of Africa and reaching, for the first time, the Americas and Australia (Echenberg, 2007). In Western Europe, despite a few cases in London and Marseille, and a laboratory accident in Vienna, Portugal was the first country to deal with a plague epidemic of considerable proportions in its mainland territory (Jorge, 1899).

Nonetheless, before returning to the metropolis in 1899, the plague crossed the Portuguese Empire, a point seldom acknowledged by historians of the Porto outbreak. According to official reports and scientific works by José Gomes da Silva (1895, pp. 22–23), the Portuguese doctor in charge of the Macau sanitary services, the disease arrived in this colony as early as March 1895, being first identified in a Chinese man coming from Hong Kong, just on the other side of the Pearl River estuary. This case soon gave place to an outbreak, which lasted until July 1895 and killed more than one thousand people, mostly Chinese. Without the violence of this first eruption, from 1896 to 1898 plague outbreaks were annually reported in Macau; again, the port of Hong Kong, along with those of Canton (present-day Guangzhou), was pointed out by Gomes da Silva as the probable source of the infection (Silva, 1898a, 1898b).

Soon after the Macanese outbreak, the plague reached Portuguese India, when cases were reported in Damão in February 1897 (Pinto, 1899). For the British authorities, the Damão outbreak was probably caused by the strong commercial and societal links that tied the Portuguese enclave to the Bombay Presidency, where the epidemic was going rampant. This observation was based mainly on the discovery of initial cases among sailors who visited the busy port of Karachi (present-day part of Pakistan) (Haffkine & Lyons, 1897, p. 2). The hypothesis of contamination coming from Bombay ports and villages would find an echo in the Portuguese administration and inform its sanitary decisions. In 1898, Damão authorities unsuccessfully tried to isolate the enclave from Bombay by establishing posts of control

and disinfection (Pinto, 1899, pp. 3–4). This proximity also allowed scientific exchanges between the Portuguese enclave and the British colony, especially in the form of an anti-plague vaccine invented in Bombay, at the end of 1896, by the Russian-born microbiologist Waldemar Haffkine. In the first months of 1897, it was supplied to Damão and used in almost one-third of its population of 10,000 souls. This experience, one of the first of its kind, allowed some positive conclusions about the efficacy of this vaccine, as the mortality among the uninoculated in Damão was far superior to that among the inoculated (Haffkine & Lyons, 1897).

After touching the Asian colonies, plague continued its march over the Portuguese Empire debarking at Lourenço Marques (present-day Maputo), Mozambique, in January 1899. Luckily, the outbreak was rapidly contained. Nonetheless, the disease would reappear in other villages on the Mozambique coast and countryside in later years. Again, Portuguese actors pointed out that Bombay, along with other British ports in the Indian Ocean, were the probable source of the disease's arrival to their African Empire (Jorge, 1935, p. 28).[9] In sum, the geographical range for the menace of plague changed in these initial years, since the Mediterranean was no more its endemic place, changing instead to China and India, partly as in the case of cholera.

Despite these previous outbreaks across the Empire, the return of plague to Portugal took many actors by surprise (Jorge, 1899, p. XI). By June 1899, the first cases of a suspicious disease were observed in Porto on dockworkers, most of them Spaniards. The investigations carried out by Jorge, then the Porto Health Service chief, between July and

[9] Portuguese colonies on the African Atlantic coast, such as Angola and Guinea-Bissau, escaped this first pandemic wave, and were only contaminated in 1921. This time, the cause was not found in British ports but in a ship coming from Lisbon, in the case of Angola, and in people traversing the border with Senegal, in the case of Guinea-Bissau (Jorge, 1935, pp. 23–24).

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August, allowed him to attest first clinically and then by bacteriological examination that the plague had returned after centuries of disappearance (Jorge, 1899, p. XII–XIII). The professional background of the first cases indicated that the origins of this outbreak were likely linked to maritime commerce. However, an important point puzzled Jorge and several other actors: why was Porto was the entrance of plague in Europe, rather than a Mediterranean port or even Lisbon? As Jorge pointed out in his reports, in the weeks before the first cases, no ship had arrived in Porto from "India, China, Mauritius, or any other region where an epidemic has recently occurred or is now occurring." Commercial links with these places could only be retraced indirectly. Indeed, merchandise exported from them – hemp, tea, and rice, to name a few – arrived just before the outbreak but came in ships departing from European ports, mainly British ones, which were free from plague and, therefore, had proper health letters. This observation led Jorge to wonder whether the merchandise, despite a long time of latency, was acting as a "vector of plague," potentially undermining contemporaneous political and scientific notions that goods should be given free circulation if embarked on a port considered free of plague (Jorge, 1899, p. 34).

The Portuguese Government faced the Porto outbreak with measures dating from the 18th century and before. It decided to isolate the sick, clean the streets, and destroy houses and furniture touched by plague victims (Jorge, 1899, p. 30). In addition, it imposed a *cordon sanitaire* maintained by the Army, stopping any communication with the external world. Suspecting Lisbon's economic and political interests rather than sanitary concerns to be behind that decision, and faced with inflation and unemployment, the Porto population revolted against the measure, without success (Almeida, 2013, 2014; Costa, 2018b, pp. 171–172). In the international arena, European representatives based in Portugal and foreign scholars sent there to study the disease condemned the cordon as a disproportionate measure

unable to achieve its goals (Lettre du Ministre de France à Albert Calmette, 1899).

Plague in Porto: circulation and construction of microbiological knowledge (1899)

Whilst the Porto outbreak shows that the revolutionary aspects of the emergence of microbiology in the last decades of the 19th century should not be overemphasized, it would be unfair not to acknowledge the practical and intellectual transformations brought by the science of microbes. Paradoxically, these revolutionary aspects are also perfectly exemplified by the Porto outbreak.

According to the historian of medicine Ilana Löwy (2015, p. 239), microbiology was a "technology of hope" whose promises could be summarized in three different points: a) the production of new therapeutic objects; b) the prevention of diseases by means of artificial immunization; and c) the invention of new sanitary strategies targeting the "real" causes of the spread of diseases. Nonetheless, at the turn of the 20th century, these three promises hardly materialized together to face one specific disease, except in the fight against plague. In that case, the possibility of treating and immunizing became possible thanks to the invention of several anti-plague sera and vaccines. Moreover, new sanitary interventions were proposed and applied around the world, focused on destroying rats or preventing the contact between these supposed carriers of plague bacilli and humans (Silva, 2020). In the case of the Porto outbreak, the city played an important role regarding the first two promises, i.e., serotherapy and new techniques of immunization.

Initial attempts to produce an anti-plague serum and vaccine started soon after the identification of the plague bacillus in 1894. In 1895, the Pasteur Institute of Paris announced that its plague vaccine prototype seemed

dangerous to guinea pigs and decided to halt this branch of research, while tests on animals with a therapeutic anti-plague serum, also conducted in the Parisian laboratory, were more successful. To produce it, a certain quantity of living plague bacilli was injected into horses; this induced an immunological reaction, and their blood became full of plague antibodies. Part of their blood was then recovered and transformed into serum, which was later administered to infected patients (Yersin *et al*., 1895). Yersin first tested this medicine on humans in Canton in 1896, obtaining promising results: out of 26 cases treated with it, only two died (Yersin, 1897b). Meanwhile, towards the end of 1896, Haffkine tried to produce a similar anti-plague serum in Bombay to save its thousands of victims, but he was ultimately unsuccessful. He was luckier in inventing a vaccine by heating a culture bouillon containing the plague bacillus and its toxins. By early 1897, Haffkine started manufacturing and administering it to thousands in Bombay, in other parts of India (in Damão, for instance), and even abroad (Haffkine, 1897, 1903).

These two parallel dynamics met in March 1897 when Yersin — later substituted by the French Pasteurian doctor Paul-Louis Simond — arrived in Bombay. Their mission's official goal was to test the curative powers of the Pasteur Institute serum and ascertain whether the numbers obtained in Canton could be replicated when applied to a much larger epidemic. Nonetheless, the previous positive results were not reproduced in Bombay, where the French obtained a mortality of 60% among their patients (Simond, 1898). The efficacy of the French serum was then rapidly shunned by Indian and British authorities, who decided to support the local production of an anti.plague serum originally invented in Florence and tested in Bombay at the same time as the French serum, known as the Lustig serum (Galeotti, 1899). In addition to testing the curative powers of the French serum, Yersin and Simond also aimed to assess whether this medicine could protect healthy people

against the plague, performing a vaccination with the serum (Yersin, 1897a). The decision put them at odds with Haffkine, sparking a controversy. For the French, Haffkine's vaccine was dangerous: it caused fever, pain and even death among the inoculated because it contained plague toxins. On the other hand, Haffkine considered the prophylactic effects of the French serum to be useless, since the protection it conferred lasted for no more than two weeks, while his vaccine resulted in immunization for at least six months. Bombay authorities aligned with Haffkine, preferring his vaccine over the French serum. However, the French critique would better resonate with European audiences and Haffkine's vaccine was regarded with suspicion there (Silva 2018).

It was right at this moment of controversies and hesitations about microbiology's capacity to stop the plague when the disease arrived in Porto. Given the uniqueness of the event and its importance to European public health, different scientific missions gathered in the city, and Porto became an international laboratory. The Pasteur Institute sent its representatives again, this time Albert Calmette and Alexandre Salimbeni. Their mission, as put clearly by Émile Roux, the vice-director of the French laboratory, was to dismiss the bad publicity around the anti-plague serum in Europe after the mission in India (Roux, 1899). The French brought to Porto an improved anti-plague serum produced in Paris, modified according to the bad results obtained in India: it was produced by injecting dead plague bacilli in the horses and then living bacilli of increasing virulency (Calmette & Salimbeni, 1899). The Portuguese Government established an international commission formed by local doctors, such as Jorge, and foreign scientists to evaluate the therapeutic and prophylactic effects of this new serum on animals. The commission eventually attested the French serum's efficacy not only to treat but also to protect against plague, although considering that this protection seemed to wane after three weeks (Commission Internationale de

Porto, 1899). Partly thanks to these conclusions, Calmette and Salimbeni applied more easily their serum in Porto, treating 142 patients in the Hospital do Bomfim (only 21 died) and using it as a vaccine on more than 600 people (Calmette & Salimbeni, 1899, pp. 893–894 and 903).

The international commission also tested the efficacy of anti-plague vaccines, specially Haffkine's, in Porto. It attested that these vaccines could protect for a longer time than the serum; nonetheless, they could be dangerous due to their method of fabrication. To overcome this problem, Calmette and Salimbeni suggested and tested a third solution on animals, but not on humans, which they called a "mixed vaccination." It consisted in dropping some serum in the vaccine and applying them together; Calmette and Salimbeni imagined that this could overcome the intrinsic problems of both treatments while boosting their efficacy (Commission Internationale de Porto, 1899, pp. 6–8). Although in Portugal the mixed vaccination never went past being a suggestion, the idea found a longstanding application, partly reformulated, as an immunization technique in Rio de Janeiro during plague outbreaks in the first decade of the 20th century (Silva, 2020, pp. 230–237).

Despite the better results of serotherapy and the emergence of mixed vaccination, the Porto plague episode did not solve all problems faced by microbiology in India, and some doubts persisted. However, it showed that the results obtained in Bombay were not necessarily universal and that other possibilities could emerge to treat and protect from plague. The outbreaks in Porto and other places, such as Brazil, would force scholars to explain why the results of therapeutic anti-plague sera in India were so different from other parts of the world. These comparisons produced a rich scientific literature comprising different hypotheses, which spanned from a supposed racial weakness of Hindus *vis-à-vis* the plague to critiques against the sanitary management of plague in the British Empire (Calmette & Salimbeni, 1899;

Choksy, 1923; Lustig & Galeotti, 1901; Simond, 1911). Even though no single answer reached scientific consensus, the Porto outbreak was the first event to trigger this global debate.

After this episode, the plague would reappear periodically in various places around Portugal, such as Porto (until 1915), Lisbon, and the islands, where cases were reported until 1921 (Office International d'Hygiène Publique, 1923, pp. 76–81). Nevertheless, the political and scientific importance of the 1899 outbreak would hardly be surpassed.

Conclusion

This chapter followed two correlated shifts in the global history of the plague from the perspective of Portugal: first, a geographical shift, with the plague passing from a problem situated in the Mediterranean basin, until the first decades of the 19th century, to a global scourge, from 1894 onwards; second, a shift in the production of knowledge about this disease, not only in terms of the emergence of microbiology but also of geographical scope. If the knowledge about this disease circulated within Europe throughout most of the 18th and 19th centuries, from 1894 onwards China and especially India emerged as the preeminent places where innovative microbiological solutions were created, tested, and evaluated. Interestingly, this double emergence of China and India as both feared threats and players in the global production of microbiological knowledge can be observed in Portuguese colonies situated in those two Asian regions and Porto. In addition to being affected by the disease, Porto was also the place where the new anti-plague serum from the Pasteur Institute improved after a failed mission to India, and where the mixed vaccination was proposed as a solution to solve a controversy raised in Bombay.

By reconstructing these shifts and describing them in a long-term, global perspective, the chapter has contributed, first, to expand and disclose the literature about the plague in Portugal, at times confined to a national framework, by showing the articulations between imperial, national and international dynamics. In this chapter, the articulation was described under the lens of the circulation of knowledge, understood here as a heuristic tool to describe the scientific innovation at the crossroads of the local and the global. However, this circulation did not occur in the vacuum, but within bounded global structures – the European Empires – whose materiality could only be observed in situated spaces: both colonial and metropolitan urban settings.

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Notes on contributors

Alírio Cardoso

Holds a Ph.D. from the Universidad de Salamanca (2012). He is an Associate Professor at the Federal University of Maranhão, in São Luís, Brazil, where he has taught since 2005. His research interests focus on the occupation of the colonial Amazon region by the European colonial powers during the 17th century. His current research project deals with Dutch chronicles and letters on the Amazon region in the 17th century.

Ana Paula Dutra Bôscaro

Holds a degree (2013), an MA (2016) and a Ph.D. (2022) in History from the Federal University of Juiz de Fora (Brazil). A researcher of the Economic and Social History Laboratory and the Emancipation and Post-Abolition, she is also a member of the National History Association, Minas Gerais section, the Brazilian Association of Researchers in Economic History, and the Society of Studies of the Nineteenth Century. She was professor at the Brazil-Angola Cultural Center in Luanda, Angola. Recently, she researches topics related to economic, demographic, and social history, especially slavery, *compadrazgo* relations, small property, and the internal slave trade in Brazil.

Cláudia C. Azeredo Atallah

Is Adjunct Professor at the Federal Fluminense University (UFF) and Permanent Professor at the Postgraduate Program in Social History of the State University of Rio de

Janeiro (UERJ). She holds a degree and a master's in history from UERJ. She holds a Ph.D. in History from UFF, where she defended the thesis *Da justiça em nome d'El Rey: justiça, ouvidores e inconfidência em Minas Gerais (Sabará, 1720-1777)*, published by EdUERJ (2016) with FAPERJ funding. She has also co-edited *Justiças, Governo e Bem Comum na administração dos Impérios Ibéricos de Antigo Regime (séculos XV-XVIII)* with Junia Furtado and Patrícia Silveira (Prismas, 2017); and *Estratégias de poder na América portuguesa: dimensões da cultura política, (séculos XVII-XIX)* with Helidacy Corrêa (Ética, 2009). She is the leader of the research group "Justices and Iberian Empires of the Old Regime (JIIAR)," which brings together Brazilian and foreign researchers interested in studies on the History of Justice and Law and their interfaces with studies on the History of Crime and Criminal Legislation.

Gustavo Acioli

Is a professor of Economic History at the Department of History of the Federal Rural University of Pernambuco. He received his Ph.D. in Economic History from the University of Sao Paulo, specializing in early modern Atlantic slavery economy. Besides one book, he has published articles on the Atlantic slave trade, the role of commodities in the trade of enslaved Africans, and the historiographical debates on the place of slavery economies (particularly Brazil's settlement) within the development of capitalism, such as "A Fênix e o Atlântico. A Capitania de Pernambuco e a Economia-Mundo Europeia, c. 1654-1750" (Alameda, 2018) and "Brazil's Colonial Economy and the Atlantic Slave Trade: Supply and Demand," in *Networks and Trans-Cultural Exchange: Slave Trading in the South Atlantic, 1590-1867*, Eds. David Richardson and Filipa Ribeiro da Silva (Brill, 2014), p. 31-70.

Hélida Santos Conceição

Holds a Ph.D. in Social History from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (2018). She is an Assistant Professor at the State University of Bahia. Since 2014, she has been a member of the Research Group of the Old Regime in the Tropics (ART/UFRJ). She is also an invited researcher in the Imperial Cities project: local dynamics, global flows, at the Center for Research and Sociology Studies (CIES) of the University Institute of Lisbon (Iscte). Her research focuses on the formation of borders and the environmental resources, and economic, political and social dynamics of the backlands of the captaincy of Bahia in the 17th and 18th centuries.

Helidacy Maria Muniz Corrêa

is an Associate Professor at the State University of Maranhão [Universidade Estadual do Maranhão (UEMA)], where she is currently Director of the History Teaching Program Ensinar (since 2017); she is a professor of the MA in History (UEMA), and Coordinator of the Research Group *Maranhão e Grão-Pará no Mundo Atlântico – XVII-XVIII centuries* (MAREGRAM); and she is a member of the Editorial Board of UEMA Press and participates in Scientific Committees. A Doctor in History (2011) from the Fluminense Federal University [Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF)], she did postdoctoral training (2015-2016) at the École des Hautes Études en Science Sociale (EHESS). She was director of the History Program at UEMA, also head of the History and Geography Department (São Luís campus) and coordinator of the Electronic Journal Outros Tempos. She has organized congresses, conferences and seminars, and participated in research projects involving Brazilian, French and Portuguese institutions. She investigates primarily themes related to Local Histories (political and social dynamics of Maranhão and Grand Pará in the

imperial Atlantic area) from a global perspective, connected history and comparative history. Currently, she coordinates and participates in national projects related to assistance and historical cartography, with the funding of FAPEMA and UEMA. She has published and edited the following books: *Estratégias de poder na América portuguesa: dimensões da cultura política* (PPGH-UFF/Ed. UEMA, 2010); *São Luís em Festa: o Bumba meu boi e a construção da identidade cultural do Maranhão* (Ed. UEMA, 2012); *São Luís 400 anos: (con)tradição de uma cidade histórica* (Ed. UEMA, 2014).

José Damião Rodrigues

Ph.D. in History, University of the Azores (2001), is an Associate Professor at the School of Arts and Humanities of the University of Lisbon (FLUL). He was Associate Dean of FLUL (2016-2019) and is currently the Director of the PhD in Maritime History. He is an early modernist and his research ranges between the history of empires and the history of the Atlantic (*c.* 1500-*c.* 1820), focusing on social and political aspects. His current research project is based on the political and social dimensions of the urban government of the Atlantic during the 18th and 19th centuries, analyzing the dialogue between the different historiographies of the Atlantic to observe the politicization of societies and the formation of identities within the Iberian imperial territories. He has participated in several international research projects (Portugal, Spain, France, Brazil). He was a member of the Editorial Board of the Series *European Expansion and Indigenous Response* (Brill) and of several Scientific and Organizing Committees of conferences and workshops (Portugal, Spain, France, Brazil); he is a member of the scientific board for several history journals; and he has published and co-edited articles, book chapters, and books in Portugal, Spain, France, Germany, Brazil, Argentina, Peru, Colombia and the United States of America.

José Subtil

Holds a bachelor's degree in history from the Faculty of Humanities of the University of Lisbon, a master's degree in History of the 19th and 20th centuries from the Faculty of Social Sciences and Humanities of the New University of Lisbon, and a Ph.D. in Political and Institutional History from the same university, with Aggregation. He is Full Professor at the Autonomous University of Lisbon and President of its Scientific Council. He has held various public positions in various ministries. He has dozens of individual and collective publications and has written 10 books and 45 book chapters. He supervised 58 dissertations and theses and participated in 114 public examination panels. He has published 79 articles in national and foreign journals, along with 110 papers in colloquia, meetings and seminars. He received the Fernão de Magalhães Foundation Academic Merit Award twice and five public prizes (December 2019).

Judy Bieber

Is a professor of history at the University of New Mexico/Albuquerque. She received her Ph.D. in History at the Johns Hopkins University in 1994. She is the author *of Power, Patronage, and Political Violence: State Formation on a Brazilian Frontier* (Ed. University of Nebraska, 1999) and numerous articles in scholarly journals in the United States, Brazil, and England. Her research focuses on the social, economic, and political dynamics of the *sertões* of Minas Gerais and Bahia in the 18th and 19th centuries. Her current book-length project evaluates the role of indigenous peoples in shaping territorial boundaries and economic development in Minas Gerais and its neighboring captaincies.

Júnia Ferreira Furtado

Is full Professor of Early Modern History at the History Graduate Program of the Federal University of Minas Gerais. She is

a Visiting Scholar at Princeton University, Newberry Library, Ecole des Hautes Etudes en Sciences Sociales, John Carter Brown Library, Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, Federal Fluminense University. She has been the Year Nominated to Joaquim Nabuco's Chair, at Stanford University in 2012 and Fernand Braudel chair at European Institute/Florence, year 2018. Some of her books and articles on slavery in Brazil are *Chica da Silva: a Brazilian slave of the Eighteenth Century* (Cambridge University Press, 2009), and on the history of cartography, *Oráculos da Geografia iluminista: dom Luís da Cunha e Jean Baptiste Bourguignon d'Anville na construção da cartografia do Brasil* (EdUFMG/2012, forthcoming in Chicago University Press) and *The map that invented Brazil* (Versal Editors/2013).

Maria Sarita Mota

Is a Researcher of the Center for Research and Studies in Sociology (CIES-Iscte) at the University Institute of Lisbon. She holds a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro (CPDA/UFRRJ). She holds a degree in History and a master's degree in Social Sciences, both from the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ). Her research focuses on territorial rights and land titling in Brazil during the colonial and imperial periods. She is currently a member of the project "Rebellion and Resistance in the Iberian Empires-16th-19th centuries" (RESISTANCE-778076-H2020-MSCA-RISE-2017). Since 2018, she has been a guest professor at the Masters in Brazilian Studies, co-directed by the School of Arts and Humanities (FLUL) and the Institute of Social Sciences (ICS) of the University of Lisbon. She was a guest professor (2021-2022) of the Postgraduate Program in History at the Federal University of Pernambuco UFPE) and the Salgado de Oliveira University. She recently edited the book *Criminalidades, Direito e Justiça no Mundo Ibérico* (Editorial Teseo, 2022) with J. Subtil and C. Atallah.

Matheus Alves Duarte da Silva

Is a Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the Wellcome Trust-funded project "The Global War against the Rat and the Epistemic Emergence of Zoonosis," at the University of St. Andrews, in Scotland. He has published several papers on the global history of plague and the historiography of sciences in Latin America. He is currently preparing a book based on his Ph.D. thesis *Quand la peste connectait le monde: production et circulation de savoirs microbiologiques entre Brésil, Inde et France (1894-1922).*

Maximiliano Mac Menz

Has a Ph.D. in Economic History from the University of São Paulo (2006) and is a Professor of Modern History at the Federal University of São Paulo (UNIFESP). He is also a researcher at the "Centro Brasileiro de Análise e Planejamento" (CEBRAP). His research topics are the relations between colonial populations and the dynamics of capitalist expansion, seeking to consider the impact of the export agriculture on labor and land ownership. He also collaborated with international projects such as Emory's People of the Atlantic Slave Trade (PAST), under the leadership of David Eltis, and served as Visiting Scholar at the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam (IISH). Recent publications are "State Contractors and Global Brokers: The Itinerary of Two Lisbon Merchants and the Transatlantic Slave Trade during the Eighteenth Century" (co-authored with Jesus Bohorquez), in *Itinerario-International Journal on the History of European Expansion and Global Interaction*, v. 42, p. 403-429, 2018, and *Entre Impérios: Formação do Rio Grande na crise do sistema colonial português* (Alameda, 2009).

Nuno Camarinhas

Is a post-doctoral researcher at CEDIS, NOVA School of Law (Portugal). He concluded his Ph.D. in History from

EHESS, Paris (France) in 2007. He has published several books and papers on the early modern Portuguese judiciary and justice administration, such as *Juízes e Administração da Justiça no Antigo Regime. Portugal e o império colonial, sécs. XVII e XVIII* (2010) and the critical edition of *Memorial de Ministros* (2 vols., 2017). He is interested in colonial administration, legal and political history, and the use of digital tools in historical research. He is currently researching the 19th and early 20th century Portuguese colonial judiciary.

Rafael Chambouleyron

Holds a Ph.D. from the University of Cambridge (2005). He is an Associate Professor at the Federal University of Pará, in Belém, Brazil, where he has taught since 1996. His research interests focus on the territorial and economic dynamics of the colonial Amazon region, especially from the mid-17th until the mid-18th centuries. His present research project deals with the production and trade of the *drogas do sertão*, forest products of the Amazon region widely exploited and exported to Europe during the colonial period.

Roberto Guedes

Is a Research Productivity Scholarship of the National Council for Scientific and Technological Development (CNPq-Brazil). He holds a degree in History from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (1996), a master's in History from the Federal Fluminense University (2000), and a Ph.D. in Social History from the Federal University of Rio de Janeiro (2005). He has done postdoctoral research at the Social Science Institute of the Lisbon University (2009) and the Federal University of Minas Gerais (2018). He is currently Professor at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro. Since 1993 he has been studying Social History, especially of Colonial and Imperial Brazil. Since 2009

he has also studied about pre-colonial Africa (Angola). His research focuses mainly on social hierarchy and slavery.

Rodrigo da Costa Dominguez

Is an Economic History Junior Researcher and Director of the Interdisciplinary Center of Social Sciences (CICS.NOVA.UMinho) at the University of Minho, in Braga, Portugal. He also teaches Early Modern and Economic History at this institution. He was Visiting Scholar of the Appalachian State University (North Carolina, USA) in 2016. He holds a Master´s in Medieval and Renaissance Studies (2006) and a Ph.D. in History (2013), both from the University of Porto. He is also a member of international economic history associations in Portugal, Spain, Brazil, Latin America, and the United States, being also President of the Economic and Business History Society (EBHS – USA) for the mandate 2022-2023. His main areas of study have been: long-term economic and fiscal history of Portugal (15th-20th centuries); trade and shipping in the modern times, as well as the building and consolidation of economic and fiscal institutions in Portugal. He has published Mercadores e Banqueiros: sociedade e economia no Portugal dos séculos XIV e XV (2009); *Fiscal Policy in Early Modern Europe: Portugal in Comparative Context* (Routledge, 2020) and co-edited *Portugal in a European context: essays on taxation and fiscal policies in Late Medieval and Early Modern Western Europe, c. 1100-1700* with Amelia Aguiar Andrade (forthcoming Palgrave Macmillan 2022).

Silene Orlando Ribeiro

Is Professor at Unigranrio University, where she conducts research on the history of Native Peoples in Colonial Brazil. She is also teacher of History in public schools in São João de Meriti. She holds a degree in History from the State University of Rio de Janeiro (UERJ) and a master's degree in Social History

from the Fluminense Federal University (UFF). She completed her doctorate in History at the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro (UFRRJ/Brazil). Her thesis analyses the processes of recruitment and insertion of indigenous people in the Arsenal of the Navy of Rio de Janeiro in the first decades of the 19th century.

Vitória Schettini

Is a professor at the Post-Graduate Program in History from Salgado de Oliveira University, and Santa Marcelina College and UniFaminas University Center. She has a Ph.D. in Social Sciences from the Federal Rural University of Rio de Janeiro (CPDA/UFRRJ), with a doctoral internship at University of Minho and post-doctorate in the same Portuguese university (2014), both with CAPES funding. She obtained a scholarship from "Jovem Cientista" FAPERJ, and directs the research group Society, Culture and Labor in the Zona da Mata mineira, 18th-19th centuries. She has published *As várias faces de Minas: traços locais e regionais*, co-authored with Fernando Lamas and Rodrigo Fialho da Silva, and *Zona da Mata Mineira em movimento* (EdUEMG, (in press). She specializes in the history of Minas Gerais, especially the Zona da Mata Mineira and the hinterlands of the Macaé River. Slavery, family history and rural societies are recurring topics in her research. She is also interested in analyses using comparative methods concerning Brazil and Portugal.

Wolfgang Lenk

Has a Ph.D. in Economic History from the University of Campinas (Unicamp, 2009) and is a Professor of Economic History at the Federal University of Uberlândia, Minas Gerais (UFU). He is the author of *Guerra e Pacto Colonial: a Bahia contra o Brasil Holandês* (2013), on the fiscal-military efforts by the Portuguese to counter the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco in the 17th century.

List of referees

Adriana Romeiro (Federal University of Minas Gerais – Brazil)
Agata Bloch (Warsaw University – Poland)
Ângela Domingues (University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Ângelo Carrara (Federal University of Juiz de Fora – Brazil)
Ana Silvia Volpi Scott (State University of Campinas – Brazil)
Almir Diniz de Carvalho Jr. (Federal University of Amazonas – Brazil)
Arlindo Caldeira (Nova University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Arthur Curvelo (ICS – University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Beatriz Piccolotto Siqueira Bueno (University of São Paulo – Brazil)
Christopher Ebert (Brooklyn College/CUNY – USA)
Cristina Nogueira da Silva (Nova University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Cryslaine Alfagali (Pontifical Catholic University of Rio de Janeiro PUC-RJ – Brazil)
Danielle Sanches (Getúlio Vargas Foundation – Brazil)
Fabio Kuhn (Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul – Brazil)
Fabrício Prado (College of William and Mary – USA)
Francisco Javier Cervantes Bello (Meritorious Autonomous University of Puebla – Mexico)
Guida Marques (Nova University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Kirsten Schultz (Seton Hall University – USA)
Lucilene Reginaldo (State University of Campinas – Brazil)
Márcia Mello (Federal University of Amazonas – Brazil)
Maria Antónia Pires de Almeida (University Institute of Lisbon ISCTE – Portugal)
Mariana A. Dantas (Federal Rural University of Pernambuco – Brazil)

Mariana L. R. Dantas (Ohio University – USA)
Mônica Oliveira (Federal University of Juiz de Fora – Brazil)
Renata Malcher de Araujo (University of Algarve – Portugal)
Pablo Ibáñez-Bonillo (Nova University of Lisbon – Portugal)
Pedro Puntoni (University of São Paulo – Brazil)
Thiago Krause (Federal University of the State of Rio de Janeiro UNIRIO – Brazil)
Thomas Haddad (University of São Paulo – Brazil)