

# Insurrectionist turned saint: A biographical study of Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel

*ADELTO GONÇALVES*

## **The birth in Parati**

**W**HEN SALVADOR Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel was born, the town of Parati, in the district of Rio de Janeiro, facing the Atlantic Ocean was, as it is today, a village formed by a row of low houses on the edge of a stone pier.<sup>1</sup> It was located on an inlet dotted with numerous islets filled with palm trees.

It had a population of a little over 3,000 and no more than a dozen intersecting streets boasting good stone houses, the church of Our Lady of Remedies and the chapels of Our Lady of the Rosary of Sorrows and Saint Rita.<sup>2</sup>

Salvador was born on a summer day on February 16, 1762. He was the natural son of commander Salvador Carvalho Cunha do Amaral Gurgel, descendant of Francisco Amaral Gurgel, a very powerful landholder in the Parati of the early years, commander of numerous troops that supplied Minas Gerais, especially Vila Rica and the villages in the region of the Mortes River, south of the captaincy.

When Salvador was born, his mother, Domiciliana de Jesus, was the commander's mistress. It was only after the death of his first wife that the commander legally married Domiciliana. From the first marriage, the commander had another son: José Antonio Campos Gurgel do Amaral, who would climb the rugged mountains to settle in Taubaté and, like his brother, become a surgeon.<sup>3</sup>

Salvador grew up in the village of Parati supported by good family relations. Trade, which was intense in the Parati of those years, consisted in the exchange of goods sent down from Minas Gerais and São Paulo or up from Santos, for others that came from Europe. But the preferred good was salt, brought from Pernambuco by vessels which, in turn, took back flour and other provisions.

Wealth, however, was in the hands of very few, who exploited and kept under control those who produced the fruits of the earth.<sup>4</sup> Certainly, Salva-

dor's father was among these key people. The commander was known to be a "very thorough man" who sought to "collect and preserve useful memories and manuscripts".<sup>5</sup> Perhaps, unlike the wealthiest families of that time, he was not wealthy enough to send his sons to medical school in Coimbra or Montpellier, France.

### **Life in Rio de Janeiro**

Soon, Salvador left his family in Parati and, by boat, went up the coast to Rio de Janeiro. It was the year 1787 when, at the age 25, he got his surgery practitioner license. He had black eyes, brown hair, was 5'5" tall and single.<sup>6</sup>

In Rio de Janeiro, the capital of the viceroyalty, Salvador probably led a somewhat carefree life. He got involved in some sort of mess, since eventually he was compelled to seek protection in Minas Gerais, as he was also being harassed by the ombudsman, Judge Francisco Luis Alvares da Rocha,<sup>7</sup> who would cross his path again years later, when he was charged with involvement in the planned uprising of 1789.<sup>8</sup> He moved to Vila Rica, where he initially lived in the house of Dr. José Antonio Soares de Castro, Lieutenant-Colonel of the regiment of the *pardos* (mulattos) of Vila do Príncipe.<sup>9</sup> And he got a job as a surgery practitioner at the regiment of the paid troop.

### **The Vila Rica of 1787**

When Salvador arrived in Vila Rica that same year of 1787, the captaincy of Minas Gerais was going through times of political instability. The Governor and Captain General Luís da Cunha Meneses was on bad terms with the General Ombudsman Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, the future author of the poem *Marília de Dirceu*. Each represented a different group of interests.

Since his arrival in Vila Rica in mid-1783, Cunha Meneses had been gradually implementing a policy of replacing local men with men from the kingdom in key military posts. In the main headquarters of the Diamantina Demarcation, in Tijuco, Captain José de Vasconcelos Parada e Sousa, a man from the kingdom, was the commander of the paid troop.

At the end of 1786 Lieutenant José de Sousa Lobo e Melo, also from the kingdom, took over the command of the detachment of the Diamantina Mountain Range of Santo Antônio de Itacambiruçu, replacing Captain Baltasar José Mairinque, father of the future fiancée of Ombudsman Gonzaga, Maria Dorotéia Joaquina de Seixas. The Army detachment in Itacambiruçu was under that of Tijuco, but both were the most important among the six detachments responsible for maintaining the law and order in the captaincy.

The two military men were loyal to the governor and, since the beginning of the government, had been at odds with the authorities of the Diamantina Demarcation, a territory under the direct administration of Lisbon, which aspired to full autonomy in relation to the captaincy. This independence, however, was not always clear because the captain-general never recognized it.

Ultimately, what was at stake were diamond smuggling and tax evasion. The authorities at the Demarcation, such as the gold administrator Antonio Barroso Pereira, the diamond administrator José Antonio Meireles Freire, a.k.a. *Iron Head*, and the diamond inspector Luis Beltrão de Gouveia e Almeida had established suspicious relations with the powerful families of Tijuco that had always profited from the embezzlement of diamonds.

The military men loyal to Cunha Meneses eventually interfered in these arrangements to their and the provincial governor's advantage. In addition, under the pretext of fighting crime, they began to harass and even kill miners and other people who refused to submit to forced labor. The decisions of both the general ombudsman and the judges of the Demarcation Diamantina were overruled by a stroke of the pen or even by a verbal order from the governor.

Often, offenders ended up being released by direct order of Cunha Meneses, who would have gone as far as giving money to prisoners "to pay for the expenses of their escape".<sup>10</sup> The ombudsman Gonzaga was forced to watch it all without being able to react.

That climate of dissatisfaction among the richest families of the captaincy eventually spread to the humblest people, miners, small traders and even lower-ranking military men. It was for refusing to condone the arbitrariness of Cunha Meneses and his acolytes that lieutenant Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, 39, was removed from the command of the detachment of Mantiqueira Range, a key connecting point between Vila Rica and Rio de Janeiro.

### **The libertarian preaching**

It is possible that by then the captain-general would have been aware of the lieutenant's libertarian preaching, which had been going on since the early days of his government.<sup>11</sup> Cunha Meneses might have preferred to give the command of the detachment to a less challenging officer. However, he already knew that Xavier was considered a "mineralogical intelligence"<sup>12</sup> and respected his deep knowledge of the region. Xavier was also known as Tiradentes (Tooth Puller) because of his skill in extracting and making teeth.

Displeased for having been passed by several times in the promotions signed by the governor, Tiradentes took a two-month leave of absence from his regiment in March 1787 and left for Rio de Janeiro.<sup>13</sup> He intended to travel to the Kingdom to take care of some "pending issues". Perhaps he wanted to get in touch with republican ideas. In September he was authorized by the Court to travel.<sup>14</sup>

Until then he had repeatedly renewed his leave of absence from his unit in Vila Rica.<sup>15</sup> But he probably did not take the trip because in 1788 he submitted a new application for permission to travel to the Kingdom on the grounds that he had been unable to leave due to "diseases and other causes." The license was signed by Queen Maria I only in August 1788.<sup>16</sup>

In total, the lieutenant would be absent from his regiment for nearly eighteen months, having used his time off to start some business ventures in Rio de Janeiro, like trying to lease eight plots of land at Mineiros Beach and six plots at Dom Manuel Beach to build a wood crane that would be used “to board four-footed animals and manufactured goods”,<sup>17</sup> in addition to getting involved with a pier project in Andaraí<sup>18</sup> and working on plans for water supply in the city to replace the archaic barrel distribution system, which earned him thunderous boos one evening at the Opera House, encouraged by those who had the monopoly of that service.<sup>19</sup>

### **The talk with Tiradentes**

It was in one of the lieutenant’s back and forth trips between Vila Rica and Rio de Janeiro that he met Salvador. Having been denounced as a participant in the secret meetings for the uprising that was being prepared in Minas Gerais, Salvador said during the hearing in the prison of Vila Rica that he was completely ignorant as to the cause of his arrest. “I have not committed any crime”, he replied to the General Ombudsman Pedro José Araújo de Saldanha, the district magistrate<sup>20</sup> who had replaced Gonzaga.

He even denied being “close friends” with the lieutenant. He admitted, however, that when he needed a French dictionary he had learned that Xavier had one. He then went looking for him at his house, which was on São José Street, close to Square Fountain and to the mansion of the former bidder João Rodrigues de Macedo, known as House of the Royal Contract. It was February 23, 1789. He intended to buy the dictionary, but the lieutenant told him that he had already sold it to his brother.

Not to disappoint Salvador, Tiradentes said that before delivering the dictionary to its new owner he could lend it for a fortnight. That was what they agreed on, according to Salvador, who returned the book on March 7 or 8, he was not sure. Actually, Tiradentes had not sold the dictionary to his brother, but to Father Francisco Ferreira da Cunha, his partner in a pharmacy in Rosário Square.

After that, Tiradentes, aware that Salvador had come from Rio de Janeiro, asked him if he knew “any competent guys for a serious business.” According to his statement, Salvador said he had “no close friends” in that city. “And much less for what you want,” he added.

Still, the lieutenant insisted, telling Salvador that if he wanted to write to someone in Rio de Janeiro, he would be glad to deliver the letter on his upcoming trip to that city. “I’m going there to settle some pending issues with the viceroy (Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa) and also see if I can turn this *derrama* Tissue around,” said the lieutenant, according to Salvador’s deposition.

### **Derrama, the triggering factor**

The *derrama* was the most pressing issue for the majority of the affluent

people in the captaincy, who had always favored a rebellion against the Portuguese Crown.<sup>21</sup> It was the huge debt that people had with the Crown since 1772, the date of the last *derrama* enforced in the captaincy. Since then, the debts had been piling up, especially in the collection of the fifth of gold: with the decline in mining - coupled with theft and smuggling by the powerful ones, rulers, military officers and ordinary criminals, in addition to widespread evasion - confiscation was necessary to regularize the collection of arrears which in 1786 totaled about 5,760 kilos or 5.76 tons, the equivalent to the entire production of a fiscal year, and residents still owed the Crown 660 kilos.<sup>22</sup>

The State Secretary for Navy and Overseas Affairs, Martinho de Melo e Castro, in Lisbon, was showing signs of impatience with the default of the colony. So he decided to send a new governor and captain-general, the Viscount of Barbacena, with strict orders to enforce the *derrama* on all residents, whether or not they were engaged in mining. For all that, the lieutenant knew that the *derrama* was the spark that could detonate dissatisfaction in the colony.

To Salvador, Tiradentes lent not only the dictionary but also the 1778 translation from French of *Collection of the constitutive laws of the confederated English colonies under the name of United States of Northern America*<sup>23</sup>. That was the lieutenant's silent propaganda system: he hoped that by reading the book people would join his revolutionary ideals. When Salvador was arrested in Vila Rica, authorities found the subversive collection among his belongings.<sup>24</sup>

After his talk with the lieutenant, Salvador said he had returned to Dr. José Antonio Soares de Castro's house, where he was living at the time. He told his landlord about the talk he had had with Tiradentes. The doctor laughed: "Perhaps the lieutenant is involved with some company to bring to the city of Rio de Janeiro the waters of the Comprido River and build mills within that city," he speculated.

To the ombudsman Saldanha, Salvador mentioned that after he moved out of Dr. Castro's house he got sick and was visited by his former landlord.<sup>25</sup> The visit took place two days after the arrest of the former ombudsman Tomás Antonio Gonzaga on Saturday, May 23, 1789, he recalled.

That day, a Monday, Salvador heard from Dr. Castro that the lieutenant had been arrested in Rio de Janeiro on charges of insurrection. "It was then that I realized what the said lieutenant meant when he asked me if I knew 'any competent guys' in Rio de Janeiro", said Salvador.<sup>26</sup>

### **Helping the Lieutenant**

Charged by the ombudsman with helping the lieutenant, Salvador admitted that he had spoken to Tiradentes about Colonel José da Silva, from Rio de Janeiro, who knew "only by sight." That was when, said Salvador, the lieutenant came clean with him, saying he was willing to promote an uprising: "I already have this captaincy, and São Paulo is a given," he told him. "Several regiments will rise up, ministers will be arrested, because they want a crowned head in Minas," he added.

Salvador admitted that he eventually informed Dr. Castro of what Tiradentes had told him, and that the doctor had told him to be careful, adding that “such thoughts could only occur to a madman or a drunk.” When he told the ombudsman about his talk with Tiradentes, Salvador admitted that Raimundo Correia Lobo, Chief Master Sergeant of the *Pardos* in Serro do Frio, and Crispiniano da Luz Soares, also a *pardo*, had participated in the meeting.

The ombudsman then told Salvador that he had been informed that one night, on Ouro Preto Bridge, at the doorsteps of Eusébio da Costa Ataíde’s smithy, Salvador had talked with Crispiniano Soares da Luz. Salvador admitted to the meeting, but said he did not remember what it had been about. “As far as I can remember, the only time I mentioned the uprising was at Dr. José Antonio’s house,” he replied.

### **The confrontation**

As the person in charge of the inquest ordered by the Viscount of Barbacena, General Ombudsman Saldanha called Crispiniano in for a confrontation. Crispiniano promptly contradicted his friend, saying he had never heard Salvador say “such a thing” at Dr. Castro’s, but that the subject had been brought up one night in early April, just before Holy Week, at the doorsteps of Eusébio da Costa Ataíde’s smithy.

According to Crispiniano, Salvador would have said that, since a *derrama* was about to occur, there would be an uprising. “To that end, letters have already been sent to São Paulo,” would have said Salvador. Crispiniano asked: “Why use these means when paying the *derrama* is nothing new?”. And Salvador would have answered: “In due time you will know”.<sup>27</sup>

The Minister used Crispiniano’s testimony to convince Salvador to talk “more specifically about the lieutenant’s means.” It was clear that the surgery practitioner knew more than he had admitted. However, Salvador kept on denying. He said he had talked with Crispiniano at Dr. Castro’s. He had no recollection of having talked about these issues when they were seated by Ouro Preto Bridge.<sup>28</sup>

Crispiniano did not recant. He recalled even that Salvador, soon after saying that last sentence, got up and went after a woman uphill. Salvador recognized he had done so, but guaranteed he did not remember saying those words. If he had spoken with Crispiniano, he said, it was to repeat what Doctor Castro had recommended him: “That one should not speak of such a thing, because by saying without proving one would incur the same punishment”.<sup>29</sup>

Crispiniano implicated Salvador even further by telling the minister that after that talk by Ouro Preto bridge, Salvador had showed him some letters. “Some are to Rio and other to the parties in São Paulo,” said Salvador, according to Crispiniano, adding, “These are very important letters.”



## Letters to Parati

Salvador admitted that he had showed letters to Crispiniano, but explained that one was addressed to his godfather and the another to his godmother and a third one to Cláudio Rangel, who lived in the village of Parati. With those letters, he admitted, there was another one addressed to Lieutenant José Alves de Azevedo, who lived in Rio de Janeiro.

With those letters, according to Salvador, was also a medical certificate from Chief Master Sergeant José de Vasconcelos Parade e Sousa, the *Padela* of the *Chilean Letters*, then removed from the command of the Diamantina Demarcation regiment. With the certificate, Salvador was hoping that his godparents would take pity on him and give him ‘some assistance’.<sup>30</sup> The ‘godparents’ would in fact be Salvador’s parents, who lived in Parati. To the authorities, perhaps to avoid implicating his family, he assured that he was the child of “unknown parents”.<sup>31</sup>

Then the ombudsman called in Chief Master Sergeant Raimundo Correia Lobo, who had also been present during the conversation at Dr. Castro’s. Lobo said that Salvador and Dr. Castro had had a “private conversation”. From afar, however, he realized that they were talking about lieutenant Tiradentes and “that an uprising was about to take place in Minas and that the idea was to set up a parliament.”

According to Lobo, Dr. Castro asked them “not to talk about such matters any more, because whoever was involved would have their heads cut off.” He also said that Salvador had shown him some letters addressed to his “godparents” in the village of Parati.

The next to be called in for the confrontation was Dr. Castro. He confirmed that Salvador, at his house, had told him that lieutenant Tiradentes was organizing an uprising in Minas and, to that end he was traveling to Rio de Janeiro. He ensured that he had urged Salvador to report lieutenant to the authorities, and admitted that Lobo and Crispiniano had been present on that occasion.

### Dr. Castro’s visit

Asked by the ombudsman, Dr. Castro admitted that after hearing about the arrest of Lieutenant Tiradentes and the colonel and his aids Joaquim Silvério dos Reis in Rio de Janeiro, he called on Salvador who, at that time, was no longer his tenant. It would have been a courtesy call because Salvador was ill. On that occasion, Salvador would have said to Castro, referring to Tiradentes: “Imagine if I had asked Francisco Manuel for the letter as he had requested me, what situation would I be in?”

Pressured, Salvador admitted that the lieutenant had asked him for a letter of introduction to Francisco Manuel de Melo, a lieutenant of the Artillery Regiment of Rio de Janeiro. But assured that he had not given him the letter and invoked the testimony of Dr. Castro himself.<sup>32</sup>

The ombudsman then asked the doctor Castro if he knew that Salvador had written other letters to people in Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo. But Castro repeated that he knew about the letters Salvador intended to send to his “god-parents” in the village of Parati. Castro also told the inquisitors that, through Salvador, he had learned that Tiradentes intended to go to Rio de Janeiro in order to “attract people”.<sup>33</sup>

The authorities were convinced that Salvador knew that Tiradentes was plotting an uprising, but did not report him. They also concluded that Salvador had promised to give the lieutenant a few letters addressed to certain people who could help him in the uprising. He had, therefore, helped the defendant Tiradentes.

### **Sentenced to death by hanging**

On December 24, 1790, the ship *Golfinho* brought to Rio de Janeiro the members of the visiting Court of Appeals, which was how the visiting court of inquiry was designated, a common resource in cases of sedition. In view of the testimonies, the visiting court concluded that Salvador knew that the lieutenant intended to go to Rio de Janeiro “to induce and invite people” to join the rebellion, but failed to report him to the authorities. And that though he had not supplied the letters Tiradentes had asked for, as mentioned in the proceeding, it was certain that “he had promised to help in the uprising, and that he had never denied it”.

His defense was probably drafted by the former ombudsman of Vila Rica Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, also charged with sedition. This is what seems to indicate the coincidence of style, arguments and concluding remarks of the legal documents written in his defense and that of Colonel José Aires Gomes and bookkeeper Vicente Vieira da Mota, who had worked as an accountant for João Rodrigues de Macedo, former bidder in entries and tithes contracts, as well in the defense of Gonzaga himself.

On the night of April 17, 1792, in Rio de Janeiro, the men accused of conspiring against the Court were taken to the public jail. They were divided into four groups and escorted by armed guards with fixed bayonets. The next day, at eight o’clock in the morning, the visiting court met extraordinarily under the chairmanship of the new viceroy, the Count of Resende, and issued the sentence. A sentence that had been decided back on March 11.<sup>34</sup>

Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel was sentenced to death by hanging. The same sentence had been issued against Lieutenant Tiradentes, Lieutenant Colonel Francisco de Paula Freire de Andrada, José Alvares Maciel, Inácio José de Alvarenga, Domingos de Abreu Vieira, Luís Vaz de Toledo Piza, José de Resende Costa, father and son, and Domingos Vidal Barbosa. All were charged with high treason.

The former ombudsman Tomás Antônio Gonzaga and other defendants like Vicente Vieira da Mota, José Aires Gomes, João da Costa Rodrigues, An-



tônio de Oliveira Lopes and Vitoriano Gonçalves Veloso got a lighter sentence: exile in different locations in Africa.

### **Exile in Africa**

Eighteen months before the sentence was drawn up, Queen Maria I, by royal decree of October 15, 1790, to no one's knowledge commuted the death penalty to lifelong exile in Africa, with the exception of the defendants considered as "leaders and heads of the conspiracy", who had sought both publicly and privately to induce people to commit criminal acts.

The exception included only Lieutenant Tiradentes who was, after all, "the main engine of the planned uprising and the person had showed greater commitment and efficacy in carrying it out".<sup>35</sup> Therefore, all other defendants who had been sentenced to death had their sentences commuted to exile in Portuguese colonies in Africa. The religious men involved in the subversive plot, in turn, would be sent to Lisbon.

The defendants who had not been sentenced to the capital punishment were subpoenaed on April 24. The next day José de Oliveira Fagundes, a lawyer from the Charity Hospital appointed by the judge, withdrew the case within a 24-hour deadline to stay the execution of the sentence. The motion, however, was rejected. And Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel was ultimately sentenced to lifelong exile in Catalá.

Before leaving for exile in Africa, on May 16 Salvador submitted a document to the authorities in which he asked them to give back to him a surgery case with five lancets and knives, which had been seized during his arrest. And recalled that since he was going "to a strange land," he might need the instruments "to help him support himself".<sup>36</sup> Among the items seized was also a "book on the Stations of Jerusalem."<sup>37</sup>

On Tuesday, May 22, Salvador boarded the galley *Nossa Senhora da Conceição and Princesa de Portugal* accompanied by Tomás Antonio Gonzaga, José Gomes Aires, Vicente Vieira da Mota, Vitoriano Gonçalves Veloso, João da Costa Rodrigues and Antônio Lopes de Oliveira on their way to the island of Mozambique. Perhaps waiting for more favorable winds, the ship would sail only on Friday the 25<sup>th</sup>. Salvador, one of the youngest among the insurgents, was about to begin his exile in Africa.

### **The Island of Mozambique**

Captain Francisco Bernardes de Abreu e Lima, who was in charge of the galley, treated all the convicted fairly.<sup>38</sup> It was a seventy-day trip. And on Tuesday, July 31<sup>st</sup>, from the deck of the galley, in the company of the other exiled, Salvador set eyes on the village of São Sebastião, the name of the capital-island of the captaincy of Mozambique, Sena and Sofala Rivers, Portuguese conquests in East Africa.

The island has the shape of a half-moon, whose concavity faces south.

It is low and almost flat, with its limestone terrain covered with sand. From the galley Salvador spotted a small village, almost in the middle of the island, where two buildings stood out: the government palace and the customs building, within the stone wall of a large square.

On the other side, on the mainland, he saw smaller buildings – it was Cabaceira Grande, would later find out. Further ahead was Mossuril, also on the continent. And on the opposite side was Cabaceira Pequena. At the pier he saw only rowing boats, schooners and smacks - because the harbor was shallow and filled with sand crowns, only small boats could reach the beach. The largest ones were more than 200 meters away, next to a stone pier that advanced into the sea.

The landing place was a shotgun from the dock. And it was quite uncomfortable not only for the boarding and landing of people but also for loading and unloading cargo. Salvador and the other exiles landed in small dinghies. Then they climbed stone stairways to an old pier built over columns.

The exiles were welcomed ashore “with honors”<sup>39</sup> and taken immediately to the Palace of São Paulo, the government seat, where the Governor and Captain general Manuel Antonio de Melo e Castro, nephew of the almighty minister Martinho de Melo e Castro lived and worked. They were received by the government secretary, the naturalist Manuel Galvão da Silva, a forty something year old man from Bahia, who held degrees in Mathematics, Philosophy and Law from Coimbra.

### **Rebuilding lives**

Together with his fellows in suffering, Salvador heard Galvão say that they could rebuild their lives, provided they did not violate the royal rules. They could not return to the state of Brazil or travel to the Kingdom at risk of being sentenced to death. They could not leave the island without a passport issued by the government either, but this rule applied to all residents.

The governor was friendly to the exiles. He told them they could move freely around the island, provided they did not go beyond Tanque dos Mainatos, a private place of the black pagans and forbidden to whites, unless they were in armed groups.<sup>40</sup> The recommendation applied also to those who dreamed of exploring the hinterlands, on the mainland, home of the macuas, macondes, maviais and mujaos, regarded as ferocious and barbarian tribes.

Encouraged by the good reception, those sentenced to live elsewhere in East Africa, like Salvador, began to dream about the possibility of requesting house arrest under bail on the island of Mozambique, so that he could stay in the village. From the Palace of São Paulo, the convicts were taken to the Chamber House and Jail, where they would be staying “with all freedom and esteem, in the House rooms”.<sup>41</sup>

Soon they would be visited by the main people of the land, not only those originally from the Kingdom, but also banianes who were Muslim merchants,

subjects of the Crown, descendents of Diu and Daman. They were visited even by monhés, the Muslim macuas, always dressed in white, maganjas and suakikis, exotic black men from other regions, all already accustomed to wholesale trade.

Only the former minister Tomás Antônio Gonzaga did not stay in the Chamber House: at the invitation of Judge José da Costa Dias e Barros, he stayed at the ombudsman's house, an imposing construction near the government palace.

### **Perjury**

Very ill, the General Ombudsman Barros, impatient with the delay of his substitute, decided to leave the court and, with the governor's approval, boarded the galley Nossa Senhora da Conceição and Princesa de Portugal, which on August 26 set sail from island of Mozambique towards Goa, in Portuguese India, on its way back to the Kingdom. Four days later another ship brought in the new ombudsman, Francisco Antonio Tavares de Siqueira, who would soon appoint Gonzaga Purveyor of the Deceased and the Absent, and counselor in public courtrooms.

To speed the residence process of the ombudsman who had left the court, Siqueira, as was customary, had to hear several witnesses. He resorted to Gonzaga who, for lack of people willing to testify on behalf of Barros, convinced his fellow convicts to cooperate. And there went Salvador, with his fellow exiles, to testify at the inquest in favor of Barros.

The inquest was a stacked deck game. After all, the exiles had barely known the former ombudsman, especially because of the short time they had been living on the island.<sup>42</sup> Perhaps the insurrectionists thought that by collaborating with the authorities they could stay on the island of Mozambique instead of being sent to their places of exile.

It was not only this once that the former minister Gonzaga, now in the good graces of the new ombudsman, tried to use the goodwill of his fellow exiles. Perhaps Gonzaga himself believed by so doing he would be able to help them remain in the capital. So much so that, months later, he went back to them to ask for the same thing.

The case involved Manuel do Nascimento Nunes, a lawyer exiled from the Kingdom for a crime he had committed in Alentejo. Charged with proceeding with a case filed against Nunes that had been moving in circles in the Courts of Mozambique for six years, Gonzaga turned to his friends. And once again, there went Salvador, alongside five other insurrectionists to testify against Nunes, whom he also barely knew.<sup>43</sup>

### **Assistant to the chief-surgeon**

Backed by the good relations of the former ombudsman of Vila Rica, Salvador took the opportunity to rebuild his life on the island of Mozambique. As Governor Melo e Castro did not object to all exiles remaining on the island,

Salvador sought to get a job in which he could work as a surgeon. And in September he finally joined the army as assistant to the chief-surgeon of the infantry regiment.<sup>44</sup>

He began to work under the guidance of the chief-physician João Domingos, the Portuguese name of Giovanni Domenico Thosco, a Piedmontese physician graduated in Turin and admitted to the Portuguese royal service. But it was for a short time, because inept and inebriated by the easy profits of commerce Domingos abandoned his surgical instruments and bought a ship to carry gold and ivory. Unfortunately he died in 1794 in a shipwreck near the French settlement of Pont Chery, in the Indian Ocean.<sup>45</sup>

Before leaving, however, inept as he was, Domingos signed, on March 20, 1793, a certificate attesting to Salvador's surgical skills.<sup>46</sup> In the certificate he assured that Salvador had "worked at the Royal Hospital and in private homes of the residents of this captaincy with great capacity," and stated that Salvador had taken many of his house calls.

"I always saw in him sufficient intelligence and accuracy in the diagnosis and treatment of medical ailments," he added. Also inept would be another Piedmontese doctor, Charles Joseph Guezzi or José Carlos Guezzi, who soon would also abandon the surgical instruments to become a great slave dealer and later the 'confidential agent' of the Prince Regent Dom João in Buenos Aires.<sup>47</sup>

### **Exile in Inhambane**

The life which to Salvador now seemed to following a normal course would soon be shattered by the arrival of the new governor and captain-general, Don Diogo de Sousa Coutinho, who would replace Antonio Manuel de Melo e Castro in March 1793.

Dom Diogo, unlike Melo e Castro, was not a very kind person. Maybe because he not only suffered from scurvy and leprosy and had lost his teeth,<sup>48</sup> but also because he had the misfortune to lose his wife Ana Candida<sup>49</sup> shortly after his arrival to one of the many diseases brought to the island by the monomocaios<sup>50</sup>, according to the belief of the residents.

Dom Diogo understood that the exiles who had been sentenced to other locations in East Africa could no longer stay on the capital-island. Although he had become friends with Gonzaga, this friendship now would do Salvador no good: for Dom Diogo, the former ombudsman of Vila Rica was nothing but a "a very venal and extremely cunning and scheming lawyer".<sup>51</sup> It would be pointless to talk to the great slave traders, the most influential people on the island, because no one would be able to change Dom Diego's mind.

So on November 29, 1793, Salvador was sent to serve in the detachment of the port of Inhambane, south of the captaincy. Although he was not being sent to Catalá, as he had been sentenced, at the time there could not be much difference between that location and Inhambane.

He left in the company of Colonel José Aires Gomes, another insurrectionist, a former farmer from Borda do Campo and former guarantor of the tithes contract bought by the lessor João Rodrigues de Macedo in Minas for the period 1777-1783. By order of Dom Diogo, the governor of Inhambane should guarantee Salvador provisions for the period of two months.<sup>52</sup>

### **Exile in Inhambane**

The village was, at that time, an incipient settlement with just over fifty couples. There were few whites and *pardos* - most were native black people.<sup>53</sup> There were also many blacks from Goa, the so-called Canarins. Almost everyone had macuas, which they generically called Kaffirs, as slaves. Life revolved around the *presídio*, a name that in the eighteenth century designated just the detachment, which included a small jailhouse.

Salvador quickly had to adapt to the local customs. He practiced medicine, but also devoted himself to trade. He was among equals. Almost all those men were exiles. And people with little education. Therefore, Salvador soon gained a position as councilor in the House Senate. It was in 1794, a few months after his arrival. He kept the post in 1795, as he had been confirmed by the general ombudsman of the peace of the captaincy, Tavares de Siqueira, on October 31, 1794.<sup>54</sup>

### **The death of Aires Gomes**

Salvador would soon lose the company of Colonel Aires Gomes. Weakly built and at an advanced age for the time, Aires Gomes would not resist the harsh climate of Inhambane. He died in 1796, at the age of 62. Originally sentenced to “lifetime exile” in Ambaca, Angola, West Africa, the Court of Appeals commuted his sentence to eight years in Inhambane.

Extremely rich, Aires Gomes had had half his property confiscated by the royal authorities, but he the extensive plots of land he still owned would be the envy of any European monarch. In Minas he had left his wife, Maria Inácia de Oliveira, sons João Ribeiro, João Aires e José Aires Gomes, and daughters Ana Perpétua e Maria Antônia.<sup>55</sup>

However, the few years of daily living with Aires Gomes would be enough for Salvador to establish a solid friendship with the old farmer. After his marriage to Amanda Guiães, when his first son was born Salvador insisted on naming him after his friend Aires.<sup>56</sup>

### **President of the Senate of the Chamber**

As a surgeon in the detachment, Salvador received no pay in cash, but in *fato*, the name that designated the cloths the soldiers received as payment. To make real money or get the much craved Spanish *patacas*, they had to negotiate these cloths with the Kaffirs or chiefs of the interior. The regiment’s detachment was so poor that the soldiers almost always went barefoot and without uniform. As it was an insignificant troop, there was not even the traditional division between artillery and infantry.

Salvador would again hold the office of councilor from 1801 to 1802. “There is no impediment and he deserves it,” praised the then ombudsman José Félix Potier Lamas, upon confirming him for the office in 1802. In 1803 he became president of the Senate of the Chamber and in the following year he served as *almotacé* during the first quarter of the year, as the law required of those who had held the highest office the Chamber. *Almotacé* was the name that designated the inspector in charge of weights and measures and price-fixing for victuals.

### **Watching over poverty**

In the port of Inhambane, as detachment surgeon, Salvador treated not only the troop but also sick prisoners and residents. “He went as far as preparing medicines with his own hands to make up for the lack of a pharmacist,” said governor Joaquim José Felipe Caminha in a certificate dated July 12, 1805.<sup>58</sup>

The lack of medicines had always concerned the village authorities, who were already dependent on medicines sent by the government of the island of Mozambique, which in turn received them from the Kingdom or, more often, bought them on Île de France, capital of the French possessions on the Indian Ocean.<sup>59</sup>

According to the Caminha’s testimony, Salvador treated the troop “and all residents with excessive care” and was always ready to assist any patient when so requested. “He treated the poor with great humanity, and gave medicines for free of his own apothecary,” he said. “Salvador always behaved with great seriousness and civility, and during my government there were no complaints related to either his position or his civil manners”, added Caminha.

The mayor-general of the Island of Mozambique, Antonio Alberto Pereira, who had been governor and captain-general of the village of Inhambane for three years, also testified that Salvador “always acted with diligence and promptness in treating the troops and residents, preparing medicines, although this was not his duty.”

According to Pereira, the former insurrectionist treated people’s illnesses “with exemplary charity, often to his own detriment.” Even sick, Salvador made a point of treating those who came to him, said Pereira.

On the personal behavior of Salvador, Pereira said he always thought he was “noteworthy, extremely serious, without any vices that could compromise his honor.” Pereira assured that everything was so true that, if necessary, he would swear on the holy gospels. So he said in a certificate he wrote on October 2, 1806.<sup>60</sup>

### **Return to the island**

Salvador lived in Inhambane for eleven years and a few months. At the end of 1804 he was authorized by the governor and Captain-General Isidro de Almeida e Sá to return to the island of Mozambique. So on November 5<sup>th</sup> he arrived in Mozambique aboard a brig. He had come to work as an assistant to



the chief-surgeon,<sup>61</sup> as he had done more than a decade before. He was replaced in Inhambane by Antônio Manuel Luís.

He returned to the island probably by influence of Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, who, by that time, was in very good terms with the Governor Isidro Sá. But he came alone and in poor health.<sup>62</sup> Because he was sick, he had asked the Governor and Captain General of the village of Inhambane, José Joaquim Felipe Caminha, to release him from his position as surgeon in the local detachment.

His health had been affected by the dry climate of Inhambane. In 1804, for example, a severe drought destroyed plants and flowers, affecting mainly the onion plantations of Inhambane.<sup>63</sup> In Inhambane, Salvador would leave “in abandonment, his home, his wife and a son”.<sup>64</sup>

### **A saint**

The former insurrectionist would recover in part his health and on August 8, 1806 he was appointed acting chief-surgeon of the state, replacing Francisco Pires de Carvalho, who left for Île de France to take care of his own health.

Since March, when Carvalho had fallen ill, Salvador had already been replacing him in visits to patients in the infirmary and surgery ward of the Royal Hospital of the Island of Mozambique.<sup>65</sup> Upon appointing him to the position, the new governor and Captain General Francisco de Paula Albuquerque do Amaral Cardoso, who replaced Isidro Sá, said that he had “proved to be skilled, intelligent and good mannered”.<sup>66</sup>

On June 12, 1807, Salvador was finally appointed chief-surgeon of the Infantry Regiment of the Island of Mozambique.<sup>67</sup> He was then 45 years old and had “two years, five months and 27 days of flawless service in this regiment.” During that time, on the island of Mozambique he had gone back to work with the dedication of a Franciscan monk. He was considered a saint by the humble people of the island - slaves, emancipated slaves, who lived in the neighborhood of Miçanga in straw-covered *tembas*.<sup>68</sup>

So much so that, at that time, Sebastião José Rodrigues, former chief-surgeon of the Infantry Regiment, Knight of the Order of St. James and one of the five biggest slave traders in the captaincy, would also praise Salvador’s work as assistant to the chief-surgeon, “He was in charge of all dressings in the Royal Hospital and always worked without making any mistakes,” he assured. The Chief-Physician José de Melo also attested that for a few months Salvador had replaced the chief-surgeon of the captaincy, having fulfilled very well “the duties of this position.”

Around that time Salvador signed a certificate for soldier Francisco Nunes from the fifth company of the infantry regiment of the post of the Mozambique. According to the chief-surgeon, the soldier had “two wounds in one leg, which because of the time of the injury and damage to the bone are incurable”.<sup>69</sup>

Salvador would never fully regain his physical fitness. At the age of 48, in a report from the Infantry Regiment he is described as a person of “good conduct

and poor health”.<sup>70</sup> Even so, in the capital-island he did well enough to bring his wife and son to live with him. At the end of 1807, he was already an affluent resident.

Besides working as chief-surgeon in the regiment,<sup>71</sup> he still found time to help his friends. It was what he did in April 1809, when he served as attorney for José de Sousa Taveira, a lieutenant and commander of the artillery regiment of the port of Inhambane, who claimed from the interim government of the captaincy the position of captain of his unit.<sup>72</sup>

### **Slave owner**

In a list of slave owners on the island of Mozambique, Salvador appears as owning seven slaves. He was one of the residents who owned the smallest number of slaves. The lawyer Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, then a Crown prosecutor, had thirty.<sup>73</sup>

The great slave dealers appear as owners of one hundred, and even two or several hundred slaves. The slaves of Salvador appear as located in the district of Mossuril, which means that the chief-surgeon owned a small *machamba*<sup>74</sup> on the Continent. The slaves probably worked in plantations or domestic service in the *luane*.<sup>75</sup>

### **The governor's death**

In the last days of 1807, the Governor and Captain General Francisco de Paula, after confronting the interests of some slave traders retreated to the Palace of São Paulo and eventually fell ill. In an attempt to recover, he retreated to the summer palace of Governors and Captains General, which was located in Mossuril, on the Continent.

He was assisted by the chief-surgeon of the regiment, Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel, probably because he was at odds with the Chief-Physician José de Melo and did not trust the Chief-Surgeon of the state, Francisco José Pires de Carvalho.

As always, Salvador did his best. At all times he assured that “the disease was not dangerous”.<sup>76</sup> Called in to treat the governor, the Chief-Physician José de Melo reiterated that the illustrious patient did not require special care. But the governor died at 10 o'clock in the morning of December 18.<sup>77</sup>

Immediately the rumor spread through the island that the governor had been killed by a “conspiracy”. Including because news of authorities poisoned to death was common. Prompted by these rumors, the newly appointed ombudsman Agostinho Bernardo Delgado Pinto determined that the Chief-Physician José de Melo and the surgeon examined the body. Both attested that the governor had died “on the seventh day of a disease that had been natural”, after a stubborn and pernicious fever, “showing a decisive rotting and all the signs of a true death”.<sup>78</sup>

The suspicion, however, would only persist in relation to the Chief-Phy-

sician José de Melo, who was the last person to see the governor. Especially because Melo had had a dispute with the governor related to commercial interests. In addition, he was a friend of Lt. Col. Constantino Antonio Alves da Silva, commander of the fort of São Lourenço, a fierce enemy of the governor.

The bishop of Olba, who would take office as member of a governing council, had been under the impression that Melo had killed Francisco de Paula Melo or “had not given him the appropriate medicines and in time to avoid his death”.<sup>79</sup> Nobody cast any doubts in relation to Salvador. He was above suspicion.

### **Recognition from the Court**

At the end of 1809, Salvador requested from the Prince Regent Dom João the position of lifelong chief-surgeon of the captaincy of Mozambique, replacing Francisco Pires de Carvalho, noting that he had “the practice of the country, which somebody else coming from the Court would not have”.<sup>80</sup>

He also requested the mercy of the insignia and garb of the order of Christ.<sup>81</sup> To request the old insurrectionist attached several certificates of good behavior, both in the port of Inhambane and on the island of Mozambique. Altogether, he claimed to have been living in Africa for fourteen years and four months.

The new Governor and Captain-General Antonio Manuel de Melo e Castro de Mendonça, who replaced the acting governor, would support the first claim, attesting to the good conduct of the petitioner. As for the insignia and garb of the Order of Christ, he said that Salvador could only request it “when he became captain and completed twenty years of flawless service”.<sup>82</sup> But he recommended that he be assigned one of the houses of the tax authorities to live, and be paid the same as the chief-surgeon of the captaincy, “since he makes very little money.” The Prince Regent determined that Salvador should be given the position of chief-surgeon when it became vacant.<sup>83</sup> And that he would promptly see to the recommendation that he be given one of the houses of the tax authorities.<sup>84</sup> From the Court, Salvador never received an answer to his request regarding the insignia and garb of the Order of Christ.

### **The death of his friend Gonzaga**

Between late January and early February 1810,<sup>85</sup> Salvador lost his close friend Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, attorney of the Royal Treasury and acting customs judge.<sup>86</sup> Sick since the beginning of December 1809, Gonzaga had missed many days of work.

It is possible to imagine that Salvador visited his friend everyday on Largo da Saúde Street, in the upper district of Marangonha, southern end of the island, to assist and medicate him. Gonzaga suffered from dry intestines, and among the medicines he requested on December 15, 1809 from the pharmacy of the Royal Hospital were two ounces of elderflower and two ounces of yel-

low ointment.<sup>87</sup> As chief-surgeon, it was Salvador who authorized the drugs for “doctor Gonzaga’s house.”

As it was customary at the time, perhaps he was prescribing to his old friend an infusion of elderflower with orange peel; or some laxative enema. He was also skilled in the application of leeches. He must have done all he could for Gonzaga to recover. But all effort was in vain. Salvador was the last insurrectionist at the poet’s deathbed.

### **The last days**

After the death of his friend Gonzaga in 1810, Salvador requested permission to return to Brazil, but the request was denied by governor Mendonça, on the grounds that his departure would be a great loss to the captaincy.<sup>88</sup> He would have to face the fact that he would live his last days in his African exile.

The insurrectionist Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel died on the island of Mozambique on October 10, 1812, at the age of 50.<sup>89</sup> This means that his remains are not in the Inconfidência Museum, in Ouro Preto, contrary to what the official history tells us.

In November 1936, at the request of the Brazilian President Getúlio Vargas, the Portuguese government ordered that the remains of all the insurrectionists be collected in Africa. On December 24, 1936, the national ship *Bagé* arrived in Rio de Janeiro with the remains of the insurrectionists of 1789, under the protection of the writer Augusto de Lima Junior.

According to Lima Júnior, Salvador would have died in 1805 and his body buried in the parish church of Our Lady of the Conception of Inhambane.<sup>90</sup> His remains would have been exhumed at that church in 1936, and transported to the Inconfidência Museum.

But apparently the Brazilian authorities were duped. Or allowed themselves to be fooled. The writer Joaquim de Montezuma de Carvalho, a resident in former Lourenço Marques, now Maputo, said wryly that “even the earth of some graves in Inhambane was taken to Brazil”.<sup>91</sup>

In fact, in 1971 in a letter to Montezuma de Carvalho, Alexandre Lobato, director of the Historical Archives of Mozambique confirmed that in 1936 due to the difficulty to locate the graves of the insurrectionists, the colonial authorities did not work with the necessary rigor. This was the case, for example, of the remains of the poet Gonzaga: instead of his remains, what was brought to Brazil were the remains of his grandson, Tomás Antonio Gonzaga de Magalhães, who died in 1855.<sup>92</sup>

### **The last insurrectionist in West Africa**

Fifteen days before Salvador’s death, the Prince Regent Dom João, with the Court established in Rio de Janeiro since 1808, signed a decree appointing Salvador chief-physician of the captaincy of Mozambique, Sena and Sofala Rivers,<sup>93</sup> to replace José Melo who, with “health problems and his family in extreme poverty in Portugal”, wanted to go back.<sup>94</sup>

But when the ship carrying the letter of his appointment reached the island of Mozambique, Salvador Carvalho do Amaral Gurgel was already just a memory among the humble people who benefited from his art and his medicines. He was the last of the insurrectionists of 1789 to die in West Africa.

#### Notes

- 1 Daniel P. Kidder, *Reminiscências de viagens e permanência no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro e Província de São Paulo*, quoted in *Tricentenário de Parati – notícias históricas*, p.65.
- 2 José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro e Araújo (et. al.), *Tricentenário de Parati – notícias históricas*, p.12-3.
- 3 *Autos da devassa da Inconfidência Mineira* (ADIM), 2nd.ed., v.2, 1978, note by Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira.
- 4 José de Sousa Azevedo Pizarro e Araújo, “Memórias históricas do Rio de Janeiro”, op. cit., p.31.
- 5 *Ibidem*, p.40.
- 6 Overseas Historical Archive (AHU), Overseas Council, codex 1349, p.51.
- 7 ADIM, 2.ed., v.2, p.216, note by Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira.
- 8 *Ibidem*, v.8, p. 368, note by Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira.
- 9 *Ibidem*, v.4, p.123.
- 10 Tomás Antônio Gonzaga, *The Chilean Letters*, Letter 10, v.96.
- 11 *Journal of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute*, v.8, t.8, 1881; ADIM, 2nd.ed., v.8, p. 349, testimony of insurrectionist José Resende da Costa, son, in 1826, after his return to Brazil.
- 12 Public Archives of Minas Gerais (APM), Colonial Section, *codex* 241, p.12v., 4.21.1784.
- 13 National Archives of Rio de Janeiro (ANRJ), *codex* 5, v.1, p.149.
- 14 AHU, Minas Gerais, box 135, 9.04.1787.
- 15 APM, Government Secretariat, Box 17, doc.37, map of the paid troop related to the third quarter of 1787.
- 16 AHU, Minas Gerais, box 135, 8.19.1788.
- 17 AHU, Rio de Janeiro, miscellaneous, box 142, doc. 8, 8.18.1788. I thank historian Nireu Cavalcanti for the reference.
- 18 National Library of Rio de Janeiro, Casa dos Contos, II, 3.31.8.
- 19 ADIM, 2.ed., v.1, p.165.
- 20 *Ibidem*, v.2, p.218.
- 21 ANRJ, *codex* 5, v.4, p.176v.
- 22 Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira, *The Chilean Letters – textual sources*, p.163.
- 23 The book is currently part of the collection of the Inconfidência Museum in Ouro Preto. It is believed to have been printed in Switzerland.

- 24 ADIM, 2.ed., v.3, p.466.
- 25 Ibidem, v.2, p.219.
- 26 Ibidem.
- 27 Ibidem, v.4, p.143.
- 28 Ibidem, p.222.
- 29 Ibidem, p.223.
- 30 Ibidem, p.224.
- 31 Ibidem, p.142.
- 32 Ibidem, p.124.
- 33 Ibidem, p.123.
- 34 National Library of Lisbon, Pombalina Collection, miscellaneous 643, p.349-450.
- 35 ADIM, 2.ed., v.8, p.192-3.
- 36 Ibidem, v.6, p.486.
- 37 Ibidem, v.3, p.447.
- 38 Ibidem, v.9, p.207, Letter from Vicente Vieira da Mota to João Rodrigues de Macedo.
- 39 Ibidem.
- 40 Alexandre Lobato, *A ilha de Mozambique*, p.37.
- 41 ADIM, 2.ed., v.9, p.207, Letter from Vicente Vieira da Mota to João Rodrigues de Macedo.
- 42 AHU, Mozambique, box 75, doc. 66, 7.29.1796, report from registrar Apolinário José Luís.
- 43 AHU, Mozambique, box 75, doc.66, 29.9.1796.
- 44 AHU, Mozambique, *codex* 1349, p.51, 9.07.1792.
- 45 AHU, Mozambique, box 213, doc. 67, 11.29.1828.
- 46 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, 61-a, 6.11.1810.
- 47 Oliveira Lima, *D. João VI no Brasil*, 2006, p.233
- 48 AHU, Mozambique, box 68, doc. 69, 8.25.1794.
- 49 Santana Sebastião da Cunha, priest, *Antiguidades históricas da Ilha de Mozambique e do litoral fronteiro, desde os tempos da ocupação*, p.191.
- 50 Monomocaios: typhoons.
- 51 AHU, Mozambique, box 72, doc. 58, post. Nov. 1795.
- 52 AHU, Mozambique, box 1360, p.105, 11.02.1793.
- 53 Public Library of Porto, *codex* 588, “Description of the captaincy of Mozambique with information and some observations on the situation, at the end of the year 1789, of the business, population, trade, prisons, administration of justice of each of the villages of this captaincy and some other specific observations”, by Jerome Nogueira de Andrade, artillery captain aggregated to the first class of the court.
- 54 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.



- 55 José Bonifácio, “A Fazenda Borda do Campo: o inconfidente José Aires Gomes”, *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, year 11, p.636, 1906-1907.
- 56 ADIM, 2.ed., v.2, p.216, note by Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira.
- 57 Ibidem.
- 58 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 59 AHU, Mozambique, box 75, doc. 22, 14.9.1796.
- 60 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 61 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 62 AHU, Mozambique, codex 1349, p.100, c.1804.
- 63 AHU, Mozambique, box 105, doc. 60, 20.2.1804.
- 64 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 65 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 66 AHU, Mozambique, *codex* 1347, p. 90, 8.8.1806.
- 67 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 68 Tembas: huts or shacks.
- 69 AHU, Mozambique, box 120, doc. 122, 18.6.1807.
- 70 AHU, Mozambique, box 140, doc. 18, 24.9.1812.
- 71 AHU, Mozambique, box 122, doc. 53-a, 17.2.1808.
- 72 AHU, Mozambique, box 126, doc. 71-a, 17.4.1809.
- 73 AHU, Mozambique, box 121, doc. 98, 23.12.1807.
- 74 Machamba: manioc plantation.
- 75 Luane: main house in a farm.
- 76 AHU, Mozambique, box 122, doc.2, 16.1.1808.
- 77 AHU, Mozambique, box 122, doc.2, 16.1.1808.
- 78 AHU, Mozambique, box 122, doc.2, 16.11.1808.
- 79 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc.2, 15.1.1808.
- 80 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc.61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 81 AHU, Mozambique, box 130, doc.29, 6.12.1809.
- 82 AHU, Mozambique, box 130, doc.29, 6.12.1809.
- 83 AHU, Overseas Council, *codex* 538, fls.21v./22, 6.4.1810.
- 84 AHU, Mozambique, *codex* 1375, fl.18, 18.4.1810.
- 85 AHU, Mozambique, *codex* 1377, f.18, 24.1.1810. Last official letter from the governor to the acting customs judge Tomás Antônio Gonzaga.
- 86 AHU, Mozambique, codex 1378, p.51-51v., 2.2.1810. Antônio da Cruz e Almeida takes office as Royal Treasury attorney, a position that had been “vacant due to the death of Tomás Antônio Gonzaga”.
- 87 Historical Archives of Mozambique, codex 11-4483, p. 90v., 12.15.1809. I thank Professor Gerhard Liesegang, Department of History, University Eduardo Mondlane, Maputo.

- 88 AHU, Mozambique, box 134, doc. 61-a, 26.11.1810.
- 89 AHU, Mozambique, box 144, doc. 94, 1.8.1813.
- 90 Augusto Lima Júnior, *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*, 1955, p.283.
- 91 Joaquim de Montezuma de Carvalho, “Gonzaga na ilha de Mozambique”, *suplemento literário Minas Gerais* (SLMG), n.256, p.7, 7.24.1971.
- 92 Idem, “Novos dados sobre Gonzaga na ilha de Moçambique”, SLMG, n.259, 14.8.1971.
- 93 AHU, Mozambique, box 141, doc. 18, 24.9.1812.
- 94 AHU, Mozambique, box 135, doc. 12, 3.6.1811.

## References

### *Handwritten sources*

Overseas Historical Archives (Lisbon)

- a) Overseas Council, *codex* 1349.
- b) Minas Gerais Section, box 135.
- c) Mozambique Section, boxes 72, 75, 120, 121, 122, 139, 134, 140, 141 e 213.
- d) Rio de Janeiro Section, miscellaneous, box 142.

Historical Archives of Mozambique

*Codex* 11-4483.

National Archives of Rio de Janeiro

*Codex* 5, v.1 e 4.

Public Archives of Minas Gerais (Belo Horizonte)

- a) Colonial Section, *codex* 241.
- b) Government Secretariat, box 17.

National Library of Lisbon

Pombalina Collection, miscellaneous 643.

Public Library of Porto

*Codex* 588.

### *Printed sources*

ARAÚJO, J. de A. A. P. et al. *Tricentenário de Parati – notícias históricas*. Rio de Janeiro: Publications of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage, 1960.

Autos da Devassa da Inconfidência Mineira. 2.ed. Notes by Herculano Gomes e Tarquínio J. B. de Oliveira. Brasília: Chamber of Deputies; Belo Horizonte: Government of the State of Minas Gerais, 1976-1978, 1981-1983. 10v.

BONIFÁCIO, J. A fazenda Borda do Campo: o inconfidente José Aires Gomes. *Revista do Arquivo Público Mineiro*, Belo Horizonte, year 11, 1906-1907.

CARVALHO, J. de M. de. Gonzaga na ilha de Moçambique. *Suplemento literário Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, n.256, 24 Jul. 1791.

\_\_\_\_\_. Novos dados sobre Gonzaga na ilha de Moçambique. *Suplemento literário Minas Gerais*, Belo Horizonte, n.259, 14 Aug. 1971.

- CUNHA, S. S. da. (Father) *Antiguidades históricas da ilha de Moçambique e do litoral fronteiro, desde os tempos da ocupação*. Lisbon: s. n., 1939.
- ENNES, A. De Lisboa a Moçambique. *Serões*, Lisboa, v.1, n.3; v.1, n.4; v.2, n.7; v.2, n.9, 1901-1902.
- GONÇALVES, A. *Gonzaga, um poeta do Iluminismo*. Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1999.
- GONZAGA, T. A. *Obras completas*. São Paulo: Cia. Editora Nacional, 1942.
- \_\_\_\_\_. *Cartas chilenas*. org. Joaci Pereira Furtado. São Paulo: Cia. das Letras, 1995.
- JOURNAL OF THE BRAZILIAN HISTORICAL AND GEOGRAPHIC INSTITUTE. Rio de Janeiro, v.8, t.8, 1881.
- KIDDER, D. P. *Reminiscências de viagens e permanência no Brasil, Rio de Janeiro e província de São Paulo*. In: ARAÚJO, J. de S. A. P. et al. *Tricentenário de Parati – notícias históricas*. Rio de Janeiro: Publications of the National Historical and Artistic Heritage, 1960.
- LAPA, M. R. (Pref. org.). *Obras completas de Tomás Antônio Gonzaga*. Rio de Janeiro: National Book Institute, Ministry of Education and Culture, 1957.
- LOBATO, A. *A ilha de Moçambique*. Lourenço Marques: National Press, 1945. LIMA, O. *Dom João VI no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2006.
- LIMA JÚNIOR, A. de. *História da Inconfidência de Minas Gerais*. Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1968.
- MAXWELL, K. *A devassa da devassa*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e terra, 1978.
- \_\_\_\_\_. Conjuração mineira: novos aspectos. *Estudos Avançados*, São Paulo, v.3, n.6, May/Aug. 1989.
- MENDES, F. da C. *Catálogo cronológico e histórico dos capitães-generais e governadores da província de Moçambique desde 1752, época de sua separação do governo de Goa, até 1849*. Lourenço Marques: National Press, 1892.
- OLIVEIRA, T. J. B. de. *Cartas chilenas – fontes textuais*. São Paulo: Referência, 1972.
- Santos, J. dos. *Etiópia Oriental*. Lisboa: Biblioteca de Clássicos Portugueses, 1891. v.1.
- Santos, L. J. dos. *A Inconfidência Mineira – papel de Tiradentes na Inconfidência Mineira*. São Paulo: Escola Profissional do Liceu Coração de Jesus, 1927.
- SILVA, J. N. de S. *História da Conjuração Mineira*. Rio de Janeiro: National Press, 1948.
- WOODHEAD, C. *Natal a Moçambique*. Porto: tipografia da empresa Literária, 1895.

*Adelto Gonçalves* has a PhD in Portuguese Literature from the University of São Paulo and is the author of *Gonzaga, um poeta do Iluminismo* (Nova Fronteira, 1999), *Barcelona brasileira* (Nova Arrancada, 1999; Publisher Brasil, 2002) and *Bocage – o perfil perdido* (Caminho, 2003).@ – adelto@unisanta.br

Received on 12 May 2009 and accepted on 30 Sept. 2009.

