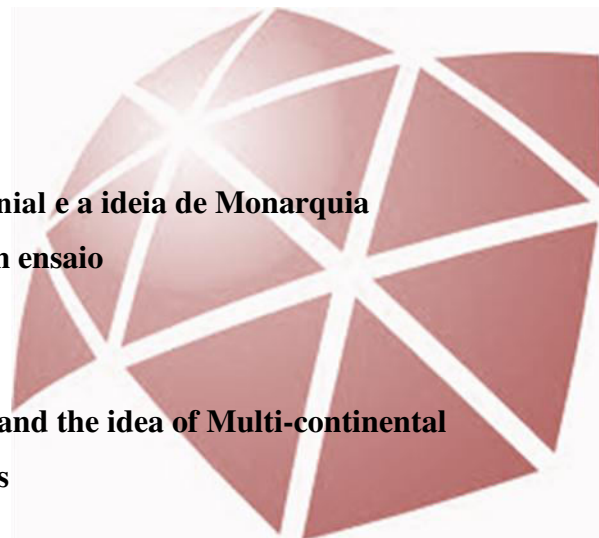


Modelos explicativos da chamada economia colonial e a ideia de Monarquia

Pluricontinental: notas de um ensaio

Explanatory models of the so-called colonial economy and the idea of Multi-continental

Monarchy: essay notes



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Abstract: This paper presents ideas discussed within the CNPq group Ancien Régime in the Tropics and with Portuguese researchers (Universidade de Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa and Universidade de Évora) about Brazil and the Portuguese Empire from the 16th to 18th centuries. One of the ideas discussed was Multi-continental monarchy, which aims to look beyond the theory of the Portuguese-speaking American colony as a mere slavery-based sugar plantation subject to the whims of a supposed commercial capitalism and an Absolutist State. Instead, it understands, roughly speaking, the relationships between center and periphery in the Portuguese monarchy (“metropolis and colony”) that were corporate and polisynodal, guided by the predominant worldview of that time in Southern Europe. According to this concept, the Prince was the head of the society, though he was not to be confused with it. Hence, the possibility existed of negotiations between local Authorities, including those from overseas possessions, and the Central Government. The idea of a Multi-continental monarchy also stresses that the history of Brazil and Portugal in the modern era should be understood through the dynamics of the Portuguese overseas Empire. That is, one of the keys (but not the only one) to understanding American society was through the traces of the Ancien Régime, such as a social hierarchy based on the estates of the realm, Catholic discipline and municipal self-government. Likewise, for Portugal, this concept implicitly emphasizes the existence of a King and an aristocracy dependent on its overseas possessions. It is from this scenario that the article develops the theory of an Ancien Régime in the tropics, by attempting to perceive the tension and the dynamics of a society based simultaneously on the Catholic Ancien Régime and on African slavery. One of the results of that dynamic was the intertwining of the stratified social hierarchy with social mobility, which took the form of social groups emerging out of slavery (freed slaves, mulattos, etc.), and a landed nobility based not on large estates but on the conquest of land and on customary practices in the Americas. The paper also presents a brief discussion of historiography and calls attention to new empirical sources.

Key words: Multi-continental monarchy; Portuguese-speaking America; Ancien Régime

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With the growth of post-graduate degree programs in Brazilian History in the 1970s and 1980s, many aspects of the old explanatory models for the so-called colonially dominated economy began to crumble. As readers know, these models, mainly drawn up by such scholars as Caio Prado Júnior in the 1940s and Celso Furtado in the 1950s, argued that the society of Portuguese-speaking America in the 17th and 18th centuries was built to promote a transition from feudalism to capitalism in Europe, or even to enable the English industrial revolution in the 19th century (PRADO Jr., 1977; FURTADO, 1976).

According to these authors and their current followers, *terra brasilis* and other locales in the New World witnessed the establishment of social and economic structures subordinated to the interests of merchants in such trading centers as Antwerp in the 16th century, and later, Amsterdam and London. These traders have not infrequently been caricatured for their eagerness for profits. To enable the production and transfer of riches to the Old World, the economic structures of the Americas needed to have at least some characteristics, or a “manifest feeling”, of what Caio Prado emphasized as: producing goods at low cost to enable them to be resold at exceptional profits in the European capital market; having a market to acquire manufactured goods and promote European industrial production; and having African slave labor as its base and thereby expand the trade of men and women in the South Atlantic under the control of European slave traders. In this sense, “the international slave trade created production based on African slavery in the Americas”, as stated by Fernando Novais (NOVAIS, 1983).

The result of these desires of European commercial capitalism would be the foundation, roughly speaking, of a giant sugarcane plantation in the Portuguese-speaking Americas at the turn of the 17th century, managed by plantation owners but driven by “non-resident capital”, in the words of Celso Furtado. Thus, the colonial economy did not have control over its own dynamics, its fate being dependent on the mood of the European market. Another consequence would be the lack of a domestic market or in loco market production focused on supplying the Americas. These activities could not exist, as they would otherwise undermine the meaning of colonization. When such crop supplies or corrals appeared, this occurred as a result of the interests of export activities. Consequently, market production linked to domestic consumption was also subject to the logic of fluctuations in the wider economic system to which the great sugar plantations belonged.

Social stratification in this America also derived from the meaning of colonization. Thus, it essentially involved two groups: masters and African slaves. All other social groups in society would be marginal characters in the sugarcane plantation. In this, it came down to being what is understood in modern times as a slave society.

In the 1970s, the Caio Prado and Celso Furtado models began to be criticized in several essays, of which those of the Marxists Ciro Cardoso and Jacob Gorender stood out in particular (CARDOSO, 1973; GORENDER, 1978).¹ Both emphasize at least two weaknesses in the models' argument, as we shall see below.

One is the teleological principal contained mainly in the ideas of Caio Prado – he and other authors explained the building of a colonial economy and 17th and 18th century processes from the perspective of the Brazilian economy as it was in the 1940s. For Caio Prado, the Brazil of that era can be described as an agricultural export economy subservient to the external interests of imperialism. This same teleological principal, according to critics, found itself in the idea of explaining how the 17th century colonial economy functioned as a result of what was happening in Europe in the 18th and 19th centuries, i.e. the Industrial Revolution.

Another criticism refers to the emphasis placed on the circulation of goods in determining the social forms of production. Ciro Cardoso and Jacob Gorender stressed that market capital was unable to distinguish or generate forms of production since trade and traders are categories that predate the Flood and Noah's Ark. In other words, they are pre-existent in different economic systems. For these authors, the correct procedure would be to observe the structure of production. Likewise, they stressed the importance of analyzing the logic of social relationships being played out in those societies. In other words, intelligent life existed not only in Renaissance Europe, but also in the resident population in Portuguese-speaking America at that time and in the centuries that followed. After all, until proven otherwise, slave masters, Indians, black slaves and mulattos also possessed more than two neurons and used them to act and intervene in the history of their communities.

Let me now take a brief moment to mention more recent work by authors linked to the idea of the Old Colonial System. In 1997, Professor Fernando Novais wrote: "slavery as a dominant (but not exclusive) relationship has a decisive effect on daily life and on intimacy (...), in the inter-class relationships between masters, in the internal relationships within the world of the slaves and in the intermediary relationships between masters and slaves"

(NOVAIS, 1997). Apparently, this excerpt might suggest that Fernando Novais had changed his stance and accepted the central idea in *Ciro Cardoso* and *Jacob Gorender's* concept of a colonial slave-based mode of production, this being the theory that one can understand the dynamics of colonial society through the social structure that prevails in that colonial society. However, Professor Novais later explains that "colonial exploitation should be seen within the process of capitalism's formation, the result being that colonization had an essentially outward-looking commercial nature, but that beyond this, it was a mechanism to stimulate the primitive accumulation of autonomous market capital at the centre of the system" (NOVAIS, 1997). Thus, for this author, the dynamic of this colonial society continued to be the result of a supposed commercial capitalism and the riches of the Atlantic slave trade, with colonial slavery being itself a product of this capitalism (NOVAIS, 1997). Not without reason, what was further suggested was that "the external accumulation appears, therefore, to be a basic structure in the economic plan and definitive of colonization. (...) while at the same time, the dominant feeling of living in the colonies is the intense and permanent sensation of instability, precariousness and temporariness" (NOVAIS, 1997). For Professor Novais, therefore, slavery is a fundamental social relationship, but it can only be understood at the heart of the external accumulation of wealth engendered by commercial capitalism, whose base, to be sure, was Europe. In other words, colonial slavery is a creature of this European commercial capital, the same occurring in Portuguese-speaking American society.

In recent work, Professor *Laura de Mello e Souza* interprets black slavery in Portuguese-speaking America in the 17th and 18th centuries in ways similar to those of Professor Novais and, therefore, quite differently from what *Ciro Cardoso* and *Jacob Gorender* proposed. At least this is the impression one has when the author associates the idea of slavery with commercial capitalism. And yet, she understands the concept of colonial exclusivity to be a key, although not always effective, ingredient that integrated, qualified and defined the relationships between the metropolis and the colony.ⁱⁱ In the same work, Souza later returns to Professor Novais' thesis when referring to Minas Gerais in the 18th century to emphasize the ambitious nature of its elites or even to stress that the divisions in that society were class-based because they were founded on money (SOUZA, 2006, 181).ⁱⁱⁱ

Let us now come back to our chronology of the battles over historiography. In the 1980s and 1990s, explanations of the colonial economy that gave prominence to European capital suffered decisive blows. As previously mentioned, this was a result of the proliferation

of masters' dissertations and doctoral theses at post-graduate programs in the country in the 1970s and 1980s. Using solid empirical research, these studies exposed the fragility of various certainties – which were, in fact, hypotheses – about traditional colonial historiography. A new interpretation of the metropolis-colony relationship and the links between the colonial economy and Europe at the end of the 18th century came to the fore when Manolo Florentino (FLORENTINO, 1997; FRAGOSO, 1992; VERGER, 1987) demonstrated in his doctoral thesis that the Atlantic slave trade was controlled not by European capital markets at the time, but by dealers residing in Portuguese-speaking America. Shortly before this, he had proven that other segments of that economy at the turn of the 19th century were also controlled by the same community of dealers in Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, what began to be shown was that more than being an export-driven plantation economy, there was a network of internal markets spread across the Americas. Even in regions previously viewed as sugar producers, such as Recôncavo Baiano, there were areas dedicated to commercial food crops. Taken together, these results cast doubts on a number of theses regarding dependency.

Likewise, a proliferation of studies on sociability between captives, particularly in the families and activities of slaves, freed slaves and mulattos, began to be published. Here, we have Silvia Lara's work on the activities of slaves in Campos dos Goitacazes in the 18th century and Sidney Chalhoub's work on the city of Rio de Janeiro in the following century. Still in the 1980s, Hebe Castro negated the marginal nature or the social downgrading attributed to the population of poor freed slaves. In her study of a municipality in the province of Rio de Janeiro in the 19th century, she revealed the social activities of these men and women in their farms and communities as they integrated with local elite landowners in the market and accessed land. In her doctoral thesis, Castro showed innovation again by arguing that the mulattos should not be understood as a race or be considered synonymous with the mixing of black and white races. For the author, that color indicated a coeval social construction. In other words, it was the product of social agencies involving different actors. Still in the same generation, we have the pioneering work of Sheila Castro Faria, based on civil registry sources and parish records, which revealed various facets of life in 18th century northern Fluminense society, such as marriage systems, social and geographic mobility, and forms of accessing land, etc. Her doctoral work is still one of the few that are able to study the interactions of different social strata (slaves, freed slaves, masters and traders, etc.) in an

attempt to understand them from the perspective of their cultural and economic practices (MATTOS, 1987, 1995; CHALHOUB, 1990; LARA, 1988; FARIA, 1998).

Much of the recent research cited here focuses on Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo at the end of the 18th century and, principally, in the 19th century. Apart from this period, these works, including mine, are afflicted with the old vice and arrogance of the traditional Brazilian essayist: that is, the temptation to research only a brief time period and a single region in order to explain, using logical schemes, the entire period of slave society in Portuguese-speaking America, including its lengthy colonial period from 1500 to 1822.

Even today, various researchers begin their in-depth studies of Portuguese America using concepts established in the 19th century. Perhaps some good examples of this are studies on the social elites, plantations, miscegenation, slave sociability and emancipation. Such ideas are valid as initial hypotheses, provided one is careful not to commit, in the words of Professor Fernando Novais, the worst sin of the historian: anachronism. For example, it is worth remembering that in the 19th century, the concept of slavery was different to that which prevailed in the 17th century.

In turn, investigations predisposed towards discovering different social logics from those of the 19th century began to emerge. In this case, they had, as their reference, the theoretical tools with which European, African and Indigenous societies managed their problems in the 16th and 17th centuries. Nowadays, research on Southern Europe, the Azores or the Kingdom of Benin in the 16th and 17th centuries, for example, already allows one to know with which logical artifacts the Azoreans, the Minhotos and the “Mina” dealt in reaching the Portuguese conquests in the Americas. Likewise, studies on Indigenous history already provide us with evidence of how different Tupi populations dealt with their challenges.

The great advance made in recent years in understanding the Portuguese-speaking Americas in the 17th and 18th centuries has been the acknowledgement of our ignorance about those centuries. After all, it was with great difficulty and after much time that we realized that America was not simply a sugar plantation inhabited by agents of mercantile capital and livestock (slaves) and connected to humanity by trade routes.

Yet, we know little about the religious life of Pernambuco in the first half of the 18th century and even less about the organization of land ownership in 17th century Bahia. Perhaps one of the best indicators of our ignorance and, hence, the precariousness of our reflections on

the people that lived in the State of Brazil, Grão Pará and Maranhão, is that it was only recently that we obtained an estimate of the population - aside from traveler's accounts - from the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 17th century. According to the 1687 Parish Visit, which included the settlements located between Porto Seguro in modern day Bahia, and Curitiba in what is now Paraná, the population that took communion was estimated to be 35,802 souls, distributed in parishes and curates.^{iv}

In other words, it was this population of 35,802 that gave life to an economy of slave-based sugar plantations, food crops and livestock. These few inhabitants secured the existence of half of the territory of the State of Brazil at that time. This population, smaller than that of Naples, which had 100,000 inhabitants at the end of the 16th century, occupied a territory larger than the Austrian empire in Europe in the same era. Nevertheless, we still know little of the non-Catholic inhabitants, such as the fearsome Indians who occupied the surrounding areas of the settlements mentioned. Even in 1767, according to Manuel Vieira Leão's maps, the sertão (semi-arid desert) between the Piabanha and Paraíba rivers was overrun with these Indians. Note that I am referring to the region currently occupied by cities such as Três Rios in the state of Rio de Janeiro, just a few hundred kilometers from the city of Rio de Janeiro, then the capital of the Viceroyalty of Brazil.^v In other words, an understanding of Catholic society inhabited by those 35,802 people becomes clear only when we also consider the activities of the population that did not take communion.

In turn, as I mentioned above, those figures regarding the Catholic population and the extent of the territory, which, in theory, was under the tutelage of the Portuguese Crown, provide a more solid base for understanding Portuguese-speaking American society in the 17th century. Or rather, those figures begin to give us clues as to the dynamics of such a society, or even the rate of sedimentation of social relationships that we customarily call slavery-based and stratified. After all, it is one thing to live in a stratified, slave-owning, Catholic society of which its Bishop's Cathedral had only three thousand followers, as was the case in 1687. It is an entirely different thing when, in 1787, the same Cathedral is confused with a market town that received approximately 10,000 followers from the Atlantic slave trade in just one year. Between 1687 and 1787, therefore, the stratified, slave-owning society, which served as the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro's base, acquired a new social dimension with the growth in population, the diversification of local markets and their links to the Rio de Janeiro market and the Atlantic. Between 1687 and 1787, the society probably remained

stratified and slave-owning, but it functioned at a different pace than in the previous century. One need only remember that in 1787, the fearsome Indians of the sertão surrounded the market place which received waves of Minas, Benguelans, and Cabindans from the Atlantic, as well as Minhotos, Alentejos, Azoreans, etc.

Our ignorance is further confirmed when faced with the accounts of families of major slave traders and tax bidders from Rio de Janeiro at the end of the 17th century, who spent part of their fortunes on masses to save their souls. We can get an idea of the significance of these religious decisions on the economy of this city when we compare the value declared in wills registered in the parish of Candelária – an area inhabited by plantation owners and, mainly, influential traders in the years 1674-1675 – with the total value of transacted goods (sugar plantations, houses, land) in the city's registries. The equivalent of 40% of the value of businesses registered in the registries went to masses, churches and religious brotherhoods (FRAGOSO, GUEDES, in press). Thus, a significant part of the social wealth was intended for the afterlife by way of masses or things associated with them. It appears that investments in this economy were being controlled not so much by European mercantile capital, but by the dead.

As for Portuguese America as a market for European manufacturing, once again the wills offer assistance. During the first decade of the 18th century, shirts, dresses, linens and household utensils were seen as precious goods and bequeathed in wills to loved ones, such as children, brothers and friends. For example, Catarina do Espírito Santo, wife of Martim Correia de Sá, a future sergeant major of the regular troops and nobleman of the Royal House, died in 1703 and bequeathed her white clothes to her sisters.^{vi} They were the daughters of a captain of a fortress who owned sugar cane plantations, so the clothes belonged to a family that was considered rich for that era. Thus, it seems that the commercial growth of the city in that era, due to the discovery of gold mines and the growing African slave trade, did not imply the spread of manufactured consumer goods such as textiles, which were already commonplace in Europe and parts of the English-speaking Americas. The pattern of consumption and of the market in this America was still proto-industrial and would continue to be so for some time, as demonstrated again in the wills.

Similarly, the earliest studies of the baptismal registers of slaves in sugarcane plantation areas tend to show that the idea of a demographic pattern for slaves in these areas is, at the very least, a complex problem. In other words, among the slave baptisms in the

parish of São Gonçalo in Rio de Janeiro between 1646 and 1668, slave mothers whose fathers were freemen represented 12% of all slave mothers who were present in such registers, while mothers whose fathers were captives represented 75%. Therefore, in this parish, mothers whose fathers were unknown practically did not exist. In the slave baptisms of the Bahian parish of Santo Amaro da Purificação between 1652 and 1676, a very different reality was encountered by Thiago Krause. In this area and period, nearly all were composed of unknown fathers and unaccompanied slave mothers (KRAUSE, in press).

In short, there are indications that the world that had hitherto lay hidden by the explanatory models in the mid-20th century was different and more complicated than a mere export-driven economy led by “non-resident market capital”.

The spread of post-graduate programs in Brazil took place alongside dramatic changes in international historiography, which included the critique in the 1980s and 1990s of the idea of the Absolutist State as being synonymous with the Ancien Régime, a theory that had been in vogue since the 19th century. One of the consequences of this critique was to stimulate new readings of European society in the modern era. For example, the Leviathan State gave way to the agency of local authorities and groups such as the nobility. The same critique also led to a new reading of the dynamics of overseas empires, particularly that of the Iberians. In the latter case, I need only remember the lesson I learned in high school about Mercantilism. This was understood as an economic policy of the Absolutist State, where one of its main aspects was the exploitation of riches from the New World’s booming, young society. In the late 1980s, doubt was placed on the idea of absolutism, as well as on the economic exploitation and ruthless political subordination of what had hitherto been called the colonies.

In 1989, Antonio Manuel Hespanha published *Vísperas del Leviathán. Instituciones y poder político* (HESPANHA, 1984; 1994), in which he developed ideas that he had introduced in previous works, including the chapter “Towards a theory of the institutional history of the Ancien Régime”, published in 1984. In these articles, he developed the seminal thesis in which the Monarchy was understood as the head of the republic, although it was not to be confused with it, since other competing powers, ranging from the aristocracy to the municipal communes, existed within it. The Monarchy was the “brain trust”, capable of

articulating the jurisdictions of the various parts that made up the social body, whether in the Kingdom or overseas. Three years later, J.H. Elliott expounded the concept of the composite monarchy, using the Spanish case in the modern era as his reference. In it, the monarchy was comprised of various kingdoms, each of them preserving, to a great extent, the characteristics of their previous institutional existence within the monarchy (ELLIOT, 1992). The various kingdoms were thus preserved in their original form, with their bodies of laws, regulations and local rights. Each of these units maintains its self-governing capacity within a larger monarchical complex. In this way, the King – the monarch – operated as the head of the social body, which was composed of various kingdoms governed by their own rules. These rules were themselves aligned with the laws mandated by the Crown, as in the case of the Vice-Kingdom of Portugal and the Philippine Ordinances issued in 1602, for example.

In 1994, J. Greene was breathing the same revolutionary air on the other side of the Atlantic. He introduced the notion of negotiated authority as an axis in the relationship between the metropolis and the colonies, breaking away from the traditional idea of the inexorable political subordination of the so-called colonies and of its local elites to European metropolitan authorities (GREENE, 1994). This marked the arrival in political history of critiques that economic historians had been making since at least the 1970s against applying dependency theory to economic history.^{vii}

On this theme, Bartolomé Yun Casilla reminded us in a work published in 2010 that Spanish-speaking America was not prepared to demand European products in the 16th Century. At the end of the 16th Century, for example, indigenous people were paying for things they ordered in the form of goods, including textiles, that were made in local communities. Around 1590, when contraband had not yet become a reality, Spanish exports to the Indies of Castile were equivalent to the volume of trade in Cordoba in that era (YUN CASILLA, 2010). In turn, Europe at the time was much less prepared, in terms of its manufacturing and trade structure, to meet potential demand in the Americas. It should be noted that Spain in the 16th century had a manufacturing and urban network that was compatible with what other European societies had from the 16th century to the beginning of the 17th century. It's also worth remembering that we are dealing with a Europe that, at that time, was still essentially rural, with 95% of the continental population living and working in the countryside. It is estimated that in 1600, only eleven European cities had populations of more than 100,000 inhabitants, including Lisbon and Seville (KAMEN, 1984, 34-35). As for

European trade at the time, it was characterized by the decline in manufacturing sales and the growth of agricultural products (KRIEDTE, 1985, 48). Whereas cereal prices were equal to 100 in the period between 1501 and 1510, grain prices grew to 425 in England, 318 in the northern Netherlands and 651 in France in the course of the 16th century (KRIEDTE, 1985, 67). In the same period, prices of manufactured goods merely doubled. Consequently, we are dealing with a Europe that was rocked by crop crises and whose urban/manufacturing structure was at the whim of peasant agriculture.

In this context, it is worth noting that, according to the figures above, the presence of American populations did little to reverse the difficulties faced in the market by European manufacturers. If an American market for manufactured goods had been created, prices of such goods would certainly have more than doubled. In the 16th and 17th centuries, at least, populations in the New World did not create a demand that would have resulted in an increase in European manufactured goods.

Returning to Bartolomé Yun, the 16th and/or 17th centuries were not like the 19th century, in which an overseas empire appeared as an extension of the national economy. Not until the 19th century did the colonies emerge as a market for products originating from the metropolis and as a source of raw material for the metropolis (CASILILLA, 2010, 222-223). In the 16th and 17th centuries, the overseas Iberian Empire was linked not to a National State, but to a composite monarchy and, therefore, to a corporate and polisynodal base whose principals originated in scholasticism. This had several consequences on the dynamics of the Empire. Among them were the Spanish – and also, I believe, the Portuguese – Conquests, which were driven by what we now call moral-religious motives. In that era, the monarchy was concerned with spreading what they understood as Christian civilization to the New World, and not so much what we now call capitalism.

With this new framework proposed by Casililla, one can perhaps understand why the dominant nobility of Portuguese-speaking America in the 16th century, and even in the 17th century, shared such ideas as the obligation to leave part of its estate towards maintaining the chapels and religious brotherhoods. In fact, those donations, made through wills, literally made it so that American society could be thought of as organized by the living and the dead, that social discipline was also driven by the dead. Or that it could be considered an ethical duty to occupy, populate and defend American territories in the name of His Majesty through sugar plantations, since they would guarantee the production of wealth necessary for these

purposes. In turn, mercantilist ideas only came to be spread principally in the 18th century (CASILLI, 2010, 211). At the same time, it is worth recalling the so-called 1640 "Sugar Revolution" in Barbados, created by the English, whose social and economic logic had already begun to be based on impersonal relationships and the free market (DUNN, 1972; HIGMAN, 2000; BLACKBURN, 2003; MENARD, 2006).

The multi-continental monarchy as a working hypothesis

Unlike the Austrian-Spanish monarchy, in the Portuguese lands belonging to the House of Aviz – after Bragança – there existed only one kingdom and various conquests spread throughout America, Africa and Asia. Similar to the Hispanic monarchy, the King was the head of the social body in these lands, and also not to be confused with it: like other political structures in Modern Europe, the Portuguese model was polisynodal and corporate, so competition and negotiation existed between authorities. Despite this similarity, however, we should focus on the differences between the Lusitanian crown and its European counterparts. In the Bragançine monarchy, overseas conquests were organized by the crown's peripheral administration and, particularly, by municipalities. Furthermore, negotiations and political pacts took place between the crown and the local elites of the municipalities in the conquered territories (CUNHA, MONTEIRO, 2005; FRAGOSO, GOUVÊA, 2009; MONTEIRO, 2010).

In other words, in the Kingdom and in Portugal, the competing authorities within the polisynodal monarchy consisted of the crown administration, the plantation owners and the municipalities. In the conquered territories, the power of the plantation owners, in the form of donataries, was progressively eliminated as it was incorporated into the royal patrimony. Thus, in America, as in São Tomé and Príncipe and Angola, what prevailed was local power and an administration governed by a Governor General and later, the Viceroyalty.

This, in turn, suggests another divergence from Elliott's ideas, or to put it more precisely, from authors such as Bartolomé Yun Casilla, who accept the idea of a composite monarchy for a Hapsburgian Europe yet harbor doubts about the American conquests (YUN CASILLA, 2009, 13-14; ELLIOT, 2006, 195-196). For them, Spanish-speaking America appeared as a conquest or as an imperial colony of a composite monarchy; as such, there is no reason to emphasize the existence of pacts and negotiations between the elite creoles

(Hispanic American elites) and Madrid. The idea of a multi-continental monarchy already tends to emphasize such agreements between those who occupy the honorary positions of the republic (municipality) and the Crown. The existence of these negotiations and adjustments can be illustrated using a few examples.

In 1621, the Council of Olinda dealt with the Crown over the upkeep of Maranhão's fortifications, which was otherwise under royal responsibility. In the 1640s, members of the Council of Rio de Janeiro (read: local elites) voted in favour of various volunteer subsidies for the war effort against the Dutch. The same occurred in Bahia, where the Council of Salvador began to maintain regular troops responsible for defending the State. It should be emphasized that these negotiations took place during critical moments for the Portuguese monarchy. By this time, after 1640, a new dynasty (the Braganças) was consolidating itself politically and seeking social legitimacy in Europe and overseas. This was happening in an environment in which Lisbon was at war with the Spanish and Dutch. Thus, such pacts between local elites in the conquered territories and the Crown could perhaps be seen as belonging to a Brigantine multi-continental monarchy. Another indication of the existence of such a pact based on this type of monarchy, according to doctoral studies being carried out by Simone Faria, is the fact that the collection of taxes on gold in Minas Gerais in the 18th century was made by members of the local elite from municipalities in that Captaincy. This means that taxes were collected not by royal officials, but by people linked to municipal councils in the conquered territories. It is worth remembering that the possibility that the Crown might quell the various revolts in the Gold Mines at the beginning of the 18th century owed itself to the local authorities and their armed slaves who supported Lisbon (FRAGOSO; GUIMARÃES, 2007; MONTEIRO, 2009; FARIA, in press).

Another difference between Elliot's concept of the composite monarchy and the idea of a multi-continental monarchy concerns the financial support of the Crown and of the land-owning nobility. In Portugal, His Majesty and the nobility lived on resources derived not so much from European peasants, as in other parts of the Old World, but from overseas territories, that is, from the Crown's conquests, particularly from the indigenous people and, later, the African slaves in the American plantations. It was, therefore, a monarchy and a nobility that was centered around, and sustained by, the periphery, this being for the sake of trade, using African slavery as its productive base, principally from the 17th century onwards.

For this and other reasons, we should highlight the actions of the municipalities, understood as republics, within the systematic idea of the multi-continental monarchy. This is especially so in the conquered territories, as it was where slavery existed and, therefore, where the monarchy was sustained. Both in Portugal and in the conquered territories, the municipality emerged as a rival power, with Council members being chosen by an electoral college made up of councilmen tasked with watching over the public good. In other words, these men were responsible for the courts, local market administration and health care, among other daily affairs in the community (MAGALHÃES, 1988; BICALHO, 2003). In the case of Luanda in the 18th century, even the supply of water was a matter for city officials, their jurisdiction guaranteed by His Majesty. In America, the costs for shipping sugar to Europe were negotiated by the Councils. At various times in the 17th century, Rio de Janeiro councilors, for instance, prevented fleets of sugar barges from leaving their city's ports, forcing them to accept prices stipulated by municipal councils. This phenomenon not only demonstrates the municipalities' autonomy in managing common goods, it also indicates its political interference in the economy, or to be more precise, its political interference in the market. In fact, the interference of the municipal councils in the market was a fact of life in the Ancien Régime.

We can infer, therefore, from what we have just said about the interference of Overseas Councils in the management of communities and in the political existence of the multi-continental monarchy, that they also interfere in the dynamics of the overseas empire. Here it's worth mentioning the defense of Maranhão, supported by resources from the Council of Olinda in the early 17th century. We also have the Rio de Janeiro Council in 1740, which made it possible for Angola to be recaptured from the Dutch and, as such, kept the Portuguese South Atlantic under protection. Added to these examples are the efforts of the Council of Salvador in the attempt to take back Mombasa (East Africa) from the Muslims (FRAGOSO, 2000; 2003; SANTOS, 2011). Hence, we have an idea of the pact that was made between the Crown and the local elites of the Councils in the conquered American lands, and the ability of such councils to intervene in the management of the overseas empire.

Writing about authorities in 17th century Mexico, Annick Lempérière (2004) suggests that there is a close connection between the idea of monarchy, universus, and Council, republic. As I recently mentioned, the municipality looked after the common good and daily matters, while the Crown defended and settled disputes within the monarchy. The

theory that there is a connection and complementarity between those concepts seems essential to me in order to avoid any confusion over the meanings of local authority and localism, especially in Portuguese-speaking America. At the same time, the moment the Crown gave the council autonomy and ensured the legitimacy of local norms and of the customary social hierarchy, it allowed life to continue on in the Portuguese-speaking communities that were scattered across all corners of the planet. Autonomy for the councils provided an institutional tool for a monarchy that, for all its global reach, dealt with different cultural and social realities, allowing it to resolve problems common to overseas and multicultural Empires. It's worth remembering that the Portuguese Empire brought together such different cultures as São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea, São Luis do Maranhão with its ocean of indigenous peoples, and Goa with its ancient civilization. In this context, the flexibility of scholasticism (with its idea of self-government in the republics), which was the basis for political culture in the Portuguese monarchy, gave it the theoretical tools to deal with different realities in the municipalities, such as the possibility of mulattos becoming councilmen in São Tomé or emerging as a social group in Rio de Janeiro (GUEDES, 2011).

Nevertheless, the phenomena described above did occur within certain parameters. The multi-continental monarchy was polisynodal and corporate, since, as I have already mentioned, it was based on the scholastic tradition. Those practices of self-governance correspond to Christian thought and its corresponding social discipline. As such, from municipalities such as São Luís to Luanda, we have a world vision that interpreted and organized social reality according to Catholic precepts. One need only remember the idea of the family as a naturally organized society, which was shared between Recife, Cape Verde and Rio de Janeiro; or even the rule that slavery and its social relationships at work were household matters. Likewise, in the words of Hespanha, order in this Catholic and scholastic Ancien Régime was sustained by a social discipline in which obedience was an act of love and, therefore, consensual and voluntary. This last phenomenon was present in all of the municipalities, despite differences in local customs, giving them, for lack of a better expression, social uniformity.

In other words, the social discipline spread by Catholicism through its curates and religious orders created a common language within the multi-continental monarchy. Thus, these municipalities, with their self-governance and customary social hierarchies spread throughout the vast Portuguese Empire, suggested the existence of different social histories

that were nevertheless closely connected. In fact, in modern times, this Catholic social discipline provided a degree of uniformity for the multi-continental monarchy. Here, it's worth insisting on the idea of obedience because of its ability to exercise the mechanisms of visible control in an absolutist State. That discipline made possible the subordination to authorities, particularly to His Majesty, if it was conflated with loving God. With that, it enabled self-governing municipalities to form the base of the polisynodal and corporate monarchy.

Added to this were the personal relationships between the king and his vassals (understood to be families), i.e. the feeling of belonging conveyed by an economy of the master, in the delightful expression of Ângela Xavier and António Manuel Hespanha (HESPANHA, XAVIER, 1993). According to this norm, services rendered to the king were properly remunerated and could take the form of land concessions or even royal appointments. These relationships set in motion a massive administrative machine overseas and created social forms of production. As a management tool, favors given by the King allowed all of the Crown's military and civil administrative posts to be filled. In other words, the posts of Viceroy of India or Governor of the State of Brazil, as well as the purveyor of the royal treasury in Luanda, were filled through favors granted by His Majesty. Appointees to these positions took them up according to the services they and their families provided to the monarchy.

The functioning of the multi-continental monarchy's administrative machine, based on the economy of favors, can be demonstrated in a study currently being conducted by several Brazilian and Portuguese universities. The aim of the research is to analyze the political communications between communities in the conquered territories and the crown from 1600 to 1800. The Brazilian team has so far examined 25,000 letters sent between Portuguese speaking America, Angola and Sao Tomé and Príncipe and the Crown. One of the results that it has begun to map out in the correspondence is the predominance of themes related to favors, especially civil and military royal appointments (FRAGOSO, GUIMARÃES, 2007; MONTEIRO, 2009).

Similarly, favors in the form of land or market privileges could shape the economies under the monarchy's tutelage. Here, once again, we find political interference in the economy. Furthermore, that norm reinforced ties of dependency/vassalage: through them, the

vassal felt he belonged to a political architecture that went beyond the parish and the municipality, and merged with the monarchy itself.

This feeling of belonging through personal relationships with the King was reflected in the actions of the local elite (landed nobility), who sent their widows and daughters to royal convents and sought protection for their souls in masses held in Lisbon. This, for example, was the case of Francisco Teles Barreto, who commissioned masses in Lisbon in his will, despite coming from a family who had resided in Rio de Janeiro for two generations. The local elite's feeling of belonging to the Portuguese monarchy and the idea of America as the Kingdom's conquest can perhaps be illustrated by a letter sent in 1757 by Pedro Dias Pais, a nobleman of the royal house and chief guardian of the captaincy of Minas Gerais, to Tomé Joaquim da Costa Corte Real, Minister of the Overseas Council and State Secretary for the Navy and Overseas. "(...) My parents came to this State to conquer it, and they did so (...); it stands to reason that after so many centuries and having done our duty so well, that we reap the rewards of this Kingdom" (AHU, RJ, Castro Almeida, cx. 88, doc. 20.284, 24/07/1757).

Clearly, this quote is just a fragment. More research using rigorous methods and an extensive empirical basis is needed to understand this aspect of the landed nobility's ethos. In any case, this extract coincides with the fact that the families of the landed nobility understood their duty to the monarchy to occupy, populate and defend lands in the Americas in the name of His Majesty. This would be done by the sugar plantations, since they guaranteed the production of wealth needed for these purposes, and sustained their families and the common good of the Republic. In this aspect of the management of the elite's businesses in the conquered territories, it's worth remembering the interweaving between the economy and what we now call religion. As we have seen, it was not uncommon for part of the wealth produced in these plantations, as in other parts of the economy in the conquered territories, to be destined to saving the souls of those who wrote wills and to supporting religious and pious activities. In other words, at least the writers of such wills in 17th century Rio de Janeiro tended to go against the supporters of dependency theory, for whom a substantial part of the wealth created by slaves in the American plantations was destined for overseas capital. It seems as if the afterlife demanded a larger part of the American wealth than the Northern European traders, as was to be expected of an economy of the Catholic Ancien Régime. That is, something similar would occur with the Lisboan wills of the same era. The interweaving of Catholic social discipline with economic management is a

phenomenon that needs to be carefully studied if we are to understand the society and economy of Portuguese-speaking America prior to the 18th century.

Concurrently, we should not forget the presence of royal servants among the councils of the conquered territories, particularly in the municipal councils of Minas Gerais; in some councils, they comprised a majority of the members. Here, the question is not about birth right, but about the fact that these royal servants were elected, implying that customary codes were shared in a particular region. Furthermore, these royal councilmen in the councils of conquered America probably belonged to the clientele network of that location. This is a phenomenon that reinforces the idea of a multi-continental monarchy, scattered around the four corners of the Earth, in a political architecture stretching beyond one's place of birth. Whether born in the conquered lands or in the Kingdom, councilmen in both places thought of themselves as the King's vassals.

In turn, the Crown's administration of the periphery, such as the political and administrative machine generated by royal favors, was also responsible for articulating the voice of the Empire; it is in this sense that we have Governor-Generals and later, the Viceroyalty (CONSENTINO, 2009). Consequently, these institutions were essential in articulating the Portuguese South Atlantic and, in the same way, acted as spaces of circulation and support for nobility born in the Kingdom.^{viii} One should also remember that through royal gifts/favors, the King and his peripheral administration interfered in the management of the smallest administrative unit of the municipality and the parish through its nomination of militia officers. At least in Rio de Janeiro, from the end of the 17th century onwards, the selection of these militia officers started with a list sent by the Council to the Governor, who gave an opinion on the quality of the candidates before they reached the hands of the palace advisors or the King. Therefore, captains and other militia officers, despite exercising functions at the level of the Local Authority, were also nominated by the monarch (GIL, 2009). This detail, once confirmed by other studies, reinforces the idea that local government cannot be confused with localism.

Still on the theme of the relationships between the multi-continental monarchy and overseas municipalities, we have the web of family networks created by the local elites. In other words, the families of the landed nobility often relocated in the service of the Crown to other areas of the vast territory of the multi-continental monarchy and, therefore, could create extended family networks that united different municipalities and captaincies. Mafalda

Soares da Cunha, in an as-yet unpublished text, draws attention to the conquest of Pernambuco, which was carried out in the 16th century by family groups such as the Albuquerque and Coelhos (CUNHA, in press). One should bear in mind that a family in the Ancien Régime could, in addition to blood relatives, bring along their neighbors, servants and slaves. Therefore, a family was a duly organized institution with a hierarchical structure. As such, various extended families were capable of pooling resources and men for new ventures, such as territorial occupation and, consequently, the creation of new parishes and villages. Perhaps the building of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro in the 16th and 17th centuries followed this pattern of families moving together. This, at least, is what is suggested by the presence of the families of Mem de Sá in Bahia and in Rio de Janeiro (FRAGOSO, in press). Likewise, there is evidence that extended families from the islands of Madeira and the Azores were displaced to Rio de Janeiro, giving rise to families of landed nobility. It is also worth studying whether such families reinforced alliances over time through marriage, for example, with relatives scattered around various corners of the Empire. I know, for instance, of an alliance between the Albuquerque Maranhão and the Gago da Câmara families - landed nobility in Pernambuco and Maranhão, respectively - that was maintained for more than two generations during the 17th and 18th centuries.^{ix}

The ideas above are merely hypotheses based on scant research, which require more study. The complexity of the subject of landed nobility is illustrated by the trajectories of several families in Rio de Janeiro. Branches of the Azeredo Coutinho and Teles Barreto families, as well as the aforementioned Gago da Câmara family, in the 17th century, faced traders of royal convoys, negotiated “war subsidies” with the Crown and received the Privileges of Porto. In the next century, parts of these families returned to the Kingdom, leaving two centuries of local authoritarianism behind. Other parts stayed in the Americas: once again, it is essential that a comparative study between different captaincies be done.

It is thus from the above parameters of the multi-continental monarchy and the corporate view of society that we must analyze the idea of autonomy and of the self-governance of the Councils. In other words, it is from these practices and ideas derived from scholasticism that we understand the possibility that different municipalities contain diverse social hierarchies and that, as such, the local elite wears different hats, depending on the social dynamic being analyzed. In São Luís do Maranhão in the 17th century, an area recently (re) conquered by the Portuguese monarchy, entry into honorable positions of the Republic

was presumed to integrate the conquistador families, that is, those who fought against the French “at the cost of their plantations”. Being a descendent of the conquistadors was probably not a pre-requisite for joining the landed nobility of Évora in the Kingdom. In São Tomé and Cape Verde in the 16th and 17th centuries, control of the republic could be in the hands of white men of the land, i.e., mixed-race and mulattos, or people who had slave roots. In Recife in the 18th century, such positions were occupied by traders linked to Atlantic contracts.

Meanwhile, the management of a municipality as a republic was no guarantee that the day-to-day fears of the societies living under the multi-continental monarchy could be quelled. One need only remember that the on-the-ground administration in the captaincy of 18th century Rio Grande do Sul was the product not just of the council, but also of the officers of the auxiliary troops. The head of auxiliary troops, Commander Rafael Pinto Bandeira, held more jurisdiction than the Council of Rio Grande de São Pedro over the people along the border. Thus, the study of local authorities deserves further and careful investigation.

Another dimension of power that organized social life was the family, as suggested above. The family, or *oikonomia*, as highlighted by B. Clavero (1991), or the home, according to contemporary documents, formed the basis for social production in the South Atlantic, i.e., family labor and slavery. If the municipality watched over the market, monitored supply and interfered in the price of products such as sugar, the family managed the affairs of the corrals, farms and sugar plantations, among other companies.

Thus, it was rare for issues such as food crops, sugar production and slavery to be mentioned in letters exchanged between authorities in the conquered territories (of the peripheral administration, such as Governors, purveyors of the treasury and paid troop officers, or the municipal council) and the Crown and its senior councils. More common were issues linked to the administration of justice, the treasury, men of the Church and even festivities. In short, daily administration largely depended on the family and its hierarchy; part of the tensions of social relationships, such as those originating in slavery, were resolved in the context of hierarchized personal relationships.

We now come to a theme that is rich for national historiography, namely the relationship between the concept of the Ancien Régime and the slave society. As Laura de

Mello e Souza has reminded us all too well, the concept of the Ancien Régime was established in the 19th century in line with the Absolutist State (SOUZA, 2006, 65). In the 20th century, especially in the work of Pierre Goubert, that idea was added to the persistence of traces of feudalism, which, in this case, comprised peasant farming under the landlords. Inspired, as such, by the French experience in the 17th and 18th century in particular, the concept of the Ancien Régime came to be identified, among other traces, by the political centrality that lay in the hands of the Crown and by an agrarian structure dominated by the aristocracy and the peasantry. However, as we have seen, this theoretical argument began to weaken with the spread of the concept of the multi-continental monarchy and of the composite monarchy.

Therefore, there is no need to repeat the argument already presented. We need only remember that the concept of the Catholic Ancien Régime is expressed in the idea of a society of states, and not of individuals. Thus, the extended family, or *oikonomia*, plays a fundamental role in social organization. According to B. Clavero, society in this era was formed by the integration of families, identified through relationships of patronage and clientele. Thus, contrary to what exists today in complex societies regulated by the market or State, the relationships between kinship and client (patron-client) did not emerge as informal structures that were parallel to such formal and essential institutions as civil bureaucrats (state pensions, public offices, industrial complexes, etc.) in order for the social order to function. Something very different happened in the 16th and 17th centuries, when the basic functioning of society was guaranteed not by the formal and informal relationships of public and private bureaucracies and companies, but mainly by families and patronage relationships (among feudal landlords, sugar plantations, or parishes, etc.). The economy and what we now call social security were the purview of the extended family, for example; social security was also shared among religious brotherhoods in the 17th century. Thus, in the society of that era, clientele and familial relationships did not play the supporting role that they do today. Instead, they played a leading role in organizing an essential aspect of life in society.

In the Catholic Ancien Régime, the family emerged as a naturally self-organized society, structured by hierarchical relationships between parents and children and between the head of the family and those around him and the slaves; these relationships of patronage were also developed through gift giving. Therefore, slavery in the Catholic Atlantic was a domestic phenomenon, neither of the king nor of the municipality. If we use the concept of the Ancien

Régime (in the tropics) to understand social structures in the 17th century Americas, then what we call the household, or *oekonomia*, refers to the set of themes that we learned to call in school as the slave society. In this case, I am referring to farming, emancipation, miscegenation, and the social hierarchy of the slaves. These were issues understood by masters, captured slaves from Guinea, and mulattos, etc., as being domestic or resolved with little or no interference from rules written by the King or by municipal councils. Soon, these subjects would understand such matters of 18th century knowledge as *oikonomia* from the Greco-Roman tradition and not as economy (production and circulation of wealth). Thus, miscegenation, emancipation, the presence of an elite within the slave quarters (stratification of captives) and the results of such social mobility were initially produced in the domestic sphere, protected from the king's interference.

It is from there that we come to one of the central concepts in the development of a thesis of an Ancien Régime in the Tropics: customary social hierarchy, created through the integration of contemporary social agents. These agents went about their actions carrying values that had been passed down by Catholic discipline (the corporate and polisynodal concept of society) but modified by their daily experiences. Consequently, one of the results of that interaction, and of the existence of such a customary hierarchy, was the creation of different social groups that came to be identified as mulatto, mixed-race and/or having the legal status of a freed slave. These groups would later bring a peculiar trait to slavery and to the entire society of Portuguese-speaking American. The freed slaves and their descendants personified social relationships that were derived not from actions of the State, but from the scope of personal interactions within the family, and not any family; that is, they were derived from the *oekonomia* that had the prerogative of self-governance.

Thus, the social hierarchy formed by those men and women crept out of the domestic sphere to subvert or remodel the social and legal order that had originated from Europe (known as the estates of the realm) and treated captives as objects. Let me be clear that we are considering customary social hierarchy, in which the freed slave and the mulatto were both created and creators, to be a possibility enabled by the principle of self-government, something difficult for the Catholic Ancien Régime to accept, and understood as a social order or, if you prefer, as social structures. When the masters, slaves and freed slaves interacted and created a customary hierarchy, they did so according to the values passed down by Catholic discipline and by the patron-client relationships derived from them. Moreover, in

this America, customary social hierarchy was based on the estates of the realm. It's worth remembering that many of the freed slaves and their descendants acquired land and slaves, and began to enjoy their status. However, there was the possibility of a change of status granted not by the King but by the dynamics of social relationships of the agents involved in the *oikonomia*.

The organization of captive labor and the standards of master/slave relationships were dictated by customary practices developed in the familial sphere and in the parish. However, these customs were obviously the result of Catholic piety, ordinances from the King and the rules of the Catholic Church, such as treatises on how to deal with slaves. Those practices were also derived from cracks in those codes. For instance, the ordinances of the King claimed that the slave was considered livestock; that is, it was under the tutelage of its master as cattle. The First Constitutions of the Archbishop of Bahia (published in 1719) already guaranteed slaves the right to be baptized, and emphasized the master's obligation to give them guidance and moral support. Here, we have, amid the cracks in these norms, the development of relationships between masters and slaves, which, according to scholasticism, took place in the domestic sphere. Thus, slavery in the Portuguese-speaking Americas was not only a product of the violence of raids on Africa, the black slave trade and the cultural and social uprooting of men. It was also a product of the Catholic Ancien Régime and its social discipline. Here, for example, we have arrived at one of the pillars of that discipline: baptism. Through it, slaves established kinship rituals that could allow them to join networks of alliances formed by people of different social status and thus widen their resources in the *oekonomia*. As I have mentioned, baptism was a measure of social discipline and, therefore, of the subordination of captives and other groups to the social order. However, at the same time, he could contribute to changes to that same order, i.e. by widening its cracks.

Another social group that was produced through the interactions of agents in Portuguese-speaking America and characteristic of customary social hierarchy was the predominant land-owning nobility. These were local potentates, both born and not born into nobility, who held influence over local affairs, especially with municipal councils. These families descended largely from the secondary branches of lesser nobility in the Azores, the Madeira isles, the Kingdom or even mercenaries (soldiers of fortune). In the 16th and 17th centuries, they led the conquest of America and the stratification of society in the Catholic Ancien Régime. Therefore, such families contributed to setting up the administrative council,

the religious brotherhoods and the Crown's peripheral administration (purveyor of royal treasury, ombudsman, orphans court, etc.) For these services, which were always at the expense of the farms and families, the monarchy granted favors, mainly through land, royal appointments and letters patent to command militias. Note that these services consisted of preserving (defense) and leading (governance) the republic, i.e., the municipalities and other communities under the monarchy's tutelage. The reiteration of this relationship of services – favors within the same families of conquistadors – would eventually constitute one of the axles of the group's ethos (worldview). However, the work of the landed nobility as local representative was not only a relationship of services with the monarchy. Alongside it were several other practices developed by the same families within the local Government and therefore, within the communities' self-governance. These were the relationships of alliances (especially marital ties between families and with Crown officials and nobility) and even the relationships of patronage-clientele with Indians, slaves, freed slaves, etc.

Finally, colonial nobility consisted of a state in which customary social hierarchy from the Ancien Régime in Portuguese-speaking America held sway over the local Authority. The existence of this group – its vision of the world, its patronage relationships with other segments, and its practices of accommodation within the hierarchy – can be illustrated in the statements found in authenticated public documents (and thus accepted by the public and by the monarchy) in Rio de Janeiro in the early 18th century. The group's identity, derived from the history of the captaincy, as well as the relationship it maintained with the monarchy, is exemplified in the will of Julião Rangel de Souza, dated March 9, 1720. In it, Rangel de Souza presents himself as a nobleman and holder of the office of “clerk to the council and courts and registers of this city who gives thanks to my grandfathers for the services they left in the settlement and conquest of this land [in the 16th century]”. It stated further that as an unmarried man, he had fathered a son out of wedlock, Jorge de Souza, whom he refused to recognize as a “nobleman”.

In his will dated April 26, 1737, Francisco Ferreira Travassos also stated that, as a single man, he had had a daughter out of wedlock named Helena Pimenta de Mello. Like Rangel de Souza, he also refused to grant her the right to inherit his property because she was a mulatto while he, the father, was a nobleman: “my father and all my relations served the Republic in this city and have always lived under noble law”. Therefore, for Rangel de Souza and Travassos, the state of colonial nobility, while being a customary condition without the

Crown's approval, prevented them from recognizing their blood ties with people of lesser status; in Travassos' case, people were explicitly identified as mulatto. In other words, similar to what happened to the Kingdom's early nobility, customary rules of the land forbade nobility from mixing with lower segments of society, or at least prevented them from giving away material or immaterial possessions, as if they belonged only to the noble family.

Under these circumstances, the solution that people found for supporting their children was through relationships of paternal piety and patronage, which were expediently provided by the Catholic Ancien Régime. Rangel de Souza requested that his legitimate children honor their natural brother. In his will, Travassos arranged a husband (Manuel Barbosa), endowed his daughter and bequeathed land and money to her and her granddaughter through a third beneficiary. Thus, we see rules from the customary social hierarchy dictating behavior. Similarly, we see the central role played by relationships of patronage in the strategies of agents of that period, including accommodation within the customary hierarchy. It is clear that this accommodation meant, on the one hand, the preservation of the state of nobility. Yet it also represented social and material improvement, via patronage, for children of slaves in the same stratification.

The wills also provide a record of the alternatives available to the nobility in that society. In the same city and era, on February 10, 1732, Miguel Aires Maldonado, a colonel of militias and Knight of the Order of Cristo, recognized his six children, all freed slaves born to two different slave mothers named Joana Cruz and Maria Aires. Moreover, he left his sugar plantation to two of these children, who were mulattos born into slavery: Captain João Aires Maldonado and Father Vital Aires Maldonado. Given the laws of the Kingdom, the colonel could make such a will because he was unmarried (RIBEIRO, 2012). What got in his way were the rules of the noble state described above, but even so, he re-wrote the will and it was not contested.

Miguel Maldonado was descended on both sides from two founders of the republic and of the peripheral administration of the Crown (purveyor of the royal treasury, in this case). For generations, his ancestors played a leading role not only in society, but also within the landed nobility. The parish of São Gonçalo between 1690 and 1720 possessed 32 sugar plantations, with at least six belonging to Aires Maldonado's relatives. One of his brothers was a judge outside the Kingdom and another served in Angola. He himself would receive letters patent from the King naming him a colonel of the militias of São Gonçalo and

surrounding areas, which meant sharing the general command of the city's militias with two other colonels. In theory, this represented roughly 18,000 armed men. At that time, Rio de Janeiro was already one of the main slave ports in the South Atlantic and a gateway to Minas Gerais, then known as the Residence of Gold, but the Council and the militias remained in the hands of the predominant landed nobility, or rather, with families like those of Aires Maldonado. Therefore, Miguel Maldonado had several resources at his disposal to take the position that he did: his family was at the top of the customary hierarchy in that region. Based on parish records, it appears that the colonel's relatives approved. They, at least, were witnesses at the marriage of one of his mulatto daughters, Isabel Tenreira, who was named after her paternal grandmother.

Nevertheless, the story of Captain João Aires did not have such a happy ending. In 1737, six years after the death of Colonel Miguel Maldonado, by a royal decision, the captain lost his patent on the grounds that a captain of the militias had to be white. Even prior to Miguel Maldonado's death, there had already been signs that the landed nobility did not entirely approve of a mulatto captain in its ranks. This was even suggested at the wedding nuptials of João Aires. His bride was the natural daughter of a plantation owner, Captain João da Costa – a subject who possessed land and slaves, although his family did not belong to the predominant land nobility. Thus, despite the credentials of João Aires' paternal ancestors, he was not accepted by that group and his position of authority in the Republic was, at the least, precarious. He inherited his father's material wealth and became a landowner and master of other men, something that anyone who had money could attain. He even held the rank of captain of the militias. However, the social hierarchy was based not on a market-liberal society, but on the Ancien Régime and, as such, differences in social status set the tone for society: João Aires was denied the chance to cement alliances with other families of the landed nobility and, because of this, his entry into the group was duly limited.

From what we have just seen, we cannot simply sum up the actions of Miguel Maldonado and his son João Aires as being the result of a powerful family's impositions on society. If such attitudes were the infractions of someone powerful, they would later be properly curbed and corrected.

In fact, the differences in attitudes shared by the colonel, the captain, Julião Rangel and Francisco Travassos were what was possible within the landed nobility amid the tensions and inconsistencies of a society of the Ancien Régime in the tropics in the 1720s and 1730s.

In other words, the customary practices within this social hierarchy made it possible, even if temporarily, to have a mulatto be a captain of the militias. Of course, the games and social disputes that existed in such a hierarchy eventually imposed limits on that type of activity, resulting in the emergence of new nuances in the customary social hierarchy. The attitudes of those gentlemen actually reveal various strategies by which miscegenation between freed slaves and slaves undermined the basis of the socially stratified hierarchy of the Ancien Régime. Here, I emphasize that the social stratification in this society, based on slavery, was not static. It was a generative process that came about as a result of the actions of agents with different interests. Thus, just as there were segments of the landed nobility who sought to protect their mulatto children, other segments and the laws of the King tried to impose limits on this attempt to undermine the social stratification.

Traces of this conflict can be found in the baptismal registers of slaves in different parishes of the Captaincy of Rio de Janeiro. In the 17th century, it was relatively common to register the name of the father of an innocent slave, whether he be free, emancipated or still a slave; in the following century, the father's name gradually disappeared from such books. Between 1725 and 1735, in the parish of São Gonçalo, the births of 485 slave children were registered, of which 280, or nearly 60%, had unknown paternity. This was quite different from the São Gonçalo of 1646 to 1668, during which 644 slave children were born, of which 574, or 89%, had their fathers registered. Toward the end of the century, between 1680 and 1690, in the parish of Sé do Bispado in Rio de Janeiro, a total of 398 innocent captives were born, of which 71% also had their fathers registered. As such, the last decades of Colonel Miguel Aires Maldonado's life were marked by a noticeable change in social practices, at least formally, in this society. However, the priest, who was the tool for erasing the paternity of these innocents, left traces of their identity.

Of the 280 children whose paternity was unknown, 79 were identified as mulattos and among these, 30 were registered as daughters of blacks from Guinea. This last piece of information suggests that the unknown father was named by the priest as being white and probably free. In other words, we are dealing here not only with miscegenation resulting from intercourse between people of different colors, but also with intercourse between people of different social statuses. And on such records, perhaps that intercourse suggests that there were hierarchical relationships of friendship between segments of the slave population and freemen. Whatever the case may be, those 30 children suggest the breaking up of the social

hierarchy of the Ancien Régime in the Portuguese-speaking Americas. It's worth remembering that, according to the Philippine Ordinances and to the treaties at the time, the slave did not constitute a state, lacked any honor and, therefore, was but one thing (HESPANHA, 2010, 60). As Hespanha said: the captive found himself deprived of any civil code and of citizenship or family and, therefore he was not a person. Rather, he was an object. In this sense, those children and the social relationships they represent put the concept of a corporate society in doubt.

The fracturing of the social hierarchy of the Ancien Régime resulting from relationships between people and non people in São Gonçalo between 1725 and 1735 cannot be seen as an atypical phenomenon in a parish characterized by licentiousness. As I have mentioned above, the figure of the absent father at slave baptisms was, in fact, a recent phenomenon. From 1707 to 1711, in Sé do Bispado in the parish of Sacramento, of the 449 registered baptisms of slave children, 101, or 22%, named free men as fathers, among whom were some of the most respected people. During this period, however, the presence of the “unknown father” in registers began to be more common: In more than half of the 449 records (236), the father was not included. As the trend spread from parishes in the interior of Guanabara Bay to the captaincy's Atlantic coast, the breaking of the rules continued throughout the century. In the parish of Campo Grande, for instance, of the 272 captive children baptized between 1705 and 1727, 88 (32% of the total) were declared children of free men, of whom 12 (4.4%) were of landed nobility descended from conquistadors and several knights of the royal household.

Thus, the attempts by Coronel Aires Maldonado and his allies to elevate João Aires Maldonado to the position of master of the sugar plantation, councilor and captain of the militias can be seen as a significant episode in a stratified society reeling from the clashes around miscegenation between people and non people. Tensions and clashes that were taking a new turn by the time our colonel passed away. One of these movements took place in the 1720s and 1730s, when free men and noblemen stopped appearing as fathers in the parish slave registers, putting a legal stop to miscegenation between states and non-states. Another was the reappearance of free men and noblemen as godfathers or allies of slave mothers and, through them, their networks of friends and relatives.

Table 1 shows the innocent slaves born to unknown fathers, distributed according to their mothers' skin color and the status of their godparents, in São Gonçalo between 1725 and

1735. As we can see, there were 30 mulatto children born to black Guinean gentile women. Of these, 27 were baptized by freemen, including four from the landed nobility, and only three of their godparents came from the slave quarters. In the case of the mulatto mothers, all of the 27 godfathers were freemen, while three belonged to the nobility. Something different occurs when the innocents are registered as creoles or Native Americans, with their father being either a slave, freeman or nobleman. The number of creoles amounted to 32, of which a majority (17) had slaves as godfathers. Supposedly, therefore, these were not included in the social networks formed by freemen and landed nobility.

Table 1: Godfathers of innocents, children of slave mothers and unknown fathers, São Gonçalo 1725-1735

Innocents and their mothers	Numbers of godchildren baptized according to godparent type				
	slave	freed slave	freeman	conquistador	total
Creole children of black mothers	8	1	8		18
Creole children of Slave mothers	9	0	5	0	14
Mulatto children of black mothers	3		23	4	30
Mulatto children of Slave mothers	0	0	0	0	0
Mulatto children of mulatto mothers	0	1	23	3	27
	20	2	59	8	89

Source: Curate of São Gonçalo. Register of Slave Baptisms (1725-1740) FOLDER 018.2

This table allows us, among other things, to see stratification within slave quarters. It was one thing to have a freeman or nobleman as a godfather and quite another to have slaves as allies. Even among mothers of innocent mulattos and probably free fathers, this stratification was present. Mothers who are referred to as mulattos had only freemen as godfathers, while this did not happen with Guineans. Another way, then, to identify this hierarchy is through the color given to the slave mothers. Slaves classified as mulattos were creoles and indigenous, but they were also the products of a rupture in the hierarchy, or if you

prefer, the result of miscegenation between slaves and freemen. And so, in theory, they belonged to a segment made up of slaves and freemen united by ties of friendship and kinship. From this, we can envisage the possibility of a network of friends such as those appearing in Table 2.

In it, we have 51 mothers and their 61 offspring, all of them godchildren of freemen, that is, people according to the terms of the Ancien Régime's treatises. Note that being or not being a slave was independent of the color of one's child and the status of one's father. In this case, I only dealt with the color given to the slave mother in the parish registers and, therefore, with the social relationships that she personified. These were different from the experiences of creole and black Guinean mothers, which incidentally, I have already demonstrated in previous works and in different parishes.

Therefore, Tables 1 and 2 show the reformulation of the hierarchy of the Ancien Régime in the tropics. The conflicts between legal rules and their supporters and the slaves and their accomplices in the landed nobility resulted in the reformulation of the social hierarchy. This did not mean abandoning the estates of the realm, but it took on new features and customary rules. Among the new features of that hierarchy was the creation of mulatto slaves. These had the greatest access to free and noble godfathers and the privileges that these alliances represented. Here, we should be reminded that the society of the Ancien Régime was led by informal relationships, which included those of the clientele. Thus, it was the frequency with which black Guinean mothers of mulatto children and mulatto mothers attained freemen and landed noblemen as godfathers that informed the production of a customary rule in the tropical Ancien Régime.

Table 2: Breakdown by godparent type according to color and/or social status of the mother. São Gonçalo 1725-1735

Numbers of godchildren baptized by godparents, by type					
Slave mothers	slaves	freed slaves	freemen	landed nobility	total
Blacks (150*)	62 (86%)	4	97 (55%)	7	170 (63.4%)
Creoles (33*)	10 (14%)	0	21 (12%)	1	32 (12%)

Mulatto (51*)	0	2	58 (33%)	6	66 (24.6%)
Total	72	6	176	14	268

Source: Curate of São Gonçalo. Register of Slave Baptisms (1725-1740) FOLDER 018.2. * Number of mothers

Captain João Aires Maldonado and his brothers were not anomalies, but rather characters in this customary hierarchy, a result of the rupturing in the tropics of the European Ancien Régime's social stratification. Between 1725 and 1735, in the captain's parish, 51 mulatto and 30 black slave mothers and their mulatto children appeared in the parish baptismal registers, representing roughly 1/3 of black mothers. In other words, as a mulatto, the Captain was not alone in this society.

Certainly not all of the mixed race children shared a similar fate as that of the captain and his priestly brother. Tensions played out in different ways in their lives. One need only remember the limits imposed by society on Captains Julião Rangel de Souza and Francisco Travassos as they wrote their wills. Although the dead interfered with the destiny of the living in that Catholic society, these men shaped the actions of the dead, or rather those soon to die, by means of the social restrictions. Among the social pressures and tensions experienced by the landed nobility, we cannot forget an issue which requires more research: the system of inheritance and alliances among landed nobility. In São Paulo (NAZZARI, 2001; BACELLAR, 1997) and in wills from Rio de Janeiro at the turn of the 18th century, there are indications that part of the fortunes of that group circulated through dowries and trusts given to children of the nobility for their weddings. Julião Rangel himself left a trust for his children. Needless to say, such a practice was vital for building alliances between noble families. As a consequence, the stability of that society of the Ancien Régime meant putting a stop to giving mixed race children access to the fortunes and positions of the nobility.

Nevertheless, such practices of handing down assets and creating alliances among the nobility did not suppress the social mobility of mixed race children and mulattos born of free men. Helena Pimenta de Mello, a mulatto, did not acquire a sugar plantation, but she married a freeman and became a landowner (probably of a small farm). In Campo Grande and Jacarepaguá, which were parishes on the Atlantic coast of the captaincy, there are stories of mulattos born of the nobility and freemen who became small farmers and raised livestock. This was the case of Ana Freire, whose parents Gregório Naziazeno and Maria Sampaio were

freed slaves and the mixed-race offspring of sugar plantation owners and landed nobility in Jacarepaguá. Maria, for example, was the daughter of a landowner from Rio Grande and a distant granddaughter of Antônio Sampaio, a captain who fought in the conquest of Rio de Janeiro in the 16th century. Others, such as Estevão Gonçalves, were descended from free farm laborers and/or free mill workers.

The fact that sexual intercourse between freemen of different social statuses and slaves took place turned it into an intercourse of the estates of the realm. Or rather, that social encounter changed the pre-existing social hierarchy by establishing new bases in the divisions within the stratified society of the Ancien Régime.

One of the signs of this mixed-race hierarchy was the amount of favoritism given by nobility and freemen to innocent mulattos and their kin, or rather, the clientele relationships and alliances that such favoritism represented. Here, I insist that we are dealing with a society organized by informal and personal relationships. Thus, the repetition of these social relationships implies the production of a new social hierarchy in the tropics – a stratification in which mulattos had a different social level than that of blacks.

At any rate, the dynamics and rules of this customary hierarchy should be material for various studies. From the stories of Captain João Aires and Helena de Mello, it appears that the entry of mulattos into the landed nobility or the strengthening of mulatto status in Rio de Janeiro in the 18th century encountered stiff opposition. Perhaps it was more possible in the 17th century, before the ruthless changes that took place in the city in the 18th century. It's worth insisting that in the first part of the 18th century, the Portuguese-speaking Americas, especially Minas de Ouro and Rio de Janeiro, went through acute transformations, including the discovery of gold; the growth of the Atlantic slave trade; increasing emigration from the kingdom; the adaptation of the credit system and the business activities of various municipalities in setting up gold mining activities; crops and livestock in different areas of the Brazilian Midwest; the decline of the landed nobility in Rio de Janeiro amid political and economic competition from traders, the loss of Crown taxes to the ombudsman (such as the city's customs tax), etc.^x In this article, I am only interested in drawing attention to the complexity of the social hierarchy of the Ancien Régime in Portuguese-speaking America, and emphasizing that it was not static, but in continuous motion. In turn, these conflicts and the possibility of customary laws, as identified above, were possible in strengthening a

corporate concept in the multi-continental monarchy and, with this, the principal of self-governance for Local Authorities.

That said, I believe that by using the methodological procedures of Italian micro-history, it is possible to tease out those struggles and, with them, the customary social hierarchy, through the actions of its agents (slaves, mulattos, freemen, etc.), or as a generative process, as something originating from the interactions of its agents.^{xi}

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Notes

ⁱ In the following text, I give a brief summary of the ideas presented in the text “Explanatory models of the slave economy in Brazil, In: CARDOSO, Ciro F. *Escravidão e Abolição no Brasil Colonial*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar Editor, 1988 and in the first chapter of FRAGOSO, João. **Homens de grossa aventura: Acumulação e hierarquia social no Rio de Janeiro 1790-1830**. 2^a ed., Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1998.

ⁱⁱ SOUZA, Laura de Mello. **O Sol e a Sombra**, São Paulo: Cia das Letras, 2006. p. 67. In an interview published in the magazine ‘Pesquisa da FAPESP’, dated 11/12/2012, the author, as coordinator of the project *Dimensões do Império Português*, if I am not mistaken, some of the ideas presented above in *O Sol e a Sombra*; for example, she recognizes the possibility of negotiation between colony and metropolis and, furthermore, postulates the idea of local authority and its self-autonomy in the face of the monarchy. In the same interview, to my great surprise, Jobson Arruda even affirms “the possibility of sustaining capital [in America] and gaining commercial trade routes that would make them independent from the metropolis”. With this, unless I am mistaken, the ideas that Manolo Florentino and I have defended, and especially those of Antônio Hespanha, edge closer to those of the referred- to colleagues from USP on the corporate and polisynodal monarchy (see later in this text), and those ideas presented in the book *Antigo Regime nos Trópicos*. However, as I have said, it is an interview, and therefore a text lacking academic rigor, without notes and headers and the further development of ideas. So much so that, throughout the interview, the author returns to link the idea of the centrality of slavery (a thesis defended by Ciro Cardoso and Jacob Gorender) with that of commercial capitalism. This is a thesis which is anathema to historiography. It is worth insisting that slavery of colonial exclusivity is the result of the interests of commercial capital and European capitalism. This is something quite different from slavery as a social relationship of production and definitive of the logic of such a society, as it appears in the works of Jacob Gorender and Ciro Cardoso. For more recent generations of researchers, I suggest reading pages 20 and 21 of Gorender, in which the author makes seminal critiques of the ideas of commercial slavery, supported by Novais. The same criticism is also found in CARDOSO, Ciro. “As concepções do ‘Sistema Econômico Mundial’ and ‘Antigo Sistema Colonial’: a preocupação obsessiva com a ‘extração de excedente’” in: LAPA, José Roberto do Amaral (Org.). **Modos de Produção e Realidade Brasileira**. Petrópolis: Vozes, 1980, pp. 109-132.

ⁱⁱⁱ For different ideas about the social and economic elites of Minas do Ouro, see the work by Almeida, Carla de. **Ricos e pobres em Minas Gerais: produção e hierarquização social no mundo colonial, 1750-1822**. Belo Horizonte: Argvmentvm, 2010 and STUMPF, Roberta. **Filho das Minas, Americanos, Portugueses: as identidades coletivas na Capitania de Minas Gerais (1763-1792)**. São Paulo, Editora Hucitec, 2010.

^{iv} News from the Bishop of Rio de Janeiro, **Visitor:** (not found) **Date:** 1687, **Notation:** ACMRJ, Series of Pastoral Visits, VP38 General Archive of the Curate of Rio de Janeiro. Document found. Thanks to Victor Luiz Alvares Oliveira for locating and typing out the document.

^v VIEIRA, Manuel Leão. Topographical letters of the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro, sent by and taken by Il.^{mo} and Ex.^{mo} Mr. Conde da Cunha General Captain and Viceroyalty of the State of Brazil, 1767. Virtual library of Historical Cartography of the 16th to 18th centuries <<http://consorcio.bn.br/cartografiahistorica/mapas/cart512339fo4.sid>>.

^{vi} Will of Catarina of Espírito Santo, 1703. Registry of deaths in the parish of Candelária. <http://www.familysearch.org/s/image/show#uri=http%3A//pilot.familysearch.org/records>.

^{vii} There are several works on this subject, which I see no reason to repeat here. See BRIEN, Patrick. European economic development: the contribution of the periphery, **Economic History Review**, vol. XXXV (1), 1982. STERN J., Steve. Feudalism, Capitalism and the World-System in the Perspective of Latin America and the Caribbean, **American Historical Review**, 88 (43), 1988; WESSELING, Henk, *História do além-mar*. In: BURKE, Peter, **A Escrita da História**. São Paulo, UNESP, pp. 97-131 (ed. in English 1990), 1991. FOX-GENOVESE, Elizabeth & GENOVESE, Eugene, *The Janus Face of Merchant Capital*. In: _____. **Fruits of Merchant capital**, Oxford University Press, 1983. O’Brien, in articles published after 1982, gives greater importance to colonial markets, although his main thesis is that the prominence of the domestic market in the early days of English industrialization would remain. According to him, the so-called Americanization of foreign English trade between 1772 and 1820 is due, among other reasons, to wars in the Old World. Between 1814 and

1873, exports to Europe grew faster than those to America and the Caribbean (O'BRIEN, P. & ENGERMAN, S. L. Export and the growth of the British economy from the Glorious Revolution to the Peace of Amiens. In: SOLOW, B. & ENGERMAN, S. (eds.) **Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System**, Cambridge, 1991). For a version of European industrialization, which highlights the role of trade flows within Europe, see PEDREIRA, Jorge. "Introdução". **Estrutura Industrial e Mercado Colonial: Portugal e Brasil (1780-1830)**, Lisboa, Difel, 1994. In "The Global Economic History of European Expansion Overseas", published by **The Cambridge Economic History of Latin America**, vol. 1, 2006, O'Brien comes back to this subject. Among the supporters of the idea of colonial exploitation as being subordinate to the formation of capitalism, see, among others: BRAUDEL, Fernand **O Tempo do Mundo – Civilização Material e Capitalismo**, vol. 3. Lisboa: Teorema, 1979; WALLERSTEIN, Immanuel. **O Sistema Mundial Moderno**, vol.I, Porto: Ed. Afrontamento, s/d (published in English in 1974).

^{viii} These traces of the landed nobility's ethos began to be revealed frequently in the wills of the group under study. In his will, André Gago da Camara ordered the establishment of a chapel for regular masses at the cost of 800 thousand reis. Will of André Gago da Camara, annexed to the death register, dated 12/06/1705. Livro de Óbitos 1701-1710, Freguesia de Sacramento image 58. D. Úrsula da Silveira, André's mother, who died on 10/06/1706, ordered hundreds of masses to be held in the Convents and Abbeys of the Captaincy. Livro de Óbitos 1701-1710, Freguesia de Sacramento image 11. André's cousin, Ignácio de Andrade Soutomaior, who died on 21/03/1696, wrote in his will that he wanted a thousand masses to be held, costing 300 mil reis. Livro de Óbitos 1701-1710, Freguesia da Candelária 1696-171, image 63.

<<http://www.familysearch.org/s/image/show#uri=http%3A//pilot.familysearch.org/records>>.

⁹ Register of Deaths in the Parish of Candelaria. Will of Francisco Teles Barretto, 6/6/1679 and of André Gago da Camara, annexed to the death register, 6/6/1679. Accessible at: www.familysearch.org. Accessed on 13/02/2012.

¹⁰ Regarding the presence of royal servants in the councils of Minas, see, among other texts: MONTEIRO, Livia Nascimento. *Administrando o bem comum: Homens bons e a câmara de São João del Rei 1730-1760*. Dissertation (Master's in Social History) – Post-graduate program in Social History, Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro, Rio de Janeiro, 2010, chapter 3. Almeida, Carla de. *Ricos e pobres em Minas Gerais: produção e hierarquização social no mundo colonial, 1750-1822*. Belo Horizonte: Argvmentvm, 2010, p. 179; CHAVES, Cláudia, PIRES, Maria do Carmo ; MAGALHAES, Sonia Maria de. *Casa de Vereança de Mariana: 300 anos de História da Câmara Municipal*. Ouro Preto: Editora Ufop, 2008.

¹¹ To do so, just remember that the posts of Governors of the captaincy were held by the nobility, a practice imposed on this group mainly after the Braganças. For the nobility, this overseas service depended on maintaining their houses in the Kingdom. MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. *Social trajectories and governments in the conquests*. In: FRAGOSO, João L. R.; GOUVÊA, Maria de Fátima S.; BICALHO, Maria Fernanda B. (orgs). *O Antigo Regime nos Trópicos. A dinâmica imperial portuguesa, séculos XVI-XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001.

¹² Mathias de Albuquerque Maranhão, son of Jerônimo de Albuquerque, the captain of the conquest of Maranhão, moved to Rio de Janeiro following the Dutch invasion of Pernambuco and here, he married a daughter of the captain of the fort, Pedro Gago da Câmara. Until the 18th century, marriages between cousins, i.e. members of these two families, took place. See: FRAGOSO, João L. R. *A nobreza vive em bandos: a economia política das melhores famílias da terra do Rio de Janeiro, século XVII*. *Tempo*. Revista do Departamento de História da UFF, Niterói, v. 8, n. 15, p. 11-35, 2003; FRAGOSO, João L. R. *Potentados coloniais e circuitos imperiais: notas sobre uma nobreza da terra, supracapitanias, no Setecentos*. In: MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo; CARDIM, Pedro; CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da. (Orgs.). *Optima Pars: Elites Ibero-Americanas do Antigo Regime*. Lisboa: ICS/ Universidade de Lisboa, 2005, p. 133-169.

¹³ LETTER [from the governor of Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais], Gomes Freire de Andrade, to King [D. Joao V], concerning nominations for the post of Captain of one of the Auxiliary Militias to which Captain Joao Aires Maldonado belonged. 11/09/1737. *Colecao Resgate – Avulsos Rio de Janeiro*.

¹⁴ On the economic and social transformations in the Portuguese-speaking Americas that enabled gold exploration, see KELMER. *On the changes in Rio de Janeiro at the beginning of the 17th century*, see KELMER Carlos M. *A cor negra do ouro: circuitos mercantis e hierarquias sociais na formação da sociedade mineira setecentista, 1711-c. 1756*. Rio de Janeiro: Mauad, 2012. Fragoso, João & GUEDES, Roberto, Prefácio, Op, cit.

^{xi} BARTH, Fredrik. *Process and forms in social life*. Vol. 1. London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1981

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