

# *Between the Atlantic and the coast: confluence of trade routes in a peripheral port of Portuguese America (Santos, 1808–1822)*

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## **Abstract**

This paper has approached the coastal and Atlantic characters of such commercial activity in the port of Santos between 1808 and 1822 and the contradictions arising of this double condition, which is unique in the Southern coast of Portuguese America. This discussion was based on data collected in importation and exportation maps produced by customs of Santos to the Royal Board of Trade.

**Keywords:** ports; colonial trade; colonial products.

## *Entre o atlântico e a costa: confluência de rotas mercantis num porto periférico da América portuguesa (Santos, 1808–1822)*

### **Resumo**

Este artigo discute o caráter costeiro e atlântico da atividade mercantil no porto de Santos entre 1808 e 1822 e as contradições oriundas desta dupla condição, única na costa Sul da América portuguesa. Esta discussão foi fundamentada em dados levantados nos mapas de importação e exportação produzidos pela alfândega de Santos para a Real Junta de Comércio.

**Palavras-chave:** portos; comércio colonial; produtos coloniais.

## *Entre el Atlántico y la costa: confluencia de rutas mercantiles en un puerto periférico de la América portuguesa (Santos, 1808–1822)*

### **Resumen**

Este texto discute el carácter costero y atlántico de la actividad mercantil en el puerto de Santos entre 1808-1822 y las contradicciones resultantes de esta su doble condición, única en la costa sur de la América portuguesa. Esta discusión está fundamentada en datos obtenidos de los mapas de importación y exportación producidos por la aduana de Santos para la Real Junta de Comercio.

**Palabras clave:** puertos; comercio colonial; productos coloniales.

## *Entre l'Atlantique et la côte: la confluence des routes commerciales dans un port périphérique de l'Amérique portugaise (Santos, 1808–1822)*

### **Résumé**

Cet article discute le caractère côtier et Atlantique de l'activité commerciale dans le port de Santos entre 1808-1822 et les contradictions qui proviennent de sa double condition, unique à la côte sud de l'Amérique portugaise. Cette discussion est basée sur des données recueillies dans les cartes d'importation et d'exportation produites par la douane de Santos pour la Real Junta de Comércio.

**Mots-clés:** les ports; le commerce colonial; les produits coloniaux.

In the past decade, historiography on the commerce of the Portuguese empire and especially the captainship of São Paulo progressed and enabled the port of Santos to become target for research, which could lead to the conceptualization of the importance and the nature of its commercial activity in the colonial economy.

The Santos coastal village was a peripheral zone to the South coast in relation to other coast cities, such as Rio de Janeiro or Salvador, which were constituted of effective trade spaces from the point of view of the complex and varied accumulation of capitals and for concentrating a restrict group of dealers who formed the economic dominant elite of the colonial economy.<sup>1</sup>

However, in this village there was considerable trade movement, a community of dealers living in the city of São Paulo or in the port region itself, who worked in the internal and external, coastal or terrestrial markets up the hill.<sup>2</sup>

Up until then, historiography associated the coastal village of Santos to the salt or sugar market.<sup>3</sup> More recent studies changed this view, but they still conclude that the trade activities of this port were restricted to the demands of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>4</sup> The small number of arrivals and departures in the port of Santos is still an issue for some authors, who relate this data to an inferior or less important trade position in the general commerce scope of the late colonial period.<sup>5</sup>

In the pages of this historiography, however, there are many quotes extracted from the documents which found these conclusions to a more vital and diverse trade environment in the connections with other spaces in the American coast or in Portugal.

Even though the captainship of São Paulo is part of the hinterland of Rio de Janeiro,<sup>6</sup> its coast geography characterized by the existence of only one port with a direct exit to the Atlantic, as was the case of Santos and matters of the commerce in the late colonial period, such as the increase and diversification of food demand, gave the trade activity of this coastal village a complementary

<sup>1</sup>João Luis Fragoso, *Homens de grossa aventura: acumulação e hierarquia na praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro, 1790-1830*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1998, p. 40-49.

<sup>2</sup>João Luis Ribeiro Fragoso, et al., *O antigo regime nos trópicos: a dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2001; João Luis Ribeiro Fragoso; Carla Maria Carvalho Almeida; Antonio Carlos Jucá Sampaio, *Conquistadores e negociantes: história de elites no Antigo Regime nos trópicos. América lusa, séculos XVI a XVIII*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2007; Helen Osório, *O Império português no sul da América: estancieiros, lavradores e comerciantes*, Porto Alegre, Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2007; Maria Lúcia Viveiros Araújo, *Os caminhos das riquezas dos paulistanos na primeira metade do Oitocentos*, São Paulo, Editoria HUCITEC/Fundação de Amparo à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo, 2006; Maria Aparecida Menezes Borrego, *Laços familiares e aspectos materiais da dinâmica mercantil na cidade de São Paulo, (séculos XVIII e XIX)*, *Anais do Museu Paulista*, vol. 18, n. 1, São Paulo, 2010, p. 11-41; Denise A. Soares Moura, *Subsistemas de comércio costeiros e internalização de interesses na dissolução do Império colonial português, Santos (1788-1822)*, *Revista Brasileira de História*, vol. 30, n. 59, São Paulo, 2010, p. 215-235.

<sup>3</sup>Maria Thereza Schorer Petrone, *A lavoura canvieira em São Paulo, Expansão e declínio (1765-1888)*. São Paulo, Difusão Europeia do Livro, 1968.

<sup>4</sup>Renato Mattos, *Política, administração e negócios na capitania de São Paulo e sua inserção nas relações mercantis do Império português (1788-1808)*, Dissertação de Mestrado - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, 2009 e Ana Paula Medici, *Administrando conflitos: o exercício do poder e os interesses mercantis na capitania/província de São Paulo (1765-1822)*, Tese de Doutorado - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, 2010.

<sup>5</sup>Maximiliano M. Meinz, *Centro e periferias coloniais: o comércio do Rio de Janeiro com Santos e Rio Grande (1802-1818)*, *Revista de História*, n. 154, São Paulo, 2006, p. 251-266.

<sup>6</sup>As demonstrated by Larissa Brown for the period 1813-1819. Larissa Brown, *Internal commerce in a colonial economy*, Rio de Janeiro and its hinterland, 1790-1822. Virginia, Tese de Doutorado, University of Virginia, 1986.

character of internal market demands, both in the continent — because the commercial connections also happened with the Plata river — and externally.<sup>7</sup>

In the south coast of the Portuguese America, after Rio de Janeiro, only the port of Santos had a deep, large and appropriate mooring bar for large boats, like ships.<sup>8</sup> In certain conjunctures, this port was target for policies which contributed even more for its strengthening as a coast trade market. The governor Bernardo José de Lorena (1788–1797), for instance, paved the difficult road down the hill, which connected the city of São Paulo, and so the whole countryside, from the captainship to the coast<sup>9</sup> and adopted measures to centralize all the sea trade of the captainship in this port. These measures were abandoned by the posterior governor, Antonio Manuel de Melo e Castro e Mendonça (1797–1802, but were retaken by the next governor, Antonio José da Franca e Horta (1802–1808).

Wouldn't the ability of a peripheral area located to the South coast of America to play two roles in the trade activity of the empire — coastal and Atlantic — be enough to make an interesting field for research? By concentrating two trade modalities, wouldn't the village of Santos be subjected to the crossfire of the competition of interests, especially at a time when the empire struggled to be present in its domains in America?

The following text will not conceptualize trade groups, and so it will not explicitly use the concept of network,<sup>10</sup> which is an essential theoretical and methodological tool that has been leading to significant advancements in the subject of empire trade. However, by following up the movement of goods from the port of Santos, by means of import and export maps, it was possible to build a network of trade relations, which provided conditions to qualify the trade activity of Santos in the broader context of the Iberian empires in America.

Therefore, the concept of network has some influence on this text, but instead of following up the history of people, we chose to follow the goods which circulated in different spaces and also contributed to connect several regions, related or not to the Portuguese empire.

The data in the import and export maps of Santos, produced between 1808 and 1821, even if not serial, reveal that in this port there was a constellation of colonial goods which formed specific trade circuits and integrated many other regions of meridional America and Portugal. These trade circuits, analyzed by each type of good, instead of the number of boats, indicate that Rio de Janeiro, at least until 1818, did not monopolize the acquisition of colonial goods coming from the port of Santos.

Thus, data herein gathered and analyzed disagree with the theses that restrict the commercial interests of the village of Santos to those of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>11</sup> Between the late XVIII and the early XIX centuries, the demand for

<sup>7</sup>José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *O sistema colonial*, São Paulo, Ática, 1991, p. 42 e p. 83-85.

<sup>8</sup>Caio Prado Jr., *Evolução política do Brasil e outros estudos*, São Paulo, Brasiliense, 1972, p. 105, 117.

<sup>9</sup>Denise Mendes, *A Calçada do Lorena: o caminho de tropeiros para o comércio do açúcar paulista*, Dissertação de Mestrado - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, 1994.

<sup>10</sup>João Fragoso; Maria de Fátima Gouvêa (orgs.), *Na trama das redes: política e negócios no Império português, séculos XVI-XVIII*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2011, p. 22-23.

<sup>11</sup>Renato Mattos, *Política, administração e negócios na capitania de São Paulo e sua inserção nas relações mercantis do Império português (1788-1808)*, Dissertação (Mestrado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2009. Ana Paula Medici, *Administrando conflitos: o exercício do poder e os interesses mercantis na capitania/província de São Paulo (1765-1822)*, Tese (Doutorado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010.

various foods and goods in Europe increased. Dealers who worked in the cities and coastal villages of Brazil may have tried to take advantage of this variation in the consumer market demand.

Indeed, the data collected in export maps of the colonial goods in the port of Santos showed that the number of boats destined to or coming from Portuguese ports to Santos was infinitely lower than those to Rio de Janeiro, as will be demonstrated ahead. But would this be enough to minimize the importance of goods going from Santos to the Portuguese ports in certain conjunctures?

With the microscopic analysis from the inside of boats, that is, from the follow-up of each type of goods aboard, I noticed some of them were sent to Portuguese ports in greater amounts in relation to those going to Rio de Janeiro.

These values can be seen in Tables 5 to 7. Such a conclusion, however, does not imply the restriction of importance and nature of the trade activity from the port of Santos to the Atlantic market.<sup>12</sup> It only indicates that, in the south coast of the continent, the trade activity of a peripheral port such as Santos oscillated between the internal and external market, with varying internal movements. Thus, Rio de Janeiro was not the predominant commercial connection of the village of Santos. The diversification of trade partners in the internal and external markets defines the nature of economy in this village.

Therefore, in order to conceptualize and discuss the commerce of a peripheral port, it seemed more interesting to value the types and quantities of each good that was sent to other ports, since the number of boats moving in the pier could lead to misleading conclusions.

Since the 1800s, the demand of the internal and external market for different colonial goods increased, especially concerning cotton, rice, coffee, leather and cocoa, as demonstrated by Valentim Alexandre. Sugar, however, still had high levels of exportation during a discreet recession.<sup>13</sup> So, the peripheral ports, for being productive zones and having access to those inside the continent, became alternative and complementary locations for the demand of colonial goods.

The conclusion of this research, however, is that peripheral and small ports, such as the one in Santos, worked as complementary points of demand for colonial goods existent in larger ports, whose center of trade operations was the Atlantic.

The systematized and presented data also indicated that the port of Santos played an important role for coastal supply. However, this coastal commercial activity performed by the port of Santos was complex, characterized by many circuits of goods, whose volumes oscillated: sometimes more for the Atlantic, sometimes more for the south coast of Brazil and even for the region of the Plata river.

All the discussion to come, however, qualifies the composition and the articulations of the port of Santos in the south central coast of America and in the Atlantic, especially towards the cities of Lisbon and Porto, exclusively from the point of view of exports of colonial goods.

<sup>12</sup>Assim faz Pablo Oller Mont Serrat, *Dilemas e conflitos na São Paulo restaurada: formação e consolidação da agricultura exportadora (1765-1802)*. Dissertação - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, 2011

<sup>13</sup>Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*. Lisboa, Edições Afrontamento, 1993, p. 41.

While the commerce in this port is being considered in broad scale, that is, the south coast of America, the port of Rio Grande, which is also one of the main ones in this coast region, is a mandatory reference, since it emphasizes and helps the reader understand the importance of the port of Santos as being practically an exclusive commercial center that is simultaneously coastal and Atlantic, in the south coast and then in Rio de Janeiro.

Rio Grande and Santos may be antagonistic, concerning Santos' exports role, unlike Rio Grande, whose function is specifically the internal supply by means of leather, jerk and wheat commerce.<sup>14</sup> But these two ports have some things in common, such as the same complexity and variability of goods exported in the coast. Rio Grande, as demonstrated in other studies, worked for internal supply through the commerce of leather, jerk and wheat.

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### **Santos: a peripheral port in America as one of the routes for the Portuguese market**

The data in the commercial balance of the ports from Porto and Lisbon, systematized and analyzed by Valentim Alexandre, contribute to validate one of the conclusions in this text: that the port of Santos was a complementary route for the demands of different colonial products existent in two Portuguese ports.<sup>15</sup>

With these documents, the author demonstrated the appearance of a new exportation model in the empire commerce from the 1800s on, which can be explained by the relative recession of sugar and tobacco, caused by the increased demand for cotton and the increased absolute value of exportation of secondary products, such as leather, rice, coffee and cocoa.<sup>16</sup>

Since 1751, the inspection desk was installed in Rio de Janeiro, subordinated to the chamber of commerce in Lisbon and responsible for controlling the quality and the commerce of sugar exported by this port. So, this product had to pass by the port of Rio de Janeiro, where it would find the bureaucratic mechanisms of quality control and taxation.

But some sugar went straight from Santos, a peripheral port, which despite the presence of customs had a weaker bureaucratic structure due to the late intensification of its trade activity.<sup>17</sup> From there, especially colonial goods would depart.<sup>18</sup>

<sup>14</sup>Helen Osório, *O Império português no sul da América: estancieiros, lavradores e comerciantes*, Porto Alegre, Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2007.

<sup>15</sup>Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*. Lisboa, Edições Afrontamento, 1993.

<sup>16</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 41-44.

<sup>17</sup>Cf. Denise A. Soares Moura, "Subsistemas de comércio costeiros e internalização de interesses na dissolução do Império colonial português, Santos (1788-1822)", *Revista Brasileira de História*, São Paulo, vol. 30, n. 59, 2010, p. 215-235.

<sup>18</sup>I'm using this expression because it was extremely common in documents dated from the 18 and 19 centuries and because it refers to daily provisions, both dry (flour, corn, beans and coffee) and wet (pork lard, bacon, cheese, sugar cane liquor and sweets).

The Atlantic commerce activity of Santos gained conditions to develop from 1788 on, with the government of Bernardo José de Lorena, as aforementioned. Other ports from the South, such as Rio Grande and Santa Catarina, as demonstrated in Table 1, did not have the same regularity as Santos, from the point of view of direct relations with Lisbon.

Some theses have proven that the expansion of the internal market in the late colonial period led to strengthened commercial connections between the ports in the south coast and Rio de Janeiro.<sup>19</sup> The commercial elite established in the port of Rio de Janeiro was also related to business of internal trade supply,<sup>20</sup> and the ports of the South were the access source to colonial goods that would circulate in such market.

It is important to consider the strong influence of geographical aspects<sup>21</sup> of the South ports for the establishment of this type of commercial connection. Santos was the only one in the south coast with deep embankment, proper for ships.

Comparing the Atlantic movements in the port of Santos with those of Rio Grande and Santa Catarina, it is observed that Santos received ships coming from Lisbon on a regular basis. So, in this special port of the captainship of São Paulo, there was also the development of significant Atlantic commercial activity, even if at a secondary level. The colonial products from the port of Santos were being competed by two trade circuits: the Atlantic and the internal supply trade (Table 1).

Wouldn't this double ability have turned the port of Santos, unlike Rio Grande, in an area in which the trade activity could be more autonomous and take more advantage of the economic settings? The next data suggest so.

The opening of ports in 1808 and the end of the era of captainship governors who worked to strengthen the exclusivity of port of Santos in the late colonial market, such as Bernardo José de Lorena and Franca e Horta, did not have a negative impact on its commercial activities.

On the other hand, the village of Santos provided sugar directly to Lisbon, surpassing the inspection desk itself, and also an important supplier of "other goods", which will be called daily consumption, such as: sugarcane liquor, rice, and leather, and the latter did not come from Rio Grande, but from the Platin circuit, that is, nonperishable food.

Table 2 indicates the movement of Portuguese boats in the port of Santos, that is, those leaving with colonial goods in comparison to those destined to Rio de Janeiro.

Throughout the 11 documented years, it was observed that there were infinitely more departures from Santos to Rio de Janeiro, accounting for 286, and those directed to Portugal accounted for 42. This observation can develop the idea that the economy of Santos was a satellite for Rio de Janeiro

Lisbon and Porto acquired larger volumes of goods from the coastal city of Santos in relation to Rio de Janeiro, as observed in the individual

<sup>19</sup>Helen Osório, *O Império português no sul da América: estancieiros, lavradores e comerciantes*, Porto Alegre, Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2007. Rudolph W. Bauss, *Rio de Janeiro: the rise of late colonial Brazil's emporium, 1777-1808*. New Orleans, PhD dissertation, Tulane University, 1977; Larissa. Brown, *Internal commerce in a colonial economy*, Rio de Janeiro and its hinterland, 1790-1822, Tese (Doutorado), University of Virginia, Virginia, 1986, p. 425-434.

<sup>20</sup>João Luís Fragoso, *Homens de grossa aventura: acumulação e hierarquia na praça mercantil do Rio de Janeiro, 1790-1830*, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1998.

<sup>21</sup>Sobre os privilégios geográficos cf. Pierre Chaunu, *Expansão europeia do século XIII ao XV*. São Paulo, Pioneira, 1978, p. 80-81.

Table 1. List of equipment in ships which departed from Lisbon and headed to the ports in the south of Portuguese America. Data from the Chamber of Commerce. Series “Navegação, matrícula das equipagens de navios”. ANTT, Maço 34, cx. 114; maço 35, cxs. 116, 117, 118, 119; maço 379, cx. 757 e série “Relações de entradas e saídas dos navios do porto de Lisboa”. Maço 310, cx. 620.

	Santos	Rio Grande	Santa Catarina Island
1788	Nossa Senhora do Carmo and Santo Antonio, Francisco de Abreu, with salt and farms		
1789	Navio Nossa Senhora do Bellem, and São João Batista, moving to Santos and Rio de Janeiro		
1791	Bergantim Nossa Senhora do Carmo and Bonfim, straight ahead		
1792	Curveta Nossa Senhora da Conceição and Santa Anna, moving to Santos and Rio Grande		
1793	Nossa Senhora da Piedade and Flor da América, Antonio Luiz Pereira, to Santos and other ports, with several provisions		
1796	Bergantim Monte do Carmo and Leão “moves to Santos, captainship of São Paulo”		
1798	Navio Margarida “which moves to Santos and Rio de Janeiro”	Bergantim N. S. do Monte do Carmo, Santo Antonio and Almas, “which travel in this convoy/Brigue Animo Grande”	
1799	Corveta Santo Antonio Boa Ventura		
1801	Bergantim Monte do Carmo and Sião/Corveta Senhor dos Passos and Santo Antonio		
1802	Navio Pensamento Ligeiro/Navio São Francisco Xavier, “which goes to Bengala, connection in Ilha da Madeira and Rio de Janeiro towards Santos”	Bergantim Suzana, stopping in Rio de Janeiro	Galera Ártico. One sailor is from Santa Catarina, one from São Francisco do Sul, with 13 years
1803	Navio Pensamento Ligeiro, with connection in Pernambuco and Alegria Constante, goes straight ahead, departing from Lisbon without connections		
1805	Navio Conceição Minerva, leaving Lisbon without connections	Galera Providencia, stopping in Rio de Janeiro and Patacho	
1806	Bergantin Rio Mondogo, straight ahead		
1807	Navio Indiano, stopping in Rio de Janeiro	Bergantim Lebre, straight ahead	

analysis of each type of negotiated good. There were indeed more boat trips between Santos and Rio de Janeiro, in relations to the ports of the kingdom. But this does not mean that Rio de Janeiro was the greatest buyer from Santos. The favorable conditions of this port for the Atlantic trade, unlike any other in the south coast of Brazil, can be one of the explanations for this issue, that is, it was a port that could vary its negotiation spaces sort of connecting to one or another according to the circumstances of economy.

Table 2 also indicates there was a circuit called Santos-Portuguese ports, whose centrality was conducted by the city of Porto, not Lisbon. According to Valentim Alexandre, it was the main warehouse of the colonial commerce, both for the redistribution of Brazilian products in Europe and the re-exportation of European goods in Brazil. Porto had fewer clients for colonial products, as concluded by the same author.<sup>22</sup>

With that in mind, it is considered that peripheral trade zones in Brazil, such as Santos, may have been an alternative route of colonial goods directed to Portuguese peripheral ports. Historiography has shown the strength of in-

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fluence, capitalization and insertion of dealers from Lisbon in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>23</sup>

The peripheral Portuguese ports may have searched the coastal villages of Brazil as an alternative access route for colonial goods that would be used for internal supply, and not necessarily for re-exportation, since this was not a significant role of such ports, which was developed by Lisbon.

In the captainship of São Paulo, during the administration of Franca e Horta, there was the intention to commercially connect the port of Santos to the city of Porto. In 1803, during the administration of Franca e Horta, in the captainship of São Paulo, the first boat left the port of Santos to the city of Porto. At the time, the objective was to establish commercial lines between the region and *Companhia das Vinhas do Alto Douro*.<sup>24</sup>

Even after this administration, in 1811 this trade connection Santos-Porto remained functioning, which suggests that this specific trade circuit was not related to the occasional action of an employee of the kingdom, but

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<sup>22</sup>Valentim Alexandre, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*. Lisboa, Edições Afrontamento, 1993, p. 57-58.

<sup>23</sup>João Fragoso, Manolo Florentino, *O arcaísmo como projeto: mercado atlântico, sociedade agrária e elite mercantil em uma economia colonial tardia, c. 1790-c.1840*. 4 ed., Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2001; Jorge Miguel de Melo Viana Pedreira, *Os homens de negócio da praça de Lisboa de Pombal ao vintismo (1755-1822)*. Diferenciação, reprodução e identificação de um grupo social. Lisboa, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 1995.

<sup>24</sup>Ana Paula Medici, *Administrando conflitos: o exercício do poder e os interesses mercantis na capitania/província de São Paulo (1765-1822)*, Tese (Doutorado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010, p. 156.

Table 2. Number of boats that departed from the port of Santos and its destinations. Data collected from import and export maps from the port of Santos, from 1808 to 1821. Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

	1808	1810	1811	1812	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821	Total
Lisbon	1			1	3	2	3	1	2	2	1	16
Porto		2	2	4	2	3	1	6	2	2	2	26
Rio de Janeiro	13	36	21		35	37	33	51	53	54	53	386

responded to the demand for varied colonial goods at the time and because of the logic that Portuguese peripheral ports looked to establish trade relations with peripheral ports in Brazil. Peripheral ports had a more fragile fiscal and employment structure,<sup>25</sup> which certainly made them more attractive for negotiations.

It is also important to emphasize that Porto, especially, absorbed a great amount of certain goods — provisions —, much more in relation to Rio de Janeiro, even after sending less ships to Santos, as we will analyze ahead. Especially for these provisions, the volume of business was superior, since the prices were the same, regardless of the location where they were sold.

Rio de Janeiro was certainly an important partner for Santos in the coast, as demonstrated in Table 2. However, it did not monopolize its business, because, as observed in Table 3, the destinations of the departures from Santos were very different.

So, the expression of the governor Bernardo José de Lorena, well known by the researchers of the history of the captainship of São Paulo,<sup>26</sup> that is, that the dealers of Santos acted as travelling salesmen for those of Rio de Janeiro, means nothing in face of the port movement presented in Table 3. The commercial reality of the port of Santos was much more varied and independent, and it surely contemplated the route of the kingdom, especially Porto.

By comparing Tables 2 and 3, however, there is an inflexion of this movement, especially after 1817. So, Rio de Janeiro was much ahead in relation to other ports concerning the absorption of boats coming from the port of Santos.

If Santos started selling less to smaller ports of the North and South coasts of the captainship of São Paulo or to Rio Grande and the provinces of the Platin basin, some explanations can be seen. In the case of the villages to the north of the captainship, the interval between the decline in the sugar production and the consolidation of the coffee may have stimulated the internal production of food in regions such as São Sebastião and Ubatuba, which led to the decreased acquisition of provisions in ports such as Santos.<sup>27</sup>

<sup>25</sup>Denise A. Soares Moura, "Subsistemas de comércio costeiros e internalização de interesses na dissolução do Império colonial português, Santos (1788-1822)", *Revista Brasileira de História*, São Paulo, vol. 30, n. 59, 2010, p. 215-235.

<sup>26</sup>Many attitudes have been necessary to avoid the exit of the commercial effects with Europe to Rio de Janeiro (here with good concept ships) because of the habit of dealers in São Paulo to discredit this name than those of travelling salesmen in Rio".

Ofício do governador Bernardo José de Lorena para S.M em 28/06/1797. Documentos interessantes para a história e costumes de São Paulo, vol. 45, p. 208.

<sup>27</sup>Ramón García Fernández, *Concentração da riqueza e crescimento econômico no litoral norte paulista (1778-1836)*, *Estudos Sociedade e Agricultura*, 1998, p. 165-189.

Rio Grande was mostly provided with provisions by Rio de Janeiro, and the dealers in this port were also genetically connected to those of Rio de Janeiro.<sup>28</sup>

If before 1818 the extreme south experienced more commercial exchanges with the port of Santos, as noticed by the numbers in Table 3, it can be explained by the major regional production of specific products with high demands for internal consumption (jerk and wheat) and external businesses (leather) of Rio de Janeiro.

Even though Helén Osório observed that the productive structure of Rio Grande was similar to that identified by Juan Carlos Caravaglia in the region of the Plata river, executed mostly by landmen than by breeders, this production certainly did not fulfill local demand.<sup>29</sup> Otherwise, the exchange would not have happened with the port of Santos, as demonstrated in Table 3, and before 1811.

Likewise, the Plata river, despite being a productive provision area, went through commercial conjunctures with the port of Santos. The commercial activity of this port, in the late colonial period, complemented internal and external demands in specific conjunctures.

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*The expression of the governor Bernardo José de Lorena, that the dealers of Santos acted as travelling salesmen for those of Rio de Janeiro, means nothing in face of the port movement*

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This condition places it in the perceptions of Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, who sensed, without statistical data, that in the captainship of São Paulo there were expanding and retracting forces until the advent of coffee planting, when in fact the port of Santos became the leader of exportations in the central south region.<sup>30</sup>

### Colonial Provisions In Trade Circuits

Besides the pressure by producers in the coast and dealers from other villages of the captainship,<sup>31</sup> which were only able, including because of natural reasons, to practice cabotage, business in the port of Santos with the kingdom remained regular throughout the two first decades of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as seen in Table 1.

In this sense, since it aggregated the Atlantic and coastal trade modalities in the south coast, the port of Santos may be considered as a more complex area of the Portuguese America, with more contradictory relations than those

<sup>28</sup>Helen Osório, *O Império português no sul da América: estancieiros, lavradores e comerciantes*, Porto Alegre, Editora da Universidade Federal do Rio Grande do Sul, 2007, p. 219.

<sup>29</sup>*Ibidem*, p. 83; Juan Carlos Garavaglia, *Pastores e labradores de Buenos Aires: una historia agraria de la campana bonaerense 1700-1830*. Buenos Aires, Ediciones de la Flor, 1999.

<sup>30</sup>Sérgio Buarque de São Paulo Holanda, *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. 6 ed., Rio de Janeiro, Bertrand Brasil, tomo 2, vol. 2, p. 416-472, 1995.

<sup>31</sup>Renato Mattos, *Política, administração e negócios na capitania de São Paulo e sua inserção nas relações mercantis do Império português (1788-1808)*, Dissertação (Mestrado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2009, p. 73; 84.

Table 3. Number of boats that departed from port of Santos and its destinations. Data collected from import and export maps in the port of Santos, from 1808 to 1821. Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

	1808	1809	1810	1811	1812	1814	1815	1816	1817	1818	1819	1820	1821
Cabo Verde					1						1		
Ilha 3a.											1		
Ilha da Madeira	1		1	2									
Maranhão										2	2	1	
Boa Vista			1										
São Mateus											1	2	
Pernambuco	1		3	3	2	2	4	13	13	5	8	7	7
Porto Seguro				1									
Bahia	2	2	1	4	1		3	2	8	7	5	4	8
Paraty				1	1						1	1	
Ilha Grande			1				1					2	
Caravellas	2										2		
Vila Bella			1	1			2			3	1		
Ubatuba				1				1					
São Sebastião	27		5	10	4		4	5	4		3	3	3
Iguape	10		9	6	7		6	11	4	4	4	9	11
Cananeia	5		1	2									3
Guaratuba				1									1
Paranaguá	15		6	4	7		7	9	6	5	6	3	5
Rio de São Francisco			3	2	1		2		3	2	5	1	1
Ilha de Santa Catarina	2		2	1	1		5	3	1	2	9	11	11
Laguna			1	1			2		1		3	1	2
Rio Grande	24		10	17	10		11	11	9	1	6	5	11
Porto Alegre			1		5		3	1		1	2	1	1
Montevideú			1	11	6				2	1	2	5	3
Buenos Aires			6	2	2		10	6		1		5	2
Moçambique	1												1

that happened in Rio Grande, which is a port zone strictly directed to internal market and strongly connected to Rio de Janeiro.

Wouldn't the possibility to aggregate both trade modalities — Atlantic and cabotage market —, practicing them with great margin of freedom and according to the conjunctures, explain the safe insertion that political groups of São Paulo, such as the Andrada family, had in the political conformation of 1822?

The deputy Antonio Carlos de Andrada e Silva,<sup>32</sup> in the constituent courts, defended the rationalization of the coastal navigation by high taxation. Wouldn't this be a way to become the spokesperson of dealers involved with this kind of commercial activity in this specific area of the empire?<sup>33</sup>

Couldn't the domestic conflict between the Portuguese recently coming from the kingdom and those born in the kingdom or in America, defined by Maria Odila Leite,<sup>34</sup> be associated, in the village of Santos, to the competition between the defense of free action in Atlantic and coastal commercial circuits and the more exclusive trade relations with the kingdom, supported by policies of governors such as Bernardo José de Lorena or Franca e Horta?

There is no doubt that the business with the ports of the kingdom had advantages and more in 1808. In certain settings, the action of governors who wanted to strengthen the business of São Paulo with the kingdom was a good opportunity. However, commerce does not work with obligations, and especially after the trade freedom became official, no restrictive and monopolist policy could survive.

Up until 1822, Santos was one of the confluence routes for the trade activity of Portugal. However, this process was encouraged in XVIII, but pulverized into official actions which began in 1768, in the government of D. Luis de Sousa Botelho Mourão. This governor tried to form a commerce company that connected Santos directly to Lisbon. In 1798, new encouragement was given to that.<sup>35</sup> The period of 1808–1822, which can be more consistently documented, represents in fact the continuity of a process launched in the previous period. The map of goods participating in this commercial activity can be observed in Table 4.

Sugar was sent to three main ports: Porto, Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. It was followed by important provisions with high internal demand, such as rice, coffee, lard, bacon, sugar cane liquor and hair leather. The latter was strongly controlled by the circuit Rio Grande-Rio de Janeiro, but Santos occupied some space, certainly due to the increased demand of the nations with strong oceanic trade activity of primary products, because this material was used for baling exports goods.

The city of Porto, as observed ahead, was the greatest buyer of hair leather in Santos. Since Lisbon was consolidated in this circuit controlled by Rio de Janeiro-Rio Grande, Santos seemed like an alternative route so that Porto could also have access to this high demand product.

<sup>32</sup>Brother of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva. The Andrada family came from Santos. The father, Bonifácio José de Andrada e Silva, was a dealer in that village. There is much information spread in the city and Royal documents about his work. Sometimes he seems to have contributed with resources to form a commercial chamber with Lisbon, in 1768, and sometimes he is involved in the conduction of flour to the south. This dealer should be investigated. As to his sons, they were part of a generation of distinguished ones participating in the public administration of the late colonial period. Antonio Carlos was the judge from outside the village of Santos, and José Bonifácio was a member of the temporary government installed in São Paulo, in 1821. Both are constantly present in historiography, however, they deserve biographies that concern their political insertion both in Santos and in São Paulo. Cf. Souza, Otávio Tarquínio de. *José Bonifácio*. Belo Horizonte, Itatiaia, 1988.

<sup>33</sup>Denise A. Soares Moura, "Subsistemas de comércio costeiros e internalização de interesses na dissolução do Império colonial português, Santos (1788-1822)", *Revista Brasileira de História*, São Paulo, vol. 30, n. 59, 2010, p. 215-235.

<sup>34</sup>Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *A interiorização da metrópole (1808-1853)*. In: Carlos Guilherme Mota, *1822: dimensões*. 2 ed. São Paulo, Perspectiva, 1986, p. 160-186.

<sup>35</sup>This statement is inspired in the document located in the Files of the State of São Paulo, exports map of the products of the church of Santos in 1798. Alfândega - almoxarifado 1722-1822, Santos, C00227, doc. 1-25-2.

## Portuguese ports in the route of provisions of the village of Santos

The most significant conclusion that can be inferred from the results gathered in Tables 1 to 4 is the superior number of certain goods that Santos sold to the other coastal cities of Porto and Lisbon, which were also superior to those sold from Santos to Rio de Janeiro.

Businesses in the port of Santos with the Portuguese, however, were strong until independence, which indicates that in that village there were two different types of dealers: internal market supply and external market.

White and brown sugar was negotiated in high quantities with Rio de Janeiro, but this was not true for other products, such as pork lard, bacon, coffee, rice or sugar cane liquor. That is, the colonial goods from the port of Santos had two types of insertion in the Atlantic market, according to type. Sugar had an indirect insertion in Rio de Janeiro, but for other types it was direct. This means that Santos had an Atlantic circuit of provisions, except for sugar, which reached the cities of Lisbon and Porto.

In terms of export income, it is true that Santos raised more money in Rio de Janeiro. In 1810, for instance, the export income of colonial products in this village for Portuguese ports and for Rio de Janeiro was, respectively,

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*Businesses in the port of Santos  
with the Portuguese were strong  
until independence*

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11:276\$700 and 131:596\$960.<sup>36</sup> The diversification of goods and the great amount of sugar explain this high export income from the port of Santos to Rio de Janeiro. Some specific goods which went to the Portuguese ports, however, were in greater amount.

Table 5 shows monetary values generated by the commerce with ports from Portugal and Rio de Janeiro, proving that relations with Rio de Janeiro generated more income, however, it was still seen as irregular, variable every year, and presenting a significantly higher value only once (1819).

With ports from Rio de Janeiro, there was a safe tendency for the increased volume of business until 1818, decreasing after 1819. As for Portuguese ports, it was until 1816, with a boom in 1818, followed by a probable decrease, certainly because of the circumstances of independency and economical context since the opening of ports and the diversification of commercial partners in Brazil.

In the definition of specific trade routes and those separated by goods, it was possible to observe the superiority of Portuguese ports in relation to Rio de Janeiro and to a specific group of products, except for sugar, as demonstrated ahead. Anyhow, in most periods, Porto purchased more sugar from Santos than from Lisbon, which concentrated its businesses in Rio de Janeiro, as shown in Table 5.

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<sup>36</sup>Data collected in Imports and Exports maps from the port of Santos, 1810-1821. Real Junta de Comércio, cx. 448, pct. 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

Table 6 is very different concerning provisions. Porto was ahead of Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro for many years in relation to the absorption of colonial goods from Santos, as the case of pork lard.

Table 7, which shows hair leather, serves to confirm what Hélen Osório had studied: the strength of the Rio de Janeiro-Rio Grande axis in the leather circuit with Lisbon. At some points, there are not even businesses between Santos and Rio de Janeiro in this sector, as well as with Lisbon. With Porto the process is very different, which proves the thesis that smaller ports located in the Brazilian coast may have been a possibility for the access of peripheral Portuguese ports to high demand products.

Table 4. Products sent by the port of Santos to those of Porto, Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro. Data collected from the import and export maps of the port of Santos, from 1810 and 1821. Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

	Porto	Lisbon	Rio de Janeiro
1810	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, hair leather, lard, sugar cane liquor	-	White sugar, brown sugar, rice
1814	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, sugar cane liquor, coffee, anil, lard, bacon, sweets, hair leather, sole, meat	Sugar cane liquor de cana, coffee, rice, bacon, lard	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, sugar cane liquor, coffee, lard, bacon, hair leather
1815	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, lard, coffee, gum, hair leather, sugar cane liquor	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, coffee, hair leather, sole flooring	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, lard, coffee
1816	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, coffee, lard, sugar cane liquor do Brasil, hair leather, meat	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, coffee, lard, fat, hair leather, sugar cane liquor	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, coffee, rice
1817	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, lard, coffee, hair leather, meat, tabuado	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, hair leather, lard	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, lard, coffee
1818	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, lard, bacon, coffee, hair leather, farinha, sugar cane liquor, meat	White sugar, brown sugar, hair leather, rice, coffee, sugar cane liquor	White sugar, brown sugar, rice, coffee, lard, bacon, hair leather, sugar cane liquor
1819	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, coffee, gum, sugar cane liquor, rice, cotton	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, coffee, gum, sugar cane liquor, rice, cotton, hair leather	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, coffee, rice, hair leather, cotton em rama
1820	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, hair leather, sugar cane liquor, rice, meat	White sugar, brown sugar, coffee, lard, hair leather, sugar cane liquor, rice, meat, brooms,	White sugar, brown sugar, coffee, lard, hair leather, rice
1821	White sugar, brown sugar, coffee, lard, rice, hair leather, meat	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, rice, hair leather	White sugar, brown sugar, lard, rice, hair leather

Table 8 refers to sugar cane liquor and it is interesting because it shows that Platine ports — Montevideu and Buenos Aires — tended to absorb this product coming from Santos. The sugar cane liquor in this port, on the other hand, could also have been used for slave trade in the region<sup>37</sup> of Lisbon and Porto, which are coastal cities that ended up competing and taking turns in the condition of primacy for the acquisition of sugar cane liquor in Brazil.

Rice was the first plan sent to Porto, but after 1808, Rio de Janeiro gained an important supplier for this product<sup>38</sup> in Porto de Iguape, with the installation of the court, which explains why it purchased less from Santos, in a context where there was high demand for this product due to the expansion of the consumer market with the migration of the royal family.

In 1810, Rio de Janeiro was a major buyer of this good in the port of Santos (455 arrobas) in relation to Portuguese ports (250 arrobas). But in 1814, the situation was pretty different — 1,752 arrobas destined to the ports of Porto and Lisbon against 317 arrobas sent to Rio de Janeiro — and it remained this way until 1821.<sup>39</sup>

However, coffee indicates a more oscillating reality, since the three ports competed for a product which, in fact, was experiencing the early days of its insertion in the consumer market, to later on, in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, become leader of exportations of Brazil. In 1814, Portuguese ports acquired 390 arrobas of coffee from the port of Santos and Rio de Janeiro at a much higher price: 948 arrobas. In 1818, an inversion: Portuguese ports consumed 387 arrobas and Rio de Janeiro, only 103 arrobas.<sup>40</sup>

The systematized data presented so far serve not only to base the mentioned ideas, but to show that in order to study about the commerce in modern empires it can be interesting to go into the boats to analyze each good for its negotiated prices. Information on the total of exportations in port maps, however, is scarce for research on the subject.

Studies that analyze the number of boats arriving in peripheral ports can conclude that a small port like Santos did not significantly participate in the routes of the kingdom, or its participation was restricted to the main goods of the international market, such as sugar.

The analysis per good, since each one belonged to a circuit, leads to a more diverse picture. This does not mean that the port of Santos was simply exporting colonial goods; it played an important role in the internal market of cabotage, with perishable goods, such as cheese and sweets.<sup>41</sup> Provisions such as pork lard, sugar cane liquor and rice were very particular and concerned only these circuits, which were not exclusively internal and subordinated to Rio de Janeiro.

<sup>37</sup>Alex Borucki, The Slave Trade to the Río de la Plata. Trans-imperial Networks and Atlantic Warfare, 1777-1812. *Colonial Latin American Review*, vol. 20, n. 1, 2011, p. 81-107.

<sup>38</sup>Aginaldo Valentin, *Comércio marítimo de abastecimento: o porto de Iguape* (São Paulo), 1798-1880. Available from: <http://www.registrounesp.br/sites/museu/basededados/arquivos/00000313.pdf>, p. 10, Access on March 10, 2010.

<sup>39</sup>Data collected in imports and exports maps from the port of Santos. Fundo Real Junta de Comércio, cx. 448, pct. 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1821.

<sup>40</sup>Idem and Alexandre Valentin, *Os sentidos do Império: questão nacional e questão colonial na crise do Antigo Regime Português*. Lisboa, Edições Afrontamento, 1993, p. 42.

<sup>41</sup>Denise A. Soares Moura, O comércio colonial e suas relações complementares: Santos, Bahia e Pernambuco, 1765-1822. In: Carla Mary S. Oliveira, Mozart Vergetti Menezes, Regina Célia Gonçalves, *Ensaio sobre a América Portuguesa*. João Pessoa/Paraíba, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, 2009, p. 181-196.

Table 5. Bushels of sugar exported by the port of Santos to Porto/Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro between 1810 and 1821. Data collected from import and export maps of the port of Santos, 1810 to 1821. Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

	Porto	Lisbon	Rio de Janeiro
1810	4.715	-	94.816
1814	6.266	-	102.154
1815	7.149	1.833	52.860
1816	8.051	5.585	85.428
1817	7.738	8.002	90.663
1818	34.758	7.392	160.397
1819	12.472	10.566	194.730
1820	19.630	10.841	119.702
1821	16.872	3.846	104.347

Tabela 6. Amount of pork lard, in arrobas, exported by the port of Santos to Porto/Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro between 1810 to 1821. Import and Export maps of the port of Santos, Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, de 1809 a 1821.

	Porto	Lisbon	Rio de Janeiro
1810	200	-	-
1814	5.805	100	1.106
1815	2.705	-	909
1816	2.804	172	139
1817	1.416	82	565
1818	10.450	-	139
1819	3.395	699	93
1820	1.851	-	256
1821	1.157	66	916

Surely, by these data exclusively related to the movement of merchandise, at this time it is not the dealers who are being conceptualized, but they are essential for the movement of the system. The dealers working in the port of Santos had autonomy to deal with those of the kingdom or Rio de Janeiro, or even of Platine ports.

### A subsystem for collecting colonial provisions

Where did the colonial provisions negotiated by the port of Santos in the cities of Porto Lisbon, Rio de Janeiro and Platine ports come from? Sugar, as shown by a classic study and a more recent one, came from the so called sugar quadrangle, from cities up the hill, such as Sorocaba, Itu, Porto Feliz, Piracicaba, Mojimirim, Jundiaí and Campinas<sup>42</sup>.

<sup>42</sup>For Maria Theresa Schorer Petrone, the quadrangle corresponded to the villages of Sorocaba, Piracicaba, Mogi-Guaçu and Jundiaí. Petrone, Maria Thereza Schorer. *A lavoura canavieira em São Paulo*. Expansão e declínio (1765-1888). São Paulo, Difusão Europeia do Livro, 1968, p. 41. Pablo Oller Mont Serrat, Dilemas e conflitos na São Paulo restaurada: formação e consolidação da agricultura exportadora (1765-1802), Dissertação (Mestrado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2007, p. 112.

Table 7. Amounts of hair leather exported by the port of Santos to Porto/Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro from 1810 to 1821. Import and export maps of the port of Santos. Chamber of commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1821.

	Porto	Lisbon	Rio de Janeiro
1810	610	-	963
1814	39	-	-
1815	4.230	605	-
1816	5.840	2.028	-
1817	2.239	1.532	-
1818	577	864	347
1819	-	1.241	150
1820	4.054	1.970	474
1821	1.918	764	2.480

Table 8. Number of sugar cane liquor barrels exported by the port of Santos to Porto/Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro between 1810 and 1820. Import and Export maps of the port of Santos. Chamber of Commerce, box 448, package 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1821.

	Porto	Lisbon	Rio de Janeiro	Platine ports
1810	20	-	01	29
1814	139	13	68	38
1815	1	-	01	26
1816	2	12	0	05
1817	-		0	4
1818	103	8	1	6
1819	13	185	0	10
1820	76	95	0	20
1821	-	-	-	-

The dry and wet provisions came at least from four places: the village of Santos itself, the production units up the hill, the extreme side of São Paulo, and the new villages, like Nazareth, Atibaia and Bragança, and from the captainship coast.

Aiming to conceptualize a port subsystem, a trade chain formed by small ports that considered Santos as a pole, this text only approached the coastal origin of the provisions.<sup>43</sup>

Actually, the export maps which form the main empirical base for the arguments in this work allow safe indications only concerning coastal and Atlantic movements of the goods. Any consideration on the internal and up the hill movement of products is only an assumption.

However, it is important to emphasize that, from 1815 on, according to data in the import and export maps from the port of Santos, the collection of provisions decreased in the coast of the captainship of São Paulo. In this aspect, the end of the governors' era, like Bernardo José de Lorena or Antonio

<sup>43</sup>The other origins were documented and discussed in other texts. Cf. Moura, Denise A. S. Poder local e o funcionamento do comércio vicinal na cidade de São Paulo (1765-1822). *História*. Universidade Estadual Paulista "Júlio de Mesquita Filho", vol. 24, n. 2, 2005, p. 265-290; *Região, relações de poder e circuitos mercantis em São Paulo*. *Revista Saeculum*, n. 14, João Pessoa, Universitária da Universidade Federal de Paraíba, 2006.

José da França e horta, who used policies to concentrate exports of the smaller ports of the captainship in Santos,<sup>44</sup> had a negative impact on its coast imports. However, the numbers of exports of the same products remained much higher.

If the coastal collection of these provisions in the port of Santos tended to be lower than exports, these provisions were certainly being acquired in terrestrial commercial circuits, which means that the sea transport was becoming stronger in the discharge of products to the village of Santos.

The public contract of the passage from Cubatão to Santos, mandatory for those who went from São Paulo to Santos, experienced the tendency of inflation in its values since the late 18<sup>th</sup> century,<sup>45</sup> so the internal circulation of goods addressed to this village was intensified.

The decreased coast collection in the port of Santos should be explained by the interpretation of Agnaldo Valentim. According to him, when the Royal family came to Brazil, this port lost the coastal trade primacy, and until this moment this condition was supported by specific policies of the governors who were interested in intensifying their commercial relations with the kingdom. When the royal family moved to Brazil and with the increased consumer market in Rio de Janeiro, the commercial policy tended to liberalization and to the end of monopolies, and its most important moment was clearly the opening of ports.

Facing the new reality of more internal and external commercial freedom, and in order to keep meeting the demand for specific colonial goods of the ports of the kingdom and the continent, may the port of Santos have completed the number of goods internally exported by producing them in the village, the city and its borders, up the hill and surrounding villages? If not, how can we explain the much higher amount of certain goods to be exported than what was collected in the coast, especially after 1815?

Since 1790, the governor Bernardo José de Lorena stimulated the production of goods in the captainship, aiming to export them by the port of Santos. In a letter to the captains-majors of the captainship, the governor informed:

A direct commerce to Europe from the Port of Santos is now established. For these reasons, you should be completely careful to promote the culture of proper goods for this trade, especially: sugar, coffee, gum, anil, rice, and cotton.<sup>46</sup>

Such encouragement to the internal production of the captainship also fell over the coastal villages. Paranaguá, together with Iguape, both in the captainship of São Paulo, were the main producers of rice and flour.<sup>47</sup> In 1794, the sergeant-major of Paranaguá was notified to stop any boat to depart from that port if not headed to the port of Santos,

<sup>44</sup>Renato Mattos, *Política, administração e negócios na capitania de São Paulo e sua inserção nas relações mercantis do Império português (1788-1808)*, Dissertação (Mestrado) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2009; Ana Paula Medici, *Administrando conflitos: o exercício do poder e os interesses mercantis na capitania/província de São Paulo (1765-1822)*, Tese (Doutorado) – Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010.

<sup>45</sup>Ana Paula Medici, *idem*, p. 93.

<sup>46</sup>Ofício do Governador Bernardo José de Lorena ao capitães-mor, Documentos Interessantes para a História e Costumes de São Paulo. V. XLVI, p. 67-68, 26/02/1790.

<sup>47</sup>Caroline Silva Severino, *A dinâmica do poder e da autoridade na Comarca de Paranaguá e Curitiba (1765-1822)*, Dissertação de Mestrado – Franca, Universidade Estadual Paulista “Júlio de Mesquita Filho” (Unesp), 2009.

even the one or ones which are headed to that village should only carry Wood, because with this excuse they disguisedly take rice and other provisions outside of the captainship, provisions that a commercial tendency.<sup>48</sup>

The imposition of commercial restrictions to smaller ports, which obliged them to subordinate their businesses to Santos, coincided with the presence of governors who not only had trade connections with Portuguese ports, but also vividly expressed the project of the Portuguese crown to strengthen the commercial relations with the captainship of São Paulo.<sup>49</sup> If it weren't for their abilities to translate well the wishes of the empire in a critical scenario, would their governments have leaned just on personal commercial interests?

Since the government of Antonio Luis de Souza Botelho Mourão, in 1768, there were political and commercial forces that tried to make the direct trade between Santos and Lisbon prevail. But the pressure made by agents related to internal market and public contracts, and of the tithe or the freedom of commerce, can be noticed in their ability to frustrate the project of the governor, supported by several dealers of Santos and São Paulo, to form a direct commerce company with Lisbon from Santos.<sup>50</sup>

The interests connected to the internal or more free commerce always persisted, sometimes just by trying to meet the guidelines that obliged the exclusive commerce with the port of Santos, and other times with organized manifestations, as those conducted by some producers and dealers from Paranaguá. In 1806, a letter was addressed directly to the king complaining of the prohibition imposed by the governor Franca e Horta concerning the free trade the provisions they produced in the coast.

In an interrogatory with the judge from outside the village of Santos, Antonio Carlos Ribeiro de Andrada e Silva, the chamberlains accused the monopoly executed by the dealers of Santos over the coast trade of the captainship.<sup>51</sup> So, these dealers took advantage of the empire conjuncture, in which the governors chosen for the captainship of São Paulo used policies to favor the port of Santos into becoming a receptive center of colonial goods in the coast.

However, the arrival of the Royal family to Rio de Janeiro changed this scenario. The businesses established in the relation Santos — ports of the kingdom, which up until then were favored by the pressure to concentrate the collection of goods in the port of Santos, were no longer justified in the royal policies and in the ports that were until then submitted to the pressures of Santos. They started to freely negotiate their products directly with Rio de Janeiro.

In 1808, Dom João VI revoked the act of the captain general Bernardo José de Lorena, who forbade the navigation of captainship ports directly with Rio de Janeiro. At the time, boats had to pass by Santos. Agnaldo Valentim showed the

<sup>48</sup>Para o sargento-mor de Paranaguá Francisco José Monteiro. Documentos interessantes para a história e costumes de São Paulo, v. XLVI, 30/03/1794, p. 256.

<sup>49</sup>Ana Paula Medici, *Administrando conflitos: o exercício do poder e os interesses mercantis na capitania/província de São Paulo (1765-1822)*, Tese (Doutorado) - Faculdade de Filosofia, Letras e Ciências Humanas da Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo, 2010, p. 127-132.

<sup>50</sup>*Atas da Câmara*, vol. 15, 13/01/1768, p. 326-335.

<sup>51</sup>Alfândega. Santos. Arquivo Público do Estado, ordem 236, caixa 10, documento 10-06-50, 1806.

effects of this measure six years later, from 1814 on, and for the case of the rice circuit. Thus, Santos lost the primacy of the rice from Iguape to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>52</sup>

The decreased coast collection in the port of Santos six or seven years after the arrival of the Royal family can be noticed in relation to other products, which reached higher exports levels to Portuguese ports in comparison with Rio de Janeiro, as pointed out by the data in the importation maps.

From 1814 to 1816, the port of Santos imported more hair leather from Buenos Aires (12,365) than Rio Grande (1,100).<sup>53</sup> These data suggest that the product re-exported by Santos to Porto was coming from Buenos Aires. The leather from Rio Grande was strongly related to Rio de Janeiro, which may have favored the formation of a platine circuit of leather, connecting Santos and Buenos Aires.

From 1821 on, Santos may have recovered its ability to collect Rice in the coast. From 1819 to 1821, a total of 120, 870 and 2,030 arrobas were imported from the different cities of the coast.<sup>54</sup> But only a study conducted in the context of independence could safely consider if there was really a tendency to recover the port of Santos from its old condition of collecting pole of colonial goods in the coast, in the period prior to the establishment of the Royal family in Brazil and in the few years to come.

The pork lard circuit is very specific and had good exports relations with Porto and Lisbon. Its origin was probably not coastal, but internal. Caio Prado Jr. pointed out the importance of pork derivatives in the colonial period, and even after that, because this domestic animal had low costs of breeding and maintenance. So, this is a field that deserves investigation and conceptualization.

Finally, it is possible to consider a specialization of provision circuits in the North and South coasts of the captainship of São Paulo towards the port of Santos. That is, the South was a supplier for rice, and the coastal villages from the North provided Santos with coffee and sugar cane liquor. Because of that, this specific region may have been marked by many contradictions and internal conflicts, due to its proximity to Rio de Janeiro and the administrative subordination to São Paulo.<sup>55</sup>

## Conclusions

The data from the imports and exports maps from port of Santos between 1810 and 1821 enabled the conceptualization of coastal and Atlantic trade activities of a peripheral port located in the south coast of Brazil.

The port of Santos formed a subsystem in the larger context of the commercial system of the Portuguese empire, because it was smaller and peripheral in

<sup>52</sup>Aginaldo Valentim, *Comércio marítimo de abastecimento: o porto de Iguape (São Paulo), 1798-1880*, Disponível em: <http://www.registro.unesp.br/sites/museu/basededados/arquivos/00000313.pdf>, acesso em 10 de março de 2010, p. 10-11.

<sup>53</sup>Mapas de Importação e Exportação do porto de Santos. Fundo Real Junta de Comércio, cx. 448, pct. 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1821.

<sup>54</sup>Dados recolhidos em Mapas de Importação e Exportação do porto de Santos. Fundo Real Junta de Comércio, cx. 448, pct. 1, Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro, 1809-1821.

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relation to the main ones, such as Rio de Janeiro, Salvador and Recife; the movement of ships coming from and going to the Atlantic was pretty modest, and it also worked with fewer colonial goods, but it was inserted and worked for the colonial commerce at the time. It worked to complement the demand for diversified colonial products, especially of the Portuguese ports or even secondary ones, like the coastal city of Porto. Rio de Janeiro did not centralize its commercial movements, even with the increased consumer market since the transmigration of the Royal family.

The installation of the court in Rio, however, as well as the liberal tendencies of economy in this period, tended to change its prior condition as a pole of merchandise collection in the south coast of the continent, since at least 1815. Yet, the level of exports to the ports of the kingdom remained, which suggests the strengthening of the terrestrial internal commercial circuits, and especially sea transport.

This condition of subsystem of the port of Santos, playing roles in the Atlantic and coastal markets, may have encouraged a scenario of contradictions and commercial disputes in this very coastal village. Maybe a study that could conceptualize the groups which worked in this port could reveal a very complex and diversified reality, as the commercial one.

