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Managing Diversity in the Portuguese Empire[1]

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Abstract

The production of diversity and its transformation into hierarchy and social inequality in the Portuguese Empire are at the core of this essay. Conversion of local populations and slaves to Catholicism was the main strategy used by the Portuguese Empire to create allegiance and reduce diversity. Recognition and integration of indigenous institutions into the imperial political system meant indirect rule at local level and the acceptance of some degree of institutional hybridism with different normative layers. However, slave trade, slavery and classification of populations with discrimination and exclusion of indigenous people constantly produced inequality, while colonial violence and the assertion of Portuguese rule changed local dynamics of power.

Keywords

Management, Diversity, Imperialism, Colonialism, Universalism, Violence, Racism, Hierarchy, Inequality, Slavery, Trade, Religion, Normativity, Hybridism, Rule, State

Resumo

A produção da diversidade e a sua transformação em hierarquia e desigualdade social no Império português estão no centro deste ensaio. A conversão de populações locais e escravos ao Catolicismo foi a principal estratégia usada pelo Império Português para criar lealdade e reduzir diversidade. O reconhecimento e a integração de instituições indígenas no sistema político imperial significou governo indireto a nível local e aceitação de um grau de hibridismo institucional com diferentes camadas normativas. No entanto, o tráfico de escravos, a escravidão e a classificação das populações com discriminação e exclusão de indígenas produziram constantemente desigualdades, enquanto a violência colonial e a afirmação do domínio português alterou as dinâmicas locais de poder.

Palavras-chave

Gestão, Diversidade, Imperialismo, Colonialismo, Universalismo, Violência, Racismo, Hierarquia, Desigualdade, Escravatura, Comércio, Religião, Normativa, Hibridismo, Norma, Estado

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Diversity is at the core of every empire. Diversity of people, food, commodities, beliefs, and ways of doing and thinking, is integral to the accumulation of territories resulting from imperial drive. The logic of conquest and submission produces ethnic and social inequality, while diversity feeds the economy of empires due to extended access to strategically valuable products and labour. In many cases, as with the late Eastern Roman Empire or with the Habsburg Empire of Charles V, political pageants have displayed representatives of peoples from distant areas to symbolise the universalism of empire. However, universalism would bring with it inevitable tensions between the centrifugal forces of growing inequality, which threaten secession, and centripetal forces that promote a reduction in diversity and increase in uniformity. Behind the material and symbolic construction of empires, we find colonial violence: commodification of people resulted from the act of enslavement, the slave trade and slave labour; while punishment and massacres for subjugation imposed a legacy of trauma among survivors (Mbembe 2017). This essay will focus on social diversity, although racial constructions and economic dimensions will be included into the picture. It will address two issues that have guided my research: diversity not as given but as produced; and diversity as related to, and transformed into, hierarchy and inequality.

The development of the Portuguese empire was based on trade. There was no political project of expansion other than the initial drive to invade North Africa, which started with the conquest of Ceuta in 1415 and was followed by a series of military expeditions directly launched or sponsored by the King. North Africa was seen as an extension of the Christian re-conquest of Iberia, firmly controlled by the royal family, who delegated the management of the conquered ports to noblemen in their immediate circle. The expansion to the Atlantic and then to Asia, although defined by the direct involvement of the king, who reserved some monopolies of trade while guaranteeing protection costs, was pushed by significant emigration. From 1415 to 1800, out of a population that rose from one to three million, around 1.5 million Portuguese emigrated overseas, the vast majority to the Americas (Godinho 1991). This was the highest rate of emigration from the centre of a European empire until 1800.

Portuguese emigration overseas was responsible for the development of settlements in different parts of the world, settlements generally built close to existing local communities, or in some cases on previously uninhabited islands, as in the Atlantic (Madeira, Azores, Cape Verde, São Tomé). In Asia, the conquest of strategic hubs, such as Goa, Malacca and Hormuz, created the backbone of the fragmentary *Estado da Índia*, while in other cases trade and diplomacy contributed to the acceptance of fortified structures by local powers. The Portuguese presence in different ports of the Persian Gulf, the Bay of Bengal, Southeast Asia, and Eastern Asia resulted from merchants' initiative, defining what George Winius called the shadow empire (Winius 1971). The same trading initiative justified the Portuguese presence in West, Central West and Southern Africa; with a few exceptions, the state arrived late and did not manage to have a clear hand in hybrid structures, other than the main trading ports, such as Luanda, until the end of the nineteenth century. The Portuguese presence in Brazil resulted from the same bottom up process, although the division of the territory into domains occurred through the awarding of land by the king to seigniorial lords, the so-called donataries-captaincies, whose governance coexisted with that of a central government created in Bahia in 1549. This practice continued well into the eighteenth century.

Expansion is always the result of push factors, practice of violence and local conditions of resistance. Structural economic and social conditions in Portugal created the push factors for permanent emigration, which fluctuated over time according to war and political environment. Exploration of possibilities of relocation to other continents followed the first drive to North Africa. In Africa and Asia, settled societies with a tradition of war and metal weaponry managed on the whole to keep the Portuguese and other Europeans at bay during most part of the early modern period. In the New World, the diffusion of lethal diseases among populations without immunity complemented the violence of war; it is estimated that more than 80% of the pre-Colombian population died in this way (Newson 2005). Successive wars to secure enclaves and their hinterland brought early colonial violence to Africa. The goal was to guarantee a permanent source of slaves, and increased demand had an impact on the traditional internal slave trade in Africa. With the transport of 12.5 million slaves to the Americas from the early sixteenth century to the mid-nineteenth century, demographic stagnation was the result of Portuguese and European presence (Eltis 2001). In Asia, the main impact of the Portuguese presence was temporary control of maritime trade in the sixteenth century, followed by an effort, shared later by Dutch and English traders, to monopolise markets and obtain privileged access to spices.

The creation of colonial societies from scratch in the Americas, with continuous tightening of the European control of land and a massive import of African slaves over the early modern period, defined new social hierarchies. The contrast between free and slave people became structural, while manumission in the Portuguese (and Spanish) empire contributed to create a buffer between the two categories, a buffer that was fed by constant miscegenation between Iberians, indigenous and Africans (Klein & Luna 2010). Most indigenous populations remained relatively marginalised in the case of Brazil, while in Spanish America the tradition of settled populations allowed a certain level of integration with discrimination in the lower ranks of colonial society. The situation in Asia was much more complex, due to the prevalence of settled societies. European enclaves resulted from conquest followed by negotiation with established local settlements over which a layer of colonial rule was superimposed. In the Portuguese case, the way Goa was reshaped as a Catholic city was not replicated in other cities simply because the conquerors did not wield sufficient power (Xavier 2008). Co-existence between different ethnicities and religions under colonial rule became the norm outside the main centres, while indirect rule at local level was common practice. Interaction between colonisers and colonised took place at all levels (Xavier and Silva 2016). It is important to understand how the Portuguese empire was developed and kept together, but also how colonial violence shaped normative pluralism in different contexts.

Although the Portuguese empire started in North Africa as a failed extension of the re-conquest in Iberia, the subsequent expansion to sub-Saharan Africa, Asia and the Americas was based on the creation of enclaves and small territories in different parts of the world with significant distances from each other (Thomaz 1994). These discontinuous territories were kept together by permanent contact between merchants and their correspondents, horizontal transfer and adaptation of common institutions, assimilation and hybridisation of local institutions. The empire evolved over time and space: from the 1530s to the 1730s, coastal land between Bombay and Damaon was acquired through military pressure and negotiation; between the 1590s and the 1630s most part of Sri Lanka was brought under Portuguese control; in Brazil, territories were increasingly integrated following the discovery of gold in the hinterland at the end of the seventeenth century; but the conquest of the hinterland in Angola and Mozambique was only triggered by the colonialist scramble for Africa in the late nineteenth century. In the seventeenth century, colonial conflict between Portuguese and Dutch ended up with Portuguese losses in the Indian Ocean and resistance in the Atlantic, reflecting different realities in the organisation of and emigration to, the two areas, while indigenous military capacity kept the Portuguese in Africa and Asia in check. Thus, during the early modern period, the Portuguese empire may be defined by variable geometry with losses in one area compensated by gains in others (Bethencourt & Chaudhuri 1998-1999). This capacity of resistance and transfer required a flexible set of institutions on the ground, but also some common level of interests and policies.

This bottom up approach requires clarification of two contrasting components: participation by the indigenous population; and the role of the state. Portuguese emigration was overwhelmingly male, particularly to India and Africa, but also to Brazil. New Christians of Jewish origin, forced to convert to Catholicism in Iberia, were forbidden to emigrate in some periods; but they had an important presence in all parts of the empire from the end of the fifteenth century to the early eighteenth century. The involvement of indigenous populations was obvious from the earliest period, with local alliances and extensive miscegenation, the latter explicitly transformed into local policy to provide the Portuguese presence with roots, as exemplified by the ordinances of Afonso de Albuquerque, governor of the *Estado da Índia*, in the face of opposition from other noblemen and the opinion of King Manuel. The policy of purity of blood extended from Portugal in the last decades of the sixteenth century onto the empire, meant the exclusion of New Christians and people of mixed race from municipal councils and *misericórdias* (confraternities sponsored by the king), but was on the whole a construction that was only weakly reflected in daily life. The Portuguese king ended up accepting mixed race people in these Portuguese institutions of the Atlantic, although the fiction of blood purity persisted in the Portuguese settlements in Asia. The involvement of Christianised local people as vassals of the king defined the Portuguese empire in some surprising ways, as we will see later.

The second clarification concerns the crucial notion of the state. Part of Portuguese historiography about the early modern period accepts a vision of the state as weak, while at the same time considering it (implicitly) as the central government (Hespanha 1993). This is a reduced vision of the state as detached from society. The critique to the traditional historiography, which had projected onto the past a centralised vision of the state, has therefore been incomplete. I envisage the Portuguese early modern state neither as weak, nor as central or centralized. A reflection about the state based both on renaissance texts and modern developments is crucial. Giovanni Botero's notion of the state as a firm dominion over territory and people is an essential starting point, although modern notions of a monopoly of violence, mechanisms of conflict control, and interdependence among social groups help us to understand the early modern state (Botero 2009; Weber 1979; Luhmann 1979; Elias 2010). In my view, central institutions, including different levels of government, courts (civil and religious), houses of trade, customs, militias, the army (in its modalities of varied duration), the Church, municipal councils, guilds, colleges and confraternities all contributed to, and constituted part of, the early modern state (Bethencourt 2021). This structural view takes account of the interests of individuals and groups, since their agencies influenced and contributed to developing and shaping the state.

This essay explores the relationship between institutionalised, bottom-up state building and the miscegenated societies it brought into being. In other words, it looks at how economic diversity stimulated expansion and contributed to the creation and reproduction of an empire; and at the ways in which political, social, ethnic (or racial) diversity constituted a threat to that empire. What were the mechanisms put in place to manage these contradictory forces of diversity? We shall proceed through three main areas of inquiry: trade, politics and religion.

Trade

The Atlantic islands (Madeira, Azores, Cape Verde and São Tomé) played an important role as a stepping stone to the colonial system, with territorial concessions by the king that led to further concessions and the creation of a hierarchy of land ownership over time. The introduction of sugar cane to Madeira was very successful in the last decades of the fifteenth and early decades of the sixteenth century, and was followed by its introduction to the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea and later to Brazil (Schwartz 1985). The plantation system developed in the Mediterranean became the new Atlantic model of land cultivated by intensive enslaved labour, with that labour traded from Africa to the Americas. The traditional system of seigniorial domains coexisted with large plantations but also with smaller-scale production of pastel (a dye plant), cereals and cattle breading in Azores, sugar and then wine production in Madeira, ports of call in Cape Verde, Madeira and Azores which supported navigation. These economies were permeated by slavery and embedded in intercontinental trade from the very beginning.

The episode of Vasco da Gama's arrival in South Asia in 1498 with commodities unsuitable for the local market is well known. It reveals poor information-gathering prior to the first maritime expedition that circumnavigated Africa to reach the Asian markets. This embarrassing mistake was fast corrected: the Portuguese understood that nothing less than precious metals would allow them to buy spices and other commodities coveted in Europe, particularly textiles, tapestries, and precious stones, later porcelain, furniture, and sealing-wax. Purchases made with silver from Central Europe were followed by purchases with silver from the New World, while gold from West Africa also played a role in this vast process of exchange (Godinho 1981-1983). The Portuguese presence in Mina since 1482, and in Seville and Spanish America since 1492, had much to do with access to precious metals, although this commodity did not monopolise a diversified trade and local investment.

The early commercial blunder in Calicut motivated the gathering of better intelligence: in 1515, Tomé Pires and Duarte Barbosa, independently, wrote important surveys of the commodities and markets around the Indian Ocean. They were also interested in political regimes and religious allegiances, since trade had always been dependent on local conditions and legal frameworks. Although these two agents were members of King Manuel's bureaucracy in Asia, they benefitted from the growing presence of Portuguese in Asian interregional trade, as well as foreign merchants travelling with or investing in the *carreira da Índia*, who simultaneously provided and required better information. In the 1510s, the Portuguese reached China; in the early 1540s they were already trading with Japan; in the 1550s they obtained authorisation for a settlement in Macau. In the meantime, there was a permanent flow of Portuguese attracted by other possibilities outside the formal empire in the Bay of Bengal, Southeast Asia, and the Persian Gulf. Small communities developed, making different arrangements with local authorities and benefiting from the relatively open trade practices of the main ports. Commercial opportunities were enhanced by temporary partnerships with local traders, who also offered access to capital. Parsi bankers played a significant role in the activities of Portuguese, and later Dutch and English traders.

The Portuguese aim of sourcing a wide range of commodities from around the world created a diversity of matrimonial alliances, due to the very low rate of female emigration. Having a claim of Portuguese descent became a form of distinction in distant environment. Such a lineage served as an identifier among loose communities with common interests that could benefit from some kind of association with, and protection by, longer established communities and polities. Mobilisation of other communities of Portuguese descent in case of local reverses of fortune became a strategy that might ensure increased physical security and economic predictability. Local institutions, such as the *misericórdias*, operated inside and outside the Portuguese empire to execute wills, recover investment, and guarantee funerals. These confraternities could extend their activities to finance the needs of local and inter-regional government, such as the viceroy of the *Estado da Índia* in Goa, or the captains of forts and ships (Sá 1997).

Maritime long-distance trade was supported by royal trading posts in Africa and in Asia, as well as central institutions in Lisbon responsible for contracts on the buying and selling of spices, warehousing and distribution of commodities, or the resolution of trade conflicts. The *carreira da Índia*, the fleet annually sent on a voyage from Lisbon to South Asia, was organised by the *Casa da Índia*, which was controlled by the government; but the whole operation was based on private contracts for ship building, ship renting, and freights. Royal monopolies were relatively limited, based on concessions of specific commodities under private contract, such as brazil-wood, from which a dye highly appreciated in Europe was derived, and which gave the name to the colony, pepper from South Asia from 1506 to 1570, or slave trade in the Atlantic. The Portuguese king reserved for himself the right to export silver and copper, and he extended his privilege of trade in Chinese silk to some of his subjects in specific periods. He also controlled the concession of travel privileges for Asian routes. However, the majority of Asian commodities were not under royal monopoly, as a degree of trade became accepted as a supplement to wages for everyone from the viceroy to sailors on Portuguese ships. Many traders benefitted from royal contracts due to the common practice of subcontract. This system meant that virtually all Portuguese emigrants and their relatives could be legally involved in trade, contrary to what occurred with the Dutch East India Company (VOC), in which personal gain outside labour contracts was firmly excluded (Antunes and Gommans 2015).

In the Atlantic, trade was organised in a more liberal way: there was no equivalent to the *carreira da Índia* until the mid-seventeenth century, when the state sponsored the *Companhia do Comércio do Brasil*, which involved the creation of a convoy system. However, this did not last long after the expulsion of the Dutch from northern Brazil in 1654 (Costa 2002). Chartered Companies only entered the Portuguese Atlantic again in the 1750s, when the companies of *Grão Pará e Maranhão* and *Pernambuco e Paraíba* were established (Carreira 1983). However, the transport system was, in general, in private hands. The slave trade was the subject of royal contract during the Iberian Union of Crowns (1580-1640), both as regarded the trade from Africa (Portuguese *contrato*) and for the import of slaves into Spanish America (Spanish *asiento de negros*). Participants in the *contrato* and the *asiento* were often the same people or were part of the same network. Nevertheless, subcontracting and licensing within the *contrato* and the *asiento* involved a significant number of merchants (Alencastro 2018). One of the main commodities from Brazil in the early modern period, sugar, which involved a significant group of landowners and merchants, often with aligned interests, was never under royal monopoly. The tobacco trade and taxation became regulated by royal contract, but production was free of state intervention. In this case, trade, transformation and distribution involved a significant number of subcontractors and local agents (Luxán 2014). Gold was also privately produced and subject to the normal taxation of 20%, plus 1%

for protection costs, with the king imposing royal protection and legal obligations, but exploration and trade being left in private hands.

The impact of trade on diversity is significant, since the colonial pact guaranteed compartmentalised economic interests between regions while the centre (Portugal) maintained for itself the privileges of import and re-export into European markets. The system started to breakdown in the last decades of the seventeenth century, which saw a transfer of plants from South and Southeast Asia into northern Brazil, while the *Carreira da Índia* began calling at Brazilian ports on the way back to Lisbon under pretext of naval repairs (Lapa 1968). Direct trade also developed between the different regions of the empire with the dissemination of plants and investment in new plantations, a development later responsible for the cotton boom in northern Brazil. This bypassing of the centrality of Lisbon reflected shifts in relations of economic power, the emergence of new markets and an increased importance for Brazil, partly fuelled by the gold rush in the eighteenth century (Alexandre 1993).

These developments in trade underpinned a relative flexibility in the Portuguese model of empire, a flexibility that allowed migration and local investment to shift from one region to the other. Defeat by the Dutch in the East reflected the weaker human resources available to the seventeenth century *Estado da Índia*, while victory in the Atlantic resulted from massive emigration. There was thus an organic component of the empire derived from shared interests among the colonists. It is true that the Dutch left a divide between property owners and traders in Recife; but this was healed in time through marriage alliances between creditors and debtors (Mello 1995). The big divide, as we will see later, was between colonists and slaves, while indigenous people in Asia and Africa, co-opted through marriage, played a crucial role as mediators with local societies.

Foreign traders complete this picture. Indigenous agents saw the opportunities opened up by the Portuguese empire locally, and went into partnerships with, and/or lent money to Portuguese traders, in many cases intervening directly in contracts with the state, mainly in the seventeenth and eighteenth century *Estado da Índia*. Contracts for the rent on tobacco in Goa were generally taken by non-Christian indigenous merchants, who showed their financial importance in a period of relative withdrawal of Portuguese traders, who were more interested in investment in precious stones. Tax farming was another area in which indigenous traders invested, making them simultaneously subjects of the King and enforcers of the empire. Diversity here resulted in further links with local society, even if religious policy in Goa—, which only changed during the government of the Marquis of Pombal (1750-77)—did not favour full integration of non-Christian traders.

Agents from other European countries were theoretically excluded from the Portuguese empire, but they participated in the first commercial expeditions to South Asia, were party to contracts for the royal trade on pepper, and offered their ships for freights, as happened with the Dutch in the Atlantic and the English in the Indian Ocean as the *carreira da Índia* began to decline. Dutch, German, Italian and then English ships largely controlled trade between Portuguese ports and northern Europe or the Mediterranean. Foreign merchants benefited from special privileges accorded in Lisbon to attract capital and guarantee distribution of overseas products in the European markets. Some of them also managed to travel to the Portuguese colonies either as merchants or as assistants to dignitaries, as in the case of Jan Huygen van Linschoten, who was an assistant to the archbishop of Goa, Vicente da Fonseca (1583-1586). While many worked as associate members of commercial firms in Italy, Germany, Netherlands, France or England, but left once they had fulfilled their contracts, others created their own firms and ended up marrying into Portuguese commercial families (Labourdette 1988; Shaw, 1998; Alessandrini 2012, Poettering 2018). The importance of foreign traders grew in time with the exclusion of New Christians: for example, Dutch firms became involved in contracts for trading tobacco and diamonds from Brazil (Miranda 2019; Vanneste 2015).

To sum up, trade produced connections across continents and benefits for many people, but also sharp inequality, represented by the trans-Atlantic slave trade, in which the Portuguese were responsible for the transport of circa five million slaves from the 1440s to the 1860s, and the creation of a slave-based society in Brazil, sustained by structural colonial violence. Portuguese merchants in the colonies could obtain a high social status; but there was a significant range of statuses, from financier to shopkeeper and pedlar. Indigenous investors and merchants played an important role in the seventeenth- and eighteenth-century *Estado da Índia*, although exclusionary religious rules in Goa encouraged migration until a reversal of these policies was imposed by Pombal in mid-eighteenth century. In Africa, indigenous and mixed-race lineages of slave traders played a crucial role in the infamous trade from the hinterland to the coast, while in Brazil street sellers were largely composed of slaves and freed people. The fact that virtually all Portuguese colonists could be involved in trade created a dynamic of shared interests that allowed a certain level of relations between different social groups, particularly landowners and merchants, although poor colonists could lead a life of strict social dependency close to indentured status. Finally, trade created conditions for the exchange of information and knowledge alongside commodities, the dissemination of plants and shifts of investments from one region to the other.

Politics

The diversity of populations in the Portuguese empire was basically managed by the conversion of indigenous peoples to Christianity. This issue will be more fully discussed in the following section on religion, since it implied both persuasion of, and constraints on, populations living in the Portuguese territories, even if in many cases local allegiances proved strongest. A policy of forced conversion for all slaves affected millions of people transported across the Atlantic to Iberian America. The reduction of diversity through conversion defined the specificity of the Iberian empires before the northern European expansion; the latter's Protestantism required that believers had direct access to the Bible and superficial conversion without (or with very little) religious education was not an option.

This policy of conversion was a response to papal endorsement of the Iberian expansion, but it also had the purpose of obtaining alliances with indigenous peoples and solidarity for the Portuguese presence. This policy carried with it obligations that had significant consequences: all Catholics within territories controlled by the Portuguese were considered subjects or vassals of the king (vassal was first a landlord but the two nouns became synonym in time: Bluteau 1721, VIII 372), while non-Catholic populations had to comply to Portuguese rules without the rights accorded to recognised vassals. Many converts were promoted to the municipal elite through marriage, assuming Portuguese descent as the main aspect of their identity; but this integration was never straightforward, due to the rules of purity of blood. Regional differences emerged; the assumption of Portuguese descent in the Indian Ocean contrasted with the open acceptance of mixed race people in the Atlantic.

The status of all Christians as vassals of the king—with the ambiguous exception of foreign European traders, who might either be placed under strict rules or enjoy a privileged status in Portugal—, constituted a significant tool for the reduction of diversity. Rules of purity of blood applied both to indigenous and to mixed-race people concerning access to priesthood, religious and military orders, although there were exceptions (Figueiroa-Rego 2011). Fictions of pure descent developed in Asia, but also in Brazil, in a process similar to that occurring in Iberia itself. Daily negotiation of status defined precarious identities all over the empire. Unstable identities and a degree of negotiable outcomes of blood enquiries allowed a certain, albeit fragile, sense of allegiance and loyalty. Even if the empire opened up alternative behavioural paths at all levels of society, enforcing institutions, particularly the Inquisition, imposed harsh control in some important hubs. The continuous movement of Portuguese towards areas outside the formal empire in West Africa and Asia reveals the limits to political and religious control enabled by colonial institutions.

Slaves, generally defined as property, represented a surprisingly complex group: as Christians they had access to confraternities, they could use their status to plead against violent treatment by owners, they could mobilise funds to negotiate emancipation, and even appeal to the king concerning instances of extreme unfairness or abuse. The fact is that the king complied on numerous occasions, responding positively to the requests for help against ill treatment made by slaves and manumitted people. Such acts of grace, as they were called, were pronounced *ad hominem*, individually, case by case (Russell-Wood 2000). They did not change the system of slavery, similar to that of the English, Dutch or Spanish systems in the Atlantic; but they allowed a certain degree of direct relationship between the king and individual slaves. In these cases, the humanity of the slave was recognised.

Royal grace was a minor issue in a colonial society organized through the plantation system, as in the case of Brazil, where the major part of the population consisted of slaves. White colonists were a minority who needed to use mixed-race people as social mediators. The relative openness of the King to accepting appeals by slaves was matched by the significant number of manumissions granted by plantation and *engenho* owners in Brazil. These manumissions privileged illegitimate children born to enslaved women, and women over men; they built a "buffer" between white colonists and enslaved Black population, socially promoting mixed-race groups. Manumission in the Portuguese empire was significantly more important than in the other European empires; it contrasted with the English empire in North America, in which manumission was virtually impossible during the eighteenth century.

Portuguese Kings tried to assert their position through concessions of land in the uninhabited Atlantic islands but also in Brazil, ignoring the semi-sedentary indigenous groups there. They appointed captains to take control of forts conquered in North Africa (mostly abandoned in 1542-1550 after defeat), captains and pilots for ships and fleets (an arrangement often ignored but important due to the number of people involved), viceroys or governors for the *Estado da Índia* and Brazil, and judges for the court of appeal (*Relação*) in Goa and Bahia. Appointments were privileges bestowed by the king to create a system (and economy) of service that reinforced ties of loyalty. The royal assertion of power as the vortex of a relatively loose system was exercised through appointments, rather than by the permanent management of decision making, although instructions were issued and inspections implemented. Consultations to the royal councils in Lisbon (or in Madrid during the period of the Iberian Union of Crowns) were regular, although their efficiency was questionable. The King could intervene on personal appeals from all levels of the administration or even respond to vassals with local grievances.

The issue here is not only the different levels of royal appointments, which entailed a certain level of loyalty and homogenization of procedures, but also the creation of an imperial elite that moved from one colony to another, carrying with it knowledge, experience, procedures and cultural frameworks (Souza 2006). Other institutions, however, significantly shaped daily life. Municipalities and confraternities were rightly considered by Charles Boxer as the two pillars of the Portuguese empire (Boxer 1965). These forms of representation of local elites revealed different social configurations according to location. Municipalities had an enormous political power, from Goa to Macau (where the municipal council acted autonomously until the royal appointment of a captain in the 1620s), or from Luanda to Salvador da Bahia, defining local policies and even negotiating alliances with neighbouring polities. Confraternities integrated specific social and professional groups, including slaves and manumitted, although the particular case of the *misericórdias* served as a means for integration and dual representation (of noblemen and plebeians). These bodies acquired an enormous financial capacity due to donations, the management of investment, and the execution of wills, which often involved the transfer of capital between different parts of the empire.

Municipalities and confraternities played a crucial role in keeping the empire together in the long run. They involved the elites, including promoted mixed-race people, as well as artisans in the larger towns like Salvador da Bahia (Brazil). The balance between rural and urban environments varied from region to region. For example, territorial enlargement in Brazil had increased dramatically with the extraction of gold in the interior by the end of the seventeenth century, and there was a surge in new towns, markets, and communication systems. The development of colonial society made new demands on agricultural crops and cattle breading, followed by the exploration of northern and southern Brazil, regions that had been traditionally been linked to the Spanish empire through smuggling. Social diversity and social inequality grew accordingly, while the new centrality of Brazil in the colonial system meant that the country was able to absorb centrifugal tensions for most of the eighteenth century.

The situation in the Atlantic islands became relatively stable in the seventeenth and eighteenth century with the ports of call in Madeira and Azores playing a role in the intercontinental transport system, supported by local agricultural outputs. In the South Atlantic, the plantation complex in São Tomé maintained a profitable level of production, drawing on slave labour from Central West Africa, in spite of revolts by slaves suffering from a sense of uprootedness and poor living conditions. The islands of Cape Verde kept their role of ports of call and support for the slave trade from West Africa, and were populated by a growing number of mixed-race people. On the mainland, the Portuguese established close relationship between their settlements and indigenous powers; the diffusion of Luso-African lineages became important inside and outside those settlements and in virtually all the main ports of the Gulf of Guinea (Guarda 2016). The same can be said about Central West Africa, in which the central position of Luanda as the main port for slave trade was maintained by a network of African brokers linked to Luso-Brazilian-African lineages. However, in the last decades of the seventeenth century political interference in the hinterland became more visible, and the "africanisation" of the Portuguese in this area at this time was the consequence of an overwhelming indigenous society surrounding the colonial settlements (Thornton 2020).

The appropriation and adaptation of local legal frameworks was one of the strategies of the empire. Until the First Opium War (1839-42), the ambiguous status of Macau as a tolerated settlement relied on the continuing rule of local law and the autonomy of the Chinese community *vis-à-vis* Portuguese rule. In other settlements outside the formal Portuguese empire, such as Nagasaki (Japan), the local ruler reached an agreement with the Jesuits on the management of the Portuguese community. In the Northern Province (South Asia), one of the few continuous territories secured by the Portuguese, local property rights were modified to favour Portuguese landowners, who were responsible for military recruitment in case of war. In Sri Lanka, in drawing up an inventory of local property (*Tombos*) for most of the island, the Portuguese identified problems of legitimacy and succession without directly confronting traditional local rights. The inventory was used for fiscal purposes, but also as an instrument to impose political loyalty, reshape social hierarchies and obtain the insertion of Portuguese institutions. Particularly complex was the situation of the *prazos* (concession of land) in Zambezi valley, Mozambique, a hybrid system between African and Portuguese norms, in which matrilineal succession for three generations guaranteed a regular Luso-African presence in the region, including in some territories obtained from the chieftaincies of the Monomotapa confederation. In West and Central West Africa, the Luso-

Africans were largely subject to local custom law. Only Brazil can be considered to be shaped, to a certain degree, by Portuguese law, although local arrangements with semi-settled and nomadic indigenous groups, mainly at the very beginning of the colonisation, were later complicated by the creation of indigenous villages by the Jesuits and absorbed by Pombal's legislation after the missionaries' expulsion. However, a slave-based society which used forced labour transported from Africa became difficult to articulate with local indigenous communities. Therefore, an arguably new set of permanent negotiations and mediation ensued to manage the particularities of Brazilian society (Serrão et al 2015).

Diplomacy completes the framing of diversity, since Portuguese authorities tried to obtain advantages from a double policy of combining military threat with commercial and political gains. Several settlements in South Asia were not directly conquered, but were obtained by playing on local divisions and holding out offers of military assistance. Diplomacy targeted weak local rulers, like King Dharmapala Peria Bandara (c. 1541-1597) of Kotte, Sri Lanka, who converted to Christianity and legated his territories to the Portuguese king (Strathern 2007). Such policy was tried in different places in Asia, following up early experiences in Africa, where there had been successive attempts to establish bridges with what is now Senegal and the kingdom of Benin, until the King of Kongo saw an advantage in accepting an alliance with the Portuguese. Christianisation of the king and local elite followed, with the regular presence of Portuguese missionaries at the royal court; and the king was treated initially as equal by the Portuguese king, who sponsored the education of young Kongolese at the university of Coimbra. The establishment of Luanda in 1576 at the periphery of the kingdom of Kongo resulted from this arrangement, although politically, ethnically and culturally Luanda remained mostly African until the late nineteenth century.

To sum up, colonial building was very much a bottom up process, in which migration, violence, local alliances, intermarriage and indigenous agency each played a crucial role. Royal policies followed settlement, and European institutions were adapted to overseas realities in competition with local normative configurations, mainly in Africa and Asia. Overstretched and fragmentary territories across four continents were held together through flexible institutions, such as municipalities and confraternities, while governors and captains created a certain level of political and cultural homogenization at the top. Social inequality reached its hights in the Atlantic with slave trade and a colonial society based on slavery created from scratch in Brazil, while social diversity was more significant in Asia, due to previous local complexity and limited Portuguese impact. The importance of Luso-Africans and Luso-Asians cannot be sufficiently underlined, since they provided bridges and created hybrid structures, including mixed lineages, that perpetuated empire. Managing diversity, from a political point of view, meant local improvisation, adaptation, varying degrees of flexibility, and the light, central hand of the King, who proceeded through appointments, rewards, acts of grace and pardons.

Religion

Christian vassals as compared with non-believers, free people as compared with slaves, and Portuguese descendants taking precedent over indigenous others were the three main, polarised, pairings of political and social status in the empire. Gender division was also pervasive, with differentiated roles assigned to men and women, and different behaviours assigned to men and women in public and private spheres, although the rules of inheritance were relatively equitable among the Portuguese. Homosexual and queer behaviour was penalised but there is evidence of a significant amount of alternative sexual behaviour (Bethencourt 2021a). Claims to aristocratic descent played an important role for those in distant lands to assert distinction; there are well known picturesque episodes of Portuguese detainees in Chinese prisons fighting each other over pretentions to superior birth, which only reinforced local perceptions of these men as barbarians. The traditional opposition between noble clean hands and hands dirtied by manual work was also transferred to the empire, reinforced by the supreme value attached to war, an endeavour supposedly always led by those with clean hands (Carvalhal Murteira Jesus 2021). An opposition between legitimate and illegitimate birth resulted from the assertion of marriage as a Christian sacrament during the Middle Ages. Legitimising children out of wedlock was a common practice among kings and nobles, popes, cardinals and bishops, but illegitimacy was still a major source of social divide. The valuing of birth as a structural element in a hierarchical, seigniorial society found its way into colonial society, although false claims there were naturally more widespread than in the metropolis.

The manipulation of religion to assert social and ethnic hierarchy played a major role in medieval Hispania, having been reintroduced in the supposedly homogeneous Christianity of these Iberian kingdoms, following forced conversion of Jews and Muslims and the introduction of the statutes of purity of blood (Figueiroa-Rego 2011). The extension of these statutes to the Iberian empires not only placed descendants of converted Jews and Muslims below self-proclaimed Old Christians, but it also assigned a low status to converted Africans and Asians. Extensive inter-marriage in the empire among Christian Portuguese and indigenous people did elevate the status of locals as Christians; but their integration into social elites depended on wealth, political negotiation and local conditions, particularly in Asia, to produce faked lineages of pure descent.

Transfer to converted people and their descendants of traditional competition towards Jews and Muslims extended the arbitrary quality of the purity of blood rules. Moriscos were virtually absent from the colonial world, but the participation of New Christians of Jewish descent was visible from the very beginning as traders and as sugar plantation and *engenho* owners in Brazil (Novinsky 2002). These New Christians could become extremely wealthy; but they were placed in a permanently vulnerable position, exposed to denunciation by neighbours and friends. Some of them crossed the barrier of purity of blood through bribery, or through integration into Old Christian lineages by simply assuming a status of pure blood; but new enquiries could disrupt an apparent security of status. The more interesting side of this inherently relational manipulation of prejudices to assert social hierarchies is that black people could claim that they had a higher religious status than New Christians. The argument was simply that they had not refused Jesus Christ: they were just ignorant pagans, open to the revelation.

In practice, indigenous converted to Christianity were not allowed to join religious orders until the second half of the eighteenth century, and this late access occurred only due to the intervention of the government of Pombal. In Japan and China, indigenous people could take the first steps on the road to becoming Jesuits. In India, they could become priests but had their access to religious orders blocked after an initial openness. Those who decided to go to Rome to obtain the position they felt entitled, as happened with the bishop Mateus de Castro in the seventeenth century, were systematically derided and discriminated against by the clergymen of European origin. In Africa, the early promotion of the Christianised Kongolese King Afonso's son Henrique, to the bishopric of Utica, in 1518, was a sole example of such promotion until the twentieth century. In the kingdom of Kongo, indigenous people were ordained as clergymen, but they did not have access to religious orders. In Brazil, clergymen of European origin entirely controlled the structure of the Church (Boxer 1963 Boxer 1978, Paiva 2006).

The integration of Christianised populations in different parts of the Portuguese empire was obtained through confraternities, which played a major role among professional groups, slaves and the manumitted. Local clergymen had an important role as mediators to indigenous communities in South Asia. Missionaries under the royal patronage (Church patronage was delegated by the pope to the Portuguese king in the areas of expansion) spread Christianity outside the Portuguese empire, mainly in Japan and in China. The success with which Christianity was spread in Japan was probably the cause of the political backlash after the unification of Japan under the rule of Tokugawa Ieyasu in 1603. Successive conflicts were attenuated by diplomatic missions by the Jesuits and the intervention of local *daimyo* (feudal lords), but this did not prevent the final expulsion of the missionaries and the Portuguese in 1639 (Boxer 1993). However, these experiments tested a different level of diversity outside the boundaries of the Portuguese empire. In those environments, beyond the reach of direct political intervention, conversion needed to proceed by persuasion, not constraint, against the background of an alien system of values.

The assertion of a monopoly on religious activity by the Portuguese and their Italian and Spanish colleagues working under the Portuguese royal patronage puzzled the Congregation of *Propaganda Fide* in Rome, whose first secretary Francesco Ingoli, heavily criticised the Portuguese missionaries for blocking access to indigenous people, and he explicitly criticised them for greed. For example, Ingoli suggested that there were no missions in Madagascar because there was no wealth to be gained there (Ingoli 1999). The work of contemporary writers who were not Portuguese offers different perspectives, with insight into the real dimensions of social conflicts and the dynamics of competition for resources. Such writing often suggests that diversity was not a given, but rather produced through conflict and strategies for the monopolisation of resources. Janus-faced religion was responsible both for an assimilation of, and a division between believers and non-believers, and for a division between those eligible for ecclesiastic careers and those ineligible, thus creating new layers of defining hierarchies and contributing simultaneously to a reduction and an increase in diversity.

Conclusions

Managing supposes executive control or authority, while management is defined by the "application of skill or care in the manipulation, use, treatment, or control of things or persons (...) the administration of an organization or commercial enterprise (...) the use of contrivance, prudence, ingenuity, or deceit or trickery for effecting some purpose" (Short Oxford English Dictionary: 1686). In the English language, management was in use in the late sixteenth century, managing by the early eighteenth century. Such activity is conceived, in general, in top down terms, although the words can be applied to horizontal resolution of conflicts. Diversity means "the condition or quality of being diverse, different or varied (...) a distinction; a different kind (...) contrariety to what is agreeable, good, or right; perversity, evil, mischief" (Soed, 720). The last meaning is very interesting for our analysis, because it tells us that what is diverse is sometimes perceived as disagreeable, perverse even. But the main risk of using diversity and diverse is that it can imply a given and rooted difference, in other words, that difference is a natural situation. As we have seen, diversity in the Portuguese empire was not innate, but rather produced: and, with it, intersectional scales of inequality arose.

It is the production of diversity that is at stake here and, in many cases, the noun diversity is used to hide the straightforward production of social inequality. The classification and racialisation of the peoples of the world resulted from the European expansion. The transformation of the variety of human beings into races as early as the sixteenth century, as indicated by the title page of Abraham Ortelius, *Theatrum Orbis Terrarum* (1570), became a matrix for the theories of race that developed in the eighteenth and nineteenth century, based on a hierarchy of continents and a corresponding aggregation of types. These theories of race were a sub-product of racism, since they justified the imposition of a hierarchy in the new international ordering of labour that resulted from European expansion and colonial violence. These theories of race were also used, at a local level, to exclude competitors and justify the monopolisation of resources. The Iberian experience contributed to theories of race at two levels: the transfer of the pejorative designation *preto* (negro, sic) from Africans to indigenous peoples of Asia and the New World, a label that automatically designated them as inferior; and discrimination against converted Jews and Muslims through the statutes of purity of blood (Bethencourt 2013). Diversity was thus both reduced and extended, creating a hierarchy between continents, while the introduction of a pure/impure axis in Iberia and the Iberian empires racialized ethnic groups and reinforced social inequality. Colonial violence is the background to theories of race, a material setting that was spread from the beginning of the Portuguese and European expansions in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This violence against other peoples of the world increased significantly during the nineteenth and early twentieth century with the effective occupation of colonies in Africa and Asia and the extraordinary enlargement of the world areas controlled by the Western powers until the resistance of local populations led to the emancipatory movements and the processes of independence.

The dynamics of interdependence among agents and social groups may have reduced inequality of status due to the levelling field of contracts; but the rules of purity of blood deepened the gap between ethnicities. Evangelisation transformed indigenous peoples and baptised slaves into vassals of the king, which reduced the gap between colonists and colonised, allowing even slaves to appeal to the king; but levels of integration and discrimination depended on permanent local negotiation. Intermarriage in the Portuguese empire also contributed to reduce diversity between ethnicities, although the acceptance of mixed-race people among elites depended on local conditions. Finally, the manipulation of religion to assert purity of blood as a social criterion defined an internal divide in Iberian societies and their empires until the eighteenth century, while the monopolisation of resources by European clergymen and missionaries largely blocked the access to religious orders of evangelised indigenous people.

Religion and legal systems were arguably the two main legacies of the colonial period. A society of mixed-race people emerged in Brazil with all the attendant problems of social inequality that needed to be addressed. Affirmative action has been implemented in the past decades with good results, but there is a long way to go. In Mozambique, the mixed lineages of the Zambezi valley have virtually disappeared in an African environment. In Goa, the number of people able to speak Portuguese was always weak, as the report of Orlando Ribeiro in 1956 attested. In Luanda, by contrast, a resilient mixed-race elite emerged, as Patrick Chabal pointed out; and it is from this group that characters in some Pepetela's novels were drawn (Chabal & Vidal 2007). The consequences of colonialism are still felt today in most part of the globe. Decolonisation is a process that continues long after declarations of independence, and new independent countries struggle to cope with this. Former European colonial powers are not immune to problems in this postcolonial period, since they benefitted from the accumulation of capital produced by the colonies. The integration of immigrants from former colonies is problematic due to persistent racism and discrimination in the labour market; and the restitution of artefacts illegally acquired from colonies by museums and private bodies, and reclaimed by the newly independent countries, is far from being sorted out. Portugal is part of this constantly developing process of self-decolonisation. The problems indicated here must be addressed by Portugal both as a country and as a part of the European Union.

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A Government of Indigenous Peoples: Administration, Land, and Work in the State of Brazil during the Portuguese Empire (1548-1822)

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Abstract

The colonial administration and management of the indigenous peoples of Brazil has been a recurrent theme in historiography. However, the Amerindians themselves, important actors in the process of constructing colonial society, are largely absent from the historical literature. This article's objective is to critically debate, using modern historiographic methods and theory, three important aspects for understanding the governance of the Amerindians of Brazil: the religious administration, the control of native lands, and the management of their labor. This requires consideration of the indigenous people as actors in their own history and of their actions of resistance, adaptation, and negotiation when engaging with the colonial powers.

Keywords

Amerindian peoples, Colonial *aldeias*, Amerindian lands, Amerindian labor, Amerindians as historical agents

Resumo

A administração colonial e a gestão dos povos do Brasil foram temas recorrentes de várias análises historiográficas. Nota-se, contudo, a ausência de atores importantes no processo de construção da sociedade colonial: os povos indígenas. O objetivo desse artigo é debater, a partir de historiografia recente, aspectos centrais para o entendimento da governança dos povos indígenas do Brasil: a administração religiosa, a gestão de suas terras e o controle da mão de obra. Serão levados em consideração o papel dos indígenas enquanto sujeitos históricos, bem como suas relações com os agentes da Coroa, balizadas por resistências, adaptações e negociações.

Palavras-chave

Povos indígenas, Aldeamento colonial, Terras indígenas, Trabalho indígena, Agência indígena

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Introduction

As an ever-present subject in historiographic studies of the Portuguese Empire, Brazil's colonial administration has yielded works of varying scope over the past few decades. However, this historiographic production is marked by the relative absence of attention for the indigenous populations and the very limited elaboration of the debate around Amerindian history in Brazil, despite indigenous peoples constituting a significant portion of the colonial population between the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. Moreover, the colonists were undoubtedly broadly reliant on the Amerindians for carrying out various activities in the colony, most notably those of an economic or military nature.[3]

In this sense, collections in the 1990s such as *Nova história da expansão portuguesa*, edited by J. Serrão and A. H. de Oliveira Marques, have become emblematic—specifically volume VI, coordinated by H. Johnson and M. B. Nizza da Silva (1992), which examines several aspects relating to indigenous peoples. However, the authors' historical interpretations suggest that these indigenous groups were always in a position of subordination in relationships established in the colony, and hence they never had any centrality in historical processes. Volume VII of the collection (Mauro 1991) focuses on the period between 1620 and 1750, with an entire chapter dedicated to the Amerindians. However, like volume VI, it, too, advances a traditional view of the indigenous peoples as passive and conceives the processes of acculturation and rigid resistance associated with colonization as boiling down to cultural and societal devastation and futile resistance, without any opportunity for negotiation and adaptation.

Another collection, *História geral da civilização brasileira* (Holanda 1997), also represents indigenous peoples as obstacles or mere accessories to the colonizers' projects, portraying them as people who resisted, but who were ultimately swallowed up by and subjected to the colonization process. While the next decade was marked by the advent of a new perspective on indigenous peoples, it nevertheless saw the publication of general works such as *Antigo regime nos trópicos* (Fragoso, Bicalho & Gouvêa 2001), *Modos de governar* (Bicalho & Ferlini 2005), and *Na Trama das redes* (Fragoso & Gouvêa 2010), which were symptomatic of and in line with a pattern of research failing to bring indigenous peoples to the fore.

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3 Despite some controversy over the numbers, Brazil's indigenous population in the sixteenth century—including the Amazon—ranged in any event between one and over five million, which is relatively high compared to the number of settlers. Over time, their numbers decreased, particularly in the seventeenth century and, above all, from the eighteenth century onwards (Almeida 2010: 29; Carrara 2014: 5; Cunha 2012: 16-17; Marcílio 1999: 313).

However, the 1990s also saw the start of analyses following a different path. These questioned the minor influence previously attributed to the actions of Amerindians in historical and colonial processes (Almeida 2017; Monteiro 1995, 2001) and suggested that the totality of the various processes and periods in the history of Brazil could not be understood without also considering the presence and the interests and actions of the indigenous peoples on those frontiers. One of the main defining characteristics of this new paradigm of studies resided in the reassessment of the idea of "acculturation" and its replacement by concepts such as "metamorphosis" and cultural adaptation, based on the dialogue between Anthropology and History (Almeida 2003; Monteiro 1995). Soon works were being published that began to consider the "agency" of indigenous peoples—that is, that their actions were purposeful, and that they developed political strategies capable of shaping indigenous peoples' future in the face of the challenges and conditions arising from contact with new civilizations and their campaigns of domination (Almeida & Seijas 2020: 357-358; Monteiro 1995: 226-227).[4]

This invisibility of indigenous peoples in Brazil, which is by no means exclusive to the historiography dedicated to studying the Portuguese Empire, is noticeable in all phases of the country's history.[5] It is linked with the history constructed for the country in the nineteenth century by the *Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro* (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute). In addition to the relative invisibility of the Amerindians in the history propagated by these historians, their works were permeated by views claiming the indigenous peoples to be incapable of self-governance, and characterizing them merely as acculturated subjects on the verge of extinction.

This article aims to provide a historiographical overview and a debate on three central aspects for understanding the administration of indigenous peoples in Brazil: religious administration, the control of their lands and, finally, the management of their labor. In doing

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[4] Collective works seem to have awakened to the subject. These include *O governo dos povos* (Mello e Souza, Furtado & Bicalho 2009), which presents four articles effectively touching on a discussion of the empire's indigenous populations. However, indigenous agency is not central to any of the debates in that work. It is also worth citing the following collections, in which various chapters contain a contemporary discussion about the Amerindians' participation in historical processes: *Políticas e Estratégias Administrativas no Mundo Atlântico* (Almeida et al 2012); *O Brasil colonial* (Fragoso & Gouvêa 2014); *Os indígenas e as justiças no mundo ibero-americano* (Domingues, Chaves de Resende & Cardim 2019). It is also important to mention that J. Monteiro was responsible for organizing the *Guia de Fontes para a História Indígena e do Indigenismo* (1994). This guide, a collective undertaking by several historians, mapped collections related to indigenous themes in Brazil and made an important contribution to rewriting the history of Brazil, taking into account the actions of indigenous peoples as historical subjects.

[5] Outside the discussion proposed here, this invisibility was also present in the "Atlantic" debates, as pointed out by Cohen (2008, 394). Similar criticism was expressed by Bushnell (2009, 191-192). Later, the gap began to be filled in research by, for example, Hulsman (2009), Meuwese (2012), and Weaver (2014).

so we will emphatically consider the role of indigenous peoples as historical subjects, while being very aware that the term "administration of peoples" automatically leads to indigenous populations being conceived of in a relationship of subordination to a colonialist regime, and that this implicit bias needs to be reflected on and problematized. We also aim to demonstrate that this management of people, whether by religious authorities or in terms of labor, was not without resistance or adaptation to the rule of law, and that these actions in turn resulted from negotiations between indigenous peoples and the colonial administration.

Religious Administration and Tutelage

The conversion of indigenous peoples to Catholicism was the original theological and political justification for Portugal's colonial undertaking in America, with this being presented as the Portuguese monarchy's main objective. In the context of maritime expansion, it was this policy of the *Padroado Régio* that defined the institutional framework for the missionaries' activities, with the king being the initial funder of the project. The work of catechesis effectively began in 1549, with the arrival of six Jesuits in Brazil, accompanying the colony's first Governor General, Tomé de Souza (Castelnau-L'Estoile 2006: 18).

Faced with the specific dynamics of the relationships between different historical subjects, and with the objective of imposing a complete change in the lives of the indigenous peoples, the Jesuits of Brazil then created missions in the form of evangelization villages (*aldeias*), where Indians from diverse origins would reside with the missionaries. The specificity of the conversion of the Amerindians in Brazil meant that the mission, which had by definition been itinerant, became fixed (Castelnau-L'Estoile 2006: 19).

The Jesuits' missionary activities overseas were accompanied by a theological debate surrounding humanity, the soul or essence of a person, and indigenous customs.[6] The result was the elaborating of parameters for the conversion work that were permeated by the idea of tutelage or guardianship as a means to materializing relationships between the religious authorities and the indigenous peoples under the Crown. The complement to tutelage was work, carried out by indigenous peoples both within and outside the mission villages (*aldeias*).

[6] We agree with Cristina Pompa, who says that the guidelines for missionary work in Brazil were almost entirely determined by the Jesuits. Although clerics from other orders, such as the Capuchins, Franciscans, and Oratorians, interacted with different indigenous peoples, the Ignatians elaborated a broad and refined theological contribution on the mission in Portuguese America, also acting in the elaboration of laws and policies of the Portuguese State on the subject (Pompa, 2003: 57).

Many of the debates between Spanish and Portuguese Jesuit theologians, who shared the same experience of training in Iberian higher education institutions, were based on the assumptions of missionary work exposed by Manuel da Nóbrega in various texts and official documents. Zeron (2011) demonstrated how Nóbrega saw it as necessary to institute a "moderate subjection" over the indigenous peoples in a form differing from that imposed on enslaved Africans: since the indigenous peoples were considered in their humanity, they could not be seen only as a means of production, but neither did they have full legal personhood. The idea, therefore, was that they should be made subject to guardianship in a variety of ways, including education, surveillance, and protection. Indigenous people were considered to have a minor civil status, and thus no legal capacity. For the Jesuits, "The activity with the Indian villager must be primarily oriented towards his tutelage, with work constituting the main instrument for its consummation." Although indigenous peoples had the potential in their soul required to attain a state of grace, their bad customs meant the missionaries would have to provide them with uninterrupted assistance, and this would make them closer to bad Christians (Zeron 2011: 142-143, 150).

Throughout the sixteenth century, theological debates and Jesuit perceptions arising from missionary practice influenced the elaboration of general laws and also those related to indigenous peoples. These included the Regiment of Tomé de Sousa (1548), and the laws of 1570, 1587, 1595, and 1596. In general, this legislation provided the criteria for carrying out Just War;[7] that is, conducting war against groups openly opposed to the catechetical work of the missionaries and preventing the spread of the Catholic faith. Survivors of such warfare were temporarily enslaved while receiving Christian education, with the Jesuits placing themselves in the position of being the "insurmountable intermediaries between the Indians and the Portuguese settlers for everything that concerns the organization of indigenous work" (Zeron 2011: 345).

Thanks to Zeron's long and detailed analysis, we understand that the tutelary relationship in the sixteenth century was elaborated, established, and defended by the Jesuits in the belief that they had the right and indeed the duty to exercise it. As the indigenous

[7] An ancient concept, with theological and legal origins in the medieval law surrounding war, the idea of Just War led to much debate and doubts regarding its application to the indigenous peoples of Brazil. In general, it was seen as a response to the Indians' refusal to convert, the obstacles they could pose to the propagating of the faith and colonization, their hostility to subjects of the Portuguese Crown and their allies—including other indigenous peoples—and the breaches of agreements. Among these reasons, mere rejection of Christianity does not seem to have been recognized as a central motive. While the Amerindians were not obliged to accept conversion, they could not stop the preaching. Obviously, this was just written rhetoric. For a recent debate on Just War, see *Imbecillitas* by Hespanha (2010). An interesting discussion on the concept, albeit focusing on an area outside the State of Brazil, can be found in Ibáñez-Bonillo (2019), with the author pointing to the natives' protagonism, their capacity for negotiation, and their resistance to the Just War process.

peoples were seen as incomplete beings, with distorted rational faculties, yet having potential due to their human condition, it was seen as the religious authorities' responsibility to re-educate them in the authorities' customs in order to induce "legitimate ways of exercising social practices" (Zeron 2011: 397). The condition of *indigenous* was understood, therefore, as temporary since once the pedagogical work of re-education had been completed in the supervised space of the *aldeia*, the subject could become sufficiently autonomous and free to be considered a full subject of the Crown.

Having invested in their roles as intermediaries, the missionaries also controlled the organization of indigenous work in the face of demands presented by the settlers. By combining the tasks of educating, converting, and organizing the indigenous populations for work, the missionaries, notably the Jesuits, thus also became representatives of the Portuguese State, constituting a triadic relationship with the settlers and the Indians. It was in this way, therefore, that the initial contours of the tutelage, protection, and repression paradox were defined (Oliveira 1988).

Tutelage or guardianship was the intrinsic mark of the relationships established between the Portuguese State—and later the Brazilian imperial State—with the indigenous populations, with these relationships suffering small shocks through legislation and the actions of the indigenous peoples themselves.

Even after the Jesuits were expelled in 1759, the tutelary relationship survived, having been updated in the role of the Director of Indians, a position created by the Directorate of Indians.[8] The latter was initially intended to operate in the State of Grão-Pará from 1757 onwards, but was extended in 1758 to other regions of the colony, with the objective of assimilating and restructuring the indigenous experience in Brazil. We agree with Heloísa de Almeida (1997), who characterizes this institution as a model of tutelage exercised by the State, and as both a set of rules regulating relations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples and a settlement plan.

[8] Approved in 1755 by D. José I, and published in 1757, the "Directorate that must be observed among the Indian populations of Pará and Maranhão" introduced a set of laws that aimed to change the relations between indigenous and Portuguese peoples in the colony, as well as to guide the first step towards a policy of assimilating the Indians. In short, it established the freedom of the Indians, who were transformed into vassals of the Crown without any distinction between them and other colonists. It also suspended the religious tutelage of the mission Indians, who would henceforth be managed by directors of Indians. In addition it facilitated and encouraged miscegenation between natives and non-natives, as well as making the Portuguese language obligatory and transforming old colonial villages into Portuguese towns and places. However, the Directorate maintained the basic lines of previous indigenous legislation, such as continuing the distinction between "civilized" and "savage" Indians; Indians' mandatory work in villages; the tutelage of Indians that was carried out by non-indigenous peoples, and the maintenance of lands and privileges of indigenous leaders.

This legislation prior to the expulsion of the Jesuits entailed a criticism of the previous indigenous policy, which was considered not to have managed to civilize the indigenous peoples effectively and thus not to have achieved sufficient economic development and progress in Grão-Pará (Lopes 2005: 70). This criticism of the missionary model was one of the reasons for establishing bases for the elaboration of the Directorate of Indians in 1757 and reaffirming the need for temporal government over the Indians to be performed by a non-Indian institution (Coelho 2005: 91).

Thus, a central change was achieved by the establishing of a Portuguese government serving as the temporal administrator of mission settlements, indigenous peoples, and their assets. The missionaries retained responsibility only for the work of converting the indigenous peoples. To make up for indigenous leaders' supposed lack of preparation for self-governance, the director of indigenous peoples would assume responsibility for administration of the village until the indigenous leaders were equipped to lead in a manner according with the colonial regime's wishes. In other words, the relationship between guardian and ward was understood as transitory, as was the very condition of being indigenous, since it was envisaged that the Directorate would result in cultural and identity differences being erased, and in the Indians being assimilated, without any distinction between them and the other vassals of the Crown in the colony.

As Moreira demonstrated (2019), laws were enacted in the eighteenth century that determined the extent of freedom available to indigenous peoples and their opportunities for self-government, with a preference for them to occupy positions in local politics. However, these same laws were soon superseded by the Directorate, with this legislation also being extended to other regions in the State of Brazil. While the dissolution of the Directorate in 1798 restored freedom and self-government for the indigenous peoples, as intended in the legislation of 1757, Patrícia Sampaio (2009) explains how the Directorate remained active until 1822, thus maintaining the institution of tutelage through the figure of the Director of Indians until Brazil became independent.

Territories of Colonial Mission Villages: Reconstruction of Indigenous Experiences

The Portuguese Crown's effective occupation of American territory took place shortly after commercial trading started and the first alliances between the indigenous population and the Portuguese became established. This historical situation was characterized as a trading post by Pacheco de Oliveira, who identifies barter relationships on the coast, the insertion of Europeans into the dynamics of indigenous societies, and disputes over territory as constitutive aspects of this moment of the conquest project. In this case, the castaways or exiled were raised to the role of intermediaries between Indians and Europeans by establishing marriages with indigenous women, acting as interpreters and, mainly, as "practical operators of alliances" between the groups involved in barter negotiations (Oliveira,2016: 50-52).

Changes were imposed quickly, owing to the Portuguese Crown's interest in establishing a colonial campaign along the lines of what was already happening on the Atlantic islands and, therefore, imposing the presence of conquerors and settlers in American lands. This involved gaining administrative control over geographic space; implementing profitable activities, with an emphasis on sugarcane farming; and governing the Indians. At the same time, the initial success of the colonization was attributable to the network of relationships previously established during the trading post regime. In the previous historical situation, designated as the War of Conquest, the religious missionaries became the intermediaries par excellence by changing their relations with the indigenous peoples and imposing Portuguese values and institutions. The missionaries then founded mission villages (*aldeias*), bringing the indigenous people together in well-defined spaces and carrying out the work of converting and "civilizing" these populations (Oliveira 2016: 204-209).

Administering indigenous peoples consequently partly meant administering territories and labor, with these being the Portuguese Crown's and the colonists' main expectations of the American enterprise. Legal mechanisms were established to regulate the two issues; these included Just Wars, salvation or rescue, and missions involving secular and religious authorities in addition to the indigenous peoples. As we stated earlier, the establishing of mission villages in specific and well-defined spaces was a Jesuit creation aimed at adapting their activities and policies to the American reality, and with the central function of facilitating fundamental elements of the colonial enterprise, such as the occupation of land and the establishing of a labor force, as well as protecting the Portuguese against foreign enemies or natives in America. Against this background, we see the territory as a central element in the Portuguese administration of indigenous populations.

The process of relocating different indigenous peoples to the *aldeias* must be understood as going both ways—that is, the indigenous people themselves, once they understood the new order imposed, began to create and recreate not only their relationships with the land and natural resources, but also their own identities and cultures (Oliveira 2004: 13-42).

This modality of access to land—that is, the establishment of *aldeias*—occurred at the same time as the Crown was granting conquerors territorial domains as benefits. In many cases, the concession mechanism was, in fact, the same: donations of land in the form of grants (*sesmarias*). After the east coast of America started to be conquered, the Crown imposed itself as owner of the lands, which were then donated to those individuals contributing to the colonial project. This formula was specifically created for and adapted to Brazil, with public property predominating over private, as the Crown determined that the distribution of land considered unused should remain under its domain (Ferlini 2003: 225).

While land was awarded to the first grantees, and workforces were subsequently awarded to the colonists and to those who had demonstrated their usefulness in expanding and consolidating Portuguese domains, religious orders and indigenous peoples in the *aldeias* also received concessions in the form of land, with the result that sugarcane plantations, sugar mills, cattle farms and missionary villages became established side by side.

In the 1530s, many tracts of land in Pernambuco were granted by Duarte Coelho, as a Crown representative overseas. The first people benefiting from these grants included two landowners married to descendants of D. Maria do Espírito Santo Arcoverde, an indigenous Tabajara woman married to Jerônimo de Albuquerque. One of these grants consisted of land in a place called Paratibe, where a water mill was erected by Gonçalo Mendes Leitão, son-in-law of Albuquerque (Costa 1954: 148-150; Mello 2012: 78). The conjugal relations between the indigenous, mestizo, and white populations, which were very recurrent throughout Portuguese America, demonstrate the interdependencies between these historical subjects, as well as the modalities of access to land that resulted from the political strategies deployed by the groups involved.

In the second half of the sixteenth century, land donations and the establishment of plantations increasingly came at the expense of wars waged against indigenous peoples, mainly the Caeté, with conquerors led by Duarte Coelho obtaining support from the Tabajara people, to which his brother-in-law's wife belonged. From 1570 onwards, in the region south of Olinda, where the Cape of Santo Agostinho was located, sugarcane plantations and sugar mills were set up, leading to the emergence, a few decades later, of villages such as Ipojuca, Sirinhaém, Rio Formoso, Gameleira, Água Preta, and Jacuípe (Ferraz 2008: 68-69).

A little later, between the 1580s and 1590s, two large mission villages—Escada and São Miguel de Iguna, or Una, as it came to be known in the nineteenth century—became established in this region, with the latter being described by the Franciscan friar Venâncio Willeke as "the first Christian nucleus among the Caetés." These were created at the request of Duarte Coelho, with the aim of bringing together the indigenous peoples of this and other groups. While the continued lack of research makes it hard to understand the internal dynamics of these *aldeias* in the colonial period, their location and the very recent history of armed conflicts with the Portuguese means it is not difficult to deduce that demand for indigenous villagers' labor in those areas gave rise to disputes among the settlers, especially with regard to work in the sugar mills (Dantas 2018: 37). In this way, and in addition to offering Indians and settlers access to land and a managed workforce, missionary villages also provided protection against attacks by hostile natives or European adversaries' troops.

Despite the violence imposed, the indigenous peoples of the *aldeia* of Barreiros, as well as the *aldeia* of São Miguel de Iguna, claimed responsibility for their collective territory in 1858, claiming that they had received a land grant in 1698 in recognition of their role in repressing the Quilombo dos Palmares (Ferreira 2006: 11-12). Therefore, and contrary to any insistence on the "decimation of the Indians" (Ferraz 2008: 69), as advanced by certain trends in historiography, the indigenous populations of the oldest and richest sugar-producing region of the colony created, through very creative means, their own paths of survival and participation in regional dynamics.

We can see something similar in Rio de Janeiro, where, as demonstrated by M. R. C. de Almeida, most of the mission villages received their land through land grants. Almeida also highlights how, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth century, the colonial authorities sought to draw up legislation designed to guarantee the mission villages' land for the indigenous peoples in the face of continuing occupations by settlers with their farms and corrals (Almeida 2013: 256-257).

This occurred, for example, in the *aldeia* of São Lourenço, which received land grants in 1573 and whose main leader at the time of the village being established was Araribóia, or Martim Afonso. By bringing together indigenous peoples of different nations, the mission village of São Lourenço, as well as others founded later, had the very evident function of guaranteeing the defense of Guanabara Bay against foreigners, mainly the French, and against indigenous peoples hostile to the Portuguese Crown. By ensuring the occupation and sovereignty of the territory for Portugal, indigenous *aldeias* were also seen as a way to ensure access to a workforce able to carry out forced labor for the benefit of individuals and the Crown (Almeida 2013: 91-94).

As the colonial enterprise advanced, the Portuguese targeted new territories in an attempt to consolidate the Crown's domain and map new frontiers. In Serra da Ibiapaba, one of the most extreme points in the captaincy of Ceará, missionary villages were established between the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, with one of the objectives being to contribute to creating an overland path between the State of Brazil and the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. It was only after the third attempt to suppress the indigenous peoples of the mountains that the *aldeia* of Nossa Senhora da Assunção was able to be established in 1700, with this process being the result of the advancement of pastoral frontiers in the region during the Açu War (1683-1716) (Maia 2010: 19-23; Puntoni 2002).

Understanding their relevance in the conquest of the region, the indigenous leaders of the *aldeia* groups in Ibiapaba requested land grants for themselves, claiming they needed the land for their and their descendants' subsistence. In other places, such as in the *aldeias* of Paupina and Parangaba, and the mission of Canindés, requests for land grants were made collectively, emphasizing the right of possession acquired by the ancestors and the communities' good behavior under Portuguese administration. Maia's analysis of these regions of Ceará leaves no doubt that "advancing the colonial project in collaboration with the Indians was an imperative need for the Crown, as there were no dense population centers" (Maia 2010: 91-101).

The examples of the centrality of colonial indigenous villages, alongside sugarcane plantations and cattle ranches, in the territorial formation of Brazil, as well as in the delimiting of internal and external borders, are multiplied by consolidating research on the current northern region, such as in the works of Domingues (2000) and Farage (1991).

In the south of Brazil, the practice of seeking alliances with indigenous peoples to expand and consolidate borders against the presence of Spaniards was intensified in the second half of the eighteenth century, after the signing of the Treaty of Madrid (1750). This resulted in seven of the thirty peoples at the missions founded by the Jesuits in Paraguay being forced to abandon their territories and improvements built over decades of work to settle on the Portuguese side of the border and thus help protect the newly established boundaries. After the end of the armed conflicts, known collectively as the Guarani War (c. 1754-1756) and started by indigenous peoples dissatisfied with the new impositions, and the annulment of the Treaty of Madrid, the Portuguese Crown's strategy was to offer indigenous peoples better conditions than they received from the Spaniards. *Aldeias* were therefore established in order to receive relocating Guarani indigenous peoples, with the aim of transforming them into subjects of the Portuguese Crown. These people, in turn, moved and made choices, albeit under very limited circumstances, to meet their own needs and expectations. García's study of the long and dynamic process of the alliances formed between the Guarani and the Portuguese demonstrated that "any research on the establishment of

Europeans in areas of border dispute must necessarily go through the relationship built between them and the Indians" (García 2009: 15).

Throughout the eighteenth century, the mission villages underwent major changes in response to new legislation, specifically the freedom laws of 1755 and the establishing of the Directorate of Indians in 1757. In addition to updating the institution of tutelage, this legislation aimed to transform indigenous peoples into vassals of the king without imposing any conditions differing from those imposed on others, including, for example, the mandatory use of the Portuguese language and the use of first and last names in Portuguese. In this way, assimilationist parameters were established, culminating in what João Pacheco de Oliveira called the "second mixture" (Oliveira 2004: 25). For this transformation to become possible, trade and communications between Indians and non-Indians were needed in order to introduce knowledge and customs considered civilized in the Portuguese settlements. Whites were therefore able to live in the villages and marry indigenous people having access to land (Almeida 1997: 218-220).

The Directorate of 1757 and the laws of 1755, which provided for the removal of the Jesuits from the *aldeias* and the freedom of the indigenous peoples, dealt with the administration of the new villages inserted into collective territories, in which the main indigenous people could assume positions, albeit under the tutelage of the new figure created by the legislation, the Director of Indians (Lopes 2005: 69-70).[9] Constituted to support the integration of indigenous peoples into colonial society on the same terms as other vassals, the villages represented an ideal of civilization in opposition to the *sertões* or hinterlands, and an ideal advocated by Portuguese policy at the time. The intention was for the main public buildings, such as the chamber and public jail, and the homes of indigenous and non-indigenous peoples to be established in these villages, and for these to function in accordance with internal divisions such as the European notions of public and private life (Almeida 1997: 185, 216-217).

The reconfiguring of the mission villages' space and the lives of the indigenous peoples was extremely dynamic, and varied depending on the dynamics of the localities where the legislation was applied. In Rio de Janeiro, for example, portions of land were leased to non-indigenous people, while the *aldeias* remained in their places of origin. In Pernambuco, by contrast, considerable parts of the mission's lands transformed into villages were taken over by white residents, while other parts were regarded as the inheritance of the new villages

[9] The queen sent letters to the governor of the captaincy of Pernambuco and its annexes in 1758, ordering villages to be created where missions had been administered by Jesuits, thus reinforcing the provisions of the freedom laws of 1755 and the Directorate of Indians itself (Medeiros, 2007: 128).

or sold to fund public works (Almeida 2013: 197-199). On the other hand, the main indigenous leaders negotiated directly with the governor of Pernambuco, who was concerned to develop good relations with them. According to a study by Maia, the implementing of the Directorate and the meetings held by the governor to negotiate the terms of the changes were seen by these indigenous peoples as an opportunity to update their vassalage relationship and to retain certain benefits in exchange for their loyalty and that of their subordinates. Support by the leaders and other indigenous peoples was, therefore, essential for successfully implementing the new legislation (Maia 2011: 23-26, 39-40).

The Directorate and its regional adaptations also held meetings with indigenous groups living dispersed across the land outside the villages. In Pernambuco, for example, the intention was for these Indians to be settled in the new villages, either through persuasion or by force. Many of the indigenous peoples defeated in armed conflicts were handed over to residents so that they could receive instruction and education in exchange for work, or were employed in public works. The process of creating towns and villages was permeated by intense clashes not only with relocated Indians, but also between chambers in the existing towns, and in the new towns, concerning the limits of their jurisdiction with regard to tax collection and access to labor (Medeiros 2007, 136).

Through the application of legal provisions and their regional adaptations, indigenous peoples were able to express their concerns and needs in the face of such accelerated changes. Lopes (2005) identified a reference in the judicial inquiry (*devassa*) relating to a possible indigenous uprising in the Guajiru mission, in Rio Grande do Norte, in 1760. In reaction to the imposition of the Directorate and although denying being involved in organizing the revolt, the indigenous peoples investigated were willing to defend the mission village's lands and their freedom. They were afraid that the new provisions in the Directorate would transform them and their children into captives, given the common practice of humiliating indigenous peoples by forcing them to work uninterruptedly on the farms in the region. In addition, the Indians of Guajiru had been warned by the Indians of Serra da Ibiapaba, in Ceará, that they feared for their lands in the face of white interests (Lopes 2005: 254-258).

In relation to Espírito Santo, Moreira demonstrated how the indigenous peoples of the *aldeias* of Nova Benevente and Nova Almeida, formed by two missionary villages, were able to use mechanisms of the Pombaline legislation to become involved in the administration of their collective lands. This was because the Senate of the Chamber of New Villages had to be consulted on matters relating to the lands and other assets of the indigenous people and, under the 1757 Directorate of Indians, these people had a privileged seat in the chamber. According to Moreira, "The ombudsmen authorized and even suggested the tenures, but the validation and final approval passed through the scrutiny of the chambers' senate, where the Indians occupied the positions of judges and councilors" (Moreira 2019: 187).

The territories of the *aldeias* were therefore constituted in historical situations of the violent imposition of the Portuguese colonial project in America, and were of differing significance for the related historical subjects. From the cases presented, it is possible to affirm that, in the face of constant threats of enslavement and death, the indigenous peoples saw the *aldeia* as a space in which they would have some protection and access to land, as demonstrated by Almeida (2013). In these spaces they created their own trajectories, arrived at their own interpretations of the circumstances into which they had been inserted, and reconfigured their collective identities and cultures. The centrality of mission village territories can thus be seen as a testament to the vigorous strategies that different indigenous peoples used, until the mid-nineteenth century, to defend their right to govern or manage themselves in the ways that best suited them.

Administering the colonial villages' land necessarily entailed considering the relationships established with the indigenous people who inhabited them, with the success of the Portuguese project depending on effective dynamics and interdependency with the indigenous populations. From the start, therefore, we should regard indigenous villages, in addition to other units of spatial occupation, as a founding element when seeking to understand the processes of land formation in Brazil, of delimiting internal and external borders, and of consolidating the Portuguese domain overseas.

Indigenous Work: Slave Labor, Villagers, and Militarized Labor

Moving on from the debates focusing on aspects of governing or of saving souls and controlling indigenous lands, let us now consider the administration of work. Once again we should recall that the Portuguese establishment in Brazil, following the implementation of the general government in 1548, was accompanied by the drafting of the first legislation aimed at managing the work of people under the control of religious authorities or settlers, as well as the drafting of legal justifications for obtaining indigenous peoples as forced laborers.

Once the model on which the trading period of the early decades was based began to wear out, the settlers began to demand more and more work from the indigenous peoples. This need was linked to their settlement in the territory and the establishment of sugarcane cultivation across large portions of land along the coastal strips of the captaincies of Pernambuco and areas of Bahia and São Vicente. In this latter area, and specifically in the interior, indigenous labor was directed mainly to other agricultural activities on the São Paulo plateau, and to transporting goods in the region's rugged terrain (Monteiro 1994b: 109),[10] while in the region currently known as the Brazilian Northeast indigenous laborers worked in the sugarcane fields and were involved in cutting brazilwood in the Atlantic forests until more and more Africans joined the labor force. However, the indigenous peoples did not disappear from the sugar mills, and their presence was still observable throughout the sugar zone several decades after the expansion of sugarcane plantations on the coast. In areas outside the State of Brazil—specifically in Grão-Pará and Maranhão—expeditions for collecting drugs from the hinterlands and using large numbers of indigenous peoples were known to be carried out on an ongoing basis. In Grão-Pará and Maranhão, and in the Planalto Paulista, African slavery was relatively infrequent and the colonial economy depended almost exclusively on the labor of the "Blacks from the land," who were forced to work in various capacities (Alencastro 2000: 138-144).[11]

As mentioned earlier, the inefficiency of the barter model, caused by the indigenous peoples' refusal to "collaborate as the Portuguese expected," as Monteiro pointed out, led to a change in relations between settlers and indigenous peoples, as well as accentuating the internal struggles between indigenous peoples hit hard by the mounting wars. These conflicts had a profound impact because contacts with Europeans, and exchanges between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples, triggered demands by the latter for work by the former, and

[10] According to Monteiro (1994a: 110-123), the indigenous workforce of São Paulo was linked to an "intercapitania commercial circuit" that began to expand in the late sixteenth century. The author identified an intensification in wheat production in São Paulo in the mid-seventeenth century, with the main consumer market being Rio de Janeiro "with its growing white population of planters, merchants, and bureaucrats." The increasing production on the plateau both expanded and deepened indigenous slavery, giving rise to "several rural properties that boasted squadrons with more than a hundred Indians." Indigenous people were also fundamental in transporting the product and "for this reason, continuous access to indigenous labor proved to be fundamental for the survival of commercial agriculture."

[11] The use of indigenous labor, as referred to above, was not uniform. Even with the establishment of large plantations and the wide use of African slave labor, many indigenous people were displaced to less profitable activities in the international market that were essential to the colony's dynamics, such as subsistence production and a wide range of services provided to settlers (Oliveira 2017: 222). In Minas Gerais, which at one time was a supplier of staples for the Rio de Janeiro commercial area, indigenous peoples were also involved in the mines, on swiddens, in transport, and in hunting and fishing to feed the settlers, in addition to public works (Resende 2003: 191).

later demands for captives, and the combination of these factors caused a de-structuring of the groups. This led to the realization that the exchanges would not be sufficient to transform the economic base, and this in turn prompted the colonists to act more aggressively, entering wars with indigenous peoples either by instigating or stimulating such conflicts, and appropriating indigenous work through captivity and slavery (Monteiro 1994a: 30-33).

The increase in the number of prisoners taken during conflicts could have been expected to lead to the formation of a slave market. In the case of Alencastro, however, this did not happen; over the decades, therefore, increased use began to be made of enslaved laborers from West Africa.[12] However, the enslavement of Indians continued and was supported by colonial legislation, which recognized the right to rescue or save captives, and the enslavement of Indians resistant to conversion or hostile to the Portuguese (Hemming 2007: 86; Monteiro 1994a: 33; Perrone 1992: 123-128).

In general terms, the laws enacted by the Portuguese Crown allowed for three modes of appropriation of the indigenous workforce: rescue or salvation, captivity or enslavement, and descent or relocation. As Schwartz pointed out, these three ways of transforming the natives' work represented "steps" in the relations between the Portuguese and indigenous peoples that were not taken in a "unilateral, continuous, and ubiquitous" way; instead, they

[12] In the early decades of colonization, the numbers of indigenous enslaved people were much higher than the numbers of slaves brought to Brazil from West Africa (Ricupero 2009: 360). In contrast to Alencastro, who claims there to have been no market for native slaves, Schwartz states indigenous slavery in the captaincy of Pernambuco to have been so widespread in the 1570s—after military campaigns against the Caeté—that "Blacks from the land" were exported from there to other captaincies. Schwartz sees the apex of indigenous slavery in Brazil as being between 1540 and 1570. This market was clearly linked to sugar production (Schwartz 1988: 46), but —corroborating Alencastro's idea— it was running out of steam. Alencastro points to barriers preventing indigenous enslavement from becoming widespread, such as the fragmentation of groups due to the existence of a dominant group; their ease in living in the interior territories, where they could escape European pressures; the inability of indigenous leaders to order their groups to participate in captivation activities; the difficulties of navigating between captaincies, and the impact of diseases among the natives (Alencastro 2000: 117-154). Dias (2019: 241-242) conducted studies that demonstrated the existence of a large market outside the State of Brazil, specifically in the Amazon. Dealing in prisoners transformed "into a profitable business" and involved groups of peoples from the hinterlands and "agents of various European empires", including the Portuguese, Spanish, Dutch, French, and English. Schwartz is not alone in pointing to the widespread use of indigenous slaves in areas of the State of Brazil. Almeida (2014) and Monteiro (1994a) also demonstrated the ample demand for Indian slaves in two former colonization areas, Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, even after the African slave trade became common in the colony. Marcílio (1999: 316) refers to 200,000 Indians being sold by São Paulo slave traders to sugar producers in Rio de Janeiro, Espírito Santo, Pernambuco and Bahia in 1639. However, it would be strange for Pernambuco to have received such a number, given that the region was occupied by Dutch settlers and no records of such transactions have as yet been found in West India Company documents. The author, distrusting the figures, points to fewer Indians (people captured from Jesuit missions in Paraguay) being sold in Rio de Janeiro between 1628 and 1630.

depended on the region and the moment, and ran in parallel (Dias 2019: 240; Schwartz 1988: 45).[13]

It should be noted that, under the pretense of saving souls, slavery of all indigenous peoples, not only those considered hostile, was legal. It was also possible for Indians held captive by other Indians to be acquired or "rescued." These were the "rope Indians," caught up in conflicts, and destined for ritual slaughter in the case of coastal peoples who practiced ceremonial anthropophagy. By purchasing them, the Portuguese would save these people from physical and spiritual death, while also converting and civilizing them. All this was under the protection of the 1587 law, the contents of which were repeated in 1611, in the 1653 Royal Provision, and in the 1688 Permit. In theory, this serfdom was seen as temporary. Once rescued captives had repaid their ransom value through work, they were to be freed. The 1611 law even stated that captivity was limited to ten years, while also indicating that its tenure could be linked to the value of the "debt." Whatever the case, however, abuses that resulted in slavery being prolonged were common (Dias 2019: 239; Perrone, 1992: 127-128).[14]

Another form of captivity could occur as a result of indigenous peoples being imprisoned following a Just War authorized by the royal authorities and waged by the settlers against the indigenous peoples. In practice, the religious authorities were invasive and regularly ended up inciting hostilities. Even the Jesuits, after their initial fascination with the indigenous peoples, began to defend violence as the only possible way to convert them (Bettencourt 1994: 41-44; Cunha 1990: 101-106).

Although, as observed earlier, the saving of souls and bodies from ritual slaughter appears to support the concept of the Just War, it is also apparent from the sources that this was not the only factor used as justification for such action. Indeed, under the 1611 law, indigenous hostility —real or alleged—towards the settlers constituted the argument carrying the greatest legal weight for conducting a Just War. Given the possibility, granted by law, of

[13] Dias also points to another, very common form of appropriation: the "apprehension" or "mooring", according to Portuguese sources, or "raids", according to Spanish sources. This consisted of direct attacks on indigenous villages, with the aim of capturing women and children, whereas men were killed (2019, 240).

[14] Some cases, not necessarily of Indians enslaved via ransom, serve to demonstrate that by learning to act in accordance with the culture of the Old Regime, Indians sought to access colonial justice to denounce the illegality of their condition. In the late sixteenth century, Mônica, a "Brasilla Indian," taking advantage of a hearing surrounding the Holy Office's visit to Pernambuco, testified about the practices of Judaism and sodomy of a relative of her mistress, denounced her condition as a slave, made "according to her report, unfairly, since she had been a Christian since the age of four, baptized in the village of Olinda" (Silva 2004, 81). In the early eighteenth century, Rosa Dias Moreira, an Indian descendant of the Carijós, filed a lawsuit in São Paulo against her master, alleging that she had been unjustly taken captive. Other Indians went on to do the same, arguing that they had suffered abuse and unjust captivity, especially when they tried to demonstrate that, contrary to what their owners claimed, they were slaves and not just servants (Monteiro 1994b: 117).

enslavement or imprisonment, the settlers were clearly the main stakeholders in this respect. The Crown subsequently started demanding proof of the Indians' hostility and even, on account of abuses committed, to declare settlers' assaults to be unfair (Bettencourt 2000: 39-46; Hespanha 2010; Perrone 1992: 124-126).

Where, however, it was accepted that Indians had behaved with hostility—and were therefore considered barbarians—wars of extermination and enslavement remained possible. Indeed, from the sixteenth to the early eighteenth century, evidence abounds of campaigns and recommendations for the "total destruction" of indigenous peoples (Perrone 1992: 126). These campaigns include the various Just Wars that shook the coast of Brazil at the end of the sixteenth century: against the Tamoios in Rio de Janeiro (1557), against the Caeté in Sergipe (1557), and against the Tabajara and the Potiguar in Paraíba (1580). Later, in 1611, the general government in Salvador declared a Just War against groups from the hinterlands that attacked areas of the Recôncavo. However, the battle against the Dutch in northeastern Brazil (1624-1654) interrupted more concrete and broader actions in the region, with the result that these actions were not resumed until the 1650s, when military expeditions moved against the Aimoré in 1653 and against the Paiaiá in 1654. In areas further north, the targets were the Tapuia, against whom war was waged throughout the second half of the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth century in what was referred to as the "War of the Barbarians" (1650-1720) (Monteiro 1994b: 107-108; Puntoni 2002: 91, 128-135).

The cases of Just War did not take place without resistance and triggered reactions from the indigenous peoples against the advances of the Portuguese. However, such attacks also involved participation by indigenous groups allied to the settlers and interested in destroying rival peoples or finding ways to survive colonization. But while, therefore, it was not a process solely perpetrated by Whites, it was certainly encouraged by them and had dramatic consequences for the indigenous peoples, regardless of whether they opposed or were allied with the Europeans. It also led to the displacement to the hinterlands of various peoples fleeing the Portuguese colonists' thirst for captives. These displacements had internal repercussions among indigenous nations and led to territorial disputes in places far from the coast (Hemming 2007: 145-149; Galindo 2017: 75-77, 182).

Wars aimed at imprisonment or captivity persisted throughout the colonial period, with far too many examples to enumerate. In the twilight of the colony, in 1808, D. João VI issued a permit for a Just War against the Botocudo Indians in the interior of Minas Gerais,[15]

[15] For a debate on the resistance of the Botocudos to the Portuguese attacks and the negotiations between them, see Langfur (2017).

claiming that they were hindering colonization of the hinterlands. However, the Botocudos were not the only targets of campaigns in the early nineteenth century as such campaigns persisted for decades and constituted the main instrument for obtaining indigenous slave labor across Brazil. Indeed, it was not until 1831 that royal charters revoking the decision of 1808 were issued (Amantino 2006; Sposito 2011).[16]

Lastly, there was the forced or induced displacement of Indians to areas occupied by Europeans, where, as explained earlier, they were gathered in colonial mission villages, or *aldeias*. These relocations, or descents, entailed displacing entire populations from the interior to areas close to the Portuguese settlers, and were both encouraged by and anchored in legislation—from the Regiment of Tomé de Souza (1548) to the Pombalino Directorate (1757). From the law of 1587 onwards, the relocations, which had previously mainly involved coercion by troops, started to rely on the presence of missionaries, with these religious authorities being made responsible for persuading Indians to cooperate in negotiations regarding relocation, and their knowledge of the local languages, and the prestige of some religious figures in the groups, being factors explaining the need for their presence in these enterprises (Almeida 2010: 76; Perrone 1992: 118).

Over time, missionaries came to lead the process, as noted in the law of 1587, the General Government Regiment of 1588, the Charter of 1596, the Carta Régia of 1653, and the Regiment of Missions of 1686. In 1611, secular administrators were also able to demission, although they had to consult religious authorities in their undertakings. The negotiations to convince people to relocate to the villages involved gifts, especially to the leaders, as well as promises of land in the *aldeias*, paid work, good treatment and—importantly, in a context of war and violence—protection of the indigenous populations. Although forcing indigenous people to relocate against their will had been forbidden by law, at least since 1611, the fact that this point was reinforced in the 1686 Missions Regiment, as well as in laws of the eighteenth century, demonstrates that the practice was persistent and that the prohibition was not complied with. In a context of violence, however, as Almeida points out, "descending" to the neighboring areas of white settlements could mean a group's survival in a world shaken by constant conflicts and the threat of slavery (Almeida 2010: 76-79; Almeida 2013; Perrone 1992: 118).

One of the functions of the *aldeias* for the agents of the Crown and the colonists or residents was to be a repository of labor, with a workforce to be used in a wide range of

[16] Although the impact and amplitude can be inferred, indigenous enslavement is a long-lasting phenomenon that needs a broad and quantitative investigation. The first studies for the Amazon have been undertaken by researchers such as Chambouleyron and Bombardi (2011), Dias (2019) and Sommer (2005).

activities designed to consolidate the colonial project. Indigenous labor was even more important in cases where colonists' private undertakings were also of particular interest to the Crown, as in the case of the excursions into the hinterlands to discover mines or to undertake relocation activities. Indigenous peoples were also in great demand for defending and constructing fortifications in population centers, providing labor for public works, cutting wood, providing agricultural services for the Crown, and for working as porters or domestic servants (Almeida 2013: 235-236).

In these villages, whether managed by religious authorities or civilians, Indians were supposed to be paid for their work. Laws stipulated the amounts and methods of remuneration, and their working hours. Labor was voluntary and remunerated, at least on paper. As mentioned earlier, indigenous people spent some days working outside the *aldeias* in an equitable division between work of interest to residents and work of interest to the Portuguese Crown. Nor were indigenous laborers supposed to work to the point of hindering the development and support of the *aldeia* itself. However, abuses were regular, and compliance with the standards set on time spent traveling to a site, payment, and good treatment of the indigenous workers was deplorable. This led to disturbances in the mission villages and to escapes, which indicates that the indigenous peoples resisted the process and sought to negotiate better conditions with administrators, thus leveraging their very presence and participation in the settlements (Almeida 2013: 164-167; Perrone 1992: 120-1).

Religious authorities exercised their temporal control over indigenous villagers until the Directorate of Indians (1757), being afterwards replaced by the village director, who assumed responsibility for managing labor, while the religious authorities were responsible for the governing of souls. This certainly did not mean the end of the management problems as the laws and the secular and regular administration all needed to be adapted to different realities. The continuing presence of the Crown, through its intermediaries, in a permanent relationship of guardianship or tutelage with the indigenous peoples certainly extended beyond the colonial and imperial period (Perrone 1992: 119-120). But even with losses of land and lives, and the continuing advance of non-indigenous people, some of the Portuguese Crown's objectives were not fully satisfied, partly as a result of resistance, and partly due to the incompetence of village administrators (Lopes 2011: 263; Medeiros 2011: 138).

Another dimension of indigenous work to be considered is military employment. The colonial economy could not be kept supplied with indigenous labor without warfare, without the territorial expansion needed to deal with indigenous peoples, without disputes with

European competitors and without entering into alliances with indigenous peoples, many of whom were incorporated into the ranks of Portuguese troops. Examples of indigenous action and employment in war can thus be found throughout the colonial period and beyond, and were closely linked to negotiations with groups that initially saw war as an opportunity to defeat their opponents and later as a way to gain advantages in a disadvantageous context of enslavement and genocide (Almeida 2013: 91-102; Carvalho 1996: 51-69; Raminelli 2011: 47-67; Vieira 2011: 69-90).

Settlers were highly dependent on the indigenous people, especially in the first century of colonization, when there was no balance of power between natives and settlers in terms of population and military strength, and this explains the need to recruit these people as a shield against opposing nations, both indigenous and European alike.[17] After the violent campaigns that ensured territorial control of much of the colony's coastal region, and after the turn of the seventeenth century, a greater balance of power arose between settlers and indigenous peoples on the coast, although the use of the latter as military manpower was extensive. Even in that century, the Indians were essential for attacks against rival native groups and other European challengers, notably the French and Dutch. This can be seen in the reconquest of Maranhão from the French by a troop of settlers and Indians (with the latter comprising the bulk of the contingent) from Pernambuco, or in the battles against the Dutch in Salvador between 1624 and 1625, and in the northern captaincies (Pernambuco, Paraíba, and Rio Grande) between 1630 and 1654, and lastly in the *Guerra dos Bárbaros* between 1650 and 1720 (Almeida 2014: 15; Golin 2014: 58-59; Moreno 2011: 29-45; Paraíso & Magalhães 2007: 9-38; Possamai 2001; Puntoni 2002: 202-209; Raminelli 2011: 47-67; Vieira 2011: 69-90).

While the balance of power shifted in the eighteenth century to the Portuguese side, the colonists were still reliant on Indian troops for entering the hinterlands and installing central elements there for maintaining the interior and the borders disputed with Spain in the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, and along the southern border of the State of Brazil, in disputes such as the Guaraníticas Wars (1753-1756) and in earlier conflicts in the Banda Sul that involved the Portuguese, Spaniards, and the indigenous peoples who were subjects of villages and alliances for war purposes (Fontella 2020: 15; García 2007: 55-59, 84-87; García 2008: 613-632; García 2011; Golin 2014; Possamai 2001).

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[17] On the balance of power, or even the monopoly of violence, in relations between indigenous peoples and Europeans, see Zandt (2008). See also Bushnell (2009) and White (2011). This debate accompanies the discussions about indigenous alliances. For the case of Brazil, see Almeida (2010, 2013), García (2007), and Monteiro (1994a).

However, despite this extensive military dependence on natives in colonial wars, the extant historiography has devoted little attention to indigenous interests in these disputes. In fairness, some historians cited here have sought to assess indigenous participation; nevertheless, there is a clear lack of a broad and quantitative analysis able to measure the impact of indigenous action on colonial forces and to connect this participation to native agency.

Final Considerations

As we have shown, historiography has only recently started seeing the effective participation of indigenous peoples as actors in historical processes. Evidence of this action, even in documents produced by non-indigenous people, is scattered across the historical sources. Detailed scrutiny is consequently needed to verify indigenous peoples' participation as agents rather than simply allowing the historiographical reading to persist in which indigenous peoples are invisible as historical subjects. This latter reading can be seen in texts on the administration of the Crown, even those pertaining to the three specific spheres selected for this text: the dimensions of religious authorities' management of indigenous peoples, their lands and, finally, their labor.

In all these aspects, it is possible to glimpse evidence of indigenous people acting to negotiate with and resist the Crown, and to force it to make adaptations in colonial rule. Whether mediated (by religious or indigenous leaders) or otherwise, the actions of indigenous groups coming into contact with conquerors, settlers, and missionaries guaranteed their survival in an increasingly unbalanced context of disadvantage and violence.

The historiographical survey that we have carried out here demonstrates the extent to which the Portuguese Crown's management of the diversity of American domains necessarily impacted on the relations of mutual dependence between conquerors, missionaries, settlers, and indigenous peoples from different groups. It also shows that the role of the indigenous peoples in the formation of Portuguese colonial America was not restricted to the initial decades of contact and exploitation, but instead continued in the processes of constituting internal and external borders, constructing the agrarian structure, producing the food and supplies needed for the colonial society's survival and, therefore, creating the foundations of the export economy.

The attempts at and process of dismantling the indigenous nations did not take place in a uniform and gradual way across the vast territory that now comprises Brazil. Similarly, the process cannot be regarded as being over, as we can infer from the continuing existence of a discourse that treats indigenous people as in need of civilizing, or a discourse pointing to delays and, therefore, to the need for intervention to enable these peoples to progress.[18] Such attitudes, which were observable throughout the colonial phase, persisted throughout the existence of the Portuguese Empire and, indeed, are still alive in the current republic.

Today, more than five centuries after the arrival of the Europeans, indigenous peoples continue to maintain their ways of life and social structures, despite the losses they have suffered and the need to make concessions. So, too, have they continued to negotiate guarantees of rights and to act as historical subjects even after centuries of a disciplined campaign of conversion to reform minds and of advances on land in processes imposed on them by agents of the Crown and dating back to the sixteenth century.

It is hoped that the debate in this article will serve as a stimulus and as a starting point for those interested in understanding the importance of indigenous peoples in constructing the history of Brazil, specifically from the broad and general vantage point of the historiographical debate that has been underway in the country since the 1990s. It is also important to point out the great lack of comparisons for the relations between indigenous and non-indigenous peoples in Brazil and the relations in other colonial experiences in Hispanic and Anglo America. Such comparisons will further substantiate interpretations, as well as give rise to new research questions.

[18] As also seen in the obstacles placed in the way of land demarcation, in the advances on already delimited reserves, in the continuing attacks on indigenous non-governmental organizations, in the murder of indigenous leaders, and in the systematic destruction of the environment.

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A Matter of Control: Colonial and Humanitarian Population Management Strategies, Angolan Refugees' Resistance, and the Politics of Difference (1961–1964)[1]

Ana Guardião[2]

Abstract

This article analyses international humanitarian population management strategies deployed in response to the Angolan refugee crisis in the Congo-Leopoldville in the first years of the decolonization war. It contends that the implemented strategies derived from humanitarian organizations' limitations in adapting to sub-Saharan contexts and were based primarily on host-state needs rather than on refugees' claims, reflecting, in turn, a shift from a legalistic to a developmental approach in humanitarian assistance. Decolonization specificities and refugee protests were also disregarded in this context, contributing both to the failure of humanitarian population management policies and an extension of the politics of difference from the imperial to the humanitarian realm.

Keywords

Decolonization, Humanitarianism, United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees, League of Red Cross Societies, Refugees, Politics of difference

Resumo

Este artigo analisa as estratégias humanitárias de gestão populacional implementadas em resposta à crise de refugiados angolanos no Congo-Leopoldville nos primeiros anos da guerra de descolonização. Argumentamos que estas estratégias derivaram das limitações das organizações humanitárias na sua adaptação a contextos Subsaarianos e baseavam-se, primordialmente, nas necessidades dos Estados de acolhimento em contraponto com aquelas dos refugiados. Esta questão reflectiu, por sua vez, uma alteração nas abordagens humanitárias: de legalistas para desenvolvimentistas. As especificidades dos contextos de descolonização e os protestos de refugiados foram descurados neste contexto, contribuindo tanto para o fracasso das políticas de gestão populacional como para a extensão das políticas da diferença do espaço imperial para o espaço humanitário.

Palavras-chave

Descolonização, Humanitarismo, Alto-Comissariado das Nacões Unidas para os Refugiados, Liga das Sociedades da Cruz Vermelha, Refugiados, Políticas da diferença

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[1] This article is part of the research project "The Worlds of (Under)Development: Processes and Legacies of the Portuguese Colonial Empire in a Comparative Perspective (1945-1975)' (PTDC/HAR-HIS/31906//2017 / POCI-01-0145-FEDER Fundo Europeu de Desenvolvimento Regional through COMPETE 2020—Programa Operacional Competitividade e Internacionalização (POCI) and by national funds through FCT—Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia.

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"[D]espite visit of min[ister of] foreign affairs from [A]ngolese exile [government], the ref[ugees] [M]atadi area all refuse being moved from present position. [T]his changed the situation but eye [*sic*] am still convinced that we should not start feeding operation in villages where they are now. [O]ne would think they [will be] willing [to] move when they get hungry enough."[3] The telegram sent by Jorgen Norredam, the Chief Delegate of the League of Red Cross Societies (LRCS) in Congo-Leopoldville (Congo), nine months after the emergency relief action for Angolan refugees ended, reflects the frustration felt by humanitarian agents on the ground at the failure of population management strategies during the early years of the crisis. It also shows Angolans' resistance to those strategies and the delegates' intention not to provide emergency assistance to increasing numbers of refugees in a deteriorating situation.

Angolans, mainly of Bakongo origin, started flooding into the Lower Congo region in April 1961 during the Portuguese civilian and military response to the UPA/FNLA (União das Populações de Angola/Frente Nacional de Libertação de Angola) liberation movement attacks in the northern districts of the colony.[4] The Portuguese response, marked by indiscriminate violence against rebels and civilians, launched a 13-year decolonization war. Between April and December 1961, refugee influxes increased from 6,000 to more than 151,000, prompting a distressing humanitarian crisis, and the first in sub-Saharan Africa to galvanize a joint international response by the United Nations—through the United Nations Operation in the Congo (UNOC) and the High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR)—and the International Red Cross Movement.

This article analyzes the population management strategies—repatriation and resettlement—deployed by international humanitarian organizations in seeking to deal with the influx of Angolan refugees to the Lower Congo, and the subsequent failure of these strategies. We contend, first, that the strategies put in place derived from humanitarian organizations' limitations in adapting to sub-Saharan contexts. Contrary to views of a linear and positive expansion of the UNHCR's scope of action (Loecher 2000; Betts et al. 2008), the Angolan case demonstrates the intricacies of the UNHCR's role on the ground, as well as its limitations and failures. If the UNHCR can be said to have kept a low profile during the Angolan refugee crisis, this may have been because of concerns not to alienate the Portuguese government (Gatrell 2015: 226). However, efforts were also hampered by legal, operational and financial limitations, and by diplomatic constraints regarding the defining of the strategies to be implemented. Moreover, those

[3] Jorgen Norredam to the LRCS, Geneva, 23 September 1962, International Federation of the Red Cross Archives [IFRCA], Congo 22/1/22, Délégués, M Norredam 1962-1963, A0888, box 2.

[4] In 1961, the UPA and the Partido Democrático de Angola together formed the FNLA. Owing to the UPA's dominance within the latter, records in subsequent years refer indiscriminately to UPA or FNLA. For this reason, we have opted to use UPA/FNLA.

limitations, humanitarian principles and policies restricted the application of what has been suggested would guarantee a successful operation, i.e., coercive measures aimed at forcing refugees to move (Rich 2021).

Second, we contend that the way humanitarians adapted to the context in a manner based primarily on host-state needs rather than on refugees' claims reflected a shift, in Africa, from a legalistic approach based on refugee rights—as previously deployed when dealing with refugee crises in Europe—to a developmental approach. These shifting dynamics in the response to refugee crises, which transformed the idea of refugees as people having rights into the idea of refugees as being of labor value (Glasman 2017), disregarded the momentum and dynamics in the decolonization arguments being heard in international forums, where colonialism was decried as a human rights violation and self-determination was put forward as a fundamental human right (Burke 2010; Jensen 2017; Burke, Duranti and Moses, 2020), and contributed to the objectification of African refugees. In trying to depoliticize humanitarian assistance, these organizations rejected refugees' claims by transforming refugees from subjects of international law into objects of aid and a mechanism for development.

Third, we contend that disregarding refugee agency and decolonization specificities led to the failure of the envisaged strategies. Portuguese late-colonial state policies, population resistance and mobility dynamics both within Angola and across its borders, and the duration of the conflict, are just some of the factors that were dismissed by humanitarians, with misconceptions by the latter and based on civilizational and development-associated ideals also contributing to this failure. While Rich acknowledges the latter argument—as previously advanced by the author—his article falls short in understanding the UNHCR's mandate, principles, role on the ground and relations with other humanitarian and political actors. More significantly, his and other works analyzing the situation from the Portuguese perspective (Curto 2020) neglect the issue of refugee agency. Although the Angolan refugee crisis may have been a *suis generis* case, given that its dynamics differed from those in other sub-Saharan African contexts in the 1960s, this was mainly due to the resistance on the part of refugees. Moreover, both authors fail to articulate the intersections between humanitarian and local authorities' strategies, on the one hand, and colonial policies aimed at managing the civilian population, on the other. These intersections are of utmost significance if we are to understand the local and regional dimensions of the crisis, as well as appreciate its broader repercussions for refugee management policies in subsequent decades.

Fourth, we contend that the modalities of refugees' protests against repatriation and resettlement in the Congo were linked chiefly to evident similarities between humanitarian and colonial population management policies. Albeit with different purposes, humanitarian and local authorities' approaches to resolving the crisis resembled those deployed in northern Angola, namely the resettlement of the autochthonous population into *regedorias* (planned surveilled villages for specific rural cohorts of the population) and abuses related to forced labor dynamics. Thus, the disregarding of refugee agency and the similarities between humanitarian and colonial authorities' ideals and *modus operandi* corresponded to the politics of difference being extended from the imperial to the humanitarian realm.

This article is divided into two sections, based on Portuguese and international archival resources. First, we contextualize Angolan mobility dynamics across the border and their relationship to repressive Portuguese policies and the escalation of violence. We then explore refugee influxes to the Congo, the limitations and political contours of international humanitarian intervention, the roles played by humanitarian organizations and the strategies envisaged during the crisis. Second, we examine refugee resistance and the causes of refugees' flight and claims, and how these were connected to colonial policies in Angola. We also analyze the response by local Congolese authorities and humanitarians to refugee resistance and discuss the solutions envisaged in subsequent years.

Controlling the Refugee Crisis: How Population Management Strategies Derived from Humanitarians' Limitations and Misconceptions

Portuguese authorities had registered the increasing migration of Angolans of Bakongo origin to the Congo during the 1950s. This issue, recurrent in administrative reports, reflected the abusive labor conditions in the colony's northern districts and the ease of crossing an uncontrolled and artificial border,[5] with movements across the border being common, especially for trading purposes and given strong kinship affinities. Legalized in 1899, forced labor legitimized the idea of work as a moral duty instituted in civilizational, humanist and economic arguments, and the use of coercive mechanisms to compel natives to produce. Although international pressures in the first half of the twentieth century conditioned the evolution of "native policies" in the colonies, leading to the outlawing of forced labor, the legislative framework of the 1950s allowed for significant arbitrariness in colonial authorities' action, both in recruiting and distributing native labor (Jerónimo and Monteiro 2013). Development plans instituted in this period aggravated the situation, specifically by encouraging European settlements in northern Angola and by imposing

[5] The borders separating Angola and the Cabinda enclave from the French and Belgian Congos, formalized at the 1885 Berlin Conference, crossed the Kongo Kingdom between the Congo river and the Dembos region in Angola. People of Bakongo origin were also spread across the French Congo (now the Central African Republic) as far as Maiyuba in present-day Gabon.

an exploitative "contract system," characterized by coerced recruitment, abuse and forced dislocation of workers in response to shortages of manpower. This process created an escalating cyclical dynamic of coercion and escape: the more those of Bakongo origin fled from forced labor to the Congo, the more repressive the measures imposed by local authorities and companies in seeking to force the autochthonous population to work in coffee and cotton plantations.

While this period also saw liberalizing ideas and reforms reflecting a concern with the population's living conditions (Keese 2004; Curto and Cruz 2013), the persistence of coercive mechanisms, forced labor and even slavery was all too evident in northern Angola. The reformist impetus related more to increasing international pressure at the UN and the International Labour Organization and to the need to win over the hearts and minds of the population in response to the lack of manpower (Monteiro 2018) at a time when decolonization was gaining momentum in international forums. But while the moral duty to work may have been theoretically reframed by some authorities—an often quoted example is that of Helio Esteves Felgas, the Congo district governor—into the idea of labor as a social value, discrimination through the hierarchization of different levels of civilizational evolution continued to persist. Reformist efforts to increase the population's voluntary interest in working in agriculture were also dissociated from the latter's way of living.

A 1960 report from an inspector at the Portuguese Overseas Ministry's Office of Political Affairs explains that agriculture was not in the Bakongo men's nature and that, instead, they preferred trading activities.[6] Besides migrating to the Congo in search of better living conditions and to integrate the UPA/FNLA and other political movements, the population of northern Angola manifestly displayed resistance in 1960 to forced agricultural labor and to abuse by the "white man" (Keese 2013; Curto and Cruz 2013).[7] Deprived of rights of association, Angolans resorted to passive resistance by refusing to work or fleeing into the bush impenetrable by Portuguese authorities (Brinkman 2008). Although the "reformism" of the late 1950s has given rise to the idea that criticism of the widespread dynamics of forced labor, as expressed by the International League for Human Rights, for example, may have been exaggerated due to the influence of Congolese authorities and Angolan liberation movements (Keese 2004), the 1960 report referred to above alerted to precisely the same problems of forced recruitment, long-term

[6] José Diogo Ferreira Martins, Distrito do Congo – Relatório Parcial n.º 6, 27 July 1960, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU), MU_ISAU_A2.49.002/39.00247, p. 11.

[7] The circulation of resistance ideas emanated from the UPA and other Bakongo political movements such as ABAKO, as well as from associated religious groups. Although the ephemeral ideal of the re-emergence of the Kongo Kingdom may have been one of the links among these groups and relevant to aggregating the ideas of independence and self-determination for the population, manifestations of resistance in Angola revolved primarily around the issue of forced labor.

displacement, abuse and expropriation. Feeling themselves to be treated unjustly and inhumanely, people had good reason to complain and to rejoice at the idea that, on the other side of the border, a Bakongo was in power and "blacks governed over whites."[8] Where forced labor persisted, the problem was non-enforcement of the law, not one of contesting the idea of labor as the "element par excellence of civilization" (Monteiro 2018, 267). As we shall see later, the legislative reforms of 1961—abolishing the "Native Labor Code"—did not translate into the policies being implemented, but instead served to perpetuate a repressive developmentalism (Jerónimo 2017) with an emphasis on welfare and humanist discourses.

The escalating violence in Angola's northern districts from the end of 1960 onwards reflected both the ineffectiveness of the "late colonial reformism" and the sentiment among Angolans on both sides of the border (Keese 2004) that independence and self-determination were attainable only though armed struggle—a trajectory analogous to the Algerian decolonization process (Byrne 2016: 14-68)—and that passive resistance was no longer an option. The conflict was the way to politicize Angolans' plight. The circulation of such ideas and the associating of forced labor dynamics with violence led to a situation of resistance and flight. But while the influx of thousands of Angolans into the Congo increased in cadence and changed in nature, with reports testifying to the prevalence of women, children and the elderly among the flows of refugees, they should not be dissociated from earlier dynamics.

When Angolan refugee flows were first identified, the Congolese authorities were facing multiple humanitarian emergencies related to two secession attempts in their own territory, one in Katanga, another in Kasai. The UNOC—with military and humanitarian teams—and the LRCS—with medical and operational teams supervising the work of the incipient Congolese Red Cross (CRC)—were responding on the ground when the Congolese authorities first appealed to the UNHCR in May 1961 for assistance with the Angolan refugees. At the time, the UN High Commissioner Felix Schnyder was already discussing the refugee situation with John Kelly, the UNHCR officer liaising with UNOC, and LRCS staff in Geneva. Various limitations account for the time-consuming nature of the decisions taken on UNHCR intervention. First, legal concerns arose regarding the eligibility of the refugees and Congo's failure to ratify the 1951 Refugee Convention,[9] with discussions revolving around the question of Angolan refugees belonging to the same "tribe" as the local population. Doubts arose about the eligibility for UNHCR protection

[8] José Diogo Ferreira Martins, Distrito do Congo – Relatório Parcial n.º 6, 27 July 1960, AHU, MU_ISAU_A2.49.002/39.00247, pp. 5, 10-11, 13.

[9] Intervention by the UNHCR required the host state to be a signatory to the Convention Relating to the Status of Refugees. Although the Convention did not provide for UNHCR intervention in refugee crises after 1951, the Agency's action was subsequently legitimized by the UN General Assembly's approval of Resolutions 1388 (xiv) and 1499 (xv).

of refugees who settled with and were assisted by relatives or acquaintances and had been granted asylum by the Congolese authorities. The UN Secretary-General, Dag Hammarskjold, ultimately resolved the matter by declaring that the criteria for eligibility depended on nationality, not on ethnic affinities. These were Portuguese nationals, according to Portuguese law, who were allegedly being persecuted by authorities in their state of origin. This decision was confirmed by interviews conducted with refugees by John Kelly in the only comprehensive report by an international humanitarian organization on the causes of refugees' flight in the records: refugees referred to the indiscriminate shooting, arrest and deportation of the better educated, to the burning of villages by the Portuguese and also to violent actions undertaken by the UPA.[10] Second, the costly budgetary obligations relating to the Algerian refugee crisis had depleted both the UN Agency and the LRCS, with refugees being entirely dependent on humanitarian aid from 1957 to 1962 (Guardião 2019: 239-78).[11] Third, there was the problem of overlapping UNOC and UNHCR responsibilities on the ground. To overcome the financial shortcomings and inter-agency discomfort, the UNHCR was relegated to overseeing integration projects designed to promote refugee self-sufficiency.

These issues were aggravated by the intricate contours of the UN intervention in the Congo (O'Malley 2016), by the contours relating to the UN debates on the Angolan question and also by the extreme insecurity that obstructed information and supply channels in the Lower Congo. While concerns about refugee eligibility and operational aspects were overcome through communications between the UN Secretary-General, Schnyder and the UNOC, political obstacles and pressures delayed the intervention, while also straining relations between the UNHCR and Portugal. Portuguese authorities pressured Schnyder not to further internationalize the Angolan conflict since cooperation on refugee assistance and repatriation was already being discussed with the LRCS.[12] However, the UNHCR's experience with refugees in the Algerian decolonization had proved that aligning with colonial authorities was not only unproductive for the Agency, but also dangerous. One year earlier, the UNHCR's neutrality had come into question when the former High Commissioner August Lindt agreed with De Gaulle not to make international appeals on behalf of Algerian refugees and instead to negotiate repatriation with host states in exchange for meager funds. The issue not only caused friction between the UNHCR and LRCS, with the latter

[10] Annex 4, Interviews with Refugees, in J.D.R. Kelly, Report on Refugees from Angola, 26 June 1961, UNHCRA, Angolan refugees-General, vol.1, funds 11, series 1, box 250. Kelly's report was also used by the Sub-Committee on Angola to attest to the situation in the colony.

[11] The cost of the UNHCR and LRCS intervention in Algeria in 1962 amounted to over USD 90 million.

[12] High Commissioner to Secretary-General, 5 June 1961, doc. 32, UNHCRA, Angolan refugees-General, vol. 1, funds 11, series 1, box 250.

threatening to abandon the operation, but also led to severe criticism and the possibility of a formal complaint being lodged at the UN by the Afro-Asian group denouncing Lindt's "observation of colonialist behavior" and obstruction of international assistance (Guardião 2019: 247-61). Although efforts to make the Portuguese authorities comply with the UN resolutions avoided triggering total estrangement, Portugal's refusal to grant any concessions hampered negotiations regarding refugees.[13]

The tone of the debate at the UN also reflected attempts to relate the refugees' plight to self-determination and to condemn Portuguese colonialism, with delegates often using the refugees' plight to substantiate Portugal's perpetrating of human rights' violations and to claim that the conflict represented a threat to international peace and security. In a second attempt to pass a Security Council resolution for that purpose, delegates used refugees' testimonies to corroborate Angolans' right to self-determination, with the Monrovia Group countries, Mali and Morocco belligerently threatening to support Angolan independence.[14] After appealing for intervention by the UNHCR, Congolese authorities then stalled the sending of a UNHCR representative to Leopoldville by insisting on taking the Angolan refugee issue to the First Committee, where threats to international peace and security are debated, rather than the Third Committee, where human rights and UNHCR-related topics are discussed. Deputy High Commissioner Sadruddin Aga Khan and Executive Officer James Colmar were required to travel to Leopoldville to negotiate the contours of the debate and arrange for UNHCR assistance to be granted. It was not until November, therefore, that Vladimir Temnomeroff, the UNHCR representative, was able to start his mission supervising integration projects.[15] Contrary to Rich's suggestion (Rich 2021), the UNHCR's first direct involvement in the crisis was in late 1961, when it took on responsibility for integrating refugees and resolving problems of overpopulation.

In the meantime, the UNHCR allocated USD 100,000 to the emergency relief operation coordinated by the LRCS, in cooperation with the UNOC and local voluntary agencies, to assist rising refugee numbers.[16] The Lower Congo region was divided into three main assistance areas, with the LRCS directly supervising the CRC assigned to the Matadi-Songololo area, where the

[13] We refer to General Assembly resolutions 1514 (xv), 1542 (xv) and 1603 (xvi).

[14] Representatives of Congo-Brazzaville, Congo-Leopoldville, Ghana, India, Liberia, Mali, Morocco and Nigeria either referred to the Conference of Independent African States (Monrovia, Liberia—May 1961) resolution, which pledged to support Angolan liberation morally and materially, or declared their support directly. The Security Council resolution was adopted with nine votes in favor (Ceylon, Chile, China, Ecuador, Liberia, Turkey, Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, United Arab Republic and United States of America), none against, and abstentions by France and the United Kingdom. Security Council official records, 950th meeting, 6 June 1961; 952nd meeting, 7 June 1961; 956th meeting, 9 June 1961, United Nations Digital Library (UNDL).

[15] J. Colmar, Note pour le dossier, 11 October 1961, doc. 117, UNHCRA, Angolan refugees-General, vol.1, funds 11, series 1, box 250.

[16] The majority of resources were made available through loans by the UNOC.

majority of the around 100,000 refugees were settling. Although resource distribution largely ran smoothly after a period of initial uncertainty, two associated problems soon became evident. One of these was the possibility of refugees becoming dependent on humanitarian assistance forever, while the other concerned refugee mobility.

From the beginning of the operation in June, LRCS delegates and administrative officials in Geneva agreed that emergency relief should be terminated before too long in order to avoid refugees becoming dependent on external assistance indefinitely. Angolans were consequently encouraged to produce their own food in plots assigned to them by local authorities in an effort to encourage them to quickly become self-sufficient. Although the LRCS initially scheduled 31 October as the date for terminating emergency relief, delays in production and complaints from voluntary agencies and central authorities resulted in postponement to 31 January 1962.[17] Meanwhile financial burdens in North Africa, where the main issue was that of refugee dependence, made terminating the operation as soon as possible imperative. The stipulated schedule was consequently maintained despite a seemingly endless flow of reports on refugee influxes and the central authorities' inability to deal with the situation.[18] Claims that refugees were not willing to work in agriculture rose, with local authorities arguing that refugees preferred to exchange the agricultural goods given to them, which resulted in an increase in local commodities value, while resorting to prostitution and passively awaiting distributions of Red Cross resources. This in turn led to tensions with the impoverished local population.[19] It then fell to overwhelmed and apprehensive local authorities and humanitarian organizations' population management strategies and capacity to mobilize refugees to resolve these problems.

Let us now turn to the mobility question. The first refugee groups—mainly Angolans departing from the Congo and Uíge district—scattered in Congolese villages along the border in the Boma-Matadi-Songololo line, reaching north to Thysville and East to Popokabaka. One of the main concerns during the emergency operation was refugee registration because this allowed for a more accurate estimate of influxes and populations per area, and consequently the resources needed. As previously stated, refugees commonly settled among relatives or persons of their

[17] The LRCS delegation, led by Jorgen Norredam and with Gösta Streijffert assigned to the Angolan refugee emergency, continued to assist those in more precarious conditions – new arrivals, children, and mothers with newborn children – by extending the edible goods allocation for the former (until March 1962) and setting up a milk distribution programme in cooperation with UNICEF (until April 1963) for the latter.

[18] *Le Problème que pose la Situation des Réfugiés Angolais au Congo - Mémoire explicatif*, 1961, IFRCA, Congo 22/1/2, Délégué au Congo - M. Norredam de mai à septembre 1961, A1023, box 1.

[19] Sébastien Landu, *Situation des réfugiés angolais dans le territoire de Matadi*, 30 September 1961, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2 M. Streijffert, Délégué au Congo 1961, A1023, box 1; P. Bambi, *Rapport sur situation dramatique des réfugiés angolais dans le Bas-Congo*, 1961, IFRCA, Congo 22/1/2, Délégué au Congo - M. Norredam de octobre à décembre 1961, A0949, box 1. As mentioned in the 1960 inspection report, Angolans of Bakongo origin were essentially traders.

acquaintance, and Angolans of Bakongo origin had long maintained commercial routes for exchanging produce in local markets, thus strengthening ties on both sides of the border. Once they were in the Congo, refugees often moved from one village to another, looking for familiar faces to seek assistance, while others moved back and forth across the border, searching for those who had stayed in the bush or to harvest crops left behind, and defying the risk of detention and, more often than not, death (Brinkman 2008: 204). The dynamics of refugee mobility made it more difficult to properly assess the influxes and to distinguish between newcomers and groups established earlier, and between Angolans and Congolese.[20] This mobility also led LRCS delegates to believe that refugees were willing to return to Angola, with the result that repatriation then emerged as a central solution to the crisis.

Refugee repatriation as a means of getting the crisis under control was also connected to the idea, propagated by Portugal, that Angolans were being encouraged by the UPA/FNLA to seek refuge in the Congo and that the Portuguese counteroffensive had promoted stability and the conditions needed for their return. Red Cross personnel in Leopoldville had close ties with the Portuguese authorities and shared their conviction that liberation movements and the Congolese government were using the refugee crisis to internationalize the decolonization conflict and increase aid. Since May 1961, the Portuguese authorities in Lisbon and Leopoldville had been in contact with delegates from the LRCS and the International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC),[21] both of whom regarded repatriation as a practical solution and a political weapon:

> LEAGUE TRIES NOT TO DRAMATISE SITUATION STOP LEAGUE NOW NEGOTIATING WITH PORTUGUESE AUTHORITIES AND PORTUGUESE RED CROSS WITH VIEW INCREASE THEIR AID AND TRYING ESTABLISH DIRECTLY THROUGH RED CROSS ANGOLA PROTECTED RECEPTION CENTRES ON ANGOLA SIDE OF BORDER TO ENCOURAGE RETURN OF REFUGEES STOP ATTITUDE OF

[20] The problem was aggravated after the LRCS terminated its emergency operations since this also compromised comprehensive refugee registration.

[21] According to the Portuguese ambassador in Leopoldville, LRCS delegate John Thelen "did not hide his sympathies for Portugal." Thelen suggested the ambassador should provide Geneva with documentation on UPA massacres in Angola to counter the UPA/FNLA arguments at the UN. Two weeks later, the Portuguese representative at the UN showed photos of UPA massacres during the Security Council discussions of a resolution condemning Portuguese violence in Angola. Officials from Portugal's Overseas Ministry also had close ties with Claude Pilloud, the ICRC delegate in the Congo, who informed Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha that the ICRC was being pressured to assist Angolan refugees. This pressure came from the UPA/FNLA. Director-general of Political Affairs Cabinet – Ministry of Internal Affairs to director-general of Political Affairs – Overseas Ministry, 20 May 1961; Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha, Note no. 86, 7 June 1961, Arquivo Histórico Diplomático (AHD), Refugiados, Box 1, PT/AHD/MU-MG/GNP01-RNP/S0055.

> LEAGUE MOTIVATED BY PURPOSE OF REDUCING PROBLEM AWARE OF LOCAL TENDENCIES CONGO AND CONGO RED CROSS TO BLOW UP PLIGHT OF REFUGEES IN EFFORT TO MAKE THIS PROBLEM A COMMON CAUSE OF AFRICAN FREEDOM FIGHT QUARTO EYE [*sic*] HAVING THEN STATED THAT ANY FORCED REPATRIATION SHOULD BE AVOIDED LEAGUE MENTIONED THAT MAJORITY OF REFUGEES IN NO WAY INVOLVED IN POLITICAL STRUGGLE BUT VICTIMS OF TERRORIST ACTIVITIES AND OF MILITARY CLEAN-UP OPERATIONS[22]

Sending the Portuguese Red Cross (PRC) to the border was, in fact, a way to divert any intervention by the ICRC in the conflict and to show the UN that Portugal had committed itself to protecting and assisting Angolan civilians.[23] The reception centers, which were suggested by LRCS delegate John Thelen and set up to receive 1000 refugees a week, served both Portuguese and LRCS aims. On the Portuguese side, they functioned as points for attracting refugees and immediately starting psychosocial action to win over the autochthonous population, as well as promoting a benevolent image of Portugal, while on the LRCS side they were seen as enabling a rapid solution and depoliticization of the crisis. Even as refugee influxes increased, thus proving the stability theory wrong, and with independent testimonies also reporting continuous air bombing in the region,[24] an LRCS official communiqué attested otherwise after a team of delegates visited the facilities.[25] It is evident from LRCS records that the League had placed all its bets on repatriation as a means of resolving the crisis and, as a result, self-sufficiency strategies to promote refugee integration were to be implemented only for those not willing to return.[26]

Although regarded as a common paradigm after the Second World War (Chimni 2004: 55), the focus on repatriating Angolans differed substantially from the response to another refugee crisis in the Congo.[27] Since the 1961 September elections in Rwanda, influxes of Watutsi refugees

[22] High Commissioner to Secretary-General, 20 May 1961, UNHCRA, doc. 11, Angolan refugees-General, vol. 1, funds 11, series 1, box 250.

[23] Alexandre Ribeiro da Cunha, Note no. 86, 7 June 1961, AHD, Refugiados, box 1, PT/AHD/MU- MG/GNP01-RNP/S0055.

[24] LRCS received information from Swedish reporters that territories between the border and the PRC centers were being bombed by the Portuguese Air Force. Gösta Streijffert to Ray Schaeffer, 30 July 1961, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2 M. Streijffert, Délégué au Congo 1961, A1023, box 1.

[25] LRCS, Press release no. 1961-57, 30 November 1961, AHD, Refugiados, box 1, PT/AHD/MU-MG/GNP01-RNP/S0055.

[26] Ray Schaeffer to Gösta Streijffert, 18 July 1961, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2 M. Streijffert, Délégué au Congo 1961, A1023, box 1.

[27] Years later, repatriation was also dismissed as a viable solution for Angolan, Mozambican and Southern Rhodesian refugees in Zambia (1965-6). LRCS was not involved in these crises.

into the Congolese province of Kivu had increased, reaching 60,000 in January 1962. However, the possibility of repatriation was rejected in this case as, contrary to the assessment of the Angolan situation, the LRCS and UNHCR delegates concluded that conditions in Rwanda were hostile to repatriation and that local Congolese communities and authorities were either opposed to or taking advantage of the refugees. Evidence of conflicts between the Watutsi and the Congolese was verified, as was evidence of refugees being put to work in abnormal conditions. Protecting refugees in three centers led by voluntary organizations and their subsequent resettlement in Bihwe, to which they consented, were the solutions envisaged for the Rwandan refugees. It was decided that, in this case, refugees and locals should be made responsible for building infrastructure at fair pay in an effort to promote trusting relationship dynamics in the region. In these conditions, it was estimated, refugees would become self-sufficient within one year after their arrival.[28] The repatriation strategy adopted in the Angolan case was thus related to the assurance by Portuguese authorities, which was regarded as reliable by Red Cross staff at the time, but disregarded the specificities of a long and violent decolonization process.

The Watutsi resettlement solution was concomitant to the UNHCR's initial attempts to implement a similar strategy for those Angolans refusing repatriation, with the UNHCR seeing this as a way of resolving overpopulation problems in urban areas and keeping the short-term emergency assistance plan afloat. By the end of 1961, the UNHCR had established partnerships with the Congolese Protestant Relief Agency (CPRA) and Caritas Congo to initiate rural development projects. One of these projects, established with CPRA, set out to allocate agricultural tools and seeds to about 7,500 refugees already installed between Kimpangu and Moerbeke and, after overcoming delays in resource distribution, was considered a success. The other envisaged relocating 6,000 refugees from the Matadi region to a settlement north of Seke-Banza, as well as building housing and community support infrastructure, such as schools and dispensaries – resorting to unpaid refugee labor – and providing seeds and tools for agricultural production.[29]

Although they had the same objective in mind, the projects differed on several crucial points, and these, in turn, determined their success. Whereas the Watutsi project was grounded in forging better relations between refugees and local communities, with fair payment and refugee

[28] Vladimir Temnomeroff to High Commissioner, 4 January 1962, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2, Délégués, M. Norredam, 1962-1963, A0888, Box 2. Bihwe was the first successful resettlement project in Africa (Glasman 2017: 11).

[29] In late1961, it was planned to resettle refugees in Seke-Banza, but delays linked to refugee resistance and a smallpox epidemic made this option unfeasible. In 1962 the Mao region was identified as suitable for the project. *Project for the Establishment of Angolan Refugees in the Congo,* 22 November 1962, doc. 173A, UNHCRA, Angolan Refugees General, vol. 3, fonds 11, series 1, box 250.

consultation and agreement to resettlement,[30] and the CPRA project foresaw agricultural resources being allocated to refugees who were already settled in the area, the Caritas-led project took no account of local dynamics and Angolans' claims and expectations, and consequently failed to achieve the desired results. The UNHCR's planning assessments for implementing resettlement strategies derived from a simplistic view of local dynamics. In Temnomeroff's appraisal, the nomadic nature of central African peoples and the predominance of agricultural activity would make it easy to persuade refugees to move, even though many of these refugees were traders and others specialized in manufacturing or worked in the tertiary sector. The temporary character of the planned resettlement also took no account of the possibility of long-term conflict. Using unpaid labor to build infrastructure saved money for the UNHCR as it meant it only had to invest in rudimentary tools for construction and agricultural production to create what were regarded as satisfactory conditions for getting refugees to relocate inland.[31] This evaluation, however, was utterly contrary to the considerations applied in the Watutsi project and to the dynamics of refugee settlement because it created a situation similar to the one refugees had experienced and protested against in Angola. For more than two years, therefore, Angolan refugees refused to resettle. The turmoil caused by overpopulation worsened the situation both for the refugees and the local population, while also undermining the idea that international humanitarian organizations were capable of responding to the humanitarian crisis.

In resorting to repatriation and rural development projects based on resettlement, humanitarian actors thought they had devised a solid plan for responding to the crisis within their limited capacities. However, the conditions imposed on the Angolan refugees led to the failure of the envisaged strategies, while the disregarding of local dynamics and refugee resistance led to the humanitarian projects being prematurely terminated in 1963. The following section explores these two topics and how they related to the Portuguese late-colonial state's repressive developmentalism.

Taking Back Control? Refugee Resistance to Humanitarian and Colonial Population Management Strategies

Frustration with the population management strategies emerged almost simultaneously with their implementation, with the result that the erroneous idea that refugees would be

[30] Gösta Streijffert, *Progress report on the Watutsi refugee relief action in Kivu Province*, 20 April 1962, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2, Délégués, M. Norredam, 1962-1963, A0888, box 2.

[31] Vladimir Temnomerof to Sir Alexander MacFarquhar, 27 November 1961, doc. 150 B, UNHCRA, Angolan Refugees General, vol. 2, fonds 11, series 1, box 250.

permanently returning to Angola faded away. Refugee influxes continued increasing, thus aggravating the problems of overpopulation in rural, but also and primarily in urban areas. Refugees' presence soon became unwanted by unemployed and impoverished locals demanding assistance and by authorities who questioned Angolans' refugee status, given that many of them were not victims of Portuguese massacres but instead fled *only* due to their fear of this possibility.[32] Moreover, refugees shared the LRCS delegates' expectation of stability in Angola, not because they anticipated this would be ensured by the Portuguese authorities, but rather because of UPA/FNLA propaganda claiming that independence would soon materialize. According to a report sent by Temnomeroff to the UNHCR, 40% of the Angolan refugees refused to invest in agricultural projects that they would be abandoning in a few months. Their refusal prompted a firm response by local authorities, with the support of the LRCS. A pamphlet written in Portuguese and Kikongo was distributed throughout the region appealing for Angolans to work and "LISTEN TO THE WISE MEN" who "know that those who do not work do not eat."[33] Cooperation with the UPA/FNLA to this end also failed, thus demonstrating that while the liberation movement had some influence over refugees, its directives were also contested.

Resistance to resettlement was also linked to refugees' fear of the Portuguese authorities and mistrust of those responsible for protecting and integrating them; in other words, the humanitarian agencies and local Congolese authorities. Their fear and mistrust were interconnected and cumulative and should accordingly be taken into account for a comprehensive understanding of why the population management strategies failed.

One significant element in this understanding is an awareness of what caused refugees to flee and the claims they made during inquiries. These unveil some clues as to the crisis's intricate dynamics. Inquiries led by the UN Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration (UNSCTPA) in May 1962 revealed that "most of the refugees did not want to go back to Angola until their country had attained independence. Some said they would rather die in freedom than go back to forced labour [*sic*] and the sufferings from which they had fled. They had heard that the Portuguese authorities were trying to get refugees to go back to Angola and were promising a new era in which things would be different. They did not believe these promises. Refugees who had recently arrived from Angola confirmed their suspicions; people were still subject to oppression, they said." Compulsory labor was one of the main reasons prompting refugees to flee, as it had also been for other Angolans before the war. Testimonies of the use of

[32] P. Bambi, *Rapport sur situation dramatique des réfugiés angolais dans le Bas-Congo*, 1961, IFRCA, Congo 22/1/2, Délégué au Congo - M. Norredam de octobre à décembre 1961, A0949, Box 1.

[33] "APEL AUX REFUGIÉS ANGOLAIS AU CONGO," 30 October 1961, UNHCRA, doc. 145A, Angolan Refugees General, vol. 1, fonds 11, series 1, box 250.

napalm and indiscriminate attacks on civilians in northern Angola were also recorded.[34] When local Congolese authorities and humanitarians insisted that refugees should be repatriated and had to work and "listen to the wise men," Angolans associated these tactics with a return to the previous abusive situation they had faced in Angola. Meanwhile UPA/FNLA propaganda amplified this idea by inciting refugees to stay put in areas close to the border because they would soon be able to return. Once the belief that independence was imminent started to fade, refugees willingly began to integrate into Congolese society; some were already doing so in early 1962, despite difficulties caused by poor harvests, while the majority actively displayed a willingness to integrate from 1964 onwards. Whereas humanitarians and local authorities had portrayed them as lazy and reliant on external assistance, refugees demonstrated a wish for self-determination and protection, and that these factors had been neglected.

The UNSCTPA report also sheds light on another critical factor explaining why refugees refused to move: the "new era" that Portugal was actively trying to promote in Angola. This factor was reflected not only in the failure of the repatriation strategies, but also in the failure of attempts to resettle the refugees. Trying to circumvent increasing international scrutiny – which clearly attached importance to the language of human rights, including the right of self-determination – and prevent an external intervention in Angola, Portuguese legislators swiftly promoted a structural legislative reform (Jerónimo and Monteiro 2020) by abolishing the Indigenous Status and, later, the Native Labor Code, while appending this reform with rural and community developmental policies intertwined with, and dependent on, security measures. These included a full-scale reorganization of the territory, reinforcement of metropolitan settlement in autochthonous land, and the confinement of natives to *regedorias*, or to labor and detention camps.

We can see the intertwining of military tactics and ideas of social and economic development in the theoretical plan of General Hermes de Oliveira on counter-subversive measures to be implemented in Angola, as well as in the directives of General Venâncio Deslandes, Governor-General of the colony.[35] Both refer to the need to pacify the territory by resorting to psychosocial action to attract and "tame" the autochthonous populations hiding in the bush or taking refuge across the border. Besides psychosocial action within the territory, the Portuguese sent loyal Angolans to the Congo or corrupted local Congolese authorities to encourage refugees'

[34] Report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, 25 August 1962, A/5160, UNDL, p. 100.

[35] General Deslandes directives reflect more alignment with military objectives than with the reforms promoted by metropolitan elites (Curto, 2020: 336-43).

return.[36] But although several attempts at cooperation between the Congolese and Portuguese materialized during the war, refugees often escaped and returned to the Congo. The aim of this intertwinement was twofold. On the military side, it was imperative to gain the trust of the "natives" in order to get them to denounce (coercively if necessary) "terrorist elements" infiltrated among those living in the bush or returning from the Congo. On the social side, the aim was to direct the autochthonous population to see the benefits of civilization and Portuguese humanity towards them. Accordingly, efforts were made to create a dependency relationship by, for example, exaggerating the severity of illnesses and injuries inflicted on civilians or by providing limited food so as to increase contacts between the population and the Portuguese authorities. To isolate the population—again within the military strategy—*recuperados* (redeemed groups) who "voluntarily" presented themselves to the authorities (due to hunger and exposure to violence and persecution) would be sent to *regedorias*. At these sites, Oliveira stated, "something concrete, positive, real (had to be done), material acts that arouse in the population the awareness that their most instant, most distressing problems […] are being solved by us," while the social action was to be incorporated into broader development plans in a second phase. With rural labor within *regedorias* increasing production and consequently these groups' living standards, labor, masked as "voluntary," was seen as closely connected to the desired social behavior. A "new type of society would be created (instilling) in the inhabitants' spirit the notion of their true position within the community to which they belong." To this end, civilians were to be removed from their "natural habitat" and confined within structures designed for rural and social development (Oliveira 1962: 199-201). Population regrouping would also "facilitate psychosocial action" led by social and health agents such as the PRC.[37] This "rehabilitation" strategy was similar to the strategies applied in the villagization models in Kenya and Algeria, which also involved the countries' national Red Cross Societies (Guardião 2019; Johnson, 2020). This is not to say, however, that the measures resorted to by the Portuguese were exactly the same as those applied by the British and French authorities. Further research is needed for a full account of the reality in Angola, similar to that conducted in the cases of the brutal application of the Swynnerton and Constatine Plans (Baggallay 2011; Davis 2017; Elkins 2000, 2005; Feichtinger 2017). The similarities are reflected in developmentalist ideas being associated with socially engineered counter-insurgency repertoires—including punishment,

[36] SCCIA, Sumário de Informações no. 1, 2 January 1962, Arquivo Nacional Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Sumários de Informação, Serviços de Centralização e Coordenação de Informações de Angola, box 1.

[37] Although Hermes de Oliveira does not refer to the Red Cross in his work, a declaration by the Luanda delegation states that female PRC workers had promoted "psycho-social action among the autochthonous populations" since the beginning of the war. Maria da Conceição de Paiva Nazareth, Declaration, 14 June 1962, Arquivos da Cruz Vermelha Portuguesa (ACVP), Angola – Delegação de Luanda.

"rehabilitation," social and moral re-education and community development—to forge "new societies" (Jerónimo 2017). Oliveira's aim was the "*creation of a new order*, understanding as such the entire transformation of the living conditions of the populations, not only economic and social but also cultural and moral."

The policy was rapidly integrated into the five-year development plan (1959–1964), consolidating the Portuguese late-colonial state's repressive developmentalism (Jerónimo and Pinto 2015). This combination of population control and developmental policies aimed at rehabilitating the rural autochthonous population was one of the primary strategies applied by the Portuguese authorities in seeking to win the war and simultaneously promote economic stability and production in Angola. But if the Portuguese authorities were aiming to rebuild Angolan rural society through internationally disseminated developmental ideas in order to circumvent broader criticism at the UN, the reality on the ground was permeated by the perpetration of abuses contrary to the ideals of human rights.

The implementation dynamics of two *regedorias* in Uíge in the second half of 1961 constitute an example of this new model, with refugees returning from Congo and those hiding in the bush being the primary targets of the policies. When "appearing before" the authorities, these groups were subject to harsh interrogations, instigated by the authorities' distrust of their intentions. They were compelled to work on the land and to build housing, administrative and communications structures within the *regedoria* model (Curto et al. 2016: 244-6). According to the UNSCTPA report, "traditional militia" authorities, nominated by the governor or governor-general, in the *regedorias* sought to impose respect and to recruit labor "to public works and projects" without payment and subject to punishment. These "instruments of the authorities [did] not represent the people." The Committee concluded that "the new decree organizing *regedorias* […] introduced virtually no changes and the Committee does not feel that at present the indigenous people enjoy any real measure of genuine self-government." Moreover, rural Angolans were obliged to stay in the *regedorias*. Only those "who [had] 'reached a fairly high level of development'" could be integrated into urban life. The model and legislation behind it perpetuated a stratification of the Angolan society in civilization levels, involving "cultural discrimination which is not compatible with the purposes and principles of the United Nations and the Universal Declaration of Human Rights."[38] To the UN, the exacerbating of the politics of difference (Burbank and Cooper 2010; Jerónimo and Pinto 2015) in Angola was all too evident.

[38] Report of the Special Committee on Territories under Portuguese Administration, 25 August 1962, A/5160, UNDL, pp. 104, 128 and 133-4.

During this period, Angolan mobility dynamics along the border areas and in the Lower Congo region facilitated the circulation of information among refugees (Brinkman 2008: 210). Reports on refugees going back to Angola became less frequent, while new arrivals, mainly those hiding in the bush on their way from the distant areas of Ambriz and Ambrizete, also evidenced that refugees were trying to escape both the violence and the "new order" being implemented.

Refugees' resistance to resettlement and integration into models such as those adopted by humanitarian organizations in the Congo is hardly surprising. Both cases involved rural Angolans being taken, without consultation, from land where they had settled and being forced to work without payment to build housing infrastructure or facilities designed for community development. According to the LRCS and local Congolese authorities, refugees claimed they should be entitled to choose where they were to be resettled and demanded to see the location before agreeing to join the Caritas project. They feared being enslaved or handed over to the Portuguese authorities. According to Art Hansen, an anthropologist who interviewed Angolan refugees in Zambia, freedom of movement was a crucial issue in refugee settlement. Most refugees chose to settle among kinship communities, even if this meant they would not receive humanitarian assistance. The preference for integrating within local communities, Hansen concluded, was mainly associated with the need to control their refuge experience after power over and control of their social reality had been taken away from them by the circumstances created in Angola (Hansen 1981), and specifically the violence, cooption and punishment of local chiefs and the confining of entire communities to "open air" camps at the same time as the *regedoria* model was being extended to the east.[39] Angolans in the Congo wanted to take back control and, to a certain extent, this is exactly what they did, despite continuing to be subject to a variety of abuses in the host country (Guardião 2019: 322-323).

By 1963, when both the LRCS and UNHCR terminated their operations in the Congo, only 66 refugees had agreed to be resettled.[40] Refugees continued instead to settle in local communities scattered across the province. The UNHCR justified the decision to terminate activities, stating that the refugee situation was now satisfactory and that the issues still to be resolved, namely those relating to integration, were host-state responsibilities. Sadruddin Aga Khan also assumed that some solutions envisaged "could not be adhered to," attributing the lack of progress to UNHCR ineffectiveness and inexperience of humanitarian organizations in "these parts of Africa." Examples of the "adversities" that had to be "overcome in the implementation

[39] Klaus Feldmann to UNHCR, 2 September 1968, doc. 89, UNHCRA Refugees from Angola in Zambia 1967–1976, vol. 1, fonds 11, series 2, box 213.

[40] High Commissioner, *Report on new refugee situations*, 19 August 1963, A/AC.96/207, IFRCA, Refugees Africa, Refugees Angola, East Pakistan, 1961, 1978,1981, box 19737.

of some of the programs" were "good or bad harvest, natural disasters [and] last, but not least, the psychology of the refugees themselves." The UNHCR nevertheless left a representative on the ground to try to persuade refugees to work with settlement projects, especially the Caritas project, in cooperation with local organizations and the Congolese authorities. Particular attention should be paid to the continuing influx of refugees who, by that time, were settling not only in the Lower Congo, but also in Katanga and Kasai.[41] From 1964 onwards, the UNHCR dedicated its work in the Congo to supporting education, agricultural and commerce-related projects, none of which resorted to resettlement.

What is striking in Sadruddin Aga Khan's declaration is that although the UNHCR acknowledged humanitarians' lack of experience in dealing with refugee problems in sub-Saharan Africa, refugee psychology was identified as a major factor in the failure of resettlement strategies. It was telling that neither the UNHCR representative nor LRCS delegates sought to engage in constructive communications with the refugees. Instead, refugees' claims were dismissed even as UN reports attested to the specificities of decolonization and refuge dynamics in this context, while LRCS delegates—in other words, those individuals specifically responsible for strategizing the operation—tended to share Portuguese views on how to manage the population. These views contrasted with those displayed in the UNHCR/LRCS relationship with Rwandan authorities in the case of the Watutsi. Some delegates, such as Norredam, even suggested with regard to the situation in the Congo that "the African mind," specifically relating this to "tribalism," was the cause of the deterioration experienced by African nations after becoming independent. The underlying notion for this disparity was the firm belief that African problems were "fairly simple" to resolve, and that the way to do this was through development. The frustration and abandonment felt by Angolan refugees reflected Norredam's conviction that, contrary to what was "generally believed" (he included himself in this), "a little economic aid and a few specialists" were not sufficient to contour the mismanagement of African societies. Nor was he willing to acknowledge that the LRCS was to blame for mishandling the situation. The real reasons, Norredam stated, "lie much deeper and have their root" in what had brought the Congo back "generally to the time before the Belgians arrived […] The[y] blame 'colonialism' or new colonialism' (same thing as we call 'economic aid'!), […] and after that it will be something else. [T]he reasons why Africa deteriorates these years, and is fast on way back to the jungle, must be found in African tradition, mentality, religion."[42] While Portuguese authorities made reference to civilizational ideals in

[41] *Oral report of the Deputy High Commissioner Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan*, 7 October 1963, IFRCA, Refugees Africa, Refugees Angola, East Pakistan, 1961, 1978,1981, box 19737.

[42] Jorgen Norredam, *Report on the League's Activities in the Congo*, 21 October 1962, IFRCA Congo 22/1/2, Délégués M. Norredam 1962–1963, A0888, box 2.

differentiating themselves from Angolans and to stratify the Angolan society, Norredam pointed to tribalism as the main factor for African societies' underdevelopment.

Another element, in addition to the lack of communication between humanitarians and refugees, entailed the efforts by humanitarian agents to depoliticize the refugee crisis. Refugees' sense of self-determination, allied with the presence of the UPA/FNLA in the Lower Congo, generated an environment of mistrust, in which refugees were seen as being manipulated by the liberation movement into becoming political agents. François Chassing, the UNHCR representative substituting for Temnomeroff, referred to refugees "imposing themselves politically on the local population" and stated that a "fear psychosis was voluntarily created."[43] This idea, disseminated among humanitarians and local authorities, contrasts with refugees' protests against abuses by UPA/FNLA agents in various situations, specifically in the form of false promises and the appropriating of resources or taxation (Guardião 2019: 322). In trying to depoliticize humanitarian action in the Congo, these agents failed to acknowledge and respect refugees' fears, claims and action, and consequently demonstrated humanitarians' inability to move away from their own ideas of a modernizing Africa and to see refugees not as objects of aid, but as subjects of international law. This view was shared by those in Geneva who regarded European refugees' problems as relating to legal protection, and African refugees' problems as relating to aid, development and labor value (Glasman 2017). The "white man's burden" and ideas of superiority were thus still very much present within the humanitarian realm—which dealt primarily with the common African—at a time of effervescing UN debates on the institutionalization of human rights, led by Global South leaders and increasingly focusing on discussions of self-determination and the condemning of racial discrimination (Burke 2010; Jensen 2017; Burke, Moses and Duranti 2020; Jerónimo and Monteiro 2020).

Concluding Remarks: Refugee Management Paradigms, Decolonization and Resistance

As this article demonstrates, the paradigm of refugee management strategies established after World War II and based on voluntary repatriation and resettlement (Chimni 2004) proved ineffective in the case of Angolans fleeing the violence and state-led population control policies associated with the decolonization process. This failure was related to the specificities of decolonization and, more specifically, to Angolan refugees' resistance and to the negligence of

[43] F. Chassing to V. Temnomerof, 12 December 1962, IFRCA, Congo 22/1/22, Délégués, M Norredam 1962-1963, A0888, Box 2.

international humanitarian agents on the ground regarding refugee agency and the humanitarians' inability to appreciate those specificities.

From the start of the crisis, plans for repatriation and resettlement were made with two aims in mind: to end the emergency operation swiftly and to control the problems of overpopulation and refugee movement dynamics in a host state unable to respond to the crisis. An agreement between the LRCS, UNOC and UNHCR set out the responsibilities of each organization: the LRCS was responsible for emergency assistance, in cooperation with UNOC, and population management strategies, whereas the UNHCR was to conduct short- to medium-term integration projects aimed at achieving refugee self-sufficiency from November 1961. The delay in starting these activities was marked by legal, financial and operational limitations, as well as by political constraints attributable to the Congolese authorities' efforts to portray the crisis as a matter of peace and security rather than as a humanitarian issue.

Despite the Global South countries' efforts to denounce the perpetration of human rights abuses in Angola at the UN, negotiations between the LRCS and Portugal on repatriation began without a proper assessment of what had caused refugees to flee in the first place. Although negotiations may have been in line with the paradigm of refugee population management, the fact that humanitarians attached greater weight to colonial authorities' guaranties than to refugees' claims during the first year of the crisis demonstrates the unsuitability of a state-centric approach—based simultaneously on seeking to resolve host-state problems and on negotiations with "more reliable" colonial authorities—and the agencies' lack of preparedness for dealing with the specificities of decolonization refugee crises, even though the Algerian experience had proved that repatriation was not a viable solution.

Causes of refugee flight, claims and movement dynamics were deeply associated with Portuguese population management strategies in Angola, which even before the war had been marked by persecution, forced migration and compulsory labor. These were subsequently aggravated by the conflict, thus stressing the securitized side of development policies in the colony. Repressive developmentalism, reflected in Portugal's last stand at maintaining its empire, was characterized by critical divergencies between discourse—engendered to circumvent international criticism—and practice. The *regedorias* model was just one example of how development was associated with repression of the civilian population and the persistence of differentiation models among the African population. Population management strategies—repatriation and resettlement—to deal with overpopulation in the Congo were opposed by refugees in multiple ways on the grounds of their similarities with colonial strategies. This resistance ranged from the denouncing of abuses in Angola in UN inquiries to refusal of resettlement out of fear of being handed over to the Portuguese authorities or fear of enslavement and to resisting engaging in agricultural projects in the belief that independence was imminent. As well as stating that they would not return to Angola until independence was attainable, refugees also demanded the right to choose their place of settlement in order to regain control they had lost. In this sense, Angolan refugees' agency was similar to that of Eastern Europeans who fled imperial oppressive regimes and subsequently refused repatriation or resettlement within Eastern Europe.

The unwillingness or inability of humanitarians on the ground to integrate refugee agency into their activities prompts three significant conclusions regarding such action in the early 1960s, specially in decolonization-led crises. First, the incorporation of information from UN bodies trying to assess the situation in Angola was either unproductive or neglected. While reports from the UNSCTPA used refugee claims to denounce abuses in Angola and criticize Portuguese policies, UNHCR staff insisted on a resettlement project that was similar to the *modus operandi* of the Portuguese *regedorias* model in various ways, including the idea of moving refugees from a place they had chosen to settle into an unknown and controlled location and the idea that they should provide unpaid labor to build housing and infrastructure. Second, the persistence of civilizational ideals among humanitarians served to dismiss refugee agency. Depictions of refugees as lazy and unwilling to work were at variance with claims made by refugees themselves, but resonated with the broader Portuguese view of Angolans of Bakongo origin. The link between repressive measures in Angola and refugees' claims and resistance, and the incapacity of humanitarian agents to mobilize refugees, is unequivocal. The LRCS also insisted on negotiating repatriation with the Portuguese authorities, attesting to safe conditions in Angola, even though reports from October 1961 onwards showed that this strategy would prove ineffective. Third, an aspect related to the insistence on good conditions in Angola and on resettlement was humanitarians' belief that (Western-directed) developmental policies were in the best interests of Angolans and the host state alike. Frustration with the failure of the developmental ideal is evident in humanitarians' assessment of refugee behavior and the conditions in the Congo. Although Deputy High Commissioner Sadruddin Aga Khan acknowledged humanitarian organizations' inexperience in dealing with refugee crises in sub-Saharan Africa, the perception of refugees as either victims or burdens disregarded refugee agency and refugees' right to self-determination—which is totally different from the concept of self-governance—and contributed to the politics of difference being extended from the imperial to the humanitarian realm.

The insistence on those ideas by researchers continuing to underplay refugee agency as an element in the failure of resettlement and repatriation strategies in decolonization processes and its connection with human rights ideals must be addressed if we are to understand the interconnections between decolonization dynamics and humanitarian action in the 1960s. Refugee agency and humanitarian organizations' failure to incorporate this into their population management strategies are the major factors accounting for these organizations' failure to respond effectively to the Angolan refugee crisis, whereas other projects, which made proper assessments of the local context and accommodated refugees' claims and *modus vivendi*, were successful. Studying the concurrent trends and intersections of the institutionalization of human rights, imperial repertoires, decolonization dynamics and humanitarian action will allow for a better understanding of how significant disparities coexisted between dealings with the common African and state elites (African and European)—but also between refugees from different origins—and how these were translated in subsequent decades into African population management strategies, with refugees increasingly being regarded either as labor value or as helpless suffering bodies.

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Race and Labor in Beira during the Era of Imperial Reform*

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Abstract

This article examines the history of race and labor in Beira following the imperial reforms of the 1960s. The reforms promised a new era of Luso-Tropical racial equality, and some workers gained improved conditions following their implementation. Nonetheless, the racial realities of Portuguese rule continued to limit African workers' possibilities even despite the reforms. At the same time, the rigid emphasis on non-racial rule made it increasingly difficult for workers to openly criticize colonial racism. Using letters from workers published in the newspaper *Voz Africana*, the article examines how the history of urban labor in Mozambique illuminates the broader history of race and reform in the late colonial Portuguese empire.

Keywords

Race, Labour, Beira, Mozambique, Imperial reform

Resumo

As reformas de 1961 foram inauguradas com o objetivo de estabelecer uma nova política de desenvolvimento e igualdade racial no império Português. O presente artigo analisa os efeitos destas reformas na cidade da Beira. As reformas trouxeram vantagens para alguns trabalhadores; apesar disso, as possibilidades de emprego ficaram, em muitos casos, restritas pelas práticas racializadas da sociedade colonial, ao mesmo tempo que a ideologia de Luso-Tropicalismo fez com que uma crítica aberta de racismo no império Português fosse difícil de fazer. Com base em cartas de trabalhadores publicadas no jornal *Voz Africana*, o artigo estuda a história do trabalho urbano nas "províncias ultramarinas" para elucidar a história do racismo e reforma na última fase do império português.

Palavras Chave

Raça, Trabalho, Beira, Moçambique, Reforma no império

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In March 1960, the head of the native affairs department in Mozambique, Álvaro de Gouveia e Melo, sent a lengthy circular to the district administrators to request their opinion on a proposed wage increase for African workers. It explained the need for "raising the standard of living of the native family" by warning of "parasitic" employers which had been paying wages that were "less than fair to the workers they employ," adding that "only a defective economic perspective could justify employers being protected at the expense of sacrificing basic principles of social justice."[2] The circular offered a clear signal of the growing conviction among colonial administrators that the old model of the Mozambican political economy needed to change. That economy had been built atop a vast system of forced labor, which solidified administrative control over African subjects and facilitated capitalist exploitation of African workers, and which was justified through the claim that Africans were fundamentally different from Europeans, due to a congenital disinterest in wage labor which could only be rectified by administrative compulsion.

By the dawn of the 1960s, however, reformist ideas had begun to spread with increasing urgency across the Portuguese empire, bringing into question every aspect of this model (Keese 2003, 2012; Abrantes and Berthet 2015; Jerónimo and Pinto 2015; Curto, Furtado and Cruz 2016; Monteiro 2018). The idea that the colonial administration should use mass conscription to sustain the political economy became increasingly untenable, driven by an expanding global consensus against the use of forced labor (Monteiro 2018). The idea that Portuguese colonial rulers could ignore the material aspirations of African workers became similarly untenable; instead, the empire was increasingly guided by the logic of development, spurring many changes to the economic ideas of Portuguese administrators (Castelo 2014a, 2014b; Jerónimo and Pinto 2015). Finally, the dichotomy between African subjects and Portuguese citizens which justified the forced labor system—a division that was officially based on differences in "civilization," but had always been thoroughly racialized — was being reimagined, as the Portuguese empire adopted the non-racial rhetoric of Luso-Tropicalism to justify its continued rule (Leonard 1997; Neto 1997; Castelo 1999; Thomaz 2001; Cabaço 2009). As more African colonies moved toward independence, and the onset of the war in Angola in 1961 made plain that Portuguese colonies would not be immune from demands for African political and social rights, implementing a new model of non-racial development became crucial in securing the empire's survival in a newly decolonizing world.

2 Arquivo Historico de Moçambique (AHM), Fundo do Governo do Distrito da Beira (FGDB), Caixa (Cx) 629, Circular 1904/B/15, 22 March 1960.

This ideological shift produced a set of sweeping imperial reforms in the early 1960s, which extended formal legal equality to everyone living in the Portuguese empire and promised a new era of economic prosperity for the African population. The role of labor in shaping these reforms, and their subsequent impact on race and labor, is the subject of this article. The first part of the article traces the role of racial difference in shaping debates over the future of labor in Mozambique, showing how labor became a foundation of Portugal's new program of non-racial development. As part of that transformation, Portuguese authorities began to focus on urbanized, "stabilized" workers, seeking to both increase the number of such workers and improve their working conditions. In rural areas, many of the old mechanisms for controlling and exploiting African workers remained unchanged, as did the Portuguese conception of such workers as profoundly different.[3] In contrast, urban workers could be more readily assimilated into Portuguese defenses of the empire as a "pluricontintenal state" which demonstrated both the eternal genius of Portuguese racial equality and the bright promise of a prosperous, developed future.[4] Improving urban workers' lives thus became one of the central objectives of Portuguese reforms in the 1960s.

This links to the article's second half, which analyzes the tangible impact of reforms on race and labor in the central Mozambican city of Beira, by examining letters from workers published in the newspaper *Voz Africana*. Many workers' lives improved following the reforms, obtaining higher wages and better access to urban amenities. At the same time, many workers complained about continued problems with their employment, particularly low wages. Moreover, racism within the workplace remained deeply entrenched, and the promise of racial equality remained a mirage. The Portuguese discourse of racial equality, which was heavily emphasized by the 1960s reforms, heralded the removal of legal structures that had previously prevented Africans from gaining the same positions as white workers. But those legal changes only further exposed the extent of racial discrimination within employment. Africans who tried to claim the rights of equal pay and benefits were excluded, or fired, from jobs by employers who did not see black workers as equal to their white counterparts. Nonetheless, the centrality of non-racialism to the Portuguese imperial ethos made it impossible to accurately identify or openly discuss racism within employment, and subsequently impossible to address it.

[3] The same was true in other empires as well, where labor coercion remained widespread in rural areas even after the abolition of forced labor: see Wiemers (2017), Kunkel (2018), Keese (2014), Rossi (2017), and Okia (2019).

[4] The rural-urban divide was central in shaping how Portuguese reforms were conceptualized and implemented: see Curto, da Cruz and Furtado (2016) and Monteiro (2020).

In tracing these histories, the article seeks to make several contributions. The first is to show the importance of labor in shaping the Portuguese empire during the final phase of its existence, between the reforms of the early 1960s and the ultimate dissolution of the empire. Much of the existing literature on this era has focused on the evolving Portuguese ideology of development (Castelo 2014; Jerónimo and Pinto 2015). In the Portuguese empire, as in newly independent African nations, the rhetoric of development encompassed many different possibilities: extending the rights of citizenship, expanding access to education, and effecting large-scale economic transformation—themes which have been studied by numerous historians of Africa, who have shown how the concept of development transformed political and economic relations across the continent.[5] Nonetheless, as this article seeks to establish, reforming labor was similarly important in shaping the broader framework of development. Just as controlling labor was foundational in solidifying Portuguese colonial rule prior to the 1960s, so too was reforming labor foundational to Portuguese attempts to reimagine the empire in the 1960s.[6]

Labor was also central in translating Portuguese developmental ideology into tangible change. This points to the article's second contribution, which is to investigate the possibilities of Portuguese reform in the 1960s by focusing on the experiences of workers navigating the changing racial and legal landscape. Earlier histories of this era dismissed Portuguese reforms as a transparently duplicitous and fundamentally irrelevant attempt to shroud the obvious racism within the Portuguese empire.[7] But the possibilities of reform were taken seriously by many people at the time, urban residents key among them, as a number of recent histories have effectively demonstrated (Penvenne 1996; Moorman 2008; Domingos 2012; Havstad 2019; Morton 2019). And while improving the lives of urban workers was central to Portuguese development policy, their experiences have been largely overlooked in existing accounts that study the Portuguese empire during the 1960s.[8] Studying how urban workers conceptualized the new possibilities opened by Portuguese reforms, and

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[5] Among the many excellent works that discuss these themes: for citizenship, see Lal (2015), Ahlman (2017), and Moskowitz (2019); for education, see Kantrowitz (2018) and Prosperetti (2019); for economic transformation, see Issacman and Isaacman (2013), Bamba (2016), Aerni-Fleissner (2017), and Young (2017). For a recent overview, see Decker and McMahon (2020).

[6] Comparative studies of labor and development include Lindsay (2003) and Schler (2016).

[7] The most influential text was Bender (1978).

[8] There is a substantial literature on the history of labor in the Portuguese empire, but most of these histories focus on the forced labor era which preceded the 1960s reforms. Most histories of labor in the 1960s focus on large rural employers, where the impact of reforms was very different; for examples, see Vail and White (1980), Isaacman and Isaacman (2013), Ball (2015), Cleveland (2015), and Mandlate (2015).

how they expressed their discontent with the barriers to realizing those possibilities, is thus vital in showing what it meant to live through this era.

Analyzing the impact of Portuguese reforms offers insights that extend beyond Mozambique. Over the course of the 1960s, the Portuguese empire was increasingly seen as an outlier in a newly independent Africa. But the policies implemented by Portuguese reforms were not so unique: the promotion of a stabilized urban workforce echoed similar policies undertaken in the British and French empires, and while Portuguese officials presented Luso-Tropical ideology as a uniquely Portuguese method of non-racial government, the broader ideal of equal citizenship had been similarly embraced by French officials prior to the empire's dissolution. The rhetorical shift of European empires toward development and imperial unity gave Africans, including African workers, new possibilities for demanding better living and working conditions (Cooper, 1996, 2014). At the same time, there were serious limitations on colonial subjects' ability to realize these possibilities. A history of labor shows these limitations very clearly: in Mozambique, as elsewhere, the evolving rhetoric of universal citizenship alongside the granting of legal equality often failed to bring any meaningful change in the lives of colonial subjects, and instead spurred the creation of new boundaries to protect the system of racial difference at the heart of European colonial rule (Cooper 2014: 184-186; Drayton 2017). A close study of how the broad ideals of development, citizenship, and racial equality both succeeded and (more often) failed to change the everyday reality of colonial workers thus offers an important counterpart to histories that examine these ideals as a terrain for political and intellectual debates.

This close study is made possible by the article's source base, consisting of letters published in the newspaper *Voz Africana* — a potentially valuable resource for studying Mozambique in the 1960s, but one which has not been widely utilized by existing histories.[9] Edited by the journalist (and, later, anti-colonial historian) José Capela starting in 1962, *Voz Africana* took advantage of the post-reform loosening of state censorship to focus on Mozambique's African majority. It quickly gained a wide audience by publishing important debates and critiques that had been previously barred from the press.[10] But the newspaper's most important section, and the one which most shaped its public profile, was *Escrevem os Leitores* ("The Readers Write"), which ran around two dozen letters from readers in every edition, usually occupying two full pages. *Escrevem os Leitores* created a vibrant new space

[9] Exceptions include Sheldon (1999), Nascimento (2016) and Penvenne (2016).

[10] The newspaper *A Tribuna* played a similar role in the capital of Lourenço Marques; see Morton (2019), chapter 2, as well as Vieira (2019). For other histories of Lourenco Marques that draw upon the African press, see Penvenne (2011), Domingos (2012), and Havstad (2019).

where Africans could detail their aspirations and expound upon their frustrations for a broader public.[11] This article's analysis relies heavily on *Escrevem os Leitores*, particularly letters published in 1962 and 1963. This is, in part, because Portuguese censorship grew stricter after the start of the war of independence in 1964. But it is also because focusing on the first years following the reforms shows what African workers wanted to discuss when first given the opportunity to do so, and offers a more detailed account of how workers conceptualized both Portuguese labor reforms and the broader role of race and racism in the Portuguese empire.[12] At the same time, examining how the possibilities created by *Voz Africana* were gradually limited by censorship helps illuminate the specific ways that Portuguese authorities sought to control discussions of racism and labor – not by simply erasing such discussions entirely, but rather by compartmentalizing them, so as to make them more compatible with the specific emphases of Luso-Tropical ideology (Castelo 2015).

A complete study of the letters published in *Voz Africana*, and the distortions that the newspaper introduced in transmitting the "African voice" of its readers, is unfortunately beyond the scope of this article.[13] It is nonetheless useful to note at the outset the numerous complexities that surround the letters: aside from the impact of censorship, some of the letters raise questions of authorship and authenticity, which are difficult to answer with existing sources.[14] Those complications notwithstanding, the letters published in *Voz Africana* provide a singular perspective into how workers discussed racism within employment, as well as the ways that censorship altered those discussions, revealing how both colonial authorities and individual subjects understood the changing roles of race and labor within everyday life in the era of imperial reform.

[11] A curated selection of letters was published by Capela in the book *Moçambique pelo seu povo*; an electronic version was published in 2010 by the Centro de Estudos Africanos da Universidade do Porto.

[12] A number of important recent histories have used newspapers to investigate the urban and intellectual history of modern Africa: see Hunter (2015), Englund (2015), Peterson, Newell, and Hunter (2016), and Hunter and James (2020).

[13] Numerous historians have examined how newspapers in colonial Africa shaped the voices of those who published in them: see Newell (2013), Frederiksen (2020) and Krautwald (2021).

[14] Capela's history of *Voz Africana* (found in the introduction to *Moçambique pelo seu povo*) does not discuss censorship, nor does it acknowledge that the letters which the newspaper published were sometimes altered prior to publication. As a result, the only available method for examining the impact of censorship is by comparing the original letters that Capela published in *Moçambique pelo seu povo* against the edited versions that were published in the newspaper – a task which is made difficult by the fact that Capela's book did not cite the publication date of the letters it published, and often assigned pseudonyms to the letters' authors. Then too, this comparison cannot explain how and why changes were made, or who made them; although most were presumably forced by censorship, it not impossible that the newspaper's editors altered some of the letters. The newspaper, for its part, denied that it ever acceded to censorship, claiming that "we publish the letters in their original format, limiting ourselves to one or another very minor correction that in no way changes them, but rather corrects a small spelling error or something similar. If it cannot be published in its original format we do not publish it." See "Cartas," *Voz Africana*, 17 April 1965.

From Native Workers to Rural Workers

In the years following World War II, colonial policy across Africa was increasingly transformed by political and economic reforms, driven by a discursive integration of African workers into a universal narrative of human development (Cooper 1996). The Portuguese colonies, alongside their neighboring Anglophone settler colonies, remained a well-known outlier within these broader processes of reform. The official policy of the Portuguese empire throughout the 1940s and 1950s continued to stress the profound difference between European and African workers, and contended that African workers would only accept wage labor if forced by the colonial administration—as seen in a 1942 circular from the Governor-General of Mozambique, which justified forced labor by citing "the caprices of the black man, who by temperament and natural environment is predisposed to a minimal effort, corresponding to the minimum of his needs" (Bettencourt 1945: 79-86). The ideology of fundamental racial difference was inseparable from the *indigenato*, the separate juridical regime that governed the lives of African workers. The various laws which comprised the *indigenato* were particularly concerned with controlling the lives of African workers, most notably through forced labor, which remained a profoundly important political and economic tool across the Portuguese empire throughout the 1940s and 1950s.

Toward the end of the 1950s, however, internal critiques of Portuguese labor policy began to multiply, opening a wide-ranging debate over the future of the Portuguese labor system. This debate revolved, in large part, around the question of racial difference, as an increasing number of administrators began to argue that Africans should be viewed the same as other workers and brought into wage labor through higher wages and improved working conditions rather than state compulsion. Administrators' responses to the 1960 circular, cited in the introductory paragraph, show how this debate unfolded. Some administrators continued to present African workers as Africans, rather than workers – that is, as people with few material needs and no significant interest in wage labor. For example, the administrator of Marromeu district argued that any offering of higher wages and better working conditions to entice Africans to work would fail, because

> A raise in daily wages will only bring a higher standard of living when it is absolutely necessary to satisfy indispensable needs. Civilization makes essential today what was superfluous yesterday. Among the natives, unfortunately, this still does not happen. Their needs are very limited. And for this reason, the

> majority of them only work if forced, and even then only to satisfy their most pressing needs, without any ambition of social evolution or notion of savings.[15]

Indeed, he argued, Africans were so distinct from other workers that a wage increase would have the counterproductive impact of "diminishing the native worker's need for work since he will more easily satisfy his needs. Everyone knows that the aborigine prefers to work less and receive less pay than enjoy greater rewards and make a greater effort."[16]

During the 1940s and 1950s, this viewpoint reflected official Portuguese policy, and debates and critiques of the forced labor system were limited in their scope and even more limited in their impact. By the end of the 1950s, however, forced labor was becoming a more sharply debated topic, and the Marromeu administrator's opinion was not widely shared. Most of his colleagues argued for a different approach, with some forcefully rejecting the idea that African workers were distinct from other workers. For example, the administrator of Gorongosa district decried the "general and erroneous belief that the native systematically flees from work as a result of temperamental or even biological stigma," and instead argued that

> The salary that is paid isn't enough to meet the minimum of the necessities and comforts to which he aspires thanks to the contagious example of the European. Take note – for example – of the half a million men who legally and illegally flow into the Union [of South Africa] and Rhodesia in search of worthwhile salaries and you will see that the black man is not the chronically lazy person of popular consensus. In all truth, one cannot sensibly expect that men will voluntarily offer themselves for work for 65$00 per month.

As a result, he argued, it was "necessary as an indispensable measure of social, moral, and economic importance to raise salaries. Only in this way will the volunteer worker become a fact and not a grotesque euphemism."[17]

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[15] AHM, FGDB, Cx 629, Administrator Marromeu to District Secretary of Civil Administration, 1565/B/11, 20 June 1960.

[16] Ibid. The idea that higher wages would lead to lower labor-force participation, known as the "backward sloping supply curve," was common among European colonial powers; for a useful introduction, see Manchuelle (1997).

[17] AHM, FGDB, Cx 629, Administrator Gorongosa to DSAC, 284/B/15, 19 April 1960. The definition of "volunteer" workers had a long and complex history in Mozambique; see Kagan Guthrie (2016).

The tension between these two visions – on the one hand, of African workers as sharing social and material similarities with any other workers; on the other, of specific forms of social and cultural backwardness that made African workers racially distinct – was familiar across colonial Africa and heightened through the process of postwar labor reforms (Lindsay, 2003). Sometimes, the tension between these two visions inhered within the same individual. Consider, for example, a 1960 inspection to Dondo district. The inspector, Sousa Franklin, noted that virtually all of the district's inhabitants depended on wage labor, and in his meetings with local residents, he evinced a modernizing and universal vision of Africans' material aspirations by stressing Portuguese development assistance, noting that "the State has, in every district, workers like doctors, nurses, technicians for agriculture and livestock, who are in charge of fighting for the material needs of the native."[18] At the same time, he enumerated many examples of the supposed cultural backwardness of Africans, from their reluctance to seek medical care to their affinity for alcohol. Labor was central to this supposed backwardness: as he told the audience, "The native thinks that labor is punishment, but he must come to understand that it is a necessity and a means of gaining wealth. Every civilized man works, without considering this fact as a punishment. Now, we are here to make your backwards customs evolve, and to civilize you. For this reason, we must put the native on the path toward recognizing the advantages of work."[19]

The administrative debates over the nature and future of African workers were ultimately settled in favor of those calling for reform. Following a series of uprisings in Angola, and a growing sense that the changing international panorama required profound changes to the Portuguese imperial framework, the newly installed Overseas Minister Adriano Moreira implemented a series of sweeping measures in 1961 and 1962, which abolished the *indigenato* in favor of a new charter of universal and non-racial citizenship. Key within this transition was a dramatic change to Portuguese labor policy: the Native Labor Code, the foundation of the *indigenato*, was replaced with the new Rural Labor Code, which sought to reform both how African workers were treated and how they were conceptualized. Africans could no longer be conscripted into work, as the new Code flatly proclaimed that "no type of forced labor is allowed; there is no provision for penal sanctions for failing to fulfill a work contract." At the same time, Africans could no longer be categorized as fundamentally different individuals, as the Rural Labor Code took pains to explicitly reject

[18] AHM, Fundo da Inspecção dos Serviços Administrativos e Negócios Inidígenas (ISANI), Cx 50, Report of Inspection to Dondo District, p. 79.

[19] AHM, ISANI, Cx 50, Report of Inspection to Dondo District, p. 82.

"any distinction between ethnic or cultural groups," and promised that "all workers, regardless of their cultural heritage, will begin to be regulated by the same law."[20]

In reality, the total shift promised by the Rural Labor Code was more limited. The abolition of forced labor was not fully realized: while administrative involvement in forced labor was increasingly limited, labor coercion nonetheless remained widespread, as local "chiefs" and recruiters continued to conscript workers who did not seek out wage labor, long after such conscription had been officially outlawed (Kagan Guthrie 2018). In 1966, for example, a news story from Buzi district highlighted the "large percentage of people who do not want to take the true path toward their subsistence" and praised "the diligence of the police in the hunt for individuals allergic to work," reporting that they had been "imprisoning all those who do not want to work."[21] Continuities in the Mozambican political economy helped sustain the machinery of labor coercion. As in previous decades, the political economy of rural Mozambique remained largely oriented around the export of migrant workers to distant employers both inside and outside of Mozambique's borders. At the same time, many employers continued to depend upon the poorly-paid labor of migrant workers to maintain their profitability (Kagan Guthrie 2017).[22] Similarly, the Code's commitment to legal equality and non-racialism was contradicted by the fact that it only applied to Portugal's African territories, implicitly replicating the *indigenato* by segregating rural Africans into a fundamentally distinct group whose labor required a different legal code (Monteiro 2018: 341-343, 2020). Then too, many administrators continued to subscribe to the belief that rural Africans were essentially different; as the administrator of Buzi district put it, Mozambique's African population was "still not integrated into Western civilization," and thus "constitutes a majority for which it is important to adopt administrative measures of a specialized character," because of the "difference in psychological, moral, economic and political structures from the country into which they are integrated." Work remained a key indicator of this difference, and the abolition of forced labor had left the administrator "certain that an economic crisis will occur in vast regions of the province, resulting from an inevitable shortage of workers."[23]

[20] Código do Trabalho Rural, Decreto 44309, 27 April 1962.

[21] "Presos por vadiagem," *Voz Africana*, 19 March 1966. See also Letter from a Student in Mexinine, "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 6 April 1963; Letter from a 17-year old reader from Macuse living in Manga, "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 18 April 1964; Letter from Orlando Guilherme Matare, "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 17 September 1966.

[22] In subsequent years, the Portuguese authorities would begin to take more interest in transforming the rural political economy, in part as a counterinsurgency tool within the evolving struggles for independence; see Jerónimo (2020) and Castelo (2020).

[23] AHM, Fundo do Concelho de Buzi, Cx 63, Annual Report Buzi 1961.

Thus, notwithstanding the grandiose promises of reform, the Rural Labor Code did not dramatically change the rural labor system, in which low-paid migrant labor remained widespread, and in which workers exercised little autonomy over their labor. Rather, the most important change of the Rural Labor Code was in redrawing the *indigenato's* boundaries of inclusion and exclusion. The Rural Labor Code had to adhere to the Portuguese promise of non-racialism; as a result, the fact that it only applied to the African population was justified on the grounds of economic difference, with African territories needing a separate labor code because they were "regions which for a long time to come will be characterized by the coexistence of a subsistence economy with a market economy."[24] Of course, the economic divisions within Mozambique had always been highly racialized, meaning that the Rural Labor Code applied to much the same population as had the *indigenato*. Nonetheless, the strictly economic rationale of the Rural Labor Code meant that, unlike the *indigenato*, it could only be applied to African workers who had specific jobs, namely those who worked in agricultural activities or "whose work can be reduced to the simple provision of labor."[25]

This change was potentially important; the limited scope of the Rural Labor Code when compared to its predecessor meant that a significant subset of African workers – particularly those living in cities – might realize the Portuguese promise of non-racialism and become governed, paid, and treated the same as European workers. Prior to the reforms, escaping the *indigenato* and gaining the equal rights of citizenship had required a total transformation in personal status. In contrast, the Rural Labor Code was meant to uphold the equal rights of citizenship, and thus only applied to workers who lived in rural areas and had not obtained sufficiently skilled employment. Moreover, the Rural Labor Code was joined with a new administrative emphasis on encouraging "stabilized" labor to replace the old model of importing short-term, underpaid migrant workers from rural areas.[26] Thus, while Portuguese labor policy continued to treat rural workers as a separate population necessitating a separate legal framework, it was also joined with policies that would successively limit the number of workers being governed under that framework, and which explicitly promised that workers whose skills transcended that framework would gain equality with their European counterparts. These changes offered important possibilities to African

[24] Código do Trabalho Rural, Decreto 44309, 27 April 1962.

[25] Código do Trabalho Rural, Decreto 44309, 27 April 1962.

[26] For two of many examples, see Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, ISAU, A2.050.03/024.00150, Report of the Governor of Manica and Sofala, January 1961 to October 1962, and Arquivo Histórico-Diplomatico, MU/GM/GNP/RNP/0040/08667, Report of Inspection to Manica and Sofala by Inspector of Psycho-Social Action Services, 19 November 1962.

workers. It was, however, incumbent upon workers to find ways of utilizing those possibilities, as the next section turns to explore.

Urban Labor and Non-Racial Development in the New Empire

While the reforms of the early 1960s were theoretically meant to transform labor relations for all Mozambicans, they were particularly targeted at expanding the ranks of urban workers and raising their standard of living. The reforms offered important possibilities to urban workers; they also offered important advantages to Portuguese officials, by helping buttress Portuguese attempts to refashion the empire into a nonracial, non-colonial "pluricontinental" state. Urban workers might theoretically benefit from Portuguese development projects, which in the first half of the 1960s focused extensively on improving urban infrastructure.[27] Then too, urban workers were in closer proximity to the overwhelming majority of Mozambique's white population and more likely to speak Portuguese, helping to substantiate Portuguese claims of harmonious racial integration. Urban workers were thus central to the prosperous, unified future that Portuguese officials proclaimed themselves to be constructing in the "overseas territories," and were crucial to Portuguese attempts to promote their new vision of nonracial development.

In central Mozambique, the overwhelming majority of urban workers were concentrated in Beira, the region's economic and political hub. Beira's economy had previously been sustained through the constant churn of migrant laborers, but during the late 1950s and early 1960s, economic growth and Portuguese reforms opened the possibilities of urban employment to a large and growing number of African workers. Actually realizing those possibilities, however, proved to be an uneven process. Many workers who came to Beira were able to improve their working lives by finding comparatively beneficial employment; at the same time, many other workers continued to earn low salaries, which gave them few possibilities for improving their social and economic situation. Moreover, even among those urban workers whose working lives did improve, racial discrimination within employment remained highly visible — and the rigorous commitment of Portugal's official discourse to the ideal of non-racialism made it impossible to directly address such discrimination.

[27] While Portuguese urban development schemes were ostensibly targeted at all urban residents, black and white, the vast majority of development funding was targeted at wealthier, overwhelmingly white neighborhoods, and the few projects devoted to the African population were largely ineffective (Penvenne, 2011; Morton, 2019).

The vicissitudes of urban working life were a frequent topic in the pages of *Voz Africana*, a newspaper in Beira focusing on the city's black population. The newspaper was published infrequently by a small number of mixed-race individuals beginning in 1933; in July 1962, it moved to a weekly publication, in association with the Catholic Church, edited by the journalist José Capela (Nascimento 2016). The newspaper began publishing *Escrevem os Leitores* in its second issue. The inaugural edition featured a single letter; within two months, the section hosted more than two dozen letters and filled two entire pages. *Escrevem os Leitores* quickly became an important forum for public debate around many topics, providing a valuable source for reconstituting the changing role of labor in the lives of the urban black population.[28] To be certain, any analysis of *Escrevem os Leitores* has to proceed carefully. Much of the newspaper was written by and for the upper echelons of African society, and many of the letters were uncommonly laudatory of Portuguese rule. Then too, as will be detailed later in the article, censorship limited the ability of the newspaper and its contributors to directly criticize Portuguese rule and race relations.[29]

Those limitations notwithstanding, examining *Voz Africana* provides valuable insights into how workers navigated the new rhetoric of non-racialism in their working lives. Chief among readers' concerns was the promise of better salaries and better living conditions – a concern that was, unsurprisingly, reflected in the newspaper's coverage, and was the subject of the first editorial of the first issue:

> The social valorization of the most backwards populations is, in the current moment, the number one concern of the government, of the administrative corps, of business, and of any and every anonymous citizen with the consciousness of a responsible human being. Such valorization involves, above all, fair pay to the worker, whether he works for himself or for someone else. Rural workers, workers of every degree of skill, simple office employees, will have to be paid a fair wage, and this can be what will allow them to live and support their families in a decent way.[30]

[28] While the newspaper's focus was on Beira, it was distributed across Mozambique, and many of the letters came from elsewhere, particularly central and northern Mozambique. The newspaper's total circulation was not published, but the editor who succeeded Capela claimed it was in the thousands: see Nascimento (2016), 191. For comparison, the circulation of Notícias, the largest newspaper in Mozambique, was 20,000 (Ferreira, 1974: 142). Circulation data on newspapers in Mozambique was limited (Fonseca, 2014: 252).

[29] For an examination of how *A Tribuna*, a similarly reformist newspaper published in the capital of Lourenço Marques, navigated the constraints of Portuguese censorship, see Morton (2019), chapter 2.

[30] "Valorização Social," *Voz Africana*, 2 June 1962.

Higher wages for African workers, the newspaper argued, were not just a way to bring about "the social uplift of less evolved peoples." It was also a key plank in the broader program of non-racial development and would help build trans-racial national unity, an "incontrovertible affirmation of human solidarity" which would "help us build a great Mozambique for tomorrow."[31]

Echoing this last point, a steady stream of news stories in *Voz Africana* detailed an optimistic vision of Mozambican progress, reporting on the improved working conditions enjoyed by black workers on the path toward a brighter future. Such articles tended to focus on large industrial employers, and often read like corporate propaganda as much as journalism – a reality that reflected not just the influence of large, well-capitalized employers with substantial advertising budgets, but also the fact that large employers were the exemplars of stabilized labor and were invested in burnishing their image as the pioneers of Mozambican nonracial development. For example, a story on the Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique reported that the company was working to improve "the well-being and standard of living of its autochtonous workers, providing them every possible opportunity for their moral, social and professional self-improvement,"[32] while the asbestos company Lusalite was called lauded for building "an environment of work, progress, and social promotion" to create "workers with a future, who have good jobs."[33] Many readers published in the newspaper echoed this optimism. Joaquim Traquino Afonso, an employee of Lusalite, said that "In the 13 years I've been employed in the business my life has gradually improved and I expect better days, of this I am absolutely certain. I have a decent salary, a new house in the neighborhood, and I enjoy the benefits that the company provides to its workers, benefits that have never been offered before during my entire professional life."[34] Albino João Joaquim Dias, similarly, wrote to say that at Lusalite, "all the workers make good salaries, and no one thinks of leaving the firm."[35] Domingos Carmona, a worker in Moçambique Industrial, thanked his employer for offering paid leave, adding that if every employer treated workers as well as his did, "No one would miss their homeland."[36]

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31 "Valorização Social," *Voz Africana*, 2 June 1962.

32 "Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique, notável obra, em profundidade, a favor da promoção social dos africanos," *Voz Africana*, 22 September 1962.

33 "Lusalite de Moçambique, política de fixação e assimilação dos trabalhadores africanos," *Voz Africana*, 15 December 1962.

34 "Falam os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 28 July 1962; see also "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 29 December 1962.

35 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 22 September 1962.

36 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 30 June 1962.

Workers who commented upon their improved working conditions frequently linked those improvements to the reforms being implemented by the Portuguese administration. Rosário Manuel Coelho said that "Mozambique will soon see better days for Africans, everyone will have hopes for changing their lives thanks to the improved direction of the government"; David Xicanha said that "With the recent legislation, I am sure that the African will experience a new life in the Lusophone world."[37] *Lusalite* was credited for having "transformed the employees and workers of *Lusalite*, whatever the task they perform, into employees and workers conscious of their duties as citizens and their duties toward their family and the community to which they belong," an approach which "is truly following the civilizing actions of Portugal in its overseas territories."[38] At a company event honoring the founder of the *Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique*, a worker named Henrique Josue gave a speech thanking both the company and the government for instituting a new program that provided loans to employees to build their own houses, saying that "only someone who does not have their own house can appreciate the value of this important assistance, which is unique in our Portuguese Province of Mozambique, and is one more example that Portugal, via Your Excellency, is giving to the world," and offering "our profound gratitude for the enormous effort that our Company is making in support of the moral, social, and economic development of its autochtonous workers, contributing in the highest degree to the continuation of Portugal in Africa."[39]

Letters from workers extolling their employers and Portuguese rule would not have been unknown in Mozambique, given the longstanding paternalistic model of labor in the Portuguese colonies (Vail and White 1980; Cleveland 2016; Ferguson 2013). Nonetheless, such effusive praise might invoke questions about the letters' authenticity. Aside from the impact of censorship, there were occasional suggestions that the letters which appeared in *Voz Africana* were not always what they appeared to be. Debates between readers sometimes featured accusations of ghostwriting, and a retrospective opinion piece marking the newspaper's first year of publication casually asserted that some of the letters were written by whites who adopted pseudonyms to appear black.[40] In a few instances, the newspaper

[37] "Falam os leitores," *Voz Africana*, 16 June 1962.

[38] "Lusalite de Moçambique, política de fixação e assimilação dos trabalhadores africanos," *Voz Africana*, 15 December 1962.

[39] The founder being honored was the wealthy industrialist António Champalimaud: "António Champalimaud, conhecido industrial, em visita a Moçambique," *Voz Africana*, 11 August 1962. For more on urban housing in late colonial Mozambique, see Morton (2019).

[40] For a representative example of the first, see the many letters submitted by and against Bahi Napinhoso in September and October 1966; for the second, see "'Voz Africana' ou sinal de contradição?" *Voz Africana*, 29 December 1962.

published the same letter twice, several months apart, while crediting them to different authors, without providing any further explanation – inviting speculation about a range of possible scenarios, from plagiarism by readers who wished to see their names in the newspaper to the invention of correspondence by newspaper staff. Nonetheless, the volume of letters published by the newspaper – the editor, Capela, later wrote that "letters rained down on the editors," while the newspaper published a note describing the "avalanche of letters we receive" – makes it difficult to dismiss them out of hand.[41] Then too, a narrow focus on the provenance of the letters risks ignoring the larger truths which their publication helped to unveil.[42]

Moreover, while many readers of *Voz Africana* subscribed to Portuguese promises of a better future, many others complained that future had yet to arrive. Grievances over low wages were common, and were presented in the same language of material improvement that Portuguese officials used when promising to improve the lives of the urban workforce. Thus, many readers specifically argued that their expenses as modern, urban workers — housing, clothing, school fees — far exceeded the low wages they continued to earn. In July 1962, a reader named Almeida Arlindo Viegas wrote to demand that employers start providing "reasonable salaries, so that the African can have a decent life."[43] In August, Miguel José Come complained that the average urban worker "does not have enough money, because his earnings are meager, and only represent 25% of the cost of living" – an assertion that was not outlandish in a context where workers bore the many costs of supporting families and dependents, particularly those living in Beira.[44] In September, Come's point was echoed by Francisco Tauanja, who wrote that his job with an insurance company did not allow him to raise his family according to the model of stabilized labor: "I am the father of two young girls, and I greatly regret that I do not have a salary that allows me to raise them appropriately, as is my desire. … Children in this era need good food, and it is a shame, a sad thing for the head of a household."[45] In October, Manuel Jacinto wrote that his life as an urbanized office worker who "made sacrifices for the education of my two children" was impossible because "as a parent of two children and a Portuguese citizen, the meager salary that I receive per month isn't enough for anything."[46] In November, Rafael Frei wrote to complain that despite

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41 Capela (1971), 12; "Cartas," *Voz Africana*, 17 April 1965.

42 This point is made effectively, in a different context, by White (2003). See also, among other sources that discuss writers and their audiences, Peterson (2004) and Newell (2013).

43 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 14 July 1962.

44 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 11 August 1962.

45 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 8 September 1962.

46 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 6 October 1962.

having had a stable job working in a print shop for 16 years — a long time, by the standards of 1962 — "I haven't been able to gain anything! … I have done everything possible and various gymnastics to try to save even 50$00 monthly, to buy a suit and clothes for my wife and shoes for my sons, but it is not possible for me. But all of this tragedy of my life comes from my very meager earnings."[47] In December, João Queiros wrote that his many responsibilities as a skilled worker were not matched by a "corresponding salary for my work. What I am making is not enough for anything."[48]

Workers' complaints about low salaries had important political implications; the long history of administrative control over labor, as well as the Portuguese regime's attempts to highlight improved working conditions as a marker of its political legitimacy, meant that such complaints were inevitably connected to Portuguese rule. Thus, Viegas argued that the colonial administration was directly responsible for increasing Africans' wages, and requested that the newspaper contact the Governor-General so that this problem "could be resolved without delay."[49] Jacinto said that, according to Portuguese rhetoric, he should be earning a higher salary, explaining that "I do not have the customs and traditions of Kaffirs. Nor do I have 5 or 8 wives. In this situation I think that I meet the necessary conditions to be integrated into Portuguese citizenship. For this reason I think that my salary ought to satisfy these [living] conditions."[50] Come similarly argued that low salaries rendered Portuguese rhetoric of development hollow: "The African fights for the development of his life … although he wants to achieve this privilege, how can he succeed if he doesn't have enough resources for this goal?"[51] Tauanja called himself "proud to be Portuguese of the strongest character," but added that he was "frustrated" by the fact that his request for "a raise, not very high" had been ignored for five months.[52] Queiros put it most plainly: instead of Portuguese reforms having improved the lives of African workers, "everything is going backward."[53]

Developmental rhetoric, in Mozambique as elsewhere, presented the future as one of linear forward progress. But as the complaints published in Voz Africana made clear,

47 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 3 November 1962.
48 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 22 December 1962.
49 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana* 14 July 1962.
50 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 6 October 1962.
51 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 11 August 1962.
52 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 8 September 1962.
53 "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 22 December 1962.

many workers were unable to realize such progress.[54] These complaints undermined not just the rhetoric of development; they also undermined the broader edifice of Portuguese rule that development was meant to support. In a decolonizing world, it was necessary (in the words of the reformist official Homem de Mello) that Portugal decisively repudiate the compulsion and exploitation of black workers of the previous decades by demonstrating "to an ever-greater degree, to a population dissatisfied and desirous of progress, that in Portuguese Africa there is a place for everyone, not just for Europeans and European descendants."[55] The inability of the Portuguese to meet the demands for progress among urbanized African workers risked undermining both sides of this equation: not just the promise of economic progress, but also of non-racialism, as Africans earning low wages frequently found cause to compare themselves to their white counterparts. In that way, the uneven impact of Portuguese reforms served to highlight, rather than obscure, the ongoing problem of racism within employment, as the next section details.

The *Indigenato's* Afterlife: Racism and Labor in the Era of Non-Racial Citizenship

African workers who complained about continuing low salaries posed a formidable challenge to Portugal's developmental rhetoric. The reforms had presented the promise of higher salaries and better working conditions as a universal possibility, available to all who sought them. Previous arguments by Portuguese officials that such enticements did not need to be offered to African workers, because they were innately uninterested in the material possibilities of wage labor, were no longer viable. But while Portuguese reforms ostensibly aimed to offer the possibilities of well-paid employment to all Mozambicans, they frequently had the opposite impact. Employers who had never viewed African workers as the equal of Europeans did not suddenly change their minds after the *indigenato* was abolished. As a result, Africans who sought to claim equality within employment faced serious difficulties in doing so: African workers were consistently blocked from obtaining high-paying work, and fired if they tried to exercise the equal rights that they theoretically now enjoyed.

The Portuguese rhetoric of non-racial development thus quickly revealed its own limits. Throughout the 1940s and 1950s, Portuguese non-racialism was a principle that existed mostly in theory, limited to a tiny subset of "assimilated" Africans. As a result, it was

[54] Complaints about the comparative material deprivation of Mozambique were not limited to the low salaries paid to workers; dozens of readers wrote in to complain about not having received the benefits of development, particularly complaining about the chronic absence of roads, schools, and healthcare facilities.

[55] Manuel José Homem de Mello, *Portugal, o ultramar e o futuro* (Lisbon, 1962), 109.

easy to shroud the role of racism within a broader discourse of civilization, because incidents of racial discrimination against nominally equal black citizens were limited when only a small number of "assimilated" Africans qualified for the equal rights of citizenship. Once the legal framework of the *indigenato* was abolished, and citizenship was officially extended to everyone living in Mozambique, the limited impact of formal non-racialism in eroding racial discrimination became much more apparent. At the same time, the emphasis on non-racialism as Portugal's singular contribution to global society foreclosed the possibility of combating racial discrimination. African workers were under no illusions about the importance of race in employment – and said so in the pages of *Voz Africana*. But these complaints could not be addressed by a political and social system whose legitimacy was premised on being colorblind.

The unacknowledged racism within Portugal's non-racial policy was, of course, evident long before non-racialism was elevated into a core principle of Portuguese rule. During the 1940s and 1950s, even the rarefied group of "assimilated" Africans who had achieved the rights of citizenship – and upon whom the Portuguese claim of a non-racial empire largely depended – were rarely able to translate the legal promise of racial equality into equality in the workplace. The same was true of mixed-race individuals: like the "assimilated" population, they theoretically enjoyed the equal rights of citizenship; like the "assimilated" population, they were highlighted in Portuguese claims of non-racial rule; like the "assimilated" population, they often found themselves highly disadvantaged within the labor market. Discrimination against "assimilated" Africans and mixed-race individuals was particularly visible within Mozambique's trade unions, which served as important bastions of white economic power: unionized workers commanded vastly higher salaries and received a broad array of lucrative benefits (including health care, family allowances, and paid vacations to Portugal), but unions were closed to "native" workers, as well as most mixed-race and "assimilated" workers, and the benefits provided by unionization were the nearly-exclusive preserve of whites.[56]

Discrimination within the unions, in turn, reflected the fact that most employers deemed black and mixed-race workers to be undeserving of the salaries and benefits provided to white workers. Thus, many African workers who were "assimilated" into the equal rights of citizenship were fired, or simply not hired, by employers who refused to pay them the

[56] Trade unions in Mozambique were nominally organized under Portugal's corporatist model, but as Michel Cahen has clearly demonstrated, they were fundamentally racial institutions. Indeed, union membership in Mozambique had a higher percentage of whites than did the "civilized" population as a whole. See Cahen (1983), 402. See also Capela (1977), 263-8, and Hedges and Rocha (1996).

higher wages that their "assimilated" status conferred. A 1960 report explained the problem forthrightly, noting that "after the 'African' has obtained citizenship, he sees himself having significant — almost always insurmountable — difficulties finding a job. (There are even cases of such people requesting to return to their previous state)." The reason for this, the report explained, was that assimilated Africans were legally entitled to the same wages as Europeans but "do not produce, nor know how to produce, nor provide through their work, that which is currently demanded of a European. Nor can their knowledge of their professional responsibilities put them at the same level as the latter."[57] The administrator of Beira similarly reported that a "native who acquires citizenship" frequently faced "serious difficulties in obtaining work"; as he explained, "since the law gives them equality in every way with the European, employers naturally prefer – given an equality in salaries – to offer a job to a European, who offers more guarantees of profitability, professionalism and knowledge."[58] Indeed, so widespread was the practice of firing newly "assimilated" Africans rather than paying them equal wages that the provincial Governor started responding to Africans' petitions for citizenship by "taking the care to 'ask the boss if he is willing to pay the salaries that, by law, are the right of a non-native,' in order to avoid his subsequent dismissal."[59]

These reports, on the eve of reforms which abolished "native" status and extended citizenship to everyone, showed the limitations of reforms based on a professed policy of racial equality. According to the official logic of Portuguese race relations, Africans who had proven themselves to be sufficiently "civilized" had always enjoyed full equality with whites; consequently, extending this equality from a small group of elite Africans to everyone living in the Portuguese colonies would theoretically suffice to eliminate the racial distinctions of the *indigenato*. In reality, posing legal equality as the solution to the racial system institutionalized by the *indigenato* foreclosed any discussion of the actual problem of racial discrimination. "Assimilated" Africans were a select group of individuals who were released from their "native" status, and in their selectivity should theoretically have been immune from the broader racial distinctions which underlay the system of assimilation. But as the administrators' reports made clear, achieving juridical equality had frequently served to heighten, rather than erase, racial distinctions within employment.

[57] AHU, ISAU, A2.050.03/021.00133, Inspection to Province of Mozambique 1960-1961, Volume 2, 81.
[58] AHM, FGDB, Cx 664, Administrator Beira to District Secretary of Civil Administration, 1084/A/30, 10 March 1961.
[59] AHU, ISAU, A2.050.03/021.00133, Inspection to Province of Mozambique 1960-1961, Volume 2, 82.

This dynamic was particularly visible in union employment, which became a key example of the divide between the promises of non-racial development and the realities of employment in Mozambique. Following the early 1960s reforms, Portuguese and union officials promised to end the unions' previous role as the institutional guardians of white economic superiority, and vowed that newly deracialized unions would play an important role in building Mozambique's non-racial future. As one union official put it, in a speech commemorating a new work contract with the Trans-Zambezi Railway:

> To win the great national battle – that which foresees integration and pluri-culturalism – we fight the battle of social justice in labor relations, combating all forms of selfishness, of exploitation, of abuse, recognizing rights, establishing obligations and imposing rigorous fulfillment of the law, of contracts, and of agreements. … We fight the battle of social justice in labor relations by not recognizing differences in color or creed, but solely as a result of professional aptitude and moral values. We fight the battle of social justice in labor relations by fighting for everyone: for fair wages, hygienic housing, the possibility for educating one's children according to their intelligence and aptitude, free medical assistance, paid holidays, retirements for disability or age and other rights and prerogatives inherent to the dignity of labor and of man.[60]

In presenting the benefits of unionization, provisioned equally to both black and white workers, as a vital tool in making Portugal's non-racial future a reality, the union secretary was echoing Portuguese pledges of non-racial development. The pages of *Voz Africana*, however, told a markedly different story, as readers complained that union employment remained profoundly segregated. In fact, some of the first complaints about racial discrimination in the unions to appear in the newspaper centered on the Trans-Zambezi Railway, the very employer the union secretary had cited as pointing the way toward a prosperous, racially egalitarian future. A railway worker named Lourenço Licunha, for example, wrote that "I work night and day, to see if I can improve my situation, and since I earn very little, my life has gone from bad to worse," adding "To say that Africans in this

[60] "Os trabalhadores – quaisquer que eles sejam e seja qual for a sua qualificação – são homens, têm de ser tratados como homens e têm de viver como homens," *Notícias da Beira*, 12 April 1961.

province [Mozambique] make a good living does not correspond to the truth."[61] Licunha's complaints about his wages reflected the extreme wage differential within the Trans-Zambezi Railway's workforce: as Michel Cahen has calculated, unionized workers earned between 4,196 and 14,666 escudos per month, while non-unionized employees earned between 201 and 741 escudos per month (Cahen 1984: 10). And while the union secretary had promised that differences in wages would be based solely on "professional aptitude and moral values," Licunha argued that the distinction was instead racial, noting that while the Trans-Zambezi Railway had many well-trained African workers, none of them earned high salaries, and "none of them have a car, not even a motorcycle."[62]

Nor was the Trans-Zambezi Railway anomalous in touting its commitment to nonracial development while maintaining racial exclusion within its unionized workforce. For example, at the same time that *Voz Africana* was lauding the Companhia de Cimentos de Moçambique for having "Europeans and Africans working together side by side, in the best Portuguese tradition of racial harmony and coexistence," an official inspection to the company's factory outside Beira found that only two of the roughly 200 African workers had achieved the qualifications necessary to join the union.[63] A reader named Luís Anselmo Martins put it plainly: "By law, employing entities are required to unionize their employees, and so why do these employers comply by only unionizing European workers and not also Africans," adding "This exclusion causes us to not be paid fair wages according to the law of Unions, in accordance with the professional activities of each one."[64]

The persistent racial difference in employment was not lost to the readers of *Voz Africana*, many of whom wrote to complain of being blocked from jobs where they might earn the same pay and benefits as European workers. In particular, numerous readers reported being passed over for employment if they had a Bilhete de Identidade, the national identity document which had previously marked assimilated Africans as citizens who would be expected to receive equal wages as their white counterparts.[65] A worker named João Conforme dos Santos wrote that, after starting a job at the coal company Companhia Carbonifera de Moçambique, "As is customary the bookkeeper of the Company asked for

[61] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 18 August 1962.

[62] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 18 August 1962.

[63] AHD, MU/GM/GNP/RNP/0040/08667, Report of Inspection to Manica and Sofala by Inspector of Psycho-Social Action Services, 19 November 1962, 32

[64] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 8 December 1962.

[65] Prior to the reforms, only "assimilated" Africans could obtain the Bilhete de Identidade; afterwards, it could be obtained by anyone who requested it. Initial demand was so high that it overwhelmed the Portuguese bureaucracy, leading the authorities to loosen the requirements for its emission; see Decreto 44555, Diário do Governo 1, 205, 6 September 1962.

my Caderneta" — a reference to the Caderneta de Identidade, which replaced the Caderneta Indígena, the "native identity card" which had previously distinguished Africans as "natives," rather than citizens. But dos Santos instead showed the bookkeeper his Bilhete de Identidade, "which he found very strange. Because I find myself in these conditions different from others, I was fired the same day. What the bookkeeper said is that they would have to fire more of the people who have documents the same as mine."[66] A reader named Trindade Mutare Jorge offered a similar account of being hired as a telephone operator; like dos Santos, he had a Bilhete de Identidade, but "When I got the job, they did not require any documentation from me. This leads to the conclusion that they wanted to pay pennies to a worker who does not deserve it [a higher salary], or who might be unionized." As a result, his pay was a paltry 450$00 per month, leading him to ask "How can I pay the income tax? And the professional tax? And the unemployment assistance fund? How is 450$00 enough to buy clothes and food?" adding that he was "very frustrated" by the "inferiority of my salary."[67] The discrimination against hiring Africans who might earn the equal wages of citizens was so severe that some workers who had acquired a Bilhete de Identidade subsequently obtained a Caderneta de Identidade in order to get hired: in 1965, a reader named Santos Fróis Maúta Nhangue wrote that for companies "to hire citizens is difficult, for this reason many people arrange private cadernetas even though they are citizens, so that they can get jobs without difficulty."[68]

Employers also fired African employees who dared to claim the rights of equal pay. Martins, in the letter cited above, had noted that "If someone demands the rights [of unionized employees] that he has earned he will no doubt be put 'out on the street' (fired from work), and the bosses exercise over us the freedom to fire us without any justification, often alleging that someone is a malcontent for correctly claiming their rights, and when they fire us they do not give us any compensation which could remedy our hunger during our period of unemployment."[69] A lengthy account by a woman named Maria Guli, published in 1965, described the travails of her husband, a driver who had recently been "fired from the firm where he had been working as a driver for more than 10 years. The cause of him being fired was because of the fact that he had gotten it in his head — despite me having warned him many times — that now is when he would take care of the necessary documents to obtain a Bilhete de Identidade!" He had done so with the optimistic belief that it would bring

[66] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 23 March 1963.
[67] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 12 January 1963.
[68] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 20 August 1966.
[69] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 8 December 1962.

about a "possible improvement of his situation." He was aware that employers did not look kindly on African employees who obtained the Bilhete de Identidade, and would not be inclined to pay the increased salary "given his new situation of citizen." Nonetheless, "he was confident that his bosses would take into consideration his 10 years of service, in which he spent the best of his youth transporting cotton, around 2,400 kms per week." Moreover, when "he presented himself to his bosses and asked, in the face of his new official document, that he be unionized, pure and simple," he did so very cautiously. Thus, he did not demand the full range of benefits provided to unionized workers: he did not demand the right "to go to the Metropole, to enjoy paid holidays … much less the increase of 1,800$00 monthly" that white workers received. Instead, he just wanted "the right for him and his family to receive medical consultation and purchase medication, because the firm acquires medications in a pharmacy that offers considerable discounts and, as a union member, he could see a doctor in the union." Even so, "the request was denied. And, so that he would have a lesson for the rest of his life, for daring to request rights that he does not deserve and so that he also does not provide an example to his other coworkers, he was fired."[70]

The practice of firing, and not hiring, Africans who might demand equal wages reinforced the inequality in salaries earned by black and white workers – a reality which prompted many complaints from *Voz Africana*'s readers. Martins' letter had observed that "It frequently occurs in a Firm or Company or Landowner where there are European and African employees, everyone doing the same work, that the salaries are always different. Can a fair salary not be provided to those who have the right to it?"[71] Another reader named Chale Guente wrote to complain about "the lack of equality in salaries. There are individuals who do the same job, with the same efficiency, but their earnings differ."[72] João Queiros, similarly, when writing about the low salaries offered to African workers, noted that "Many people think that it's our fault" for not obtaining better jobs, adding that this "is not correct, we have the capacity to work and we like to work. They simply do not pay us the salaries to which we have a right. Thus we have to subject ourselves to earning far less than we deserve."[73]

Readers' critiques of racism within employment gave rise to critiques of the broader edifice of Portuguese non-racialism, as witnessed in two long and controversial letters published at the end of 1962. Both letters argued that African workers were forced to

[70] "Carta aberta à minha sobrinha," *Voz Africana*, 20 March 1965.
[71] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 8 December 1962.
[72] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 4 August 1962.
[73] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 22 December 1962.

disavow their race, abandon their communities, and reject their compatriots in a misguided attempt to obtain better jobs — and further argued that this reality exposed the racism inherent within Portugal's supposedly non-racial system. The authors argued that the antidote was to promote black pride among Mozambicans — a vision that they framed as being fully compatible with Portuguese multi-racialism, but which nonetheless clashed with the non-racial discourse of Luso-Tropicalism, which emphasized racial harmony and national unity and offered little space for expressions of racial pride or solidarity.

Both letters are worth quoting at length. The first came from Davide da Costa Lameira Chingore, who wrote that:

> I know some boys who after becoming a little educated already disrespect their birthplace, and when they are a little lighter-skinned than others they shave their kinky [carapinhado] hair and say that they are mixed. From black to mixed! Why? Because they have no pride in being black! I take pride in being purely Portuguese. But black Portuguese. Why shouldn't I be black, being black?! ... I think that these boys who want to be mixed, maybe it is to earn good salaries. Because yes, to tell the truth, when you become mixed, you earn more money. It would be better if salaries were based on the occupation and capacity of each person, so that many boys do not make themselves into mixed blacks. Which is, for me, very shameful. Dear black readers, let's take pride in being black Portuguese! Because the blood that pumps and runs through our veins is Portuguese blood! But of black Portuguese![74]

A second letter published a month later, from a reader named Pedro Francisco Manga, reinforced Simango's argument:

> I am proud to be Portuguese. But black Portuguese. Why should I not be black, being black? I know some young men who stop talking to their friends when they find themselves next to some white. I believe that these young men do this just to be able to have good salaries. Because many of them think that this way they will earn more money. It would be better if salaries were given according to the occupation and capacity of each individual, so that

[74] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 29 September 1962.

> these young men would end this terrible habit, which is disgraceful for everyone. Assimilation is not to stop speaking to your friends. This is just disgraceful. We should stop this habit.[75]

Both Chingore and Manga argued that the failure to secure racial equality in employment had led black Mozambicans to reject their identity, and in the process revealed the problems with the Portuguese Luso-Tropical ideal. Thus, just as the low wages paid to African workers led workers to question Portuguese promises of economic development, so too did racial discrimination within employment bring damning critiques of Portuguese non-racialism.

The letters from Chingore and Manga are not only interesting because of what they said, but also because they subsequently revealed what could not be said: in the years that followed, almost no letters in *Voz Africana* criticized racial discrimination within employment, likely due to increasingly strict censorship. This is not to say that debates over race, or critiques of working conditions, disappeared from the newspaper. To the contrary, Manga's letter spurred a lengthy and intense dispute over the role of race and racism in Mozambican society, while numerous readers continued to complain about low wages. But the two topics were rarely joined. Thus, the debate over race inspired by Manga's letter focused on the alleged social estrangement of wealthier black Mozambicans, particularly those identifying as mixed-race, from their African brethren. Meanwhile, critiques of economic inequities avoided making direct allegations about racial discrimination. For example, when a young man named Armando Guebuza – who would soon leave Mozambique to join the anti-colonial movement, and later become the country's President – wrote a sharp denunciation of economic conditions in Beira, he only glancingly mentioned the role of race:

> Instead of the economic conditions of the population (especially the African population, a case that deserves special attention) improving through the commercial and industrial development of this magnificent city, they have been worsened by the alarming crisis of unemployment that reaches every corner. There are many situations of people with wives and children to support, wanting to contribute to recent aspirations of cultural progress, who see themselves suddenly thrown into poverty, without any means of survival

[75] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 27 October 1962.

> and with children crying day and night for bread – which is the most painful thing – just because there are not enough jobs.[76]

Aside from his parenthetical mention of the "African population," Guebuza's critique of the Portuguese colonial economy was officially colorblind. The racial dynamics of Guebuza's criticism were obvious — no one reading the newspaper would ever imagine European children facing starvation — but the racial component of economic inequality could not be openly identified.

Guebuza's skirting of Portuguese racism was replicated in other letters that addressed race and labor, which affected a self-consciously colorblind analysis, even as the subtext of racism remained blindingly obvious. A 1964 letter from a reader named António Simbine, for example, criticized the working conditions of restaurant employees who worked 19-hour shifts. The reason, Simbine noted, was that "lots of people think that a servant [criado] doesn't do anything." Simbine argued that such workers "need rest like other workers also have," adding "Let's remember that every Mozambican or European ought to have the same rights as any other worker." The paean to non-racialism aside, Simbine's use of the racialized term "criado," and the fact that a worker had been expected to work for 19 hours, left little doubt about the race of the workers he was talking about.[77] A similar letter, from a reader named Rafael Diogo Selemane, lamented the difficulties of workers who earned 15 escudos per day, and who went around "with dirty, stained overalls, with their feet barely covered in rotten sneakers. On their face you can read frustration, dissatisfaction." As with Simbine, Selemane went out of his way to profess a non-racial worldview, saying that Portugal "knows to embrace all of its children, without distinction of race or color," and that "We should study (and study well) the situation of the working classes, constituted by blacks and whites in Mozambique, blacks and whites in Portugal"; as with Simbine, the racial subtext was abundantly clear, as there could be little question about which workers earned 15 escudos per day.[78]

Indeed, even readers who had previously complained about racism within employment published later letters that omitted any mention of race. Thus, João Queiros, whose first letter to the newspaper condemned employers which "do not pay us the salaries to which we have a right," wrote a subsequent letter which sharply criticized the mostly-

[76] "É Triste!" *Voz Africana*, 15 June 1963.

[77] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 11 July 1964.

[78] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 10 August 1963.

white unions for failing to represent black workers – but which did not explicitly mention race. Instead, he said that "union authorities ought to fight for those who are working, that is in respect to salaries, if in fact what we are earning complies with the law." He then sarcastically asked "Have the union authorities by any chance ever worried about this detail? There are many people who have enormous family expenditures and who are very unfairly earning wages that we could call 'poverty wages.'" Queiros' criticism of unions' disinterest in equal pay, his concern for "family expenditures" (an oblique but clear reference to African workers who supported extended families), his reference to "poverty wages," and a closing argument that higher wages would help propel "evolution" were all obvious signals that he was speaking about black workers, as in his previous letter. But the official emphasis upon Portuguese non-racialism meant that race could not be openly mentioned within his critique.[79]

Queiros' letter was reprinted, almost to the word, two months later by another reader named Gouveia dos Santos.[80] The relationship between Queiros and dos Santos, and the reasons that their letters were almost entirely the same, was never addressed by the newspaper – a mystery which offers a valuable reminder of the complexities of using the letters published in *Voz Africana*. Nonetheless, while there are many questions about the letters which are difficult to answer with existing sources, it seems justified to conclude that the increasing absence of any discussion of racism and employment in readers' letters was due to heightened censorship. The freewheeling debates that marked the first years of the newspaper's publication were gradually (although unevenly) limited in subsequent years, and a comparison between readers' unedited letters that were later published by Capela with the versions actually published in *Voz Africana* reveals multiple instances in which criticisms of Portuguese racial discrimination were deleted or rewritten prior to publication.[81]

The inability of workers to openly discuss racism within employment, in turn, helps clarify the limitations of Portuguese promises of nonracial development. Workers could complain about low wages, as well as criticize the broader inequities of the Portuguese economic system. Such critiques were made possible by the possibility of resolving them: the economic travails of poorly paid workers could theoretically be rectified at some future moment after Portuguese development policies were fully implemented. In contrast, openly

[79] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 1 June 1963.

[80] "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 3 August 1963. Dos Santos had published a previous letter, under a slightly different name, about migrating to work in Beira: see "Escrevem os Leitores," *Voz Africana*, 16 February 1963.

[81] For one representative example, compare the letter from Francisco Domingos Savane published in *Voz Africana* on April 10, 1965 with the original published in *Moçambique pelo seu povo* on page 95.

identifying the role of racial discrimination within the economic system was not possible, since such critiques suggested a congenital failure of the Portuguese system; if an empire which had (officially) always been non-racial was in reality riven by racial discrimination, then economic growth was unlikely to resolve the grievances of African workers. This dichotomy meant that while some of the problems confronting African workers could be criticized, racial discrimination was not one of them. Instead, racism within employment remained a topic that could not be openly discussed, and still less adequately addressed.

Conclusion

The Portuguese reforms of the early 1960s promised significant changes to colonial rule. The new rhetoric of non-racial development explicitly rejected prior conceptions of Africans as fundamentally different workers whose lack of "civilization" made them uninterested in, and unfit for, wage labor's material rewards. In abolishing formal distinctions between "natives" and citizens, Portuguese reforms offered African workers the previously-denied possibility of joining the ranks of well-paid urban workers and achieving equality with their white counterparts within Portugal's Luso-Tropical framework.

Portuguese reforms focused more on articulating a solution than analyzing the problem. The improved lives of black urban workers would show that Portugal's commitment to non-racial development was being realized, rather than an acknowledgment that Portuguese policy of past decades had been based on racial exclusion and economic exploitation. In stressing the possibilities of forthcoming development, the Portuguese colonial regime was certainly not unique; many governments across and beyond Africa adopted the same tactic. But Portuguese officials faced the added complication that their newfound emphasis on development had not been accompanied by meaningful political changes. Postcolonial rulers elsewhere in Africa framed development as a way to remedy the problems inherited from their colonial predecessors, and could thus identify and condemn various aspects of colonial governance in their promises to create a post-colonial future. That approach could not be readily utilized by Portuguese officials; any attempt to clearly define the social ills being targeted by the reforms would have further highlighted the obvious reality that these reforms were to be implemented by the same colonial political system responsible for creating those ills in the first place.

Non-racialism was the solution to this problem. It provided a supposed element of colonial continuity that would reinforce, rather than undermine, Portugal's continued right to govern. But the juxtaposition between the changes implied by the new rhetoric of development, and the continuities implied by the redoubled commitment to Luso-Tropicalism, made it difficult for Portuguese officials to explain what specific aspects of the colonial system would actually change. The divergent outcomes of urban workers made plain this difficulty. The reforms eliminated the requirement that African workers prove themselves sufficiently "civilized" to enjoy equality in wages and treatment, opening a path toward better employment and a more developed future. But that change coexisted with the claimed continuity of non-racialism as the bedrock foundation of Portuguese colonial society. As a result, Africans who were blocked from capitalizing on the promises of reform had no recourse with which to contest their continued racial exclusion. Thus, as the number of Africans who unsuccessfully sought the promise of equality grew, so too did the realization that the problem of racism within the Portuguese colonies had not only been a problem of legal discrimination.

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Taxing *Calidad*: The Case of Spanish America and the Philippines

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Abstract

Poll taxes constituted a significant factor to organize and perpetuate social inequalities in many early modern empires. Fiscal categorizations had very concrete effects on the daily life of the categorized, on their assets and on their labor force. They intersected with social categorizations such as gender, religion, profession, age and what many authors have termed race or ethnicity, but which I prefer to call, more accurately with a Spanish term from the colonial sources, calidad (literally 'quality'). Categorizations were imposed by legislation from above and contested via petitions from below. This article delineates the major fiscal categorization in Spanish America and the Philippines and details three examples for their negotiation in petitions.

Keywords

Spanish America, Philippines, Taxes, Petitions, Categorizations

Resumo

Capitações constituíam um fator significativo para organizar e perpetuar inequidades sociais em muitos impérios da idade moderna. Categorizações fiscais tinham efeitos muito concretos na vida diária dos categorizadas, nos seus ativos e na sua força de trabalho. Intersectavam com categorizações sociais como género, religião, profissâo, idade e o que muitos autores tem chamado raça o etnicidade, mais o que eu prefiro chamar mais acertadamente, com um termo espanhol das fontes coloniais, calidad. Categorizaçoes foram impostos mediante legislaçâo desde acima e contestados desde abaixo mediante petições. Este artigo delinea as categorizações principais na América Espanhola e nas Filipinas e detalha três exemplos para a sua negociaçâo em petições.

Palavras-chave

América Espanhola, Filipinas, Impostos, Petiçoes, Categorizações

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Introduction: Social hierarchies in Portuguese and Spanish America and the Philippines

The Pombaline reforms in the second half of the eighteenth century had an assimilationist goal in Brazil: the absorption and eventual disappearance of indigenous people through a biological and cultural "mixture" with Europeans. Accordingly, the *Diretório dos Indios* (1757-1758) promoted the marriage of "whites" with indigenous people (Losada Moreira 2020).

The colonial politics in Spanish America and the Philippines within the eighteenth-century Bourbon reforms took an entirely different path with respect to marriage. In the *Pragmática Sanción* (1776) valid in Spain and the Indies, so-called "unequal marriages" were forbidden, thereby trying to avoid "mixtures" and promoting purity (AHCP, 1791; Fuentes Barragán 2016; Vallejo 2016: 1243–1244). That an imagined purity defined one's place in the colonial hierarchy is also visible in the *casta* paintings from the viceroyalties of New Spain (Mexico) and Peru which put "pure" Spaniards at the top of the social hierarchy (Katzew 2004). It is not a coincidence that these kinds of paintings did not exist in Brazil.

Despite the differing politics between Spanish and Portuguese America, the hierarchical ordering in both colonial societies was similar since it was based on *qualidade* (pt) or *calidad* (sp.) (literally: quality). Though often equalized with ethnicity or racialized groups, *calidad* rather resulted from a combination of ancestry, social reputation, (im)purity, religion, legal and fiscal status (Albiez-Wieck 2020c: 53; Losada Moreira 2020: 410). *Calidad* can roughly be understood as a legal, social and cultural categorization. The minor role of aspects of racialization increased during the eighteenth century.

Albeit the term *mestiçagem* (pt) or *mestizaje* (sp) has been intensely used for the colonial period, I consider this use anachronistic and prefer to speak of mixture (*mescla, mezcla*), a term from the sources. It was only in the nineteenth century that the noun *mestizaje* was created as a neologism and concept (Wade 2003; Zermeño Padilla 2008).

In this article, I will focus on the fiscal status of vassals of the Spanish Crown in America and the Philippines. The latter depended, from an administrative point of view, on the viceroyalty of New Spain until its independence.[2] Although the article is a regional case study, the points made here for the administration of difference through fiscality was valid

[2] New Spain first gained its independence in 1810 but it was only ratified in 1821. After a short-lived monarchy in 1824, the United Mexican States were created. The Philippines was among the last of the Spanish colonies and independence was only reached in 1898, but only to become a colony of the United States in the following years.

in all early modern empires.[3] As far as I know, in all of them the fiscal categorization assigned to a person or a group decided how much money, goods and labor force they had to surrender to the colonial authorities. It also determined under which type of secular and ecclesiastical legislation the person or group of notes was ruled. Analyzing fiscal categorizations has the advantage that it automatically renders visible other social categorizations, because they influence the fiscal status of an individual. In the case of the Spanish Empire, the most evident intersections are with gender, profession, religion, age, and of course, *calidad*.

Constructing difference through fiscality

The extraction of taxes lies at the core of the relationship between citizens and the state, and, in early modern empires, between the monarchy and its vassals. Taxes are an important factor to organize social difference. This is especially true for early modern empires, which ruled over different people in dissimilar ways. In early modern empires, and also in the Spanish one, the organization of tax-extraction was generally closely tied to the organization of bonded labor.

Every society is diverse, and every person is different from others. When addressing the hierarchical social organization and its management by the colonial authorities, it is possible to speak either about diversity, or difference, or both. Contrary to the editors of this issue, I chose to employ the term difference in order to emphasize the power imperial administrations exerted over the organization of social groups. But by no means do I intend to essentialize differences between groups or individuals—even colonial administrators might have done so. However, I follow Bastias Saavedra in his affirmation that diversity, just like difference, is constructed and flexible, but that both have different connotations (Bastias Saavedra 2018). I am speaking of difference not as a static structure but rather as a process, in the sense of (un)doing difference, as Hirschauer has put it. He points to the fact that the social differentiation of people, or in other words the "doing and undoing of social belonging," (Hirschauer 2014: 170) has existed since the beginning of humankind. However, many forms of social difference are historically contingent which means that they change over time. I speak of categorizations instead of categories to highlight the flexible and process-related nature of these classifications.

[3] For a selection of imperial case studies regarding the organization of difference through fiscality, cf. Albiez-Wieck (2020d).

Furthermore, I argue that imperial formations created tangible legal differences between groups which had sensible effects on the daily lives, social positions, purses, and labor force of the individuals categorized as belonging to such groups. Similar arguments have been put forward by Hespanha for the *ancien régime* more generally. He claimed that the legal classifications and names involved specific rights and duties and the statutes were therefore "very expressively tangible things" (Hespanha 2003: 827), own translation). For empires, Burbank and Cooper (2012: 28–30) have denominated this as "politics of difference." The categorizations addressed primarily by these politics of difference differed among empires, as well as the balance between tolerance and discrimination, as Stoler and McGranahan (2007: 21–22) have pointed out.

Taxes, especially poll taxes, were a very common means in many empires to produce difference (Albiez-Wieck 2020b). A prominent example was the *cizye*, a poll tax paid primarily by non-Muslims in the Ottoman Empire (Freitag 2013: 382; Koller 2010: 9–10). Another example was the hut tax exacted in several British colonies in Southern Africa from indigenous people and immigrants, which developed towards a poll tax (Gardner 2012: 46–47).[4]

Fiscal categorizations are and were at the same time legal categorizations. The Spanish colonial law, often called *derecho indiano* was a customary or consuetudinary type of law. The consuetudinary aspects were present in the application of the law, but also in the written norms. This also means that the *derecho indiano* cannot be easily compared to current systematic models of law since it was a law "casuistic, exuberant and reiterative in style, often times contradictory and with enormous normative lacunae." (Tau Anzoátegui 2001: 43–44). This is why it is not enough to look at legal texts when studying the fiscal legislation in Spanish America—the practices of law always have to be analyzed and should be given special relevance.

Fiscal categorizations in Spanish America and the Philippines

In fiscal matters, there were two central dividing lines in Spanish America and the Philippines: the first separated those who had to pay the poll tax called tribute[5] from those

[4] And also in other empires, fiscal categorizations were contested via petitions. Cf. e.g. Faroqhi (1992); Ocko (1988); Weiss Muller (2017).

[5] It is not entirely correct to speak of the tribute payment as a poll tax. Every person categorized as tributary had to pay, in money or kind, but the tribute rates were, especially in the first half of the colonial period, set and handed in collectively.

who were exempted and who could even receive (part) of this payment. The second dividing line separated those who had to render forced labor service from those who did not have to do so, or who were even beneficiaries of this workforce. These two separating lines were often, but not always, congruent; meaning that most, but not all tribute payers had to regularly work under compulsion. Further fiscal obligations referred mainly to indirect taxes, such as the sales tax called *alcabala* or taxes paid within the Crown monopolies for certain products, such as paper, tobacco or precious metals. There were some exceptions, but generally the people categorized as tribute payers did not have to pay the indirect taxes, namely the *alcabala*. A very schematic view of the major fiscal categorizations can be observed in Figure 1. The figure does not reflect changes in time or within the major political units presented here.

The extraction of tribute and labor services from the indigenous population was justified mainly by the reference to the existence of prehispanic tribute payments as well as the received "civilization" and Christianization by the Spaniards. In the case of the free Afrodescendants, a similar reference to tribute obligations in African kingdoms was made and it was further justified as a compensation for the right to live freely and peacefully on the realms of the Crown (Grewe 2016: 38). According to some laws which were seemingly never put into practice (*De los Sangleyes*, 1680), Chinese sangleyes in the Philippines should be exempted from tribute after conversion and after ten years equated to the Philippine *indios*. In the practice, they were the ones having to pay the highest tribute rates, probably due to their high income from commerce (*De los Sangleyes*, 1680; Abinales and Amoroso 2005: 65–66; Chu 2010: 73). Spaniards were exempt as conquerors and colonizers and consequently those with a major share of Spanish ancestry, the mestizos *(de españoles*), too. But African ancestry weighed more heavily than indigenous: those with partly Spanish and African ancestors, the mulattos, were not exempted. Therefore, initially notions of the different status of vassals were the impetus for the creation of different fiscal categorizations. But from the very beginning of the conquest, there did not exist only subjugated *indios* on the one hand and Spanish conquerors on the other, but the picture was much more complex. This complexity constated, among others, in the existence in a regionally differing set of prehispanic fiscal and labor categorizations, the presence of Africans and Asians and the offspring of a mixture of all these categorized people. The Spanish imperial administration tried to respond to this complexity, adapting old and creating new categorizations. With this, they created tangible differences between categorizations. Only a comparison with other empires of that period can show until which point the Spaniards rationale behind the categorization was based on shared assumptions of proto-racialized or other differences.

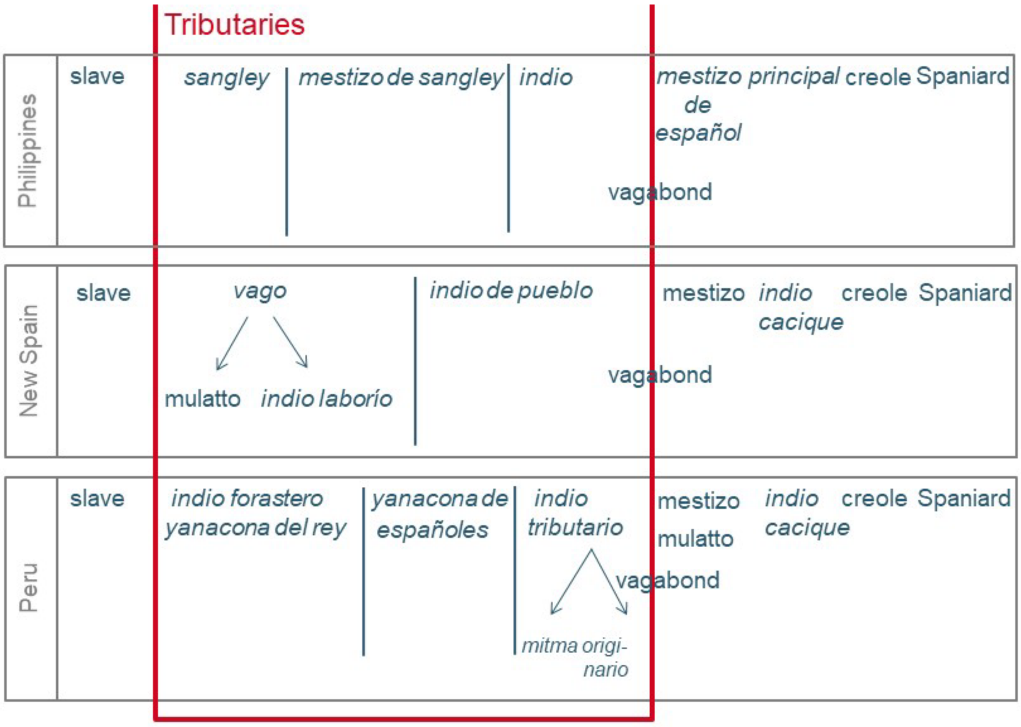

Figure 1: Schematic overview over the major fiscal categorizations in the Captaincy General of the Philippines and the Viceroyalties of New Spain and Peru. Figure elaborated by the author.

Many fiscal categorizations were created anew through the process of conquest and colonization, being that of *indio* the best known. Others adapted already existing prehispanic classifications, such as the servant-like *yanaconas* in Peru or the idea of noble exemption present on both sides of the Atlantic and the Pacific. Most of them changed over time and at times disappeared. Some major fiscal categorizations were the same in Spanish America and the Philippines, others were not. Common to both regions were slaves, indigenous people (*indios*), Spaniards, and the offspring of Spaniards and indigenous people, called (Spanish) mestizos. Due to their low numbers in the Philippines, free Afrodescendants were a relevant categorization in Spanish America only. The contrary happened with the Chinese migrants and their descendants which were only significant as categorization in the Philippines. They were called sangleyes, and the descendants of sangleyes and Filipino *indios* were denominated Chinese mestizos, *mestizos de sangley*. In addition to these major categorizations, there existed numerous regionally differing subcategorizations for indigenous people and people of mixed descent. In the following, I will only detail those which were common to most territories in both regions.[6]

Slaves were mostly situated outside of the fiscal system and did not have to pay taxes.[7] They stood at the lowest level of the social hierarchy. In the first decades after the seizure of American territories by the Spanish Crown, many indigenous people were enslaved and sold, but soon indigenous slavery was heavily restricted and the majority of enslaved people were Africans and their descendants. In the Philippines, the number of African slaves remained low throughout the colonial period (Fernández Hortigüela 2008).

At the other end of the colonial hierarchy stood Spaniards and their descendants conceived with other Europeans, which were called creoles and those conceived with indigenous partners, called mestizos or Spanish mestizos in the Philippines. They were all exempt from tribute payment but had to pay, among others, the sales tax called *alcabala*. However, the perceived percentage of Spanish ancestry as well as the condition of their birth (within or outside marriage) had an effect on their concrete social position.

Sangleyes, i.e. Chinese migrants and their descendants were an important minority group in the Philippines, especially in the capital Manila and its surroundings. Most of them worked as traders, artisans and domestic servants (Tan 1986: 143). Both sangleyes and *mestizos de sangley* were tribute payers, but sangleyes had to pay considerably more than the *mestizos de sangley*. Contrary to the *indios*, who paid the lowest amount of tribute, sangleyes and *mestizos de sangley* did not have to do *corvée* labor (Chu 2010: 72; Coo 2019: 24–25; Wickberg 1964: 63–64).[8]

In Spanish America, Asian migrants, which could be of diverse origins but mostly reached American soil via the Philippines, were generally labelled as *chinos* but did not constitute a separate fiscal categorization, despite some specific regulations. They were mostly classified as *indios* (Seijas 2014: 143–171).

Both free Africans and their descendants and common indigenous people were by law obliged to tribute payment. Furthermore, most, but not all common indigenous people were compelled to labor *corvée*.[9] Free Afrodescendants, also those with Spanish or indigenous

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[6] For the more regionally specific (sub-)categorizations and their change over time, cf. Albiez-Wieck (2018c, 2020a); Albiez-Wieck and Gil Montero (2020); Gil Montero and Albiez-Wieck (2020).

[7] There exists some unclarity about the fact if slaves had to pay the *alcabala* when buying their own freedom: AGNP (1790: f. 40r-41vs).

[8] The separate fiscal classification was definitely legally fixed in 1741: Tan (1986: 144).

[9] These labor *corvées* were generally periodic and had different names and characteristics according to time and space. The best-known ones were the *naborías* in the Caribbean, the *mita* in the viceroyalty of Peru, the *repartimiento* in New Spain and the *polo* in the Philippines. Additionally, so-called personal services, *servicios personales* existed.

ancestors, did not have to perform labor service but had to pay tribute, albeit this obligation was not enforced everywhere. They were also obliged to the *alcabala*-payment.

A part of the Indigenous nobility (caciques and their firstborn sons in America and heads of *barangays* in the Philippines) as well as office-bearers were exempt from tribute payment (Albiez-Wieck 2020c: chapter 2; Alonso Álvarez 2005: 398). Craftsmen, whether indigenous or Afrodescendant, were partly exempt from tribute payments or could provide for the amount in products of equal value. Generally, men between 18 and 50 years of age were obliged to provide for tribute payments. Younger or older people were exempt, as well as those who could prove their illness or disability. The full tribute rate had to be liquidated by married couples; singles and widowers were considered, at least during part of the colonial period and in some regions, half tribute payers. Indigenous people categorized as not fully belonging to an indigenous community, not quite adequately labelled as "migrants," [10] had a special fiscal status and were exempt from personal services others had to perform. A part of the colonial tribute was paid directly to the crown, another part to Spanish individuals who had received grants called *encomienda.* Besides tribute payment and different forms of bonded labor, a further obligation that varied considerably in its significance—regionally and periodically—for the indigenous population was the *repartimiento* or *reparto de mercancías*, also called *bandala* in the Philippines. This practice involved a forced trade organized by the Spanish administrators who demanded the selling of particular products at fixed, normally below market prices. It also contained elements of a loan system.

It is essential to understand, that even if not all indigenous people, Afrodescendants and Chinese were subject to tribute payments and/or different forms of forced labor, the mere fact that they were categorized into these broad groups meant that they were potentially subject to these obligations and that their current status of exemption could be changed by the will of the colonizers. The colonizers did not tax them differently for belonging to diverse groups, rather they chose to create a difference between them because they profited from it.

Beside the mentioned major fiscal categorizations, which were roughly the same throughout Spanish America, and to a lesser degree in the Philippines, there existed numerous subdivisions that varied importantly among the different viceroyalties in the

[10] People categorized as indigenous who migrated, often but not always changed their categorization. In New Spain, they could become *laboríos*, in Peru *forasteros.* However, since these categorizations were hereditary not all people categorized as *laboríos* or *forasteros* actually moved in space. Mostly, what decided over their categorization was the degree of attachment to the indigenous community where they lived, visible amongst other in the access to land. This is why I put "migrant" into quotation marks. The "migrant" categorization of the "vagabond" existed both in Spanish America and the Philippines and could include people of different *calidades* who were not attached to any community. In the Philippines, a preliminary analysis of sources points to the fact that they slipped in and out of the status as tribute payers Arzobispo de Manila (1750).

Americas, as well as within them. I cannot elaborate on all of them here but want to summarize my findings elaborated upon in previous publications (Albiez-Wieck 2017a, 2017b, 2018a, 2018b, 2018c, 2020c; Albiez-Wieck and Gil Montero 2020; Gil Montero and Albiez-Wieck 2020). As my comparative research has shown, the major differences lay (1) in the tribute categorizations for people categorized as not fully belonging to communities or "migrants" and (2) those with "mixed" ancestry.[11] A third important difference lay in the varying degree of implementation of tribute obligations among the Afrodescendant population. Furthermore, when studying fiscal categorizations, changes through time have to be taken into account.[12]

Before proceeding to present examples for the negotiation of fiscal categorization, I would like to briefly point out how the categorizing from above worked on the ground: The tributary population was recorded in lists that also contained the amount of tribute due for payment which was, especially in the first half of the colonial period, often set as a lump sum for entire communities. These lists were updated now and then to account for demographic changes including migration. The elaboration of the first and consecutive lists as well as the setting of the tribute rates[13] were elaborated in the course of inspections (*visitas*), carried out by imperial administrators. Often, the inspectors did not count and classify the people individually but relied on lists elaborated by Spanish hacienda and encomienda owners as well as by local indigenous caciques or governors. It was most often the latter who organized rotational labor shifts rendered periodically by a certain percentage of the population for a wide range of tasks, including amongst other mining labor, infrastructural and manufactural work as well as the guarding of cattle. Even though labor services were presumably paramount during the first half of the colonial period, tribute payments were nonetheless perceived as burdensome by the indigenous populations. In the sixteenth and seventeenth century, numerous reports from indigenous tribute collectors complained about the tribute rate, or about their having to pay it for absent tribute payers (AGI, 1557, 1676; ARLL, 1612-

[11] These include all people whose parents were adscribed to different categorizations with a varying degree of (assumed) African, Spanish and indigenous ancestry. The most prominent examples are mestizos and mulattos.

[12] Some categorizations were created anew, others vanished. One example would be the "quintero."

[13] The exact rates varied enormously over time and between regions. Marichal (2006: 435) identified two *pesos* as a general tribute rate for Spanish America, but as I — Albiez-Wieck (2020c) — have shown, this might be at best an approximate for central New Spain but was much too low for the Viceroyalty of Peru. According to Abinales and Amoroso (2005: 55), in the Philippines the tribute rate was set at "ten *reales* per adult male (eight *reales* equaled one Mexican peso), of which two went to the state and eight to the *encomendero*; two *reales* of his share were owed to the church in fulfillment of his religious responsibilities." Also the relative percentage of the tribute income within the total Crown revenues varied considerably over time and space (for more details, cf. Alonso Álvarez (2004); Klein (1998). However, it is safe to state that the tribute represented a considerable income to the Crown.

1612, 1635-1635). Avoiding tribute payments and labor services constituted an important motive for migration which, in turn, usually meant a higher burden for those left behind. Migration was also the second major avenue of changing fiscal categorizations, besides the petitions elaborated upon in the next part.[14]

Contesting fiscal categorizations from below: three examples

Since fiscal categorization implied tangible and measurable material privileges and duties for all vassals of the Spanish Crown, it seems plausible that this induced people to manipulate their affiliation to a certain fiscal categorization, treating it as a strategic resource. I will provide some examples as to how the categorizations imposed on them from above were answered from below by those who sometimes did not feel adequately categorized or more often rather felt their categorizations came along with too many burdens. An excellent source to analyze negotiations of fiscal status and *calidad* are petitions. The examples stem from the viceroyalties of Peru and New Spain and the Captaincy General of the Philippines and from various periods to provide a broad picture.

The fiscal petitions were directed at the colonial authorities and aimed at defending or changing one's fiscal categorization. The petitioners often adduced to having been incorrectly registered in the latest the tribute list. To further their claim, they presented proofs, which generally consisted of a selection of the following elements: copies of parish records; copies from tribute lists; tribute receipts, and the testimony of witnesses. Often there was an opposing side, for example a local (indigenous) governor or cacique or a Spanish hacienda owner who presented similar documents to oppose the claim. Interestingly, while Peruvian and New Spanish petitions are mostly preserved in local and regional archives, and, at most in national archives, I found a considerable number of Philippine petitions in the General Archive of the Indies in Seville, Spain.[15]

[14] A third possibility was camouflage, i.e. successfully passing for another categorization e.g. by changing attire. However, this mode is much more difficult to be detected in the sources, especially if it was successful. But there do exist some isolated hints in court cases in which people were accused of having illegally passed for what they were not. An example is the New Spanish case of Juan Esteban Pacheco AGNM (1761). Camouflage has been studied for European foreigners in Spanish America: Biersack (2016). A source in some respects similar to the fiscal petitions were the *gracias al sacar* by which a different status could be bought, but their aim was not fiscal: Twinam (2009).

[15] The petitions are scattered throughout the archives, without any coherent title. Sometimes, they are located in a section about tribute or royal treasury, but sometimes in sections such as administration, petition and ordinary causes. In my habilitation thesis, I studied 167 petitions from Cajamarca, Peru, and Michoacán, New Spain in a systematic manner. In this article, I am discussing petitions from other regions. Cf. Albiez-Wieck (2020c).

The first example is a petition from Peru, more specifically from Jauja in the central Peruvian highlands, and it dates from 1796 (AGNP, 1796b). The petitioner was Doña Maria Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanqui, pleading for her son Don Melchor Camargo Tupayupanqui, both original from the town San Gerónimo de Tunan in the central Peruvian highlands. She claimed that they were indigenous nobles, more specifically Incas, and as such Don Camargo Yupayupanqui should be exempted from paying tribute and providing personal services. Allegedly, they were registered in the *ayllu*[16] *Inca*, whose members were recognized as descendants of the prehispanic Inca lords and therefore as non-tributary nobles. Apparently, the current tribute collector had tried to exact tribute from Don Camargo Yupayupanqui. To prove her claim, Doña Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanqui presented the usual array of proofs: a copy of the latest tribute list in which they did not appear as tributaries, several testimonials by witnesses as well as the baptism record of her son. All these proofs supported her claim and also added details that made the case more complex, as light was thrown on the genealogy of Don Camargo Yupayupanqui. The father of Doña Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanqui, named José Dionicio Gusman had been a tributary *indio*, subject to the labor service of the mita, but her mother, Maria Jacinta Ocllo Yuupanqui was an Incan noblewoman. Don Camargo Yupayupanqui's father, according to the baptism record was unknown, but the witnesses stated that he had been a mestizo, called Martín Camargo. Since Don Melchor Camargo Tupayupanqui had been born outside wedlock he was therefore a so-called "natural" or "illegitimate" child. In Peru, these children generally inherited the categorization of the mother, not the father (Albiez-Wieck 2020c). This rule contradicts a more racialized and bloodline-oriented understanding of inheritance favoring legitimacy as a crucial marker. Don Melchor Camargo Tupayupanqui, however, explicitly spoke about blood, stating that he should be recognized as exempt Inca nobleman due to the "qualities of his bloodline."[17] Since the proofs were in favor of Doña Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanquis claim, the Spanish authorities, in this case the *subdelegado*, confirmed the registration of her son, Don Melchor, and also his brother Pablo, in the *ayllu inca*, and declared them as "free" (AGNP, 1796a: f. 12vs).

The inconsistencies of fiscal rulings and within the Spanish administration can be observed in the fact that the next higher level, which received the petition, added a note on the margin, accepting the decision of tribute exemption, but changing the argumentation. It

[16] The *ayllu* was a corporate unit of descent central to the social organization of the Andes since prehispanic times.

[17] "qualidades de sanguinidad," AGNP (1796a: f. 10r).

was stated that Don Melchor Camargo Tupayupanqui should be exempt on the basis of being mestizo, and not based on his Inca ancestry.

The case of Doña Maria Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanqui and her sons might seem exceptional, but it was not. The alleged noble descendants of prehispanic Incas were organized in *ayllus incas* in several parts of the viceroyalty of Peru. Every now and then, the categorization and especially their exemption from tribute and labor service was questioned and they defended it in litigations (Albiez-Wieck, 2020b: chapter 5.1; de la Puente Luna, José Carlos, 2016; Macera, 2006; O´Phelan Godoy, 2013; Villanueva Urteaga and Horacio, 1986). Borchart de Moreno has even identified a case from a probable relative of Doña Maria Santos Ocllo Tupa Yupanqui: She analyzes the life of Don Bartolomé Mesa Tupacyupanqui, equally originally from San Gerónimo de Tunán who in the late eighteenth-century moved first to Lima and then to Cuenca in the Audiencia de Quito (nowadays Ecuador) where in 1796, in a criminal case, his categorization as Incas was first questioned, but later confirmed (Borchart de Moreno, 2013). Some alleged Incas even migrated to New Spain, where their fiscal privileges were equally acknowledged by Spanish authorities (AGNM, 1793; Arnold, 1995; Quispe-Agnoli, 2016). The preference of distinction through military titles instead of Inca nobility after the Tupac Amaru rebellion in the 1780s which has been pointed out by O'Phelan Godoy (O´Phelan Godoy 2013: 117–122) is not visible in the presented case from Jauja. Instead, in the case of Don Melchor Camargo Tupayupanqui the Peruvian viceregal authorities gave the categorization of being mestizo the preeminence over that of being Inca, contradicting their own rules of inheritance and legitimacy.

The most advantageous categorization in the Spanish colonies, both from a fiscal and a social point of view, was that of being Spaniard under which being creole, i.e. born in America was subsumed. While in the different Spanish kingdoms of the time, all Spaniards belonged to different fiscal categorizations, some paying the poll tax of the *pecho*, some not, when arriving at American soil they all became automatically exempt. There exist numerous petitions debating whether people with some percentage of indigenous or African ancestry should be classified as "mixed" mestizos or mulattos (Albiez-Wieck 2020a). And even two supposedly "pure" categorizations, such as being *indio* or Spaniard could be tried to be applied to one and the same person. One example from central New Spain, more specifically from the town of Actopan in the jurisdiction of Tula dates from 1804 (AGNM, 1804). The petition was a collective one and was headed by Don Fabian Gomez Cayetano. The petitioners claimed to be Spaniards,

> clean from all [bad] race and have always been exempt from the tribute the Indians pay, without any of them ever being registered in any tribute list, because they have always been known, noted for and established by all the townspeople of this jurisdiction as Spaniards (AGNM, 1804: f. 240vs).[18]

They complained that however, they recently had been obliged to pay tribute, something "repugnant to their *calidad*" (AGNM, 1804: f. 240vs). Throughout their petition, they pointed out their contribution to the community by paying *alcabala* and serving in public offices but also to their purity. The terminology employed is very similar to the "certifications for the purity of blood," *probanzas de limpieza de sangre*. This kind of source had originated in fifteenth-century Spain with a mostly religious goal, aiming at the identification of converted Jews and Muslims and their descendants, the so-called new Christians. When being transferred to America, it became preoccupied with impurity mostly related to African ancestry and the attached stigma of slavery which was often termed as "bad race," *mala raza* (Castillo Palma 2011; Hering Torres 2011; Martínez 2008). These certifications became increasingly widespread in eighteenth-century New Spain and the employed terminology pointed at increasing, though not yet fixed and commonly established ideas of racialization in the modern, biological sense (Albiez-Wieck 2020a).

Besides their alleged Spanish purity, the petitioners in this case highlighted the fact that their exemption from tribute was what differentiated them most clearly from the indigenous people, that they did not want to be equated to them and that they had acquired the privilege of exemption through their virtue, their courage and their blood shed for their king. While the benevolent king had always defended their privileges, mid-level colonial administrators did not obey the just rulings and clear system of classification trying to convert them in "amphibious men who should be Indians to tribute and Spaniards to contribute in everything else" (AGNM, 1804: f. 241r).[19] Unfortunately, until now I have not been able to find the final resolution for this case, so we do not know if the presented "proofs of their *calidad*" (AGNM, 1804: f. 241vs) were deemed sufficient by the authorities.

[18] "españoles limpios de toda raza han sido siempre exentos de la contribucion de tributos que hacen los yndios, sin que jamas haya sido ninguno de ellos empadronado en tasacion alguna, porque siempre se han reputado, tenido y estimado de todos los vecinos de aquella jurisdiccion por españoles."

[19] "hombres anfibios que sean yndios para tributar, y españoles para contribuir en lo demás."

The third and last example from the Philippines dates more than 150 years before the previous ones (AGI, 1627). It shows the importance of religion, which was never that central in petitions from Spanish America where all inhabitants were forced to convert, mostly within the first decades after conquest. The Chinese migrants to the Philippines, the sangleyes, however, were urged, but not always compelled to do so.[20] This 1627 petition was presented by a Dominican friar, Melchor de Manzano, on behalf of the Manilan sangleyes which mostly lived outside the walled Spanish city in a ghetto called *parián*. The sangleyes complained that when converting to Catholicism, they were being shaved and had to pay an excessive amount of tribute. However, by law, all recently converted indigenous people in the Spanish Empire had the right of tribute exemption for ten years (Solórzano Pereira, 1648: 183 (Cap. XX)). Besides, the crown had forbidden their shaving since it made it impossible for them to go back to China due to the "infamy it means in their nation not to have it [long]" (AGI, 1627: f. 2r).[21] Arguing that these obstacles for conversion hindered many to convert, Melchor de Manzano urged the Spanish authorities to stop the shaving and provide the recently converted sangleyes with the same fiscal privileges indigenous people enjoyed in the Spanish Empire. At the end of the documentation, a decision is indicated which follows these suggestions. From later documentation, we know, however, that the sangleyes continued to be heavily taxed during the following centuries of Spanish colonial rule and that their taxation and status continued to be the cause of sometimes even violent disputes (AGI, 1642, 1679, 1683, 1708, 1790). What also continued in following decades was the fact that many sangleyes continued to migrate back and forth between China and the Philippines, defying Spanish attempts of restricting their mobility. The haircut continued to be a typical characteristic until well into the nineteenth century (Coo 2019: 83,393,694).

Conclusion

Fiscal categorizations were an important way of "doing difference" early modern empires used to hierarchically organize colonial societies. The fiscal categorizations established by the Spanish administration in both the West and East Indies differed

[20] Chinese migration to Manila existed already prior to the Spanish arrival but increased significantly due to the establishment of the galleon system, i.e. the trade with Spanish America and Spain via Acapulco in New Spain. Due to their rapidly increasing numbers, they presented a constant preoccupation of the Spanish administration. Their immigration was restricted, sometimes they were expelled, they were heavily taxed and several massacres occurred in the first half of the seventeenth century. The 1589 expulsion was linked to a forced conversion. At the same time the Spaniards depended on and profited heavily from the Chinese, especially regarding trade. Cf. Abinales and Amoroso (2005: 64–66); Chu (2010: 54–56).

[21] "por la ynfamia que en su naçion es no tenerlo."

significantly from both the prehispanic ones and those existing in Spain, albeit we can see some continuities. Some of the newly created categorizations were extremely long-lasting, such as for example the *indio*, mestizo, and mulatto, which were and are much more than only fiscal categorizations and existed throughout the global Spanish empire. They were also present in other European empires and often outlasted independence, as in the Portuguese, Dutch, French and Italian territories in America, Africa and Asia (Alencastro 2012; Harris 2008; Lehmkuhl 2016; Pols and Anderson 2018; Schaub 2020). Others were regionally confined, such as the *mestizo de sangley* in the Philippines, which would play an important role in the late nineteenth-century process of independence (Coo 2019: 29; Tan 1986). Both the globally present and the regionally bounded classifications call for comparative research. I am quite confident that many such studies would reveal that the fiscal aspect of these categorizations turn out to have constituted a crucial element in the imperial politics of difference. Or the other way around: As I have shown in this article, researching fiscal regimes allows a perfect window into understanding how processes of colonial categorizations worked across the globe.

In all early modern empires, the classification into one or another fiscal categorization had a tangible effect on monetary and labor obligations or exemptions thereof. As in many other imperial configurations, vassals of the Spanish crown in America and the Philippines tried to influence their categorization, among others by resorting to the legal procedure of petitions. Within these petitions, we can observe the intersections of fiscal classifications with different social categorizations. In the examples highlighted here, we could see the relevance of ancestry, nobility, migrant status, an incipient racialization of the colonial *calidad*, and, especially in the Philippines, religion. In consequence, the research presented here can serve as a blueprint to investigate imperial politics of difference both from a conceptual and a methodological point of view.

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Practicing Exclusion and Managing Diversity in England's Trade and Empire, 1550-1700

Edmond Smith[1]

Abstract

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England's trade and empire took place in global spaces that were home to a plethora of distinct cultures, peoples, and ways of doing business. To overcome this challenge, English merchants developed a range of institutional innovations designed to manage diversity and facilitate their participation in these complex international environments. Central to these practices were corporate forms of organisation that institutionalised exclusion as means of managing diversity, at home and abroad. This article examines how these exclusive practices developed and how they contributed to the emergence of systemic inequalities within the emerging British empire.

Keywords

Early modern England, British empire, Corporation, Business, Inequality, Diversity

Resumo

Nos séculos XVI e XVII, o comércio e o império ingleses desenvolveram-se a uma escala global, em espaços caracterizados por diversidade cultural, populacional e de práticas de negócio. Os mercadores ingleses responderam aos desafios apresentados por estas diversidades através do desenvolvimento de uma série de inovações institucionais, de forma a administratrar, controlar e facilitar a participação do grupo num contexto internacional de negócios. Uma das respostas institucionais aos desafios impostos pelas várias diversidades for o desenvolvimento de formas corporativas de organização do negócio, as quais institucionalizaram o fenómeno de exclusão como forma de controlo e administração da diversidade, em Inglaterra e no estrangeiro. Este artigo examina a forma de desenvolvimento destas práticas e a forma como as mesmas contribuiram para a emergência de um sistema de desigualdade no império britânico.

Palavras Chave

Inglaterra no período moderno, Império britânico, Corporativismo, Negócios, Desigualdade, Diversidade

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Introduction

In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, England's trade and empire took place in global spaces that were home to a plethora of distinct cultures, peoples, and ways of doing business. Managing diversity was an integral part of how English merchants and other participants set out to engage in trade and empire overseas. First, commercial and colonial activities took place in a variety of environments, and each required modes of engagement that recognised and adapted to its unique attributes. Second, English merchants overseas experienced cosmopolitan settings in which they confronted communities that differed both from the English merchants themselves and from each other, again requiring adaptation and understanding. In an effort to ensure that English actors in these spaces were capable of working with diverse peoples and in diverse spaces, England's merchants adopted ways of working that were often exclusionary, whereby only a specific professional group of Englishmen could participate in trading ventures overseas (Sacks 1995; Jones and Ville 1996; Erikson 2014). This meant that practices of exclusion were often justified as a means of generating forms of formal governance that would ensure orderly trade, the creditability of English merchants, and good relations with local people (Harris 2020). This, in turn, led English merchants to develop and maintain a unique role in English society, and they faced perceived threats to their position on professional, class and other grounds. The specific ways that English merchants imposed their regulatory structures differed depending on the requirements of specific localities overseas and were shaped by the experience of merchants operating in these environments, but in general, English merchants lived within their own small communities even as they established themselves in cross-cultural trading networks.[2]

Central to the development and enforcement of these practices were the corporations – urban, livery and trading – that shaped so much of England's commercial activity during the early modern period (Smith, 2021a). While these organisations were, at times, responsible for directly managing specific trades, they were more typically and importantly responsible for establishing and regulating the institutions that underpinned commercial activity (Gelderblom 2013). At their core, these organisations operated on the basis whereby their members – known collectively as freemen, citizens or the generality in different organisations – were given access to corporate activities in return for corporate support. For instance, once becoming a "citizen" or "freeman" of the City of London

[2] Similar practices sustained Wangara, Sephardic, and Armenian trading communities. See Curtin (1984), Trivellato (2009), and Aslanian (2011).

corporation, members could vote in elections or serve as officers for the company. In turn, they would be protected by their corporation's privileges regarding life and work in the city. Livery companies and trading companies, likewise, permitted members access to unique commercial and social opportunities in return for their agreement to abide by each organisation's regulations. Sometimes corporations took direct investment from their members in specific projects—such as livery company's colonial activities in Ireland or the East India Company joint-stock financing model—but more typically merchants worked within these organisations in partnerships with other members. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, corporations were as likely to represent "overseas merchants trading on their own accounts according to collective regulations" as they were joint-stock financed company-states (Leng 2016). This article, by examining the role of corporations and the practices of exclusion that defined them, will analyse how English merchants managed their experience of diversity, and to trace the ways in which practices adapted and developed during this formative period of commercial expansion and imperial development.

Focusing on the institutions that enabled English merchants to conduct cross-cultural trade allows us to trace the tensions within both historical sources and the historiography: between the cosmopolitanism English merchants found in many trading spaces, and the exclusionary treatment of the "other" in principle and in practice within England's trade and empire.[3] The English were not, of course, alone in managing the difficult balancing act between "interaction and segregation, co-existence and curiosity, profit and exchange," and they were participating in spaces where practices of overcoming these challenges were often contested by other communities encountered within them (Salzberg 2019: 416). For instance, if we consider William Hawkins's account of his time in Agra at the Mughal court, we learn much about his familiarity and integration into the courtly community—perhaps most notably in his marriage to an Armenian woman at the behest of the emperor Jahangir. However, his account also lays bare how his understanding of his place in the court was riven with fears about his security; his disparaging and fearful perception of Portuguese Jesuits; and his negative portrayal of many local people on ethnic, cultural or religious grounds.[4] In accounts like Hawkins's, we can see how the experience of the "global" in specific spaces could be simultaneously inclusive—in terms of facilitating trade, exchange and communication across boundaries—and exclusionary, highlighting participants"

[3] This tension is clear, for instance, in Games (2008) and in much writing by travellers during this period, see Thompson (2016) and Das and Youngs (2019).

[4] Hawkins's account is transcribed in Foster (1921), pp. 60-120. For the most recent examination of this account, see Singh (2021).

perceived difference and separation from communities and people that they engaged with. As Nathalie Rothman has suggested, actors taking part in such contexts articulated ideas of "belonging and foreignness" together, simultaneously straddling political and cultural boundaries and engaging in notions of nationhood and separation (Rothman 2011: 3).

Recent reflections on global and micro history have highlighted these frictions further. As Sanjay Subrahmanyan and others have demonstrated, simple dichotomies between communities in these early modern contexts, even when generalised by contemporary commentators, are ill-suited as a means for interpreting global encounter (Subrahmanyam 2011: 21-22). We are warned against the habit of "celebrating the cosmopolitan" and not to assume that "the person who crosses cultural boundaries with a certain facility [was] always valued in past societies" (Subrahmanyam 2011: 22). In Ghobrial's examination of "Elias of Babylon," for instance, we are shown the "importance of dissimulation, self-fashioning and improvisation as critical elements in the experience of individuals whose lives were lived on a global stage" (Ghobrial 2014: 58). Rather than "faceless globetrotters, colourless chameleons and invisible boundary crossers," merchants" experiences of diversity were just as likely to take place in moments of "crisis and dislocation" (Ghobrial 2014: 59-60). Similarly, De Vivo cautions that global history can encourage focus on "encounters and exchanges at the expense of conflict," and England's merchants certainly experienced (and caused) enough of the latter to show how understanding their experience of diversity must fit uncomfortably between these extremes (Vivo 2019: 180). By recognising this tension, we can see in the institutions that developed to support English merchants frameworks for engagement with the wider world that sought both to mitigate the challenges of acting in "cosmopolitan" spaces and ensure that English merchants could maintain their distance and division even while embedded in other communities overseas. In this way, we can see moments where our interpretation of the mercantile experience "investigates the connections between individual and context, between the regional, national and even the global" and served to connect "local communities and international networks" (Vivo 2010: 392).

The challenges that global trading spaces presented, as much as any cosmopolitanism that allowed them to function as effective markets, helped justify the need for institutional frameworks that could manage how English actors participated within them. As Douglass North has argued, "the development of long-distance trade, perhaps through caravans or lengthy ship voyages, requires a sharp break in the characteristics of an economic structure" that cannot be explained through the lives of individual merchants or events: they are instead "largely a story of institutional evolution" (North 1991: 97-99; Milgrom, North and Weingast 1990). On the one hand, livery, urban and trading corporations represented a form of collective action through which members could more effectively negotiate with states, enforce contracts, and strengthen bonds between members (Greif 2006; Harris 2020; Smith 2021a). On the other, they adopted restrictive, exclusionary practices that could limit competition, increase transaction costs, and stymie innovation (Ogilvie 2012: 420-422). Across these organisations, and the merchant community that they represented and sustained, institutional models were developed that merchants would depend upon as they established trade with peoples further and further afield.[5] While corporations relied on the support from the state—especially for patents and charters that defined their privileges—it was primarily merchants that drove and governed them. In relation to long-distance trade, through which English merchants would come to interact with diverse people in cross-cultural contexts across the world, these corporate structures helped create means by which participants could more effectively operate (Carlos, 1992). However, they were, in England and overseas, structures built on practices of exclusion that would come to inform how English actors managed their experience of diversity overseas, especially as they obtained more responsibilities governing lands and people in an expanding empire. By focusing on diversity in the developing English empire in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, then, this article seeks to show how corporate practice in England shaped the English experience of diversity overseas.

Membership and Monopoly: Systems of Exclusion in England's Commercial Expansion

Between 1550 and 1650, England's merchant's engagement in international commerce expanded rapidly. In Bristol, imports increased from around £12,500 in 1563 to over £80,000 in 1637, while in London they rose from £900,000 in 1600 to £1,900,000 in 1640 (Stone 2011: 219-225; Millard 1956: 316). Exports rose too, including so-called "old draperies" (woollen broadcloths) that had risen in volumes from just shy of 20,000 cloths in 1485 to over 127,000 by 1614, but also less traditional products (Brenner 1993: 9; Supple 1959: 258).[6] For instance, between 1600 and 1640, exports of high-quality cloth made with

[5] For detail regarding the practical organisation of trading companies see Anderson, McCormick and Tollison (1983), Fisher (1933), and Scott (1910).

[6] These volumes relate specifically to shortcloths from London by English merchants.

Spanish wool increased from zero to over 13,000 per year, while the sale of cheaper, colourful "new draperies" increased fivefold and soon matched "old draperies" in terms of value (Supple 1959: 136-162). In London, the value of exports other than "old draperies" increased from almost £200,000 in 1609 to upwards of £600,000 by 1640 (Supple 1959: 153). Similarly, total exports from Bristol rose from around £7500 to just over £48,500 per year between 1563 and 1637 (Stone 2011: 219-226). These increases were not just due to new markets in Asia or America but in the widespread expansion of trade to sites across Europe, the Mediterranean, and Africa. By 1660, total imports into England were valued at £3,495,000, of which colonies contributed £421,000, the East India Company £409,000 and European trades a massive £2,638,000. Exports were even more skewed towards European markets, which received £1,809,000 of the £2,039,000 total, leaving only £163,000 for colonial markets and £30,000 for the East India Company (Zahedieh 2010: 11).

To facilitate and then manage this expansion, many significant trades were placed in the hands of people with distinct professional training, membership and interests – known as "mere merchants" (Smith 2021a: 63-69). English merchants were required to do business in locations—within and beyond Europe—where their business could be experimental, dangerous, and relied on effectively working together and with foreign merchants and brokers to be successful (Curtin 1984: 38-59). To do business meant working within different commercial frameworks and these were certainly not imposed by England on the world. As Francesca Trivellato has highlighted in reference to the Sephardic diaspora, mercantile success depended on the ability to adapt and function effectively in the face of different economic practices and behaviours maintained by trading partners overseas (Trivellato 2009: 1-2). How to achieve this, and to ensure that English merchants could reliably be expected to act in ways that would not be detrimental to other English merchants, was a challenge that shaped the way English trade was structured and managed, and informed the practices of exclusion that underpinned it. The practicalities of trading with people across the world could be learned through training and experience but making sure that there were institutional structures that could be depended upon to ensure merchants could operate in these environments was a much greater challenge. As Catia Antunes, Amelia Polonia, Sebouh Aslanian, Ron Harris and others have shown, approaches for developing and maintaining such institutions differed greatly in different contexts, but at their core had many of the same aims—to generate trust, standardise behaviour, and regulate people (Antunes and Polónia 2015; Aslanian 2011; Harris 2020). In the English case, these aims were managed in part through the imposition of strict inclusion standards within the merchant community, both by private traders and within the corporations that oversaw large parts of England's overseas trade. That is to say, you could only participate in England's formal trading empire if you had completed the necessary training and been welcomed into the corporations that regulated it. In this way, English merchants sought to establish strict regulations about training, employment, accountability, reporting and discipline across, with the expectation that these would strengthen the bonds between them and allow them to operate on a global stage. Through these means, innovations and novel approaches employed by corporations and private traders alike were grounded on mercantile practices that remained secure, resting on decades of tradition and common practice.

To take part in English trade, therefore, meant being part of a community that had its own rules, behaviours, and customs, many of which were reinforced by a corporate system that defined who could participate in global trading activities and where they could do it.[7] Exclusionary practices on the part of England's merchants began when young men (there was a strict gender division within the "mere merchant" community) began their apprenticeships, which were an essential route for entering the commercial community.[8] Apprenticeships usually began in someone's late-teens, meaning apprentices would usually have completed some schooling (including essential skills like writing and arithmetic) and possibly had some experience of the operations of their family's businesses (Rappaport 1989: 295; Wallis 2008: 846-847). Once in these roles, aspiring merchants were able to obtain the skills and connections necessary for becoming fully fledged members of the merchant community, usually by receiving on-the-job as factors or servants for more senior merchants, often overseas. Through this mechanism, apprentices would receive training and obtain experience while working for minimal wages, usually for some years (Epstein 1998; Humphries 2003; Wallis 2008). In doing so, they obtained the practical and social training that made it possible for them to join England's commercial community. Apprentices were not only trained in the specific skills required for conducting trade, such as writing letters or

[7] A trading company was not normally the first or only corporation that a merchant would join. In most circumstances, they would have completed their apprenticeship under the auspices of a Livery Company (somewhat comparable to European guilds) and having obtained membership of this organisation become a citizen and member of urban corporation (such as the City of London or City of Bristol), following which they would be in a position to join a trading company as a full-fledged member (rather than working within them as a servant or apprentice). Many of these corporations had similar components, such a member's being able to vote and participate in the activities of the "generality" and to stand for election, but each differed too depending on the scope of their privileges and their core activities. An urban corporation, for instance, focused on regulating the lives of people living in the urban environment, while a livery company might regulate a craft and enforce standards, and a trading company oversaw the regulation of trade overseas. Many corporations had overlapping interests and authority, leading to competition and disagreements between them (or collaboration), both domestically and overseas. See Smith (2021a), pp. 57-172.

[8] On female apprentices, see Ben-Amos (1991) and Gowing (2016).

keeping accounts, but were also tied into their employer's client, credit and supplier networks. This was essential for many merchants, who required trusted apprentices and servants to operate on their behalf overseas.[9] Importantly, apprenticeships also served to educate young merchants about the cultural and behavioural norms of doing business in the early modern world. Such tacit knowledge, acquired through imitation, observation and experience, was most effectively obtained through an apprenticeship immersed in the practice of trade (Wallis 2008: 847). Vitally, "the completion of an apprenticeship marked a man out as trustworthy and dutiful" (Humphries 2003: 90). Through the process of apprenticeship, young merchants were able to demonstrate their suitability for joining a community that depended on common behavioural norms to maintain the bonds of trust and creditability that made long distance trade possible.

By demonstrating their ability to participate in the merchant community, young merchants were able to meet the requirements of joining corporations and participating in its activities as a fully-fledged member.[10] In most cases, people could join a corporation through ancient right (that they had belonged to the trade before), patrimony, service or redemption (Withington 2005: 29-37). The expectation that members were part of this distinct, merchant profession is clear in the entry requirements for many organisations.[11] For instance, the Eastland Company insisted "that none be admitted unless he were a merchant," defined as someone who had "of some good countenance not less than three years trade at home and abroad beyond the seas merchant like."[12] Similarly, the Spanish Company, allowing entry only to those who "dealt and traded as a merchant, without any retailing or shop-keeping, the full space and term of eight years (in which time an apprentice by his service may attain to the freedom) shall be accounted a mere merchant."[13] Thus, when the mercer Thomas Dalby and merchant tailor Edward Davenant sought entry in 1604, they were refused "by reason they are supposed to be retailors and keepers of warehouses." Attempting to overcome the rejection by agreeing to pay £10 for their membership, this offer too was

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[9] For a detailed quantitative analysis of relationships between apprentices, their masters, and the leadership of England's trading companies, see Brock (2017).

[10] Female members of these organisations were rare and were investors rather than merchants or factors, but they could be influential. See, Ewen (2019) and Ewen and Brock (2021).

[11] As Gelderblom notes, institutional structures in European trading centres also adopted practices to resolve disputes between merchants privately, rather than involving the state legal machinery. See Gelderblom (2013), p. 139.

[12] Company of the Merchant Adventurers of York [CMAY], Acts and Ordinances of Eastland Merchants, f. iii. Requirements for time spent overseas was reduced to two years in 1617. CMAY, Acts and Ordinances of Eastland Merchants, f. 5-7. 18th March 1617.

[13] British Library [BL], Add Ms 9365, p. 51. Register Book of the Spanish Company, 1st July 1605.

dismissed by the generality who "agreed that they are not capable" as merchants.[14] Similar offers by "certain merchants of Southampton" were also rejected on the basis that they also worked as shopkeepers, and that allowing them entry would be "dangerous a precedent" and "inconvenient for the company."[15] In part this was because of concerns that admitting retailers and shopkeepers would undermine the prices that merchants members could obtain for their goods, often sold to shopkeepers, but also because these outsiders did possess the correct training to operate within a mercantile organisation. The standards of these corporations were enforced, and the exclusion criteria were strict.

For people who sought to enter corporations by redemption rather than through apprenticeship or service, and pay a higher charge to do so, this was acceptable on if they were "being all mere merchants and free of other companies"— if not within the Spanish Company, they must still have completed the required training in a different corporation.[16] Similar practices were found in the French Company, that welcomed applicants who were sons of members or apprentices "employed in that trade by the space of two years," while the Levant Company charged only 20s for apprentices who had served the company for three years (compared to £50 for those entering by redemption) and would "remove, expel and put out of the said company" members found "to be retailers and not mere merchants."[17] These practices were not just restriction to corporations based in London, either, and across England trading bodies insisted that their members met similar standards. Thus, when the Company of Merchants Inhabiting in Kingston upon Hull was chartered, it too restricted membership to those "using the trade of merchandise from Hull into the parts beyond the seas."[18]

As well as demanding specific training or experience, England's trading corporations also carefully restricted access to people whose livelihoods were not predominantly focused on overseas trade. For example, the Merchant Adventurers of York forbade members from "keeping shops of retail in London" because it brought down prices and therefore took "the living from their brothers."[19] Similar restrictions were maintained in Bristol, where "no

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[14] Ibid., p. 25. 19th September 1604.

[15] Ibid., p. 40. 15th January 1606.

[16] Ibid., p. 26. 31st August 1604.

[17] The National Archive, UK [TNA], Patent Rolls, 9 Jac. 1, 35. Charter of the French Company, 1611; BL, Add Ms 20031, ff. 9-10, 20. Charter of the Levant Company, 9th November 1605.

[18] Hull History Centre and Archive, C BRS/1/3. Petition to Queen Elizabeth from Kingston upon Hull, 11th May 1577.

[19] CMAY, Trade Correspondence, London. John More's Comments on the Eastland Company, Merchant Adventurers and Spanish Trade, 1579.

retailer or artificer, whilst they remain retailers or artificers, shall be received or admitted in to the freedom" of the Merchant Venturers, and similar rules applied to Merchant Adventurers in London.[20] Across these corporations, practices of exclusion were common, reinforcing both what we might call "class" or "professional" boundaries regarding access to England's expanding commercial activities, as well strict hierarchies based on age and wealth within organisations. Women, 'strangers" and "aliens" were typically excluded irrespective of what training or skills they might have contributed to these organisations (Das et al 2021). Once overseas, as well as functioning in communities that were strictly defined by national and professional identity, many merchants overseas operated in what Rachel Moss and Eva Johanna Holmberg have described as "homosocial environments," which rarely included wives or other English women. For instance, in the Levant Company, "the community in Istanbul mostly consisted of younger unmarried men serving their masters" (Moss 2018: 11). Such "formally structured homosocial environments" helped "to establish and perpetuate hegemonic norms about gendered behaviour and social power" (Holberg 2021: 227).

Strict exclusions like these were justified on the basis that they were necessary for securing orderly conduct among merchants overseas that was required for operating in difficult trading environments and to make sure that English creditability was not damaged by actors who were not deemed capable of operating in these spaces. In turn, these exclusionary criteria were reinforced by monopolistic control of trade—either in general from specific ports or in relation to specific geographies overseas—that gave corporations the ability to restrict access further. Within these corporations, though, these practices were designed to provide the support and structure necessary for conducting trade overseas effectively (Scot, 1910; Blussé and Gaastra 1981; Wallis Coulson and Chilosi 2018; Ogilvie 2019).[21] In exchange for the powers, including monopolies, that corporations received, they took responsibility for the affairs of their polities in their designated spheres (Stern 2012: 42). As Philip Withington has shown in relation to urban corporations in the sixteenth century, these organisations transformed political culture and created "little commonwealths" that were governed by their own citizens in line with contemporary ideas regarding civic responsibility (Withington 2005). Similar practices can be seen in livery and trading corporations, where specifics behaviours were encouraged and enforced as a means not just of building effective government but also instilling members with each company's

[20] Bristol Archive, SMV/1/1/1/7, f. 77. Acts, Ordinances and Decrees [undated]; BL, Add Ms 18913, f. 81. The Lawes, Customs, and Ordinances, of the Fellowship of Merchant Adventurers, 1608.

[21] Corporations and other forms of communal governance provided an institutional framework for economic activity.

conceptualising of its own “moral economy,” behavioural standards and forms of governance (Middleton and Shaw 2018; Wubs-Mrozewicz 2011). These practices were transferred and exchanged across the merchant community and its corporations through tightly interlinking networks between members—who often belonged to multiple trading organisations—and helped generate accepted practices of behaviour whereby corporations functioned as both formal institutions and informal communities.[22] Even when corporations operated as functioning “company-states,” imposing their authority over employees, members and others, they were restricted and directed by individuals within the complex web of social interactions and relationships that made up their memberships (Stern 2012: 6). Once part of corporate organisations, and to benefit from their institutional structure and monopolistic powers, merchants were expected to follow its rules, meet its behavioural expectation, and commit to working for the common good of all its members (Greif, Milgrom and Weingast 1994). In England, then, the professional role of “mere merchants” within trading corporations maintained, for the most part, strict exclusionary criteria about who could participate in overseas ventures, how they were expected to act during them, and what structures were put in place to govern their lives while overseas.

Living Overseas: Managing Diversity, Maintaining Separation

Once overseas, though, the challenge of participating in international trading circuits required English merchants to do business in places that lay beyond the familiar confines of their home markets. In these spaces, Anver Greif, and others, have suggested the prevalence of common legal norms and customary practices across different national and cultural boundaries helped create some forms of common commercial practice in spaces like the Mediterranean*,* and English merchants would have been familiar with these as a consequence of their common training (North 1999: 97; Greif 2006: 70-71). As Kenneth Pomeranz and Steven Topik have suggested, “trade diasporas remained the most efficient way of organising commerce across much of Afro-Eurasia until the nineteenth century” and in many ways the English merchant community mirrored this pattern of organisation (Pomeranz and Topik 1999: 7). Common practices within the English “diaspora,” or community, were vital because “trust was an essential component of early modern long-distance trade,” whether English merchants were seeking to ensure an “orderly” woollen trade in Hamburg, find new trading

[22] For networks, see Smith (2018a, 2021b). For formal and informal roles of corporations, see Rappaport (1989), Withington (2007), and Bishop (2011).

partners in Ahmadabad, or maintain a sense of community in Madras.[23] In these contexts, as Francesca Trivellato has shown in relation to the Sephardic diaspora, trust was generated through communal forms of governance and reciprocal behaviours that contributed to the development of "communities of mercantile trust" that were carefully formulated and maintained (Trivellato 2005: 101-103; Trivellato, 2009: 12).[24] To function in diverse spaces, where English merchants "worked across geopolitical, linguistic, and religious boundaries," as well as different economic cultures, customs and jurisdictions, it was essential that they had the institutional structures necessary to do so (Trivellato 2009: 1). In this way, English merchants adopted similar methods to other commercial communities that "operated simultaneously in different colonial settings" whereby the need to adapt to specific local contexts did not undermine relationships within their own community (Silva 2011: 7, 17).

The behavioural standards that were imposed among English merchants overseas by the exclusionary criteria of their corporations were a lifeline when these individuals were places into the diverse, contested and sometimes dangerous spaces in which they were required to do business—whether in Europe or further afield. One useful guide for considering what these looked like in practice is the *Merchants Avizo*—a book compiled by the experienced merchant John Browne that offered recommendations to English merchants that could be applied both in 'spain and Portugal or other countries." In his text, Browne explained how his own entry into Spanish markets, in the sixteenth century, had been "troubled with difficulties, for want of such pattern as this, for ease of our tender wits," and he hoped that his guide would make clear how new merchants were expected to act. Recognising the trading effectively required building relationships with people from diverse background, a central tenet of Browne's advice was that all merchants 'show yourself lowly, courteous, and serviceable unto every person." Noting that "it is well known by experience" that "there springs of no one virtue so great fruit unto us, as of gentleness and humility: for it will both appease the anger and ill will of our enemies, and increase the good will of our friends," he suggested an approach that was, as far as forming business relationships went at least, remarkably inclusive. It was not the place of English merchants to impose their own expectations onto others and Browne remined the reader that they should be "circumspect

[23] Christopher Bayly used the concept of "communities of mercantile trust" in Bayly (2002), p. 59. Aslanian draws on concept of 'social capital" to interpret these relationships, Aslanian (2011), pp. 166-174. For "Communal governance" in a corporate context, see Smith (2018b). For how "disorderly" members and outsiders interacted with these communities, see Leng (2016).

[24] Competition within commercial communities was of course common, and conflicts of interest between competing merchants could have significant repercussions for the stability of these groups. See, Bhattacharya (2008).

touching your behaviour when you be in the country of Spain or elsewhere," and to "learn what be their civil laws and customs, and be careful to keep them" (Browne 1590: dedication, 3-5). Working overseas meant not only working within spaces with different customs and cultures but ensuring that as a merchant you were capable of following the same.

While Browne's text was just one guide about how to trade overseas—albeit one that was reprinted in multiple editions in the later sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries—it aligned closely with the expectations made both of young apprentices and more senior merchants when they operated overseas. Ensuring that merchants maintained such values, obtained through their apprenticeships and experience trading overseas, was a necessary first step in ensuring English merchants could operate effectively both within their own community and within cross-cultural environments overseas. Thus, English merchants experience of diversity was often intricately linked to their efforts to embed themselves in the ports and cities where they did business, a task that required they sustain relationships with local people. For instance, following a difficult entry into the region in the later sixteenth century, English merchants trading to Morocco confessed they needed more time to learn the customs of the region and the best places to conduct trade before they would be able to outperform non-European competitors.[25] As merchants spread further from their traditional routes into Spain and northern-Europe, they carried these behaviours into new ventures – whether undertaking business in Livorno, Smyrna, or Surat, forming working relationships with local traders was essential (Divitiis and Parkin 1990: 23-35; MacLean and Matar 2011: 79-123). When merchants failed to live up to these expectations, they risked the reputation of the wider English community. Corporate charters insisted that "no commerce or intercourse can be maintained or continue without order and government," and it was through working effectively with local people, "by their orderly trading and selling" that merchants might "gain many privileges" and increase their market share.[26] Thus, when their members or interloping non-members acted in ways that risked these relationships, corporations were quick to try and establish their authority, removing such detrimental actors and returning their trade to "orderly" governance (Smith 2021a: 28-32, 110-116, 126-128).

Of course, these structures could only do so much to help English merchants understand and interact with the diverse societies and cultures that they encountered overseas. Poor information or understanding of the people they met could limit the

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[25] BL, Cotton Nero B XI, ff. 296, 299. Petition from merchants trading to Barbary to the earl of Leicester, 1574; An account of imports from Barbary and Portugal, 1574-5.

[26] TNA, Patent Rolls, 9 Jac. 1, 35. Charter of the French Company, 1611.

effectiveness of how well English merchants might embed into trading into difference localities. In accounts of new potential trading regions, sometimes written by English travellers but often translated, it is clear how stereotyping could warp English conceptions of diverse spaces and peoples. For instance, in 1580, the English merchant John Frampton, a member of the Muscovy Company who was seeking to encourage the expansion of the corporation's trade to east Asia, supported the publication of *A Discoverie of the Countries of Tartaria, Scithia, & Cataya, by the Northeast*. This text, that Frampton informed the reader he had translated from a collection written by the Spaniard Francisco Thamara, was designed to assist the corporation in its maritime passage to "Cataya," to "better shun perils" along the way, "and on the other side take the benefit of the place the better" (Frampton 1580: ii). Frampton's suggestion was that a north-eastern route, by sea, would allow English merchants to avoid the long southern route to Asia, which was dominated by the Spanish and Portuguese already, and discover their own entry into distant markets via the Anian Straight. Like many similar texts, Frampton's repeated rumour and myth as much as providing any evidence of contemporaneous travel to the regions discussed, and it was heavy with stereotyping about the peoples and places encountered. For instance, in his description of the Tatars, we are told that, in terms of appearance "all the Tatars are of an evil shape in their bodies, the most part of them being of small stature. They have huge great eyes, standing far out, and the lids thereof covered with very much hair" (Frampton 1580: 3). Worse still, Frampton reported that they were cannibals, describing how "when they take any prisoner of their enemies, to show their cruelty the more, and the desire they have to revenge themselves, sometimes they roast them at the fire, and after many of them assemble and eat him, like unto wolves, they tear him to pieces, and eat his flesh" (Frampton 1580: 5). Further east still, Frampton reported, was an island rich in "white pepper," but inhabited also by cannibals who "kill their enemies, eat their flesh, and drink their blood" ((Frampton 1580: 27).[27] For the Muscovy Company, if Frampton's text was taken seriously, this would hardly be a description to encourage trade or other interaction with Tatar or Ciampa people, irrespective of the rich commodities that might be on offer.

Yet, even as Frampton exhibited how stereotyping had the potential to shape English interest in and perception of particular planes and people in a very negative way, the final section of his texts, regarding "Cataya" reveals the opposite dynamic. Here, myth and information blurred to generate a description of this distant land that presented diversity as a source of massive wealth rather than something to fear and identified similarities between

[27] For uses of Cannibalism in medieval travel writing, see Montanari (2021).

English and Catayan culture and society that would easily allow merchants to do business together. Situated somewhere to "the other side of the Ganges," Frampton informed his readers, "is the best, and the richest country in all of India" which "is now called Cataya." Frampton's readers were informed how, in Cataya, "the people are of great reason, and live in better order than we do." Furthermore, the "Catayans are idolaters, great merchants, and craftsmen," with access to "gold, spices, and precious stones" as well as "ginger, pepper and cloves" (Frampton 1580: 21-22, 35). In terms of religion, too, Cataya was presented as friendly space, with "many Christians" already living there, a scholarly environment whereby it had "universities and studies of learning, and the scripture of the old and new testament, whereof it comes to pass that they honour God, and believe in the everlasting life" even if they were "not baptised." If rumours were true, Christianity in Cataya might be even more entrenched and Frampton reported that "in old time it was said, that it [Cataya] belonged to Prester John" (Frampton 1580: 21-22).[28] Finally, if it was to believed, in Cataya there was "neither pestilence, nor any other contagious diseases" (Frampton 1580: 23)! What better location could there be for English merchants to strike out and trade? Despite further efforts to explore the northern seas, no navigable passage to "Cataya" was found and English merchants had to come to terms with a reality in this distant land that would have diverged from Frampton's text.[29] Yet, as plans for a northern route diminished, texts like Frampton's and others, translated into English or collected by English travellers, shaped how distant lands were perceived, understood, and shaped the practices of English merchants as they increasingly interacted with markets across the world.[30]

Frampton's account of the Tatars and Cataya highlights the extreme ideas and perceptions that English merchants might carry with them as they sought to enter new markets and they certainly shaped how merchants might approach new spaces. However, such stereotyping, whether deeply negative or hopefully positive, while common in travel literature related to most places where English merchants did business, were rarely so obvious in the practices employed by English merchants when taking part in trade. If we consider one of the largest overseas English communities active during this period – in northern Germany – we can see how diversity experienced by English merchants was managed in practice. As Thomas Leng has demonstrated, "many issues that we associate with corporate contact with the world beyond Europe had been foreshadowed by a corporation

[28] For an examination of the link between "Cataya" and Prester John, see Aigle (2015), pp. 41-65.

[29] For information asymmetry in travel writing, see Mackenthun, Nicolas and Wodianka (2017).

[30] For corporate uses of travel writing, see Brock (2021).

[the Merchant Adventurers] operating in less exotic, but still challenging, territories" (Leng 2016b). In Europe, English merchants, whether from London or provincial ports like York, Newcastle or Hull, presented a united front and "traded alongside communities of foreign merchants arranging themselves into "nations" as a means to negotiate with local rulers (Leng 2016b: 510). In joining these self-organising groups, the Merchant Adventurers adopted and mirrored forms of organisation that had been transported northwards my merchants from southern Europe, often designed to navigate the cross-cultural spaces of the Mediterranean trading region, and the diversity therein. In doing so, the England's merchants benefited from "the willingness of continental cities to compete amongst themselves for merchant's custom, by offering lucrative privileges to foreign traders" (Leng 2016b: 511). For the Merchant Adventurers, then, the exclusionary practices that defined the company's membership and organisation of trade in England presented a positive means to engage with the diversity they encountered overseas. A consequence of these rules and regulations was, from the perspective of the Merchant Adventurers at least, the development of behaviours that made English merchants more attractive trading partners. Thomas Wheeler, the company's secretary, suggested that it was for this reason that foreign customers were drawn to its members "in most ample, friendly, and merchantlike manner," that meant "English commodities were kept and holden in singular credit and estimation" (Wheeler 1601: 45). Removing the company's rules and by allowing a more diverse range of English participants into the trade, Wheeler warned, would lead to a "promiscuous, straggling and dispersed trade" that would undermine the collective bargaining power of English merchants and simultaneously risk their carefully calibrated relationships with foreign traders and states in the region (Wheeler 1601: 13).

In his meticulous analysis of the experience of merchant John Quarles, a merchant specialising in expensive, dyed and dressed cloths, Leng digs deeper into the relationships that sustained his trading interests in Europe and highlights how "corporate affiliation impacted on the behaviour both of members, and of those excluded by the company's monopoly"—and importantly how this effected how their interacted with different actors in Germany (Leng 2016a: 825). He notes how Quarles, the son of a merchant and trained to the professional standards of the merchant community, organised trade in Middelburg and Stade through two factors (also trained merchants)—John Kendrick and George Lowe (Leng 2016a: 828). In the case of Lowe, the factor in Stade, Quarles willingness to operate in spaces outside the Merchant Adventurers" oversight placed his servant in a potentially precarious position—how would he manage to operating in this cross-cultural space without the support of the company? Mostly, it seems, by maintaining the same standards and practices as he had done so previously, by following the practices and behaviours of a well-trained merchant, and generally focusing on his place within the English community in Stade, rather than trying to integrate more deeply into the city's cosmopolitan networks. In his letters to Quarles, Lowe spent considerable efforts describing the demands and personalities of his European customers, and considerable concern given about how to maintain creditable relations with them, especially as they could be undermined by the poor-reputation of other English merchants. As this suggests, the English community in Stade was 'simultaneously interdependent and fragmented," and merchants like Lowe and Quarles remained bound within its rules and regulations even as corporate oversight might fall away – it was, after all, these very practices that were designed to keep them safe and productive while interacting with diverse cultures overseas.

However, whereas Lowe was part of a well-established community in Stade, the inability or unwillingness to operate within such parameters could be hugely detrimental for business, as seen in the case of Quarles interloping partner Thomas Jackson, who had trained under the Haberdasher and Merchant Adventurer Henry Billingsley, whose factors Lawrence Overton and William Ballydon had penetrated deep into the German interior to trade in sites such as Leipzig. Jackson's business interests ranged far beyond the remit and support of the English communities in Hamburg and Stade and was condemned by the Merchant Adventurers, yet, he had trained as a merchant and was still bound by the same behavioural and practical norms that this entailed. Thus, despite his contravention of the Merchant Adventurer's monopoly, details of his business activities and the ways in which he managed trading overseas naturally align with those of other English merchants—both those doing business in this part of Northern Europe and elsewhere. In this way, this episode serves a useful reminder that "corporate privileges created opportunities not only for members, but for outsiders who could access those parts formally closed to [members]"—and in Quarles we can identify a merchant who was willing to work with his fellow merchant Jackson outside the parameters of the company, choosing to maintain this relationship even if it undermined his place among the corporate community. However, despite some early commercial success, Jackson struggled to maintain positive relations, either with his European customers or with other English merchants, and he was pushed further and further into debt with Quarles, before his operations collapsed, and he became insolvent.

Throughout the letters Lowe shared with Quarles about this episode, there is little information about how the English merchants should manage specific experiences of diversity, and there was a much greater concern about who and who should not have access to markets overseas, rather than how English merchants might operate within them—it was expected that English merchants would have the training and skills necessary to navigate any experience of diversity that might come their way. As Leng correctly notes, the issues raised during this period, about the governance of trade and the role of corporations as regulators, "framed much of the debate on corporations for the century to come." By carefully maintaining institutional structures that rested on the exclusion or inclusion of participation in a domestic context, merchants believed that good relations and positive trading conditions could be maintained overseas (Leng 2016b: 512). It is with this in mind, then, that the experience and management of diversity in England's trade and empire needs to be considered, where a positive vision of global trading opportunity rubbed against the experience of traders overseas, and the challenges of maintaining their common practices and behaviours in challenging cross-cultural contexts.

As England's trading and colonial interests expanded, English practices for managing diversity were not restricted to ensuring commercial relations with local people, and in sites across the world English merchants would come to manage sizeable populations – both in terms of English communities but also non-English people. Encounters with diversity in spaces such as these forced English merchants to develop new strategies for governing themselves and their encounters with other peoples. For instance, as Haig Smith suggests, factors and servants of the East India Company when they "arrived in the cities of Surat, Bombay and Madras in the seventeenth century," "encountered cosmopolitan spaces that were centres of not only commerce but also religious interaction and exchange" (Smith 2021c). In terms of religious diversity, in sites like Madras or Bombay English merchants interacted with, and governed over, a vastly greater array of different faiths and ethnicities that they did in contexts like the Merchant Adventurers in Hamburg or Stade.[31] These included Memon Sunnis, Khoja Shias, Turkish Chalebis, Bengali Banias, Zoroastrian Parsis and Cochin Jews, as well as Armenian, French Capuchin, Dutch Protestant and Portuguese Jesuit communities. As Smith notes, these groups presented England's merchants with a dilemma, representing both "religious familiarity, friendship, and cooperation" and 'spiritual competition and antagonism" (Smith 2021c). In spaces like these, English traders serving the East India Company were governed by many of the same rules and regulations as their counterparts in other parts of the world, but applied their practices of exclusion and inclusion

[31] Across the world, the challenges of religious governance over English merchants were compounded by the variety of Protestant sects represented within this community. See, Smith (2018c, 2021d).

in ways that suited the specific local context of these Indian cities. The training and experience that English merchants had received, often in religious spaces like the Iberian or Ottoman empire where they similarly operated in non-Protestant environments, did provide some guidance about how to positively interact with the diverse populations in regions like south Asia.

As the company came to control access to commercial spaces, they sought to ensure that they continued similar practices of working positively alongside traders of diverse faiths. For instance, the *Articles of Agreement Between the [English] Governor and Inhabitants of Bombay* in 1684 guaranteed "the liberty of exercising their respective religion" to non-English residents in the town.[32] However, despite this willingness to trade with people of diverse faiths and ethnicities, the diversity experienced in these locations did worry some East India Company officials who was concerned that engagement with these non-English communities risked the prospect of apostasy or cultural emulation. To secure against this threat, the company sought to build "a well ordered and morally unassailable Protestant society" within spaces like Bombay and Madras where they came to govern a large non-English population after their acquisition of the settlements (Stern 2012: 117-118). As Daniel O"Connor suggested, the company hoped that "modern and sober government" in its settlements would help them obtain "love and estimation" from the "heathenish people" they sought to do business with (O"Connor 2012: 48). To do so, they would adapt strategies of exclusion and strict regulation to separate and secure England's merchants from the communities that they lived alongside. Smith suggests that this meant the company "begrudgingly accepted the presence of diverse religious communities" while they simultaneously "adopted innovative methods to govern over the religiously diverse behaviours" (Smith 2021c). For instance, the company sought to ensure that at least twice a day all English people in any factory or town were encouraged to join together at least twice a day, "allowing factors and chaplains to assess the spiritual and secular conduct of their brethren" (Smith 2021c). Similarly, English religious spaces served as safe locations where the community could gather – as Shem Bridges noted in Balasore, "at prayer we may not be disturbed or gazed on by the workmen and coolies that are continually about the factory."[33] Such activities served to demonstrate and secure the separation between the English community and others around them, but were driven not necessarily by a negative perception of the diverse cultures around them but rather the

[32] British Library, IOR E/3/43, 8th February 1684. Cited in H. Smith, "The East India Company, English Protestants, and the Wider Christian Community."

[33] British Library, IOR E/3, 12th May 1669.

potential allure of different religions and a desire to ensure that English relations with local people were not undermined by religious discord that greater interaction might have brought about.

Such practices of exclusion and separation, and the establishment of strict boundaries between the English and local communities in India, while initially designed to provide security for the English community, in time led to stricter and more divisive practices.[34] In Madras, for instance, by the eighteenth century, clearly segregated spaces, not just for worship but for living space more generally, had been established. The survey of "Fort St George and Plan of the City of Madras," completed by the order of Governor Pitt, shows a strict delineation between the English fortress, that would become known as "white town" and the wider city, known as "black town."[35] This division, and the expansion of England's imperial authority in South Asia, contributed to governmental practices that regulated labour through coercive practices and diminished the representation of non-English residents in local government (Ahuja 1999; Balachandaran, 2008). The expansion of imperial authority, direct British rule over territories and peoples that could be effectively enforced, changed the ways in which English actors interacted with diversity.[36] Yet, even in the seventeenth century we can trace similar practices within the establishment of English colonial settlements. In the colonial Caribbean, the development and expansion of plantation slavery in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries created clear and strictly enforced racial divisions among the population (Dunn 1972). As Carl Nightingale has shown, practices of racial segregation differed considerably across England's colonial empire, and indeed were informed by the experience of specific localities within it, but increasingly played an important part in defining how colonial governance was defined and organised in urban spaces (Nightingale 2008; King 1990). In North America and the Caribbean, where English engagement with non-European peoples was defined as much by the seizure of territory as trade, these practices of exclusion as a means of managing diversity reached their most extreme conclusion as vast territories were granted to corporations to govern, with the consequent development of strictly segregated settlers societies (Smithers and Newman 2014). Here, diversity represented a threat that that had to be managed and excluded.

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[34] Working with local people, of course, continued, and the richest members of the local community were invited to participate in the government of the city, in return for paying a special "wall tax." See Roche (1975), pp. 392-3.

[35] Bodleian Library, Gough Maps 41, No. 138. "A prospect of Fort St. George and Plan of the City of Madras actually surveyed by order of the late Governor. T. Pitt," c. 1730.

[36] For changing ideas about race and English identity in the eighteenth century, see Colley (1992), Wilson (2003) and Wahrman (2004).

Conclusion

In this article, the focus has been on examining how the need to operate in diverse spaces overseas shaped how English trade and empire was organised in the foundational period of the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. This is, of course, just one part of the experience of diversity that was brought about by the development of Britain's empire. In Britain itself, the consumption of imperial goods, perhaps, is the area where we see the deepest engagement between Britain and the world, while overseas the vast migrations (forced and unforced) of people to and from Britain's colonies changed how people thought about themselves, their nation and their place in the world (Hall and Rose 2006; Fedorowich and Thompson 2013). Yet, the focus on corporation and practices of inclusion and exclusion within England's corporations shows how these came to play an important part of shaping how English people came to understand and interact with people across the world, but also how the very structure of this interaction was built on systems designed to limit access, whether according to gender, class, professional identity or nationality. In practice, of course, the specific ways in which the structures and institutions created by this system played out differed depending on local contexts, the personnel involved, and the interests of the non-English peoples that these merchants were seeking to do business with. Efforts to ensure that only well-trained, responsible merchants would conduct trade were always likely to be undermined by merchants seeking to break into new markets against regulations, by human error, or the challenges of enforcing such rules overseas. However, as shown here, considerable efforts were made on the part of English corporations and the merchant community more broadly to try and create and exclusive commercial environment where access to trade could be controlled, and consequently interaction with people overseas restricted. As English merchants increasingly came to govern people and territory, these structures of exclusion that underpinned the formation of an effective but exclusionary merchant community were imposed and expanded to fit the new objectives of merchants turned colonisers. Despite the need to travel to places with diverse societies and cultures, the internal structures of England's developing empire were not designed to easily enable diverse actors to operate within them. By creating institutions of trade and empire that sought to mitigate against the risks of operating in diverse spaces by controlling access, it is not surprising that similar practices of exclusion would come to dominate British imperial governance in the centuries to follow.

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Commentary on António Manuel Hespanha, *Filhos da Terra: Identidades mestiças nos confins da expansão portuguesa*

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There are good reasons to applaud the publication of *Filhos da Terra*. Above all, António Manuel Hespanha was able to produce an amply documented critique of the still widespread notion that whenever the word "Portuguese" (*português*) appears in historical documents or local identity discourses today, it is an indicator of some sort of "genuine Portugueseness" having survived in a distant corner of the globe. A community officer once told me in Batticaloa, on the East Coast of Sri Lanka, "Please explain to your colleagues in Portugal that we are Portuguese Burghers, not Portuguese." *Filhos da Terra* brings us all closer to understanding what this apparently paradoxical turn of phrase may mean. Hespanha also makes a laudable effort to place the countless semi-informal communities in what is often referred to as the "shadow empire," and which grew beyond the official imperial sphere, where they belong: at the intersection between European and non-European societies, grounded in age-old practices of "chthonic" (Hespanha 2019: 14, 254) community-building, far from Crown control and the grandiloquence of the chronicles.

Last but not least, *Filhos da Terra* offers a brief but powerful critique of recent attempts at fashioning the Portuguese empire as a pioneer in abolitionism and human rights advocacy. Such propositions are outlandish and, as Hespanha rightly points out, at odds with everything we know about Iberian expansion. While some people in the Portuguese empire certainly did defend the rights of certain non-white groups, the intellectual and practical impact of such activities was, overall, "extremely weak" (*debilíssimo*) (Hespanha 2019: 297).

This being said, *Filhos da Terra* is also a deeply problematic book. It has been packaged as that most desirable and least attainable of things: a bottom-up, revisionist synthesis. In reality, however, it is very much a personal notebook and a testimony to Hespanha's own process of discovering and working through some of the vast literature on the topic. It could have been, but is not, a pathbreaking classic. Hespanha thrived on being counter-intuitive, contrarian, even polemic. He picked his fights well when it came to dismantling the myth of the early absolutist state in Portugal and Spain, and will be remembered as a great historian in that regard. But his political orthodoxy also impeded him from engaging equally rigorously

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elsewhere. His incursions into imperial or expansion history were always hampered by his profound dislike of people working in the field, while his preface to a thematic issue of the journal *Oceanos* on the Renaissance chronicler João de Barros (Hespanha 1996: 5) is a good example of how difficult he found it to dialogue with a community he himself considered to be inherently reactionary. Even as he headed the very institution created to commemorate the Portuguese "discoveries," he could not appreciate the complex oeuvre of Barros as anything else than imperial propaganda.

This militant unease runs through *Filhos da Terra*, too, and undermines it. To be sure, Hespanha was right to feel apprehensive about certain continuities between the scholarship produced under the *Estado Novo* and that produced after 1974 in a field still known in Portugal as *História dos Descobrimentos e da Expansão*. But this critical spirit also blinded him to his colleagues' innovations. Luís Filipe Thomaz, the person who has contributed most forcefully to the reinvigoration of expansion history in Portugal since the 1980s, is the *bête noire* with whom Hespanha wrestles in many passages of *Filhos da Terra*. On page 32, for example, he refers, accusingly, to an emphasis on informal empire, as present in much of Thomaz's work, as amounting to a claim for Portuguese exceptionalism (a key trope in Salazar's imperial propaganda). On page 34, meanwhile, the connection with Gilberto Freyre, the Brazilian Luso-tropicalist scholar instrumentalized by the *Estado Novo*, is made almost explicit. But painting Thomaz simply as a reactionary representative of the old imperial order is to miss a crucial point.

Confusingly perhaps for Hespanha, Thomaz, the Catholic (today Moldovan Orthodox), anti-Marxist historian of Portuguese imperial ideas and courtly factionalism, has also produced and helped develop, as a multilingually operating, globally connected historian of cross-cultural interactions, some of the most cosmopolitan and sophisticated history ever written in Portugal. *Filhos da Terra* reveals a total failure to acknowledge the achievements of this new historiography known as *História Luso-Asiática*. Rooted in the scholarship of Denys Lombard, Geneviève Bouchon and Jean Aubin developed in France in the 1970s-80s, the study of Luso-Asian history contributed in the 1990s – as Thomaz's ideas percolated into Sanjay Subrahmanyam's game-changing work – to the emergence of what is now referred to internationally as global connected history. This, along with the critical school of *Ancien Régime* institutional and legal history headed by Hespanha, is one of only two internationally relevant innovations in post-revolutionary Portuguese historiography – and arguably the only one to have achieved a genuinely global impact. Its boldest proposition and greatest achievement have been precisely to reframe what had been referred to as "Portuguese" materials by placing them firmly in the context of non-European archives and societies, and thus opening the gates to an entirely new historiography of cross-cultural interactions. The most frequently cited of Thomaz's conceptual interventions, the somewhat bland notion that the empire was a "network," sits on top of a much wider, deeper and more strikingly innovative way of transforming things once considered "Portuguese" into critically re-centered aspects of local, regional and global processes far beyond the Eurocentric notions still at work in Hespanha's own oeuvre. *Filhos da Terra* contains musings, for example, on Goans' supposed obsession with social status and its symbolic representation in public life, yet it does not even seem to have occurred to the author that Indian society, too, may have contributed to such a culture. By contrast, a Luso-Asian take on Goan history treats the territory as a part of South India profoundly intertwined with everything that was going on across the Deccan sultanates, the empire of Vijayanagara, the kingdoms surrounding it, and the Mughal empire emerging further north. Such connections are almost entirely absent from *Filhos da Terra*.

This is strange in that the focus on the chthonic nature of "Portuguese" communities around the edges of the empire could have brought Hespanha into close proximity to the ideas developed by Luso-Asian historians. Yet the transcultural, transimperial dimension of the latter is largely missing from *Filhos da Terra*. Although the exact reasons for this could be debated, the patchy critical apparatus of the book suggests that Hespanha may not have tried very hard to understand the ideas shaping the field he set out to critique. Although tracing George Winius' expression "shadow empire" (Hespanha 2019: 14) to the year 1991 (rather than to 1983, when it was coined) may seem like a minor mistake, it nevertheless exposes a wider lack of understanding of how this historiography evolved. Similarly, the erroneous attribution (Hespanha 2019: 319) of *O Domínio do Norte de Samatra*, an exemplary study of the Acehnese polity based on Portuguese and Malay sources by Jorge dos Santos Alves (Alves 1999; cf. Lobato 1999), to Manuel Lobato suggests a limited interest in engaging with the work of colleagues. The accusation that "some recent historiography" considers the so-called Portuguese communities of places such as Cacheu, Hughly, Patani or Makassar as "informal extensions of the formal empire," and that their study amounts to nothing but "a social history of expansion," does not sit comfortably with what those studies argue (Hespanha 2019: 17, 40). Finally, the notion that the Luso-Asian school has done nothing more than produce monographs on "the Portuguese in…" (Hespanha 2019: 25), thus justifying Hespanha's own incursion as a supra-regional scholar into the critical study of frontier communities, really prompts one to ask how much of the literature the author had read at all. It is of course true, as Hespanha contends, that most Luso-Asian studies have had a spatially defined focus (on North India, South India, Sri Lanka, Bengal, Arrakan, Pegu, Siam, Cochinchina, Aceh, Melaka, Maluku, Fujian or Ryukyu, for example). But that is precisely because each of those studies pushed the boundaries of what used to be referred to as "Portuguese expansion history" by combining the use of materials written in Portuguese with area studies literature and, when possible, non-European (i.e., Persian, Malay and Chinese, for example) sources to throw light on local and regional historical processes.

Luso-Asian historiography explains the successes and failures of Portuguese "presences" in Asia by examining the ways they functioned in those local contexts, far from the metropolitan processes that Hespanha himself spent much of his life working on. The Hughly and Macao studied by Jorge Flores (Flores 2002a, 2002b), the Malay ports studied by Jorge dos Santos Alves and Paulo Sousa Pinto (Alves 1999; Pinto 1997), the Kolamba and Kannur studied by this commentator (Biedermann 2014) – they are all consciously and deeply embedded in non-Portuguese structures explored with the help of non-Lusitanist scholarship. The whole point of Luso-Asian history and much of the "connected history," especially in the Asian sphere, has been to re-center the analysis on the societies to which the Portuguese came and to understand why and how these societies integrated the newcomers into their own worlds. That this may at times appear to resonate with Luso-tropical ideas on the innate ability of "the Portuguese" to adapt to the tropics is true. The point can also be made that an excessive emphasis on connectivity and integration has sometimes come with a certain blindness to violent conflict. We must indeed be ruthless when it comes to unmasking rose-colored readings of the past for what they are: attempts by reactionary forces today to legitimize the social and political legacies of empire. But we must also be rigorous in our engagement with all serious and innovative scholarship, regardless of whether it comes from a corner of academia we inherently like, or a corner we dislike. When it came to going global, António Manuel Hespanha ended up becoming a victim of the very politics that first propelled him to glory in Europe.

Much will depend over the coming years on our willingness to engage with the works of both Hespanha and Thomaz, and on our ability to foment dialogues across the battle lines imagined in *Filhos da Terra*. While we should not, of course, depoliticize the field (Biedermann 2021), there is outstanding scholarship on all sides, and some of the best has emerged precisely where academic cultures intersect, such as in the work on Goa carried out by Catarina Madeira Santos and Ângela Barreto Xavier (Santos 1999; Xavier 2008). Whichever region we work on, a combination of ideas formulated by Hespanha and Thomaz can take us a long way into new intellectual territory. It is always salutary, therefore, to keep questioning one's own orthodoxy even as one sets out to challenge the status quo created by others. To innovate is to combine methods and build bridges. Hespanha's final book could have been a foundational one – he was an intellectual giant, and perhaps with more time he could have achieved the revisionist synthesis it was his ambition to write. We can pay homage to him by learning from his failure and, rather than reproducing old schisms, propelling ourselves forward together. Where Portuguese historiography has been most cosmopolitan, it has sometimes lacked critical incisiveness. And where it has been at its critical best, it has lacked transcultural ambition. We could all benefit, therefore, from trying to combine the best of both worlds. Future generations might then remember us for our courage in attempting to be critical of past and present power imbalances in a genuinely cosmopolitan way.

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Reappraising Informal Imperialism in the Early Modern Portuguese Expansion: A Commentary on António Hespanha's *Filhos da Terra*

Edgar Pereira[1]

In his final book, the late António Manuel Hespanha turned his attention away from the legal and institutional structures of the Portuguese monarchy, focusing instead on extra-European communities with a purported affiliation to "Portuguese" culture. The historical actors at the centre of the 2019 *Filhos da Terra* established themselves on the fringes of the empire and organized their lives independently of the dictates of colonial government, while at the same time abiding by the rules set by the local authorities. In this way, they personified an informal or "shadow" empire that overlapped, complemented and, at times, opposed the formal empire headed by royal institutions. Some of the costal settlements and city-states where these populations resided had at some point in their history been sites of official Portuguese rule and trade, until the Crown lost them to European chartered companies or autochthonous polities. Others were spontaneous colonies founded by travelling merchants, adventurers and "undesirables" (such as banished convicts or persecuted ethno-religious minorities, like the New Christians) and were never incorporated into the political-administrative framework of the monarchy. Another interpretation of this informal empire conflates it with the "missionary frontier," that is with the areas where religious orders under the *Padroado* proselytized, but where the Crown's temporal presence was never established.

Filhos da Terra covers a wide range of situations and collectivities, both in time and space. While the book's broad geographical scope sets it apart from previous studies of Portuguese informal expansion, these wide lenses can mislead historians into overemphasizing patterns of convergence between populations living in very different environments. Aware of this danger, Hespanha refrained from presenting upfront a general definition of what it meant to be "Portuguese" at the far ends of the empire. In the introduction and the first two chapters, he posits that the fleet-footed and self-governing peoples stemming from informal imperialism should best be analysed from "within." In his view, symbols of shared identity should be deduced from a wide range of case studies rather than induced from "outside" generalizations and *a priori* concepts. To do so, Hespanha takes

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the reader on a tour across three continents and two oceans, locating, contextualizing and describing different nuclei of the informal empire. He concludes that these elusive individuals and collectives could not be defined as a transcontinental moral community, let alone as a uniform ethnic group able to trace its origins back, in time and space, to Portugal (even if certain groups did come up with genealogies going back to a founding father-like figure who happened to be Portuguese). The term *filhos da terra* was cleverly chosen to convey the localized, context-specific nature of these populations, with the author himself conceding that the various "Portuguese tribes" should best be studied in relation to their milieu.

After locating the different "provinces" of this shadow empire in the lengthy chapter 3, Hespanha proceeds to identify the common ground between various informal and stateless "Portuguese" communities. In the following paragraphs I will briefly revisit the recurring patterns of convergence.

Portuguese ancestry, understood here less in biological terms and more as a social construct (particularly in periods far removed from the initial contacts between Portuguese-born individuals and autochthonous populations), was a common denominator in collectivities on the West African coast, and across South America and South and Southeast Asia. Outside the realm of ideas and immaterial heritage, the existence of "Portuguese"-influenced peoples in places untouched by early European colonialism was also reflected in material culture and forms of public display, not only in the way people dressed and in decorative elements in their personal wear, but also, for example, in the architecture of their houses. These groups' geographical mobility, which was inextricably linked to the commercial activities of their members and their involvement in population movements, is also readily apparent. As is the juridical and cultural "in-betweeness" of some of these communities, especially in the case of the Eurasian and Eurafrican populations that found themselves torn between Portuguese patriarchal family structures and local matrilineal traditions.

The informal empire described in *Filhos da Terra* was shaped by miscegenation and creolization, which is understood here to mean the amalgamation of languages, social structures and cultures that resulted from sustained interactions between individuals from different geographical origins and ethnic backgrounds. Yet while Eurasian and Eurafrican creoles constituted the majority of the informal empire's population, and the presence of bio-morphologically white and Portugal-born individuals was negligible, creolization was not equally prevalent everywhere. Indeed, in certain confines of the Portuguese expansion, such as Mozambique and Angola (with the exception of the main Portuguese settlement, Luanda), creole societies were even conspicuous by their absence, while in the case of Goa, the conversion of large segments of the Hindu population during the sixteenth century did not result in Luso-Goan creoles, but instead in a non-creolized, fiercely endogamous group of autochthonous Christians who were very superficially Lusitanized.[2] It can hence be concluded that the occurrence and outcomes of creolization processes were determined primarily by the local and regional contexts. Factors such as climate, the balance of demographic and military power balance *vis-à-vis* the autochthonous societies, and the willingness of populations to borrow or accommodate Portuguese traits mattered a great deal more than an alleged natural inclination of Portuguese people to mix and blend in, as Luso-tropicalist narratives would have us believe (Bethencourt 2011).

Religion played a big part in the collective integrity of communities that established themselves outside the physical borders of the pluri-continental monarchy, with Catholicism serving as one of the most palpable links between the formal empire and its informal offshoots. The missions operating under the auspices of the *Padroado* are considered part of the fabric of the Portuguese empire because the Papacy had granted the Crown the prerogative to appoint those who would fill ecclesiastical posts, and because the Church revenues paying for the ecclesiastical personnel and activities were equally entrusted to the Portuguese kings. The temporal authorities hoped that religious conversion would make non-European populations more sympathetic towards Portuguese interests, and more willing to fight for the monarch, who sponsored the Church. As Ines Županov reminds us, "Missionaries were considered an integral part of the imperial sentinels and encouraged to expand the frontiers of the *Estado da Índia,* in order to prepare the ground—that is, to convert and cultivate souls of former gentiles—so that the compliance to Catholic habitus may smoothen the transition to Portuguese political rule" (Županov 2018: 238). The official Portuguese authorities relied on the "soft power," to use modern terminology, of religion to advance some of their political and economic goals. So much so that midway through the seventeenth century, by which time the Crown had lost much of its former political and military importance in the Indian Ocean, Catholic missions were a way for the *Estado da Índia* to retain a modicum of influence on various populations over whom it otherwise had no

[2] Here I follow the distinction proposed by certain authors between religious conversion and "Lusitanization"; that is, a transformation of material and intellectual habits (food, dress, architecture, language) that was not necessarily tied to spiritual life. I acknowledge that a clear-cut separation between the religious and the temporal sphere cannot capture the world views and the mind-set of many of the communities addressed in the book. Moreover, the fact that baptism and catechism could pave the way for more extensive cultural conversions makes this distinction problematic. However, I have adopted this distinction in order to avoid reducing expressions of Portuguese culture and identity solely to Catholicism (Biedermann 2009: 445; Subrahmanyam 2012: 274).

authority.

Another common feature of Portuguese informal imperialism was the ambiguous stance of its communities towards the institutions of the formal empire. It was equally easy for the *filhos da terra* to undermine the Crown's authority and disregard its commercial monopolies and fiscal prerogatives as to accept becoming official appointees in areas where administrative structures were non-existent. In turn, community leaders could also reach out to the official Portuguese centres for diplomatic and military support to improve their position *vis-à-vis* the local authorities and competing trade networks. By doing so they acknowledged the symbolic pre-eminence of the Portuguese Crown, which was nonetheless mostly powerless to interfere in the internal affairs of these settlements.

Last but not least, Hespanha posits that the informal empire proved to be more adaptable and resilient to political and economic shifts than the more rigid official structures of its "formal" counterpart. The social relations and cultural interactions embodying the informal empire was what remained of the Portuguese presence and capacity to interfere in extra-European societies after the Crown lost its political and economic grip over a territory or emporium.[3]

Some will certainly accuse Hespanha of contradicting himself by acknowledging the "Portuguese" identity of these communities essentially as a historiographic construct and then nonetheless using it as an umbrella concept to make sense of the shared socio-cultural experiences of populations that at first glance had very little in common. But while I sympathize with this critique, I also see the point in Hespanha's ambitious survey. Therefore, and rather than focusing on discussing issues of identity formation, for which I lack the necessary expertise, I have chosen to direct my critical comments and remarks at other issues.

My first comment concerns the novelty of the approach adopted in *Filhos da Terra* and the originality of its conclusions. As he himself recognizes throughout the book, Hespanha was not the first author to offer this sort of perspective on the Portuguese overseas empire. Instead, he was inspired both by previous works of Winius, Thomaz, Subrahmanyam, Andaya and Halikowski Smith for Asia and by the scholarship on creole identities in the Afro-Iberian Atlantic, as well as by a few scholars applying this framework of analysis to the Portuguese empire as a whole, such as Newitt, Russell-Wood and, more recently, Antunes. While *Filhos da Terra* makes for a compelling read and carries out the most

[3] A view that Hespanha already held in 1995. "Tudo indica que esta [forma de] presença foi mais eficaz e socialmente mais viável, apesar da sua informalidade e inoficialidade, do que o poder directo da coroa, exercido pelos seus magistrados e oficiais (…). Do mesmo modo, as solidariedades de natureza religiosa ou para-religiosa (confrarias e misericórdias, nomeadamente) sublinhavam, reforçavam ou substituíam os laços formais de poder" (Hespanha 1995: 23).

systematic survey to date on the Portuguese informal imperialism, it must be said that the book does not break much new ground. While I understand that for the non-academic readership, who may have been exposed only to the conventional wisdom on Portuguese empire-building (i.e., their feats of arms, seamanship and mastery of intercontinental trade), this narrative may come across as revelatory and fascinating, which it undoubtedly is. Personally, however, I find that Hespanha does not so much open any new vistas on Portuguese informal imperialism as provide an up-to-date synthesis of ideas put forward in Anglophone scholarship.

A second critique concerns the excessively imprecise boundaries of the informal empire as described and conceptualized by Hespanha. I refer here to borders not just in a geographical-spatial sense, but also from a perspective of the interactions between local populations and the royal apparatus, which could range from the utmost informality of self-governance all the way to institutional integration and subordination. Hespanha's decisions on which regions and actors to include in and which to leave out of the shadow empire may sometimes seem arbitrary. I, for one, was particularly struck by the excluding of Brazil from the book. Hespanha justifies this omission because nothing resembling a shadow empire emerged in the South American territories, where a full-blown colonial administration was in place. There is no denying that, before the mid-to-late nineteenth century, no comparable judicial, fiscal or military apparatus existed in Upper Guinea, in the hinterlands of Angola and Mozambique, or East of Cape Comorin, where the formal power of the *Estado da Índia* had always been something of a mirage. But in a few territorial possessions of the *Estado da Índia,* especially in the surroundings of its capital, Goa, the Crown could boast of having a firm grip on the local economy and society. However, this does not prevent Hespanha from referring to Goa's old conquests in the book as provinces of the informal empire, devoting more pages to them than to more obvious cases of shadowy spontaneous settlements.

But going back to Brazil, it is well known that even in Portuguese America there were limits to the reach and penetration of the colonial apparatus, and these were partially related to the spatial patterns of occupation and settlement in this territory. For most of the colonial period, Brazil was essentially a string of coastal towns and adjoining agricultural areas, coupled with mining settlements in the hinterland and Amerindian villages zealously controlled by the religious orders. Between these locations lay vast swaths of untouched land and virgin tropical forests that were occasionally crossed by nomadic Amerindians, run-away slaves and Luso-Brazilian fortune seekers. There would certainly have been room in this book for an analysis of the *peruleros* or *paulistas,* ethnically hybrid groups that criss-crossed the ill-defined physical borders between Spanish America and Brazil, and who were known for constantly defying the commands of the monarchy (Herzog 2015, 36-37, 66-67). In my view, these examples of a South American informal empire are equally deserving of consideration as the Portuguese emigration networks in Spanish America or the Portuguese creole languages that blossomed in the colonies of other European powers, as in the case of Papiamentu in Dutch Curaçao.

The boundaries between formal and informal empires were also excessively blurred by Hespanha's suggestion that the shadow empire could extend to include political actors who were firmly entrenched in the formal empire, such as the *Gãocarias*, or the political factions *(bandos* and *parcialidades)* vying for control of Goa's municipal council. The implication here is that the informal empire could be found even in the most institutionally regulated Crown domains because Portuguese and extra-European legal frameworks often coexisted in these areas, and the personal strategies and informal networks percolated the formal institutions of government. By suggesting this, however, Hespanha makes it impossible to discern any boundaries whatsoever between the informal and the formal empires. While I realize that a distinction between these two dual concepts (formality and informality, "shadow" and "light") is anachronistic, I regard complete fuzziness as working against the goals of the book. For the sake of consistency and clarity, therefore, I would have liked the selection of case studies to have been discussed upfront, with Hespanha explaining the criteria that led him to include certain regions and actors in the book and to exclude others.

I was also unconvinced by the general correlation between miscegenation, creole cultures and the shadow empire. While biological and cultural intercourse between *de jure* subjects of the Portuguese Crown and autochthonous populations occurred in areas where the Crown and European elites had no enforceable jurisdiction, as in Upper Guinea and Southeast Asia, it was equally prevalent in core areas of the former empire, such as the main urban centres of Brazil. By the same token, creole identities in certain areas of the informal empire were confined to small niches (Angola) or were non-existent (Mozambique). So although there is no doubt that hybrid and creole identities were prevalent in certain confines of the "shadow empire," this was not the case in every single offshoot, and thus cannot be considered a structural feature. Furthermore, the adaptation and synthesis of two or more cultures, and the existence of mixed-race populations, were not opposed to the official and institutionalized forms of Portuguese authority, as numerous examples throughout the empire can attest to.

Although *Filhos da Terra* does not pursue a comparative agenda, it invites for more systematic comparisons than those attempted so far. At the end of the book the reader is left wondering how the various nuclei of *filhos da terra* compare with other Eurasian and Eurafrican diasporas in terms of their influence in the places where they developed roots. In the case of the Indian Ocean, several authors, going back to Van Leur, have argued that the Portuguese "tribes" were not fundamentally different in their mode of functioning from other stateless merchant networks plying their trade long before the Europeans rounded the Cape of Good Hope. It would be worthwhile, in my view, to revisit and expand upon this comparison, but this time under different terms than in the previous Weberian and institutionally Darwinist analyses (Subrahmanyam 1993).

Speaking of comparisons, this book invites scholars to re-examine, by way of comparative analysis, why the Portuguese expansion is commonly regarded as having been more conducive or permeable to "going native" phenomena than its other European counterparts. A comparison with the Dutch overseas empire should be illuminating since the latter's two joint-stock companies, the VOC and WIC, had organizational cultures contrasting with that of the pluri-continental Portuguese monarchy. These companies were guided by profit maximization, and the technical proficiency of their servants, whereas the Portuguese empire was a state-run and redistributive enterprise. Evidence strongly suggests that the *Estado da Índia* and the various colonial governments in sub-Saharan Africa could not achieve the levels of control that the companies were able to exercise over the lives of their employees, thereby enabling *solteiros* to leave the Crown's service and create spontaneous colonies beyond the formal borders of the empire. The local entrenchment of European males was also more common in the Portuguese empire than in its Northern European counterparts, especially in Asia, with only a small percentage of company servants staying on in the East Indies after the end of their contracts. These employees' temporary contracts and the fact that they were generally better remunerated than the *soldados* and petty bureaucracy of the *Estado da Índia,* who often lacked both permission from the government and sufficient money to travel back to the kingdom, partially explain the greater turnover of personnel in the East India companies. As Francisco Bethencourt recalls, the different goals and structures of the chartered companies did not mean that "que não existissem 'renegados', funcionários ou soldados Holandeses (para não falar nos numerosos funcionários estrangeiros da VOC) ao serviço de outras potências, só significa que essas pessoas não constituíam novas comunidades mercantis. Uma companhia comercial governada pela lógica dos negócios excluía literalmente a possibilidade de reconhecer feitorias 'livres'"

(Bethencourt 2007: 234).

But there is also a third possible avenue for future research, which differs from the previous two by not trying to compare and contrast different socio-economic networks and formal empires. This alternative agenda does not ascribe a national affiliation to the informal and self-organized networks that operated in the underbelly of militarized and territorially bounded polities, or entirely outside their physical borders. Instead of seeing various "national" informal empires, this strand of scholarship posits the existence of a single "*informal empire* that was brought to fruition by the individual choices of free agents and their networks as a reaction to state-imposed monopolies [and] was [...]a borderless, self-organized, often cross-cultural, multi-ethnic, pluri-national and stateless world that can only be characterized as global" (Antunes and Polónia 2016: 10). Although *Filhos da terra* deals exclusively with the informal agents of the Portuguese oceanic expansion and the results of their influence, it ends by embracing the argument put forward by scholars such as Antunes, Polónia and their collaborators that imperial projection in the first age of global interactions should better be analysed as a multinational, cross-cultural and trans-religious process.

By way of conclusion, I would like to state that despite my reservations about the originality of the theoretical framework and the novelty of its conclusions, the book is rich in content and ideas, and deserves to be read and discussed. *Filhos da Terra* will ultimately be remembered as the final work of a scholar who influenced Portuguese historiography in a manner that very few in the past forty years have been able to match.

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"The Palace of the Soul Serene": Queen Catherine of Braganza and the Consumption of Tea in Stuart England (1662-1693)[1]

Susana Varela Flor[2]

Abstract

The history of tea in Portugal is inextricably linked to the figure of Catherine of Braganza (1638-1705). The consumption of this drink was one of the most distinctive features of the Queen of England. The first part of this article examines the primary sources that historiography has tended to use in order to discuss the question of the introduction of tea into Stuart England. It will then look at the culture of *agasalho* in Portugal and national eating and drinking habits. Finally, based on assorted information, it will explain how tea became associated with the Queen of England, and examine its significance in her daily life.

Keywords

Tea, Trade, Catherine of Braganza, Portugal, England

Resumo

Em Portugal, quando se analisa a história do chá, associa-se de imediato à figura de D. Catarina de Bragança (1638-1705), pois o seu consumo parece ter sido uma das características mais diferenciadoras da história da Rainha de Inglaterra. Na primeira parte do texto iremos analisar quais as fontes primárias em que se baseia a historiografia para veicular a questão da introdução do chá em Inglaterra no tempo dos Stuart. De seguida, abordaremos a cultura de agasalho em Portugal e os hábitos alimentares. Por fim, suportados em documentação variada, explicaremos a forma como se foi associando o chá à Rainha de Inglaterra e a importância que a bebida adquiriu no seu quotidiano.

Palavras-Chave

Chá, Comércio, Catarina de Bragança, Portugal, Inglaterra

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Figure 1: Portrait of *Queen Catherine of Braganza*, attributed to John Riley, c. 1670-1674, Inventory No. FMA 206, Arquivo Fundação Medeiros e Almeida
© Museu Medeiros e Almeida, Lisbon / Pedro Mora

Historiography

The first chronologically source is the poem by Edmund Waller (1606-1687), a famous writer and politician in the English court of the period. Entitled "Of Tea, Commended by Her Majesty," the poem conventionally dates from the Queen's twenty-fifth birthday on November 25, 1663. In fact, after Catherine's arrival in England, the court always honored the Queen's birthday with great festivities, along with other celebrations, which started precisely on the day of Saint Catherine of Alexandria and ended on May 29, the birthday of King Charles II.

Of Tea Commended by Her Majesty

Venus her myrtle, Phoebus has his bays
Tea both excels, which she vouchsafes to praise,
The best of Queens, the best of herbs we owe
To that bold nation which the way did show
To the fair region where the sun does rise
Whose rich productions we so justly prize
The Muse's friend, tea does our fancy aid,
Repress those vapours which the head invade
And keep the palace of the soul serene,

Fit on her birthday to salute the Queen
(Thomas 1965:99).[3]

The second reference is English author Agnes Strickland's monumental work, whose eighth volume is dedicated to the Portuguese queen and her life in England. In it, Catherine of Braganza is relieved of the pious and sterile image that the British historiographic tradition had formed of her. Basing herself on Edmund Waller's poem describing Catherine's arrival at Hampton Court, the author wrote:

> It is probable that they then partook of Catherine's favourite beverage, tea, which became a fashionable refreshment in England soon after her marriage with Charles II, though not exactly introduced by her. Yet, as Catherine of Braganza was certainly the first tea-drinking Queen of England, she has the credit of setting the fashion for the use of that temperate beverage, in an age when ladies, as well as gentlemen, at all times of the day, heated or stupefied their brains with ale or wine for the want of the more refined substitutes of tea, coffee and chocolate. (Strickland 1845:310)

In the twentieth century, American researcher Gertrude Z. Thomas definitively rehabilitated Catherine's stay in England by attributing to her the responsibility for a change in the decorative arts scene. In fact, the book *Richer than Spices* is a milestone in the study of Portuguese cultural contribution in England after 1662. In chapter seven, the author studies tea in its cultural and economic context, thereby establishing the civilizational influence of the Portuguese Princess: "Yet while Catherine practiced their English ways with a Portuguese accent, English ladies learned enough Portuguese 'housewifery' from Catherine to brew a cup of tea solely for pleasure" (Thomas 1965:93-115).

Portuguese and foreign authors studying the subjects of food and the dining table have followed this line of thought when it comes to tea, against the background of the profound influence exerted by the east on Portuguese culture (Marques 2007: 23).

[3] Portuguese version: "O CHÁ QUE SUA MAJESTADE RECOMENDA: De Vénus é a murta e Febo tem os louros, / Ambos suplanta o chá e a melhor das Rainhas / Garante-lhe o louvor; das ervas a melhor devemos/A essa nação audaz que descobriu o caminho / Até à terra formosa onde está o sol nascente / Com ricas produções que nos merecem apreço. / À Musa afeiçoado, o chá a fantasia favorece, / Alivia esses vapores que invadem a cabeça, / Mantém sempre sereno o palácio da alma/Pronta a saudar a Rainha em dia dos seus anos." Translated by João Flor.

Tea and the East: "Fair Region where the Sun Does Rise"

The first reference to tea in Portuguese literature is owed to the Dominican monk Friar Gaspar da Cruz, "a man of letters and good living," who visited China in the sixteenth century. This reference appears in his work *Tratado em que se contam muito por extenso as cousas da China com suas particularidades* . . . [A thorough account of China and its particularities . . .].

Figure 2: Tea Ceremony
Detail of a tile panel
Século XVIII
©Museu de Lisboa-Palácio Pimenta

In chapter eight, entitled "Dos Trajos e Usos dos Homens [On the Attire and Customs of Men]," Cruz wrote:

> The honourable and the noble display innumerable courtesies at the table, pouring and serving one another drinks, for drinking is paramount at the table... Anyone arriving at a gentleman's home is customarily served a cup on a fine tray containing a warm water that they call *cha*, a somewhat reddish and exceedingly medicinal beverage that they habitually drink, made by boiling somewhat bitter herbs: in this manner they commonly entertain those deserving of respect, acquaintances and strangers alike, and I have often been offered it. (Cruz 1569:92)

This valuable testimony and the fact that the work was published under the patronage of Cardinal Henrique suggest the rapid spread of Chinese culture and its ceremonies, an auspicious fact for the dissemination of the consumption of tea in Portugal. However, this does not seem to have actually been the case.

In fact, over fifty years after the publication of the *Tratado*, Father João Rodrigues, the interpreter (*Tçuzzu*) (Prazeres 2012:87-94), wrote the *História da Igreja do Japão* [History of the Church in Japan] in which the subject of the tea ceremony once more appears (Rodrigues 1620-1630:437). In her PhD thesis on *Namban* art, Alexandra Curvelo Campos carried out an in-depth study of the Jesuits in Japan, revealing that the missionaries observed the tea ceremony and adopted it as "a practice of adaptation or accommodation aimed at obtaining the most conversions possible, starting from the top of the social pyramid... and all the society's residences were supposed to have their *chanoyu*" (Campos 2007:264). This led me to consider exploring the Society of Jesus as one of the likely routes for the introduction of tea into Portugal, because the Portuguese royal family, particularly the Braganza Dynasty, always had Ignatian confessors, such as Father António Vieira (one of the confessors of King João IV), Father João Nunes (confessor of D. Luísa de Gusmão [Franco 1717:431]), and Fathers António Fernandes and Manuel Pires (Catharine's confessors in England and then in Portugal [Troni 2008:269-288]). However, according to contemporary sources for the biography of these priests, as well as for the history of the Jesuit Colleges in Portugal (Lima 1972:57), there is no mention of the consumption of tea nor of the existence of a specific space allocated for the tea ceremony.

I have also researched the Order of Santa Maria da Arrábida, as some of its members accompanied the Queen to London, although their references to food are limited to the ingestion of jugs of water, "wine-soaked biscuits . . . for the soothing of distress," and the mastication of sage and wormwood leaves "for medicinal purposes, to deceive the body with the spirit, mortifying the former with their bitterness to sustain the holy life in it" (Piedade 1728:365; Maria, 1737:89). Besides these two approaches, I have tried a third to check whether there was any extant information in the documentation as to expenditures, with the royal larder referring to the arrival of tea shipments. This procedure, however, yielded no results.[4] I have also looked at diplomatic documentation in order to discover the most relevant habits and products in Portuguese everyday life, especially concerning the royal family. For instance, on November 7, 1642, the French Resident in Lisbon, François Lanier, recorded that King João IV retired to dine [lunch] with the queen and their children, a fact

[4] I would like to thank Joana Torres for the information that she provided about the records of the larder at the House of the Dukes of Braganza in the mid-sixteenth century, which listed water or wine as drinks served at the table "in silver or Estremoz and Badajoz red clay jugs" (Torres, 2018:335).

which he praised as a sign of the king's affection for his family (Demmerson 1996:739-797). As for Queen Luísa de Gusmão, she had a diminutive chambermaid "in charge . . . of filling the water jugs" (Lourenço 1999:182).

The correspondence between the first Marquis of Niza—Vasco Luís da Gama (1612-1676), the ambassador of King João IV to France—and Vicente Nogueira (1585-1654), an official of the Roman Curia, are equally relevant in this context, particularly the offering of food items by the marquis to Vicente Nogueira. When the correspondence is read, it is apparent that the priest was very fond of consuming sweets sent to him in boxes via Livorno. Certain excesses had caused him stomach problems, which he treated with a diet consisting of "a plate of boiled Marseille plums, finished off with a roasted pear or peach; after the conserve, I drink four ounces of very clean water" (Serafim and Carvalho 2011:141).[5] Water is constantly mentioned, and Vicente Nogueira fondly remembers a spring near the Castle of Lisbon as "all that my body hankers for from Portugal." This is why he is so demanding concerning the shipment of water. In all this documentation, there are two noteworthy details: cinnamon as a multipurpose product from the East, and the ingestion of scented waters. Furthermore, Vicente expatiates at length about wine, a drink that the Italian preferred to water, but there is no reference to tea in his letters.

Agasalho[*] [hospitality] Culture in Portugal

Another approach for gauging whether tea was consumed in Portugal in the seventeenth century was to analyze the country's generally accepted etiquette for receiving guests. How were guests entertained in Portugal in the period immediately following the country's restoration from Spanish rule? Bluteau, for instance, explains that *agasalhar* "is to host with love . . . the same as a courteous and pleasing welcoming of a guest to one's home" (Bluteau 1712:174). In September 1662, the arrival in Portugal of Lady Fanshaw, the wife of the English ambassador extraordinary Sir Richard Fanshaw (1608-1666), sheds further light on how the Portuguese received guests at the time. Upon her arrival, the abbess of the Convent of Alcântara [Madre Soror Maria da Cruz], the queen mother's niece, sent Lady Fanshaw scents, waters, and sweets, and Luís de Vasconcelos e Sousa, the third earl of Castelo-Melhor (1635-1720), sent her a silver-decorated basket made of brazilwood,

[5] Cf. also the study by Gomes (2014:213-250).

[*] Translator's Note: "*Agasalho*" from the verb "*agasalhar*," i.e., "to clothe," "to shelter."

containing silver-ornamented crystal flasks with amber-fortified water. In her memoirs, Lady Fanshaw does not mention the drinking of tea, but she praises the fruit.[6]

Seven years later, the visit of Cosimo de' Medici (1642-1723), the future duke of Tuscany, was to present a new opportunity to examine Portuguese hosting strategies and material culture (Flor 2016:1-37). The prince entered Portugal through the Alentejo and visited Estremoz, where the chief attraction was a pottery producing the famous fine red clay jugs that were much appreciated in the country.[7] One of Cosimo de' Medici's biographers, Lorenzo Magalotti, compared the aroma of the jug to "the Earth's irreplaceable incense in the first days of its creation, all of it watered by the first aromas of the air, before the virgin waters of sources and rivers . . . What a fragrance, what paradise in earth and air!" (Marchisio 2004:302).

Water drunk from jugs seems to have been a distinctively Portuguese habit, to such an extent that broken jugs were turned into dust that could be used for brushing teeth or for scenting drinking water. These objects appear in contemporary paintings by such artists as Josefa de Ayala e Cabrera (1630-1684), the renowned Josefa d'Óbidos.

Tile painting also offers an interesting testimony on this subject. In the gardens of the Fronteira Palace, in Lisbon, it is still possible to see the representation of a scene from everyday life, in which the first marquis of Fronteira appears (identified by the cross of the Order of Malta on his cape) pointing to a pipe-smoking male figure. The female character accompanying them wears a pannier dress and her hair is coiffed in a similar manner, with bangs over her forehead and two feathers. On the table, there is a plate with fish, bread, a knife, a jug, and two glasses. As said, the fashion and insignia of these representations refer to the history of Portuguese everyday life and correspond to simplified visions of the national customs, although references to the drinking of water and wine prevail in both of them.

[6] Fanshaw 1662-3:106. The original reads: "The Conde de Castel-Melhor sent me a very great and noble present, a part of which was the finest case of waters that ever I did see, being made of Brazil-wood garnished with silver; the bottles of crystal garnished with the same and filled with rich amber water."

[7] Marchisio. The original reads: "Dopo desinare I'AS fu in due botteghe di buccheri dove si tratenne a vedrene lavorare alcuni . . . Ma quello che rende Estremoz sopra ogui altra cosa celebratissimo é il barro, o sia la terra, dove si sanno i buccheri rossi piú fini, e piu stimati di tuto il Portogallo."

Figure 3: Tile depicting a scene from Portuguese everyday life
Palácio Fronteira Gardens
Fundação das Casas de Fronteira e Alorna C.ª 1673 ©Author

The Departure of Catherine of Braganza and her Dowry

On April 23, 1662, Catherine sailed for England, accompanied by a vast entourage of over one hundred people, including members of her household.

Figure 4: Embarkation of Catherine of Braganza in Lisbon
Dirck Stoop, 1662
Inv. MC. GRA.1075
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Her dowry had been loaded onto the ship a few days before departure, as depicted in the famous painting by the Dutch artist Dirck Stoop (c. 1618-1686), signed and dated 1662, and now forming part of the collection of the Lisbon Museum / Pimenta Palace. The dowry included two million *cruzados* (the equivalent of 500,000 pounds). The peace treaty, a part of the Treaty of Whitehall signed on July 23, 1661, included the ports of Tangiers and Bombay, as well as free trading privileges for England. The ambassadors Edward Montagu, Earl of Sandwich, and Francisco de Mello e Torres, the Marquis of Sande, had agreed that the first million would be delivered upon the Queen's departure (money, jewels, fine sugar, and diamonds, to be converted into cash within two months). Half of the second million was to be paid within six months of the royal wedding. The transaction of the last half million was to be completed one year after the arrival of Catherine of Braganza (Troni 2012:93-119). These data are confirmed by an inventory of the cargo of the two ships: "a thousand cases of sugar" whose "loading delayed their progress," as seen in Fig. 5 (Relaçam 1662:7).

Figure 5: Public entry of the Portuguese Ambassador Francisco de Melo e Torres at the Terreiro do Paço in Lisbon, Dirck Stoop, signed *Dirk Stoop Londres fecit*, 1662. In the far left, one can see the embarkation of sugar. In the center, one can spot the portraits of Queen Catherine of Braganza and her mother.
Inv. MC. PIN. 261
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The *Relaçam* printed in London also provides an important account of the diet of the sailors of the English fleet, containing references to mugs of water or, in its absence, "biar [beer]" (Relaçam 1662:9).

The Arrival of Catherine of Braganza in England

One of the most commonly mentioned and oldest episodes relating to this subject is the cup of tea requested by Catherine of Braganza upon her arrival in Portsmouth.

Figure 6: Arrival of Queen Catherine of Braganza in Portsmouth, Dirck Stoop, 1662
Inv. MC. GRA.1077.
©Museu de Lisboa – Palácio Pimenta

This episode does not appear in any of the Portuguese or foreign documentary sources to which I was given access. In fact, it is known that the queen fell ill with a sore throat and fever, and that she was treated with "a diet of eggs, lard and chicken, because the Portuguese entourage complained about the fatty English meat" (Spencer 2007:263).

This clinical episode may have included the ingestion of liquids as prescribed by Francisco Morato Roma (1588-1670), the physician of King John IV, in his work *A Luz da Medicina* [The Light of Medicine], Chapter IX – "Of water and how to take it":

> [T]here are other beverages that can be used as medicine . . . of these beverages some are medicinal, such as tisanes and the juices of distilled herbs and syrups: others are foodstuffs, such as wine, milk and broth . . . There are many who avoid the nuisance of raw [sic] water and pure wine by drinking water boiled with cinnamon, anise or fennel. These are the most common beverages. (Roma 1664:13)

Aside from this advice, Morato Roma also mentioned other situations. For fever, the go-to beverages were tisanes and barley water. The tisane (or ptisane) was used to "nourish the organism, not to cool it" (Roma 1664:108; 191).

This is the simplified list of the prescriptions that were available to cure the queen of England in the 1660s. Despite the variety of herbs and treatments, the infusion of *camellia sinensis* does not appear in the work of the physician of the Portuguese royal household.

Tea in England

The establishment of the *East India Company*, or EIC (directly descended from *The Company of Merchants of London Trading into the East Indies*), in 1600 serves as the starting point for our analysis of the existence and trading of tea in England. The EIC was not only the main driving force behind the imports of tea to the British Isles, but also wreaked havoc in areas controlled by the Portuguese crown, leading to the loss of territories such as Syriam [Burma] (1612) and Ormuz (1622), as well as the loss of Japanese trade (1638) and the ports of Canará [Karnataka] (1654) (Campos 2007:31).

The oldest information available about the British royal family's consumption of new beverages arriving on their shores is provided by Queen Henrietta Maria (1609-1669) in a letter that she wrote in 1655 to her sister Catherine of France, the Duchess of Savoy (1606-

1663), telling her that she had a cold and that, on such occasions, she recommended a new remedy: "it is tea, a certain leaf, which comes from India" (Plowden 2001:239).

Five years later (1660), during the period of the restoration from Spanish rule, the English writer Samuel Pepys (1633-1703) recorded in his famous *Diary* a visit to a beverage shop, where he asked for a cup of tea, emphasizing that it was a Chinese drink.[8] Seven years later, tea had already become a part of everyday family life and he recorded its potentially beneficial effects in the treatment of the cold that had afflicted his wife, Elizabeth Pepys.[9]

Alison Barnes's study on the consumption of beverages, entitled "Charlie and the Chocolate Inventory," offers a wealth of information about the English crown in the 1660s and its attitudes and behavior towards the drinking of tea. Based on a ledger from the privy purse of Charles II, the author calculated the expenses relating to the year 1666 and concluded: "Charles II was the first out-and-out English chocaholic" (Barnes 2006:2). He was also a coffee drinker, and had a specific servant who prepared the beverage. As for tea, it is known that he spent an average of six pounds per year on the drink, which contrasted with the amount devoted to the intake of chocolate (around 57 pounds in 1666 and 229 pounds in 1669).

How Did Tea Enter into Catherine of Braganza's Everyday Life?

So far, our analysis does not seem to point to Portuguese tradition as the origin of tea drinking, a fact that is reinforced by two documentary sources. The first of these is a very recent discovery, being a piece of information from the *Alfândega Grande de Açucar* (Grand Customs House for Sugar), which copied extracts from every deliberation made by the General Customs. In the year 1700, Jan Vanvassen, the Purveyor of the Royal Customs and Excise, ordered as follows:

> The Purveyor of Customs orders the remittance of two chests of tea from Pernambuco to the Purveyor of Caza da Índia [India House] to be shipped in a vessel of the fleet; the chests of this drug, which usually comes from East India, and all others from different sources are to be sent to the said Caza da

[8] Thomas (1965:99). In the original text: "I did call for a cup of tee, a China drink, of which I had never drunk before."

[9] Thomas (1965:99). "Home, and there find my wife making of tea; a drink which Mr. Pelling, the Potticary, tells her is good for her cold and defluxions."

> Índia, as determined by decree of the Council dated the sixth of September [sixteen] sixty-one. Lisbon, December 16, 1700. (DGLAB/TT, 1700:151).

This unpublished testimony suggests several conclusions. It documents for the first time the entry of tea into the *Casa da Índia*, a customs house that is crucial for the understanding of our economic history, and whose archives were unfortunately lost in the aftermath of the 1755 earthquake. The provenance of the tea was Asia, broadly defined here as East India. Here, the definition of tea as a drug should be understood in the general sense of the word; Bluteau categorizes it as "merchandise or goods." However, the term may also mean "any ingredient in the composition of medicines or anything of that nature" (Bluteau 1724:305-6), a statement that might explain the role played by tea leaves at the Portuguese court during the first half of the seventeenth century.

Finally, the chronology should also be highlighted. Jan Vanvassen, Purveyor of the General Customs, wrote "this drug, which usually comes from East India" in 1700, and Catherine of Braganza had already been residing in Lisbon since 1693. However, the decision of the Council of the Treasury, which had mandated that tea should be imported exclusively via the *Casa da Índia*, dated from 1661. It seems that, before then, the product identified as a drug had not been subject to any specific legislation. What is the significance of this order? Could it have been a mere indication of a decree for a specific warehouse (*Casa da Índia*) in order to control customs duties, or does it correspond to an increase in trade which called for its own regulation? Could the legal framework for tea help us to document the widespread beginning of tea consumption over a period of fifty years after Friar Gaspar da Cruz had written about it?

As seen, among the goods agreed upon in the Treaty of Whitehall for the payment of the wedding dowry, tea was not listed anywhere in the ship's cargo manifest. Furthermore, the analysis of the commission made by the queen, and the goods that travelled on board the ship *Saudade*, a regular line between Lisbon and London, may help reinforce this thesis. The goods that arrived in London were "oranges, marmalade, wine, porcelain amphorae containing water, and jugs of sweet water" (Flor 2012:25). Once again, it should be emphasised that there is no sign of any boxes containing *camellia sinensis*, although it had been subject to the payment of duties at the *Casa da Índia* at least since 1661.

As a curiosity, Father Sebastião da Fonseca, the author of *Relaçam das Festas de Palácio, e grandesas de Londres* [An Account of the Palace Festivities and the Grandeurs of London] a publication that mentions the public arrival of Catherine of Braganza at the city of London in 1662, puts these words into the mouth of the God Neptune:

> A tribute I exact of you[10]
> . . .
> From China rough diamonds,
> from India sapid clove,
> fine sugar from Rio
> good tobacco from Brazil.

In other words, the extolled products are diamonds, sugar, cloves, and tobacco, which were probably the most significant goods for the Portuguese trade at the time.

At this point, one should investigate how the beverage entered into Catherine of Braganza's everyday life. The first concrete reference to tea among the Portuguese entourage in England is found in the correspondence of ambassador Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara, who constantly complained about his health.

Figure 7: Portrait of D. Francisco de Melo Manuel da Câmara (1626-1678)
[available at purl.pt]

In fact, during ambassador Francisco de Melo's years in Northern Europe (1662-1678: thirteen years in England; two and a half years in the Netherlands), his letters to Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, the Portuguese envoy to France, complained about his health problems and gave an account of various remedies from thermal water to bloodletting and pills. The

[10] [To Their Majesties Catherine and Charles]. Fonseca (1663:8).

period of 1673-74 is rich in references of this nature as de Melo goes to great lengths to cure his illnesses, including the use of donkey milk (Melo, 1674). De Melo followed the remedies of the time, taking into account, above all, Francisco Morato Roma's advice for the treatment of so-called "ethical fevers" (Roma, 1664:70). In a letter to Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo, written in 1674, Francisco de Melo finally mentions the consumption of tea as a last resort:

> My health is still poor and the best is to take fewer remedies because I have decided to accommodate the ailments instead of the medicine. The two that you suggest do not seem bad, except that rather than water I should take Thé [tea], which I do after supper as not only is its water hot, but it also contains the virtues of the herb, which is good for the head and the stomach. (Melo, 1674)

From the tone of the letter, one can see that the ingestion of the beverage was not a habit known among the Portuguese, especially not for its medicinal properties, because Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo was informed by the ambassador in England of a variation of hot water taken after dinner, to which herbs were added. Also noteworthy is the fact that Francisco de Melo does not use the Portuguese term *chá* but rather the English word "thé" Two years later, in a letter to the Duke of Cadaval, Father Manuel Dias reveals the same knowledge of tea, which he mentions together with coffee and chocolate, also using the English term for it [te] (Rau 1962:25).

Although the use of tea in Portugal is documented only after 1661, the detail of the nomenclature is highly relevant. The specialized bibliography expresses that the consumption of tea has its roots in the Eastern Himalayas and across Northeast India, particularly in Assam. In chronological terms, it harks back to the Eastern Han Dynasty (206-220), although it was popularized during the Tang Dynasty. The first mention of the ideogram for tea is by Guo Pu (276-324). However, the lexical item *cha* only appeared from the seventh century onwards (Ceresa 1993:193-25). During the first half of the seventeenth century in England, the word in use was 'cha,' which was employed at the Macau trading post ('tcha' or 'chaw'). As English merchants moved into territories further east along the Chinese coast (Fujian province), they came into contact with local traders, whose dialectal word for tea was 'thé.' The same acculturation occurred with Portugal's Dutch rivals (Dahl 2013: Chapter 138).

As the aforementioned letter shows, the Portuguese ambassador to Holland uses the term thé. In our opinion, if the habit of drinking tea had been widespread in Portugal, the exchange between Francisco de Melo and Duarte Ribeiro de Macedo would have employed to the Portuguese vocabulary (influenced by the trade with Canton and Macau, rather than Amoy) (Dahl 2013: chapter 138), and one would not have been surprised to come across a more domestic tone in expressions such as "our tea" or "the tea from our country," precisely as found in the praises of water exchanged between the Marquis of Niza and Vicente Nogueira.

Taking these data into account, one is able to reinforce the idea that the consumption of tea at the English court was a gradual phenomenon, and that (like milk) the beverage was originally taken for medicinal purposes. Francisco Manuel de Melo's scant knowledge of this beverage permits the hypothesis that the perception of the queen of England was identical. One should bear in mind that Francisco had been her chamberlain and that his sister, the Countess of Penalva, was assigned the same task until 1681, so that the information circulated in the queen's household, and either tea was recommended by the royal physicians or its consumption imitated the social habits fostered by the English sovereign.

In this context, it was natural that the consumption of tea should enter the court of Catherine of Braganza as a medicinal habit, as confirmed by the Portuguese ambassador and by Rafael Bluteau himself a few years later:

> Chá or (as others prefer) Tehâ, is a word from Japan, from whence the best Chá comes... good Chá has remarkable virtues, it brings joy to the spirit, causes vapours to subside, fortifies the brain & the heart, helps digestion, purifies the blood, stimulates urination, expels somnolence & some credit it with the happiness of the Chinese and the Japanese, who both know nothing of the illnesses that are so common in Europe, such as Stone and Gout. (Bluteau 1712:264)

Looking at the historical framework under analysis, it is easy to understand how tea entered into the everyday life of the Portuguese queen in London, albeit not as a five o'clock ritual, but rather a fashion that emerged in the nineteenth century at the hands of a lady-in-waiting of Queen Victoria: Ann Russel, the seventh duchess of Bedford (1783-1857). This fact is proved both by the historiography of the Duchess of Bedford and that of Catherine of Braganza. In fact, in 1680, as the Popish Plot unfolded—and the queen was accused of being linked to a conspiracy to assassinate the king and impose the Catholic faith in England—an account was published in France entitled *La vie de Catherine de Portugal*, which describes in detail the queen's daily routines, from five o'clock in the morning (the time she rose from her bed) until she retired to sleep, and there is no reference to tea drinking at five o'clock in the afternoon. Instead, at that hour, Catherine would be engaged in praying the Rosary, together with other ladies in her private prayer room (Flor 2012:294).

Therefore, with its virtuous aura, tea was quickly adopted by the queen, who, in the years following the death of King Charles II, suffered from symptoms that were treatable by the beverage from China: "Her Majesty has had some stomach complaints in these past four or five days . . . the profound sadness and melancholia in which she is often immersed are the cause of indigestion and occasional indisposition" (Rau 1962:125).

Edmund Waller's Poem and the Undoing of a Tradition

In order to clarify once and for all the association between Catherine of Braganza and tea, I turned to an international bibliography on the subject. *The Empire of Tea*,[11] published in 2009, offered a new research path relating to the rereading of Edmund Waller's work.

The study is being carried out by two American professors—Tim Raylor and Michael Parker—whom I have contacted, and who offered to discuss our doubts with me and to share their unpublished data, so that one might arrive together at an understanding of the origin of the tradition.[12] The authors had access to manuscript editions that were still extant in a family estate and realized that there is a confusion between the poem "To the Queen, upon her Majesty's birthday, after her happy recovery from a dangerous sickness," written in 1663, and the poem "Of Tea," which was only included in its posthumous edition of 1690, but did not feature in the 1668, 1682, and 1686 revisions. For this reason, the poem "Of Tea" must not have been written until the 1680s. Some verses in "Of Tea" are repeated in another poem "Queen Catherine on New Year's Day," dated 1683. By reformulating the date of the poem from 1663 to 1683(?), the sense of novelty that had supposedly been brought by Catherine of Braganza from Portugal to England in 1662 vanishes entirely, as does the weight of eastern culture that hung over her dowry and was repeatedly overestimated by eighteenth and nineteenth-century historiography, as seen.

Together with Edmund Waller's poem, the new data suggest that the beverage soon reached beyond its medicinal properties to become a synonym for comfort and the

[11] Ellis; Coulton; Mauger (2015). I would like to thank Tino Markworth, at Stanford University, for the information shared via email in October 2016.

[12] I am grateful to Tim Raylor (Carleton College) and Michael Parker, (United States Naval Academy), for the information shared via email on March 10, 2017.

appeasement of "melancholia." Waller speaks of keeping "the palace of the soul serene," something dear to Catherine of Braganza, who, unlike Charles II, did not seek the exotic effects of chocolate. After the king's death, the biography of the queen mentions her nocturnal walks as well as her retreats spent in an apothecary's small country cottage in Islington (Casemiro 1956:461). Could this also be a sign of the true philosophy behind the tea ceremony, "which invited individual reflection and the achievement of a state of inner harmony through an intimate contact with Nature?" (Prazeres 2012:88).

By writing this poem about tea, Waller not only extolled the beverage (he was himself an enthusiastic tea drinker, appearing in a list of tea connoisseurs) (Ellis; Coulton; Mauger 2015:36-39), but he also documented its presence in the queen's everyday life. This public praise of a royal habit led to its becoming a subject of curiosity and, therefore, an object of imitation. For example, in 1664, Catherine of Braganza had been portrayed as Saint Catherine by the Catholic painter Jacob Huysman (c. 1633-1696), a gesture that was immediately copied by the ladies of the English court. For this reason, I do not discard the possibility that the same practice was applied to tea drinking, which the queen embraced after arriving in England.

The queen's fondness for tea drinking is revealed in the inventory of her belongings, in which the equipment for the preparation of the beverage is clearly listed (it was part of the estate at Bemposta Palace, where she died in 1705) (Rau 1947:1-98). The variety of utensils (tableware from 'India' [even those who came from China], including cups and saucers, pots, kettles, etc..., along with the accompanying furniture) shows how the queen's daily tea ceremony had evolved into a definition of pancultural art (Wilson, 2018:33-44).

Conclusion

The current available knowledge allows to state as follows, regarding tea and the habit of drinking it in Portugal: tea had been known about in the country at least since the second half of the sixteenth century, as confirmed by Dominican and Jesuit accounts. However, the first reference that has so far been found among the customs records is from 1661, when a shipment was sent from the General Customs to the *Casa da Índia*. A few months later, Catherine of Braganza left for England and the products in her dowry included only sugar. Tea was already traded in England and was highly appreciated for its medicinal properties (for treating colds and digestive problems). Charles II's household accounts list greater expenses with chocolate than with tea because the king was aware of the former's benefits in terms of energy and vitality.

English society always followed the habits of their sovereigns. Arriving in England, Catherine of Braganza had herself portrayed as Saint Catherine by the painter Jacob Huysmans, thus launching a fashion among women wishing to associate themselves with the queen (even to the point of naming their daughters after her) as a way of complimenting and pleasing the sovereign. The habit of tea drinking must have followed a similar process. It made its way into the queen's everyday life due to its medicinal properties, and it was regarded as a virtuous beverage due to its physical and spiritual benefits. Catherine of Braganza began the fashion of tea drinking, going on long walks after supper and seeking quiet locations to commune with nature. This behavior began in the 1680s after the death of Charles II, a time of deep melancholy for her, according to her closest servants. American specialists have shown that Edmund Waller's poem dates from that period, not from the 1660s. The poet praises Catherine's habit, which had changed from medicinal to virtuous due to its ability to cure melancholy and bring serenity to the soul.

In Portugal, tea is absent from the *agasalho* culture from the second half of the sixteenth century until the late seventeenth century. In fact, Portuguese habits included herbal preparations and tisanes for colds, and fortified or scented waters for cooling the body, as reported by many foreign visitors to sixteenth-century Portugal.

Regarding the theme of this study, it is now possible to say with greater accuracy that Catherine of Braganza generalized the fashion of drinking tea in England several years after her arrival and introduced the habit of drinking tea for pure pleasure when she returned to Portugal in 1693. This reversal of traditional history does not diminish the queen's biography. Although she was not responsible for introducing tea drinking into England as a habit of civility brought from Portugal, one should not lose sight of her true role in the history of Portugal. Her marriage to Charles II of England, a nation hostile to Catholics like her, secured English military assistance and thus ensured our lasting political independence, something that many had deemed impossible.

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