



Frontispiece of Fr. Miguel da Purificação, O.F.M., *Relação Defensiva* (Barcelona 1640), pleading the cause of Creole friars

[see p. 124 note (1)]

RALEIGH LECTURE ON HISTORY

THE COLOUR QUESTION IN THE
PORTUGUESE EMPIRE, 1415-1825

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SOME of you may feel a trifle puzzled at the title of this lecture since there is no lack of distinguished authorities who assure us that the Portuguese never had any colour-bar worth mentioning. My own predecessor in the Camoens Chair observed in his Inaugural Lecture in 1923: 'It is to the credit of Portugal that, slaves and Jews apart, she made no distinction of race and colour and that all her subjects, once they had become Catholics, were eligible for official posts.' A South African historian who constituted himself the champion of the Portuguese in Africa wrote ten years ago that there was 'no racial question anywhere in the Portuguese colonies, and there never will be'. An erudite French Jesuit who specialized in the history of the Roman Catholic missions in the Far East, has remarked equally emphatically: 'Le Portugal n'a pas connu le préjugé de race.'¹ Nothing would be easier than to multiply such quotations from modern authors except, perhaps, than to refute them with quotations in the contrary sense from the old conquerors, missionaries, and travellers.

Dom João de Castro, 'Knight of the Renaissance', as his latest English biographer calls him, wrote of the Hindu inhabitants of Goa in 1539 that they 'could more properly be called our slaves than our subjects'. Nearly sixty years later, the Dutchman Jan Huighen van Linschoten, Secretary to the Archbishop of Goa, waxed very censorious over Portuguese 'pride and presumptuousness, for in all places they will be lords and masters, to the contempt and embasing of the inhabitants'.

¹ Edgar Prestage, *Portugal, Brazil & Great Britain. An inaugural lecture delivered at King's College, London, the 8th October, 1923* (Oxford, 1923), p. 22; S. R. Welch, *Portuguese and Dutch in South Africa, 1581-1640* (Johannesburg, 1951), p. 137; H. Bernard-Maitre, S.J., in *L'Histoire Universelle des Missions Catholiques* (Paris, 1957), tome ii, p. 50.

The Brazilian-born Jesuit missionary, Padre Francisco de Sousa, writing (in 1710) of the existence of a colour-bar in the Society of Jesus, complacently referred to 'the Portuguese character which naturally despises all these Asiatic races'.¹ As for the treatment (or mistreatment) of the Amerindians in Brazil, another Portuguese Jesuit, Padre Antonio Vieira, after describing how hard they toiled for their white masters in expeditions up the Amazon and elsewhere, adds: 'All this the poor Indians do for no other payment than being called "dogs" and other names which are much more insulting. The best reward that these poor wretches can hope for on such journeys, is to find a commander who does not treat them too badly, but this very seldom happens.'²

Although the widespread notion that the Portuguese never had any colour-bar will not survive serious investigation, their colour problem assumed different forms at different times and places, as it has done with those other European nations who followed in the wake of the Lusitanian navigators to the tropics. Portuguese reactions to the 'Moors' (by which they meant the Muslims) or to the Negroes of Africa were inevitably not exactly the same as they were to the Indians, Chinese, and Japanese in Asia, or to the Amerindians of South America. It will therefore be best if we survey briefly the reactions of the Portuguese to what one of their chroniclers termed the 'muita e desvairada gente' (many and various peoples) whom they successively encountered overseas.

Leaving aside Portuguese contacts with the Muslims of Morocco, which were almost uniformly hostile and were conditioned by the centuries-old struggle for the Iberian peninsula, their attitude to the West African Negroes varied considerably as between Guinea, the Congo, and Angola. In Upper Guinea, from the second half of the fifteenth century onwards, Portuguese traders and exiled criminals frequented many of the rivers and creeks, sometimes penetrating a considerable distance into the interior. Many of them settled in the Negro villages, where they and their Mulatto descendants functioned as principals or intermediaries in the barter-trade

¹ Elaine Sanceau (ed.), *Cartas de D. João de Castro* (Lisboa, 1954), p. 28; John Huighen van Linschoten, *His discours of Voyages into ye Easte & West Indies* (London, 1598), p. 383; Francisco de Sousa, S.J., *Oriente Conquistado* (2 vols., Lisboa, 1710), vol. ii, p. 550.

² J. L. Azevedo (ed.), *Cartas do Padre António Vieira* (3 vols., Coimbra, 1925-8), vol. i, pp. 374-5. Cf. Luis dos Santos Vilhena, *Recopilação de noticias Soteropolitanas e Brasilicas* (2 vols., Bahia, 1921), vol. i, p. 148.

for gold and slaves between Black and White. The *tangomaos* or *lançados*, as these men who 'went native' were termed, mainly consisted of what a hostile sixteenth-century English writer called: 'banished men or fugitives, for committing most heinous crimes and incestuous acts, their lives and conversation being agreeable'. But they were not lacking in courage and initiative, and they spread the use of Portuguese as a commercial lingua franca all along the coast.¹ The kings of Portugal did not object to this miscegenation in itself, but they strongly objected to these *lançados* evading the taxes which the Crown imposed on overseas commerce. For this reason the death penalty was enacted against them in 1518, but even this drastic measure failed to reduce their numbers. Nearly a century later a Jesuit missionary described their way of life as follows:

They are a sort of people, who, though Portuguese by race and born or baptized Christians, yet live as if they were neither the one nor the other. For many of them go naked, and in order to assimilate and naturalize themselves the better with the heathen among whom they dwell, they scrape their whole body with an iron instrument, cutting the flesh until they draw blood and making many markings thereon, which, after they have eaten certain herbs, assume various shapes, such as crocodiles, snakes, or whatever else they fancy. In this manner they go throughout the whole of Guinea, trading for and buying slaves in any way that they can obtain them, whether good or bad. They are as forgetful of God and of their own salvation as if they were the very Negroes and heathen of the land; for they lead this kind of life for twenty or thirty years without ever going to confession or ever thinking of the life to come, or of any other world than this one.²

On the Gold Coast of Lower Guinea, the Portuguese relied not only on peaceful contacts but on a display of power and force, as exemplified by the erection of the castles at Mina (Elmina) and Axim. São Jorge da Mina, St. George of the Mine, the first White settlement in the tropics, was founded in January 1482 with the dual object of defending the gold trade against Spanish and other European interlopers, and of dominating the local Negro tribes from whom the gold was secured. Here

¹ J. W. Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560* (2 vols., London, 1942), vol. i, pp. 28-39; *Tratado Breve dos Rios de Guiné do Cabo Verde pelo capitão André Alvares d'Almada, 1594* (ed. Diogo Köpke, Porto, 1841), *passim*.

² Fernão Guerreiro, S.J., *Relação Anual das cousas que fizeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, e no Brasil, Angola, Cabo-Verde, Guiné, nos anos de 1602-03* (Lisboa, 1605), fol. 130. For the death penalty against *lançados* and *tangomaos* in Guinea see *Ordenações Manuelinas*, livro v, título 112, fol. xcv of the 1565 edition.

there were no *tangomaos* or *lançados* who penetrated into the interior, as can be gathered from the speech made by the local chief, when Diogo da Azambuja came ashore with a richly clad and well-armed suite to lay the foundation-stone of the castle. The chief pointed out that the only Portuguese he had met hitherto were those who came annually in the caravels to barter for gold, and these were 'ragged and ill-dressed men, who were satisfied with whatever was given them in exchange for their merchandise. This was the sole reason for their coming to these parts, and their main desire was to do business quickly and return home, since they would rather live in their own country than in foreign lands.' He added that the Portuguese and the natives got on all the better for seeing each other at regular intervals, 'as do neighbours who meet every evening instead of living all day cheek by jowl'.¹ Realizing that Azambuja was determined to build the castle anyway, the chief eventually gave his reluctant consent; but although the Portuguese subsequently made some efforts to christianize the local villagers, they do not seem to have intermarried with them here to the same extent as they did in Upper Guinea.

Where miscegenation was practised as a matter of Crown policy at an early date was in the island of São Tomé in the Gulf of Guinea. Uninhabited at the time of its discovery in 1471 or thereabouts, the island was colonized during the reign of Dom João II by levies of white families from Portugal, by forcibly baptized Jewish children of both sexes, and, above all, by banished criminals and convicts. All the unmarried men were provided by the Crown with a Negress, avowedly for breeding purposes, and a marriage ceremony seems to have been optional. The Mulatto children and the slave mothers of these unions were subsequently declared to be free by a royal edict of 1515, a concession which was extended to the surviving male slaves of the original settlers and their children two years later. A Portuguese pilot who knew the island well in the second quarter of the sixteenth century tells us that in his day people of any European nationality were welcome to settle there.

They all have wives and children, and some of the children who are born there are as white as ours. It sometimes happens that, when the

¹ João de Barros, *Decada I* (Lisboa, 1552), livro iii, cap. 2. For subsequent Portuguese activities on the Gold Coast and their relations with the Negroes there cf. J. W. Blake, *Europeans in West Africa, 1450-1560*, vol. i, pp. 40-57, and the relevant documents printed in A. Brásio, C.S.Sp.(ed.), *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Occidental* (8 vols., Lisboa, 1952-60).

wife of a merchant dies, he takes a Negress, and this is an accepted practice, as the Negro population is both intelligent and rich, bringing up their daughters in our way of life, both as regards customs and dress. Children born of these unions are of a dark complexion and called Mulattoes, and they are mischievous and difficult to manage.¹

The local authorities, as distinct from the settlers, sometimes gave evidence of colour-prejudice, and a royal decree of 1528 reprimanded the governor for opposing the election of Mulattoes to the town council, declaring that they were perfectly eligible so long as they were married men of substance. Two years earlier, the Crown had granted a petition of the local Negro freemen to found a branch of the Lay Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary. They received privileges which were in some respects superior to those enjoyed by the same confraternity at Lisbon.²

The Portuguese discovered the old kingdom of Congo in the same year that they built São Jorge da Mina on the Gold Coast. Their efforts to convert the Bantu inhabitants of this realm to Christianity at first achieved more encouraging results than had their previous and short-lived missions among the Sudanese peoples of Guinea. The rulers of Congo soon adopted Christianity and one of them at least, Dom Affonso I, who reigned from 1506 to 1543, proved himself to be a better Christian than most of his teachers, and an ardent advocate of European religion and civilization. At his request, the early Portuguese embassies and missions to the Congo included not only friars and priests, but skilled workers and artisans, such as blacksmiths, masons, bricklayers, and agricultural labourers. Even some white women were sent out to teach the local ladies the arts of domestic economy as practised in Portugal. A number of Congolese noble youths were sent to Lisbon for their education and one of them was later consecrated titular Bishop of Utica by a rather reluctant Pope, on King Manuel's insistence.³

¹ This account was first printed by Ramusio in 1550, and my translation is based on that given by J. W. Blake, *op. cit.*, vol. i, p. 157, and S. F. de Mendo Trigo, *Viagem de Lisboa à ilha de São Tomé escrita por hum piloto Portuguez* (Lisboa, n.d.), pp. 51-52.

² A. Brásio, C.S.Sp., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana. Africa Occidental*, vol. i (Lisboa, 1952), pp. 331, 376, 391, 472-4, 500-1.

³ The history of Portuguese relations with the Kingdom of Congo in the 16th and 17th centuries is relatively well documented. In addition to Father A. Brásio's *Monumenta Africana* which has so far reached the year 1642, the following works should be consulted: Visconde de Paiva Manso, *História do Congo. Documentos* (Lisboa, 1877); J. Cuvelier, *L'Ancien Royaume de Congo*

This monarch and his successors of the House of Aviz did not attempt to secure political control of the kingdom of Congo, nor did they try to conquer it. They were content to recognize the kings of Congo as their brothers-in-arms, and to treat them as allies and not as vassals. The kings of Congo—or at any rate Dom Affonso I—styled the king of Portugal as ‘brother’ in their correspondence, and they modelled their court on that of Lisbon. The native chiefs were given the European titles of Duke, Marquis, and Count, and schools were opened for the teaching of the Portuguese language and the Christian religion. Unfortunately, this promising experiment broke down after Dom Affonso’s death, chiefly because of Portugal’s rapidly growing commitments in two other continents, and also to the spread of the slave-trade. ‘Black ivory’ quickly became and for centuries remained the principal European concern with the West African coast, and the Portuguese were the pioneers in this as in other respects.

Clerical morality was at a low ebb all over early sixteenth-century Europe, and several of the pioneer missionaries to the Congo led anything but edifying lives, if they were lucky enough to survive the malaria and tropical diseases which quickly killed their colleagues. Although the majority of the Portuguese community, whether clerical or lay, mixed amicably with the Congolese in general and mated freely with the women in particular, a bad impression was made by the arrogance of certain individuals. On one occasion the resident Portuguese judge in the Congolese capital, when invited by King Dom Affonso I to reside in his palace, rudely replied that he would not live with the Congo monarch nor with any other Negro for all the wealth in the kingdom of Portugal. Fernão de Mello, who was governor of São Tomé for much of Dom Affonso’s reign, also systematically sabotaged all the efforts of the two monarchs to achieve the results which they both desired. He did not hesitate to incite the Portuguese missionaries and merchants in the Congo to neglect the work of conversion and education in favour of intensifying the slave-trade.¹ For these and other reasons it is understandable that the Mulatto clergy who staffed the churches at the Congo capital of São Salvador in due course became bitterly anti-Portuguese. A

(Bruxelles, 1946); J. Cuvelier and L. Jadin, *L’Ancien Congo d’après les archives romaines, 1518–1640* (Bruxelles, 1954).

¹ Letter of the King of Congo to the King of Portugal, 5 Oct. 1514, in A. Brásio, *op. cit.*, vol. i, pp. 294–323.

century later the Cathedral Chapter and the King of Congo, while still remaining loyal Catholics in communion with Rome, warmly supported the Calvinist Dutch invaders of Angola in 1641-8.

By the end of the sixteenth century the principal West African slave markets, which had originally been in Guinea and then in Congo, were located in Angola and Benguela. The Portuguese demand for slaves intensified and perpetuated the inter-tribal wars which raged in the interior, and in which the cannibal Jagas—ancestors of the modern Bayaka—played a prominent part. In earlier years the Portuguese had aided successive kings of Congo against these barbarous invaders, who, at one time, had sacked the capital itself and who had only been driven off by timely assistance from São Tomé. In Angola, however, the Jagas were mostly on good terms with the white men. These savages formed the backbone of the *guerra preta* or native auxiliaries (also known as *empacasseiros*), with whose aid the Portuguese dominated the other tribes. These latter frequently revolted, only to be subdued by punitive columns whose savage reprisals provoked further rebellions. This dreary round of fighting, slave-raiding, and slave-trading continued with few intermissions for over two centuries.¹

The mailed-fist policy was deplored by some critics in Portugal, including the scholarly Canon of Evora, Manuel Severim de Faria, who wrote in 1655: 'In Angola from the beginning of the conquest in 1575 up till now, there has been nothing but fighting, and very little has been done for the conversion of the inhabitants of that great province, . . . the majority of whom are in the same [heathen] state as when we first entered therein, and more scandalised by our weapons than edified by our religion.'² The Crown of Portugal sometimes tried to curb the bellicose propensities of the governors and settlers, whose views are reflected in the fascinating work of Antonio de Oliveira de Cadornega. A resident of over forty years in Angola when he wrote his *História* at Luanda in 1681, Cadornega never tired of stressing that the natives could only be kept in subjection by the liberal application of the lash.³

¹ Cf. Ralph Delgado, *História de Angola, 1482-1737* (4 vols., Lobito, 1948-55).

² M. Severim de Faria, *Noticias de Portugal* (Lisboa, 1655), pp. 226-7.

³ J. M. Delgado and M. Alves da Cunha [eds.], *História geral das guerras Angolanas por António de Oliveira de Cadornega, capitão reformado e cidadão de São Paulo da Assunção, natural de Vila Viçosa, 1680-81* (3 vols., Lisboa, 1940-2), vol. i, pp. 91-92, 260-1; vol. ii, pp. 142-3; vol. iii, pp. 40, 165.

There is no doubt that the colonists' viewpoint prevailed in practice over the humanitarian sentiments which were sometimes voiced by the Crown and by the missionaries, though these had no objection to the use of force on occasion. One of the pioneer Jesuits in Angola explained that the Bantu were barbarous savages who could not be converted by the methods of peaceful persuasion which were employed with such civilized Asian nations as the Chinese and Japanese. Christianity in Angola, he wrote, must be imposed by force, though once the Bantu were converted, they would make excellent Christians.¹

Although Cadornega was a convinced advocate of the desirability of keeping the Negro in his place at the bottom of the social scale, he had a good word for the coloured community, whose origin and development he describes as follows:

The soldiers of the garrison and other [European] individuals father many children on the black ladies, for want of white ladies, with the result that there are many Mulattoes and coloured (*pardos*). The sons of these unions make great soldiers, chiefly in the wars in the backlands against the heathen inhabitants. They can endure severe hardships and very short commons, and go without shoes. Many of them become great men. When this conquest began, all or the most important conquerors, with the exception of a few who brought their families, accommodated themselves with *Mulatas*, daughters of respectable settlers and conquerors by their female slaves or free concubines. Many of their descendants are now very noble and honourable, and can be compared in their way with those of Brazil and of India, when the great Affonso de Albuquerque encouraged those mixed marriages in the city of Goa, capital of that Indian empire, in order to increase the population of that city and state, marrying many of his chief men with the Oriental women, from whom we see today a very noble generation. In Brazil we have *Caramurús* and *Mamelucos*; in Angola, Mulattoes and coloured—these have come to be the native inhabitants of these lands.²

Cadornega does not say whether Mulattoes or Octaroons were allowed to become members of the town councils in

¹ Delgado, *História de Angola*, vol. i, p. 254; A. Brásio, C.S.Sp., *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, vol. ii (1953), pp. 518, 566-9.

² Cadornega, *História das guerras Angolanas*, vol. iii, p. 30. In point of fact, Albuquerque's mixed-marriage policy in 1510 was not popular with the *fidalgua* (gentry), and most of the bridegrooms were common soldiers and sailors (João de Barros, *Decada II*, livro 5, cap. xi). *Caramurú* was the Tupí sobriquet of a Portuguese castaway, Diogo Alvares, who lived among the Brazilian Indians for nearly fifty years before his death in 1557. He fathered a numerous progeny, many of whom intermarried with the early Portuguese settlers at Bahia after 1539. *Mameluco* was the term applied to the offspring of a European father and an Amerindian mother.

Luanda and other municipalities, as they had been in São Tomé in the sixteenth century, but which they were officially forbidden in Brazil in the eighteenth century. Even if they were, a strong prejudice against them certainly existed, as can be seen from the remarks of an Italian Capuchin missionary, Fr. Girolamo Merolla, in 1691: 'They hate the Negroes mortally, even their own mothers that bore them, and do all they can to equal themselves with whites; which is not allowed them, they not being permitted to sit in their presence.'¹ A century later, things had changed so much that Mulatto militia officers were allowed to frequent the governor's official receptions on the same footing as whites—a practice which a Luso-Brazilian officer of the garrison contrasted with that obtaining in Rio de Janeiro, where the viceroy would only allow coloured militia officers to make their bows to him from the doorway, after their white colleagues had kissed his hand.²

Cadornega tells that the Jesuits of Luanda educated some of the local free Negro youths for the priesthood, chiefly for service in the unhealthy interior. We have seen that the Pope ordained a Congolese as titular Bishop of Utica in 1518; and though this precedent was not followed for several centuries, a papal bull of the same year authorized Portuguese bishops to ordain 'Ethiopians, Indians, and Africans', who might reach the educational and moral standards required for the priesthood.³ As I have indicated previously, this practice was followed by the Portuguese subsequently in West Africa, particularly in the Cape Verde Islands, São Tomé, and the Congo, where both Negroes and Mulattoes were ordained with relative frequency. Padre António Vieira, who spent Christmas week at the Cape Verde island of Santiago in 1652, was greatly impressed by some of the indigenous clergy. 'There are here', he wrote, 'clergy and canons as black as jet, but so well-bred, so authoritative, so learned, such great musicians, so discreet and so accomplished that they may well be envied by those in our own cathedrals at home.'⁴ Vieira's enthusiasm for the West

¹ The author died at Luanda in 1697, and the quotation is from the first English edition of his *Viaggio* in Churchill, *Collection of Voyages*, vol. i (1704), p. 739.

² E. A. da Silva Corrêa, *História de Angola, 1792* (ed. 2 vols., Lisboa, 1937), vol. i, p. 84.

³ Brief of Leo X dated 12 June 1518 *apud* A. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, vol. i, p. 421.

⁴ Letter d. 25 Dec. 1652 in J. L. d'Azevedo (ed.), *Cartas do Padre António Vieira*, vol. i, p. 295.

African coloured clergy was not shared by everyone, and it was even alleged in 1595 that unconverted Negroes would only accept baptism from white priests.¹ Nearly two centuries later D. Francisco Inocencio de Sousa Coutinho, generally admitted to have been one of the most enlightened and broad-minded governors that Angola ever had, criticized the coloured clergy on the grounds that 'whiteness of skin and purity of soul' were usually interdependent.²

The readiness with which Negroes and Mulattoes were ordained in Portuguese West Africa from early times contrasts curiously with the extreme reluctance which the ecclesiastical authorities displayed to act in the same way on the east coast. Seminaries for the education of the indigenous clergy were established during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in São Tomé, the Cape Verde Islands, and Angola; but not until 1761 did the government at Lisbon order the construction of a seminary in Moçambique. The terms of this decree expressly envisaged the ordination of Mulattoes and free Negroes as well as whites, quoting the precedent of the 'kingdom of Angola and the islands of São Tomé and Príncipe, where the parish priests, canons, and other dignitaries are usually the black clergy who are natives of that region'. Although this measure was originated by the dreaded dictator of Portugal, who is best known to us by his later title of Marquis of Pombal, it was never implemented in East Africa. Canon Alcantara Guerreiro, the latest historian of Moçambique, observes sadly that 'although nearly two centuries have passed since this edict, the first native priest has yet to be ordained in Moçambique'.³

It is true that some Negroes of East African origin were ordained at Goa during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, but these priests remained in Portuguese India and did not return to the land of their birth. Whether this was done as a matter of deliberate policy, I cannot say; but the fact

¹ '... à mingoa de ministros não receberem os gentios o baptismo como de contino pedem, por não puderem nem sofrerem ministros pretos, senam brancos, a que chamão filhos de Deus' (information given by the Bishop of São Tomé in 1595, *apud* A. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, vol. iii, p. 493).

² A. Silva Rego, *Curso de Missionologia* (Lisboa, 1956), p. 297.

³ Conego Alcântara Guerreiro, *Quadros da História de Moçambique* (2 vols., Lourenço Marques, 1954), vol. ii, pp. 331-2. The text of the (abortive) order for the establishment of a seminary for the training of secular clergy in Moçambique, dated Lisboa, 29 May 1761, is printed by António Alberto de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista* (Lisboa, 1955), pp. 599-601.

remains that the coloured clergy of Moçambique, who were the target of much criticism by governors and crown officials, were exclusively Goans or Indo-Portuguese. I may add that the *Banian* or Indian-trader problem likewise gave rise to much caustic criticism of Indians, whether Hindu or Muslim, by some of the white Portuguese. This ill feeling was obviously of economic rather than racial origin; and in any case several of the governors of Moçambique were outspoken in their defence of the Banians, whom they described as the economic mainstay of the colony.¹

The existence of a strong and tenacious colour-bar in Portuguese Asia emerges very clearly from a study of the efforts made to form an indigenous clergy there during the space of three centuries. We have seen that the Pope gave authority for suitable Indians to be ordained as early as 1518, but Asians who received Holy orders were for long regarded with scant respect by the majority of the Portuguese in India. A Jesuit missionary writing at Goa in 1548 observed that 'The Portuguese here will not make their confession to a native or to a half-caste priest, but only to a [pure] Portuguese'.² A century later the same observation was repeated even more emphatically by two Italian Theatines, one of whom said that the average Portuguese would not even deign to offer an Indian priest a seat in his house.³ So strong was this contempt of the white man for the coloured, that the Religious Orders, which originally had no

¹ For details of the relations between white Portuguese and Indian immigrants in Moçambique, cf. the works of Canon Alcantara Guerreiro and A. A. de Andrade quoted in the preceding note, as also Alexandre Lobato, *Evolução administrativa e económica de Moçambique, 1752-1763* (Lisboa, 1957). The Goans had a severe critic in Dr. Duarte Salter de Mendonça, a judge who made a tour of inspection in the colony in 1723-5, and who described them as invariably if secretly hostile to Portuguese rule and interests (A. Lobato, *op. cit.*, p. 299).

² Letter of Padre António Gomes, S.J., Goa, 20 Dec. 1548, in António da Silva Rego (ed.), *Documentação para a história das missões do Padroado Português do Oriente. Índia* (12 vols., Lisboa, 1947-59), vol. iv, p. 183. It may be added that Padre Gomes shared the opinion of his lay countrymen, as when he was appointed Director of the recently established Seminary of St. Paul for the training of indigenous candidates for the priesthood, he dismissed them all and replaced them by Portuguese and half-castes. When subsequently ordered by his superiors to readmit the indigenous boys, he declined to do so and resigned his post.

³ Cf. the correspondence of the Theatine friars Fr. Avitabile and Salvatore Gallo (1640-54), quoted by C. M. de Melo, S.J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India, 16th to 19th-century. An historico-canonical study* (Lisboa, 1955), pp. 167, 247-50.

racial requirements in their respective constitutions, subsequently refused to admit native or half-caste recruits to their ranks, at any rate in theory. What happened in Portuguese Asia therefore closely paralleled developments in Spanish America, where the same Orders systematically excluded persons of colour from their ranks after the year 1539.

Another similarity between Portuguese Asia and Spanish America was the rivalry between the European-born and the Creoles, which was likewise reflected in the composition of the Religious Orders. The statutes of these Orders in the seventeenth century prohibited them from admitting novices who were descended from converted Muslims or from heathen forebears as far back as the fourth generation. There is no doubt that half-castes were sometimes able to evade this ruling, but only by claiming to be of pure white descent. Even men born of European parents in the East were regarded with disdain by their colleagues born in Portugal, who did not scruple to term them 'Niggers' and to aver that they were good for nothing. It was solemnly argued that though some of these Creoles might be of pure European descent, yet the fact that in infancy they had imbibed their milk from Indian *ayahs* was sufficient to contaminate their blood and their character for the remainder of their lives.¹

In the 1630's a determined attempt was made by the European-born Franciscan friars to prohibit any Creole friar from holding high office in the Asian branches of the Order. This attempt was only defeated by the dispatch to Rome of a white friar born in India, Fr. Miguel da Purificação, who took with him an Indian syndic, in order to show His Holiness the difference between a Creole and an Indian. Fr. Miguel eventually carried his point and obtained a ruling that friars born of pure white parents in India were eligible to hold a fair share of offices in the Order. But he only obtained a papal brief to this effect after intensive lobbying at the Court of Madrid (Portugal then being incorporated with the Spanish Crown) and at Rome, in the teeth of bitter opposition from his Portuguese-born colleagues, who were warmly supported by the Count of Linhares, Viceroy of Portuguese India from 1629 to 1635.

¹ Miguel da Purificação, O.F.M., *Relação Defensiva dos filhos da Índia Oriental e da Província do Apostolo S. Thome dos frades menores da regular observança da mesma Índia* (Barcelona, 1640), a book whose exceeding rarity is perhaps accounted for by its publication at Barcelona in the year of the Catalan and Portuguese revolutions.

This viceroy was one of many who had no use for half-castes or mixed bloods, and was always complaining about them in his correspondence.¹ Fr. Miguel, on his part, while stressing that his Order only admitted persons of pure white blood in the East, claimed that many dark-complexioned Portuguese who came out to India were in reality Mulattoes and Quadroons, 'although they allege that they got sunburnt during the voyage'.

The position of the secular clergy in Portuguese India was a great contrast to that of the Religious Orders. Despite the criticisms which were levelled at them from the time of their inception in the early sixteenth century, the indigenous secular clergy took root and flourished. The Regulars, who declined to admit Indian novices to their own ranks, made no difficulty about training coloured candidates for the secular priesthood, particularly after the founding of the College or Seminary of São Paulo da Santa Fé at Goa in 1541. This institution was soon taken over by the Jesuits, and having survived Father António Gomes's attempts to sabotage its original objective of training coloured candidates for the priesthood, it continued to flourish down to the suppression of the Jesuits in 1759. Pupils of all races were admitted in this College, but those who were specifically selected and trained for the secular priesthood were usually drawn from the class of converted Brahmins. The other Orders worked on a more modest scale than the Jesuits, but they all trained numbers of *Bramanes*² while systematically rejecting aspirants from the lower castes with very few exceptions.

¹ *Diario do 3º Conde de Linhares, vice-rei de Índia* (Lisboa, 1937), p. 129, under date of 6 June 1634, for a typical example ('Lionel de Lima mestisso que como elles são estes nunca fazem couza bem feita'). Among the viceroys who shared his views may be mentioned the Count of São Vicente (1666-8), the Count of Ericeira (1717-20), João de Saldanha da Gama (1725-32), and the Marquis of Alorna (1744-50). The last-named was also highly critical of his own countrymen in the East.

² Portuguese writers and records employ the forms *Bramane*, *Bramene*, *Bracmane*, *Bragmane*, and *Brahmane*, as can be seen from the quotations in S. R. Dalgado, *Glossário Luso-Asiático* (2 vols., Coimbra, 1919-21), vol. i, pp. 144-8. For a curious work by a *Bramane* secular priest affirming the superiority of his caste over all other Asian races, and its right to be treated on an equal footing by the Portuguese, see António João de Frias, *Aureola dos Índios e Nobiliarchia Bracmana* (Lisboa, 1702). Leonardo Paes, *Promptuario das diffinições Indicas deduzidas de varios chronistas da Índia, graves authores, e das historias gentilicas* (Lisboa, 1713), claims this privilege for the *charodo* caste which he alleged was of *kshatriya* (warrior) origin, but most modern writers place the *charodos* among the lower caste *Sudras*.

Admittedly, many years elapsed before any of the native clergy were given responsible posts, and for over a century they functioned merely as assistants to the European parish priests who were recruited from the Regular Orders. The first one to achieve real distinction was the Brahmin Mateus de Castro, who was consecrated a bishop at Rome in 1637, and who spent part of his long and chequered career as Vicar-Apostolic in India.¹ He claimed that the Archbishop of Goa had refused to admit him to the priesthood, on the grounds that this prelate had sworn upon the gospel not to ordain any Brahmin and was resolved to keep his oath. Mateus de Castro further alleged that the Goan secular clergy were systematically discriminated against by their superiors, who were resolved to keep them in their position of inferiority. Some of his complaints were clearly exaggerated, but there is little doubt that his representations were basically correct, and they were accepted as such by the Sacred College of the Propaganda Fide at Rome. Conditions subsequently improved for the *Bramane* secular clergy, and in due course several of them became bishops; but as late as 1725 the Archbishop of Goa was advocating their exclusion from high office and their subordination to European-born ecclesiastics. He argued that the Spanish-American precedent should be followed, 'for all their clergy, canons, and parish-priests are Spaniards, most of them born in Spain, and there is not a single pure Indian cleric, but at the most a few half-castes'.² Fr. Ignacio de Santa Teresa was fighting a rear-guard action in this respect, and by the time of the suppression of the Religious Orders in Portuguese India a century later, not only the whole of the secular clergy but the great majority of the regular were sons of the soil.

It is only fair to add that the discrimination was not all on one side. Although the Portuguese abolished caste distinctions among their converts in theory, these Hindu practices continued to survive in many ways, and the Christians of Brahmin stock were careful to keep their racial purity and their superior social position. From the time of Affonso de Albuquerque

¹ For Mateus de Castro cf. Th. Ghesquière, *Mathieu de Castro* (St-André-lès-Bruges, 1936); Carlo Cavallera, *Matteo de Castro, 1594-1677, Primo Vicario Apostolico dell'India* (Roma, 1936). For the relations between the white and the indigenous clergy in Portuguese India cf. C. M. de Melo, S.J., *The Recruitment and Formation of the Native Clergy in India* (Lisboa, 1955).

² Ignacio de Santa Teresa, O.F.M., 'Estado do presente Estado da India no anno do Senhor de 1725' (unpublished MS. in the writer's collection), fols. 50-51.

onwards, sporadic efforts were made by the viceroys at Goa and by the Crown at Lisbon to foster intermarriage between Portuguese men—particularly the soldiers newly arrived from Europe—and converted Brahmin women, but these efforts met with very little success. In 1684 the viceroy promulgated an edict that Christian Brahmin widows should be given every incentive to remarry, but with white men: ‘since it is through the institution of marriage between the natives (*naturaes*) and the whites that natural love between them is consolidated’. The Count of Alvor added that the male children of these unions would later come in very useful as soldiers to help defend the land of their birth, and that these mixed marriages would foster the use of Portuguese at the expense of the Konkani language.¹ Pride of race and of caste proved too strong for the legislation which the Portuguese authorities periodically enacted to encourage mixed marriages. Most of the Indian women who entered into unions—licit or otherwise—with Portuguese men were drawn from marginal groups such as widows and Nautch-girls (*bailhadeiras*).²

The somewhat dubious origins of many of these families of *descendentes*, as they are called nowadays, did not prevent them from remaining intensely proud of their Portuguese ancestry. Those of them who attained—or retained—positions of importance in the community, kept both pride of race and class-consciousness, marrying only with other families of their ilk, or, whenever possible, with pure Portuguese. Though apt to be dubbed *mestiços* (half-castes) by both the European-born and by the converted Brahmins, they formed in their own eyes the salt of the earth and an aristocracy superior to that of the mother-country.³ The hey-day of their kind was probably

¹ *Provizão* of the Viceroy Count of Alvor, d. Goa, 27 June 1684, in P. Pissurlencar, *Roteiro dos Arquivos da Índia Portuguesa* (Bastorá, 1955), p. 236. For a survey of the legislation in favour of mixed marriages and the reluctance of the Christian Brahmins to marry outside their caste and race, cf. P. Pissurlencar, *Assentos do Conselho do Estado da Índia, 1618-1750* (5 vols., Bastorá, 1953-7), vol. v, pp. 293-5, and the brilliant essay by Orlando Ribeiro, ‘Originalidade de Goa’, in *Actas do III Colóquio Internacional de Estudos Luso-Brasileiros* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 170-9. To the data assembled by Pissurlencar and Ribeiro can be added Fr. Ignacio de Santa Teresa, O.F.M., ‘Estado do presente Estado da Índia’, fol. 50.

² For the relations between Portuguese men and Indian Nautch-girls see C. R. Boxer, ‘Fidalgos Portugueses e Bailhadeiras Indianas. Séculos XVII e XVIII’, in *Revista de Historia* (São Paulo, 1961), pp. 1-50.

³ Fr. Ignacio de Santa Teresa’s typical complaint: ‘... dos fidalgos da

during the first four decades of the eighteenth century. The loss of Baçaim and the fertile 'Province of the North' to the Marathas in the disastrous war of 1737-40 was a blow from which they never recovered, as most of them depended on the income derived from the agricultural estates which they owned there. The disbandment of the Indo-Portuguese standing army, which was largely officered by this class, in 1871, completed their ruin, and nowadays they form a very modest part of the Indo-Portuguese community.¹

Just as there was a good deal of friction between the European-born and the Indian-born clergy, so was there similar feeling between the Europeans in the armed services and the *Indiaticos*, as the *descendentes* were formerly termed. These latter complained that the senior posts were usually reserved for European-born *fidalgos*; but the Count of Ericeira expressed the viewpoint of most of the viceroys when he retorted that the *Indiaticos* were notoriously inferior in military capacity to officers trained in the European wars, and on this and on all other counts were less deserving of consideration by the Crown.² This attitude persisted even after Pombal's drastic abolition of the colour-bar in 1761, to which further reference is made below; and Indian-born officers and men, whether white or coloured, were for

India, que dizem à boca cheya, que Fidalguia sò a da India; e que a do Reino he sombra à vista della' ('Estado do prezente Estado da India', fol. 48v.).

¹ Orlando Ribeiro recently observed that out of 226 senior official posts in Portuguese India, 134 are occupied by Christian Indians (Goans), 49 by Portuguese born in Portugal or elsewhere than in India, 34 by Hindus, and only 9 by *descendentes* (in 1956). These latter actually number little over 1,000 in a population totalling about half a million (*Actas do III Colóquio Luso-Brasileiro*, p. 177). The *descendentes* have recently found an ardent champion for the theory of their aristocratic origins in the voluminous and valuable, but ill-digested, work of one of their number, Germano da Silva Correia, *História da colonização Portuguesa na Índia* (6 vols., Lisboa, 1948-58). Cf. especially vol. vi, pp. 98-99, 352, 450, 633, for evidence of the tension (to use no stronger word) endemic between the *descendentes* and the christianized Brahmins. For the desire of wealthy half-castes to marry their daughters with white men of European birth, however lowly, cf. Diogo do Couto, *Decada XII*, livro i, cap. ix; N. Manucci, *Storia do Mogor, 1653-1708* (ed. W. Irvine, 4 vols., 1907-8), vol. iii, pp. 175-8; *Travels of the Abbé Carré in India, 1672-4* (ed. C. Fawcett, Hakluyt Society, 3 vols., 1947-8), pp. 192, 341-2, 522; Surendranath Sen, *Indian Travels of Thevenot and Careri* (New Delhi, 1949), p. 187.

² British Museum Add. MS. 20953, fol. 267 ('... porque pela mesma falta de sciencia os reputou o dito Senhor acertadamente, como em tudo, por muito menos benemeritos').

long apt to be treated with contumely by their European comrades in arms.¹

The Portuguese habit of referring to Indians, Sinhalese, and even to Chinese and Japanese as 'Niggers' was fairly widespread and lasted longer than is usually realized. Indeed, this was one of the causes of the Maratha war of 1737-40, which was partly originated by the European-born governor of the Province of the North, Dom Luís Botelho, publicly terming a leading Maratha General, Bagi Rao, a Nigger: 'a word which they interpreted as slave, for they were assured that this was what we called the Kaffirs of Moçambique'.² It remained for Pombal, in this respect at any rate an enlightened despot, to decree that anyone using such injurious epithets would be severely punished. This celebrated decree of 2 April 1761 informed all the colonial governors that henceforth the Crown would make no distinction between its Asian and European vassals on grounds of colour but only according to their personal merits.

As with most laws, it was one thing to promulgate such an edict and another to enforce it. Nearly two centuries earlier the Crown had decreed that all Indian converts (and by implication, Asian converts in general) should enjoy the same status and privileges as the Portuguese citizens of Goa. This edict was ill observed, and a legal commission admitted in 1718 that it had not been applied for a long time.³ The commission added that if this edict was implemented in the future, it should only be applied to those who were newly converted. Not only so, but the government at Lisbon ruled in the same year that on no account whatever should the local Kanarese be preferred to or even equalled with the Portuguese in the distribution of official posts.⁴ Eighteen years later, when the Crown granted a habit of the Order of Christ to a Goan Christian, the viceroy strongly protested. He pointed out that this signal mark of royal favour would have an adverse effect on the morale of the European-born Portuguese, who would be outraged at thus having an Indian placed on their level. The Crown yielded to

¹ Cf. the documents printed in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental* (6 fascicules, Nova Goa, 1857-76), fasc. vi (1876), pp. 472-4, 532-4, 540-4, 581-7.

² Report of the Comptroller-General of the Indian Exchequer, António Carneiro de Alcáçova, d. Goa, Dec. 1740, in *O Oriente Português*, vol. iii (Nova Goa, 1906), pp. 88-89.

³ *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. vi (1876), p. 85.

⁴ Crown to Viceroy, Lisbon, 19 Feb. 1718, in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. vi (1876), p. 102.

these representations and degraded the unlucky Goan from the Order of Christ to the less coveted Order of Saint James.¹ This deep-rooted feeling among the Portuguese community in Asia goes far to explain why Pombal's drastic decree of 1761, though repeated in even more categorical terms two years later, was not promulgated by the authorities at Goa until 1774.² Pombal also made parallel efforts to break the colour-bar against the Amerindians in Brazil, to which country we must now turn our attention.

A seventeenth-century Portuguese proverb characterized Brazil as being: 'A Hell for Blacks, a Purgatory for Whites, and a Paradise for Mulattoes (and Mulatas).'³ There was a substantial core of truth in this cynical observation, which, significantly enough, made no mention of the original sons of the soil, the copper-coloured Amerindians. These indigenous inhabitants undoubtedly came off worst in the three-cornered clash and fusion of cultures which took place between the European, the African, and the Amerindian strains in colonial Brazil. Although the first report of these naked savages which the discoverers of the country sent back to Portugal in 1500 compared their innocence with that of Adam before the Fall, and although the European conception of the 'Noble Savage' is derived from sixteenth-century French descriptions of the Brazilian Indian, such idyllic notions of the Red Man were soon dropped by the Portuguese settlers in South America. The idealization of the Amerindian did not take hold in Brazil itself until that country broke loose from Portuguese domination in the early nineteenth century. In a purely artificial and romantic revulsion against their Lusitanian origins, many Brazilians without a drop of Amerindian blood in their veins, then changed their Portuguese patronymics of Sousa, Costa, and so forth, for such mellifluous-sounding Tupí names as Paraguassú and Paranaguá. However, even in colonial days, Amerindian ancestry and blood were

¹ Viceroy to Crown, Goa, 24 Jan. 1736, and the Crown's reply, Lisbon, 12 Apr. 1737, in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. vi (1876), pp. 440-1, 455.

² Cf. the correspondence between the Crown and the viceroy regarding the abolition of all forms of the colour-bar in 1761-74 in *Arquivo Portuguez Oriental*, fasc. vi (1876), pp. 478-84, 498-9.

³ 'Inferno dos Negros, Purgatorio dos Brancos, e Paraizo dos Mulatos, e das Mulatas', is the form in which it occurs in André João Antonil [pseudonym of A. G. Andreoni, S.J.], *Cultura e Opulencia do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (Lisboa, 1711), livro i, cap. 9, but a slightly different variant was employed by Dom Francisco Manuel de Mello writing c. 1660, and the phrase was probably a hoary one by his time.

considered to be less degrading than an African origin, with its inevitable connotation of Negro slavery. For Church and State alike condemned the enslavement of the Amerindian while condoning, and at times even promoting, the enslavement of the African.

The Jesuit missionaries in particular strove to prevent the enslavement of the Amerindians by the Portuguese settlers, who, like all Europeans in the tropics, had not gone there to work with their hands, but to get some other race to do the manual labour for them. The colonists regarded the primitive food-gathering and wandering tribes whom they found in Brazil as being savage cannibals without religion, king, or polity ('sem lei, sem rei, sem grei'). While perfectly prepared to cohabit with the women, in default of any others, they had no use for the men save as slaves, servants, or professional hunters and trappers. The Jesuits, on the other hand, believed that the Amerindians had certain natural virtues which they endeavoured to foster. They tried to domesticate and christianize the savages by gathering them in village mission-settlements (*aldeias*), as they did with conspicuous success in the better-known Reductions of Paraguay. But they took the line, after a few preliminary and disastrous experiences in the contrary sense, that the Amerindians must be treated as adolescents and not as adults. Through force of circumstances they were reluctantly compelled to allow the inmates of the *aldeias* to perform manual labour for the colonists, under certain conditions and safeguards. But they strove to limit this concession as far as possible, and to shield their neophytes from demoralizing contacts with the Whites and half-castes. For this reason they forbore, in some areas, to teach their converts any Portuguese; and they themselves used only Tupí, the so-called *lingua geral*, in the *aldeias*.¹

The position of the Negro slave needs no stressing here. Suffice it to say that his existence was usually 'nasty, brutish, and short', the average life of a slave on the plantations or in the mines being estimated at from seven to ten years. The household slaves were, usually though not invariably, a good

¹ The definitive work on the Jesuits in Brazil is by Serafim Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil* (10 vols., Lisboa and Rio de Janeiro, 1938-50). Cf. also M. C. Kiemen, O.F.M., *The Indian Policy of Portugal in the Amazon region, 1614-1693* (Washington, D.C., 1954); A. Marchant, *From Barter to Slavery. The economic relations of Portuguese and Indians in the settlement of Brazil, 1500-1580* (Baltimore, 1942).

deal better off; and those of the Negresses who were favoured with their masters' attentions might indeed aspire to lead an enviable life—unless there was a white mistress to wreak a jealous and sadistic revenge on them. Freed slaves and their descendants, of whom there were large and steadily increasing numbers, were better off than slaves in most ways, but they were still discriminated against in law, in that they enjoyed fewer privileges than their white fellow citizens; and in that the punishment inflicted on them was usually more severe for an identical offence.¹

The above quoted saying that Brazil was a Mulattoes' Paradise requires considerable qualification. It is true that the sexual attraction of the *Mulata* for the average Luso-Brazilian male is overwhelmingly evidenced by the accounts of foreign travellers, by the complaints of colonial authorities, both ecclesiastical and lay, and by popular song and story. The French circumnavigator, Le Gentil de la Barbinais, who stayed for some months at Bahia in 1718–19, was scandalized by the local citizens' preference for a coloured woman even if a white woman was available. 'I have often asked them', he wrote, 'the reason for such an extraordinary taste, but they never could tell me. For my own part, I believe that being suckled and reared by slave girls they derive this inclination from their milk.'² Colonial governors and bishops fulminated frequently but in vain against the money, dresses, and jewellery lavished upon coloured ladies of easy virtue by their admirers, often to the impoverishment of their lawful white wives. The Italian Jesuit Andreoni (Antonil), in his classic account of Brazil at the opening of the eighteenth century, deplored the liberty and licence which were often granted to Mulattoes of both sexes, whether bond or free, by their owners or by their fathers—a relationship which was sometimes combined in the same individuals.³ *É a Mulata que é Mulher* ('It is the Mulata who is the real woman') as the Brazilian saying goes, which may be contrasted with another equally popular one, *Trabalho é para cachorro e Negro* ('work is for a dog and a Nigger').

This toleration, or rather favouritism, which was extended

¹ For instance, an edict promulgated by the governor of São Paulo on 27 Mar. 1722 against gold-smuggling, prescribed the penalty of banishment to Angola and a fine of 2,000 *cruzados* for white offenders, but banishment to Angola and 400 lashes for free Negroes and Amerindians.

² Le Gentil de la Barbinais, *Nouveau voyage autour du monde* (3 vols., Paris, 1728), vol. iii, p. 204.

³ *Cultura e Opulencia* (Lisboa, 1711), livro i, cap. ix.

to many Mulattoes in many ways was, however, paralleled by much social and legal discrimination against the *pardos* (or 'dark-coloured people', as they were also termed) in others. Colonial legislation discriminated against persons with an infusion of Negro blood much more than it did against the *Mamelucos*, or *caboclos*, as the products of cross-breeding between Whites and Amerindians were called. Free Mulattoes were often coupled with enslaved Negroes in the laws which either forbade them to carry weapons and to wear costly clothes, or else severely restricted their use of these marks of gentility which might tend to place them on a level with the Whites. For most of the eighteenth century at any rate, they were not allowed to hold high positions in Church or State; and although this was much more of a theoretical than a practical bar in sixteenth- and seventeenth-century Brazil, a stringent enactment in the year 1726 to some extent blocked attainment of high office for the vast majority of those of African descent for several generations. Such social and legal discrimination was based, as in other European colonies, upon the conviction that half-breeds almost invariably embodied the vices rather than the virtues of the races whose blood was intermingled in their own.¹ The lighter their skin, the greater their chances of passing themselves off as white and of ascending the social ladder.

The existence of an effective colour-bar in colonial Brazil, at any rate at certain times and in certain places, is evident from a survey of the conditions obtaining in the Church, in the army, and in the municipal councils. In the 1680's the *pardos* of Bahia protested to the Crown at Lisbon and to the Jesuit General at Rome against their recent exclusion from the schools run by the Jesuits. When the matter was referred to the authorities at Bahia, Padre António Vieira, who was then Visitor-General of the Society in Brazil and who had himself a little Negro blood in his veins, explained that the *pardos* had been banned because the upper-class white citizens would not tolerate their own sons

¹ Cf. Fr. Ignacio de Santa Teresa, Archbishop of Goa, and his denunciation in 1725 of the 'mestiços, que pela mescla de sangues tão diversos geralmente lhes fervem nas veas, sempre para o mal, e não para o bem' ('Estado do presente Estado da India', fol. 49v). The famous Dominican historian, Fr. Luís de Cacegas, wrote apropos of the real or alleged misconduct of a Congolese *crioulo* priest: 'Assi chamão lá os que tem mistura de dous sangues, e como raramente esta massa inclina para a melhor parte segundo o que de ordinario vemos, homem vicioso publicamente' (*História de São Domingos* [Lisboa, 1662], parte ii, liv. 4, cap. xii, *apud* A. Brásio, *Monumenta Missionaria Africana*, vol. v, p. 613).

sitting alongside those half-castes, 'most of whom are of vile and obscure origin'. He added: 'They are nearly always badly brought up, as the regular and secular clergy and the local gentry have all learned by experience. For that reason, on this coast of Brazil, they are already prohibited from entering the priesthood and the Religious Orders, or any government post.' He stated that the Jesuits themselves had never been in favour of discriminating against any 'honest and well-mannered youth', irrespective of his colour, and that they would readmit coloured students if ordered to do so by the Crown and their General, as did indeed happen. It was also the Crown which intervened sixteen years later to compel the Rectorate of the University of Coimbra to admit a Brazilian *pardo*, whom they had previously rejected on account of his colour.¹

As regards the regular army and the militia, coloured soldiers, including pure Negroes and Amerindian auxiliaries, had always served alongside the white troops and colonists. Indeed the coloured contingents had borne the brunt of the nine-years 'War of divine liberty' which ended in the expulsion of the Dutch invaders of Pernambuco in 1654.² During the eighteenth century the Brazilian militia units were mainly organized on a colour basis, each company being commanded by an officer of the same hue as the men. Despite the reluctance of the whites to serve in the same company as their coloured comrades in arms, the Crown ordered that they should be compelled to do so in 1730. By the end of the century, however, we find that the four militia regiments at Bahia were again organized on a differential colour basis, and I have already alluded to the distinction made by the Viceroy Marquis of Lavradio between the white and coloured officers of the militia at Rio de Janeiro. Soldiers in the regular army served in the same companies without distinction of colour, but those who were whites found it easier to secure their discharge on compassionate grounds than did those who were coloured.³

¹ For Vieira's letter of 27 July 1688 and further discussion of this problem see S. Leite, S.J., *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, vol. v, pp. 75-80. Cf. also *ibid.*, vol. iv, pp. 260-7; vol. iii, pp. 201-4.

² João Fernandes Vieira, the Mulatto organizer and leader of the 'War of divine liberty' in 1645-54, reminded the Crown of this fact on more than one occasion (C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654*, p. 248), and the Dutch themselves reluctantly admitted it (*Correspondência diplomática de Francisco de Sousa Coutinho durante a sua embaixada em Hollanda, 1643-1650*, 3 vols., Coimbra and Lisbon, 1926-55, vol. iii, p. 357).

³ Correspondence between the Crown and the viceroy of Bahia and the

As indicated above, a strain of Negro blood was for long a bar in law to the holding of any responsible civic or official position, but the relative scarcity of white women in many regions of Brazil resulted in this colour-bar being frequently ignored. In 1725, however, the white gentry of Minas Gerais protested against anyone other than of pure white descent being granted municipal and judicial posts. These representations were sympathetically received by the Overseas Councillors at Lisbon, who advised the Crown to enact legislation forbidding any coloured person from holding such a position, with the additional safeguard that the occupant must be either the husband or else the widower of a white woman. This qualification, the councillors optimistically observed, would encourage white men to marry women of their own colour, instead of living in sin with *Mulatas* and *Negresses*. The Crown enacted a decree enforcing this colour-bar in January 1726, but the aversion of the average Luso-Brazilian for the bonds of holy matrimony does not seem to have been greatly affected thereby. Such at least is a fair deduction from the complaint of the Viceroy Count of Galveas at Bahia in 1739. He observed that the only men in the populous colonial capital who showed any inclination to marry were working-class youths who thought they would thereby evade being called up for military service. Only two of the local gentry had abandoned bachelorhood for wedlock in the preceding twelve months.¹ Fourteen years later the Governor of Minas Gerais reported that provided the aspirant was not of too dusky a hue, it was wealth rather than colour which remained the chief criterion for municipal office in that captaincy. Apart from these men of colour who succeeded in passing as white, there were many others in Minas Gerais who became persons of substance and property, by exercising such professions as painting, music, and the lower branches of the law. In the mid-eighteenth century these men petitioned the Crown for the right to wear swords at their side, like any white gentlemen. Their request was warmly supported by

governor of Minas Gerais in 1730-1, quoted in my forthcoming *The Golden Age of Brazil, 1695-1750*. For the situation at the end of the 18th century see Santos Vilhena, *Notícias Soteropolitanas e Brasilicas*, vol. i, pp. 250-70.

¹ Augusto de Lima Junior, *A Capitania das Minas Gerais* (Rio de Janeiro, 1943), pp. 141-50; J. P. Xavier da Veiga, *Ephemerides Mineiras, 1664-1897* (4 vols., Ouro Preto, 1897), vol. i, pp. 94-95; Pedro Calmon, *Historia social do Brasil. Espirito da Sociedade Colonial* (3rd ed. São Paulo, 1941), pp. 91-92.

Gomes Freire de Andrada, but I do not know what decision was taken by the Crown.¹

The *Irmandades* or lay brotherhoods of colonial Brazil afford another fertile field for the study of the colour-bar which I can only mention in passing. These confraternities varied widely in their conditions of membership. Some were based on class and others on race distinctions, while others again were open to practically all and sundry. As an example of this last category I may mention the Black Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary founded at Ouro Preto in 1715. Though primarily intended for Negroes, whether bond or free, this particular confraternity admitted people of all colours and of both sexes in accordance with the terms of its *compromisso* or statutes. Early in the eighteenth century Bahia had no less than thirty-one approved brotherhoods dedicated to the Virgin Mary alone. These were divided on a racial basis, six being reserved for Negroes and five for Mulattoes (*pardos*), the remainder being exclusively white brotherhoods constituted according to social position or to age.²

Pombal's dictatorial abolition of the colour-bar to which I referred above, does not seem to have been intended to apply to the Negroes and Mulattoes of Brazil, but only to the Amerindians and Mamelucos. In April 1755 a royal decree stated that Portuguese colonists of either sex who intermarried with Brazilian Amerindians would not only lose nothing in the way of status or social standing, but would improve their chances of preferment and promotion.³ Two years later, the governors of the Maranhão and of southern Brazil were ordered to persuade the white soldiers in their garrisons to marry Amerindians, but the response must have disappointed the expectations of the dictator who was so anxious for the fusion of the two races. Gomes Freire de Andrada reported in February 1761 that the Amerindians were so unpleasantly primitive that nobody had

¹ Royal dispatch of 30 May 1753 and Gomes Freire de Andrada's reply of 23 Sept. 1753, in the Arquivo Publico Mineiro, Belo Horizonte, Codex 100 (S.G.), fol. 24. I owe this last reference to the kindness of Dr. Curt Lange.

² M. S. Cardozo, 'The lay brotherhoods of colonial Bahia', in *The Catholic Historical Review*, vol. xxxiii (April 1947), pp. 12-30. For the *compromisso* of the Negro brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary at Ouro Preto in 1715, see Francisco Antonio Lopes, *Os Palácios de Vila Rica. Ouro Preto no ciclo de ouro* (Belo Horizonte, 1955), pp. 194-7.

³ The *alvará de ley* of 4 Apr. 1755, together with an English translation, reproduced in full by António Alberto de Andrade, *Many Races—One Nation. The traditional anti-racialism of Portugal's civilizing methods* (Lisbon, 1954), pp. 23-29.

yet ventured to intermarry with them.¹ That the abolition of the colour-bar in Brazil did not extend to persons of African blood is indicated by the degradation in 1771 of an Amerindian chief, who, 'disregarding the signal honours which he had received from the Crown, had sunk so low as to marry a Negress, staining his blood with this alliance'.² In short, just as the founding fathers of the United States were not thinking of their Negro slaves when they enunciated the inalienable right of every man to 'life, liberty, and the pursuit of happiness', nor was Pombal thinking of the African when he freed the Asian and Amerindian vassals of the Portuguese Crown from the stigma of the colour-bar. Pombal did indeed abolish Negro slavery in Portugal in the year 1761, but on economic rather than on humanitarian or egalitarian grounds, as the wording of the decree makes clear.

The foregoing instances of the existence of a colour-bar in one form or another in the Portuguese overseas possessions—as *conquistas*, 'the conquests', as they were significantly termed, even when they had been acquired by peaceful means—does not, of course, alter the fact that by and large the Portuguese did mix more with coloured races than did other Europeans, and they had, as a rule, less colour prejudice.

If the Crown declined to award Goans the Order of Christ in the first half of the eighteenth century, a hundred years earlier it had given this Order to a Mulatto, to a full-blooded Amerindian, and to a pure Negro, for their services in the war against the Dutch in Brazil.³ Although a strain of *mulatice* was theoretically a bar to the attainment of high office or admission to the Military Orders, many instances could be quoted to prove that this was not invariably so in practice. Though much of the history of Portuguese expansion is one of constant friction and fighting, yet the Portuguese often secured for themselves a friendly feeling which their European rivals regarded with puzzlement or with envy. The pro-Portuguese attitude of the populace of Nagasaki was noted by Dutch and English visitors in the early seventeenth century.⁴ William Dampier wrote of

¹ J. Lúcio de Azevedo, *Novas Epanáforas. Estudos de história e literatura* (Lisboa, 1932), pp. 50–53, for the relative correspondence.

² Viceregal *portaria* of 6 Aug. 1771, *apud* Xavier da Veiga, *Ephemerides Mineiras*, vol. i, p. 95.

³ João Fernandes Vieira, Dom Felipe Camarão, and Henrique Dias, respectively.

⁴ C. R. Boxer, *The Great Ship from Amacon. Annals of Macao and the Old Japan Trade, 1555–1640* (Lisboa, 1959), pp. 15–16, and the sources there quoted.

the copper-coloured Roman Catholic Timorese in 1699: 'They value themselves on account of their Religion and descent from the Portuguese; and would be very angry, if a man should say they are not Portuguese. Yet I saw but three white men here, two of which were Padres.'¹ Alexander Hamilton noted that the Bantu of Zambesia would trade only with the Portuguese, and regarded all other Europeans with dislike and suspicion.² In the long struggle between the Portuguese and Omani Arabs for the possession of Mombasa, some of the Swahili rulers and their subjects remained loyal to their Christian overlords for long after it had become obvious that their Muslim coreligionists were winning.³

Their religion and their language were the two main reasons why the Portuguese succeeded in leaving the impress of their culture and of their presence in so many places from the Maghreb to the Moluccas, often for long after their political and economic domination had gone for good. That, however, is another story, and one which does not concern me here, where I have only tried to show that if the course of true love never did run smooth neither did that of interracial integration.

¹ William Dampier, *A Voyage to New Holland in 1699* (ed. J. Williamson, 1939), p. 161.

² A. Hamilton, *A New Account of the East Indies, 1727* (ed. W. Foster, 2 vols., 1930), vol. i, pp. 16-17. João Baptista de Montauray observed that this was still true fifty years later (A. A. de Andrade, *Relações de Moçambique Setecentista*, pp. 365-7).

³ C. R. Boxer and Carlos de Azevedo, *Fort Jesus and the Portuguese in Mombasa, 1593-1729* (London, 1960), pp. 59-86; E. Axelson, *Portuguese in South-East Africa, 1600-1700* (Johannesburg, 1960), pp. 158-75.