Résumé
G. Cardoso — Guide préliminaire pour l'étude de l'esclavage à Pernambouc, 1500-1700. La plupart des études sur l'esclavage au Brésil portent sur le xixe siècle, époque où l'institution était agonisante et où le traitement des esclaves s'était amélioré. On en a déduit improprement que l'esclavage brésilien avait toujours été moins inhumain que dans le reste des Amériques, ce que les documents disponibles pour les périodes antérieures dénient absolument. L'auteur donne, à titre indicatif, une liste de sources (archives et bibliographie) en portugais, en hollandais et en anglais concernant la capitainerie de Pernambouc, siège initial de l'économie de plantation.

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Most studies of slavery in Brazil have concentrated on examining the institution as it existed during the 19th century. The reason for this preference is primarily the easier access to information. There are more documents pertaining to slavery in the 19th century than for any of the previous centuries. There are also numerous accounts by foreign travelers who visited Brazil during that century. Finally, some of the stories told by the last slaves made their way from generation to generation well into the 20th century.

One problem with the emphasis on this period is that much of the evidence found for the 19th century cannot be generalized to cover the entire slavery experience in the former Portuguese colony. In the last two decades before abolition, slavery was at a low ebb. In some areas such as the coffee plantations of São Paulo and some plantations in the Northeast, slave labor was already considered unprofitable by many masters. Under these circumstances, it is understandable that a larger number of Negroes were being given their freedom during that period. It is also understandable that the treatment of slaves was markedly improved now that the importation of Negroes from Africa was prohibited and that the lower demand for sugar no longer required that as much work be extracted from each slave.

Although one may conclude that slavery was relatively mild in the 19th century, it cannot be assumed that the total picture of slavery in Brazil was equally mild or, as some have argued, considerably better than in other parts of the New World. In fact, careful examination of the documents for the preceding centuries will reveal that slavery in Brazil was no less harsh than in the Spanish colonies or the United States.

Although the study of slavery during the 16th and 17th centuries is more difficult than that of later periods, it is by no means impossible. Enough documents survive which when combined with the accounts of contemporary chroniclers will give the researcher sufficient evidence to conduct a good examination of the institution and its development in Brazil.

In this guide I will concentrate on the captaincy of Pernambuco. It was here that large scale plantation agriculture first developed in Brazil, requiring the labor of thousands of African slaves. As a result, it is also in Pernambuco that one finds the largest concentration of Negroes during the late 16th and throughout most of the 17th centuries.

This guide is intended as an introduction to the essential material. It is not, therefore, meant to be a catalogue of every document or published work pertaining to the topic. It is hoped that after becoming familiar with the material below, the researcher will put together his own bibliography tailored to the specific aspects of slavery he wishes to study.

1. Archival Materials

To study slavery in Pernambuco during this period, the researcher might think he would do well by starting at the Arquivo Público do Estado de Pernambuco in Recife. Not so. Unfortunately for the historian, most of the official records relating to slavery were ordered destroyed by the Brazilian government in 1890.

For 16th and 17th century records the researcher will do better by beginning with Europe. The best place to start there is, of course, Lisbon. In the Portuguese capital, three main archives hold most of the documents pertaining to the history of Pernambuco during those centuries. For the early phase of Portuguese settlement, the material is somewhat limited and is found at the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo and the Biblioteca da Ajuda. At the Torre do Tombo, most of these records are found under three main section headings: ‘Livros do Brasil’, ‘Manuscritos da Livraría’, and ‘Papeis dos Jesuítas’. At the Biblioteca da Ajuda, an index compiled by Professor Carlos Alberto Ferreira will guide the researcher to manuscripts pertaining to Brazilian history in general. The bulk of the material pertaining to slavery in Pernambuco however, is found at the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Here, the collection of ‘Documentos Referentes a Pernambuco’ is indispensable for the study of slavery in that captaincy during the late 16th and 17th centuries. For the researcher’s delight, every document in this collection has been expertly indexed in a volume compiled by Professor José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello.

For the period of Dutch occupation (1630-1654) and specifically for information on the Dutch participation in the slave traffic to Pernambuco, one may want to go to Holland. At Bleijenburg 7, in The Hague, is the Algemeen Rijksarchief. Here scholars should explore the records of the Dutch West India Company (Oude Compagnie). While locating the documents is an easy task at this well organized archive, the language may present difficulties for many readers. Those who have problems working with 17th-century Dutch will be happy to learn that many of the records of the West India Company have been examined by Hermann Wätjen in his O Domínio Colonial Holandês no Brasil, and José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello in his Tempo dos Flamengos (see complete citations below). If, after spending some time in Portugal the investigator is eager to get to Brazil, he may bypass the Netherlands and still have access to West India Company records. Many of the Company’s records dealing with Dutch activities in Pernambuco have been copied (in Dutch) and are now part of an excellent collection at the Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico Pernambucano in Recife.

Although, as indicated, most of the documents relating to slavery in Brazil must be found abroad, a visit to Brazilian archives can also be helpful. Unfortunately, the Arquivo Público do Estado de Pernambuco in Recife has practically nothing of interest for the period we are discussing. The Biblioteca Nacional at Rio de Janeiro, on the other hand, has considerably more to offer. In its manuscript section, one finds a number of documents copied from the Portuguese archives, and a few originals. Some of Duarte Coelho’s letters to the King as well as a number of important alvarás or Royal decrees are among the holdings of the Biblioteca.

2. Published Documents

Compared to those relating to Spanish America for instance, the number of published documents or documentary collections pertaining to Brazil is rather limited. Among the documentary collections published in Brazil the Anais da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, 1876 to date), and Documentos Históricos da Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional, 1928 to date), are the most complete. Both
publications cover a wide area of Brazilian history but contain documents dealing specifically with Pernambuco during the period we are concerned with.

Another important publication in this category is the *Livro Primeiro do Governo do Brasil, 1607-1633* (Rio de Janeiro, Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 1958). Among other documents of interest, the *Livro* contains a petition from the Assembly of Olinda to Governor D. Luís de Sousa which makes reference to severe losses caused to the slave population of Pernambuco by smallpox epidemics in 1617 and 1677.

Focusing specifically on the history of Pernambuco the best collection in this category is *Anais Pernambucanos* (Recife, Arquivo Público Estadual, 10 vols., 1958-1965) by Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa. This is an excellent documentary history of Pernambuco and the volumes are organized in chronological order for easy reference.

The correspondence of Duarte Coelho, *donatário* of the captaincy of Pernambuco to the King, has also been compiled into a valuable collection. See Duarte Coelho, *Cartas de Duarte Coelho a El-Rey*. Reprodução facsimilar, leitura paleográfica e versão moderna anotada por José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello e Cleonir Xavier de Albuquerque (Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Imprensa Universitária, 1967). These letters will give the researcher a good introduction to the development of plantation agriculture in Pernambuco and the construction of the first sugar mills. The letters also contain the *donatário’s* frequent requests for Negro slaves.

In addition to the above, a number of important documents have come to light in the pages of Brazilian historical journals. A good example is a set of instructions given to the overseer of a sugar mill of Pernambuco in the year 1663. This item is discussed in José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, ‘Um Regimento de Feitor-Mor de Engenho de 1663’, *Boletim do Instituto Joaquim Nabuco de Pesquisas Sociais* 2 (Recife, 1953): 86-87. The will of a plantation owner is transcribed in another journal. See ‘Traslado do testamento com que falece Dona Maria de Albuquerque senhora do engenho Moribeca Invocação de Santo Antonio’, in Fernando Pio, ed., ‘Cinco documentos para a história dos engenhos de Pernambuco’, separada da *Revista do Museu do Açúcar* 2 (Recife, 1969): 35-43. In the same journal one can find a deed of sale of the sugar mill ‘Apipucos’ done originally on December 5, 1577. See ‘Certidão de 7 de dezembro de 1847 da escritura de compra venda do engenho Apipucos lavrada em 5 de dezembro de 1577’, *Revista do Museu do Açúcar* 1, 7 (Recife, 1972): 85-88.

The first of these three documents is an invaluable source of information on the duties of overseers, attitudes towards slaves and types of punishment inflicted on the Negroes. The other two are important because they contain information concerning the number of slaves in the mill, attitudes towards slaves and instances of voluntary manumission. Yet these items are merely a sample of the abundant material that can be found in the pages of these and other scholarly journals.

### 3. Chroniclers

The accounts of chroniclers and travelers of the period are very useful by themselves and as complements to the existing documents. Brazilian history is blessed with an abundance of these reports covering the period we are examining. Chronologically the best place to start is with the writings of the first Jesuits. See *Cartas Jesuíticas 1550-1568* (Rio de Janeiro, 1887, or later editions). Here, particularly in the letters of Manuel da Nóbrega, one finds references to the attitudes of the Portuguese towards their slaves and peoples of other races.

Also vital for information concerning slavery in the 16th century are the following works: Pêro de Magalhães Gandavo, ‘História da Província de Santa Cruz a que vulgarmente chamamos Brasil’, in *The Histories of Brazil*, transl. and anot. by John B. Stetson Jr. (Boston, Milford House, 1972); Fernão Cardim, *Tratados da
Terra e Gente do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, Ed. J. Leite & Cia., 1925); ‘Informações e Fragmentos Históricos do Padre Joseph de Anchieta, S. J. (1584-1589),’ in Materiais e Achegas para a História e Geografia por ordem do Ministério da Fazenda 1 (Rio de Janeiro, 1886), and Gabriel Soares de Sousa, Tratado Descritivo do Brasil em 1587 (4th ed., São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional e Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1971). These narratives make reference to the increasing number of sugar mills and to the growth of the slave population in Pernambuco between the years 1570-1587. The writings of Cardini and Anchieta are also valuable for their description of the life style at the large plantations.

As a bridge spanning the century of discovery and the 17th, we have the História do Brasil 1500-1627, written in 1627 by Frei Vicente do Salvador (see its 5th ed., São Paulo, Edições Melhoramentos, 1965). This is the best general history of Brazil written during this period and it contains relevant data on the number of sugar mills in existence at that time. It also offers a detailed description of how sugar was made in the late 16th and early 17th centuries.

For the first quarter of the 17th century the standard work is Diálogos das Grandezas do Brasil, 2nd ed. integral, segundo o apógrafa de Leiden, aumentada por José Antonio Gonçalves de Mello (Recife, Universidade Federal de Pernambuco, Imprensa Universitária, 1966). Written in 1618, probably by Ambroíso Fernandes Brandão, a Portuguese who lived many years in Brazil, this work is an excellent description of the land and its inhabitants during that period. It contains important information pertaining to the diet of the slaves and diseases affecting the Negroes. It includes a discussion of the capital and equipment necessary for the establishment of a sugar mill as well as the number of animals and slaves required. Of equal interest are the author’s remarks on the life style of the sugar aristocracy in the Northeast. Also valuable for information on the number of mills and price of slaves during this period is a ‘Report on the State of Brazil, 1621,’ transl. by Engel Sluiter, Hispanic American Historical Review 29 (Nov. 1949): 518-562.

Contemporary accounts covering the period of Dutch occupation in Pernambuco are numerous. Among those written by Dutch and Flemish authors, the following contain useful information on slaves and sugar plantations. Joannes de Laet, in his História ou Annaes dos Feitos da Companhia Privilegiada das Índias Occidentais desde o seu começo até o fim do anno de 1636, transl. by José Hygino Duarte Pereira and Pedro Souto Maior (Rio de Janeiro, Ofícias Gráficas da Biblioteca Nacional, 2 vols., 1916-1925), studies the period from the establishment of the West India Company (1621) to 1636. Gaspar Barlú, in his História dos feitos recentemente praticados durante oito anos no Brasil e noutras partes sob o governo do ilustreissimo João Maurício Conde de Nassau (Rio de Janeiro, Serviço Gráfico do Ministério da Educação, 1940), picks up where de Laet left off and deals with the years of the Nassau administration (1637-1644). Joan Nieuhof, in Memórdel Viagem Marítima Terrestre ao Brasil (São Paulo, Livraria Martins, 1942), writes mostly about the post-Nassau years (1644-1649). Covering shorter periods but equally important are the reports of Dutch officials and military officers. Among these, the following are the most informative: Adriaen van der Dussen, Relatório sobre as capitaniaes conquistadas pelos holandeses (1639) suas condições econômicas e sociais, transl. by José Antonio Gonçalves de Mello Neto (Rio de Janeiro, Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, 1947); Adriano Verdonk, ‘Descrição das Capitaniaes de Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Parahyba e Rio Grande’, Revista do Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico Pernambucano 55 (Recife, 1901): 215-227; ‘Breve Discurso Sobre o Estado das Quatro Capitaniaes Conquistadas de Pernambuco, Itamaracá, Parahyba e Rio Grande Situadas na Parte Septentrional do Brasil’, transl. by José Hyginho Duarte Pereira, Revista do Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico Pernambucano 34 (Recife, Dec. 1884): 130-194; and ‘Diário da viagem do capitão João Blaer aos Palmares’, transl. by Alfredo de Carvalho, Revista do Instituto Arqueológico e Geográfico Pernambucano 56 (Recife, 1962): 87-99.

For historians concentrating on the economic aspects of slavery, two 17th-

Among the writings of Portuguese and Brazilian chroniclers dealing with the Dutch period, Frei Manoel Calado’s O Valeroso Lucideno e Triunfo da Liberdade (Recife, Edição da Cooperativa Editora de Cultura Intelectual de Pernambuco, 2 vols., 1942) is probably the most useful for our purpose. This interesting narrative includes valuable information on slave prices, the large planters’ life style and the widespread practice of concubinage between white masters and their mulatto slaves.

Appearing in the early 18th century but reflecting conditions of the late 17th there were two indispensable sources for the study of slavery in Brazil. The first is Jorge Benci S. J., Economia Cristã dos Senhores no Governo dos Escravos (Livro Brasileiro de 1700), 2nd ed. prepared, prefaced and annotated by Serafim Leite S. J. (Porto, Livraria Apostolado da Imprensa, 1954) and the second is André João Antonil, Cultura e Opulência do Brasil (Lisbon, Oficina Real Deslandesiana, 1711). Benci’s book is a vehement condemnation of the punishments and abuses to which slaves were frequently subjected by their masters. Antonil’s narrative while also bearing witness to the maltreatment of the Negroes, is even more valuable for its detailed description of the chores performed by slaves in the sugar making process.

4. Modern Historians

Needless to say, the researcher who is interested in the study of slavery in Brazil should be familiar with general studies on the economic development of the colony and general studies on the history of sugar. For the first topic, a number of significant works are available. A good way to begin would be to undertake a careful examination of the following three studies: Frédéric Mauro, Le Portugal et l’Atlantique au XVIIe siècle, 1570-1670 (Paris, École Pratique des Hautes Études, 1960); João Lúcio de Azevedo, Épocas de Portugal Econômico. Esboços de História (3rd ed., Lisbon, Livraria Clássica Editora, 1973), and Roberto Simonsen, História Económica do Brasil (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 2 vols., 1937). Dealing with the history of sugar, the most comprehensive works are Noel Deerr, The History of Sugar (London, Chapman and Hall, 2 vols., 1949-50), and Edmund O. von Lippmann, História do Açúcar, transl. by Rodolfo Coutinho (Rio de Janeiro, Edição do Instituto do Açúcar e do Álcool, 2 vols., 1941-1942).

Also a number of studies by late 19th and 20th centuries historians dealing with different aspects of slavery should be examined by the researcher. They are useful as a check on the documents consulted and for the comparison of notes. They offer their authors’ own interpretations of the documents and events which may be used to support one’s conclusions or pointed out as areas needing further clarification. Lastly these works are valuable as additional guides to the literature and themes being studied. In this category the reader will do well by starting with Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiros, A Escravidão no Brasil. Ensaio Histórico-Jurídico-Social (São Paulo, Edições Cultura, 2 vols., 1944), and Ray-

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1. Several later editions of this work are available. One of the best is João António Andreoni (André João Antonil), Cultura e Opulência do Brasil, Introdução e vocabulário por A. P. Canabrava (2nd ed., São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, n.d.).
mundo Nina Rodrigues, *Os Africanos no Brasil* (São Paulo, Companhia Editora Nacional, 1932). These are early studies of slavery which became accepted as standard surveys of the institution as it developed in Brazil. For specific studies on the slave traffic to Brazil, the reader is directed to Afonso de Escaragolle Taunay, *Subsídios para a História do Tráfico Africano no Brasil Colonial* (Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico, Imprensa Nacional, 1941), and Maurício Goulart, *Esclavismo Africano no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, Livraria Martins Editora, 1949). For information on the traffic during the Dutch period, the best work is Hermann Wätjen, *O Domínio Colonial Hollandez no Brasil. Um Capítulo da História Colonial do Século XVII*, transl. by Pedro Celso Uchoa Cavalcanti (Recife, Edição especial da Companhia Editora Nacional para o Governo do Estado de Pernambuco, 1938).

