

RECENT WORKS ON THE POLITICAL
ECONOMY OF BRAZIL IN THE
PORTUGUESE EMPIRE *

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This essay will focus on Brazil as a Portuguese possession between 1500 and 1800, with all of the problems that Brazil posed for Portugal and Portugal for Brazil within the framework of that larger unity known as the Portuguese Empire. In order to understand historiographical developments during the last ten years, they must be viewed in light of the general development of the science of history. Since 1960 the number of university students has increased considerably, particularly in Latin America and in Europe, and more specifically in Brazil and France. The number of history students has also increased, although the demand for historians has diminished considerably in the last four or five years. Moreover, students in Europe and Brazil tend to continue into doctoral or *pos-graduação* programs while in the United States, the number of Ph.D. recipients has also increased for reasons that are not strictly demographic. An expected consequence would be an impressive number of dissertations and theses being defended in universities and, perhaps to a lesser degree, actually published. Such a result has been prevented in the field of the history of colonial Brazil, however, by the fact that the current generation is much more interested in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries than in earlier periods. The advantage of this situation is that as long as the production on the colonial age neither decreases nor increases excessively, it remains quality work and, barring exceptions, is not too affected by the pseudo-marxist language that is extremely popular among certain Brazilian intellectuals. It remains a harmonious blend of genuine scholarship in what might be called the traditional style, and of more innovating accounts inspired by the *Annales* school that draw on the conceptual approaches and the quantitative concerns of other social sciences. The economic and political concerns are equally represented therein, leaving aside cultural history, which falls outside the field under discussion here.

It is logical to begin with the scholarly tools and guides published by researchers. The study by Robert Esquenazi Mayo and Michael C.

*Translated in part with funds from the Ford Foundation.

Meyer is a useful baseline.¹ As for catalogs of Portuguese libraries and archives, Ann Pescatello's work is now fundamental.² Another tool that will interest the French is the new catalog by Cícero Dias, an inventory of sixteen hundred diplomatic documents on Brazil sent home by the French mission in Lisbon from 1665 to 1774, which now are kept in the National Archives of Paris.³ (The first catalog dealt with the Portuguese resources of the Saint Genevieve Library in Paris.) Also very useful are two articles by Carl A. Hanson in *The Americas* consisting of a list of dissertations and theses defended from 1892 to 1970 in the United States, Canada, and Great Britain on Brazilian history.⁴ After 1970 one can readily refer to the sources of data in *Dissertation Abstracts*, put out by the University of Michigan; *Historical Abstracts* lists the articles published since that date. These works admirably complete the excellent selective bibliography furnished by the *Handbook of Latin American Studies* over the last fifty years.

It seems advisable to mention the works on the history of Portugal, which always refer to Brazilian history, among the reference works. The most elementary, but worthy, is the *Que Sais-je?* by Albert-Alain Bourdon.⁵ Several others have also appeared, as if progress in knowledge led to a moment in historical research that necessitated taking stock. One of the most engaging in its reasonable size and its content is *História de Portugal* by A. H. de Oliveira Marques, which is now available in Portuguese, English, and French.⁶ For historians and nonhistorians alike, I would recommend an excellent work by Yves Bottineau, a historian of Iberian and Ibero-American art. The work, *Le Portugal et sa vocation maritime: Histoire et civilisations d'une Nation*, is as yet little known in the Luso-Brazilian world. It offers a history of Portugal that goes beyond political and economic topics to give cultural aspects a prominent place. Often more explicit than the Oliveira Marques history, and therefore slightly richer in events, it neglects neither the structural aspects nor the crises.⁷ An even greater mine of information is Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão's enormous *História de Portugal*, of which five volumes have already appeared. Starting with the year 1080, Serrão is at his best on the fifteenth century. The entire work has occasioned a controversy in Portugal between the author and adversaries who have reproached him for errors, criticisms that are passionate and often debatable. J. V. Serrão's talent lies in his ability to produce a complete history in which all of the historical fields are represented, just as he has adeptly united the most diverse abilities within the Portuguese Academy of History in Lisbon, of which he is the president. This eclectic tendency, however, occasionally produces an accumulation of loose-ended information.⁸

J. V. Serrão must not be confused with Joël Serrão, the present administrator of the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation, which so effectively aids Portuguese and foreign historical researchers. Joël Serrão

began in 1961 and finished in 1971 the publication of a *Dicionário de História de Portugal*.⁹ Without claiming to be complete, this dictionary covers the history of Portugal and its empire. Each signed article by a Portuguese or foreign historian is followed by a bibliography, and some articles are long enough to be considered significant discussions of their subject.

Also in the field of Portuguese history, among the *Mélanges* volumes is found the one dedicated to the late Damião Peres, published under the auspices of the Portuguese Academy of History; the volumes dedicated to the memory of Armando Cortesão are to appear soon.¹⁰ In addition, the Parisian Cultural Center of the Gulbenkian Foundation has published a large number of works on the Portugal of the *ancien régime*. A list is not possible here, but a noteworthy example is the "journal" of the Marquis of Bombelles, French Ambassador to Lisbon from 1786 to 1788 and the subject of a recent master's thesis.¹¹ Beyond this collection are other works that illuminate Luso-Brazilian relations. First, Carl A. Hanson's thesis, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668–1703*, affords a better acquaintance with a period considered transitional, therefore long neglected by historians, except for what economic historians briefly have said about the substitution import policy of Count Ericeira.¹² Célia Freire Fonseca's brief article discusses Portugal's demographic evolution around the turning point of the discoveries.¹³ Harold Johnson's article on "The Donatory-Captaincy in Perspective" examines the Portuguese origins of the institution that marked the beginnings of Brazil.¹⁴ Joaquim Veríssimo Serrão tells of the voyages of Severim de Faria, one of the Portuguese economists of the seventeenth century, a work that should not be neglected in understanding the problems of the empire.¹⁵

The fields of nautical history and cartography are essential in studying Luso-Brazilian relations. The Portuguese have remained the masters in this realm with their two research centers in Coimbra and in Lisbon. In Coimbra, Luís de Albuquerque published in 1972 an excellent study of problems in nautical history.¹⁶ This work provides a good introduction for tackling the numerous publications of the Centro de Estudos de Cartografia Antiga, with its two sections, one in Lisbon directed by Commander A. Teixeira da Mota, and one in Coimbra directed by Professor Luís de Albuquerque. Under the direction of the Junta de Investigações de Ultramar in Lisbon, the center has published about a hundred installments in folio since 1960, in addition to seventeen volumes in this same in folio format. These publications, too numerous to list here, are extravagantly illustrated with diagrams and maps and undoubtedly constitute one of the greatest contributions to the field of maritime history. Two other undertakings deserve attention. The first volumes on Brazil's naval history written under the direction of Commander Max Justo Guedes have been published by the Documentation

Service of the Brazilian Marine Military.¹⁷ The collaborators on the series are Brazilian and foreign. This long and exacting labor, when finished, will be a genuine encyclopedia of Brazilian maritime history. The other noteworthy undertaking, a more modest one begun before 1970, is the history of Brazil written from ancient maps by Jaime Cortesão.¹⁸

Four other works deserve mention: a dictionary of maritime vocabulary,¹⁹ a book on the discovery of the Amazon (concerning Orellana's expedition in 1540–41),²⁰ and the remarkable book by José Sebastião da Silva Dias on the great discoveries and the questionable mode of Portuguese life in the sixteenth century.²¹ This work can be related to the substantial doctoral dissertation by the late Joaquim Barradas de Carvalho that will be published soon by the Calouste Gulbenkian Foundation.²² Barradas de Carvalho asserted that the Portuguese Renaissance was not humanist in the sense of a return to antiquity, but modernist because of the influence of its contact with the Oriental world. It was this influence that introduced the zero, Arab numerals, and the sense of experiment, the latter being termed the "mother of all things" by Duarte Pacheco Pereira. The last work to be pointed out on the beginnings of Brazil is that of José Augusto Vaz Valente on Pedro Vaz de Caminha's famous letter.²³

In addition to these books, some interesting articles have appeared since 1970: for example, Carré's article on vitamin C and scurvy in maritime history.²⁴ Although not specifically about Portuguese navigation, it will be very helpful to researchers interested in this subject. Bruce B. Solnik's article contains an absorbing comparison that points out why specialists on Spanish America would do well to pay more attention to Brazil. This article is a companion to Alice Piffer Canabrava's last book, to be mentioned later.²⁵ In the same issue, Eneas Martins Filho discusses the expedition of 1500 in what was originally the first lesson of a course given at the Palace of Culture in Rio de Janeiro.²⁶ In a serious, seventy-page work, Max Justo Guedes describes the expeditions to Brazil between 1501 and 1504, pinpointing the chronology.²⁷ In the same issue, Isa Adonias analyzes the revision of old medieval maps in light of the Portuguese discoveries in America.²⁸

Nautical history can be only an introduction to the history of the Portuguese maritime empire itself. Because economic concerns are more important here than in the Spanish empire, it would be of interest to restore them to their rightful place in the entire Atlantic economy by consulting Ralph Davis's *Rise of the Atlantic Economies*.²⁹ Next, Charles Boxer's *Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415–1825* gives an admirable synthesis of imperial Portuguese history.³⁰ Two remarkable works on the Orient, without which Portuguese policy in America would not be understood, have been written by Niels Steensgaard and Holden Furber.³¹ These two endeavors add to the already famous works by V. Magalhães

Godinho, Christopher Glamann, and many others. On the origins of the empire, the ample synthesis by Bailey Diffie and George Winus can be read.³²

Moving on to more specialized studies, James L. Vogt's article on the origins of the Africa trade should be noted.³³ Regarding the adjacent islands and their role in Atlantic navigation, Eduardo Clemente Nunes gave Funchal in 1975 the fourth edition of his *Piratas e Corsários nas Ilhas Adjacentes*. But the fundamental work came from T. Bentley Duncan.³⁴ Starting from my findings,³⁵ he has completely exhausted a certain number of investigations, a procedure that could be productively conducted for the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Since Fisher's classic work (we are not going as far back as Shillington and Chapman), Portugal's relations with England have given rise to two interesting works: one by Gordon Kay McBride deals with the second half of the sixteenth century, the beginning of the English industrial prerevolution according to some; the other by S. Sideri applies the popular conceptual mechanism of domination and dependence to the relations between the two countries.³⁶ James Charles Boyajian's work, which is in some way a continuation of the famous Lisbon "business letters" by José Gentil da Silva, throws some light on the functioning of the payment system in the Portuguese world during a period troubled by war at sea and by the Dutch occupation of Pernambuco.³⁷ Thus far, only isolated examples of studies on the merchants have appeared. One example is Charles Boxer's 1975 article³⁸ on a merchant named João Serrão de Oliveira, whose account books are now in the Lilly Library at the University of Indiana in Bloomington. Two historians have studied the Luso-Brazilian tobacco trade. French scholar Giancarlo Belotti already has devoted one thesis to this subject and is now finishing his doctoral dissertation on the same theme.³⁹ The North American Carl A. Hanson recently studied tobacco's history between 1674 and 1700.⁴⁰ He has also addressed broad economic issues of the second half of the seventeenth century.⁴¹ I should also mention my communication with the 1979 conference in Porto on that city's relations with Brazil⁴² as well as the thesis being prepared by Madame M. A. Renou on "Porto and Brazil in the Eighteenth Century."

We arrive at last at Brazil. In two hundred pages, Américo Jacobina Lacombe presents the research on the history of this country during the colonial and national eras.⁴³ One can read further on the subject in José Honório Rodrigues's serious historiographic work.⁴⁴ Historiography is now being completely revived. An International Board of Historiography has been created in association with the International Committee of Historical Science. Other works are planned under the influence of this revival, focusing in the Brazilian field on the problem of national identity and on the relationships between history and anthropology, which are really the same thing. Jurgen Schneider, already known for his thesis on

Franco-Brazilian commercial relations during the first half of the nineteenth century,⁴⁵ presents a broad view of the problems arising from Brazilian colonial history. The meeting held by the Sociedade Brasileira para o Progresso da Ciência in Curitiba in 1970 produced discussions on the state of historical science in Brazil.⁴⁶ Guy Martinière's thesis has not been published.⁴⁷

Regarding the histories of Brazil, the one I published in the *Que Sais-je?* collection has been translated into Portuguese.⁴⁸ The work that will be most helpful to everyone is undoubtedly that by E. Bradford Burns, which also contributes a good bibliography.⁴⁹ Many Portuguese and Brazilians will learn a great deal from Américo Jacobina Lacombe's *Resumo de História do Brasil*.⁵⁰ Finally, my book on colonial history is the printed version of a course given in Paris to students who plan to teach history.⁵¹ Diego Rivero's thesis, prepared at the University of Georgia under John Vogt's direction, covers only the period from 1500 to 1630.⁵² Brazil's geography can be approached by consulting either Jean Demangeot's book⁵³ or the modernized revision of Michel Le Lannou and Nice Lecocq-Muller of their regional study.⁵⁴ For the historian, however, the old geography books perhaps remain more faithful to the original geography, such as Le Lannou's first edition, the small *Que Sais-je?* by Pierre Monbeig or simply Pierre Denis's volume in the *Géographie Universelle*, edited by Vidal-La Blache (volume 15, number 1, 1927).

On Brazil's beginnings, I will mention four particular studies, three on the role of the French and the fourth on the Germans, to which can be added the analyses made from the conference of the Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro in Rio on the first three decades of the sixteenth century.⁵⁵ The theme studied by Jean Michel Massa is already known. Carlos H. Hunsche mainly points out that German support of Brazilian colonization dates from the very beginning and has never ceased. F. Lestringant's studies are more original: one shows the importance of engravings on the development of mentalities; the other asserts that when faced with a society of naked cannibals, the "reformed" community became conscious of its essential difference and of its exclusive privilege of redemption. As Jean de Léry put it, "the myth of the noble savage is found being used as testimony for the self-justification of the elect." Speaking of Jean de Léry, a new edition of his *Histoire d'un voyage fait en la terre du Brésil* by Jean Claude Morisot was published in 1975 in Geneva (*Collection des classiques de la pensée politique* number 9). It is a significant work.

The serious matter of economic history reflects many influences (such as the role of economists and quarrels of Marxist sociology, the influence of the French School of the *Annales*, and the very importance of the subject). As a result, the economic development of the colony has been studied more than anything else. First, the general works: Celso

Furtado's was not translated into French until 1972, which has given it, at least in France, a current revival.⁵⁶ A simpler, more limited work characterized by a more traditional orientation and geared toward teaching is Brasil Bandecchi's *História Econômica e Administrativa do Brasil*.⁵⁷ Celso Furtado is a "structuralist." Mircea Buescu, while maintaining a moderate position, is close to the monetarists. His *História Econômica do Brasil: Pesquisas e Análises*⁵⁸ is already marked by the same regard for comparative and quantitative analysis that is found in his *Evolução Econômica do Brasil*, a more accomplished, and, in my opinion, superior work.⁵⁹ Finally, because they concern mainly Brazil, I will point out in passing my collection of articles⁶⁰ and those on colonial Brazil edited by Dauril Alden and Warren Dean.⁶¹

I now wish to draw attention to three "vertical" studies of Brazilian history, including its colonial period: one concerns goods, the other two concern money.⁶² The first resulted from a collaboration between the Ministry of Agriculture and the Getúlio Vargas Foundation, which may produce other works. The second successfully demonstrates Buescu's position in the structuralism-monetarism debate, especially showing how the ancien régime's problem of inflation in the "bimetallist" monetary system began. The last study is a useful tool for all researchers. As for the famous "feudalism-capitalism" debate, now somewhat out of date, Américo Jacobina Lacombe's article can be put on the list, along with two books by José Roberto do Amaral Lapa.⁶³ Finally, Célia Freire da Fonseca is finishing a doctoral thesis in Paris on the history of the *sesmaria* in Brazil.

On the sugar trade and its era, Kit Sims Taylor's debatable, but suggestive, essay can be read.⁶⁴ I do not believe, as he does, that sugar was all that profitable for the producer, at least in the seventeenth century. In my opinion, within this commercial capitalist system, it was the trade that made the profits. I joyfully greet the publication by the Department of Economics of the University of São Paulo of Alice Piffer Canabrava's 1946 thesis on the sugar trade of the Antilles, a companion study to André Mansuy's critical edition of Antonil's famous book.⁶⁵ Lastly, a certain number of works of synthesis, an article and three books, should be mentioned. Herman Kellenbenz's article is an integral part of a comparative unit on the ownership of property in Latin America.⁶⁶ James Lang's book points out that the Portuguese king's objective in sending ships to Brazil was, from the outset, trade. But the French competition forced him to occupy the country, where he installed the lightest possible administration, a very different situation from the Spanish administration of the Castilian Indies. I classify this work among those concerning the sugar trade not only because of its title, but because it successfully explains certain aspects of the system during the sugar era.⁶⁷

Omer Mont'Alegre's book, *Açúcar e Capital*,⁶⁸ offers a picture of

Brazil during the colonial period. The *História Social da Agro-Indústria Canavieira*⁶⁹ is a series of lectures given by several specialists that go beyond the colonial period. One of the most important quantitative sources remains the bookkeeping of the *engenho* Sergipe de Conde. After my thesis on Portugal and the Atlantic and my article in the *Revista de Economia*,⁷⁰ one can refer to Mircea Buescu's article on prices in the seventeenth century, one based on the same records and that deals with Brazil's economic development.⁷¹ In 1974 David Grant Smith published an article on the "Old Christian" merchants and the foundation of the General Company of 1649. Contradicting a well-established tradition, he shows that at least a quarter of the merchants who participated in the financing of the company were not New Christians and that in the economic realm, no difference existed between the two groups.⁷² The following year, he defended a doctoral dissertation on the Luso-Brazilian merchant class in which these ideas are discussed.⁷³ During this period of the sugar trade, Portugal's activities in the Indian Ocean and the Orient did not end. Despite all of the hydrographic and nautical laws, many ships even went directly to the Indies without stopping in Brazil until the return trip. José Roberto de Amaral Lapa has written his thesis on this subject. Two articles appearing since 1970 share the same theme.⁷⁴ Luis Ferrand de Almeida's is fairly optimistic about the results obtained from acclimating oriental plants to Brazil; it should be considered a companion piece to Catherine Lang's doctoral research undertaken in Paris on French botanists in South America.

On the economy of the eighteenth century, the French are still awaiting Guy Martinière's doctoral thesis on "The Brazilian Mining Industry's Upsurge and the Atlantic Economy." Virgílio Noya Pinto's thesis has been published and appears to be the best discussion available on gold in Brazil.⁷⁵ Michel Morineau's article on "Brazilian Gold and the Dutch Gazettes" completes with its information on these gazettes what was known from the French consuls' correspondence about gold arriving in Portugal. Morineau effectively points out the impact of this gold on the European economy.⁷⁶ Also pertinent is his lecture to the Society of Modern History on the arrival of precious metals in Europe between 1500 and 1800.⁷⁷ A broader synthesis from the commercial angle is José Jobson de A. Arruda's book that is based on an enormous quantitative documentation that effectively shows the profits derived from both the oligopolistic and oligopsonistic position of the Portuguese merchants.⁷⁸ According to Jobson de Arruda, if the notion of a colonial "cycle" is maintained, the cycle of "agricultural diversification" must be placed between that of gold and that of silver. His concern for analyzing the respective role of each region of Brazil brings him close to the views of Mircea Buescu, who has just written a book on this subject that covers a larger period than Arruda's because it embraces Brazil's entire history.⁷⁹

The other studies on the Brazilian mining industry can be divided neatly into two groups: those concerning the first half of the century and those concerning the second. In the first group is an article by J. H. Galloway, who argues that the agricultural crisis of the Northeast has been placed too early by historians. He claims that it actually did not occur until the 1730s in Bahia and Pernambuco and between 1710 and 1720 in Paraíba and Itamaraca and concludes that the crisis was caused by drought and by prices falling on the international market rather than by repercussions of the discovery of gold in Minas.⁸⁰ The important historiographic event on the first half of the eighteenth century is Luis Lisanti's edition of the commercial correspondence of Portuguese businessman Francisco Pinheiro (1695–1760) and others. Among the reports, I will return to two in particular.⁸¹

For the second half of the eighteenth century, the major historiographic publication on the economy is the carefully thought-out thesis by Fernando A. Novais.⁸² At the 1971 International Conference of the Centre National de la Recherche Scientifique (CNRS) in Paris on the quantitative history of Brazil from 1800 to 1930,⁸³ he offered his premises, recalling that Portugal balanced its accounts with Europe by means of a permanent imbalance in its accounts with Brazil. In his book, Novais asks how Portugal reacted to the crisis of the colonial system, that is, to the undoing of the "monopoly." His answer is that they responded by sending the king to Brazil because Brazil was essential to the Portuguese regime. The catastrophe of 1822 stems from this decision. Although he does make some sacrifices to Marxist "modism," Novais presents a rigorous analysis, its style compact and its format relatively reduced, thus very much in his manner. His account is enriched by his knowledge of numerous regional works. A global perspective characterizes Arno Wehling's account that examines the Portuguese agricultural policy in Brazil.⁸⁴ This work is a substantial piece, a companion to that already mentioned by Yedda Linhares. The rest concern Bahia.⁸⁵ A "micro-economic" study on the *fazenda* of Santa Cruz also should be mentioned.⁸⁶ This *fazenda*, which the Portuguese state inherited from the Jesuits, was located not in Bahia but about fifty kilometers from Rio and extended from the coast to the municipality of Vassouras. Studies on the mining regions also exist, some mainly interested in urbanism, others in demography.⁸⁷ On São Paulo, Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça retraces the economic development of this district since the sixteenth century and examines the system, inaugurated by Pombal, of mutual assistance among the districts in order to resist the Spaniards.⁸⁸ Alice Piffer Canabrava shows that at the end of the eighteenth century in the district of São Paulo, the concentration of wealth was a consequence of the development of an interregional market.⁸⁹ Other relevant articles have appeared by Corcino Medeiros dos Santos⁹⁰ and by Elizabeth Anne

Kuznesof.⁹¹ On the Amazon region, Manuel Nunes Dias's book, republished in São Paulo in 1971,⁹² can be mentioned with Dauril Alden's most recent work.⁹³

The eighteenth-century category cannot be complete without adding three related works. The first is an article by Sue A. Gross on honey and butter in Brazil, products which played paradoxical roles in view of the abundance of sugarcane, lard from livestock, and later oil from corn and coconuts.⁹⁴ The second is Mary Lombardi's article on the "frontier," an important concept for the colonial period.⁹⁵ The third is Hector Ferreira Lima's work on the history of Brazilian industry, the first part of which concerns the colonial period.⁹⁶ If what he writes on the sugar industry is slightly out of date, the remainder provides a successful synthesis of elements that are often fragmented.

Works on Brazil's foreign relations and its role in international politics should also be considered. For the sixteenth century, Pierre Chaunu's article resulted from a presentation written for the 1970 Luso-Brazilian conference at Lourenço Marques.⁹⁷ Other new studies can be grouped by the region or the major topic discussed. On Rio, for example, Gilberto Ferrer's 232 pages concerning the years from 1555 to 1800⁹⁸ are noteworthy, as is the more limited article by Antônio Camillo de Oliveira on Franco-Portuguese diplomatic negotiations about the French presence in Guanabara Bay.⁹⁹ This occupation occurred during the time of Villegaignon and the article is essentially based on the Ancient French Resources of the National Archives of Paris, shelf mark 5928. In a soon-to-be-published volume of *História Naval Brasileira*, I will be providing a chapter on the adventures of Duclerc and Duguay-Trouin in Rio. In the meantime, one can read the interesting article about them by Etienne Taillemite.¹⁰⁰ On the South, after Dauril Alden's important works about the Marquis of Lavradio come two books concerning the famous Colônia do Sacramento. The first, by the Brazilian Moacyr Domingues, shows that the south of Brazil reached its height in 1680 with the founding of the Colônia do Sacramento.¹⁰¹ *A Colônia do Sacramento na Época da Sucessão de Espanha* by the Portuguese historian Luis Ferrand de Almeida is remarkable in its exactitude and precision.¹⁰² Unfortunately, as the title indicates, he covers too short a period. Without going back to nautical history, I will refer to my study on Bougainville between Rio and Buenos Aires¹⁰³ and to Fernando Nogueira's master's thesis from Paris-X (1975) on "Le Voyage de *L'Aigle* et de *La Marie* aux Terres Australes."

Pernambuco's role in the Atlantic war deserves much attention, especially the second edition of *Salvador de Sá* by Charles Boxer¹⁰⁴ and the article by Evaldo Cabral de Mello, a worthy disciple of the great specialist José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello.¹⁰⁵ But first, one must go back to the beginnings that explain the strength of the districts controlled by captains like Duarte Coelho. This subject has been studied by Francis

Dutra,¹⁰⁶ who has also studied Jorge de Albuquerque, admiral on the coast of Pernambuco from 1560 to 1565, survivor of Alcácer-Quibir in 1578, and third donee captain of Pernambuco. His death in 1601 raised the problem of his children's guardianship.¹⁰⁷ Recife soon became a cosmopolitan site, as José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello's article on a German goldsmith's stay there from 1617 to 1619 shows.¹⁰⁸ Soon afterward, another Albuquerque, this one named Matias, was to play a prominent role in the defense of the Northeast against the Dutch, as Francis Dutra explains.¹⁰⁹ The Luso-Dutch war is discussed in three recent works: the article by Rubens Amaral Junior and Evaldo Cabral de Mello on the Count of Torre's fleet;¹¹⁰ the revised edition of Gaspar Barleu's work, which is mainly interesting on the era of Jean Maurice de Nassau;¹¹¹ and the book by G. Hercules Pinto on Calabar,¹¹² which is a rehabilitation. Two works that must be given special mention are the one by the late Mario Neme, which reacts against the laudatory tone traditionally used about the Dutch administration,¹¹³ and Evaldo Cabral de Mello's thesis showing that sugar was not only the cause of the war of Dutch conquest, but also fed this war.¹¹⁴ The same author also points out the state of the sugar mills in Pernambuco in 1655, following the Dutch departure.¹¹⁵ Finally, Nelson Barbalho published the first volume of a *Guerra dos Mascates* around 1972, which I was not able to consult.

Leaving aside the matters of slavery and the slave trade and of the church and religious life, I wish to end this analysis with a review of what has been written since 1970 on the Portuguese administration in Brazil. Marcos Carneiro de Mendonça's book consists of a collection of documents.¹¹⁶ Stuart Schwartz's very fine thesis is at once an institutional study, a social study, and the beginning of a study of minds; however, it is already too well known to require further discussion, except to say that it is well informed on the latest perfections of the historic technique.¹¹⁷ Another general work is the collection by H. Z. Keitz and S. F. Edwards.¹¹⁸ W. J. Van Balen's article concerning the attacks on Brazil that were foreseen by the Prior do Crato is interesting.¹¹⁹ An aspect that neither Boxer nor I has systematically analyzed has been undertaken by J. N. Joyce, Jr. in a doctoral dissertation that has not yet been published, to my knowledge.¹²⁰ More specific are Heloisa Liberal Belloto's book on the *morgado* of Mateus,¹²¹ the *Cartas da Bahia (1768–1769)* of the Marquis of Lavradio,¹²² *A História Geral do Rio Grande do Sul, 1503–1974* by Arthur Ferreira (now in its fourth edition),¹²³ Arnaldo Bruxel's article on the "Seven Missions,"¹²⁴ and two substantial works, one on Pará and the other on Maranhão,¹²⁵ the latter an excellent piece of work by a nineteenth-century journalist that shows the cultural personality of Maranhão.

As in the economic realm, a break also occurs within the political realm around 1760. The principal work is now the one by Kenneth R.

Maxwell.¹²⁶ The rest only complete what he has already established with precision in a sometimes controversial field. For example, on the preceding period, but related to the problems of the 1780s, is Robert Allen White's article on Minas.¹²⁷ The same is true of Antônia Fernanda Wright's article on Rio and São Paulo.¹²⁸ Bahia and its "tailor revolution" inevitably have aroused curiosity. Two results are the book by the Bahian historian Luis Henrique Dias Tavares¹²⁹ and the article by Donald Ramos.¹³⁰ Ramos claims that the leaders of the revolt, who were encouraged by the intellectuals' attitude, plotted not so much for the independence and free trade sought by the intellectuals as for equality, a better munitions supply, and improved treatment of the soldiers. These ring-leaders were punished far more harshly than the bourgeois intellectuals who had encouraged them. Related to these two analyses is Daniel Teyssere's essay from the CNRS conference on Brazil's quantitative history. In a lexicological study, he contrasts the mentalities of the administrators and the conspirators.¹³¹ One should also refer to Pedro Calmon's article on the French Revolution and Portugal, in which he analyzes France's influence on Brazil's independence movement.¹³² Finally, there is Carlos Guilherme Mota's 1967 master's thesis, published twelve years later, on the concept of revolution in Brazil between 1789 and 1801.¹³³ The author specialized both in this period and in the history of ideas and culture, as the titles of his other works demonstrate.¹³⁴

In the same vein are two useful collections that resulted from conferences. The first was organized in Chicago by Dauril Alden, the second in Baltimore by A. J. R. Russell-Wood. Authors of two of the best North American theses on colonial Brazil, they have brought together contributions by some highly qualified specialists.¹³⁵ French theses in preparation include André Mansuy de Diniz Silva's research on Don Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, Count of Linhares, João VI's minister, and one-time ambassador to Turin. This study will present Luso-Brazilian history of the period seen through the eyes of an extraordinary man. Estevão de Rezende Martins is studying Franco-Luso-Brazilian relations at the end of the eighteenth century, another large subject where the premises of independence are naturally found.

Thanks to several republications, the reader who would like to learn about the history of the Luso-Brazilian Empire could use only the works that have appeared since 1970 and still attain a very complete knowledge of the subject. The field of Brazilian history therefore seems to be renewing itself rather quickly. Whether this is an exceptional circumstance remains to be seen. Another notable feature is the dominance of works on the colonial period written in Portuguese, English, and French; few works come from Germany, Italy, or the Hispanic countries for this particular period. From the methodological point of view, while new methods have been evolving in the economic and geographic

spheres, political history remains fairly traditional, despite some encouraging attempts at innovation. In this regard, Andrée Mansuy de Diniz Silva's study on the Portuguese political personnel at the end of the eighteenth century will be read with interest. The collection that includes her work attempts to reinvigorate political history with political science.¹³⁶ A similar effort should be made in the field of geographic history, not so much in urban, rural, or maritime history as in the new area of the history of climates. At a time when in Europe the "Kondratieff Cycle" of the ancien régime economy is being attributed (as is short-term fluctuation) to changes in the weather, it is time to study this problem. Essays have been written by geographers and naturalists, and it is time to ask for their assistance and to integrate them into our research teams.

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