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Date

In the Shadows of Empires: Trans-Imperial Networks and Colonial Identity in Bourbon  
Rio de la Plata

By  
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**In the Shadows of Empires: Trans-Imperial Networks and Colonial Identity in  
Bourbon Rio de la Plata (c. 1750 – c.1813)**

**Fabrício Prado**

Federal University of Rio Grande do Sul, MA 2002

Advisor: Prof. Susan Migden Socolow  
Samuel Candler Dobbs Professor of History

An abstract of

A dissertation submitted to the Faculty of the Graduate School of Emory University in  
partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in History.

2009

Abstract

**In the Shadows of Empires: Trans-imperial Networks and Colonial Identity in  
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By Fabrício Prado

The Rio de la Plata region was one of the most disputed areas in the Atlantic World in the early modern period. Although peripheral in the Spanish mercantile system, the region was the theater of colonial disputes between Spain and Portugal, but also an area of interest for the British and the French. As a result, Rio de la Plata became an area of intense trans-imperial and trans-national interactions. This dissertation analyzes the significance of trans-imperial networks in the late colonial historical context. I argue that, in peripheral regions, colonial subjects developed social and economic networks that crossed imperial borders, and that the control of such networks, coupled with manipulation of imperial legislation, bolster their autonomy before the colonial centers of power. My research examines how groups centered in Montevideo expanded their political, social and economical influence over the surrounding region, the Banda Oriental, through a process of controlling social and trade networks between the Portuguese and Anglo Americas, and reinterpreting colonial legislation. Thus, in peripheral areas, trans-imperial networks offered different political, social and economic options to local societies, shaping notions of community and regional identity within the broader Atlantic context.

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## **Acknowledgements**

This project started as the continuation of a previous research about the Portuguese colony in Rio de la Plata, Colônia do Sacramento. My initial idea was to investigate what happened in the aftermath of the expulsion of the Portuguese from the region, after a century long presence. In many ways, this dissertation attempts to provide answers to this question. During my research, I realized that the presence of foreign subjects was crucial for regional processes of trade, identity and community building. The relationship between regional and Atlantic processes was paramount. As a result, this project grew in unexpected ways, incorporating new methodologies, new ideas, and a new framework that complicated and offered more nuanced explanations for the questions it poses, situating the Rio de la Plata in the Atlantic World.

The outcome of this work was in part affected by my own experience as a Brazilian studying the history of Rio de la Plata in the U.S. The networks of scholarship and friendship in which I became a participant made clear that state-centered approaches do not provide satisfactory answers – people were never imprisoned by imaginary limits that nation-states try to naturalize in our minds. In this work, there are two implicit assumptions: the current mythology of nation states is more recent and less powerful than historians believed in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, and that it is useless to think of social groups as being isolated – societies and social groups, after all, only develop in relationship to each other. I tried to explore processes that unfolded before the nation-state claimed monopoly over the loyalty of people confined within its realm. Some of the answers provided here might prove that some practices and strategies from the time before the nation are still extremely relevant to understanding social dynamics in Latin America and in the Atlantic World in the contemporary phase of globalization. Social networks preceded and probably will survive the height of the nation states.

The making of this dissertation was possible because of a great number of scholars, archivists and friends who helped me in many ways. All the responsibility for

the text is mine, but I am seriously indebted to all of those who gave me suggestions, criticism, and support for these past years.

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## **Archives and Abbreviations**

Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI)

Archivo General de la Nación, Montevideo, Uruguay. (AGNU)

Archivo General de la Nación, Argentina, Buenos Aires (AGN)

Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon (AHU)

Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Lisbon (IANTT)

Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (AN)

Biblioteca Nacional de Lisboa, Lisbon (BN)

John Carter Brown Library, Providence (JCB)

Lilly Library, Bloomington

Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty, Rio de Janeiro (AH Itamaraty)

Arquivo Histórico da Curia Metropolitana de Porto Alegre (AHCMPA)

Arquivo Histórico da Curia Metropolitana do Rio de Janeiro (AHCMRJ)

Archivo Historico Judicial, Montevideo, Uruguay (AJ)

Archivo Regional de Colonia del Sacramento (ARCS)

Arquivo Histórico do Rio Grande do Sul (AHRGS)

Real Academia de la Historia, Madrid, Spain (RAH)

## **Introduction**

Manuel Cipriano de Melo was a Portuguese born in Lisbon, Portugal, who spent his teenage years in Buenos Aires, went to Cadiz to study, and later conducted business in London, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Africa. Finally, he settled permanently in Rio de la Plata, first in the Portuguese town of Sacramento and later in Montevideo, where he became an official of the Spanish bureaucracy. Cipriano's life traversed imperial borders. He served and fought for both the Spanish and the Portuguese empires. He had family, friends and trade partners in the domains of both Iberian empires until his death in 1813. Cipriano died as one of the wealthiest merchants of Montevideo and the owner of the only theater in the city. His life story provides a strong example of how fluid the limits were between Empires in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. Still, Cipriano's story was far from an exception.

This dissertation analyzes the influence of trans-imperial networks in shaping the sense of community and regional identity in the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> century peripheral imperial areas. I am interested in understanding the processes of identity formation, specifically regional identity, which took place in the last decades of imperial rule. I analyze the appearance of alternative forms of regional identification, different interests and social practices in the borderlands of the Iberian empires, not only considering the dichotomy between colony and metropole, but also factoring in intra-colonial interactions. I suggest that in peripheral areas, colonial subjects developed social and commercial trans-imperial networks that allowed them to devise other political and economical options. The use and control over networks with foreigners, in the context of the Bourbon Reforms, allowed local elites to develop political and economic autonomy

before the local centers of power within the colonial system. I am specifically interested in analyzing the case of Montevideo and its adjacent hinterland, the Banda Oriental, and how local elites progressively gained autonomy in relation to Buenos Aires, the vice regal capital. I suggest that this process of regional identity construction unfolded within the realms of the Spanish empire, and the social groups of Montevideo used their control over trans-imperial networks combined with the Bourbon reforms to advance the city's status within the Viceroyalty and in the Atlantic World.

Montevideo and the territory called the "Banda Oriental," by the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, had been the subject of disputes between the Spanish and the Portuguese for more than one hundred years, and it was an area where the British and the French also had interests. Between 1680 and 1777, the existence of Colônia do Sacramento, a Portuguese town located across from Buenos Aires and 130 miles north Montevideo, assured the region's importance in the diplomatic scene; it was the subject of more than five international treaties involving Spain, Portugal, Britain and France.<sup>1</sup> The Banda Oriental was the locus of the interactions between Portuguese and Spanish subjects, as well as of other Europeans, Africans and indigenous groups. The importance of local alliances for war, commerce – legal and illegal - and imperial politics marked the emergence of regional interests and communities. These cross-border interactions were not necessarily mediated by a State; rather, they were centered on social networks.

The Rio de la Plata region provides an excellent example of trans-imperial interaction during the colonial period. The Northern Bank of the Rio de la Plata had the

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<sup>1</sup> Treaty of Utrecht (1715), Treaty of Paris (1737), Treaty of Madrid (1750), Treaty of El Pardo (1762), Treaty of San Ildefonso (1777).

longstanding Portuguese presence in the region embodied in the town of Colônia do Sacramento (1680-1777) and the subsequent maintenance of commercial networks and Portuguese subjects living in the region. British merchants and capital associated with the Portuguese were a common presence. By the late colonial period, powerful trans-imperial networks were rooted in Montevideo. The Bourbon reforms and the Atlantic wars reinforced such connections under the legal disposition of “trade with neutrals,” the conquest of Portuguese dominions with partial incorporation of its population, and the expanding control over the region. The independence movement and the political fragmentation caused by the emergence of the autonomous state of Uruguay are intimately related to the interaction among the Spanish, the Portuguese and the British interests in the area.

The Banda Oriental, approximately the region of actual Uruguay, and Montevideo were originally dependent on Buenos Aires. After 1777, however, the city progressively increased its jurisdiction and status within the imperial system, gaining control over matters and areas previously under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. By the first decade of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the inhabitants of Montevideo and of the Banda Oriental considered themselves and were regarded as a different community than Buenos Aires. The control over trans-imperial trade and social networks with Luso- and Anglo-America were crucial elements in this process of increasing jurisdiction and developing different political and economic agendas. As a result, the social and economic processes examined in this dissertation, although regional, are intimately tied to broader Atlantic processes.

This dissertation has seven chapters that analyze the significance of trans-imperial interactions in the growth of importance of Montevideo's role within the region and in Atlantic world. In the first chapter, I examine the main concepts, sources and situate this work within the historiography. The second chapter is an analysis of the demographic and economic significance of the Portuguese town of Colônia do Sacramento for the Rio de la Plata society of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. I argue that although contact between subjects of the two empires was forbidden, enduring networks of family and trade connected subjects from the Portuguese and the Spanish empires. The third chapter examines the changes triggered by the Spanish conquest of Sacramento and thus, the end of the Portuguese imperial project in the Rio de la Plata. I argue that although the Portuguese Empire had been expelled from the region, Portuguese subjects remained in large numbers in Montevideo, Buenos Aires and in the Banda Oriental. Most importantly, I argue that the networks of trade previously centered in Colônia do Sacramento were relocated to Montevideo. Finally, comparing census data, I suggest that Montevideo was more open to the participation of Luso-Brazilians and British traders than Buenos Aires in the last decades of colonial rule. The fourth chapter is centered on the analysis of trans-imperial networks of trade connecting Montevideo to Portuguese America. I pay special attention to the flow of ships between Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo, as well as to the use of the Portuguese convoy system by Spanish ships during periods of war.

The fifth chapter is focused on analyzing the colonial elite's use of reformist legislation to increase the jurisdiction of the authorities of Montevideo over regions and matters previously under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. I use a variety of

administrative and judicial records to map the expansion of Montevideo's jurisdiction over the countryside of the Banda Oriental. I also examine the dispute over the jurisdiction of contraband between authorities from Buenos Aires and Montevideo. Eventually, authorities of Montevideo exercised jurisdiction over contraband by sea and by land. The sixth chapter analyzes how the descriptive and cartographic representations of Montevideo and its countryside changed during the period. Using administrative records and travel literature, I show how the region's toponymy changed names, evolving from Banda Norte, to Banda Oriental to the Province of Montevideo. During this period, the countryside of Banda Oriental appears progressively more connected to Montevideo, which assumes more centrality in maps and written accounts than Buenos Aires.

The seventh and final chapter is a biographical essay on the life and connections of Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo, the Portuguese Spaniard who moved from Colônia do Sacramento to Montevideo to become the authority in charge of repressing contraband and the wealthiest merchant of the city. His life illuminates on a personal level the interplay of networks, regional identity and trans-imperial interaction.

I suggest that trans-imperial networks of interaction shaped the socio-economic process of Montevideo and Banda Oriental in the late colonial period. Trans-imperial networks of trade, family and friendship were crucial to the growth of the commercial and political role of Montevideo and the formation of a regional identity. In the following pages, I will review the historiography regarding Latin America and the Atlantic World, and subsequently I will define the concept of trans-imperial networks. Because my focus

is on examining the interaction between subjects of different empires, and not only on comparing different imperial processes, in this section, I also define the space in which such interactions occurred, the so called “interaction zones.” Finally, I pay attention to new trends in the historiography on Iberian monarchies and the existence of multiple and overlapping jurisdictions and sovereignties present in the legal structure of the Iberian Empires. I also situate such historiography within the literature concerned with nation building and the process of gaining independence.

## Chapter 1 – Laying the Land

### *From Atlantic Worlds to an Atlantic World*

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, the idea of a history of the Atlantic World was constructed by historians in the western hemisphere. The perception that important social, economic, political and cultural processes unfolded in both sides of the Atlantic Ocean and in three continents represented a rupture with historical works centered on national realms. Historians have shown that historical processes in Africa, Europe, and the Americas have been intrinsically connected since the Early Modern era. The European expansion and colonization of the New World and Africa, with the incorporation of indigenous populations living within Imperial boundaries, have affected all societies involved, both at the center and in the periphery.<sup>2</sup>

The idea of an Atlantic World, however, was supposed to differ from the traditional history of the Empires in the sense that it would be more sensible for explaining the mutual interactions and contributions between regions. Not forgetting the unequal relations of power between colonizers and colonized, the Atlantic perspective gave more relevance to the contributions of the colonies to the metropolises. Atlantic historians have also paid more attention to the power relationships within the colonies, showing how colonial elites could reproduce and adapt European and local practices and

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<sup>2</sup> Jack Greene, *Negotiated Authorities* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); John Elliot *Empires of the Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale 2006); David Eltis *Coerced and Free Migrations: Global Perspectives* (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2002). Alfred Crosby *The Ecological Imperialism* (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 2004); Bernard Bailyn *Atlantic History* (Cambridge, Mass. : Harvard University Press, 2005).

values to reproduce and create social hierarchies.<sup>3</sup>

Scholarly work produced within the Atlantic dimension also rethought the center-periphery relationship. Several authors have observed certain autonomous economic and social processes in colonies that were not necessarily dependent nor mediated by the metropolises. In addition, trade circuits linking America, Africa and Europe have been examined, taking in consideration the characteristics and peculiarities of peripheral areas and factoring in regional markets and trade routes.<sup>4</sup>

Patterns of immigration from Europe and from Africa have also received attention by historians. Recent work shows that until the 18<sup>th</sup> century the prevalence of African immigration accounted for four out of every five immigrants to the Americas. Moreover, the connections between Africa and the Americas were not necessarily triangular but had several different forms, including avoiding the metropolises in the trans-Atlantic slave trade.<sup>5</sup> Geographical variations and changes over time in these social and economic processes have been acknowledged as well. Most studies, however, focus on processes within a specific empire and its colonies. As a result, immigration and commercial interactions across the Atlantic tended to follow the political contours dictated by recent events and reinforced the political boundaries of the main Atlantic Empires.

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<sup>3</sup> Vast series of contribution: Charles Boxer *The Golden Age of Brazil* (Berkeley : Published in coöperation with the Sociedade de Estudos Históricos Dom Pedro Segundo, Rio de Janeiro, by the University of California Press, 1962); Jack Greene, *Negotiated Authorities* (Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1994); Joao Fragoso *Homens de Grossa Ventura* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilizacao Brasileira, 1998); Serge Gruzinsky *Mestizo Mind* (New York : Routledge, 2002).

<sup>4</sup> Carlos Sempat Assdourian. *El sistema de la economia Colonial – mercado interno, regiones y espacio economico*. (Lima: Instituto de Estudios Peruanos. 1982); Susan Socolow *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Ayires Virreinal* (Buenos Aires: Ed de la Flor. 1992); João Fragoso, Manolo Florentino. *Arcaísmo como Projeto. Mercado atlântico, sociedade agrária em uma economia colonial tardia – Rio de Janeiro c. 1790 – c. 1840*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001).

<sup>5</sup> Manolo Florentino *Em Costas Negras*. (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997).

As a result, the Atlantic World historiography tends to present partial analyses of the broad Atlantic. Most of the works produced about Atlantic societies follow processes primarily within the British, the Spanish and the Portuguese empires, and treat the Dutch and the French empires to a lesser degree. The result of this pattern is a fictional subdivision of the Atlantic into three areas defined by their colonizing Empires: an area that corresponds to the North-Western European empires connected to North America, the Caribbean and West Africa; another area centered on the Spanish Empire, including Central America, portions of North America, the Caribbean and also some areas on the Pacific coast of South America; and the dominions of the Portuguese Empire, including the Atlantic Islands, the Atlantic coast of South America and West-Central Africa and Mozambique.<sup>6</sup> Some authors worked with the notion of an “Iberian-Atlantic,” although they would examine the Portuguese and the Spanish historical processes separately.<sup>7</sup> Work produced within this framework, nonetheless, deepened the knowledge about the colony-metropole relationship and the very nature of the Atlantic empires.

The Atlantic framework allowed historians to analyze in depth how the colonial order was reproduced and authority was created in the colonies. These studies reconsidered the relationship between colonists and colonizer stressing nuances. In addition to the above-mentioned works on immigration and economic circuits, the

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<sup>6</sup> Mancke & Shammas (Ed.) *The Creation of the British Atlantic* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Introduction. P 02.

<sup>7</sup> Jeremy Adelman, *Revolution and Sovereignty in the Atlantic World*. (Princeton, Princeton University Press, 2006). The separation is clear in the divisions of chapter. The Portuguese America is considered even a counterpoint. Nevertheless, the author acknowledges interconnections between economic and social processes.

question of New World identity formation Atlantic also has received attention by scholars.<sup>8</sup> Contacts between indigenous groups and Europeans have been the subject of many analyses trying to understand how cultures in contact with each other interacted and were transformed. The perception of reciprocal influences and an unequal relationship of power have stressed the Atlantic nature of colonial empires in Africa and America. Other authors that framed their analysis within an Atlantic dimension emphasized the cultural and institutional aspects of European colonization. According to this line of thought, the creation of legal systems based on European models and the imposition of religion were crucial in shaping colonial societies and affecting both the European metropolises and the indigenous groups that were not subjects of the Empires.<sup>9</sup> The formation of the Imperial elites showed the importance of trans-Atlantic dynamics in recruiting and training merchants, military and bureaucrats in Europe, America and Africa.<sup>10</sup> These studies called attention to changes over time in both values and societal behaviors, and conflicts between distinct social groups based on factional loyalties. Finally, recent works focusing on Imperial administrative and state institutions have underlined the participation of

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<sup>8</sup> Anthony Pagden and Nicholas Canny. *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, c1987). João Fragoso. “A nobreza da República: notas sobre a formação da primeira elite senhorial do Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVI e XVII)”. In: *Topoi, Revista de História do Programa de Pós-graduação em História Social da UFRJ* (nº. 1, 2000).

<sup>9</sup> Alida Metcalf, *The Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil* (Austin : University of Texas Press, 2005). Jorge Canizares Esguerra *Puritan Conquistadors* (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2006).

<sup>10</sup> Stuart Schartz, *Sovereignty and Society: the High Court of Bahia*. (Berkeley : University of California press [1973]). Susan Socolow, *The Bureaucrat of Buenos Aires – Amor al Real Servicio* (Cambridge. 1997) Monteiro, Pedro Cardim, Nuno G. Monteiro et al., *Optima pars Elites do Antigo Regime*. (Lisboa, ICS, 2005).

native groups in the making of the imperial realms, developing the notion of negotiated authorities formulated originally by Jack Greene.<sup>11</sup>

The importance of colonial social groups in supporting and structuring colonial apparatuses has been observed regarding financial aspects, in political terms, and in the reproduction of imperial hierarchies. Authors such Zacarias Moutoukias and João Fragoso found that local elite groups financed the conquest of colonial areas and subsequently the creation of an imperial bureaucracy often in peripheral areas. These types of relationships with the imperial power granted local groups authority and status. Most importantly, local elites' capability of mobilizing capital and human resources in the name of the Empire entitled them to the reciprocity of the monarchs– the policy of “mercedes” in the Iberian Empires.

Local elites built their political and social base on familial, religious, trade and political networks. Fictive kinship, distribution of offices (peripheral bureaucracy), marriage, and trade partnerships that shaped strong factional groups that constituted colonial societies. As a result of such observation, on the one hand, the very nature of the colonial enterprises were re-evaluated considering that the colonial state relied more on local subjects to build its authority and to assert its domain than previously thought. On the other hand, colonial elites that represented the imperial order succeeded in maintaining that order through social networks that controlled the colonial society. Nonetheless, the interests of these colonial factions did not always coincide with the

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<sup>11</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial*. 1992. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (Paris, mai-juin. 1992). Wim Klooster *Illicit Riches*. (1997). Ernst Pijning. *Controlling Contraband: Mentality, Economy and Society in 18th Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Maryland: John Hopkins. PhD Dissertation. 1997).

prescribed norms dictated by metropolitan rulers. Quite the opposite, their position of power in the colonial setting was guaranteed by their ability to maneuver through intricate webs of social, political and economic agents.

The centrality of local groups in the colonial setting and the significance of social networks have been explored by an increasing number of authors; however, these studies remain focused on the dynamics within the imperial boundaries across the Atlantic. The works of John Fisher, Tulio Halperin Donghi, John Lynch, Stanley Stein, among others who have acknowledged the interplay among colonists of different empires in their works, have not examined in depth such relationships. Generally, trans-imperial interactions appear in this historiography almost exclusively as wars, piracy, territorial disputes and smuggling activities. These works suggest that conflict and disputes were the main forms of interaction beyond imperial limits in the Atlantic.<sup>12</sup> Some authors also argue that trans-imperial interactions appeared connected to fraud, wars and unequal political treaties that ultimately led to crises in the colonial systems.<sup>13</sup> The problem of this approach is that it relies solely on state-centered sources, specifically sources connected to monitoring the official transactions across the Atlantic. In these narratives, the presence of local networks of power or the existence of internal and inter-colonial market is neglected.

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<sup>12</sup> Jaime Cortesao *Do Tratado de Madri a Conquista dos Sete Povos* (Rio de Janeiro : Biblioteca Nacional, Divisão de Publicações e Divulgação, 1969). Stein & Stein *The Colonial Heritage in Latin America*. (New York : Oxford University Press, 1970).

<sup>13</sup> Stein & Stein *The Colonial Heritage in Latin America*. (New York : Oxford University Press, 1970), Fernando Novais, *Portugal e Brasil na crise do antigo sistema colonial, 1777- 1808*. (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1986). For the debate on the theme see articles of Jose Jobson Arruda, Jorge Pedreira and Ernst Pijning in: *Hispanic American Historical Review* 2001 81(3-4).

Comparisons between the different Empires in the Atlantic World are also common in the historiography contrasting Iberian models of colonization and imperial ruling to the northwestern European models.<sup>14</sup> Differences in the level of capitalization of productive enterprises, the role of the state in the colonial economy and society, and the presence of the Catholic Church are seen as important distinctions between the British Atlantic and the Iberian Atlantic. The incorporation of indigenous groups also appears as a crucial distinction between the two models of empires as well as some characteristics of slavery and other forms of coerced labor. The use of indentured servants in North America, the reliance on indigenous labor tribute in many parts of Spanish America, and indigenous slavery in Portuguese America followed by the constant flow of Africans to the region are taken in consideration.<sup>15</sup> However, these studies do not pay attention to the agents of these interactions – the people who carried goods in contraband networks, traders that were legally allowed to cross imperial borders, connections that immigrants kept with their home societies, and the imperial agents in charge of negotiating peace and war.

A comprehensive analysis of trans-imperial interaction is necessary in order to understand colonial dynamics and their implications for local social groups. The significance of contraband in peripheral areas demonstrates that often authorities and

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<sup>14</sup> Buarque de Hollanda *Raizes do Brasil* (Sao Paulo: Cia das Letras. 1992). John Elliot *Empires of the Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale 2006). Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession* (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1995). Carl Degler *Neither Black Nor White: Slavery and Race Relation in Brazil and the United States*. (New York : Cambridge University Press, 1995).

<sup>15</sup> John M. Monteiro, *Negros Da Terra : Índios E Bandeirantes Nas Origens De São Paulo* ([São Paulo, Brazil]: Companhia das Letras, 1994). David Eltis, *Coerced and Free Migration : Global Perspectives, The Making of Modern Freedom* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2002).

licensed traders were involved in illegal activities.<sup>16</sup> Moreover, recent works have observed the importance of trans-imperial circuits of trade in the trans-Atlantic slave trade as well as in the maintenance of trade during periods of war. The works of Adelman and Cooney have questioned state-centered approaches exposing the limitations of approaches restrained by political boundaries.<sup>17</sup> As a result, the existence of three major Atlantic histories divided along imperial lines appears more artificial than historical sources suggest. I argue that trans-imperial networks of interaction were crucial in the development of colonial societies. Because the trans-imperial contacts in the late colonial period grew substantially, these interactions also affected deeply the process of identity formation and claims of sovereignty that emerged in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century.

Crucial to the understanding of the historical processes of the colonial societies in Latin America are the dynamics of networks of interaction, specifically trans-imperial networks. In the past decades, a vibrant historiographical production has analyzed the importance of networks of family, religion, trade, information and power in the early modern era. The works focused on Latin America included both Iberian domains in the New World. Finally, together with the use of networks as a method of analysis, the conceptualization of colonial Latin American societies as Old Regime societies (in the tropics) adds important characteristics and nuances to the topic.

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<sup>16</sup> Louisa Hoberman *Mexico's merchant elite, 1590-1660 : silver, state, and society* Durham : Duke University Press, 1991. Zacarias Moutoukias. *Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial. Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* Paris, mai-juin. 1992. Wim Klooster *Illicit Riches*. (1997). Ernst Pijning. *Controlling Contraband: Mentality, Economy and Society in 18th Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Maryland: John Hopkins. PhD Dissertation. 1997).

<sup>17</sup> Adelman *Sovereignty and Revolution in The Iberian Atlantic*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press 2006).

*Old Regime Societies, Networks and the Centrality of Factions*

Colonial societies in Latin America were connected through the broad Atlantic World and reproduced hierarchies, values and social practices of the Old World. Iberian societies during the Early Modern age were pre-industrial and marked by distinct privileges and statutes for each social group, and they operated within the logic of *merces*. Always subject to change and adaptation, the Iberian colonial societies in the New World incorporated European values, but they also changed and adapted to local conditions and incorporated cultural and sociological contributions from indigenous and African groups. These adaptations, however; never blurred the Imperial aspects of the colonial enterprises. Thus, rigid hierarchies, social values informed by conquest and the *Reconquista*, privileges, reciprocity, and ethnic background were crucial factors in these societies. In institutional terms, the influences of the metropolises were felt in the New World. Moreover, the use of different forms of coerced labor and other old regime institutions, colonial Latin American comprised what scholars define as the Old Regime in the tropics.<sup>18</sup>

European and New World historians have underlined the importance of social networks in pre-industrial societies. Giovanni Levi has shown that typical economic processes in the same locality were influenced by extra-economic factors by their inclusion in social networks. For example, prices would vary according to one's insertion to a community or family. Furthermore, Bartolome Clavero has demonstrated the importance of reciprocity and Catholic morals in allowing groups to have access to

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<sup>18</sup> A. J. R. Russelwood "Introducao" In: Fragoso, Bicalho & Gouvea *O Antigo Regime nos Tropicis*. (São Paulo: Civilizacao Brasileira. 2000).

credit.<sup>19</sup> Furthermore, Manuel Hespanha has suggested that the architecture of Atlantic empires was designed to allow room for local authorities to exert colonial control in name of the Crown.<sup>20</sup>

This line of scholarship accentuates the high degree of autonomy enjoyed by the local elites in late colonial Latin America.<sup>21</sup> This pattern, however; did not mean an absence of control by the Crown, quite the opposite. Considering the nature of the Iberian colonial enterprises, local elites used their own resources – social and economic - to expand the colonial domains in the Americas, concomitantly expanding the colonists' power and influence in the colonies. These intricate webs of power relations between local and metropolitan agents operated through networks.

Scholars seem to agree on the importance of networks based on trade, family, friendship, origin, and religion in articulating old regime societies during the age of Empires. These links, in turn, influence the behavior of group members regarding marriage, business and political association, honor, and gender. Networks, which can be horizontal or vertical, determine social status for both lower and upper echelons of the society.<sup>22</sup> Networks also conditioned access to markets and economic practices, such as prices, trade licenses and authorizations, and the availability of room in ships to board

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<sup>19</sup> Bartolomé Clavero Salvador . *Antidora, Antropología Católica de la Economía Moderna*. (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1991).

<sup>20</sup> Antonio Manoel Hespanha *As vésperas do Leviatã*. (Almedina, Lisboa, 1994).

<sup>21</sup> Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor, 1991); João Fragoso. *Homens de Grossa Ventura*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira. 1993).

<sup>22</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. “Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial.” (Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales Paris, mai-juin. 1992).

merchandise.<sup>23</sup> The participation of individuals in networks was fundamental in Old Regime societies, in which markets were not competitive and the juridical system was not egalitarian. Social networks included diverse agents with different roles. In these societies, as Fragozo has observed, different social groups had different social strategies and expectations. For instance, the expectations of improving the standards of living of peasants were different from those of the *fidalgos*, which in turn were different from the *mercadores*. The societies at stake were not yet homogenized in juridical terms, nor were they structured primarily around classes.

Although dynamically interconnected, networks differed in nature – centered on family, religion, trade, and friendship. In colonial Latin America, different types of networks overlapped, allowing agents to belong to multiple groups, thus channeling resources from one to another in order to obtain better relative positions in these organizations and improving the group's performance. For instance, belonging to a religious brotherhood could be an advantageous way to channel resources to the person's family group. Conversely, the religious brotherhood could profit from the family connections that a member would enjoy. Historians have emphasized the role of family, religion, trade, bureaucracy, friendship and origin as key factors in structuring networks.

The role of family networks has been extensively analyzed in Old Regime societies.<sup>24</sup> According to Bartolome Clavero, the extensive family had a central role in

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<sup>23</sup> Giovanni Levi. *A Herança Imaterial: trajetória de um exorcista no Piemonte do século XVII*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000). Luis Lisanti Filho, *Negócios Coloniais* (Rio de Janeiro: Casa da Moeda. 1973).

<sup>24</sup>Susan Migden Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769-1810 : Amor Al Real Servicio* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1987). João Fragozo Seminário Internacional "Nas Rotas do Império: Eixos Mercantis, Tráfico de Escravos e Relações Sociais no Mundo Português" (Federal do Rio de Janeiro.

shaping social dynamics and strategies. The notion of individuals as autonomous individualist agents did not match reality. In these societies, the “extended family” (including siblings, in-laws, relatives, and servants) constituted an economic unit under patriarchal control.<sup>25</sup> Thus, familial ties influenced a person’s behavior and social strategies. The importance of incorporating foreigners through marriage has been observed in different cities in Iberia and in Latin America within the merchant class? Moreover, intermarriage within these groups and the recruitment of bureaucrats and military personnel also played an important role in the constitution of family networks. Through marriage, merchant groups could acquire connections with bureaucrats and military. Marriage also played an important role in allowing local aristocracies to incorporate newcomer merchants and bureaucrats. These practices influenced the political and judicial system in all levels.<sup>26</sup> Familial networks were also important regarding long-distance trade. Because of the states’ weaknesses, familial networks were crucial in creating mechanisms of control, assuring the agents involved connections that would ensure trust and provide a mechanism to reproach someone else’s behavior.<sup>27</sup> In this sense, the practice of sending nephews overseas to start a mercantile career as a bookkeeper (*cajero*) and later to establish a commercial house was an important avenue

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Programa de Pós-Graduação em História Social, 2006). Alida Metcalf *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil* (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1992).

<sup>25</sup> Bartolomé Clavero Salvador . *Antidora, Antropología Católica de la Economía Moderna*. (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1991). Jose Maria Imizcoz (Ed.) *Casa, familia y sociedad : País Vasco, España y América, siglos XV-XIX*. (Bilbao : Servicio Editorial, Universidad del País Vasco = Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Argitaipen Zerbitzua, 2004).

<sup>26</sup> Socolow, *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires, 1769-1810 : Amor Al Real Servicio*. Zacarias Moutoukias. “Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial.” (*Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* Paris, mai-juin. 1992).

<sup>27</sup> Michel Bertrand “De la Familia a la Red de Sociabilidad” (*Revista Mexicana de Sociología* Vol 61 No. 2 1999. 107-135).

to reinforce and recreate alliances within the already existing networks.<sup>28</sup> Through marriage, bureaucrats, *fidalgos*, and merchants could participate in joint ventures centered on their family ties. In colonial settings, important families constituted complex networks in order to exert influence in different spheres of colonial life. Having access to high bureaucrats and being able obtain licenses to operate could make all the difference in a non-competitive market characterized by uneven privileges.

Family networks could appear as crucial in articulating trade, but trade networks also counted on agents recruited on the basis of friendship and geographical origin. Shared experiences, previous knowledge of someone's behavior based on common acquaintances and geographical origins also played crucial roles in structuring these networks. Shared experience on the battlefield was a powerful bond between persons that could provide the basis for partnerships, access to credit and other relationships during periods of peace.<sup>29</sup> These networks based on battlefield experiences affected elites and subaltern groups horizontally and vertically. Often because of the nature of military organization and recruitment these war experience networks would overlap with networks centered on origin.

Slaves were also able to keep networks of friendship built during their diasporic experiences. Shared experiences, such as working for the same master in a different city, sharing the middle passage, relocating within the Americas, escaping together or simply defecting together, could provide strong networks of friendship. These networks would

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<sup>28</sup> Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor. 1991). Fabio Pesavento, in his forthcoming dissertation has found similar pattern in Portuguese America and Lisbon.

<sup>29</sup> Tiago Gil *Infieis Transgressores*. (Dissertacao Mestrado. Rio de Janeiro PPG UFRJ. 2002).

be helpful in establishing new connections to their host society, such as being able to get married to a local woman or getting a job.<sup>30</sup>

The significance of a common geographical and communal origin was noticed in networks involving all social groups and defined access to credit, marriage and status. Ann Zulawski showed how important origin was for petty traders in the Andean region regarding the granting of credit.<sup>31</sup> A similar pattern was observed in the *pulperias* in Spanish America.<sup>32</sup> Origin was also important in the sense that individuals could have common relatives or bonds of friendship between families that could be re-established in the new environment. In these cases, previous knowledge of the person's connections would grant a stronger level of trust in the relationship. In certain cases, the sharing of cultural practices and language would make such links stronger within the host society. Networks based on communal belonging were strong and decisive in people's daily practices. In a non-competitive market and non-egalitarian society, access to resources, justice, prices in the marketplace, freedom of movement and safety, depended on allegiances.

Old Regime Societies were marked by the existence of factions articulated in social, economic and political ways. The crossing of multiple types of the abovementioned networks created clusters around certain elements that connected the agents and formed factions within the society. Such *bandos* were more visible in

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<sup>30</sup> Archivo de la Catedral de Montevideo. Libro de Bautizmos años 1777-1798.

<sup>31</sup> Ann Zulawski. *They eat from their labor: work and social change in colonial Bolivia* (Pittsburgh : University of Pittsburgh Press. c1995).

<sup>32</sup> Jay Kinsburner *Petty capitalism in Spanish America : the pulperos of Puebla, Mexico City, Caracas, and Buenos Aires*. (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1987). Carlos Mayo *Pulperos y Pulperias en Buenos Aires* (Buenos Aires : Editorial Biblos. c2000).

moments of crisis and dispute. Disputes for the control of town councils, access to the Atlantic market or to bureaucratic offices were often occasions when colonial societies would become polarized.<sup>33</sup> These conflicts involved people with diverse social ranks and occupations. Thus, political factions composed by overlapping groups normally centered on agents that worked as hubs within the web, defining group behavior and association.

Not primarily derived from the official state apparatus, social networks played an important role in shaping collective identities in the daily lives of late colonial subjects.<sup>34</sup> In Old Regime societies, local factions and social networks often determined the criteria of inclusion into the collective.<sup>35</sup> Thus, in mapping the multiple networks functioning in

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<sup>33</sup> Oscar Cornblit *Power and Violence in the Colonial City* (Cambridge ; New York : Cambridge University Press, 1995). Raul Galmarini *Los Negocios del Poder* (Buenos Aires: Corregidor, 2000).

<sup>34</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988); José Maria Imizcoz (ed.) *Casa Familia y Sociedad* (Bilbao: Universidad del País Vasco. 2004); Michel Bertand. "De la Familia a la Red de sociabilidad" *Revista Mexicana de Sociología*. 61:2 (Apr-Jun. 1999); João Luís R. Fragoso "Bandos e redes imperiais nas primeiras décadas do século XVIII", in: *À Espera das frotas: micro-história tapuia e a nobreza principal da terra (Rio de Janeiro, c.1600 – c.1750)*. Conferência apresentada no Concurso Público para Professor Titular de Teoria da História do Departamento de História da Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro (texto inédito)

<sup>35</sup> Social groups construct collective identities dynamically, based on one or more characteristics that could be either exclusive or inclusive, or both at the same time. These characteristics are based on family, religion, ethnicity, race, language, politics, or shared experiences linked to a territory – geographically or legally defined. The role of networks in identity formation is emphasized by Frederik Barth, *Nomads of South Persia : the Basseri tribe of the Khamseh confederacy*. (Boston : Little, Brown, c1961). For identity transformation and development of political consciousness (ethnogenesis) see Guillaume Boccara, "Etnogenesis Mapuche: Resistencia y Reestructuración Entre Los Indígenas del Centro-Sur de Chile (Siglos XVI-XVIII)" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (79:No. 3)1999. For a broader discussion on the use of identity and its plural meanings see: Anthony Cohen "Culture as Identity: an Anthropologist's view" *New Literary History* (24:1 Winter 1993), for national identity see: Anderson, *Imagined communities* (New York: Routledge. 1982). For political and economical aspects of group identification see Canny and Pagden, *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800*. (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press. c1987). For racial and ethnic identity: Carla Grinberg *Os Judeus no Brasil*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira. 2005). Regarding the role of the communication networks: Francois Xavier-Guerra. "Forms of Communication, Political Spaces and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations" In: Casteen and Castro-Klaren. *Beyond Imagined Communities*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003). For the role of the religious identity and its connections with the early modern Iberian states see Bartolome Clavero, *Antidora: antropología católica de la economía moderna*. (Madrid. 1992). The role of the encounter of different cultures in defining "self" see: Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books. 1978); Stuart Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: observing, reporting, and reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era*. (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994).

the late colonial period, we can access how regional social groups reconfigured their relationships as colonial subjects in a broader Atlantic context. Often, the architecture of networks transcended the official limits of a colony and even of an Empire.

### ***Trans-Imperial Networks and Interaction Zones***

The eighteenth century witnessed a growth of contacts among the Atlantic World. Progressively, ports like Rio de Janeiro, Boston, Luanda, Cartagena and Montevideo gained importance as trade routes in the Atlantic. In a world dominated by Empires, the increasing flow of people, capital, goods and information that crossed imperial limits was significant. I have suggested the role of networks in articulating old regime societies in Iberian America, emphasizing a non-state centered analytical approach. I also suggested that trans-imperial networks were crucial in peripheral areas shaping the social, cultural and political processes, and that the locus of such interaction is better explained as *interaction zones*. In this section, I will review and define the concept of trans-imperial networks and its variants, as well as the concept of interaction zones.

I chose to use “trans-imperial” to define cross-border interactions in the eighteenth century and in the early nineteenth due to the fact that during that period, nations and nation-states were not the standard form of political organization.<sup>36</sup> I use

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<sup>36</sup> Regarding the use of trans-imperial networks as an analytical tool, Elizabeth Elbourne used the term to define social networks that crossed different continents linking Australia, Cape Town, Canada and London. However, all her locales were part of the British empire, thus configuring intra-imperial relations, or simply imperial. Aiming to describe cross border interactions using the empires frame-work, Van Young deployed the term “inter-imperial”, which captures the dimension of the interactions, although the prefix inter does give the notion of a one way relationship, of movement from one place to another; thus, not expressing the notion of networks that are present in both places and have interactions in multiple ways. Elizabeth Elbourne, *Blood Ground : Colonialism, Missions, and the Contest for Christianity in the Cape Colony and Britain, 1799-1853*, McGill-Queen's Studies in the History of Religion. Series Two (Montreal: McGill-

“trans” because its Latin prefix is defined as “*something situated in and out of a specific region, a flow that goes through and beyond a specific point.*”<sup>37</sup> Thus, I use trans-imperial networks to define associations that counted on agents in two or more different imperial polities. These networks were characterized by the overlapping of different types of network (family, trade, bureaucratic, and so forth), a higher degree of informality and trust among the agents, and, most of the time long distance trade. Trans-imperial networks could connect interior parts of different empires, linking subjects that might have never left their hometowns but nevertheless were connected through a complex web of relationships.

Trans-imperial networks were more significant in peripheral and contested areas. In peripheral colonies, empires relied more on local groups to build the state apparatus and maintain their domain.<sup>38</sup> These local groups enjoyed higher levels of autonomy in relation to the centers of power.<sup>39</sup> In peripheral and contested areas local groups used trans-imperial networks to have access to opportunities beyond the realms of empire. Trans-imperial interactions often shaped the behavior and strategies of societies located in borderlands, frontiers or port cities on the fringes of the empires, such as the Caribbean and Rio de la Plata.

A trans-imperial network can be broken down into its intra-imperial and extra-

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Queen's University Press, 2002). Joseph Esherick; Hasan Kayali & Eric Van Young. *Empire to Nation: historical perspective on the making of the modern world.* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers, 2006).

<sup>37</sup> Merriam-Webster English Dictionary. <http://m-w.com>

<sup>38</sup> Zacarías Moutoukias, *Contrabando Y Control Colonial En El Siglo Xvii : Buenos Aires, El Atlántico Y El Espacio Peruano*, Bibliotecas Universitarias. Historia (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1988)..

<sup>39</sup> Jack P. Greene “Negotiated Authorities”. In: *Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History.* (The University Press of Virginia, 1994).

imperial dimensions. These two categories of analysis are, of course, dependent on where the observer is situated. Intra-imperial agents have their connections and activities within a given empire and are responsible for neither connections nor agencies beyond the political boundaries. Extra-imperial networks and agents are branches of the networks that are acting in a foreign empire or dealing with foreign subjects. Thus, the term extra-imperial suggests the involvement of foreigners.

I define the space where trans-imperial interaction happened as interaction zones. Although trans-imperial networks could reach areas deep inside imperial domains, the trans-imperial interaction usually happened in port cities or borderland regions. In this study, the Atlantic was the main connector of these networks, and in the eighteenth century, ports were crucial in the logistics of trans-imperial traffic. Port cities, such as Rio de Janeiro, Luanda, Vera Cruz, Buenos Aires, Sacramento, Boston and Charleston, were hot spots of interaction, where an unlimited number of agents from diverse origins could interact. The communities that developed in these cities often counted on strategies to incorporate foreigners or on institutions that would bridge such interactions. As examples, we can cite the incorporation of foreign merchants into local societies through marriage, religious brotherhoods that would harbor foreign religious people, or a branch of bureaucracy that was entitled to bridge business and political agreements between two empires during peaceful times.

Trans-imperial interaction could also occur in borderland regions, such as Southern Brazil, the Northern Bank of Rio de la Plata, Florida, and Extremadura in Iberia. In borderland regions, the number of agents involved was limited – usually two

European empires disputing the domain and indigenous groups trying to retain their sovereignties. Borderland regions were spaces with a smaller degree of institutionalization; thus, trans-imperial interactions required higher degrees of trust among the players involved. Informal networks based on family, religion, trade, friendship, and origin were crucial in connecting different empires. In these areas, there was room for a larger number of smaller players to be active in the trans-imperial interaction. However, the same patterns of association were present, with networks based on family/marriage, business partnerships, friendships and connections with the local or metropolitan power. Finally, in opposition to forms of association in port cities, these trans-imperial interactions happened mostly in rural settings, implying different logistics.

Trans-imperial interaction implies in contacts between different social groups, European, Indigenous and Africans, as well as the interaction between multiple cultures. Mary Louise Pratt has coined the term *contact zone* to define these non-European regions, usually colonial frontiers where unequal power relationships developed. Using primarily travel literature from early encounters between Europeans and indigenous groups in Latin America, the author suggests that travelers exoticized the “other” and used European categories to describe non-European behaviors.<sup>40</sup> As a result, the narratives produced about colonial peoples and locations were not accurate reflexions on the region being described. Because the imperial agents producing such narratives were “passive observers” and were travelers, they were not able to capture colonial landscapes and the subtleties of colonial societies.<sup>41</sup> Pratt’s concept, however, falls short in analyzing

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<sup>40</sup> Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes* (New York : Routledge. 1992). Pgs. 6-9

<sup>41</sup> Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes* (New York : Routledge. 1992). Pgs. 6-9

mature colonial settings and descriptions written by colonial subjects or imperial agents that were natives or lived in the described areas for long periods of time creating familial and business roots. Pratt's contact zones ultimately conflicts with the historiography that emphasizes autonomy and agency of local groups in mature colonial settings in the Atlantic World.

Departing from the concept of "contact zones," I suggest that the *loci* of trans-imperial interaction functions as interaction zones. An interaction zone was a mature colonial region in which the elites were European or of European descent and agents from different geographical origins interacted. In the interaction zone, subjects faced the differences of the "other" yet simultaneously shared most of their values, cultural codes and political ideals with the described societies. Unlike Pratt's contact zones, writers in interaction zones were integrated and constantly interacting with the societies they were writing about: they were more than "seeing" agents. In interaction zones, foreigners would marry local women, imperial agents would create local roots, and natives would vocalize and use imperial discourses. Thus, their descriptions were mediated primarily by their interactions with regional social groups as well as by their place in the broader Imperial scenario. Finally, the accounts produced in interaction zones reflected existing tensions between the writers' cultural backgrounds and their perceptions of the region shaped by their personal projects, relative position in the Imperial networks, and interaction with the people in the region. In many ways, these written accounts informed Imperial and individual policy and behavior.

### *Bourbon Reforms, Re-territorialization and Sovereignties*

In the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish reformist impetus reached the Americas. The Bourbon reforms aimed to improve administrative control, reinforce state authority, and principally, to increase the flow of wealth from the New World to the Old. In this process, the empowerment of the state was crucial. The Spanish state asserted its authority upon the Church, the *pater-familias*, and new institutions and mechanisms of administrative operation and control. The creation of two new viceroyalties in South America, captaincies and new provinces implied the expansion of existing jurisdictions and bureaucracy as well as the creation of new ones.

In the Rio de la Plata, the creation of the Viceroyalty changed the balance of power within the estuary. Among other reforms, the licencing of Montevideo as an Atlantic port was one of the most important. After 1778, Montevideo joined Buenos Aires as a port allowed to harbor trans-Atlantic ships. However, Montevideo was also authorized to receive slaves – while Buenos Aires was not – because it enjoyed a better harbor. In addition, authorities from Montevideo were now in charge of repressing contraband both by sea and along the borderlands between Brazil and the Spanish domains. These reforms were intended to foster commerce and to reduce smuggling and created new offices and jurisdictions.

These reforms aimed at increasing control over the territory, but compared to Buenos Aires, they also gave more autonomy to provincial officers vis-à-vis Buenos Aires. The reforms allowed the elites of Montevideo to participate in the colonial

administration and gain administrative experience. The new status of Montevideo permitted the local elites' to gain control over questions regarding the port, the navy, the administration of the Islands of Malvinas and Martin Garcia as well as Patagonia. More important, however, was the jurisdiction over the maritime and inland contraband. The repression of smuggling activities in the borderland heightened the growth of knowledge about the region through the creation of new maps and accounts, while controlling the population in the area.

Territorialization refers to the process appropriation of a territory and making it in relation to specific social groups and institutions, e.g. the conquest and colonization of a given area or frontier.<sup>42</sup> I use **re-territorialization** to describe the shift in the conceptualization of a region that was already colonized, a change within the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plara. Specifically, I refer to changing notion that the Banda Oriental was progressively more tied to Montevideo than to Buenos Aires. The groups in North Bank of Rio de la Plata recognized themselves or were recognized by external observers as sharing certain features and have shared experiences associated to the space that they occupied, differentiating them from the people of Buenos Aires. This process of re-territorialization usually involves the creation or expansion of institutions from a specific city that would progressively claim jurisdiction over the surrounding territory..

The changes triggered by the obliteration of Colônia do Sacramento and the new status of Montevideo as a more powerful and autonomous provincial capital were used to support social groups of Montevideo claiming control over the whole Banda Oriental.

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<sup>42</sup> To “territorialize” is “to make territorial; to place upon a territorial basis; *to associate with* or restrict to a particular territory or district (Italics are mine). Hence territorialization.” Oxford English Dictionary. (Second Edition. 1989).

The constant interaction with foreigners, the disputes in the borderland, and the expansion of the jurisdiction in order to prevent smuggling became crucial in the last decades of colonial control. Montevideo's social factions used such tools to connect the Western territory to the city, thus, replacing Buenos Aires' power in their region. This process was a contested one, and it can be traced in the administrative disputes between the Viceregal capital and Montevideo, in the production of maps and descriptions that depicted the Banda Oriental as connected primarily to Montevideo, in the disputes over the jurisdiction of officials repressing contraband and over the control of neutral trade. These groups based in Montevideo used the foreign networks and the new political status of Montevideo to boost their claim of sovereignty over the territory.

Iberian Old Regime societies were characterized by the coexistence of multiple overlapping jurisdictions. Town councils were sovereign urban issues while they shared power with the Viceroy on matters of land distribution. The administrative structure based on Natural Law allowed many officials to appeal to the king himself. Ultimately, in the absence of a King, the *soberania particular de los pueblos* resided in the town councils. To complicate the picture even more, the *audiencias* could dispose of matters that were also under the jurisdiction of the Viceroy, governors, and town councils. With the Bourbon reforms, an additional powerful official, the Intendant, reported directly to the Council of the Indies.<sup>43</sup> Overlapping jurisdictions with multiple agencies communicating directly with the metropole were intended to ensure equity in the balance of power and guarantee the possibility of the king's intervention since. Thus, this system

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<sup>43</sup> Susan Migden Socolow and Alicia Steimberg, *Los Mercaderes Del Buenos Aires Virreinal : Familia Y Comercio*, Aquí Mismo Y Hace Tiempo (Buenos Aires: Ediciones de la Flor, 1991).

was designed to enhance metropolitan control. The complicated web of overlapping administrative jurisdictions resulted in frequent disputes among different agents over the control of territories and its inhabitants. These multiple jurisdictions were topped by the existence of the legal tool “*obedezco pero no cumpro*” (“I obey but I don’t enforce”) principle. This legal tool allowed regional elites and officers to ignore orders coming from the upper echelons of the colonial administration in the metropole or in the colonial centers of power.

During the late colonial period, the factions centered in Montevideo used multiple strategies to enhance the role of Montevideo in relation to what would become the Banda Oriental’s territory. The newly created office of the Resguardo and the Customs House of Montevideo – in charge of suppressing contraband trade, were crucial. I suggest that the control of trans-imperial networks complemented by the newly acquired jurisdiction over interactions with foreigners were the pivotal elements that enabled the groups centered in Montevideo to re-territorialize and claim jurisdiction over the territory of Banda Oriental.<sup>44</sup>

Focusing our interest in how Latin American subjects of the Iberian Empires articulated their claims over the colonies, it is important to pay attention to the last periods of colonial rule and how identities and legal discourses were being appropriated

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<sup>44</sup> In the present work I am using the concept of multiple sovereignties characteristic of European composite monarchies of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. In Old Regime societies, multiple jurisdictions and sovereignties overlapped each other and gave room for multiple legal interpretations. For in depth discussion on the theme: Elliot *An Europe of Composite monarchies*. 1992, Antonio Manuel Hespanha *As Vesperas do Leviata*. 1990. Ana Frega *Soberania y Revolucion en el Artiguismo* (Montevideo: EBO 2008). Jeremy Adelman *Sovereignty and Revolution*. For a review on modern concepts of sovereignty see: Prasenjit Duara. *Sovereignty and Authenticity – Manchukuo and the East Asian Modern* (New York: Rowman & Littlefield Publishers. 2003). David Strang, “The Inner Incompatibility of Empire and Nation” *Sociological Perspectives* (35:2 1992); Clifton Crais, “Custom and the Politics of Sovereignty in South Africa. *Journal of Social History*. Summer 2006. Stephen Krasner. “Sovereignty” *Foreign Policy* (122 2001).

by colonial subjects. Jeremy Adelman observed the impact of the late colonial reforms in empowering local groups. According to the author, colonial elites were able to appropriate reformist discourses and use them in order to promote their interests against social groups located in the metropolises. These groups were not revolutionary, although these processes led to an inevitable differentiation between *creoles* and “penisulares” – these were categories not defined by origin necessarily but by where their business interests were located.<sup>45</sup> As a result, during the last period of colonial rule, there were important changes in the way that colonial subjects identified themselves and articulated their discourses and practices within the imperial realms. I suggest that trans-imperial networks were crucial to this process, specifically in peripheral areas. Through trans-imperial networks social groups were able to negotiate and to gain relative autonomy in relation to the local centers of power, thus enabling them to re-territorialize and claim sovereignty over previous colonial provinces and territories. I argue that the transformation in late colonial sovereignties within the Imperial system enabled the mobilization of peoples and resources that allowed the creation of a late colonial collective identity that initially emanated from groups centered in Montevideo. Thus, I am shifting the discussion from nationalism and state formation tied to the revolutionary period to the late colonial period. In arguing for the prevalence of trans-imperial networks together with the imperial reforms in shaping processes of jurisdiction building and collective identity formation, I am also suggesting that the dichotomy between

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<sup>45</sup> Jeremy Adelman, *Sovereignty and Revolution in the Iberian Atlantic* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2006).

*peninsulares* and creoles, and the revolutionary impetus were not the most important factors in shaping identity.

Since my argument deals with questions of how claims of sovereignty and trans-imperial interaction shaped the process of decolonization in a peripheral area, namely the Rio de la Plata, some words about the scholarship on independence, nationalism, and state building in the region are necessary to situate this work.

### ***From Colony to Nation***

The debates about independence have developed from nationalistic approaches in the first half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, to a more political and sociological analysis that centers on economic and social processes. Because of the long period of civil wars that followed independence, in large degree the analysis of the process of severing links with the Iberian Empires was tied to the aftermath of independence and the rise of the *caudillos*. Subsequently, since the 1980's, reverberations of Benedict Anderson's work on the origins of nations and nationalism provoked a change of focus in the historical debate, which became centered on state formation and nation building. These works have explained why Latin American countries emerged from independence without becoming nations or nation states. However, questions regarding sovereignty have received little or no attention.

### ***Independence as the Emergence of the Nation***

During the first half of the twentieth century, a generation of nationalistic historians consolidated national historical narratives in each country of Latin America.

Such narratives aimed to inscribe the history of each nation within their modern territories. The authors writing these national histories were committed to nation building; thus, they aimed to identify the existence of the national *ethos* of their countries during colonial times, proving the primeval existence of the nation as something natural.<sup>46</sup> As a result, the national histories that were created emphasized differences and conflicts between neighboring countries.

In the process of building a homogeneous and linear “national history” many aspects of the historical process (e.g. ethnicities, social interactions) were erased from the narratives.<sup>47</sup> The intrinsic need by national historians to make the history of the nation fit within its national boundaries and fulfill the ethnic mythic origin of the nation excluded details of the historical process and minority cultures. National histories tended to homogenize the social groups present in the country into one national character and to create a single coherent national narrative projecting the nation back to an immemorial time.<sup>48</sup> This representation legitimized the modern territorial limits, the official ethnic origin and projected a future in common for this mythical imagined community. National historiographies reinforced the political and cultural boundaries of the nation, described the existence of the nation well before it actually existed. In the Southern Cone of Latin

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<sup>46</sup> Capistrano de Abreu. *Capítulos de História Colonial: 1500-1800 & Os caminhos antigos e o povoamento do Brasil*. (Brasília: Ed. Universidade de Brasília. 1982) Francisco Bauzá. *A Independência Nacional*. IN: Devoto, Pivel. *A questão da Independência Nacional* (Montevideo: Col. Classicos Uruguaios). Gilberto Freyre *Casa Grande e Senzala* (Rio de Janeiro : Editora Record. 2002, c1992) Vasconcellos *La Raza Cosmica* (México: Espasa-Calpe Mexicana [1948]). Fernando Ortiz *Cuban Counterpoints* (Lanham, Md. : Lexington Books. c2005).

<sup>47</sup> Anthony Smith . *La Identidad Nacional*. (Buenos Aires: Rama. 1991).

<sup>48</sup> Benedict Anderson. *Comunidade imaginadas* (México: Fondo de Cultura Económica. 1997). Eric Hobsbawm, *Nações e Nacionalismo desde 1780*. (São Paulo: Paz e Terra. 1991). Ernest Gellner. *Nações e Nacionalismo*. (Lisboa: Gradiva. 1993). Anthony Smith . *La Identidad Nacional*. (Buenos Aires: Rama. 1991).

America, the rivalry between Brazil and Argentina is a prime example.

*Nationalist History on the Rio de la Plata*

The nationalistic historiography of the Southern Cone opposed the Portuguese presence during the colonial time to the Spanish colonization of the Rio de la Plata Region. The existence of the town of Colônia do Sacramento, the only Portuguese colony in the Americas that is not part of Brazil, illustrates how the boundaries of the nation could be created outside of the nation – geographically and ethnically. Nationalistic narratives used the colonial conflicts between the two Iberian Empires to build the borders of the modern nations in the region.

National historiographies of the Rio de la Plata privileged studies about the military aspects of Sacramento's history, emphasizing conflicts between the Spaniards and Portuguese. Brazilian historians of the first half of the twentieth century stressed the high costs of Sacramento's maintenance and dismissed the commercial and demographic aspects of the town.<sup>49</sup> According to Capistrano de Abreu, Sacramento never was more than a Portuguese enclave in Rio de la Plata, a “nestle of smugglers.”<sup>50</sup> Monteiro used Sacramento as part of the explanation for the incorporation of Rio Grande do Sul into the

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<sup>49</sup> Capistrano de Abreu. *Capítulos de História Colonial: 1500-1800 & Os caminhos antigos e o povoamento do Brasil*.(Brasília: Ed. Universidade de Brasília, 1982). Jonathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Livrarias do Globo. 1937. II Tomos); e *A Restauração do Rio Grande*. IN: *Anais do Simpósio Comemorativo do Bicentenário da Restauração do Rio Grande* .(Rio de Janeiro: Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro. 1979). Monteiro presents a rich description and analysis of Sacramento political and military life supported with abundant documental sources. However, the author shared the theoretical frame of his generation and, as a consequence, he neglects the demographic and commercial aspects of the town, . Moysés Vellinho. *Fronteiras*. (Porto Alegre: Editora Globo. 1973). p 25, 128.

<sup>50</sup> Capistrano de Abreu. *Capítulos de História Colonial: 1500-1800 & Os caminhos antigos e o povoamento do Brasil*.(Brasília: Ed. Universidade de Brasília, 1982). Pg. 173.

Luso-Brazilian Empire, emptying Rio de la Plata's Portuguese town of meaning in and of itself. These authors' main intention was to justify the contemporary limits of the Brazilian state. The emphasis on the military conflicts, the pejorative representation of commerce as contraband and the lack of interest in the demographic aspects of Sacramento by nationalist authors were intended to legitimize Sacramento's loss. It is noteworthy that Sacramento is the only Portuguese colony that does not still belong to Brazil. Nationalist authors were explicitly committed to building a national history which fit within Brazilian limits.<sup>51</sup>

An approach that justifies this territorial loss is not the only possible discourse. Territorial losses could also be used as claims for territorial expansion (i.e., the Falklands Islands for Argentina). However, the complex geopolitical balance of the region and the spread of ideas centered on the Nation State and on citizenship in the 20<sup>th</sup> century determined the "justification" approach. The re-conquest of Uruguay was not a viable option for the Brazilian state. The same emphasis on contraband trade and military conflicts can be seen among Argentinean and Uruguayan nationalist historians writing about Sacramento. These patterns were emphasized because they associated the colonial period with a weak state and disorder in the region.

The Portuguese presence in the Rio de la Plata appears, however, in a few historical works by works Argentineans. The author who gave the most attention to the subject was Torre Revello.<sup>52</sup> For the Argentinean historian and his followers, Sacramento

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<sup>51</sup> Moyses Vellinho. "The sense of nationality is present throughout my whole work." *Apud* Ieda Gutfreind. *A Historiografia rio-grandense*. (Porto Alegre: Editora da Universidade/UFRGS. 1998). Pg. 43.

<sup>52</sup> José Torre Revello, *Crónicas Del Buenos Aires Colonial*, Biblioteca Histórica Colonial (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, 1943).

represented Luso-Brazilian expansionism and disrespect for the primordial order established by the Tordesillas Treaty. Moreover, it was from Sacramento that Artigas started the movement against Buenos Aires during the Revolutionary years. Thus, Sacramento's role in the historical appears as a symbol of the "others," something foreign.

An analogous situation can be found among the Uruguayan nationalist historiography from the late 19<sup>th</sup> and early 20<sup>th</sup> centuries. Francisco Bauzá and Pablo Blanco Acevedo regarded Sacramento as the manifestation of foreign interests in the region. According to them, Sacramento was the external menace over the Uruguayan territory during colonial times. Such an approach shows that both authors interpreted the past through the lens of nationalism, producing a biased analysis that incurred historical anachronism.<sup>53</sup> Nonetheless, among Uruguayan historians from the first half of the twentieth century, there were important exceptions. Luis Enrique de Azarola Gil and Anibal Riveros Tula produced an extended bibliography on Sacramento. They emphasized the significance of the Portuguese town in the formation of Montevideo and in the shaping of the colonization of Banda Oriental. Moreover, both authors published important documental references and sources regarding the Portuguese town.<sup>54</sup> However, their works were never incorporated into major national historical narratives since most of Uruguayan history texts did not give attention to the colonial period.

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<sup>53</sup> Francisco Bauzá, A Independência Nacional. IN: Pivel Devoto, *A questão da Independência Nacional*, (Montevideo: Col. Classicos Uruguaios).

<sup>54</sup> Luis Enrique Azarola Gil *La Epopeya de Manuel Lobo*. (Montevideo. 1931). Anibal Riveros Tula. *La Colonia del Sacramento* (Montevideo:EBO. 1959).

In both cases, the colonial past was incorporated into national narratives to justify and legitimate the national present. The lenses of the state and the emphasis on the political aspects of the economy and society miss certain aspects of the historical process. Nationalist historians pre-dated the origins of the nation to the colonial period, so Independence, according to these authors, was part of the natural process of these maturing societies, and even during the colonial period, the national spirit and identities were already there.

*The Aftermath of Decolonization – Economy, Politics and Culture as Part of the Answer*

During the second half of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, nationalism began to be questioned as the main historical narrative. Academic scholars tied the causes of Latin American independence to the subsequent civil wars. John Lynch showed the independence movements were derived from the opposition of local elites against imperial practices of discrimination and mercantilist restrictions on trade.<sup>55</sup> Jaime Rodriguez argued that liberation movements were an extension of liberal trends unfolding in Europe at the time and imported to the Americas by local elites.<sup>56</sup> Others argued that internal societal divisions between local groups played a more substantial role in shaping the process of decolonization.<sup>57</sup>

Still another different perspective was formulated by historians focusing on British imperialism. According to them, the British Empire, the leading world power at

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<sup>55</sup> John Lynch *Latin American Revolutions 1808-1826 Old and New World Origins*. (Norman and London: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994).

<sup>56</sup> Jaime Rodriguez. *The Independence of Spanish America* (New York: Cambridge University Press. 1998).

<sup>57</sup> Jay Kinsbruner *Independence in Spanish America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 1994).

the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, supported patriotic movements that induced fragmentation of old colonial administrative units. This support revealed the existence of a direct sphere of influence on regions previously closed to Britain, and it created what some scholars have defined as the “British Informal Empire in Latin America.”<sup>58</sup> In the Rio de la Plata, British mediation was fundamental to the creation of Uruguay as a “buffer” state between Brazil and Argentina, heirs of an old Iberian dispute about the sovereignty of the region. Moreover, British interest in Uruguayan independence curbed the dangerous consolidation of power by Argentina or Brazil in a territory with strategic resources, namely navigation in the Rio de la Plata, and access to regional markets. This theory depicted the creation of Uruguay as a direct correlate of British imperialism and divide-and-conquer politics. Furthermore, these authors never questioned the pre-existence of the nation in relation to the state. Their analysis reinforced the idea that the revolutions of the early 19<sup>th</sup> century were the result of patriotic feelings that were cultivated during the colonial period.

### *Questioning the Pre-Existence of the Nation*

During the second half of the twentieth century, another wave of decolonization had spawned dozens of newly created countries in Asia and Africa. Decolonization followed by the outbreak of civil wars in the former colonies led historians to question

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<sup>58</sup> Allan Manchester. *The British Preeminence in Brazil*. (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press. 1933); John Gallagher & Ronald Robinson. “The Imperialism of the Free Trade”[1953] In: John Gallagher and Anil Seal. *The Decline, Revival and fall of the British Empire*. (Cambridge: Oxford University Press. 1982); Peter Winn. *El Imperio Informal Británico en el Plata*. (Montevideo: EBO. 1976).

traditional explanations of independence as resultating from the prior existence of national communities oppressed by colonial regimes.<sup>59</sup>

After the publication of Anderson's *Imagined Communities*, a plethora of studies on state and nation formation appeared. New historical debates emerged discussing the motives of the "Revolution" and how the new societies reorganized themselves in the aftermath of independence – a long process of civil war in most countries. Thus, the debate about independence became tied to what scholars have defined as the process of state formation. According to Anderson and other authors, the creation of states in Latin America preceded the creation of nations, and independence movements were led by *proto-national* ideals.

Anderson's work provoked reactions about the origins of state, nations and nationalism among Latin American scholars. According to Anderson, in the now famous "Chapter 4 – Creole Pioneers," the Latin American proto-nationalist imagined communities were generated not by the press but by itinerant bureaucrats that gave a sense of unity the region. This assessment was seriously criticized by different authors from different theoretical and ideological backgrounds. Xavier-Guerra, for instance, argued for the role of the press, literary production and social gatherings in salons and other places where elite groups interacted and imagined an autonomous community. Nevertheless, the basic fact that states pre-dated nations in Latin America went undisputed.

Anderson's works made historians pay more attention to the process of state formation following political independence. Many authors have analyzed how subaltern

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<sup>59</sup> Benedict Anderson *Imagined Communities* (London ; New York : Verso, 1991).

groups including Indian communities negotiated their entrance into the national project.<sup>60</sup> Moreover, the strength of communal identities was also observed. Thus, these works showed how fragmented social groups were under colonial rule. As a result, the Independence revolution was portrayed as a fragmented process, and the idea of the existence of a common *proto-national* identity was progressively dismissed.

The importance of a religious culture and identity has been emphasized recently as a significant factor in mobilizing grassroots movements in rural Mexico on the eve of independence.<sup>61</sup> This explanation emphasizes the fragmented character of the independence revolution, and the lack of a common national goal in unifying the diverse social groups. Instead, Van Young suggests that multiple revolutions happened at the same time, and these movements were deeply influenced by religious ideals. Also suggested is the existence of powerful networks of solidarity and mobilization of people that allowed them to act together. This lack of a common political goal or a political project in the multiple regional religious movements is a powerful explanation for the long period of Mexican civil wars. As Van Young observes, the state was not the center of this process.

Despite their important contributions to the understanding of the process of state and nation building, the above-mentioned scholarship falls short of accounting for trans-regional and trans-imperial interaction. Most of these historical works neglect other forms of interaction with foreigners besides wars and conflicts. However, the history of the

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<sup>60</sup> Florencia Mallon *Peasant and Nation* (Berkeley : University of California Press, c1995). Peter Guardino *Peasants, politics and the formation of Mexican's National State* (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 1996). Ariel de la Fuente *Children of Facundo* (Durham [N.C.] : Duke University Press, c2000).

<sup>61</sup> Van Young *The Other Rebellion*. (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2001).

Atlantic World in the late colonial period is rich in daily examples of trans-imperial and trans-regional connections. Thus, I believe that such cross-border interactions must be considered as an important factor in shaping the independence process, especially in defining the first claims of sovereignty over a territory, and in understanding which social groups are included or excluded, and what the boundaries are of the new polity.

More interested in the internal dynamics of the new polities than in the origins of Independence, José Carlos Chiaramonte suggested the formation of regional identities in early 19<sup>th</sup> century Rio de La Plata. According to the author, the *Estado-Provincia* became the main political identity. For Chiaramonte, the strong legal tradition in the Spanish Empire allowed for the creation of strong provincial state since, according to the juridical tradition in the colonies, these units enjoyed certain rights of autonomy and sovereignty. Although Chiaramonte's approach is innovative in inserting regional variables into the process of independence and not considering the nation as something given, his explanation still relies on the role of the state as the leading protagonist of the historical process, and it centers on the process of identity and state building after independence.

## Chapter 2 - A Portuguese Town in the Rio de la Plata

In February of 1680, Don Manoel Lobo, the governor of Rio de Janeiro, landed on the island of San Gabriel in the Rio de la Plata and founded a Portuguese settlement on the mainland of the bay also named San Gabriel. The Colônia do Santíssimo Sacramento was located on the northern bank of the Rio de la Plata, thirty miles across from Buenos Aires, in the Banda Oriental.<sup>62</sup> The foundation of Colônia represented the southernmost commercial and territorial expansion of the Portuguese in the Americas. Sacramento was created to reestablish profitable commercial routes between the River Plate and the Luso-America that flourished during the Iberian Union (1580-1640). From 1680 to 1777, the Colônia do Sacramento emerged as a profitable entrepot for trans-imperial trade. Because Sacramento was the scene of intermittent warfare and imperial disputes, historians often emphasized the political and diplomacy disregarding the demographic, economic and social role of the town in favor of political and diplomatic analyses. In this chapter, I argue that Sacramento had a significant demographic and social impact in the region; moreover, I emphasize the significance of trans-imperial trade, specifically slave trade that linked the Portuguese and the Spanish subjects in the southernmost border of the Iberian empires.

The historical literature about Sacramento produced in the twentieth century has been strongly shaped by nationalist perspectives. The foundation of Sacramento meant the rupture of the Tordesillas Treaty (1494), leading to diplomatic disputes between the two Iberian empires. Thus, questions related to the very existence of this Portuguese

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<sup>62</sup> Colônia do Santíssimo Sacramento – hereafter simply Colônia, or Sacramento. The use of Colônia capitalized will always refer to Colônia do Sacramento.

possession were the primary focus of historians. Moreover, because Sacramento was founded by the Portuguese but is currently part of Uruguay, neither Brazilian nationalistic historians nor Uruguayans paid much attention to its history beyond these diplomatic and political aspects.<sup>63</sup>

Nevertheless, Sacramento, especially in the eighteenth century, developed a large population, significant agrarian production, enduring trade connections with Buenos Aires and an advanced urban structure.<sup>64</sup> Although the population of Sacramento varied significantly during this period because of warfare, overall Sacramento experienced population growth. During periods of peace in both the first and in the second halves of the eighteenth century the population was between 2,500 and 3,000 inhabitants. Moreover, by the second half of the 18th century, the town possessed characteristics of a mature colonial town, including a large Creole population, a significant slave presence, and recent immigrants. Sacramento's consistent demographic growth was primarily the result of intense commercial activity of the region, in turn produced economic and social interaction between the Luso-American and the Spanish-American population. These interactions shaped the demographic characteristics of the settlement especially marriage patterns, sex distribution, and racial and ethnic composition. Although the population

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<sup>63</sup> The authors working within the luso-brazilian frame: Jônathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1937); Moysés Vellinho. *Fronteira*. (Porto Alegre: Globo/UFRGS, 1975 [1973]); Capistrano de Abreu *Capítulos de História Colonial*. (Rio de Janeiro: Cia. Editora Nacional. 1907). For the Uruguayan and Argentine perspective see: Francisco Bauzá. "A Independência Nacional". IN: Pivel Devoto. *A questão da Independência Nacional*, (Montevideo: Col. Classicos. Uruguaios s/d); Pablo Blanco Acevedo *La Dominación Española en el Uruguay*.(1944). An exception is Aníbal Riveros Tula. *Historia de la Colonia del Sacramento*. (IHGU. Montevideo. 1951); and Luis E. Azarosa Gil. *La Epopeya de Manuel Lobo*. (Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero Americana de Publicaciones. 1931). Representing a new trend: Fernando Jumar. *Le commerce Atlanqique Au Rio de la Plata*. (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales. 2000. These de Doctorat).

<sup>64</sup> For the urban, agrarian and commercial evolution of Sacramento in the first half of the 18th century see Fabrício Prado *A Colônia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002).

numbers for the first and second half of the eighteenth century were similar their demographics were radically different.

In the early 1720's, the majority of Colônia's population of white immigrants, while less than a quarter of the population was composed of slaves or mestizos. During the first half of the eighteenth century, commercial and agricultural activities grew and the town began exporting wheat and hides produced in its agricultural suburbs. In the second half of the eighteenth century, Sacramento lost these agricultural suburbs to the Spaniards. Increasingly the development of the slave trade shaped the composition of the town's population. Thus, while the population became composed mostly by slaves and mestizos, part of the recorded population consisted of slaves in transit, not permanent settlers. Indeed, a large part of the slave population occupied Sacramento temporarily, waiting to be sold to Spanish-American markets.

### **The Rio de la Plata as a Hot Spot of Trans-Imperial Interaction and the Portuguese Permanent Presence in the 18<sup>th</sup> Century**

Since its second foundation in 1580, Buenos Aires was intensely involved in direct trade, legal or illegal. Because of its marginal position vis-à-vis Lima, the official port of Spanish South America, Buenos Aires was always in need of European goods, slaves, sugar, tobacco, and furniture, among other merchandise. As a result, the city inhabitants were eager for legal and illegal direct trade with Luso-American, Dutch, British and French merchants. Foreign merchant ships used diverse strategies and pretexts land in the port where silver and hides were exchanged for their goods. Silver

from Potosi was the motor of the region's trade. Merchants in Buenos Aires developed strong commercial networks that covered an extended hinterland including the provinces of Rio de la Plata, Chile and Alto Peru. The merchants of Buenos Aires drained silver from the internal market and used it to participate in the Atlantic market.<sup>65</sup>

During the Iberian Union (1580-1640), especially between 1580 and 1620, the Luso-Brazilian presence in Buenos Aires overwhelmed the city's merchant community.<sup>66</sup> At the end of the Union, the Luso-Brazilian merchants lost legal access to the Spanish commercial networks, but Dutch, French and British traders increased their direct contacts in the region.

The creation of Colônia in 1680 had many implications on Atlantic and regional levels. First and foremost, Sacramento's foundation represented the reproduction of the Iberian borderland territorial disputes in the South Atlantic. For the Portuguese, it represented the opportunity of returning to the Rio de la Plata market—a source of silver, which was always scarce in Portuguese America.<sup>67</sup> For the Spanish, Sacramento was viewed as a territorial advance on the Eastern Bank by the Portuguese, and, most importantly, the creation of a permanent hub of Atlantic trade directly across the river from Buenos Aires. In a regional context, the creation of Sacramento meant that the

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<sup>65</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina, 1988). Jorge Gelman *De Mercançifile a Gran Comerciante* (La Rabida: Universidad Internacional de Andalucía, 1996). Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor, 1991). Fernando Jumar. *Le commerce Atlanqique Au Rio de la Plata*. (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales, 2000. These de Doctorat). Dennis Owen Flynn, *World Silver and Monetary History in the 16th and 17th Centuries*, Collected Studies Series (Aldershot, U.K. ; Brookfield, Vt., USA: Variorum, 1996), Enrique Tandeter and Nathan Wachtel, *Precios Y Producción Agraria : Potosí Y Charcas En El Siglo Xviii*, Estudios Cedes (Buenos Aires, Argentina: Centro de Estudios de Estado y Sociedad, 1983).

<sup>66</sup> Alice P. Canabrava *O Comércio Português no Rio da Prata (1580-1640)*. (São Paulo: USP, 1984 [1942])

<sup>67</sup> Mario Rodriguez. *Don Pedro de Braganza and Colônia do Sacramento, 1680-1705*. *Hispanic American Historical Review*. Vol. 8, N. 2 (May, 1958). 179-208.

Portuguese held a monopoly over a natural harbor that had been used by merchant ships involved in direct trade in the region, particularly ships belonging to the Dutch, the British and the French.<sup>68</sup> Historian Zacarias Moutoukias argues that Buenos Aires and Colônia do Sacramento had complementary rather than competitive roles in the commercial development of the region.<sup>69</sup> Despite the initial aggressive reaction from the elite of Buenos Aires, in the long term, Sacramento, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo constituted the port complex of Rio de la Plata.<sup>70</sup>

For the first decade of the Luso-Brazilian presence on the region, Sacramento was basically a military facility with few civilian inhabitants. Commercial activities were limited to smuggling with Buenos Aires, an activity controlled by a few merchants directly connected with both governors, and thus called the “governors’ contraband trade” era.<sup>71</sup>

In the beginning of the 1690’s, Sacramento’s steadfast population grew and expanded into the countryside (the *campana*). From the 1690’s until 1705, official colonists were sent from Portugal and from the Portuguese Atlantic islands to develop agricultural production, to explore for cattle and to support the commercial activities of the town. By the beginning of the eighteenth century, Colônia successfully cultivated

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<sup>68</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). p 25-26. In this work, I will use the expression direct trade as synonymous of contraband trade.

<sup>69</sup> See also Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). Conclusion.

<sup>70</sup> Fernando Jumar. *Le commerce Atlanqique Au Rio de la Plata*. (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales. 2000. These de Doctorat). Especially chapter IV.

<sup>71</sup> Aníbal Riveros Tula. *Historia de la Colonia del Sacramento*. (IHGU. Montevideo. 1951). P 191-200.

agriculture and exporting large numbers of hides to Buenos Aires.<sup>72</sup> Nevertheless, in 1705, as a result of the War of Spanish Succession, Spaniards and Guarani Indians once more attacked and expelled the Luso-Brazilians from Sacramento.

### **The Phases of Sacramento's Urban and Agricultural Development in the Eighteenth Century**

In 1716, after the second Treaty of Utrecht, the Portuguese resettled Colônia. The colonization project intended to establish a commercial town with strong military defense and a significant number of permanent settlers able to produce food and able to directly access the cattle resources of the countryside. During the first years, the Luso-Brazilian settlement experienced steady growth based on diversified agricultural production, intense commerce, and exploitation of hides in the *campanha*. In the 1720's and 1730's, Sacramento developed an urban structure and as is became an important regional market, attracting people from Buenos Aires and from the countryside. Furthermore, there were Portuguese farms and *pulperias* several leagues into the countryside.<sup>73</sup> During this period, hides, wheat and other foodstuffs were produced in the suburbs of Sacramento. Wheat and hides produced were not only sold locally; some was sold in Rio de Janeiro. In the immediate six miles from the urban center there were at least thirty-one farms that belonged to the inhabitants of the city. Concomitantly, powerful networks of trade

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<sup>72</sup> Sebastião da Veiga Cabral *Historia Corographica da Colonia do Sacramento*. [1711]; Jônathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1937).

<sup>73</sup> Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre: Arcano 17, 1993 [1747]). Fabrício Prado *A Colônia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002).

connected merchants and authorities from Buenos Aires and Sacramento. Trade operations involved long-term credit, big and petty traders, and the exchange of a myriad of European, American, and African products.<sup>74</sup>

Sacramento was also a safe haven for British vessels and traders. Although it was officially forbidden to be in the area, British ships docked in Sacramento under the pretext of undergoing repairs. Moreover, Sacramento merchants were reported trading hides, tallow, and silver in exchange for British goods. Four traders of British origin were established in Sacramento who had become Portuguese subjects.<sup>75</sup>

According to the second Utrecht Treaty, the Portuguese were prohibited from establishing any kind of commercial relation with Spanish subjects in Buenos Aires. They were also not allowed to expand in the countryside beyond the distance of a canon ball shot from the city walls. The elites of Buenos Aires used these diplomatic clauses and military force to constrain the direct exploitation of the countryside by the Portuguese. The military offensive was intended to force the merchants and the population of Sacramento to acquire food supplies, hides, tallow and wax from the *porteño* merchants. Under the pretext of defending the King's dominion over the territory, the merchants of Buenos Aires used agrarian products as payment for the goods obtained from Sacramento, thus reducing the use of silver in such transactions.

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<sup>74</sup> Fabrício Prado *A Colônia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002). For the networks of trade between Sacramento and Buenos Aires see chapter 4. For the agrarian expansion of Sacramento and contraband routes see Chapter 3.

<sup>75</sup> For a detailed analysis of the commercial development of Sacramento and the presence of British merchants among the local mercantile elite see Fabrício Prado *A Colônia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002). Chapter 4.

In 1735, Spanish and Guarani troops began a siege of Colônia that lasted for almost two years. All Portuguese properties outside the walled town were destroyed, and the population of Sacramento ran out of food. Nonetheless, the Portuguese were able to defeat the Spaniards and maintain their position in the Rio de la Plata. However, because the agrarian production of Sacramento's suburbs was limited to fruits, vegetables, pigs, chickens and a small stock of cattle, the Portuguese were forced to rely on Buenos Aires to acquire hides, tallow, wax, and grain, or smuggled these goods in from the countryside. The terms of the peace treaty of 1737 established the creation of a permanent Spanish guard around Sacramento, and also stipulated that Sacramento inhabitants held the right to acquire foodstuffs in Buenos Aires. This clause provided legal grounds for Sacramento traders to conduct business in Buenos Aires, thus opening the door to contraband trade.<sup>76</sup>

In 1750, the Madrid Treaty was signed by Portugal and Spain called for the exchange of Sacramento for the Seven Jesuit missions on the eastern bank of the Uruguay River. During that decade, the suburbs of Sacramento experienced a new wave of Portuguese expansion and population growth. In 1762, after several years of negotiations, demarcations, and even a Guarani Indian rebellion, Spain and Portugal nullified the Treaty of Madrid.<sup>77</sup> Under the administration of Marquis of Pombal, Portugal was eager to keep their commercial entrepot in Rio de la Plata. However, the Spanish responded by

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<sup>76</sup> AGN Sala IX - 4.3.1 – Report of the Comandante del Campo de Bloqueio. AGN Sala IX 3.8.2 [Agosto, 1746]. For a general perspective: Prado 2002. Pg 122-127.

<sup>77</sup> The Guarani War, 1754-1757. Spain and Portugal fought together against the Seven Missions Guaranis to impose their acceptance of the clauses of the Madrid Treaty. Eduardo Neumann. "A fronteira tripartida: índios, espanhóis e lusitanos na formação do Continente do Rio Grande." Niterói: XXI Simpósio Nacional de História – ANPUH. 2001.

invading Colônia (1763) and the southern portion of the State of Brazil (1764), with troops from Buenos Aires led by the governor of Rio de la Plata, Pedro de Cevallos. While Sacramento was quickly returned to Portugal (1764), Rio Grande was under Spanish rule from 1764 to 1776.

In 1776, Buenos Aires was elevated to a viceregal capital, and Don Pedro de Cevallos returned to the region as the first viceroy of the River Plate. The new Viceroyalty included the mining district of Potosi, Chile and the former jurisdiction of the Rio de la Plata provinces under Buenos Aires rule. In the following year, Sacramento was definitively conquered by Spain. The town would briefly belong to the Luso-Brazilian Empire again between 1821 and 1825. The entire region was joined to the Republic of Uruguay in 1828.

For nearly one hundred years, Sacramento epitomized the imperial rivalry and the connections between subjects of Portugal and Spain in South America. Trade and warfare marked the development of Sacramento and its surrounding region. Historians of the Rio de la Plata hardly acknowledge the role of the Sacramento's development in affecting the demographics of the region.

### *Population Growth, Immigration and Warfare*

Information regarding the population numbers in Sacramento during the eighteenth century is scarce and scattered. However, in contrast to data on the previous period of occupation, these numbers do at least allow us to draw the general contours of the demographic growth in Sacramento. I was able find two "population maps" drawn up

by the Portuguese governors in 1722 and 1760, a partial map of the population made in 1719, an official report of the Governor from 1742, two estimations by onsite observers for the early 1730's, and a Spanish census from 1778.<sup>78</sup>

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<sup>78</sup> Population maps were less detailed type of censuses, often crafted for military purposes,

<b>Table 2.1 - Sacramento annual growth rate based on all available information</b>		
AHU-Colônia do Sacramento Docs.:86, 513. AHU- Rio de Janeiro Doc. 7286, MONTEIRO, 1937; SILVA, 1993; TULA 1931		
<i>Years</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Annual Growth Rate (%)</i>
1722	1388	
1732	3000	8.00
1735	2600	-4.66
1742	1956	-4.19
1760	2712	1.83
1783	290	-9.26

<b>Table 2.2 - Sacramento Annual Growth Rate Based Only on Official Reports</b>		
AHU-Colônia do Sacramento Docs.:86, 513. MONTEIRO, 1937; TULA 1931.		
<i>Year</i>	<i>Population</i>	<i>Annual Growth Rate (%)</i>
1722	1388	
1742	1956	1.73
1760	2712	1.83
1783	290	-9.26

Table 1.1 represents the population evolution for the whole period of analysis, based on all available data. If we considered only the governor's information for 1722, 1742, and 1760 and the Spanish census of 1783 and ignored the two rough estimates, the annual growth rate for the period between 1722 and 1760 would be 1.73% (Table 1.2). However, this representation, while more reliable, does not take into consideration the demographic growth until 1735 and the effects of two years of warfare on Sacramento's demographics. The population decrease registered in the 1783 Spanish census probably occurred in 1777 as a result of warfare.

By analyzing the data with the estimations one can see that that the population growth of Sacramento in the eighteenth century can be divided into three periods. The

first period, from its second foundation in 1717 until 1735, is characterized by intense population growth, averaging 8% per year.

The second period, spanning 1737 to 1742, shows population loss due to the Great Siege. Nevertheless, the military siege imposed by Spanish and Guarani troops from 1735 to 1737 impeded access to Sacramento's hinterland, and most importantly, the "Great Siege" caused the loss of direct access to the countryside. On the one hand, the loss of the agrarian suburbs affected all Sacramento's inhabitants, but it probably had a heavier impact on the *casais*. There were two significant consequences for population of Sacramento: 1) they became more dependent on the Buenos Aires trade for foodstuffs and hides and 2) the inhabitants of Buenos Aires could use hides, tallow, pigs, chicken, grain and other agrarian products together with silver to pay for goods sold by Sacramento traders.

The third phase, from 1742 to 1777, is characterized by steady population growth, of 1.83% per year. The loss of the agrarian suburbs and the lack of access to the countryside of the Banda Oriental seemed to have been the major constraint for the pace of Sacramento's expansion. The lack of the agrarian suburbs was in part balanced by the development of the slave trade. Although the town continued to attract immigrants and experienced population growth, many immigrants were slaves to be sold in the regional market.

*Sacramento Population between 1716 – c. 1742*

In February of 1716, Manoel Gomes Barbosa, a former governor of the port city of Santos in the Brazilian coast, founded Colônia do Sacramento for the third time. By the end of 1719 he sent a detailed report to the Portuguese King about the state of the new settlement. According to Barbosa, in 1719, the town contained fifty-one stone houses within the city walls, a Jesuit College, tents for the Indians, and a warehouse. The governor also mentioned the existence of other sixteen or seventeen tents made of hides where some single or poor soldiers lived.<sup>79</sup>

Outside the city walls, there were the *casais*, official colonizers brought by the Crown from Portugal (Minho, and Tras-os-Montes), and from the Atlantic Islands (Madeira and Azores).<sup>80</sup> The *casais* were distributed into two neighborhoods: the *bairro norte* and the *bairro sul*. The northern neighborhood spread along Sacramento's coast and was more populated than the southern one, which was located close to a small creek named Riachuelo. According to Governor Barbosa, the settlers' location outside the town's walls was intended to facilitate their access to their crops because the town's gates were supposed to be closed at night.<sup>81</sup>

Sacramento had immigrants that arrived under six different migratory regimes: slaves, Indians, convicts, military men, *casais*, and "*particulares*" (private settlers).<sup>82</sup>

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<sup>79</sup> AHU - Colônia do Sacramento. Doc. 47. 19/XI/1726, and Doc. 56, 26/XII/1719.

<sup>80</sup> AHU- Colônia do Sacramento Doc. 86. The use of *casais*, nuclear family groups centered on a couple, was common by the Portuguese crown to establish enduring colonies in America. The *casais* were also designated as "official peasants".

<sup>81</sup> AHU- Colônia do Sacramento. Doc. 47. "dentro das trincheiras que tenho feito não cabem os casais, e no sitio aonde estão [...] por ser mais conveniente para eles por ficarem perto do Ryo" Letter of Gov. Manoel Gomes Barbosa. 1719.

<sup>82</sup> The Portuguese Crown combined different regimes of migration in their colonies. The use of convicts, orphans, *casais*, and repentant prostitutes is examined by Timothy Coates. Timothy J. Coates, *Convicts and Orphans : Forced and State-Sponsored Colonizers in the Portuguese Empire, 1550-1755* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001).

Among these groups, only private settlers and the *casais*, official colonizers, were free immigrants. All other categories were subjected to coerced migration.<sup>83</sup> Official Colonizer, in spite of being free, were sponsored by the state. The *particulares*, were mostly artisans and merchants.

Although Barbosa's information does not give the total number of inhabitants for the colony, it provides mortality data that illuminates living conditions among the state-sponsored settlers (*casais*). In 1719, sixteen children were born in the town, but only eight survived. All of the deceased children were born to *casais*, while the surviving children were divided evenly between official peasants and *particulares*.<sup>84</sup> Therefore, only one child out of three survived among the *casais*. The absence of child deaths among the *particulares* could indicate better standards of living. Their low birthrate suggests the lack of women and couples in the town other than the official colonizers.

### *The Casais*

In the eighteenth century, there were at three waves of official colonists arriving in Colônia. Most of the *casais* came from the Atlantic Islands or from Portugal. They were sponsored by the Portuguese crown and granted access to land, tools, and seeds to start their production. They were supposed to be agricultural settlers brought to colonize the adjacent area of Sacramento. I was able to identify *casais* arriving in 1717 and 1719. There are reports of a new arrival of *casais* in the 1720's, but no records survived. For the settlers of 1719, there is a list of all the people, organized by household.

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<sup>83</sup> Regarding the forms of military recruitment and its coerced characteristics see Henrique Peregalli *O Recrutamento no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo: UNICAMP, 1986).

<sup>84</sup> AHU – Colônia do Sacramento – Doc. 49

The official settlers from Trás-os-Montes in 1719 embarked from Porto, Portugal. They passed through Rio and headed to Colônia do Sacramento. The groups totaled 271 people, including parents, children, siblings, and slaves. The fifty-nine couples in the groups were distributed in approximately thirty households. There was at least one birth and eleven deaths during the trip or soon after their arrival in Colônia. In the following weeks the authorities of Sacramento recorded seventeen runaways that fled for Buenos Aires.

In 1720's, Sacramento's Governor Pedro de Vasconcellos asked the Crown to send official settlers from the Atlantic Islands instead of Portugal. According to the governor, the thirteen colonizers that were from the Islands had the most productive farms. They equaled the total of all Portuguese owned farms in production and size.<sup>85</sup>

Although the settlers were sponsored by the Crown and were brought to Sacramento to develop agricultural activities, they were not necessarily poor. In the list, a minimum of six women had the title "Dona" before their first name and listed at the head of the immigrant list. There are no similar titles assigned to men. In reproducing the title "Dona" as a marker of social status in written lists; the Crown was reinforcing existing hierarchies in the region of origin by transplanting these relationships to the Americas.

The first name appearing in the list was Sargento-Mor da Praça, Antonio Rodrigues Carneiro. This indicates that among *casais*, there were high-ranking military authorities. Moreover, there was a militia company of *casais* (Companhia de Ordenança dos Casais), which indicates the wealth and social status of its captain and officers. The

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<sup>85</sup> AHU - Colônia Sacramento – Doc. 196.

company still existed even in the second half of the eighteenth century, when Sacramento no longer had agricultural suburbs.

In October, 24th 1722, Governor Vasconcellos (1722-1749) made a “general map of everything that exists in the town” in which he recorded the number of inhabitants, their occupations, births and deaths, and other military information. This “map” is most similar to a census produced about the population of Sacramento.<sup>86</sup>

According to Vasconcellos, in 1722, forty-one children were born, but eleven died in the first year. Unfortunately, there is no information regarding the distribution of these births among the town’s population. Nevertheless, in comparison to the information from 1719, the infant death rate had decreased from 50% to 26%.

Sacramento’s population at 1722 numbered 1388, divided into three hundred seventeen households, of which eighty-two (26%) were *casais*. Moreover, Vasconcellos also registered the gender distribution and status of the population. Although this information includes all inhabitants living inside and outside the city walls, it is probable that there was a greater undercount of the people who lived in the countryside. Therefore, these numbers reflect the minimum number of Sacramento inhabitants.

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<sup>86</sup> AHU- Colônia Sacramento – Doc. 86.

<b>Table 2.3 -Colônia do Sacramento Population 1722</b>				
<b>GENDER and STATUS</b>				
AHU – Colônia do Sacramento Doc. 86				
	<b>Free</b>	<b>Slaves</b>	<b>Indians</b>	<b>TOTAL</b>
<b>Males</b>	762	204	45	1011
<b>Females</b>	271	90	16	377
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>1033</b>	<b>294</b>	<b>61</b>	<b>1388</b>

According to table 1.3, the sex ratio was 2.7 males for every female. Among the free people and Indians the crude sex ratio is 8:3, while among slaves the crude sex ratio is 2:1. The partial sex ratios can shed light on marriage options in Colônia. The lack of females in the town is characteristic of its status as a frontier community at an early stage of re-occupation. In addition, it is important that the sex ratio among slaves was more balanced than among whites. At this moment, almost five years after the Portuguese resettlement, Sacramento was mainly inhabited by military men.

Slaves represented 21.2% of the total population of the city. For every seven free people there were two slaves in Sacramento. The slaves were probably permanent domestic servants and peons, although some of them were awaiting sale to the Spaniards. The entire Indian population in the town was not native of the region; rather they were Tupis from Pernambuco brought to Sacramento to work in the city's public buildings. The total population living under a coerced labor regime in Sacramento amounted to 24% of the city's population.

Vasconcellos report also contains information on age. Among the inhabitants there were two hundred twenty-two boys and girls, making up 16% of the population. The sex ratio among the children was more balanced than the one for the whole population, with 1.24 boys to every girl. Among free people, for every hundred adults there were nineteen dependent children. The significant presence of children in these early resettling years indicates the emergence of an urban center with an enduring population rather than just a military facility. This data shows a population composed basically of immigrants who arrived in Sacramento under different migration regimes. Only in subsequent year a Creole population would contribute to the demographic characteristics of Sacramento.

In 1722, Sacramento was the only Portuguese colony more southern than Laguna, Santa Catarina. In 1714, Laguna's population was roughly three hundred adults, and its urban structure, consisted of only one church, and no paved or aligned streets.<sup>87</sup> On 1720, on the other bank of the Rio de la Plata, Buenos Aires counted approximately 9,000 inhabitants.

A decade later, Sacramento had more than doubled in size. In 1732, the sergeant-mayor Antonio Rodrigues Carneiro stated in a letter to the King that there were 3,000 inhabitants living in there.<sup>88</sup> In 1735, weeks before the Great Siege started, Silvestre Ferreira da Silva counted 2,600 people living in the Portuguese town.<sup>89</sup> Regardless of

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<sup>87</sup> Aurélio Porto *História das Missões Orientais do Uruguai*. (Porto Alegre: Livraria Selbach.1954). p 411.

<sup>88</sup> AHU -Rio de Janeiro Doc. 7286.

<sup>89</sup> Silvestre Ferreira da Silva. *Relação do Sítio da nova Colônia do Sacramento*. (São Paulo. 1977. [1748]). PG. 71

their accuracy; both approximations reflected a moderate size Portuguese town, whose prosperity was based on commerce and agrarian activities.

The first documentation of Sacramento's population after the end of the Great Siege is provided by governor Vasconcellos in 1742. Even with limited space 1,946 people lived in the town, distributed into 1,000 families (including slaves) and the military garrison.<sup>90</sup> This information reveals that prolonged period of warfare had depleted the population of the town. It is also possible that some of the inhabitants migrated far into the countryside or to the new Portuguese fort of Jesus Maria Jose, which later would become Rio Grande.

*Sacramento Population by 1760*

In 1760, the new governor Vicente da Silva Fonseca took a survey of the population of Sacramento. According to him there were 2,712 inhabitants living in the town, 58% men and 42% women.<sup>91</sup>

<b>Table 2.4 - Sacramento's Population by 1760</b>			
<b>AHU – Colônia do Sacramento Doc. 513</b>			
	<i>Male</i>	<i>Female</i>	<i>Total</i>
Married	130	160	290
Single	492	197	689
Freed Pardos	25	26	51
Freed Blacks	20	88	108
Escravos	941	634	1575
<b>Total</b>	<b>1607</b>	<b>1105</b>	<b>2712</b>

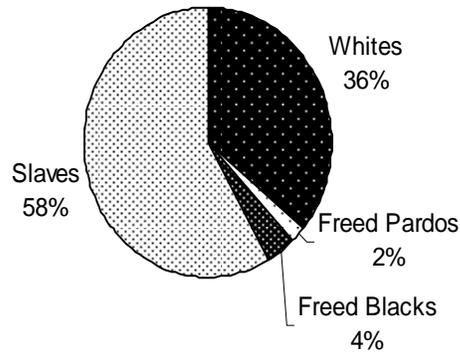
<sup>90</sup> Jônathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1937. Tomo II) p 130. I was not able to find this document in the AHU collection, that's why I relied in the transcription plubished by Monteiro.

<sup>91</sup> AHU – Colônia do Sacramento. Doc. 513. 15/IV/1760.

By 1760 Sacramento's population had finally recovered from the Great Siege. Among the married population there were thirty women living alone; perhaps widows or wives whose husbands were traveling outside the region. Both hypotheses are probable because Sacramento was a military bastion that experienced war recently and a busy commercial town. Military role of the town also explains the prevalence of single men among the population.

While the number of total inhabitants of the town was similar to that of the population of the early eighteenth century, the demographics had radically changed. Figure 4.1 shows that the free population of Sacramento now represented 42%, was almost one half of the approximately 80% in the 1720's. Race distribution has also shifted dramatically. Whites were only 36% of the population, while *pardos* and blacks constituted 64%. Sacramento has changed from a predominantly white settlement to predominantly black and *mestizo* town.

**Figure 2.1 – Sacramento’s Population according to Race and Status**



The population of the *pardos forros* (freed mestizos) was evenly distributed by gender. The data suggests that they were intermarrying. Between 1760 and 1770, eight out of ten freed *pardas* who bore a child were married to a freed *pardo*.<sup>92</sup> Freed pardos comprised 2% of the population, but were a visible part of the community. We know that in 1759 there was a *pardo* militia company in activity in the town.<sup>93</sup> This evenly distributed gender pattern is not present among the freed black population. The number of freed black women outnumbered the freed black men in the proportion of four to one.

<sup>92</sup> Arquivo Histórico da Cúria do Rio de Janeiro (AHCRJ) Colônia do Sacramento, Livro 3, Batismos. (Digitized copy obtained from the Uruguayan Institute of Patrimony, Colônia.) I would like to thank Nelsys Fusco for these documents.

<sup>93</sup> Jônathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1937. T. II) p 220.

In 1760, there were thirty-five births in Colônia and eighty-four deaths.<sup>94</sup> In the following year, the number of births among free women was forty-five, and there were only thirty-seven deaths. The fluctuating mortality rate contrasts with the steady birth rates. The large number of slaves present in Sacramento in the year 1760 may a large omportation of people from Africa, and the possible introduction of pathogens.

From 1760 to 1769, there were three hundred eighty-five births in Colônia (Table 1.5). In the cases from which I could retrieve information, 50.4% were females and 49.6% were males. The data present certain biases for the period when the town was under Spanish rule, in 1763. The number of births is higher because the data include Spanish women and slaves that were not counted for the other years (in the Third Book of Baptisms). Nevertheless, if one considered only the number of births among free women in 1763, excluding slaves and Spanish couples (with both parties of Spanish origins), the number of births for 1763 would be twenty-five, quite similar to the years 1765 (25), 1766 (22), 1767 (25), 1768 (28), and 1769 (24).

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<sup>94</sup> AHCMRJ – Colônia do Sacramento. Livro 3 Batismos; Livro 3 Óbitos.

**Table 2.5 - Sacramento's Birth Status**  
(AHCMRJ – Colônia do Sacramento Livros de Batismo 3 and 5)

	1760	1761	1762	1763	1764 <sup>[1]</sup>	1765	1766	1767	1768	1769	Total
Legitimate	29	29	19	41	8	29	22	28	28	24	257
Natural	5	2	13	25	0	4	0	1	4	2	56
Unknown	0	9	22	0	2	5	0	1	2	0	41
Exposto	0	2	0	0	0	1	0	2	1	0	6
Non Reported	0	0	2	0	0	0	0	1	0	0	3
Total	34	42	56	66	10	39	22	33	35	26	363
Index	100	124	165	194	29.4	115	64.7	97.1	103	76.4	

[1] The number of low births records in this year is due to mutilation of the documents. Sacramento's Third Book of Baptisms is in poor condition. Many pages were either missing or not readable. The pages that contained the births in 1764 were in specially bad condition.

Although there are many changes in the birth distribution throughout the decade, the data does not suggest any significant variation of population size. In 1762 and 1763, the increase of the population is due to the inclusion of the slave births. Nevertheless, for all other six years, the distribution of births per year is close to the index for the decade. Moreover, the white free women also show an evenly distribution of births.

Table 1.6 shows that 69.8% of Sacramento's newborns were legitimate children, 14.7% were natural children and 1.6% were *expostos*. 0.8% (three cases) were the children of unknown fathers. For 13.1% of the population the information was illegible. Table 1.6 shows the data for 1763, roughly two of every five children born in Sacramento were *natural*. Moreover, most of *natural* children were born to slave mothers.<sup>95</sup>

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<sup>95</sup> "Natural" is a Catholic category to describe a child of a non-married couple. It differs from illegitimate child because the parents of a *natural* had no impediment to marriage and, thus, legitimizing the status of the child. Moreover, illegitimacy involved the disregard for a catholic vow, which had bigger religious implications.

**Table 2.6 - Sacramento 1763 - Children's Birth Status by Mother's Status**

Mothers' Status	Children's Birth Status		Total
	Legitimo	Natural	
Free	37	0	37
Freed Parda	1	0	1
Slave	2	24	26
Slave Parda	0	1	1
Total	40	25	65

Sacramento's births show a clear seasonality. There were two peak months per year. Between 1760 and 1769, August and December were the months in which the most children were born, 10.8% and 10.5% of the yearly births respectively. Considering two-month segments, November-December saw 19.7% of the total number of births while 18.8% occurred in July and August. All the other two-month segments with the exception of March-April registered around 16% and 17.8% percent of the births per year. However, the diversity of social groups must be taken into consideration. Thus, August was the month with the higher number of white births, while December was the month with higher number of black and mestizo births. This data suggest that the Christian Lent, a religious period of sexual abstinence between Carnival and Easter, did not significantly influence the sexual behavior of the Sacramento inhabitants, especially the black and mestizo population.

The month with the least number of births was March for all groups, yielding only 2.2% of the total births. In the March-April segment, only 8.4% of the children were born. This data suggests that winter months of June and July were not propitious for

conception.<sup>96</sup> Moreover, although June and July were months with high proportions of births (8.9% and 8%), the winter period was in general the season with least frequent conception. Perhaps weather conditions and related health issues are a possible explanation.

### *Parents*

In Sacramento, the absolute majority of marriages took place between spouses with the same legal status.<sup>97</sup> Considering origin of the spouses, the only groups marrying endogmically were Creoles. Roughly one third of the cases are of Sacramento born husband and wife. Virtually all other men married Sacramento-born women. Most of the women originally from Buenos Aires were also married Sacramento Creoles.

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<sup>96</sup> AHCMRJ – Colônia do Sacramento. Livro 3 Batismos. I did not consider the Death Record information because the records did not show any pattern and huge discrepancies between each month and each year. Thus, I have chosen to not consider such a data before proceed with further investigations on this source.

<sup>97</sup> AHCMRJ – Colônia do Sacramento. Livro 3 Batismos

**Table 2.7 - Marriage by Status 1760-1769**

		Mother's Status						
Father's Status	Free	Parda Slave	Parda Freed	Slave	Freed Black	Indian	Total	
Free	205	0	0	1	0	0	206	
pardo cativo	0	1	1	0	0	0	2	
pardo forro	0	0	8	0	3	0	11	
Escravo	0	0	0	4	0	0	4	
Indio	1	0	0	0	0	2	3	
Total	206	1	9	5	3	2	226	

Table 1.7 shows that the free white population practically did not marry outside their social or racial category group. The free mestizo group (*pardos forros*) mostly married within its own racial group but also married free blacks. Endogamy within a social group was an important factor in the marriage patterns in the period. For 1760, according to table 1.4, the crude male ratio was 143 men per 100 women. But group specific sex ratio suggests that sex imbalance was more pronounced among the free population. The free people's male ratio was 174 men for each 100 women; the slaves' male ratio was 148. The sex ratio of the freed *mestizo* group was balanced with a ratio of a 100. Only in the freed black did women outnumbered men by a ratio of 4.4 women for every man.

The high male ratio for free people suggests that the military characteristics of Sacramento were still shaping the demographics of the city. Moreover, the single free male population being much larger than the single free female population also suggests that immigration was an important factor in the period. The number of single free women in town was due to natural growth.

The free black ratio indicates that, in Sacramento, women slaves achieved freedom more frequently than male slaves. This disparity suggests two possible hypotheses. First, it was possible that free men would manumit slave women because they maintained sexual relationships with them. Such a theory would explain the high number of natural children among the slave population. Nevertheless, such a high number of *natural* children among slaves can be explained by the fact that many slaves were sold to the Spanish in America. The fact that many soldiers were single is also worthy of note. If extra-marital relations were involved, the birth status of the children would have been documented as illegitimate instead of *natural*. The second hypothesis could be that the high number of domestic slaves in Sacramento and the large number of widowed women, probably fostered manumission, given that female owners frequently demonstrated higher rates of manumission of slave women.<sup>98</sup>

### *Fathers*

Of the male father who appeared in the baptismal records, 27% were from Sacramento, and 58.4% were from Portugal or the Portuguese Atlantic Islands. Six percent were from different regions of Brazil; 5.8% were from Spain and Spanish America, and 1% were from Africa. Among the settlers from Portugal, 16% were from the bishopric of Braga (the region of Tras-os-Montes and Algarve), 14.2% were from the Atlantic Islands, and the remaining 29% were from Lisbon, Coimbra, Porto and other regions from mainland Portugal. Among Luso-Brazilian fathers, the city which

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<sup>98</sup> Frank T. Proctor III *Slavery, Identity and Culture: an Afro-Mexican Counterpoint, 1640-1763* (Emory University Deissertations (PhD). 2003).

contributed most in the composition of Sacramento's fathers was Recife, followed by Rio de Janeiro. The few Spaniard fathers living in Sacramento were mostly from Buenos Aires, followed by Paraguay and several regions in Spain. It is noteworthy that the male Spanish population in Colônia was inflated by the 1763 data that counted the many Spanish officials were living in the town.

This data reveals that in the late 1750's and during the 1760's, Sacramento still continued to attract immigrants, although the Creole population represented roughly 1 out of 3 of the men fathering children during the period. Moreover, there was concentration of immigrants from the same region, especially from Braga and the Atlantic Islands. In both cases, the significance of chain migration is clear; the first official settlers came from these same regions.

In the 1760's, the legal status and color of the men who fathered children were 92% free white men, 4.5% free pardos; 1.6% slaves, 1.2% pardo slaves and 1.2% Indians. Thus, only 2.8% of the fathers were slaves. By 1763, the percentage of slaves having children in the town rose to 5%, while for the whites, free *pardos* and Indians, the percentages stayed the same. Considering that in 1760, slaves were 58% of the town's inhabitants, a higher number of slave fathers would be expected. However, a possible explanation is that most of the slave fathers were not registered as the legitimate father, which would coincide with the high number of natural children without named father born to slave women.

### *Mothers*

For the whole decade, 70.4% of women bearing children were natives of Sacramento, 12% were from Spanish dominions in the Americas, 9.1 % were born in Africa, 4.6% were from other parts of Portuguese America, and 4% were from Portugal and the Atlantic Islands. Among the Spanish-American mothers in Sacramento, 83.3% were born in Buenos Aires. Among the African mothers, 56% were from West-Central Africa and 37% were from West Africa. The low number of child-bearing women born in Portugal and the total absence of Spanish-born women reflects a process of creolization. The change is radical if compared to the 1722, when all women of childbearing age were immigrants. This change indicates in spite of warfare caused by the location of Sacramento, the town maintained an enduring Iberian-American population during most of the eighteenth century. In addition, the data shows that most of the women crossing the Atlantic by the second half of the eighteenth century were coerced migrants (slaves), not free migrants.

The number of women from Buenos Aires present in Colônia reflects how linked both banks of the Rio de la Plata were. The number of *porteño* women surpassed the total number of Portuguese and Portuguese-American women present in Sacramento. This information attests to the strength of familial networks that crossed imperial boundaries in the region. The well known patten to use women to create commercial and political alliances was clearly present in the Rio de la Plata.<sup>99</sup>

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<sup>99</sup> Bartolomé Clavero Salvador . *Antidora, Antropología Católica de la Economía Moderna*. (Milan: Giuffrè Editore, 1991). Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor. 1991).

During the 1760's, 76.1% of women bearing children were free white women, 14.9% were black and parda slaves, and 7.9% were free blacks and pardas. However, the data for 1763, the only year where the whole population is included, the distribution changes radically. The percentage of free white women drops to 56.3% of the total mothers while the percentage of black slaves rises to 40.6%. Pardo women, free and captive, are 3.2%. Fifty-seven and one half percent of the mothers were free and 41.8% were slaves, a good estimate of the reproduction of status in the population for an entire decade.

### **Sacramento's Slaves**

In 1760, Governor of Sacramento Vicente da Silva Fonseca sent a survey of the general state of the town of Sacramento to Lisbon. Not exactly a census, the list was a military/bureaucratic report about the condition in which Fonseca found the town at the time of his arrival. According to his list, 58% of the inhabitants of Sacramento were slaves and 42% were free people. These numbers show a very different picture from the 1720's, when only 20% of the inhabitants were slaves. Moreover, according to this data, in the second half of the eighteenth century Sacramento had a slave population similar in number to that in colonial towns in plantation regions. But, as we have seen, the town had lost its agricultural suburbs in 1737. What were these slaves doing in Sacramento?

There were four main uses of slave labor in Sacramento during the period: limited agricultural production, domestic services, wage-earning slaves (including artisan slaves), and stevedores in the port area. Although the agricultural area available for agrarian production was reduced, the use of slaves in specific rural activities seems probable.

During the 1760's the tithe records indicate a significant production of *frutos do pais* (local goods, fruits, grain) and fish. The former usually amounted around 50\$000 reis and the latter around 300\$000 reis.<sup>100</sup> These values suggest that such products had important role in the day-to-day food supply of Colônia. The use of domestic slaves was also important, especially considering that slave ownership meant social status –particularly in an urban environment. Skilled wage-earning slaves were source of income for families or widows in the town. Finally, as a port city, slaves performed the heavy work at the port area.<sup>101</sup> Nevertheless, domestic slavery, limited foodstuff production, and urban/port labor do not seem to explain why 6 out of 10 people were slaves in 1760.

Considering the commercially oriented community of Sacramento and its strong connection with Rio de Janeiro—the largest slave port of South America—the data available suggests that a high number of slaves in Sacramento were temporary inhabitants. In other words, many of the slaves were there to be sold to the Spaniards, most likely to merchants from Buenos Aires. Such hypothesis acquires strength once we factor in the method involved in contraband trade: small numbers of slaves and goods were sold in each operation, thus forcing the traders in Sacramento to retain slaves for a longer period of time.

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<sup>100</sup> The *Frutos do Paiz'* tithe tax amounted 6,6 pesos and the Fish tithe tax amounted 400ps. The auction for both taxes were managed in Colonia. As matter of comparison, in 1726 the Wheat tithe was 172\$155, and the corn tithe was 25\$000.

<sup>101</sup> In other Brazilian ports, such as Recife and Rio de Janeiro the presence of slaves in port areas amounted to nearly 40% of the population.

For the period between 1716 and 1737, there is no data regarding slave trade in Sacramento; however, this was the period of the British *Asiento*.<sup>102</sup> There is mention of direct trade between the Sacramento authorities and the British from the *Asiento*, but no solid data was found involving this trade. Some slaves were confiscated from Portuguese traders in petty illegal trade operations by Spanish authorities. It was never clear if the slaves were among the commodities in the smugglers' small boats that crossed the River Plate. Thus, sparse sources and the small number of slaves found in the embargoed boats does not allow me to draw any conclusions. However, for the late 1740's and 1750's there is significant information suggesting an active role of Sacramento's merchants in supplying the regional slave market.

In the 1740's there was significant slave trade activity in Sacramento; there was even a tax for selling of 10 pesos per slave sold to Buenos Aires, an undeniable sign of the existence of an enduring and well-organized regional slave trade route.<sup>103</sup> In 1746, the governor Antonio Pedro de Vasconcellos, suggested to the King and the Overseas Council that they remove the tax on slaves. That has been created in the aftermath of the Great Siege (1735-37). Vasconcelos petitioned the end of the tax arguing that the tax, created without Royal license, was illegal. He also referred to the disadvantages that the traders from Sacramento suffered when selling slaves and negotiating prices with merchants from Buenos Aires. Based on these arguments, the tax was rescinded.

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<sup>102</sup> The Treaty of Utrecht established that the British had the right to establish an *asiento* in Rio de la Plata the introduction of slaves and up to 500 tons of goods. Although the *Asiento* was supposed to function from 1713-1743, it was terminated by 1737.

<sup>103</sup> AHU-Colonia do Sacramento. 18/VI/1746. Doc 409. The exchange rate was approximately 1 peso = \$750 réis.

There are records from the late 1740's of Sacramento merchants operating directly in the slave trade from Africa, as well as records of slave vessels crossing the Atlantic from the West-African coast to Sacramento. In 1746, Manoel Pereira do Lago a prosperous merchant, militia captain and *almoxarife da Fazenda Real*, petitioned to the King to send a slave vessel to the African coast to acquire slaves for Colônia.<sup>104</sup>

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<sup>104</sup> AHU - Colonia do Sacramento. 1746. Doc. 408.

<i>Year</i>	<i>Total Slaves</i>	<i>Children</i>	<i>Children %</i>
1748	386	2	0.5
1749	409	77	18.8
1749	452	65	16.0
1749	407	61	15.0
<b>Total</b>	1654	205	12.4

Four slave vessels arrived in Colônia in 1748 and 1749, and the number of slaves disembarked totaled 1,654.<sup>105</sup> These numbers suggest that the arrival of slave vessels would have had a strong impact on the town's demography, because the number of slaves arriving represented roughly 50% of the town's population. Such a large population arriving from another continent after a lengthy voyage probably provided an efficient vector for epidemics.

The number of slaves arrived from Bahia during the period 1760-1770 also suggests the role of Sacramento as a regional distribution center for Luso-Brazilian slave trade. Sacramento received two hundred eleven slaves from Bahia (two hundred and eight Africans and three Creoles)—1.2% of the total of slaves exported from Bahia in the period. Although the number is low, one must remember that the main commercial connection in Sacramento was with Rio de Janeiro rather than Bahia. Furthermore, compared to other politically peripheral regions such as Rio Grande do Sul (0.3%),

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<sup>105</sup> *Voyages – Online Slave Trade Database*. [www.slavevoyages.org](http://www.slavevoyages.org).

Sacramento was importing almost four times as many slaves and close to the same number as the entire Mato Grosso region (1.2%)<sup>106</sup>.

More conclusive information is offered by the last Portuguese governor of Sacramento, Francisco José da Rocha. Rocha reported to the Overseas Council that Spanish guards were constantly attacking Portuguese boats in the Rio de la Plata and “stealing” slaves under the pretext that they were being smuggled into Spanish dominions. According to the data gathered by the Governor, more than 1,000 slaves had been confiscated by the Spaniards between 1760 and 1775. Normally the confiscations happened while Portuguese ships were fishing in the River Plate. Each of these ships carried between six and fifteen slaves, and between one and three free sailors.<sup>107</sup> Most of the confiscated ships and slaves belonged to merchants and officers of Sacramento.

Significant information is provided in a letter from the Viceroy of Brazil to the King regarding the sale of slaves to Spanish colonies in 1780. In this letter the Viceroy Vasconcellos asks about the legality of selling slaves to Spanish dominions, because the law differed from the customary practice of the merchants in Rio de Janeiro. The Viceroy justified the sale of ninety slaves to be shipped to Montevideo in 1780:

A similar resolution [of selling slaves], in truth, went against the prohibition of selling slaves for areas that are not under the dominion of Your Majesty, passed on October 14<sup>th</sup> 1751. However, after the publication of this resolution, practices to the contrary had been common. From Colônia and other locations of this government, slaves always had been exported to Spanish dominions without any action against such trade by the authorities, and this is because such legislation had been passed only to satisfy Foreigners that complained about contraband of slaves.<sup>108</sup>

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<sup>106</sup> Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro. *O tráfico Atlântico de Escravos e a Praça Mercantil de Salvador (c. 1678 – 1830)* (Masters Thesis. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ/PPGHIS. 2005). p108.

<sup>107</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa – *Manuscritos Pombalinos* Codice 10855. 8-II-1776.

<sup>108</sup> AHU – RJ Doc. 9294 20-III-1780.

The data regarding slave trade activity in Sacramento allows us to draw some conclusions. The quantity of slaves arriving is unlikely to be explained only by local demand; rather it suggests the active and longstanding role of Sacramento merchants in the slave trade in the regional market within the port complex of the Rio de la Plata. The existence of a slave sales tax, the involvement of local merchants in the slave trade directly from Africa and from Rio de Janeiro, and the high number of Spanish confiscation of slaves being smuggled all indicate the existence of an enduring market for slaves in the Rio de la Plata and the role of Sacramento as a hub of slave distribution in the area. Finally, the high number of slaves present in the city in 1760 and the virtual absence of Sacramento-born adult slaves provide evidence for the role of Sacramento as a slave trade port of disembarkation in the Rio de la Plata.

The high percentage of slaves suggests a large slave market, especially considering the absence of an agrarian hinterland. The high number of slaves passing through implies an enduring demand for slaves, and the existence of facilities to manage such a business. Sacramento demography was shaped by a borderland and port situation that allowed the town to be the connection between the Luso-Brazilian slave routes and Spanish-America in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The implications of the existence of such variable population stretch beyond its material and economic aspects. The significant presence of slaves in Colônia's daily life is attested by the existence of a Brotherhood do Rosario and a freed-mestizo militia

battalion in the second half of the eighteenth century.<sup>109</sup> Thus, resident slaves in Sacramento were not only a large portion of the population, but they were also integrated in the social life of the town. The role of Sacramento as a regional slave trade center had an impact on the demography not only of Sacramento, but in the whole Rio de la Plata.

### **The Final Years under Portuguese Rule**

In 1775, rumors about the possible political changes in the Rio de la Plata already were informing Portugal's political strategies. Between 1775 and 1777, the Portuguese diplomacy was increasingly aware of Spain's intentions of creating the new Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. As a result, when Don Pedro de Cevallos attacked Sacramento for the second time, the population was neither able nor prepared to resist. Moreover, Sacramento's governor, Rocha Pitta, had instructions not to fight against the Viceroy troops but instead to abandon the town. This time, the Portuguese could not count with strong British support, because England was busy dealing with the revolution in the thirteen colonies. As a result, in the winter of 1777, the Portuguese population was expelled from Sacramento for the last time.<sup>110</sup>

After almost one century of Portuguese presence in the Rio de la Plata, Sacramento, the colony farthest south in the Portuguese empire in America, passed to Spanish jurisdiction. One year later, the Free Commerce Law would open the ports of

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<sup>109</sup> AHU - Colônia Sacramento – Doc. 86. XII/1722. Jônathas da Costa Rego Monteiro. *A Colônia do Sacramento 1680-1777*. (Porto Alegre: Globo, 1937. T.II).

<sup>110</sup> Luis E. Azarosa Gil. *La Epopeya de Manuel Lobo*. (Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero Americana de Publicaciones. 1931). Pg. 229

Montevideo and Buenos Aires to the Atlantic Market, erasing the need for the role of Sacramento as the link between the region, Europe, and Brazil.

### **The Aftermath of the Conquest**

After the Spanish conquest of Sacramento, Cevallos did not allow any Portuguese still living in the town to retain property. The city walls and many houses were destroyed with grenades, and the population was arrested. Most of the former Sacramento inhabitants were brought to Buenos Aires. Their property was confiscated or subjected to an embargo by the Viceroy.<sup>111</sup>

After the fall of Sacramento, the Portuguese commercial presence in the Rio de la Plata remained significant.<sup>112</sup> Immediately after the conquest, Portuguese authorities reported that about 500 individuals remained in Colônia, however, it is unclear if they resided in the city, if they had been kept as prisoners of war, or if they had sworn loyalty to the King of Spain and relocated to another area.

In 1783, Miguel de Riglos was ordered to take a complete census of the town. According to his census, Colônia was inhabited by two hundred ninety people, one hundred forty-five men and one hundred forty-five women. There were thirty slaves and fifteen *pardos*. Most of these settlers were Spaniards, who had been granted by Spanish authorities the former Portuguese properties in the suburbs of Colônia.<sup>113</sup> In the following

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<sup>111</sup> Pedro Pereira Mesquita. *Relación de la Conquista de la Colonia por Don Pedro de Cevallos*. (Buenos Aires: Municipalidade de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. 1980). p 23-29.

<sup>112</sup> Marcela Tejerina. *Luso-Brasileños en el Buenos Aires Virreinal*. (Bahia Blanca: Ediuns. 2004).

<sup>113</sup> Luis E. Azarosa Gil. *La Epopeya de Manuel Lobo*. (Buenos Aires: Compañía Ibero Americana de Publicaciones. 1931). p 138-141.

decades, the region would develop as center wheat, a crop which was highly commercialized.<sup>114</sup>

### **Conclusions**

The development of the Colônia do Sacramento in the eighteenth century shows a particular example of the population evolution in a town that functioned as both a borderland and a frontier in South America. Analysis of changes in the demography, commerce and agricultural production in Sacramento reflects the evolution of the relation between the Iberian Empires and the other Atlantic powers, especially England.

The development of Sacramento population patterns mirrors changes in commercial, agricultural, and territorial characteristics of the city. The demographic history of Sacramento can be divided into two periods. The first one was characterized by a large and rapid population growth combined with expansion and occupation of the countryside. This period ends with the Great Siege of 1735-1737 and the loss of the agricultural suburbs. As a result, a sharp population decrease was recorded.

The second period began in 1737 and was characterized by steady population growth caused by the development of commerce and the increase of slave trade activities. By the 1760's, Sacramento had regained its population and had been converted into an active commercial entrepot. Slaves came to be one of the main products offered by Sacramento in the Rio de la Plata port complex. In this period, the total population of the town was not always the same as the resident population because the total population could include temporary inhabitants, waiting to be sold in the regional market.

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<sup>114</sup> Jorge Gelman. *Estancieros y Campesinos*. (Buenos Aires: Libros del Riel. 1998). p 42ss

The demographic evolution of Sacramento, especially in the first ten years after its foundation, illuminates Portuguese strategies of colonization. The use of Indians to do public work and the presence of military men, convicts, official settlers, free migrants and slaves demonstrate the Portuguese combined diverse forms of migratory regimes.

By the 1760's, a considerable part of the population was native born, with a sharp distinction between the male and female population. The majority of the women bearing children in the 1760's were natives from Sacramento, and the second largest group, considering place of origin, was women born in Buenos Aires. Among the male population who fathered these children, roughly one out of every three was a native of Sacramento.

By the second half of the eighteenth century, Sacramento had already formed a solid local society and was still attracting immigrants, especially from Portugal, the Atlantic Islands and Africa. By 1760, the population of Sacramento was in its majority composed of slaves. However, a significant part of these slaves were waiting to be sold to traders in Buenos Aires. The number of slaves arriving could reach as high as 150 slaves per year. This influx not only affected population numbers, but also influenced the city's daily life. Moreover, the constant arrival of slaves might have been responsible for epidemics in the town. Although a significant proportion of the slaves residing in Sacramento were sold to Spanish America, slaves were integrated, and they participated in the town's institutional life including religions and defense.

In the second half of the eighteenth century, Sacramento had become the connection between the Brazilian commercial community of Rio de Janeiro and south

Spanish America. Although the population of Colônia was obliterated in 1777, the commercial contacts between the Rio de Janeiro commercial community and the Rio de la Plata would last until the end of the Colonial period and beyond.

### **Chapter 3 - Departing without Leaving – Luso-Brazilians under Spanish Rule in Rio de la Plata (18<sup>th</sup> Century)**

In May 1777, more than ten thousand Spanish troops arrived in the Rio de la Plata, under the leadership of the newly appointed first Viceroy of Rio de la Plata, Don Pedro de Cevallos. Cevallos had two missions upon his arrival in the region: create the new Viceroyalty with its capital in Buenos Aires and conquer the Portuguese town of Colônia do Sacramento. In June of that year, Colônia do Sacramento was under military siege by land and by sea. Although the Portuguese resisted and the British navy supported the Luso-Brazilians, on July third the Portuguese town was conquered. Following the conquest, Cevallos ordered the demolition of fortifications and houses, sending rocks, tiles, and wood to Buenos Aires. More than one thousand Luso-Brazilians were displaced from their homes. While the military men were allowed to return to Portuguese America, 540 people remained in the area.<sup>115</sup> These Portuguese subjects were forcefully relocated to distant areas in the Spanish dominion, such as Cordoba, Tucuman, Buenos Aires, Montevideo, and to the countryside of the Banda Oriental.

Previous to the establishment of Montevideo as an Atlantic port, Colônia do Sacramento had functioned as a complementary port to Buenos Aires, and the elites of both cities had developed enduring networks of trade. Following the conquest of Sacramento, the trans-imperial networks were reorganized. Concomitantly, as part of the reforms implied in the creation of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata, the city of

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<sup>115</sup> AH Itamaraty. Lata 188. Maço 1. It is unclear whether this group of people remained in Colonia or in the adjacent locations.

Montevideo gained status within the Spanish imperial system. Montevideo became the mandatory port of call for all vessels arriving or leaving the Rio de la Plata and the naval base for a newly created standing navy in the region. These measures created a new Atlantic port; thus, giving room for local social groups to enter regional and trans-Atlantic trade. While in Buenos Aires, political and economic groups were already established, in Montevideo there was room for newcomers and new arrangements regarding trans-imperial trade.

In this chapter, I examine the relocation of Portuguese subjects and networks of trade that had existed in Colônia do Sacramento prior to 1777. Based on Portuguese and Spanish documental evidence, I argue that although the Portuguese colonial project in the region had been aborted after the fall of Colônia do Sacramento, a significant contingent of Portuguese subjects remained in the region under Spanish rule. Such an episode reflects the gap between official colonial policies and the social dynamics of colonial subjects. Although the Portuguese state-sponsored enterprise had failed, the social, economic and political networks connecting subjects of both Iberian empires were not dismantled. I suggest that the city of Montevideo and the countryside of Banda Oriental became a focal point for Luso-Brazilian inhabitants. Most importantly, the strong networks of trade with Portuguese America relocated to Montevideo.

In Buenos Aires, since the seventeenth century there was a significant Portuguese contingent, but strong migration from Spain had effectively putted trade in Spanish hands by 1778. While in Buenos Aires Portuguese subjects were subject to state control, in Montevideo and in the Banda Oriental the relationship between Luso-Brazilians and

Spanish-Americans were more fluid. Furthermore, the porous borderland area and the forced migration of Portuguese from Rio Grande to San Carlos in 1764, also contributed to the higher level of integration of Portuguese in the society of Banda Oriental.

The difference between the Luso-Brazilian immigrant community in Montevideo and the one in Buenos Aires was more qualitative than quantitative. After the downfall of Colônia, important sectors of the mercantile and seafaring community of Sacramento, who controlled logistic and social networks with Portuguese America, relocated to Montevideo. By contrast, those moving to Buenos Aires were mainly artisans and manual laborers. Such a difference, I suggest, is due to two factors: first, the newly acquired status of Montevideo as an Atlantic port and the absence of a previously established mercantile and bureaucratic elite. Montevideo's new administrative status allowed not only an easier negotiation between the Luso-Brazilian from Colônia with their networks and local groups, but it also provided crucial human and logistical resources for trans-Atlantic commerce. Second – the large population and market of Buenos Aires suffered from a chronic lack of skilled manual and artisan labor. Such a factor not only attracted Luso-Brazilians from Colônia but also reflected more liberal policies of immigration and easier integration for these groups on the part of the *porteño* authorities.

The task of identifying the Luso-Brazilians in the Banda Oriental is not an easy one because authorities of Montevideo produced few documents to keep track of foreigners. Moreover, the military conquest of Sacramento allowed Portuguese subjects that wanted to stay in the region under Spanish rule to swear loyalty to the king of Spain,

thus they were not considered foreigners. The task of identifying the Portuguese presence in Buenos Aires is much easier. Since 1748, the *porteño* authorities conducted periodical surveys on the foreign population. More specifically, the authorities targeted the Portuguese, and on more than one occasion limited their mobility and residence to restricted areas of the city. On occasion, Buenos Aires authorities expelled many of Luso-Brazilians from the city.

In this chapter, I will first analyze how the authorities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo dealt with the Portuguese before 1777, while Colônia do Sacramento was under Portuguese rule. Subsequently, I briefly examine the Luso-Brazilian settlers in the rural areas of Banda Oriental. In the third section, I examine the nominal lists and censuses produced by Portuguese and Spanish authorities, and compare the urban Portuguese community in Buenos Aires with its counterparts in Montevideo.

### **Luso-Brazilians Living Beyond Imperial Limits before 1777 –Buenos Aires and Montevideo**

#### *The Luso-Brazilians in Buenos Aires before the Viceroyalty*

The rivalry between Portugal and Spain took the form of sporadic armed conflicts in Rio de la Plata after the foundation of Colônia do Sacramento (1680). During most of this period, however, intense and enduring networks of family and trade linked Buenos Aires to Colônia do Sacramento, despite being illegal in the eyes of the Spanish Empire. The existence of these networks never prevented conflict during periods of war between empires. Instead, local elites from Buenos Aires used war to re-negotiate the balance of

power of this informal relationship.<sup>116</sup> The population of Colônia frequently suffered the hardships of military sieges because of commercial and territorial disputes between the local elites of both margins of the Rio de la Plata. In Buenos Aires, many Portuguese subjects living in the city during this period also suffered from restrictive actions and were kept under constant surveillance. It is important to emphasize that although imperial origin was a main category to define the condition of “foreigner,” the controlling laws and decrees affected various sectors of the Portuguese community in Buenos Aires differently.

The Portuguese presence in Buenos Aires had been significant since its second foundation in 1580 until the end of the colonial period (1808). During the whole period, the Portuguese population always represented more than 50% of all foreigners in Buenos Aires.<sup>117</sup>

Indeed, during the first forty years of Buenos Aires existence, the Portuguese mercantile community was crucial to the flow of trade in the region. Benefiting from the proximity to Portuguese America during the Iberian Union (1580-1640), networks of trade and family with the Luso-Brazilians guaranteed the enduring flow of trade

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<sup>116</sup> Fabricio Prado *Colonia do Sacramento – O extremo Sul da America Portuguesa* (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002). Fernando Jumar. *Le commerce Atlanique Au Rio de la Plata*. (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales. 2000. These de Doctorat).

<sup>117</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos “Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)] Emir Reitano. *Los Portugueses del Buenos Aires Tardo Colonial*. (Doctoral Thesis. La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educacion. 2004). p 78. For 1641, Rodrigo Ceballos found 270 (54%) Portuguese in the city out of 500 foreigners. For 1744, Emir Reitano has identified 47 Portuguese (69.1%) among the foreign population. In 1804 the Portuguese living in Buenos Aires were 262 (53%) out of 455 Foreigners.

independently of the Spanish monopolistic system.<sup>118</sup> During this period, the Luso-Brazilian community living in Buenos Aires enjoyed ample access to all societal groups.<sup>119</sup> According to Rodrigo Ceballos, at least 20 percent of the *vecinos* of the city were of Portuguese origin, and they not only enjoyed *vecindad*, but they also had access to the use of indigenous labor controlled by the Royal officials.<sup>120</sup> The Portuguese integration among the elite groups also shaped the political and economic conflicts that emerged in 17<sup>th</sup> century Buenos Aires, acting as a pivotal element in the definition of the political and economic factions of the city, the so-called *benemeritos* and *confederados*.<sup>121</sup>

Periodically during periods of war between Spain and Portugal, Spanish authorities ordered the expulsion of Luso-Brazilians from the city and from Spanish domains. Orders of expulsion were issued and carried out in 1641, 1749, 1763 and 1805. Nevertheless, the Luso-Brazilians who were married to local women, well-connected to both the authorities and Spanish-American merchants, or who were artisans, were

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<sup>118</sup> Alice P. Canabrava *O Comércio Português no Rio da Prata (1580-1640)*. (São Paulo: USP, 1984 [1942]).

<sup>119</sup> Jorge Gelman "Economía Natural y Economía Monetaria: Los Grupos Dirigentes del Buenos Aires a principios del siglo XVII" *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*. (Tomo 44. Sevilla. 1987). Pgs. 1-19. Eduardo Saguier *The Uneven Incorporation of Buenos Aires into the World Trade in the 17th Century*. (PhD Dissertation. Washington University. 1982). Rodrigo Ceballos "Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)].

<sup>120</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos "Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)]. p 6.

<sup>121</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos summarizes the debate on the topic on Rodrigo Ceballos "Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)] p 12. For the full debate on the social dynamics among elite groups in Buenos Aires see: Jorge Gelman "Economía Natural y Economía Monetaria: Los Grupos Dirigentes del Buenos Aires a principios del siglo XVII" *Anuario de Estudios Americanos*. (Tomo 44. Sevilla. 1987). Pgs. 1-19. Eduardo Saguier *The Uneven Incorporation of Buenos Aires into the World Trade in the 17th Century*. (PhD Dissertation. Washington University. 1982).

allowed to stay in the city.<sup>122</sup> As a result, these policies did not result in the expulsion of all Portuguese, but in the control of the Luso-Brazilian population by Spanish authorities. Besides war, another important factor determining the control of Luso-Brazilians in Buenos Aires was their visible participation in the contraband trade, specifically during the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

The most visible Luso-Brazilian groups were artisans and merchants. In the 17<sup>th</sup> and the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the city was a welcoming host to Portuguese artisans. During the 17<sup>th</sup> century, Guaranis from the Jesuit Missions were hired to perform public works.<sup>123</sup> Concomitantly, a large number of Portuguese artisans settled in the region. More than two hundred individuals operating in the Rio de la Plata between 1580 and 1808, most of them resided in Buenos Aires.<sup>124</sup> In 1608, the lack of skilled labor in Buenos Aires caused the Cabildo to ask the Luso-Brazilian authorities in Rio de Janeiro to send blacksmiths and artisans who could repair weapons.<sup>125</sup> In 1641, after the end of the Iberian Union (1580-1640), a Royal Order for the expulsion of the Portuguese subjects from Spanish dominions was issued by the King. In Buenos Aires, governor Cabrera ordered a survey of “suspicious” Portuguese. Nevertheless, the governor himself did not

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<sup>122</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos “Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)] p 6-11. For the 18<sup>th</sup> century see the following *Bandos*: AGN Sala IX 39.7.3. 1749. AGN Sala IX 8.10.16 – 26 I 1763. AGN Sala IX 8.10.2 – 04 X 1762. See also *Documentos para la Historia Argentina* (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofia y Letras de la UBA. 1919. Tomo XII).

<sup>123</sup> Eduardo Neumann *O Trabalho guarani Missioneiro no rio da Prata Colonial 1640-1750* (Porto Alegre: Martins Livreiro. 1996).

<sup>124</sup> Maria José Goulão *La Puerta Falsa de América – Influência Artística Portuguesa no Rio da Prata Colonial*. (PhD Dissertation. Universidade de Coimbra. 2005).

<sup>125</sup> Maria José Goulão *La Puerta Falsa de América – Influência Artística Portuguesa no Rio da Prata Colonial*. (PhD Dissertation. Universidade de Coimbra. 2005). See the example of Antonio Pinho.

expel the Portuguese *oficiais mecanicos* listed because of their “importance for the survival of the city.”<sup>126</sup>

The presence of Luso-Brazilian goldsmiths, silversmiths, blacksmiths, and painters persisted until the end of the colonial period. Defection of artisans from Colônia do Sacramento to Buenos Aires was also a recurrent event. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Portuguese authorities from Colônia constantly complained of blacksmiths, silversmiths, and carpenters leaving the Portuguese town for Buenos Aires.<sup>127</sup> According to the Portuguese authorities, Spanish authorities welcomed artisans and *oficiales mecanicos* from Colônia, providing licenses for them to work or even a salary for them to perform public works. Such treatment was not given to Portuguese traders in Buenos Aires.

The Portuguese merchants in Buenos Aires were also visible, but their visibility was the result of conflicts over their commercial activities, often illegal to the eyes of the Spanish crown. In the 17<sup>th</sup> century, the presence of an active, although formally illegal, commercial transaction involving Luso-Brazilians from Colônia do Sacramento was common. A significant number of petty traders, storekeepers and traders established in Buenos Aires were of Portuguese origin. Although we have not been able to identify the total number of Portuguese involved in commercial activities before 1777, I have identified Portuguese subjects as owners of *pulperias*, street sellers and small traders serving as middle men between Buenos Aires and Colônia.<sup>128</sup> Among the Portuguese

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<sup>126</sup> Rodrigo Ceballos “Uma Buenos Aires Lusitana: A Presença Portuguesa no rio da Prata (Séc. XVII) *Mneme Revista de Humanidades* (Caicó: UFRN. V. 9 No. 24. 2008). p 7 [online version accessed on March, 2009: [http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st\\_suma\\_pg/st11.html](http://www.cerescaico.ufrn.br/mneme/anais/st_suma_pg/st11.html)]p7.

<sup>127</sup> Fabrício Prado *Colônia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa* Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002. Chapter 2.

<sup>128</sup> Case of Juan de Mosqueria, who owned a shop allegedly supplied by contraband trade AGN Sala IX 3.8.2.

charged with being illegal traders, the most noticeable characters in the documents are seafarers, who, according to the Spanish authorities, were *mercanchifles* disguised as sailors and seamen.<sup>129</sup>

In 1744, the Portuguese population accounted for 47 (69.1 %) individuals among the 68 foreigners living in the city. This number does not include the Portuguese who had settled in Buenos Aires in the previous century who had already become *avencidados* and married *hijas del pais*. Nevertheless, in 1749, an order for the expulsion of some of the Portuguese was issued because of the pressure of a faction of the local elites to repress contraband. According to the Governor, the measure was accompanied by reinforcement of the repression of the contraband trade between Colônia and Buenos Aires because of the *escandalo*, *alboroto*, and *inquietitud* that such activities caused among some Cabildo members.<sup>130</sup> I could not find any information about the results of such an order. However, in 1750, the Treaty of Madrid started a period of cooperation between the two Iberian Crowns in the Rio de la Plata; thus, I believe the expulsion of the Portuguese was never carried out.

The control of the Portuguese population by Buenos Aires' authorities reached its apex in the years of 1762 and 1763. During this period, the Governor of the Provinces of Rio de la Plata was Pedro de Cevallos, and he issued a series of *Bandos* which ordered the authorities to record the residence of all Portuguese subjects, forbade them to relocate, imposed curfews, forbade the ownerships of weapons, and restrained their physical mobility within the city. Unmarried Portuguese without a legal occupation were

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<sup>129</sup> The arrival of Portuguese traders provoked “scandals” at the Riachuelo docks. AGN IX 3.8.2. [1745]

<sup>130</sup> AGN Sala IX 3.8.2 09-VII-1749.

considered to be suspicious, and were sent to other regions in the countryside, distant from ports and the Portuguese domains. Moreover, Cevallos' legislation established capital punishment for Spanish subjects caught trading, selling weapons, furnishing food supplies, or harboring Portuguese subjects.<sup>131</sup> This legislation was issued during war between Portugal and Spain; however, its consequences affected populations that were not in the theater of war and lasted beyond the end of hostilities.

Strict control of the Portuguese population in Buenos Aires continued in the following years. In a *Bando* of 1765, Governor Cevallos issued another order to send a number of Portuguese subjects who were still residing in Buenos Aires to the distant city of Cordoba. When many Portuguese failed to leave the city, Cevallos provided ox carts to transport the remaining Luso-Brazilians to Cordoba within four days. The order also provided that if any of the expelled subjects were found in the Buenos Aires, the Portuguese and Spanish subjects involved in harboring or protecting them were to be punished at the Governor's discretion.<sup>132</sup> Such a decree suggests that the expulsion of Portuguese was not entirely effective in the years before, but that there were effective mechanisms of population control since the subjects that remained in the city were identified and subsequently expelled. I was not able to find information regarding the social and civil status of the subjects that were expelled. However, considering the canons of Natural Law and *Derecho de Gentes*, probably the individuals expelled were neither *vecinos* nor married into a local family.

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<sup>131</sup> AGN Sala IX 8.10.2 04-X-1762, AGN Sala IX 8.10.2 03-I-1763, AGN Sala IX 8.10.2 26-I-1763.

<sup>132</sup> AGN Sala IX 8.10.13 22-II-1765.

## **Neighboring Colônia do Sacramento - The Portuguese in Montevideo before 1777**

In the summer of 1723, a Portuguese expedition led by *mestre de campo* Manuel Freitas da Fonseca arrived in the bay of Montevideo and founded a fort in the area. The foundation of this settlement by the Portuguese went against the recommendations of Colônia do Sacramento's governor, who regarded the enterprise as competing for resources with his town, located 150 miles north and re-founded only seven years earlier. In 1726, a military expedition led by the governor of Buenos Aires, Don Bruno Mauricio de Zabala, attacked the Portuguese in Montevideo and conquered the outpost. Zabala then founded the city of San Felipe de Montevideo, displacing the Portuguese control of Montevideo's bay, the best natural port of the Rio de la Plata. Curiously enough, beyond welcoming the refugees, no help was provided by the Portuguese authorities in Sacramento.

Thus, since its beginning, Montevideo was intrinsically connected to the Portuguese presence in the North bank of the Rio de la Plata. If the very foundation of the city was a response to the Portuguese expansion into the Rio de la Plata region, the following decades of Montevideo's development was marked the presence of the Portuguese town of Colônia do Sacramento. Geographical proximity, trade opportunities, need for supplies and the threat of hostile Indians in the countryside were factors that fostered the contacts between the subjects of Spain and Portugal in the region.

Between 1726 and 1730, no laws prohibited contact between the populations of Montevideo and Colônia do Sacramento, but in 1730, an order forbidding Portuguese

subjects to settle in Montevideo was issued in Buenos Aires because of the involvement of the Portuguese Domingo Martinez in the assassination of a Minuane Indian. After the killing, Martinez fled to Colônia do Sacramento in order to avoid punishment.<sup>133</sup> As a result of the incident, the Minuane raided the suburbs of Montevideo. The Bando of 1730, issued by *porteño* authorities, sought to prevent such incidents in the future. Nevertheless, routinely contacts between the inhabitants of both cities were common. During the 1740's, the arrest of a Spanish subject charged with contraband for introducing cattle into Colônia do Sacramento revealed that such interactions were common place during the period. The smuggler alleged that he “did not know” about the unlawfulness of having commercial and social intercourse with the Portuguese of Colônia.<sup>134</sup> The need for contacts and commercial exchanges to obtaining supplies led the Cabildo of Montevideo to allow Spanish subjects in Montevideo to acquire foodstuff and other basic goods in Colônia do Sacramento.<sup>135</sup> This measure created an official route between the two cities, allowing an increase in the flow of goods and people crossing Imperial boundaries. The new route could, of course, be used for legal and illegal exchanges.

The presence of Portuguese subjects residing in Montevideo was also notable. In the magisterial work, *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya*, the Uruguayan historian Alejandro Apoland recorded that, between 1726 and 1753, 27 of the 260 men getting married (10.4%) were Portuguese subjects and residing in Montevideo,. Most of these

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<sup>133</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo I). p 246. AGN Sala IX 2.1.4 27-IX-1730 and 22-XII-1729.

<sup>134</sup> AGN Sala IX 4.3.1. 5 II 1747, 3 XI 1746, 24 X 1746.

<sup>135</sup> AGNU – AGA Caja 2. Exp 15.

Portuguese subjects were marrying Spanish subjects; including official settlers from the Canary Islands.<sup>136</sup> There was only one recorded case in which both groom and bride were Portuguese subjects born in Portuguese America. More important, six Portuguese subjects were married to settlers and received plots of urban land distributed by the Crown (*Solares*).<sup>137</sup> Not only did the Spanish authorities officially acknowledge the Portuguese subjects' presence in town, but these Portuguese were among the elite urban landowners of Montevideo. As such, these early settlers were also granted the status of *pobladores*, ensuring both their political participation and right to privileges regarding land use in the community.

The integration of Portuguese subjects in Montevideo's society was a longstanding social and demographic phenomenon. At least six Portuguese subjects in the first half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century married women from the Canary Islands that came to Montevideo as Crown sponsored settlers.<sup>138</sup> The successful insertion of the Portuguese in Montevidean society can also be attested to by their pattern of property ownership. For example, by 1754, the Portuguese tailor Joseph de Melo owned a number of plots of land in the suburbs of the city and an urban building in which he rented out rooms.<sup>139</sup>

The most revealing episode of the strength of Portuguese social, political and economic networks of the Portuguese in Montevideo during this period occurred during the 1762-1763 war between Portugal and Spain. In 1762, the governor of Buenos Aires,

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<sup>136</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomos I and II). I was able to identify 21 Portuguese subjects married to Spanish women.

<sup>137</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo I). P 97. "Plan de los Solares Originales."

<sup>138</sup> Such as Antonio Cuello, in 1729, married to Maria del Rosario. Other cases, see Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo I). Partidas 3, 5, 12, 15, 24, 32 and 41.

<sup>139</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo II) pg 852. Partida 55.

Don Pedro de Cevallos, issued a *Bando* ordering the expulsion of all Portuguese from the Rio de la Plata. Joaquin Josef de Viana, the governor of the city of Montevideo, however, canceled the order, refusing to expel the Portuguese because they were “useful and active in the defense of the city,” and contributed to the war effort during the war with their private resources.<sup>140</sup> The governor was not alone in defending the Portuguese. The Cabildo of Montevideo and the six Portuguese *benemeritos pobladores* of the city also approved the petition to cancel the expulsion order.<sup>141</sup> Although the resolution did not include single non-resident Portuguese, no Portuguese were actually expelled from the city.<sup>142</sup>

The failure to expel the Portuguese in 1763 is symptomatic of the high level of integration of Portuguese subjects into Montevideo’s elites. Governor Viana defied his immediate authority in order to defend the Portuguese, and the Cabildo supported his decision. These two actions demonstrate the importance of the Portuguese in the city permeated the whole local political body.

It should be noted that, the refusal of governor Viana to expel the Portuguese had a political cost. In confronting the governor of Buenos Aires, Pedro de Cevallos, Viana gained a powerful enemy. In 1766, governor Cevallos wrote a series of letters to Don Julian de Arriaga, a minister of the Council of the Indies, denouncing Viana’s insubordination and involvement with the Portuguese. According to Cevallos, Viana was

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<sup>140</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.2.3 25-2-1763.

<sup>141</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.2.3 25-2-1763. Also Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo I, p 535-540.

<sup>142</sup> Alejandro Apoland was able to identify only one Luso-Brazilian that had relocated, even though this individual had re-appeared in the city later in the 1760’s. Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo 1975 Tomo I). p 535-540.

“*un hombre de los mas perniciosos que jamas han venido a la America,*” because he not only refused to obey orders, he also incited officials and other subjects in Montevideo against his authority.<sup>143</sup> The acts of disobedience consisted mainly in refusing to participate in the military campaign against Colônia do Sacramento and Rio Grande do Sul and the refusal to expel the Portuguese from Montevideo. The rivalry between the governor of Buenos Aires and the one of Montevideo was also expressed in the dispute over who would conduct the *residencia* of Viana’s term as governor of Montevideo, which had ended in 1764. The governor of Buenos Aires pushed to have Don Joseph de Villanueva Pico, one of his political allies, as the appointed judge. However, the appointment went to Don Manuel de Achucarro, who, according to Cevallos, was “a relative” of Viana, and “vecino de Montevideo.”<sup>144</sup> In an effort to discredit Viana by arguing that he was controlled by the Portuguese, Cevallos and his allies also used the fact that Viana’s sister was married to the Portuguese Manuel José Melo Pereira. In addition, Viana himself was married to Dona Maria Alzaybar, the sister of Francisco de Alzaybar, the first *latifundia* owner on the North Bank and a powerful merchant who was involved in a big scheme of contraband trade involving the ports of Colônia do Sacramento and Montevideo in the 1730’s and 1740’s.<sup>145</sup> Interestingly, Francisco de Villanueva Pico, Cevallos ally, had also been involved in a Buenos Aires company that traded illegally with Colônia in the 1740’s. Nonetheless, Villanueva Pico, also wrote

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<sup>143</sup> AGNU – Colección Falcao Espalter. Pg. 82 20-II-1766

<sup>144</sup> AGNU - Colección Falcao Espalter. Pg. 81-82 20-II-1766

<sup>145</sup> AGN Sala IX 24.7.8. The King had declared “perpetual silence” on such matter.

letters denouncing Viana and his allies for facilitating communications and the flow of cattle and goods between Colônia do Sacramento and Montevideo.<sup>146</sup>

While it is clear that both Montevideo and Buenos Aires had commercial ties to Colônia, the rivalry that divided political and mercantile factions in Buenos Aires and Montevideo was centered on the nature of relationships with the Portuguese. Viana and his partners in Montevideo were accused of being more lenient and permissive with their Luso-Brazilian neighbors in Montevideo and having constant social and trade interactions with the settlers of Colônia do Sacramento. Such charges were followed by denouncements of contraband involving Montevidean inhabitants and authorities. Buenos Aires authorities, on the other hand, presented themselves as guardians of the crown's interests in repressing contraband in the region, and that was supposed to result in a more strict policy towards the Portuguese in Buenos Aires as well as against Colônia do Sacramento. Nevertheless, the active involvement of Joseph de Villanueva Pico in these episodes suggests that rather than extirpating contraband, what was below the surface in such a factional conflict was who would control the contraband networks and the terms involved in such deals. While the Buenos Aires elites used the military campaigns of Cevallos against the Portuguese to obtain more advantageous terms in the commerce with Sacramento, they also tried to minimize the participation of the elites of Montevideo.

In being more permissive and open to the presence of Portuguese settlers, Montevideans progressively strengthened their social and commercial networks with Luso-Brazilians. If Montevideo lacked the powerful commercial community of Buenos Aires, the city was a safer environment for Luso-Brazilians in many respects.

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<sup>146</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975. Tomo II). Pg. 935, 967.

Montevideo's permissive policies were expressed in the existence of a group of Portuguese *benemeritos* in the city, the lack of control over the mobility of the Portuguese population, the canceling of expulsion orders issued by Buenos Aires authorities, the refusal by the governor and the Cabildo of the city to engage in military campaigns against Colônia, and by active familial and trade networks that crossed imperial limits.

In 1777, however, Cevallos returned to the Rio de la Plata as its first Viceroy and leader of an expedition of 10,000 troops. No regional support was needed or capable of interfering with his intent to overtake and destroy the Portuguese town of Colônia. As we have seen, by June, the Portuguese population was expelled from Sacramento, and its urban structure was obliterated.

### **Warfare and Relocation in the Countryside of Banda Oriental**

The Luso-Brazilian presence in the countryside of the Banda Oriental is hard to identify; nevertheless, at least for two regions, there is evidence of a significant demographic presence and social insertion in the local communities. The region of San Carlos de Maldonado received more than one hundred families of Luso-Brazilians after the coerced migration following the Spanish invasion of Rio Grande in 1764. The region of Soriano and Nueva Mercedes, areas close to Colônia do Sacramento, also had an important number of farmers and rural workers of Portuguese origin. In both cases,

warfare seemed to have been an important reason for relocating in Spanish dominions, but their social, economic, and political insertion went way beyond periods of war.

In 1763, Governor Cevallos, launched an expedition to invade and conquer all Portuguese territories east of the old line of the Tordesillas Treaty. With the nullification of the Madrid Treaty, which had replaced the Portuguese and Spanish diplomatic conventions regarding the imperial limits in America, the Spanish Crown reinvoked the 1594 Treaty. In December 1763, the governor invaded Colônia do Sacramento; in the first months of 1764, the Portuguese forts of Sta. Tereza, San Miguel and the town of Rio Grande came under Spanish possession. The military campaign resulted on a seaborne invasion of the Island of Santa Catarina. The campaign had a serious demographic impact among the Luso-Brazilians in Sacramento but even more so among the Portuguese settlers of Rio Grande.

The military invasion of Colônia do Sacramento did not produced an exodus of the population, and by December of 1764, the town was returned to the Portuguese crown. Rio Grande, however, stayed under Spanish rule for 12 years. The military siege imposed on Colônia do Sacramento probably provoked the flight of part of the town's inhabitants to safer neighboring areas. But considering the lack of serious military engagement during this invasion, and due to the lack of any official reports on the relocation of the population, I believe that the emigrant contingent from Colônia was not significant. On the other hand, after the conquest of Rio Grande, Cevallos removed 173 Azorean immigrant families to Spanish dominions. The *casais* from Azores were state-

sponsored immigrants brought to America by the Portuguese Crown to populate the borderland areas.

The coerced migrants from Rio Grande were accommodated in the town of San Carlos, a few miles away from the Spanish settlement of Maldonado. Because of the protocol pertaining the conquest of a territory, Portuguese subjects were legally required to swear loyalty to the King of Spain, thus enjoying legal rights and privileges otherwise granted only for Spaniards. I was not able to find a list of the settlers originally relocated by Cevallos; however, the Brazilian historian Moacyr Domingues had reconstructed the genealogy of the families that settled in San Carlos using data available from church records.<sup>147</sup> Although there are many gaps in the family reconstitution presented by Domingues, his detailed work provides useful information about the Portuguese families in San Carlos.

According to Domingues, 173 families were relocated to Maldonado, and many of these settlers married into Spanish-American families. I was able to find at least 52 Portuguese settlers or their children of Portuguese who married women of Spanish descent. Because of the nature of the data used to build such a genealogy, we cannot calculate neither the total number of Portuguese settlers who relocated, nor the average size of the household. Studies on Azorian *casais* for Colônia do Sacramento and Rio Grande for previous years suggest an average family size ranging from 3.2 to 3.8 inhabitants per household, respectively.<sup>148</sup> If we assume the average size of the Azorian

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<sup>147</sup> Moacyr Domingues, *Portugueses No Uruguai : São Carlos De Maldonado, 1764*, 1a. ed. (Porto Alegre: Edições EST, 1994).

<sup>148</sup> Fabricio Prado *Colônia do Sacramento – O Extremo Sul da América Portuguesa* (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002). Pgs. 96-102.

immigrant's household to be similar to the one recorded for Rio Grande and Colônia in previous decades, the total number of Portuguese settlers in San Carlos would be somewhere between 553 and 657 people. Domingues' genealogy not only shows the high number of colonists and their children who married local women, but it also reveals that many of these families' descendants continued to live in Spanish domains in the following decades.

In the northeastern portion of the Banda Oriental, a region close to Colônia do Sacramento, the Luso-Brazilian presence was also significant. Because of intermittent desertion of people from Colônia and sporadic military conflicts the rural regions of Soriano and Mercedes received many immigrants. Gelman identified 22 Portuguese living in the area of Soriano in 1771, out of an estimated total of 133 inhabitants in the region.<sup>149</sup> These Portuguese subjects represented all social strata, from elites who owned property and more than 2,000 cattle, to medium-sized property owners, to petty traders (*pulperos*), and rural wage laborers (*peones conchavados*). Jorge Gelman emphasizes the role of the Portuguese settlers as wheat producers not only in the countryside of Colônia, but also in Soriano. Gelman considers the fall of Colônia to be a turning point for wheat production in the region. According to the Argentine historian, the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia led to an agrarian expansion in the region.<sup>150</sup>

Gelman shows that after 1777, ascendant social mobility was a viable option in the region, and the Portuguese inhabitants also climbed the social ladder. According to the author, social mobility was intimately connected with building a family and starting agrarian production. Among the 22 Portuguese mentioned above, 14 were married and

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<sup>149</sup> Jorge Gelman. *Estancieros y Campesinos*. (Buenos Aires: Libros del Riel. 1998). pp 285-287

<sup>150</sup> Jorge Gelman. *Estancieros y Campesinos*. (Buenos Aires: Libros del Riel. 1998). Pgs. 42-43

two were widows. Seven individuals owned farms, and only four did not own cattle. The wealthiest was Francisco Magallanes, owner of rural properties and more than 2000 cattle. A member of local elite, Magallanes was living in the *pueblo* of Santo Domingo Soriano. Land and property ownership show that Luso-Brazilians were integrated into the social and economic patterns of the general population. There are no signs of extra control or coercive policies directed towards the Portuguese.

The Uruguayan historian Ana Frega, in analyzing the same region in the decade of the 1810's, suggests that origin was not a determinant factor for social integration and political participation. In analyzing the local political dynamics of the Region of Soriano and Mercedes during the Artigas' Revolution, Frega identified 20 heads of household of Luso-Brazilian origin between the years 1793 and 1810.<sup>151</sup> According to the author, they were all married into local families. Furthermore, these individuals had political and social connections with local factions that did not support the Luso-Brazilian interventions in the region in 1811 and 1816. According to Frega's reports, Portuguese authorities complained about the large number of Luso-Brazilians that sided with the "enemies" instead of supporting the Luso-imperial cause.

The Luso-Brazilian presence in the countryside of Banda Oriental grew during the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. Based on the available studies of rural populations and immigration data, it appears that Luso-Brazilians in the countryside of Banda Oriental were socially and politically integrated within the Spanish-American population. Such an impression is reinforced by the high levels of marriages between Luso-Brazilian and

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<sup>151</sup> Ana Frega *Pueblos y Soberania en la Revolucion Artiguista* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental, 2007). p 359

Spanish-Americans and by the patterns of production. In addition, there are no mentions of coercive or controlling policies targeting the Luso-Brazilians in the countryside.

### **The Portuguese in Rio de la Plata under the Viceroyalty**

On July 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1777, Don Pedro de Cevallos took control of Sacramento, ending 97 years of official Portuguese presence in the Rio de la Plata. At first, Cevallos took 500 as prisoners, while allowing another 500 officials and soldiers to embark back to Portuguese domains. The fortune of other inhabitants is not clear. Nevertheless, all inhabitants of Colônia do Sacramento had the right to stay in Spanish dominions and enjoy the benefits and legal rights of Spanish subjects once they swore loyalty to the king of Spain. At least 540 people that remained in Colônia after the conquest of the town by the Spaniards, while hundreds of Portuguese subjects were forcefully sent to distant areas in the Viceroyalty of La Plata, such as Cordoba and Tucuman, and to the frontier areas of Magdalena and Lujan. Thus, in the years following the fall of Sacramento, many people of Portuguese origin remained in Rio de la Plata: some in the cities of Buenos Aires and Montevideo, some in the countryside of the Banda Oriental. The sources indicate that throughout the years, the Luso-Brazilian population was integrated in family, trade and social networks, which made many of them disappear from the records as Portuguese, specifically in Montevideo and in the Banda Oriental. Such a trend indicates a high level of assimilation in the local society.

According to the Jesuit priest Antonio de Mesquita, Cevallos did not spare the

elderly nor women and children. Reporting from Buenos Aires, Mesquita provides a vivid image of the burdens faced by the Luso-Brazilians:

It is almost unbelievable that such things were done by a Catholic nation, which does not resemble barbarians, but I suggest two main causes, one general and the other specific. The first one is that around here, all Castilians think that Portuguese are specie (non-human), and the second reason is that the King's lieutenant thought of doing what could be a more profitable deal for him.<sup>152</sup>

These accounts, however, cannot be taken at face value. Although the commercial interests involved in the dislodgement of the Portuguese were evident, not all the Portuguese were treated in the same way. Moreover, remote locations were not the final destination for all the Portuguese subjects that remained in the region. Important merchants and seafarers from Colônia do Sacramento were found in the city of Montevideo in the following years. The most visible of these was Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo and his wife Dona. Ana Joaquina, a ship pilot who switched allegiances before the attack on Colônia, and participated actively in the Spanish conquest. Cipriano de Melo was not the only one to move to Montevideo. By 1785, well-known merchants of Colônia such as Manuel da Cunha Neves, Mamede João, Nicolao Vieira, Faustino and Antonio Dantas and ship captains Gonçalves Cação (Cazón), Leonardo Perdigão and Manoel José da Silva, were recorded as being active in the port of Montevideo.<sup>153</sup> For these agents involved in the trans-Imperial trade, Montevideo represented a safe haven where the newly acquired status of an official Atlantic port, the absence of a large established bureaucracy, and most importantly, the existence of an incipient mercantile

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<sup>152</sup> Pedro Pereira Mesquita. *Relación de la Conquista de la Colonia por Don Pedro de Cevallos*. (Buenos Aires: Municipalidade de la Ciudad de Buenos Aires. 1980). p 30

<sup>153</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno333 - 13[I] 1798, AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno333 s-f 1785.

elite with strong ties to Luso-Brazilians from Sacramento, represented distinct advantages.

The fall of Colônia do Sacramento demonstrates that the end of an official colonial presence of an imperial state does not necessarily produce the end of social, economic and political networks. The permanence of Portuguese subjects in the region and their subsequent integration in the local society shows that networks of interaction were not dependent upon the state, and exposes the difference between imperial politics and the interests and social dynamics of their subjects.

After 1777, Montevideo was the main port for arriving Portuguese vessels. It also emerged as the hub for official communications between the Portuguese and Spanish Americas. In 1779, although the Portuguese representative in charge of negotiating the restitution of property and the return of the Portuguese subjects from Colônia resided in Buenos Aires, it was in Montevideo that Luso-Brazilians returning to Portuguese America gathered. That year, 79 Portuguese subjects were awaiting the departure of the *Corveta São Bento* to return to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>154</sup>

The participation of Luso-Brazilians in trade and politics during the last two decades was crucial to the growth of Montevideo's commercial and political importance. Unlike Buenos Aires, Montevideo never enforced extensive policies to expel Luso-Brazilians and never engaged in direct war against Colônia do Sacramento, nor did it

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<sup>154</sup> AGNU AGA Caja 92 – 24 III 1779

house Luso-Brazilian prisoners of war. However, the census taken during this period does not provide reliable information about the foreign population in the city.<sup>155</sup>

The War of the Oranges, a brief war between Spain and Portugal in 1801 reveals the opportunity for integration Luso-Brazilians in Montevideo and the areas under its jurisdiction. Locally, the Portuguese invaded and conquered the Siete Pueblos Missions by the Portuguese. The Spanish reaction in the region came from Buenos Aires. The *porteño* authorities not only sent troops to the Siete Peublos, they also quickly enacted legislation to control, disarm and expel the Luso-Brazilian population from Buenos Aires. All Portuguese subjects who were not married and residing in the city for at least 10 years were forbidden to remain within 50 miles of the city; they were also forbidden from crossing to the North Bank of the River Plate.<sup>156</sup>

The authorities in Montevideo reacted differently. Instead of imposing restrictive laws on mobility or expelling Luso-Brazilians from the city, Montevidean authorities offered all Portuguese subjects the option of swearing loyalty to the King of Spain. In 1801, a total of 129 foreigners took the opportunity to become Spanish subjects, 98 Portuguese, 30 French, and one Spaniard.<sup>157</sup> Although the opportunity was given to all foreigners, the prevalence of Luso-Brazilians suggests that they were the target population of such a legal procedure. Moreover, the registry containing the nationalizations was identified simply as “Fidelidad de los Portugueses,” and does not mention other foreign groups, even though the French represented one quarter of the entries.

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<sup>155</sup> I will analyse in detail the trans-imperial trade and the control over trans-imperial networks for political purposes in chapters 3 and 4 of this study.

<sup>156</sup> AGN Sala IX 8.10.8 - 11 Dez 1801.

<sup>157</sup> AGNU – AGA – Libro 44 – Fidelidad de los Portugueses, 1801

Among the 98 Portuguese taking the oath of loyalty to Spain, 48 (37.3%) were from Portuguese America, 28 (22.8%) from Portugal, 15 (11.6%) from the Atlantic Islands, and one from Angola. Among the Luso-Brazilians, the prevalence of people born in Rio de Janeiro (16) and Colônia do Sacramento (12), urban centers that had historically strong social and commercial networks with Montevideo, is noteworthy. Bahia and other cities in the neighboring region of Rio Grande recorded three subjects each, São Paulo two. The remaining subjects were listed under the generic term “Portuguese America” as their place of origin. Thus, geographic proximity was not the most important factor defining the pattern of immigration. Furthermore, the relatively low number of Luso-Brazilians from the neighboring Capitancy of Rio Grande de São Pedro also shows that overland immigration from the State of Brazil was not significant.

Of the Luso-Brazilians swearing loyalty to the King of Spain the majority (58 people) were residents of Montevideo and its surroundings. Fifty four lived in the city itself, while two lived in the *extra-muros* of Montevideo, and two lived in the nearby *Campaña*. Of the residents of Montevideo, 13 were also *vecinos*, which indicates their belonging to the political elite of the city with full political rights. The four residents of the suburbs of Montevideo were also *vecinos*, which again suggests their insertion in the community. It is noteworthy that *vecindad* was an index of belonging to the political elite even for Spanish subjects. By contrast of the 30 French swearing loyalty, only 6 were recorded as living in Montevideo, and only 3 were reported as *vecinos*. This data suggests a high level of political integration of the Luso-Brazilian community in Montevidean society. The high number of Luso-Brazilians residing in Montevideo also speaks to the urban concentration of such a community.

The general urban character of the Luso-Brazilian group is confirmed by occupational data in the register. 64.5% (49) of them exercised an urban activity, and remaining 35.5% (27) worked in agrarian activities. Among the urban-based group the vast majority was artisans (50% of the total), merchants (10.5%) and seafarers (3%). There was one musician. The large presence of artisans can be explained by the need of manually skilled labor in the urban environment, and most importantly, for the demand of the naval industry of Montevideo. The relatively small number of traders and seafarers is noteworthy. A possible explanation might be that some some merchants had migrated from Colônia do Sacramento 33 years earlier and had already sworn loyalty to the king of Spain. Transient seafarers probably saw little need to become Spanish subjects.

The agrarian workers presented the higher number of married individuals, 14 out of 16 for whom we have information. For the artisan group we have information for 18 people, who evenly divide between married and singles.

It is striking that 92.5% of the Luso-Brazilians in the process of becoming subjects of Spain were already enrolled in militia battalions. Moreover, 98.2% of them had a militia captain serving as supporting witnesses to loyalty. Among these supporters, the appearance of men like Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo – a Portuguese who had already been fully integrated into Montevidean society, and Don Manuel Diago, Don Francisco Antonio Maciel, and Don Melchor de Viana, merchants with strong connection with Portuguese America, is noteworthy.

The age analysis of the group reveals that the Luso-Brazilians seeking to become Spanish subjects in Montevideo and its jurisdictions were not young immigrants. The mean age of the group was 38.6 years, and the median 39. Almost half (48.9) of the

Luso-Brazilians were 40-years-old and older, 20.5% were between 30 and 40; and 29.7% were under 30. This pattern suggests that many were long time inhabitants of the region, thus, reinforces the perception of relatively easy integration of Luso-Brazilians into the Montevidean community.

The war of 1801 had provoked the integration of almost one hundred Portuguese into the society of Montevideo and its hinterland. In Buenos Aires the same episode produced displacement and increased the authorities' control over the Luso-Brazilian population. In 1804, because of the continued European tension, a census of foreigners was taken in Buenos Aires, and subsequently, the expulsion of selected individuals was ordered in 1805. At the same time, no action was taken in Montevideo. In fact, the first census of foreigners in Montevideo was undertaken by British authorities during the British invasion of 1807. Such a fact is symptomatic of the Montevidean authorities' lack of concern for the foreign population in the city. Their behavior contrasted greatly with the conduct of Buenos Aires' authorities. Nonetheless, the existence of these two censuses of foreigners taken in a relatively short time span in both cities permits a comparison between the foreign population of Buenos Aires and Montevideo and more specifically, the Luso-Brazilian population in both cities.

The 1804 census of foreigners of Buenos Aires is the most complete survey on foreign subjects living in an urban environment in the Rio de la Plata.<sup>158</sup> The *porteño* authorities collected information on the origin, occupation, residence and civil status of residents, their property, capital, slaves, family information, and in some cases even monthly salary. The level of completeness varied depending on the census taker.

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<sup>158</sup> AGNU – AGA – Libro 44 – Fidelidad de los Portugueses, 1801.

However, considering that the information gather was far more detailed than any general censuses, it is clear that the census was intended to enable control over the foreign population.

In 1804, there were 481 foreigners residing in Buenos Aires or approximately 1.05% of the city's population.<sup>159</sup> The Luso-Brazilians among this group comprised 51.9%, or 0.46% of the total population of the city. Following the Portuguese subjects, there were 76 Genoese (11.3%), 73 French (10.9), 70 inhabitants from other Italian regions (10.2%), 26 Americans (3.9%), 19 British (2.8%) and 9 Irish (1.3%). All other places of origin accounted for less than 1% and included places as diverse as "Esclavonia," Iceland and Sweden.<sup>160</sup>

In 1806, a British naval expedition attacked the Spanish possessions in Rio de la Plata. In 1806, after a quick initial victory, the British were expelled by militias from Buenos Aires and Montevideo. In the following year, a new offensive was launched. British troops occupied Buenos Aires and Montevideo for several months, and, after their defeat in Buenos Aires, they stayed in Montevideo for almost four months regrouping and selling their merchandise before leaving the region.<sup>161</sup> During their occupation, the British governor of the city ordered a survey of all foreigners living in Montevideo.<sup>162</sup>

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<sup>159</sup> This data was extensively analyzed by Marcela Tejerina *Luso-Brasileños and la Plaza Mercantil de Buenos Ayres Virreynal*. (Bahia Blanca:Ed Univ Bahia Blanca. 2004); and By Emir Reitano *Portugueses en Buenos Ayres Virreynal*. (Universidad de La Plata. La Plata. 2002. PhD Dissertation). The numbers presented here are similar to the ones found by Marcela Tejerina, and they are slightly higher than the ones presented by Reitano, including 20 more foreigners.

<sup>160</sup> I am using the figure of 45.000 inhabitants for Buenos Aires, estimated for 1810 by Susan Socolow and Lyman Johnson "Poblacion y espacio en el Buenos Aires del siglo XVIII." *Desarrollo Economico*. (V. 20. N. 19. 1980).

<sup>161</sup> *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofia y Letras UBA. 1919. Tomo XII). Padrón 1778.

<sup>162</sup> For the sale of British products in Montevideo after the invasion, and the profit of Montevidean merchants: Anonymous. Translation: José da Silva Lisboa - RAZÕES DOS LAVRADORES DO VICE-REINADO DE BUENONS AYRES PARA A FRANQUEZA DO COMÉRCIO COM OS INGLEZES CONTRA A REPRESENTAÇÃO DE ALGUNS COMERCIANTES E RESOLUÇÃO DO GOVERNO

The census of foreigners registered 165 foreigners, comprising 1.45% of the estimated population of Montevideo.<sup>163</sup> Of the foreigners for whom origin data is available (157), 53.5% were Portuguese subjects, 18.5% were of Italian origin, 10.8% were from Genoa, 14% were from France and 3.2% were from Britain.

Montevideo, although counting a much smaller population than Buenos Aires, had a higher ratio of foreigners to Spanish subjects. In Montevideo as well as in Buenos Aires, the Luso-Brazilians made up more than half of the foreigners present in the city. It should be mentioned that the Montevideo census did not count the Luso-Brazilians who were previously listed as swearing loyalty to the king of Spain in 1801.<sup>164</sup> Thus, the Luso-Brazilians listed in the census recent arrivals, possibly not fully integrated into the Montevidean society. Moreover, the absence of the 1801 Portuguese in the 1807 census implies that the actual figures of people of Luso-Brazilian origin residing in Montevideo could have been at least twice as large as the 1807 census suggests. As a result, even though the percentage of Luso-Brazilians listed in 1807 is similar to the percentage of Luso-Brazilians in Buenos Aires in 1804, their actual demographic and social presence was probably much higher.

In Buenos Aires, the occupations listed for Luso-reflect the same pattern as the entire foreign population. Among the Luso-Brazilians, 44% (91) were artisans while artisans were 47.9% of the general foreign population in the city. 22.7% (47) of the Portuguese subjects were involved in commercial activity, slightly more than the 21.3%

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COM O APPENDICE DE OBSERVAÇÕES E EXAME DOS EFEITOS DO NOVO REGULAMENTO NO INTERESSES COMERCIAIS DO BRAZIL. (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Régia.1810). JCB C810, R278d

<sup>163</sup> AGNU – AGA Caja 20.1807. Padron de Estranjeros

<sup>164</sup> I am using the data available for 1810, of 10.500 inhabitants for Montevideo, by Andres Lamas. This data presents the same type of bias than the one for Buenos Aires.

in the general foreign population. 14.9% (31) Luso-Brazilians were listed as seafarers (versus 11.5% for the general foreign population) and 11.6% (24) as rural workers. Thus, although there was a prevalence of artisans among the Luso-Brazilian community, there was also high concentration of traders and seafarers, reflecting both the significance of the city's constant need for manually skilled labor and commercial networks within Portuguese America.

In Montevideo, among the Portuguese subjects listed in 1807 in Montevideo, the occupational distribution shows a higher concentration of enduring urban professionals. Here, the Luso-Brazilians artisans comprised the larger group with 46.25% (37), while in the general foreign population the artisans represented 45.5%. The Portuguese subjects involved in trade activities reached 35% (28) in only 29.7% of the general foreign population was in this group. Among the foreigners, only 7.3% (12) were seafarers, and the Luso-Brazilians represented roughly 50% (6) of them. Lastly, 3 foreigners were listed as agrarian workers, of which two were Portuguese subjects and one was Genoese.

The occupational distribution in Montevideo was more concentrated than in Buenos Aires, and there was a higher participation of Luso-Brazilians in commercial activities. This difference was not only a quantitative but also a qualitative one. Among the 28 Portuguese subjects who had business established in Montevideo, there were 15 merchants (*comerciantes*), 7 traders (*negociantes*), 4 *pulperos* and one *mercader*. For Buenos Aires, the occupational distribution of the Luso-Brazilians in commerce was 10 merchants, two "comerciante en negros," one "comerciante de Porto Alegre, one *comerciante de Bahia*, and [one] *comerciante de Angola*," which suggests that these 3

individuals were not permanent residents in the city. There were also other 7 traders (*tratantes*), two retailers, and 8 *pulperos* (general store owner).<sup>165</sup>

The data on the occupational distribution of the Luso-Brazilians involved in commercial activities in Montevideo and in Buenos Aires shows that in Montevideo the percentage of Luso-Brazilians active in the field was relatively larger. The number of Portuguese subjects of high status within the merchant community (*comerciantes*) was higher in Montevideo in both relative and in absolute terms. The number of *negociantes* was also higher. The number of *tratantes* was, however, significant in Buenos Aires, while this category did not appear within the Luso-Brazilian community in Montevideo.

This information suggests that Montevideo's market was more open for foreigners, specifically Luso-Brazilians. The absence of an old, consolidated merchant elite formed previously to the creation of the Viceroyalty might be one explanation for the differences between the Luso Brazilians in Montevideo and Buenos Aires. The existence of networks of trade, family and friendship linking the elites of Montevideo to Colônia do Sacramento and to Portuguese America was also a crucial factor. In Montevideo, there was a significant number of important merchants and authorities with strong Portuguese connections, such as the iconic character of Don Cipriano de Melo, the *Segundo Comandante del Reguardo*.

The role of Montevideo as a friendlier environment than Buenos Aires is also reflected in the 1805 procedures to expel a significant number of foreigners from Buenos Aires. It is important to emphasize that this was the second expulsion of Portuguese from Buenos Aires in less than 4 years. Of the 129 individuals forced to leave the city, 55.03%

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<sup>165</sup> *Documentos para la Historia Argentina*. (Buenos Aires: Facultad de Filosofía y Letras UBA. 1919. Tomo XII). Padrón 1778

(71) were Luso-Brazilians. The other groups that were principally targeted were Americans (16), Genoese (14), British (9), French (9), Italian (6), Irish men (2), one Sweden, one native of Bremen, and one British Asian. Among the Luso-Brazilians, 55 individuals expelled were from Portugal and the Atlantic Islands, 8 from Rio de Janeiro, 2 from Minas Geraes, 2 from Rio Grande, and one from São Paulo, Santa Catarina, Luanda and Bahia respectively.

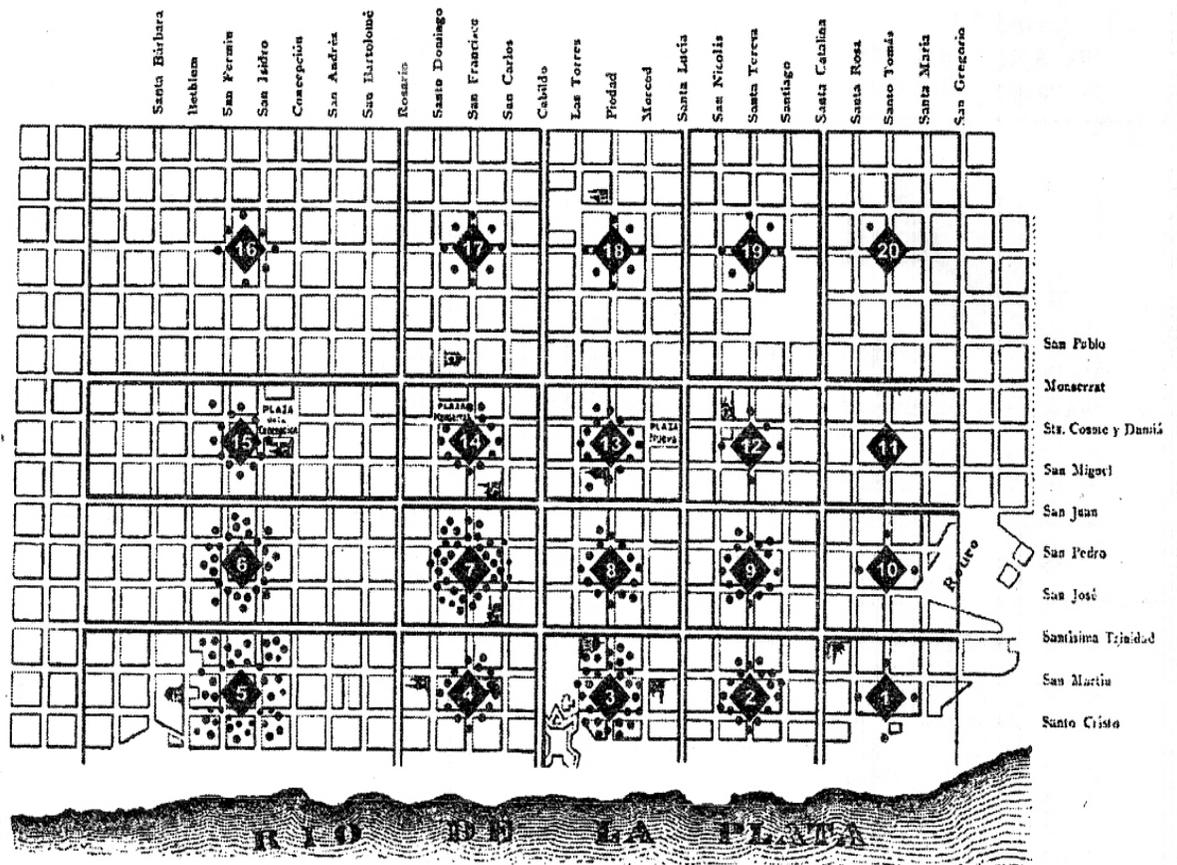
The absence of people from Colônia do Sacramento on this list is noteworthy. On one hand, it suggests a higher level of integration in the local society due to their right to live in Spanish possessions acquired as a result of the military conquest of Colônia. On the other hand, two individuals originally from Colônia refused to surrender information on their properties arguing that they should not be considered foreigners. Since they were from Colônia do Sacramento and had sworn loyalty to the King of Spain, they enjoyed the same status and legal rights as all subjects from Spanish domains. Such an episode shows not all people from Colônia were not fully integrated into the *porteño* society. These two men were considered foreigners by authorities and neighbors even after more than 25 years of residence in Spanish dominions and having abandoned their loyalties to the Portuguese Crown.

The occupational distribution of Portuguese subjects expelled shows the vast prevalence of individuals involved in commercial activities (34), followed by 9 seafarers and 9 artisans and only 3 rural workers. Such data suggests that Luso-Brazilians working in commerce had weaker ties to the authorities.

The procedure to expel the Portuguese from Buenos Aires also reveals the role of Montevideo as a safe haven for foreigners in general and for Luso-Brazilians in

particular. The same law that expelled the Portuguese from Buenos Aires also prohibited them from moving across the river to Montevideo. Nevertheless, at least 4 Portuguese were already in Montevideo by the time authorities tried to reach them. Other Luso-Brazilians had also fled Buenos Aires.

Both the Buenos Aires and Montevideo censuses of foreigners provide information on the location of residence the recorded subjects. Marcela Tejerina has shown that the Portuguese population of Buenos Aires in 1804 lived concentrated around four different blocks in the city. Tejerina points out that Portuguese subjects lived in clusters in Buenos Aires, and argues that this pattern reflected some level of prejudice against these individuals within the *porteño* society.



Map 3.1 – Distribution of Portuguese living in Buenos Aires, 1807. Map created by Marcela Tejerina, 2004.

The pattern of residence of the Portuguese in Buenos Aires was concentrated around 5 quarters (2,3,5,6 and 7). Such a pattern implied that their neighborhood networks tended to stay encapsulated within their community of origin. The existence of clusters of immigrants also may have created an image of a collective identity identified with the locale of residence. Finally, the distribution of the Luso-Brazilians into pockets within the city shows a tendency for endogamy regarding informal social relations, and

this implies their absence in the community life of extensive parts of the city.

Using the information of the British census of foreigners of 1807, I mapped the approximate distribution of foreigners in Montevideo. The map below shows the location of residences of the Luso-Brazilian population in Montevideo in 1807.



Map 3.2 – Location of Luso-Brazilians in Montevideo 1807.

The Luso-Brazilian population living in Montevideo did not form pockets or clusters in specific blocks of the city. Although some occupational concentration in certain areas is noticeable, Portuguese subjects were present in virtually all sectors of the city, with the exception of the Northwestern corner of the city, near the Navy fort and

headquarters. This was a relatively newly occupied zone of the city.

In Montevideo, the overall distribution of the Luso-Brazilian population shows that the Portuguese subjects were spread throughout the city. Such a pattern implies that in almost every block there was a Luso-Brazilian inhabitant, making the inhabitants of such an origin visible in community life, but also allowing them to blend in with the rest of the population. The lack of clusters of Portuguese subjects also suggests that there was no formal or informal control regarding their housing patterns by authorities or derived from possible ethnic prejudice toward the population. Moreover, Luso-Brazilians did not feel the need to live geographically close to each other for economic, social or political reasons.

Occupational patterns, however, are noticeable on the map. The concentration of Luso-Brazilians involved in commerce on the São Bento Street is clear, as well as the concentration of artisans close to a square on San Felipe Street. Well-known merchants and authorities of Luso-Brazilian origin, such as Dona Ana Joaquina Melo and Don José Fernandes, lived on the same street. Other areas that also concentrated Portuguese artisans and merchants were near the port and near the Plaza Mayor and the Cabildo. In general, in Montevideo, Luso-Brazilians were spread out over all urban areas within the walls of the city.

The end of the Portuguese colonial Project with the fall of Colônia do Sacramento did not represent the end of the Portuguese demographic presence in Rio de la Plata. After the fall of Colônia do Sacramento, Luso-Brazilians, their commercial and social networks relocated to other cities and to the countryside of Banda Oriental. Part of the

Sacramento population went to Buenos Aires; some of them were forcefully sent to interior Provinces of the Viceroyalty. Another significant portion of the Luso-Brazilians from Colônia relocated to Montevideo and other areas in the countryside of the North Bank of the River Plate. Montevideo and the Banda Oriental presented not only a higher concentration of subjects of Luso-Brazilian origin, but better political and social opportunities for social integration. Montevidean authorities passed laws offering opportunities for Luso-Brazilians to swear loyalty to the Spanish crown, did not enforce expulsion laws or exert any type of control over the residence and mobility of the Luso-Brazilians inhabiting the city. Such statements do not hold true in Buenos Aires where authorities intermittently issued orders to expel the Portuguese and imposed restrictions on mobility, property and residence. In addition, in the countryside, Luso-Brazilians not only were present, but they also participated in political and social life, participating in familial, commercial, political and military networks.

This process of relocation of the Portuguese within the Rio de la Plata after the end of the Portuguese colonial presence in the region is an example of how social, commercial and political dynamics in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century were not determined by imperial states. Strong networks of family, trade, politics and friendship proved more enduring and malleable than state-sponsored ties. Despite the failure of the Portuguese colonial project in the region, the relocation and integration of the Portuguese in Montevideo's and Banda Oriental was the strategy for survival used by several social groups.

If the demographic and social presence Luso-Brazilians is visible in Montevideo and Banda Oriental, it is necessary to examine their social strategies, alliances and

insertions into the local society. Most importantly, it is fundamental to investigate how Luso-Brazilians and Montevideans successfully negotiated the local power networks succeeding in virtually replacing Sacramento with Montevideo, the new Atlantic port of trans-imperial interactions.

## **Chapter 4 - Trans-Imperial Cooperation in the South Atlantic -**

### **Commerce and War in Rio de la Plata and Rio de Janeiro (1777-1805)**

In the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish Empire faced multiple crises that are regarded by historians as having paved the way for Independence movements after 1808. War was a major crisis. Intermittent warfare in Europe involving Spain led the Spanish Crown to lose control over commerce and administration in many regions of their American possessions. Military conflicts severed the commercial flow between the Peninsula and the colonies, leading to the interruption of trade, and subsequently, in addition to the weaknesses of Spain economy, led to the opening of the colonial economies to foreigners in the early 1800's. These processes are mentioned as crucial to the collapse of the Spanish colonial system. However, such explanations are mainly based on documentary evidence produced by official records of the Spanish Empire. The analysis of historic sources generated by the Portuguese Empire, and records generated in peripheral areas of the Spanish Empire illuminates aspects of this process that have not yet been addressed by the historiography.

A study of the trade patterns in the Rio de la Plata region suggests that participation of foreigners and the engagement of colonial subjects in trade with agents of other empires was already a trend in the 1780's and became commonplace in the 1790's. An examination of Portuguese and Spanish sources reveals that the flow of trade between Spain and its southernmost Viceroyalty was not interrupted during periods of war. Between 1780 and 1806, River Plate merchants and some of their peninsular counterparts used previously existing networks of trade (legal and illegal) with the Portuguese Empire

– mainly Rio de Janeiro and Lisbon – to avoid the dangerous crossing of the Atlantic under the Spanish flag. Colonial merchants of Montevideo and Buenos Aires employed varied legal artifices to justify commercial exchange with Portuguese and Anglo-American traders, as well as sending their ships into the so called neutral ports. The sources report the centrality of Rio de Janeiro as a port for Spanish vessels. The *fluminense* port could be used as a port of call en route to Spain, or as a port of trans-shipment of merchandise from Spanish vessels to Portuguese ships to be sent to Cadiz as the final destination. Based on such evidence, and incorporating secondary works, I suggest that war, rather than blocking the Atlantic for Spanish Colonial merchants, stimulated trans-imperial cooperation between colonial subjects of the Iberian empires. Furthermore, I argue that this process fostered a sense of autonomy in the colonial subjects, because of their control over such informal networks combined with their manipulation of imperial legislation according to their needs.

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, maritime warfare waged in the South Atlantic can be understood as an extension of trade.<sup>166</sup> In analyzing the reports of confrontations between rival Empires, the virtual absence of casualties among troops is noteworthy. The conflicts were played out via confiscating goods and vessels, and some local confrontations. Furthermore, in spite of the violence associated with these military engagements, these conflicts were regulated by the canons of natural law, and, most of the time, were respected by all powers and the individuals involved in such operations. Based on the evidence found in the documentary corpus analyzed, I suggest the eminent commercial aspect of maritime confrontations, as opposed land warfare waged over territory.

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166 The relationship between trade and war was noted by Johnson in 1914. The author argued that trade was the origin of a plethora of conflicts throughout global history. Alvin Saunders Johnson “Commerce and War” *Political Science Quarterly*, Vol. 29, No. 1 (Mar., 1914), pp. 47-56

The fall of the Portuguese town of Colônia do Sacramento (1680-1777) signaled the closure of the main route for supplying silver to the Portuguese empire. After almost one hundred years in the Rio de la Plata to obtain silver, Rio de Janeiro's commercial elites had to negotiate new ways to access the profitable markets of the southernmost Spanish Viceroyalty. Conversely, the merchants of Buenos Aires needed to find new ways of acquiring slaves, tobacco, sugar, textiles, woods and other goods that Sacramento merchants had provided prior to the creation of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata. With the Spanish proclamation of "free trade" for the Rio de Plata in 1778, Montevideo joined Buenos Aires as an authorized Atlantic port.<sup>167</sup> Because of its excellent natural harbor and its privileged location at the entrance of the River Plate, Montevideo became the harbor for the Spanish navy in the region. Furthermore, it also became the mandatory port of call at the entrance of the River Plate and seat of the Viceregal agency charged with repressing contraband trade. In the following decades, Montevideo confirmed its role by replacing Colônia do Sacramento as the intermediary between the merchant elites of Buenos Aires and Portuguese America. Benefiting from legal loopholes opened during periods of war, human resources and networks derived from Sacramento (legally allowed because of the military conquest), reforms favoring slave trade, and the new regulations for contraband trade, Montevideo became the main *locus* of trans-imperial interaction in the region. Eventually, the presence of merchants with strong networks in Portuguese America, allowed the development of an intense trans-imperial trade route linking Rio de la Plata to Rio de Janeiro.

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<sup>167</sup> Free trade was defined as opening the ports of Spain and Spanish America for trans-Atlantic trade within the Spanish empire.

This chapter considered four issues related to the growing role of Montevideo in inter-imperial trade. The first section reviews the literature on the crisis of the Spanish empire and its consequences for trade and politics. I focus specifically on how war is portrayed as a crucial element in this process by many authors because it impeded communication and trade between Spain and its colonies. In the second section I analyze the maritime conflicts, identifying the areas where conflicts happen, and examining legal cases the legality of apprehending vessels and cargoes in the high seas. I suggest that naval warfare in the Ocean during this period was not primarily intended to destroy and kill, but rather was more an extension of trade. I examine earlier Spanish and Portuguese conflicts over territory in the Rio de la Plata region to stress the differences between maritime conflicts and warfare over territorial possession. In the third section, I analyze trans-imperial cooperation in terms of scale, routes, and patterns of interactions during the period. Finally, in the fourth section, I analyze the methods, practices and legal aspects of this trans-imperial trade network, considering how the levels of legality of such trade varied over time, and how Metropolitan legislation was deployed by colonial subjects. By focusing on the cases registered in the ports of Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo, I will stress the importance of enduring trans-imperial networks of trade linking the two colonial areas.

*Free Trade and War in the Rio de la Plata*

Trade was the sinews of the Eighteenth century Atlantic Empires.<sup>168</sup> Commerce was not only a crucial source of revenue and the outlet for metropolitan products, but also, merchant ships were an important means for circulating information throughout the Atlantic. Therefore, the flow of goods was also important to political and administrative control of the Empire. In considering the significance of slavery in the New World possessions, trade appears as fundamental to production in important areas of the Americas. In the Spanish empire, all these processes appear intertwined and most historians who analyze commerce in the late 18<sup>th</sup> century relate the crises of the commercial system to the decline of Imperial control, especially over peripheral areas.

John Lynch directly connects the weak control and decline in participation in trade by Peninsular merchants in many areas of the Americas to the process that led to Independence. According to Lynch, lack of control over trade and administration due to intermittent wars and foreign penetration into previously closed commercial routes influenced the reaction of colonial elites in facing the crises of authority and legitimacy triggered by the imprisonment of Fernando VII.<sup>169</sup> Such an assessment is corroborated by another British Historian, John Fisher, who argues that after the 1800's, colonial elites exerted "*de facto* if not *de jure*" control over trade, and were copiously engaged in trading with foreign powers.<sup>170</sup> Fisher also argues that such a trend was more pronounced in peripheral areas than in regions where peninsular power had deeper roots. As a result,

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<sup>168</sup> Jeremy Adelman. *Sovereignty and revolution in the Iberian Atlantic*. (Princeton : Princeton University Press, c2006).

<sup>169</sup> John Lynch. *Latin American revolutions, 1808-1826 : Old and New World origins*. (Norman : University of Oklahoma Press, 1994).

<sup>170</sup> John Fisher "The Imperial Response to 'Free Trade': Spanish Imports from Spanish America, 1778-1796" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (May, 1985), pp. 35-78

areas such as the Caribbean and the River Plate, which presented dynamic economies by the early 1800's, were more susceptible to trade with foreigners.

In a study of the evolution of trade fluctuations for the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Fisher reports the strong effect of Spanish free trade legislation in boosting commercial activity. However, the author believes that from 1796 onwards trade was “paralyzed”, the pace of trade having slowed down because of the necessity of Spanish ships to wait for large convoys to cross the Atlantic safely. During the 1790's, because of intermittent war, laws allowing trade with neutral powers were passed in order to allow colonies to engage with trade without depending exclusively on Spain.

Jerry Cooney, in detailed studies about trade with neutrals in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century developed this argument even further. In the 1790's, Spain was engaged in war with other European empires almost continuously. The effect of this was the disruption of the colonial commercial system.<sup>171</sup> Independently of the causes of war or the alliances in the European arena, a consistent result of this development was that Spanish ships crossing the Atlantic faced heightened perils. In the River Plate region, Cooney observes that neutral trade became the safety valve that allowed colonial possessions to export their productions and obtain supplies no longer available from Spain. This opened new trade possibilities including the Luso-Brazilian and Anglo-American ports, and a new variety of goods. The neutral trade legislation also encouraged the acquisition of slaves and ships from neutral powers. The scale of the neutral trade was sufficiently large to provoke changes in the balance of power within the mercantile communities of the Spanish empire. Cooney and Fisher view neutral trade as the

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<sup>171</sup> Jerry Cooney. “Oceanic Commerce and Platine Merchants, 1796-1806: The Challenge of War” *The Americas*, Vol. 45, No. 4, (Apr., 1989), pp. 509-524.

interruption in the flow of goods between Spain and the Rio de la Plata colonies. Cooney, however, moves the collapse of Spanish control over trade and the flow of information to and from the southern most viceroyalty back to the 1790's.

This view is supported by studies on the local elites of the region by Susan Socolow and, more recently, Viviana Grieco. Both authors observe important changes in the mercantile elite of Rio de la Plata in the last decade of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.<sup>172</sup> The period was marked by the decline of traditional monopolist merchants that had controlled most of the business and exerted far-reaching hegemony over the commercial routes that linked Buenos Aires to its vast hinterland.<sup>173</sup> In the 1790's, a new type of merchant emerges in the Rio de la Plata, trading not only within the Spanish empire, but also with subjects of other neutral Empires, and venturing into new types of commerce, such as the slave trade. In addition, as important merchants appeared in Montevideo, the regional mercantile elites were no longer exclusively based in Buenos Aires. Such changes provoked conflicts and eventually opposed elite factions in the region. These new entrepreneurs who profited from neutral trade also had strong connections in the Peninsula. The in-depth examination of their networks of trade sheds new light on the effects of war and trade with neutrals during the Spanish imperial crises.

The analysis of sources produced by local and metropolitan authorities of the Portuguese and the Spanish empires reveals that trade with neutrals did not necessarily mean the interruption of trade routes with Spain. On the contrary, during moments of war, trade routes involving neutral agents assured communication and the flow of goods

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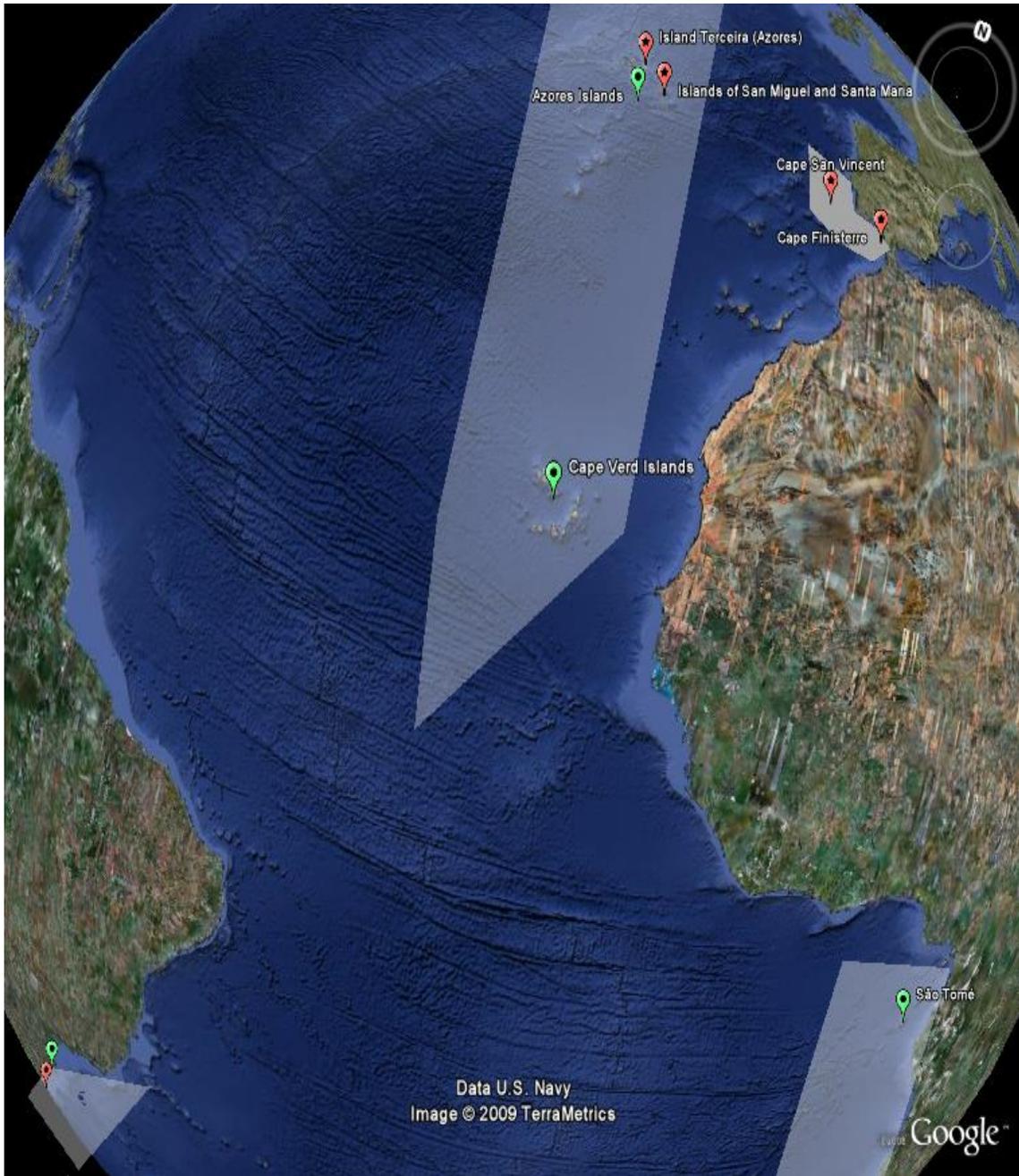
<sup>172</sup> Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor. 1991); Viviana Grieco *Politics and public credit : the limits of absolutism in late colonial Buenos Aires* (Emory Univ. dissertations (Ph.D.) Dept. of History. 2005).

<sup>173</sup> Jorge Gelman *De Mercançhifle a Gran Comerciante*. (La Rabida: Universidad Internacional de Andalucia. 1996).

and people between Cadiz and the River Plate. Thus, the merchants involved in such trade, were not only able to profit from of the commercial intercourse with foreigners, but also to maintain connections with Spain. Such strategy created a win-win situation.

#### *War and Commerce in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century*

Warfare between the Spanish and the Portuguese empires was not unusual in the 18<sup>th</sup> century. The longstanding dispute over the territories on the Northern Bank of Rio de la Plata, specifically over Colônia do Sacramento, brought the Iberian Empires into conflict on many occasions from the 17<sup>th</sup> century onwards. Such conflicts involved maritime and land forces, and had as their goal the control over territory. In such conflicts, the obliteration of enemy forces and a high number of casualties were recorded. The expulsion of the Portuguese from Sacramento in 1680, 1705 and finally in 1777 are prime examples of that. After 1777, however, the nature of warfare changed on the South American coast. Ending a relatively longstanding peace between both Iberian empires, warfare now developed predominantly on the Atlantic Ocean, and casualties and destruction of the enemies' forces were not the prime goal. Rather, war became an extension of trade. Naval encounters rarely produced destruction, the captured ship's crew was not considered prisoners, and confiscated vessels and their cargo became goods for trade. These transactions were regulated by rules derived from natural law.



Map 4.1 – Areas of Naval conflict reported in the late 18<sup>th</sup> Century. In the South American Coast: Cape Santa Marta/Rio de la Plata’s mouth and Santa Catarina Island (AHU RJ Doc. 12895 – 28 Set 1799. Lilly Library - LMC – 1631 LAT AM – MSS – URUGUAY 1778 – 1812 – Latin American mss Uruguay “Noticia de las 19 Embarcaciones que se ha podido averiguar aver sido apresadas desde el mes de Junio hasta el de Octubre de 1779 – viniendo de America.”)

Between 1778 and 1806, I found 22 cases of naval confrontations and reports of the presence of enemy vessels. Map 3.1 shows the location of naval confrontations according to the sources. The areas where dangerous encounters and naval battles occurred were relatively close to important ports and well known trade routes. Attacks by French corsairs on Portuguese ships were reported along the coast of western Central Africa and close to the Bight of Benin, as well as in the proximity of the Brazilian coast, from Cabo Frio to the Rio de la Plata.<sup>174</sup> British privateers were active in the search for Spanish vessels close to the Portuguese Atlantic Islands, near the cape of San Vincent (Sagres), near Rio de Janeiro, Santa Catarina and Isla de los Lobos, and close to the Cape of Santa Maria and Punta de las Piedras.

All these locations were part of the maritime routes connecting Rio de Janeiro to the Iberian Peninsula, to Africa (Angola and Costa da Mina), and Rio de la Plata. These routes were heavily trafficked during those years. The privateers were well aware of the most convenient and profitable locations to ambush the enemies' ships. Their aim was not to destroy vessels, but rather to capture ships and cargo.

During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the law of natural rights permeated the very essence of the modern European states, and regulated interaction with foreigners.<sup>175</sup> José Carlos Chiaramonte suggests that “natural law was the basis of political legitimacy and the

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<sup>174</sup> AHU RJ Doc. 12895 – 28 Set 1799.

<sup>175</sup> Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace : Political Thought and the International Order from Grotius to Kant* (Oxford [England]: New York : Oxford University Press, 1999). p 05-06. Hugo Grotius and Richard Tuck, *The Rights of War and Peace*, Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics (Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2005). Hugo Grotius et al., *The Free Sea*, Natural Law and Enlightenment Classics (Indianapolis, Ind.: Liberty Fund, 2004).

whole way of thinking about intergroup and interperson relations.”<sup>176</sup> According to this legal doctrine, self-preservation was an important value found in all societies; therefore, it should be respected by all civilized polities. This doctrine stated that seeking survival was a basic right that no “nation” should deny to their enemies.<sup>177</sup> This right allowed ship captains to seek harbor in foreign ports asking for help when their ships needed repairs in order to not endanger the crew’s life, as well as to take commercial advantage of the situation. The expansion of this right would also assure that in maritime battles, the crew and the Captains of the defeated party would have the right to be safely transported to a convenient port.

Battles between European subjects fought in the Atlantic, in opposition to territorial conflicts, rarely produced casualties or prisoners. Naval confrontations between rival Empires rarely occasioned destruction of ships, because of the high value of their cargoes. Moreover, during the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, many of the battles that occurred in the South Atlantic were between privateers and merchant ships. Although fighting for an “imperial” cause, privateers were primarily interest in the profits derived from such activity. Letter of marque from the early 19<sup>th</sup> century explicitly stipulated that enemy vessels should not be wrecked. Only if the resistance was too intense, and the confiscated ship was so severely damaged that no profit could be obtained, did a privateer have the right to burn the vessel. Nevertheless, before incinerating the ship, the crew and the officers had to be rescued and brought aboard a

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<sup>176</sup> For the significance and enduring influence of natural law in the early nineteenth century Latin America see J. C. Chiaramonte “The Principle of Consent in Latin and Anglo-American Independence” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 36.1986. p 563-586. Pg. 569

<sup>177</sup> The word “nation” was a synonym of “state” in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries. For the significance and enduring influence of natural law in the early nineteenth century Latin America see J. C. Chiaramonte “The Principle of Consent in Latin and Anglo-American Independence” *Journal of Latin American Studies* 36.1986. p 563-586. Pg. 565

safe vessel.<sup>178</sup> War, like commerce, was clearly regulated and profitability was a main concern of its organization and logistics.

The rules that were stipulated in order to preserve the life of the enemies' crew, and to minimize damages to the cargo and vessel in question seemed to be observed by all, combining commercial interests and natural law rights. I was able to identify two cases of Portuguese ships providing transportation for Spanish sailors and officers whose vessels heading to Rio de la Plata were intercepted by British privateers near the Portuguese Atlantic Islands.<sup>179</sup> French privateers also respected the same rule. In 1799, after they confiscated three Portuguese ships off the coasts of Africa and Brazil, crew and officers were safely conducted to Montevideo where they were given permission to disembark.<sup>180</sup> Because these battles were not fought between official armies, the nature of warfare and specifically the treatment dispensed to the men involved was substantially different. Nevertheless, it is important to keep in mind that violence and military combat were present in naval confrontations, though to a lesser degree than warfare on land.

The characteristics of naval conflicts of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century radically differed from warfare involving disputes over territory or port cities. In conflicts over territory, such as the fight for control of Colônia do Sacramento, civil and military population suffered hardships and were involved in the military engagement. Civil populations could be drafted into militias, thus becoming subject to arrest by the enemy. War tactics deployed against Colônia do Sacramento included prolonged sieges that led to mass starvation. Moreover, artillery physically destroyed installations, starting fires that

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<sup>178</sup> John Carter Bown Library - Buenos Aires 1810-19. B81 A962c V.2. 1-Size - 16 Nov, 1816. Carta de Corso.

<sup>179</sup> AHU RJ D. 9622 - 20 Abr 1782

<sup>180</sup> AHU RJ D. 12729 - 11 Jun 1799

seriously damaged the infra-structure of the town. The practice of exchanging war prisoners was common, at least, from the early 18<sup>th</sup> century in Europe and the Americas. Although at times, no attention was paid to preserving the enemies' property, and no courtesy was dispensed to the resident population. In 1777, when Spanish troops invaded Colônia, they took more than 500 prisoners and destroyed houses and buildings after, first, removing all windows, doors and tiles.

Naval conflicts involving privateers also followed foreign laws and regulations regarding the methods of war and the legality of the confiscation of the ship and its cargo. Captains of ships that had been confiscated by methods of war that did not follow natural law and privateer's regulation could make claims based on "illegal confiscation." In cases where the court found for seized ship and its' merchandise could not be sold by the privateers, and was supposed to be returned to their original owners.<sup>181</sup>

The case of the Portuguese vessel *Rainha dos Anjos*, captured by the French Frigate *Republicana*, in 1799, reveals the importance of legislation in regulating maritime warfare and how agents were able to manipulate these rules in their benefit. The captain of the Portuguese vessel was conducted to Montevideo by the French corsair that had confiscated his ship and two other Portuguese vessels. In Montevideo the French wanted to sell the fruits of their raids. The *Rainha dos Anjos*' Captain, José Antonio de Santa Anna, however, appealed to the Spanish authorities arguing that the apprehension of his ship was illegal. He explained that while sailing along the Brazilian coast, the French frigate approached flying British flags on their three masts, offered the proper greeting by firing their canons twice, and sent a boat with English-speaking sailors to transmit the

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<sup>181</sup> AHU RJ D. 14058 – 4 Fev 1802, AHU RJ Doc 12729 - 11 Jun 1799.

request for the Captain to go aboard the “British” vessel.<sup>182</sup> Accepting the invitation, the Portuguese captain only perceived the trap when it was too late. Based on the belief that this behavior went against international treaties, he argued that the French corsair be considered a pirate ship engaged in criminal activity.<sup>183</sup>

The Captain’s argument regarding the illegality of the confiscation also involved the cargo of his ship. His vessel was transporting 545 slaves. According to the Santa Anna, when slaves were confiscated on open sea, they should be freed in accordance to natural law and the legislation of the French Republic.<sup>184</sup> The Portuguese Captain argued that, in light of these circumstances, merchants who purchased the confiscated slaves should be charged with enslaving free people. Moreover, the local merchant Francisco Antonio Maciel, who was providing assistance to the Portuguese officers and crew, further testifies on the legal problems involved. He spoke of the risks in allowing such a sale to be conducted, explicitly mentioning the possible losses that local merchants would face once the French privateers had left the region. Based on such considerations, the sale of the slaves was not authorized, and an agreement between the Portuguese Captain and the French corsairs was drawn up by local authorities.

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<sup>182</sup> “a dt. Fragata de todo o seu velame e dos [...] velos fez em breve tempo pode reconhecer nossa Bandeira Portugueza a qual respondeu após esta muito imediatamente com bandeira Ingleza assegurada na nossa presenca com dous tiros de pessa com bala (...)a este tempo a nossa esperança e se acabavao se de firmar em virem ao nosso bordo ceu escaler cuja tripulação nos falou Inglez demonstradonos ser Britanica a seu sua fragata e que o capitam dela me determianva apçaçe a seu bordo. Embarqueime no dito escaler sem repugnança e fiquei cheio de admiração quando depois de ter subido a Fragata reconheci ser Franceza, porque assim se me deice e porque neste mesmo Ponto chegarão a mim vários Portugueses a contarme os quaes herao prizioneiros da Sumaca nomiada S. Cruz a qual tinham aprezado pouco tempo antes.” AHU RJ Doc 12729 – 11 Jun 1799.

<sup>183</sup> “um acto de Pirataria em virutde da qual foi mal feita a preza e deve de justiça entregareme.” AHU RJ Doc 12729 – 11 Jun 1799.

<sup>184</sup> Accroding to the “leis e foros das nações, a Republica Franceza reconhece esses direitos pela Declaração dos Direitos do Homem de do Cidadão no Artigo 15”. AHU RJ Doc 12729 – 11 Jun 1799.

### *Trans-Imperial Interaction – Scale, Routes, and Growth*

In this section, I use administrative reports, *auto de embarcações*, and letters exchanged by Portuguese and Spanish authorities between 1778 and 1806 to examine trade operation between Portuguese and Spanish Americas. These sources were found in the Archivo General de la Nacion Uruguaya (AGNU), in the Arquivo Nacional, Rio de Janeiro (AN), in the Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino of Lisbon (AHU), and in the Archivo General de Indias, Seville (AGI). Cross-referencing information produced by authorities in different imperial bureaucracies allowed me to detect a high degree of association between colonial subjects of different empires, especially during periods of war.

Trans-imperial networks of trade and cooperation took different forms. For many ships that engaged in trade with a neutral part, the foreign port was not the final port of call of the vessel itself. Making use of well known routes in the South Atlantic, Rio de la Plata merchants and their associates in Cadiz were able not only to carry trade with neutrals, but to trans-ship merchandise from Spanish to Portuguese ships in order to reach Europe. On other occasions, Spanish ships departing from Rio de la Plata (Montevideo) would seek the protection of the Rio de Janeiro convoy to cross the Atlantic with the Portuguese flag on their masts. Sometimes, the Portuguese flag was deployed for the navigation between the *fluminense* and the platine ports as well.<sup>185</sup> Finally, in some cases I identified Spanish cargo being transported in Portuguese vessels from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro and then trans-shipped to Rio de la Plata, either in Spanish or in Portuguese ships. These complex strategies, all of which depended on interaction with the mercantile

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<sup>185</sup> Montevideo became the primary port city of Rio de la Plata because of its privileged natural harbor, more protected and larger than the port of Buenos Aires. Thus, in the last decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Montevideo was the gateway for most of the Rio de la Plata commerce, and to a certain extent, it became the port of Buenos Aires. Arturo Bentancur. *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo* Montevideo: Facultad de Filosofia y Ciencias Sociales - Universidad de La Republica. 1984.

community of Rio de Janeiro, were usually not mentioned when ships departed from their port of origin.<sup>186</sup> These unconventional routes often bordered on illegality. They demonstrate the ability of colonial merchants to find ways and means of conducting their business despite previous authorization (or lack thereof) by imperial officers.

Between 1778 and 1806, a minimum of 231 ships were involved in trans-imperial trade with Montevideo and the Rio de la Plata region, at times legally (the so called “neutral trade”), and at times not. Of this total, 116 were Portuguese (48.1%), 81 Spanish (33.6%), 14 Anglo- American (5.8%), 8 British Ships (3.3%), 3 French (1.2%) and one Danish. In 18 cases (7.1%) there was no information or the flag of origin could not be determined.<sup>187</sup>

	<i>Portuguese</i>	<i>Spanish</i>
Rio de Janeiro	3	44
Montevideo	53	32
Lisbon	3	1
Sta Catarina	0	3
TOTAL	59	80

Table 3.1 shows ships involved in trans-imperial trade according to port of arrival: 85 ships entered in the port of Montevideo, 47 in Rio de Janeiro, 3 in Sta. Catarina, and 4 into Lisbon.<sup>188</sup> Such a pattern shows the strength of the connection between Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro mercantile elites between 1779 and 1805.

<sup>186</sup> IANTT – MNE Livro 199 – For the year 1789 it was recorded the arrival of 160 Portuguese ships in Cadiz, only one of them carried silver, the most common products were: oranges, fish, olive oil, rocks, salt and Brazil wood.

<sup>187</sup> One ship originally of Portuguese origin that was nationalized by Spanish authorities and merchants is counted as Portuguese and Spanish. In other words, it is double counted since it falls into both categories.

<sup>188</sup> Not enough information for 27 ships.

Among the 59 **Portuguese** ships, 53 vessels entered in Montevideo, 3 docked in Rio de Janeiro coming from Montevideo, and another 3 ships entered the port of Lisbon coming originally from Montevideo. As for the 81 **Spanish** ships, 32 arrived in Montevideo having passed through Portuguese ports and 44 vessels had Rio de Janeiro as their port of call. Three ships arrived in Santa Catarina and only one ship arrived in the port of Lisbon, headed to Montevideo.

Table 3.1 shows that trans-imperial trade was not carried out exclusively by Spanish vessels going to foreign ports. But rather, Spanish ports received a considerable number of Portuguese merchant ships in its harbor, and these ships brought cargo belonging to Spanish and Portuguese merchants. This data indicates a high level of negotiation and contact between Spanish and Portuguese mercantile communities.

The itineraries used were extremely varied, involving South American, European, North American, Caribbean, Pacific, West and East African, and Atlantic Island ports. Nevertheless, there are some patterns worth mentioning. One of the most common official destinations declared for Spanish ships leaving Montevideo was Cadiz, or Santander. However, these ships all ended up entering in Rio de Janeiro. Other frequent destinations included Spanish ports in the Americas such as La Habana and Callao (8), or foreign ports such as Mauritius, Manila, Coast of Africa, Cayenne (5), Providence, Boston, or simply “Foreign Colonies”. All these ships terminated their voyages in Rio, despite their official destinations. Ships also sailed officially from Montevideo to Rio de Janeiro (9), under the formal prerogatives of neutral trade, although, at times, their merchandise would be trans-shipped to Portuguese vessels, or the ships would proceed to Europe in the Portuguese convoy. The discrepancies between the official destination and

the actual route reveals a level of autonomy and the confidence of colonial subjects in conducting trans-imperial trade.

Such patterns were more frequent during times of warfare, although conducted by colonial subjects of both Empires, these voyages were acknowledged by metropolitan authorities, and enjoyed a semi-legal status. Spanish authorities in Sevilla were aware that sending information, people, and goods via Rio de Janeiro was the safest way to cross the Atlantic. Conversely, Portuguese authorities saw in this system of cooperation an opportunity to tap Spanish silver and hides, goods that had not arrived on a regular basis in Rio since the fall of Sacramento. Nevertheless, a series of restrictions applied to this trade, allowing the existence of contradictory regulations. During times of war, colonial subjects enjoyed more freedom manipulating imperial law according to local authorities' and merchants' interpretation.

The records of foreign ships entering in Rio de Janeiro and Montevideo provide evidence of a large number of vessels being accepted in the ports beyond imperial boundaries. For the period between 1778 until 1792, a total of 67 Portuguese vessels arriving in Rio de la Plata were recorded.<sup>189</sup> For the same period, I found 15 Spanish

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<sup>189</sup> The numbers presented in this work are part of a database organized based on the following sources: AN Cx 492 Pct 02, AGNU EHG Cj 34, AGNU EHG Cj 18, AGNU EHG Cj 40, AGNU EHG Cj 2, AGNU EHG Cj 24, AGNU AHG Cj 15, AGNU EHG Cj 23, AGNU EHG Cj 27, AGNU EHG Cj 28, AGNU EHG Cj 31, AGNU EHG Cj 32, AGNU EHG Cj 34, EGNU EHG Cj 41, AGNU EHG Cj 56, AGNU EHG Cj 55, AGNU EHG Cj 54, AGNU EHG Cj 48, AGNU EHG Cj 45, AGNU EGH Cj 28, AGNU Ex-Museo Historico Cj 4, AHU RJ D. 10056, AHU RJ D 10215, AHU RJ D. 10215, AHU RJ D. 10532, AHU RJ D.10607, AHU RJ D.11714, AHU RJ D.13396, AHU RJ D. 13397, AHURJ D.13398, AHU RJ D. 13399, AHU RJ D.13406, AHU RJ D. 13405, AHU-RJ 13407, AHU RJ D.13408, AHU-RJ D. 13412, AHU RJ D. 13408, AHU RJ D. 13413, AHU RJ D.13415, AHU RJ D. 13418, AHU RJ D. 13419, AHU RJ D. 13421, AHU RJ D. 13422, AHU RJ D. 13436. AHU RJ D.13437, AHU RJ D.13438, AHU RJ D. 13437, AHU RJ D. 13441, AHU RJ D.13437, AHU RJ D.13446, AHU RJ D.13452, AHU RJ D. 13458. AHU RJ D. 13462, AHU RJ D. 13470, AHU RJ D. 14058, AHU RJ D. 14121, AHU RJ D. 14099, AHU RJ D. 14500, AHU RJ D. 14506, AHU RJ, D. 14500, AHU RJ D. 14511, AHU RJ D. 15946, AHU RJ D. 15946, AHU RJ D. 15953, AHU RJ D. 15958, AHU RJ D. 15959, AHU RJ 16130, AHU RJ D. 16233, AHU RJ D. 16268, AHU RJ D. 16341, AHU RJ D. 16541, AHU RJ D. 16824, AHU RJ D. 18013, AHU RJ D. 9567, AHU RJ D. 9028, AHU RJ D 9326, AHU RJ D. 9772, AHU RJ D. 9859, AHU RJ D. 9772

vessels entering Rio de Janeiro's harbor and being officially inspected by Custom's officials. The numbers for the period of 1778 to 1792, indicate a short lived but significant slave trade between Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro. These years correspond to the immediate years after the fall of Sacramento.<sup>190</sup> Nevertheless, secret diplomatic agreements had already established the Spanish practice of sending goods, officials and information using the Portuguese fleet via Rio de Janeiro to reach the River Plate. A qualitative analysis of the sources used so far presents a detailed and more accurate perspective on such trans-imperial agreements in colonial territories. Furthermore, the information provided in authorities' letters and reports add dozens of ships to the numbers officially recorded, specifically for the decade of 1780.

The numbers for the period 1793 to 1802 total 53 Portuguese ships arriving in Montevideo (in addition to 64 arriving in Buenos Aires).<sup>191</sup> For the same period, 57 Spanish ships arrived in Rio de Janeiro. For the period 1803 to 1806, Alex Borucki has identified 58 Portuguese vessels carrying slaves arriving in Montevideo. In addition, Ernst Pijning identified 25 Spanish ships from Rio de la Plata entering in Rio de Janeiro. The same author estimates that the coastal trade between Rio de Janeiro and Rio de la Plata, in the early 19<sup>th</sup> century, involved from 30 to 40 ships annually.<sup>192</sup>

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AHU RJ D. 9932, AHU RJ D.10052. AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg.: 141. *Declaración de Entrada de Puerto*. Additional information is provided by Alex Borucki's database including slave vessels, information about its sources can be found in: Alex Borucki. "The Slave Trade in the making of the late-colonial Rio de la Plata, 1786-1806" paper presented in the Conference of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, 15-18 November 2007.

<sup>190</sup> Dauril Alden "The Undeclared War of 1773-1777: Climax of Luso-Spanish Platine Rivalry" *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 41, No. 1 (Feb., 1961), pp. 55-74.

<sup>191</sup> Alex Borucki. "The Slave Trade in the making of the late-colonial Rio de la Plata, 1786-1806" paper presented in the Conference of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, 15-18 November 2007

<sup>192</sup> Ernst Pijning. *Controlling Contraband: Mentality, Economy and Society in 18th Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Maryland: John Hopkins. PhD Dissertation. 1997). p. 163.

The data shows the active role of Portuguese merchants in sending ships to Montevideo in the first half of the 1780's. These arrivals were favored by lax regulations during periods of war, but also counted on the lenience of port authorities of Montevideo.

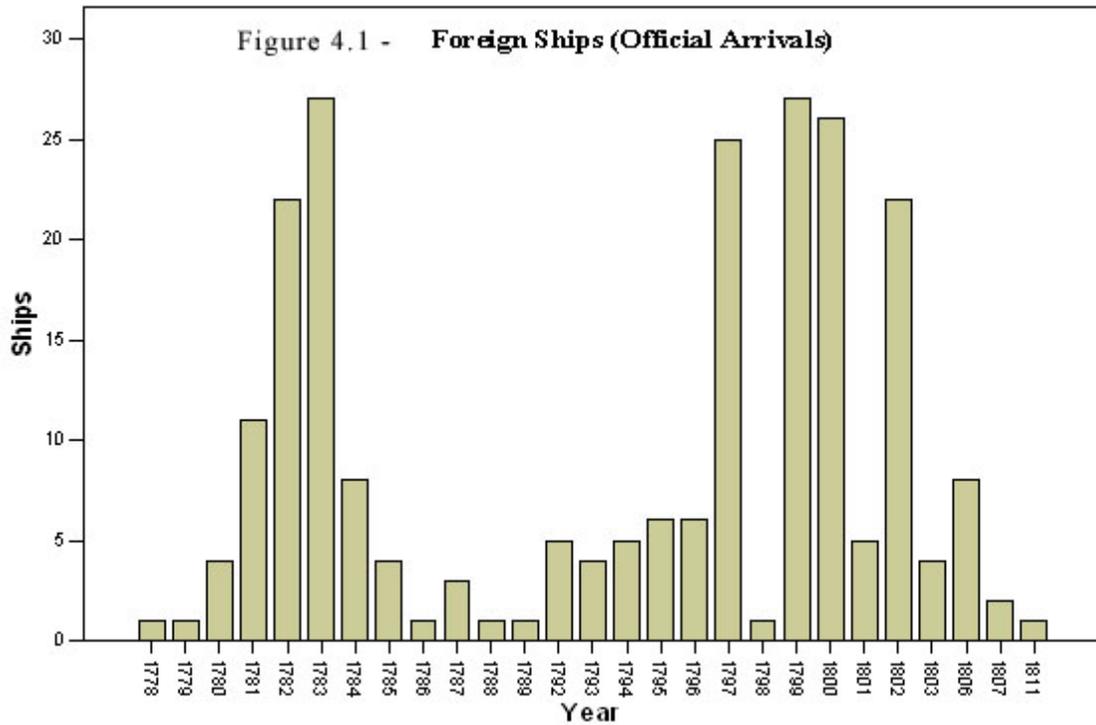


Figure 4.1 shows that the 1790's were a period of both a growth in scale and a more stable trade between Portuguese American ports and Rio de la Plata. Neutral trade was important in changing the characteristics of Imperial trade. There was also more leeway in the interpreting legislation concerning both the Spanish vessels arriving in Rio de Janeiro, and the Portuguese ships entering in Rio de la Plata. The number of Spanish vessels arriving in Rio de Janeiro reached its peak during the 1790's, more specifically in 1797-1799. During the same decade, Spain experienced almost non-stop warfare, and legislation concerning trade with neutrals was constantly renewed. These laws and decrees allowed trade between Spanish colonists and foreign colonies –

including Rio de Janeiro - during times of warfare. However, the paperwork recording these arrivals show that many of ships and/or their cargo did not have Rio de Janeiro, but rather European ports as their final destination. In essence, Spanish trade was being conducted via Portuguese routes. The notion of the Atlantic as being closed for Spanish commerce should be reconsidered in light of such trans-imperial networks of cooperation.

Spanish subjects' use of the Portuguese routes to reach Iberian ports was only possible because of a strong networks of trade linking the coast of Brazil and Rio de la Plata. The high number of Portuguese ships entering Platine ports suggests that solid commercial and informational networks operated along the South American coast, crossing imperial boundaries. The importance of the route connecting Rio de Janeiro and Rio de la Plata had grown to such an extent, that in 1799, a petition of merchants and farmers from the "road to Minas Gerais" presented a list of more than 200 products to export to Rio de la Plata, with information on prices and rates of profitability. The list included Luso-Brazilian and European goods.<sup>193</sup> Ernst Pijning in his PhD dissertation on contraband trade in Rio de Janeiro observed the integration of the Rio de la Plata trade into Rio de Janeiro's mercantile circuit via contraband trade and/or semi-legal operations.<sup>194</sup> Local authorities and merchants would interpret Imperial laws according to their best interests. Beyond that, in dealing with ambiguous regulations, local mercantile elites, connected to local authorities, could use the gray areas of legislation to control trans-imperial trade.

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<sup>193</sup> "RELAÇÃO dos GENEROS e Fazendas proprioas do consumo da Colonia do Rio da Prata, Reyno do Perú e Prezidencia do Chili: os preços que permitem na prz. guerra, e os que demosntrão mayor utilidade." 04 de Abril 1799. AHU RJ Cx. 171 doc. 12655

<sup>194</sup> Ernst Pijning. *Controlling Contraband: Mentality, Economy and Society in 18th Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Maryland: John Hopkins. PhD Dissertation. 1997). Chapter 4.

The intense traffic of the 1790's paved the way for the increase of trans-imperial trade registered in the first years of the 19th century. Scholars have shown that these years intensified colonial autonomy regarding trade.<sup>195</sup> After the experiments of the 1790's, Spanish American merchants deployed a series of legal tools that enabled them to keep the trade going based on practices that had already been developed, and extensively used in their favor legislation favoring the slave trade.

*Reconnecting Rio de la Plata to Rio de Janeiro – War, Contraband and Trans-Imperial Cooperation*

Portuguese controlled Sacramento had always been very important and reliable source of cheap European and Luso-Brazilian goods and of slaves for the powerful merchants of Buenos Aires. The trade between Portuguese and Spanish merchants, although illegal, flourished during the period. As an example of the vitality of such trade, in the period between 1770 and 1775, more than five hundred slaves were confiscated as contraband by Spanish authorities.<sup>196</sup> Nevertheless, such interference had never been enough to suppress the trade or to discourage merchants in carrying out their transactions. The mercantile transactions between Sacramento and the Spanish possessions, although informal for the most part, were facilitated by networks of family and friendship and were tacitly approved by authorities in both banks of the River Plate.<sup>197</sup> In 1777,

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<sup>195</sup> John Fisher "The Imperial Response to 'Free Trade': Spanish Imports from Spanish America, 1778-1796" *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 17, No. 1, (May, 1985), pp. 35-78. Arturo Bentancur. *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo* (Montevideo: Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias Sociales - Universidad de La Republica. 1984).

<sup>196</sup> Biblioteca Nacional (BN) Lisboa – Manuscritos Época Pompalina - Códice 10855– Cartas de Francisco José da Rocha.

<sup>197</sup> Fernando Jumar. *Le commerce Atlantique Au Rio de la Plata*. (Paris: École des Hautes Études en Science Sociales. 2000. These Doctorat). Fabricio Prado *A Colônia do Sacramento – O Extremo Sul da*

however, the Spanish conquest of Sacramento, and the obliteration of the town, provoked important changes in trade and society in the Rio de la Plata area.

As we have seen in Chapter 3, the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia meant the end of a Portuguese colonial project for the region, but did not mean that all Portuguese left. Many families were imprisoned and conducted to Cordoba, Lujan and Magdalena, in order to not be able to communicate with other Portuguese subjects. Others were allowed to embark to Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande. About 500 Portuguese, however, were reported as staying in the area, and many exercised their prerogative of swearing loyalty to the King of Spain and becoming Spanish subjects.<sup>198</sup> Among these there were important merchants and captains of ships from Sacramento. As we have seen, a significant percentage of them relocated to Montevideo, the newly authorized port for Atlantic commerce and, principally, the only port authorized for the slave trade.

The reforms of the late eighteenth century provoked economic, political and demographic growth in Montevideo. Together with a new wave of immigration from Spain to the region, Montevideo benefited most from the Portuguese arrivals from Colônia. By the 1750's, the city was already a safe haven for Portuguese settlers, deserters and artisans.<sup>199</sup> After 1777, Portuguese traders that resettled in Spanish possessions not only brought with them their families, but also capital and connections in

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*América Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002). For general involvement of authorities in contraband: Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). Zacarias Moutoukias. "Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial" 1992. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (Paris, mai-juin. 1992).

<sup>198</sup> Arquivo Histórico do Itamaraty (RJ) - Lata 188 maco 1.

<sup>199</sup> Marcela Tejerina. *Luso-Brasileños en el Buenos Aires Virreinal*. (Bahia Blanca: Ediuns. 2004). Emir Reitano. *Los Portugueses del Buenos Aires Tardo Colonial*. (Doctoral Dissertation. La Plata: Universidad Nacional de La Plata, Facultad de Humanidades y Ciencias de la Educación. 2004). *Documentos Para la Historia Argentina* (Aires: Senado de la Nación. 1960. Vol. 12). Padron de 1778. The following decrees targeted specifically the Portuguese population in Buenos Aires, imposing restriction on mobility, location for living and property. AGN IX 8-10-8 - 11-Dez-1801, AGN IX 8-10-13 - 2-22-1765, AGN IX 8-10-2 - 1-26-1763, AGN IX 8-10-4 - 11-Out-1777.

Brazil. In 1778, Manuel Cipriano de Melo, a Portuguese born in Lisbon, but established in Colônia do Sacramento until 1777, was appointed as one of the *Comandantes del Resguardo*, the main office to repress contraband. Cipriano de Melo, who by then had been naturalized Spanish, rapidly became one of the wealthier merchant of Montevideo. Possessing many connections within the local community as well as in Brazil, he was able to convert his families' real estate from Colônia into credit in Montevideo, and in the following years he would request permission to bring another 32.000 pesos from Brazil.<sup>200</sup> It is important to emphasize the crucial role of men such as Melo in controlling and participating in smuggling activities, since they had power to determine whether the entrance of ships was legal or not.<sup>201</sup> Thus, Cipriano de Melo, together with other merchants interested in the business of Brazil, had a pivotal role in re-structuring the connections once centered on Sacramento.

In the same year of 1778, the port authorities of Rio de Janeiro recorded the arrival of the Spanish ship *Nsa. Senhora – Begonha* coming from Montevideo, under pretext of *arribada forzoza*. The *Begonha* was carrying officers, letters and soldiers to Cadiz.<sup>202</sup> This voyage signaled the re-connection of a route that would become common in the following decades. It was also the beginning of Rio de Janeiro's role as a port of call between the Rio de la Plata and Spain. A few months later, the Viceroy of Brazil, in a letter to the Overseas Council, detailed the new arrangements even though they were contrary to previous imperial regulations.

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<sup>200</sup> AGI. Buenos Aires - Codice 333, 24 May 1785. Regarding exchange rates: for this period 1 peso = \$750 reis.

<sup>201</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). Ernst Pijning. *Controlling Contraband: Mentality, Economy and Society in 18th Century Rio de Janeiro*. (Maryland: John Hopkins. PhD Dissertation. 1997). Arturo Bentancur. *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo* (Montevideo: Facultad de Filosofía y Ciencias Sociales - Universidad de La República. 1984).

<sup>202</sup> Em 30 de Setembro. AHU - RJ D. 9028.

In January 1780, the Spanish ship São João e São José sailed into Rio de Janeiro under the pretext of an *arribada*. Although the ship never disembarked any cargo, Viceroy Vasconcelos reported to the Overseas Council, in Lisbon, that the officers of the vessel came prepared with silver to acquire tobacco, iron, sugar and slaves. The Viceroy also stated that he was interested in retaining as much silver as possible in Rio.<sup>203</sup> Therefore, he had made arrangements to supply the Spanish crew with all the goods that they demanded, including slaves. The total value of the operation exceeded 22:000\$000rs.

“The amount of silver that remained here could have been much larger if I could have provided more tobacco than the three hundred and sixty five *arrobas* and twenty eight *arreteis*, which was their (Spaniards) main goal. They also took woods, goldsmiths tools, some wine, thirty *arrobas* of sweets, textiles, iron, wire and, finally, 93 slaves. Regarding the slave transaction, in the first place I tried to create difficulties, but I ended up allowing the transaction as a big favor. In truth, this went against the prohibition of selling slaves to regions that are not under the dominion of Your Majesty, passed in October, 14<sup>th</sup> 1751. However, after the publication of this resolution, practices on the contrary had been common, from Colônia and other locations of this Government, slaves always had been exported to Spanish dominions without any action against such trade by the Authorities, and this is the case because such legislation had been passed only to satisfy Foreigners that complained about slave contraband trade. Furthermore, such trade, far away from being harmful to the State, where there are many slave trade merchants, is very useful. Because the traders import slaves according to the demand, which is increasing, it will produce the growth of a branch of commerce that is not of little importance.”<sup>204</sup>

In this letter, Vasconcelos reveals the methods deployed by Spanish captains and officers to acquire goods, in Rio de Janeiro, without touching the official cargo in order to avoid charges of smuggling. Moreover, such practices were not new, but rather an adaptation of already tested methods of *arribadas* (emergency landing) under natural law. Although the stated destination of the ship

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<sup>203</sup> AHU RJ D 9294. 30 de Marco 1780. Ernst Pijning also identified this ship and this letter as being the key moment in the La Plata contraband trade for the period.

<sup>204</sup> AHU RJ D 9294. 30 de Marco 1780.

was another port in the Spanish empire, the captains arrived “prepared” with silver to acquire goods and buy slaves. All these signs suggest that by 1780, the old Sacramento trade network was modified and reestablished. The list of products purchased also reveals the clear knowledge of Spanish traders about what they needed to acquire in Rio: tobacco, wood, iron, sugar and slaves. All these products were typically exported to the Rio de la Plata via Colônia do Sacramento prior to 1777.

The Portuguese interest in retaining silver is also explicit, as well as the high level of autonomy of local authorities and merchants. The Viceroy boldly states that his main goal in welcoming the Spanish *arribadas* was to obtain the maximum amount of silver possible from those transactions; even though it contradicted imperial laws of trade. It should be remembered that in the case of emergency landings, the only goods allowed to be traded with foreigners were the ones necessary to repair and to supply the ship.<sup>205</sup> The selling of significant amounts of tobacco, wood, iron and tools were not ship supplies ship supplies. Most important, however, was the sale of 93 slaves to the Spaniards. Although it went against a Royal Ordinance of 1751, the Viceroy’s correspondence shows that such a law was never observed, and many Portuguese authorities thought that the decree was only meant to just to satisfy the diplomats of foreign powers, namely Spain. Furthermore, Vasconcelos mentioned the role of Colônia as the source of slaves for Rio de la Plata, and how in practice, this trade was always conducted without official impediments. In his assessment of the benefits of the

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<sup>205</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). The standard formulaic text of *Autos de Embarcação* in AN Cx 492 Pc 02.

trade, Vasconcelos not only spoke of the resuming of the flow of silver, but emphasized that incorporating the Spanish market into the economic sphere of Rio de Janeiro would increase the slave trade, and consequently produce more tax income for the Crown.

Although trade with foreigners was specifically regulated, the authorities and merchants of Rio de Janeiro and their partners in Rio de la Plata did not encounter obstacles in conducting their transactions. Counting on the formal support of local authorities, the merchants had not sought previous authorizations from Metropolitan powers. On the contrary, the Viceroy only informed authorities in Lisbon a posteriori. Colonial subjects were, *de facto*, deciding to trade with foreigners in the colonial space.

Less than one year later, the same subject was again brought to the attention of the *Concelho Ultramarino* in Lisbon. This time, the Viceroy informed the Council about the growth of the trade with Rio de la Plata in greater detail. In 1781 report, Vasconcelos revealed that because of the war between Spain and Britain, the number of Spanish vessels arriving in the port of Rio, and other Brazilian ports had increased. If in the past the Spaniards were willing to come to Rio, now, they were also willing to entertain Portuguese vessels in the La Plata estuary.<sup>206</sup> Moreover, Rio de la Plata authorities wanted to make clear to the merchants in Rio that Portuguese vessels would be welcomed in Montevideo.

The authorities in the port

“would welcome Portuguese ships that would ask for docking presenting a pretext of *arribada*, but in fact wanted to trade. In order to emphasize their interest he (Maciel) brought more than one hundred thousand pesos to show

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<sup>206</sup> AHU RJ Cx 117 D 9561 – 12 Julho 1781

that they are willing to spend such an amount in trade, and this convinced some ship owners to send their ships officially to Santa Catarina, Rio Grande and other Southern ports, but them would sail to Montevideo with pretext of *arribada*.”<sup>207</sup>

In addition, the Spanish envoy assured the Viceroy that such ships would return “loaded with hides and silver, since the Spaniards would provide there with abundance.”

The Brazilian Viceroy made clear the importance of the route for both merchant communities, as well as the reciprocal interest in keeping the trade flowing. The extra-official character of such negotiations was so evident that the Spaniards clearly stated that the Portuguese ships should leave Rio de Janeiro with documents to sail to Santa Catarina or Rio Grande (the Southern ports of Brazil), but go instead to Montevideo, where they would be admitted under the pretext of *arribada* by the *Comandante del Resguardo*.

Because the Atlantic was becoming progressively more dangerous for Spanish vessels, ship Captains arriving in Rio from Rio de la Plata also wanted to establish partnerships with fluminense merchants. The merchant emissaries from Rio de la Plata wanted to ensure that, once in Rio de Janeiro, they would be able to acquire and ship goods to Rio de la Plata. But, most importantly, traders from Montevideo and Buenos Aires were interested in shipping large amount of hides, silver and other products from the River Plate to Europe using Portuguese ships.<sup>208</sup>

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<sup>207</sup> AHU RJ Cx 117 D 9561 – 12 Julho 1781

<sup>208</sup> “avultadissima quantidade de coiros, e prata (...) para Corte e dela para Espanha.” AHU RJ Cx 117 D 9561

The authorities in Brazil, however, were somewhat suspicious of the “good faith” of rio platense merchants. Vasconcelos mentioned to the Overseas Council that the Spaniards could use such excuses to reduce their shipment costs, since the difference in shipping prices could reach 60% of the total price.<sup>209</sup> Moreover, the Brazilian Viceroy was concerned about possible smuggling, since a growth in the number of Spanish vessels arriving in Rio would make the control of illegal trade more difficult. Nevertheless, the Viceroy himself was in favor of the trade, and attached documents supporting this viewpoint to his memorandum. One of those documents was a letter from the powerful and respected merchant of Rio de Janeiro, Brás Carneiro Leão.

The Carneiro Leão’s letter supported the creation of partnerships to transship Rio de la Plata products to Europe, as well as to send Portuguese vessels to Montevideo. According to Carneiro Leão, the war had made the ocean crossing too risky for Spanish ships, and some merchants of Cadiz were authorized to send capital and information via Portugal. Moreover, the advantages for the merchants of Rio would also include the fact that almost all the silver transported would remain in Rio de Janeiro.<sup>210</sup> Finally, the existence of friendly and trustworthy merchants both in Cadiz and Montevideo contributed to the security of the transactions.

Carneiro Leão, one of the wealthiest merchants of Rio, had lengthy experience in dealing with the Platine market. The merchant was involved in the

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<sup>209</sup> The price for a shipment in Rio to Lisbon was 20 Cruzados, while from the river Plate the price was 60 cruzados in average. AHU RJ D 9561.

<sup>210</sup> According to the Viceroy, authorities and merchants tried to retain the maximum amount of silver and use *letras de cambio* as payment to Lisbon.

Rio de la Plata since Sacramento era. In 1775, in partnership with Sacramento based merchant Don João de Azevedo Souza, and together they had advanced more than 1:000\$000rs to Sacramento administration. Between 1778 and 1786, Brás Carneiro Leão also appeared repeatedly as a trading partner of Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo, the *Comandante del Resguardo* of Montevideo. Brás Carneiro Leão attested that Cipriano de Melo had credits in Rio de Janeiro totaling 32.000 pesos Together they had shipped slaves and other goods. Furthermore, Carneiro Leão was also involved with ship Captains and merchants who frequently visited the Rio de la Plata, including Manuel João da Cunha, the well known smuggler known as Captain Barriga (Belly), a friend of Cipriano de Melo.<sup>211</sup>

The justification used for ignoring imperial regulations emphasized the benefits of such trade as well the relatively safety of the operation. Growth of commerce and access to silver would be highly beneficial in economic terms. Furthermore, the Viceroy also mentioned fake licenses issued by Spanish authorities (namely the Viceroy Vertiz and the Superintendent Francisco de Paula Sanz,) to Spanish ships and traders sailing to Rio de Janeiro. Because of the neutral status of Portugal, Portuguese authorities could allow Spanish ships in their harbors according to natural law. Viceroy Vasconcelos also mentioned the possible advantages of such trade:

“as for the intended purpose of these shipments, (it seems to me) the merchants can make great use of the neutrality or our Flag and of the liberties assured by the agreements between Portugal and Great Britain that declare free and exempt, the merchandize of enemies on board our ships.”<sup>212</sup>

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<sup>211</sup> Biblioteca Nacional (BN) Lisboa – Manuscritos Pombalinos Códice 10855 – Colonia do Sacramento 08 Junho 1776; AGI – Buenos Aires 333 – 14 Junho 1785. In 1783 transactionns involving Cipriano de Melo, Francisco Maciel and Bras Carneiro Leão involved more than 13.000 pesos fuertes.

<sup>212</sup> AHU RJ D 9561 – 12 Julho 1781

According to the Viceroy, warfare could be profitable to the Portuguese, because they could benefit from the treaties between the Atlantic Empires. Without undermining Portugal's position of neutrality although a primary partner of Britain, it allowed Luso-Brazilian merchants to reinforce trade and political alliances with Spanish subjects. It is important to remember, that in Portugal, some of the politicians were still able to remember the lack of support and protections given by Britain in 1777. At that moment, Portuguese intelligence reports were clear about the Spanish expedition to Rio de la Plata that culminated with dislodgment of Sacramento; however, British authorities insisted in denying the veracity of the Portuguese information.<sup>213</sup> The British Empire, by 1777, was busy enough having to deal with the Revolution in North America, and did not sought to divert economic and political resources.

Finally, the Viceroy reminded metropolitan agents of the commitment of local authorities in Rio de la Plata. Platine officials were already authorizing Spanish subjects to sail from Montevideo to Brazilian ports, using various pretexts to trade and transshipping merchandise. An example was the arrival of Don Francisco de Medina in 1781, he was officially sent to do research on tobacco production, and to buy skilled slaves for such production. Medina was one of the merchants in charge of negotiating these informal agreements with merchants in Rio, who was also a trading partner of Don Cipriano de Melo. Medina returned to Montevideo with huge amounts of tobacco and slaves, but not a single captive worker able to produce tobacco, nor information about tobacco factories.<sup>214</sup>

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<sup>213</sup> IANTT – MNE Cx 915 – Papéis Varios de Hespanha. Pasta No. 3 “Primeiro e Segundo Compêndio que o Marques de Pombal entregou a Raynha Nossa Senhora para Ser Apresentado ao Rey D. José.” 1776-1777.

<sup>214</sup> AGN IX 25-5-6 – Reales Comunicaciones. 7 Jan 1781.

The positive results of these preliminary arrangements may be observed in another memorandum of 1783, showing that trans-shipments and the incorporation of Spanish ships into the Brazilian fleet were already a fact. On March 19<sup>th</sup>, 1783, the Viceroy reported to the Overseas Council that he would not continue to allow ships to sail from Rio de Janeiro straight to Cadiz, nor accept Spanish ships coming straight from Spanish ports to Rio de Janeiro. According to him such itineraries would be extremely suspicious if those ships were intercepted in the Ocean, and he was concerned they would facilitate contraband and avoid payment of the trans-shipment fees in Portuguese ports.<sup>215</sup>

During the early years of the 1780's, war between Spain and England allowed colonial subjects of the Iberian empires to strengthen trans-imperial cooperation. In helping Spanish authorities and merchants, Portuguese traders could have privileged access to Spanish territories, silver, and information. In 1782, the ship *Carlota*, transporting the Spanish surveyors working on setting the boundaries stipulated in 1777, was caught by British corsairs close to the Madeira Islands. The crew, officials, astronomers and some of cargo was transported in Portuguese ships to Rio, where Domingos Mendes Viana, the powerful director of the whaling contract in Rio offered help. Viana provided loans and cash advances to be collected in Montevideo, as well as providing them with transportation to the same port.<sup>216</sup>

Similar acts of explicit cooperation were recorded in Montevideo almost two decades later, when French corsairs arrived with Portuguese ships that were caught with cargo and crew crossing the Atlantic. Authorities in Rio soon reported on the important help provided by the "Spanish friend Francisco de Medina". In 1799, Medina not only

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<sup>215</sup> AHU RJ D 9772 - 19 Mar 1783

<sup>216</sup> AHU RJ D 9622 - 20 Abr 1782.

housed and provided loans for the officers of the three ships caught by French corsairs, but also helped the Portuguese officer in charge of liberating the confiscated ships. Medina interceded with local authorities in order to reinforce the Portuguese claim that the ships had been illegally apprehended, as well as pointing out its implications for the Spanish authorities in allowing such transactions to happen.<sup>217</sup>

Exchange of information was another important form of trans-imperial cooperation that revealed the overlapping interests of Luso-Brazilians and Spanish-American subjects. In 1799, when the above-mentioned French corsairs arrived in Montevideo, the authorities and merchants of Rio de la Plata kept their eyes on them. On the one hand, the French presence, with many confiscated ships and goods, meant opportunity for business, on the other hand, it also meant that Portuguese ships entering the estuary were potentially endangered by the French war ships. Without losing time, Rio de la Plata authorities and merchants sent fast boats to Sta. Catharina and Rio de Janeiro to warn Luso-Brazilian authorities and merchants about the French presence in the region.

Viceroy of Rio de la Plata, Joachin del Pino, a former Governor of Montevideo, was explicit in saying that he had no idea about the plans and strategies of the French ships, and that consequently he was sending this warning message in a fast ship with an experienced crew to spread the news. The Spanish Viceroy also asked the Luso-Brazilians to be careful in sending ships to Rio de la Plata:

“Not having received any orders from the Spanish Court that would allow me to harbor [merchant] ships, and because it goes against the law and Royal ordinances that I am suppose to enforce, I can not avoid asking V. Ex. to be sensitive of the repercussions of such news; because I am not a legislator, but only in charge of executing orders that I have

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<sup>217</sup> AHU RJ D 12729 - 11 Jun 1799.

sworn to enforce, I would be delighted in helping the vassals of *S. Mag. Fidelissima* if it was an option for me without sacrificing our respective responsibilities.”<sup>218</sup>

The Platine Viceroy wanted to be clear that he and the Rio de la Plata merchants were unable to protect and harbor Portuguese merchant ships. Such type of interaction was illegal and again, it illustrates how, contrary to Imperial laws, colonial subjects in the Americas possessed powerful networks of trade and information that crossed imperial boundaries.

The war between Britain and Spain was both an important element and a pretext for trade interactions in the early years of the 1780's, but the end of hostilities after 1783 did not stop the commercial flow. After 1783, Spanish ships continued to use Rio de Janeiro as port of call on their way to Cadiz, to ship silver and hides via the Portuguese fleet, and to acquire slaves and other goods in the *Fluminense* port. The most frequently used excuse for forced arrivals was that the ships had encountered storms in the Atlantic, and Rio was the only possible port for repairs.<sup>219</sup> Upon anchoring, they would be granted time to perform repairs, varying from 15 days to 6 months. In many cases, Spanish captains would manage to trans-ship their cargo to Portuguese ships in order to reach the final destination in Cadiz, via Lisbon. The fee of 4% for trans-shipment and 3% for port use were normally applied in Rio de Janeiro. The existence of such procedures and fees shows the everyday character of such interactions.

On one occasion in 1785, the Captain declared it necessary to sell his cargo of hides, copper and some silver in order to pay for repairs and acquire other necessary

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<sup>218</sup> AHU RJ D.13319. 08 de Jan 1800.

<sup>219</sup> AHU RJ Documents: 9326, 10052, 9567, 10215, 10607, 10056.

goods. This case is emblematic of how planned and predictable the *arribadas* were. Captain Ignacio Sestiaga prepared himself carrying silver, and 11.000 hides, in order to be able to pay for services and goods in Rio de Janeiro. Apparently, the storms that caught the ship at 33 and 37 degrees South latitude had already been forecasted before he left Montevideo.<sup>220</sup>

These examples reveal the continuation of the commercial interactions semi-legalized during times of war, but now also conducted during times of peace. The pattern of *arribadas*, the trans-shipment of merchandise, and the acquisition of goods remained the same. Moreover, the cargos varied little from those transported in the previous years. Once again, imperial laws against trade with foreigners did not impede the cooperation between the merchant communities of Rio de la Plata and Rio de Janeiro.

Another important factor in allowing this trade was the new laws favoring the slave trade in the Spanish Empire. Basing their policy on Physiocratic ideas, Spanish reformers sought to improve agricultural production in the Americas and to increase Spanish participation in the slave trade in order to provide a larger number of rural workers. Thus, licenses to Spanish colonial subjects to acquire slaves from Africa and even from neutral powers were granted. Such licenses, however, explicitly forbade any other type of exchange between Spanish subjects and foreigners. During the 1780's, merchants from Rio de la Plata obtained licenses to bring significant number of slaves from the Coast of Brazil. Nevertheless, as Alex Borucki found, it is in the 1790's that such traffic increased substantially.<sup>221</sup> However, if the slave trade alone was authorized, it did not prevent merchants from conducting other types of trades. Moreover,

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<sup>220</sup> AHU RJ, Cx. 125 Doc 10052 29-Abril-1785

<sup>221</sup> Alex Borucki. "The Slave Trade in the making of the late-colonial Rio de la Plata, 1786-1806" paper presented in the Conference of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, 15-18 November 2007

intermittent conflicts in the 1790's allowed colonial subjects to interpret the law in favor of their own economic interests.

In the early years of the 1790's, the relationship between local authorities in the Southern borderlands were quite tense, with bitter disputes over the control Rio Grande and Sta. Catarina, as well as over the disposition of products confiscated during the war of 1777.<sup>222</sup> However, diplomatic tension did not prevent or diminished the flow of trade between Rio de la Plata and Rio de Janeiro. On the contrary, during the 1790's, contacts between Spanish and Portuguese subjects intensified. During this period, trends observed in the 1780's developed further. The combination of the use of imperial laws promoting the slave trade together with legislation allowing trade with neutrals during periods of war facilitated colonists in pursuing their commercial interests. By the turn of the century, direct trade between Rio de Janeiro and Rio de la Plata as well as the use of Portuguese ships to transport merchandise through the Atlantic was the norm. As the Empire progressively depended more on the resources of the colonists, cooperation between colonial subjects allowed the maintenance of the connections between Spain and its colonies in South America,

In summary, the nominal reasons presented for the arrival of Spanish ships in Rio de Janeiro fell into 3 categories: 1 – to seek protection to cross the Atlantic with the Portuguese convoy or to trans-ship goods to Portuguese ships to be sent to Europe. 2 – Forced arrival due to storms in the Atlantic that would allow Spanish captains to trans-ship merchandise to Portuguese ships, or to sell their goods in Rio de Janeiro. 3 – To use

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<sup>222</sup> IANTT – MNE Cx 915. Pasta 1 – Papéis Varios de Hespanha.

official licenses to perform commerce with neutrals, acquire slaves and even ships in order to “nationalize” them in Rio de la Plata.

The only pretext actually occasioned war was the seeking of Portuguese protection for the Atlantic crossing. This could involve the substitution of the Spanish flag for the Portuguese, or the trans-shipment of merchandise from Spanish ships to Portuguese ships. In this last case, Spanish ships normally returned to La Plata loaded with products from Brazilian ports, Europe or slaves. This pretext was normally used during periods of war, when British ships prevented Spanish ships from getting to Europe.<sup>223</sup> Nevertheless, in 1796, during a brief interregnum in warfare, the same excuse was also used by ship Captains, claiming to have licenses issued prior to the cessation of hostilities. Merchandise shipped from Cadiz to Rio de la Plata via Lisbon and Rio de Janeiro reversed the same route employing either trans-shipment of merchandise or substitution of flags.<sup>224</sup> Both methods proved to be effective for they guaranteed the safety of the Spanish ships navigating the Atlantic even in extreme situations. As the Captain of *La Judit* reported, his ship was coming from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro, with cargo from Cadiz owned by Buenos Aires merchants, and had Montevideo as its final destination. *La Judit* crossed the Atlantic in a convoy of 136 ships. At 5 degrees North latitude, the convoy was approached by two British privateers, but Portuguese officers made sure that none of the ships were confiscated.<sup>225</sup>

The use of Portuguese ports, ships and associates became ordinary. In 1802, the Rio Platense merchant Don Francisco de Necochea presented a petition in Brazil and in

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<sup>223</sup> AGNU EHG Cj 40. 7 Nov. 1799, 25 Dec. 1799, 18 Nov 1799, IANTT MNE Cx 915 17 Maio 1802.

<sup>224</sup> AGNU EHG Cj 55. 1802 , AGNU EHG Cj 55. 1802 exp 194, AGNU EHG Cj 56 Exp 216, AGNU EHG Cj 40 21 Jan 1799, AGNU EHG Cj 40 16 Setp 1798, AGNU EHG Cj 40 5 Sept 1799

<sup>225</sup> AGNU AHG Cj 40. 5 Sept 1799.

Lisbon in order to prevent Spanish merchants from paying port fees and trans-shipment fees twice, in Brazil and in Portugal. Necochea asked for a regulation to allow Spaniards to use the Portuguese route, and mentioned that this would benefit their Portuguese associates in Rio and in Lisbon. Instead of paying two port fees of 3% each, and the mandatory 4% fee for trans-shipment, Necochea, proposed a total fee of 7%. Although we do not know the outcome of this case, it shows the importance and regular usage of the Portuguese route by Spanish merchants. Although merchants from Rio de la Plata were officially using their neutral trade regulations, transactions did not end in Rio de Janeiro or other Brazilian ports. They used their knowledge and networks in Brazil to maintain the flow of goods and information between Rio de la Plata and the Iberian Peninsula during the 1790's and early 1800's.

During the 1790's and early 1800's, the most frequently used pretext by Spanish captains to enter Luso-Brazilian ports was the need for repairs due to storms encountered in the South Atlantic. Even during periods of war, such an excuse was deployed by a large number of captains.<sup>226</sup> From 1800 to 1806, 70% of the Spanish ships arrived in Rio de Janeiro seeking to repair damages caused by storms they faced in the South Atlantic.<sup>227</sup>

Curiously enough, the early 1800's were years of war in the Atlantic, but Spanish captains preferred to claim Natural Law rights than to rely on temporary agreements subject to change. In 1800, in months when a large number of Spanish vessels arrived in Rio de Janeiro, some Spanish ships asked for protection from British privateers, others

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<sup>226</sup> AHU-RJ 10215, AHU-RJ 10532, AHU-RJ 10607, AHU-RJ 13396, AHU-RJ 13397, AHU-RJ 13398, AHU-RJ 13399, AHU-RJ 13407, AHU-RJ 13412, AHU-RJ 13408.

<sup>227</sup> I have information for 26 vessels in the 1800's. 18 of them alleged storms as the reason to enter Rio de Janeiro.

entered the harbor seeking repairs after naval conflicts, and still others used the weather as a pretext. Because licenses for Neutral Trade were granted and revoked periodically, I believe that by the 1800's, Spanish-American and Luso-Brazilians subjects had acquired enough experience to know that the right of emergency landing guaranteed by Natural Law and international conventions was more reliable.

In 1796, a Spanish ship owned by Buenos Aires merchant Tomás Antonio Romero faced problems in docking in Rio de Janeiro. Local authorities initially considered the arrival of the ship Jesus Maria José to be illegitimate. The ship's Captain, José Antonio Sarzetea, stated he was originally bound for the Cape of Good Hope but, for not being lengthly armed, he entered Rio de Janeiro seeking protection. The ship's admittance into the Rio de Janeiro harbor was only allowed after the Captain and his officers - who were Luso-Brazilians – explained the need for repairs to the sails and the ragging of the ship. Such an excuse granted them not only permission to enter, but also to sell part of their cargo. In the official report, the admittance of the ship appears as accorded “prerogatives granted by State Laws.”<sup>228</sup> On this occasion, appealing to the “State rules” was also referring to the right of self-preservation recognized by natural law, clearly a more effective strategy.<sup>229</sup> It is noteworthy that Portuguese ships deployed the same type of excuses to enter in Rio de la Plata ports. Using the weather as pretext to enter in foreign ports also allowed captains the benefits of trade with neutrals. Storms were a pretext that never went out of fashion.

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<sup>228</sup> “Com prerrogativas que lhe guardam as leis do Estado.” AN-RJ – Cx 492 Pct. 02. 10 de Out de 1796.

<sup>229</sup> About the uses of *arribadas forzozas* and Natural Law: Zacarias Moutoukias. *Contrabando y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII*. (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de América Latina. 1988). For the universality of the right of self-preservation both in State Reason and in Natural Law, see Richard Tuck *The Rights of War and Peace*. (Cambridge: Oxford Univ. Press. 1999). p 06.

After 1777, the Spanish Crown began to seriously promote the slave trade. Based on Physiocratic ideas that wealth was produced via agriculture, slavery was seen as a basic element for fostering production in the colonies. In 1777, the Santo Ildefonso treaty handed over the Islands of Fernando Poo and Annobon off the African coast to the Spaniards. New legislation also authorized the acquisition of slaves from foreign merchants, as long as the ships used in such trade were Spanish. Merchants from Rio de la Plata took particular advantage of such legislation.

Rio platense merchants employed slaving licenses to sail to Rio de Janeiro where they bought tobacco, chachaça, sugar, and textiles, as well as they trans-shipped merchandise to and from Europe. Although Spanish laws explicitly forbade the introduction of any other goods together with slaves, this prohibition was widely ignored.<sup>230</sup> In many cases, the number of slaves transported in these voyages was relatively small, sometimes fewer than a dozen.<sup>231</sup> Merchants from Rio de la Plata used the return voyages from Luso-Brazilian ports to return with slaves, merchandise acquired in Brazilian ports or cargo that was trans-shipped from Europe in Portuguese ships. The main difference in the use of this pretext as compared to the other two patterns previously analyzed is that these ships did not cross the Atlantic, nor were they officially sending cargo to Europe.

The slave trade route between Brazil and Rio de la Plata also attested to the high level of cooperation between Iberian subjects in the South Atlantic. In the 1790's, new Portuguese regulations forbidding the export of slaves to foreign regions were put in

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<sup>230</sup> AGNU - EHG Cx 79. 1788 12-Jun-1788 and AGI - Buenos Aires - Codice 346, 30 Abr 1798.

<sup>231</sup> For a detailed analysis of the slave trade in Rio de la Plata, see Alex Borucki. "The Slave Trade in the making of the late-colonial Rio de la Plata, 1786-1806" paper presented in the Conference of the Social Science History Association, Chicago, 15-18 November 2007.

effect. According to Luso-Brazilian authorities, the high numbers of slaves sent to Rio de la Plata had provoked the rise of slave prices in Rio de Janeiro from 50\$000rs to 100\$000, thereby damaging Luso-Brazilian producers, since slaves were “the arms of the farmers in this land.”<sup>232</sup> Despite the protectionist arguments, it is noteworthy that during the 1790’s, slaves` prices raised overall in the Atlantic.<sup>233</sup> Furthermore, contraband trade involving slaves was extremely hard to stop. Authorities continuously complained that they could not patrol the harbor properly, since Rio de Janeiro merchants would send small boats with slaves to other areas along the nearby coast and embark slaves directly onto Spanish ships, after they had left the harbor.<sup>234</sup> Again, the importance of already existent networks of trade proved to be important for the logistics of such operations. During times of war or peace, colonial subjects were able to find legal excuses to cross imperial boundaries, as well as to find illegal ways of doing so.

Another important aspect of such a strategy is that, on many occasions, merchants from the Rio de la Plata acquired ships. Often, the ship to be “nationalized” would arrive in Rio de la Plata with a cargo of slaves and other products.<sup>235</sup> The acquisition of ships represented another level of trans-imperial cooperation, since Spanish-American subjects were expanding their trade and naval capacity by drawing on foreign suppliers. These transactions also depended on enduring networks of trade, since credit was a crucial

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<sup>232</sup> AHU RJ Cx. 164 12265. 28 Abril 1798.

<sup>233</sup> By 1793, the average price (standardized) in the Atlantic was 51.5, by 1800 the average price (standardized) was 80.7. For the full series of slave prices in the Atlantic between 1750 and 1808, see Voyages Slave Trade Database Online: <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/database/search.faces?yearFrom=1514&yearTo=1866&jamcasprFrom=&jamcasprTo=>

<sup>234</sup> AHU RJ Cx. 155 11714. 17 Jul 1795.

<sup>235</sup> AGNU - EHG Cj. 34. and Cj. 40. Among the products imported: wax, sugar, cachaça, iron, rice and indigo. For an extensive analysis of the acquisition of foreign vessels by Rio de la Plata merchants, see Jerry W. Cooney, “Neutral Vessels and Platine Slavers: Building a Viceregal Merchant Marine” *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 18, No. 1. (May, 1986), pp. 25-39.

element. I have identified transactions that varied from 3.000 pesos to 7.000 pesos *fuertes*.<sup>236</sup> Although often such transactions involved a great amount of silver as method of payment, credit and consignment of merchandise were also options, revealing the dynamic role of trans-imperial networks of trade.<sup>237</sup>

### **Final Comments**

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, intermittent warfare between European empires provoked a profound change in Spanish patterns of trade. After experiencing an impressive growth in the commerce with its colonies after the reforms of free trade in the late 1770's, the logistics of this system were disrupted by intermittent war in the last decade of the century. Historians have argued that in the 1790's Spanish ships were impeded in crossing the Atlantic, leaving Spain without control over trade and information about its colonies. In order to allow the colonies to obtain supplies, trade with neutral powers was allowed, permitting Spanish subjects to acquire goods in other regions of the Americas. In analyzing Portuguese and Spanish sources together, however, a third trade route appears, complicating such perspectives. Spanish colonists from Rio de la Plata used Portuguese ships to send goods, information and people to Spain. Moreover, in many occasions Spanish ships crossed the Atlantic together with the Brazilian fleet, with the Portuguese flag on their masts.

War during this period was inextricably connected with trade. The use of war as a pretext to conduct trade with neutrals was crucial to the development of trans-imperial

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<sup>236</sup> AGNU EHG Cj 34. 20 Feb. 1797. AGNU EHG Cj. 34. 12 Dic. 1797. AGNU EHG Cj. 34 15 Dic. 1797. AGNU EHG Cj 40. 5 Abr. 1799.

<sup>237</sup> AGNU EHG Cj. 34. 15 Dec. 1797.

routes. Conversely, commercial routes were the main stage on which maritime conflicts were played out, and they were normally victimless.

Using war as an excuse, benefiting from laws for trade with neutrals and previously existing networks of trade, Spanish subjects were able to maintain at least part of the flow of goods between Spain and its Southern Atlantic colonies. Such commercial routes involved enduring partnerships, credit, and cooperation of Luso-Brazilian and Spanish-American merchants and authorities. Such interactions were not always legal, but officials used a variety of subterfuges in an attempt to legalize this route. Despite the extra-legality of these trans-imperial networks, such arrangements allowed the Spanish Empire to keep contact with its colonies to a larger degree than the historiography has previously suggested. As a result, metropolitan authorities and merchants became progressively more dependent on the resources and networks of their Spanish-American counterparts, who, in turn, progressively enjoyed higher levels of autonomy.

## **Chapter 5 - The Making of Montevideo's Jurisdiction: Contraband, Reforms and Authority**

In the second half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, important political, administrative and fiscal reforms were enacted for the Spanish American colonies. The reforms aimed to make imperial administration more efficient, and increase metropolitan control over the vast American dominions. Different regions of the empire were affected and reacted in different ways. In colonial centers of power, elites often saw the reforms as undermining their power. In peripheral areas, local elites were able to use the reforms to enhance their position within the empire<sup>238</sup>. The Bourbon reforms changed the balance of power within the colonies. In borderland areas, the reforms not only impacted the way in which local groups related to the metropole, but also the way in which they interacted with the local center of power. In the Rio de la Plata, the creation of the viceroyalty, with its capital in Buenos Aires, represented at first glance the empowering of Buenos Aires elites. Nevertheless, the establishment of Montevideo as the main Atlantic port allowed the elites of Montevideo to build their own power niche in the region. In this chapter, I investigate how local elites manipulated imperial legislation in order to expand the city's jurisdiction. I pay special attention to how the elites of Montevideo combined the use of imperial legislation and trans-imperial interactions to raise the status of the city within the viceroyalty.

In the last half of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Montevideo evolved from a small colonial city dependent on Buenos Aires to a provincial capital and expanded its jurisdiction over the

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<sup>238</sup> Jaques Barbier *Reform and Politics in Bourbon Chile 1775-1796* (Ottawa: Univ. of Ottawa Press. 1980).

territory of the “Banda Oriental.” In this process, Montevideo gained jurisdiction over territories and matters that were previously under the control of Buenos Aires or were contested by the Portuguese. The analysis of administrative and judicial records reveals how the elites of Montevideo used the control of trans-imperial trade and contraband routes to progressively concentrate authority and develop a higher level of commercial and political autonomy in relation to the viceregal capital. This process brought social factions from both sides of the Rio de la Plata into conflict over the control of trade, contraband and administrative jurisdiction in the so-called “Banda Oriental.”

During the decades of the 1780’s and 1790’s, the merchants and authorities of Montevideo engage in a dispute with Buenos Aires over the control of the regulations and logistics of trans-Atlantic trade. Moreover, social groups of both cities also competed for jurisdiction over the control of inland contraband trade.<sup>239</sup> An analysis of these conflicts illuminates the process of jurisdiction building. I concentrate on information contained in the papers of the Governor of Montevideo of the secretary of the viceroyalty and two crucial legal cases. The first legal case, dated from the 1780’s, centers on the question of the repression of inland contraband and the distribution of land in the countryside of Banda Oriental. This dispute opposed viceregal authorities headquartered in Buenos Aires and the Intendant’s Resguardo officers based in Montevideo. These competing factions fought over who controlled the exploitation of cattle herds in the area as well as contraband and legal trade. The second legal case from the 1790’s concerns control over docking of ships involved in trans-Atlantic trade. Since the reforms of the late 1770’s,

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<sup>239</sup> The territory of Banda Oriental was formally under three distinct and overlapping jurisdictions during the last period of the Colonial period, specifically the Northwestern portion of the area. The competing jurisdictions were the Intendancy of Buenos Aires, the Governorship of Montevideo and the Governorship of Misiones. Ana Frega *Pueblos y Soberanía en la Revolución Artiguista* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental). P 02.

Montevideo was the port authorized for the disembarkation of goods from ships arriving from foreign regions, including the coasts of Africa, Brazil and North America. The elites of Buenos Aires tried to undermine the power of the authorities of Montevideo by charging them engaging in smuggling, emphasizing the “second rank” of the city and proposing the licesing of a third port in the region, at Ensenada de Barragan. This maneuver achieved short lived success in 1801, but Montevideo’s primacy as the Atlantic port of the region was reaffirmed in 1802.

This process of jurisdiction expansion was not isolated from other social processes, so these disputes over the control of trans-imperial trade routes were also connected to the existence of privileged networks connecting the elites of Montevideo to Luso-Brazilian merchants. Moreover, the knowledge acquired by groups centered in Montevideo about the borderlands during the decades that Rio Grande was under Spanish rule was crucial to the process. As a result, it is important to consider the Luso-Brazilian connections of Montevideo and the Banda Oriental.

First, it is necessary to examine the role of the Governor and the Intendant in the building of Montevideo’s jurisdiction. Although many authors have emphasized the role of the Cabildos as centers of political life in colonial Spanish America as well as the source of sovereignty to legitimize jurisdiction, I suggest that in the case of Montevideo, the jurisdiction over contraband, transatlantic trade and land distribution centred in the governor. I adopt the term re-territorialization in order to define this process of transforming the political and social geography of the area and connecting it to Montevideo.

## **On Cabildos, Governances and Intendencias**

Historians tend to consider the Cabildo the main institution controlling the jurisdiction of colonial cities, and the source of local authority. This assessment is strengthened because of the prominent role of the Cabildos during the revolutionary period, when the crisis of authority made the Cabildo Abierto a fundamental protagonist in major political decisions.<sup>240</sup> Throughout the colonial period, however, the Cabildos' role was governing at the local level. Jurisdiction over prices of food, local taxes, local police, and public works resided in the Cabildo, and many times there were disputes between neighboring Cabildos over their areas of jurisdiction. Often, disputes between Cabildos reflected disputes among different groups within a region over the control of local resources and management.

In this chapter, I analyze the creation of new offices and the expansion of the duties of existing offices empowered the local bureaucracy of Montevideo. Specifically, the creation of the Intendancy system, new branches of Real Hacienda and Customs with the jurisdiction over contraband, foreign trade, and the exploitation of the countryside benefited authorities and the Governor of Montevideo. Elites used the new administrative and political powers to expand their jurisdiction over a territory that had previously encompassed multiple Cabildos.<sup>241</sup> Moreover, the empowering of the authorities based in Montevideo was used as the instrument to gain autonomy from Buenos Aires. The groups centered in Montevideo used the need to control the borderlands and contraband trade as

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<sup>240</sup> Ana Frega *Pueblos y Soberania en la Revolucion Artiguista* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental. 2007). John Lynch *Latin American Revolutions* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press. 1994). William Pierson Jr. "Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Vol 5, No. 4. 1922). Pgs. 573-596. Fredrick Pike "The Municipality and the System of Checks and Balances in Spanish American Colonial Admisnitracion" *The Americas* (Vol. 15, No. 2. 1958). Pgs. 139-158.

<sup>241</sup> The Governance of Montevideo was responsible for the foundations of Maldonado 1757, and Minas, 1786.

the justification for further expanding jurisdictions of local authorities. This process was legally based on manipulating the competing jurisdictions of the newly reformed fiscal system in the Region.

The creation of the Intendant system and new fiscal offices based in Montevideo (Customs and *Resguardo*) meant the inclusion of new groups involved in controlling overland and maritime trans-imperial trade routes. The confluence of Imperial interests in enhancing control over the region together with the willingness of elites of Montevideo to control such activities resulted in the expansion of the bureaucratic and police apparatus in Montevideo and over the region. Most importantly, it assured certain social groups of Montevideo control over the trade networks with Luso-Brazilians and control over trans-imperial trade. Nevertheless, the empowerment of Montevideo's jurisdiction was not exclusively tied to the strengthening of the Intendant system in opposition to the Viceroyal authority centered in Buenos Aires. In the late 18<sup>th</sup> century, Viceroy Feliú, a former Governor of Montevideo, ruled in favor of Montevideo's port jurisdiction over trans-imperial trade. Thus, rather than concentrating exclusively on gaining power through the creation of a single office, Montevideo's elites manipulated the existing legal spaces in the system to further empower their commercial and political interests.<sup>242</sup>

During the 17<sup>th</sup> and most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the colonial Cabildo was in charge of justice, public works, distribution of urban land plots, urban infra-structure and regulating

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<sup>242</sup> As visible protagonists of the commercial faction based in Montevideo I can cite the group of Cipriano de Melo, José Joaquín de Viana, Melchor de Viana, Francisco Maciel, Antonio Pereira, Olaguer Feliu, among other. These merchants and officials were connected via trade, friendship and family networks.

local commerce, in the area of its Jurisdiction.<sup>243</sup> The Cabildo usually reflected the interests of the *vecinos*, property owners, of European ancestry or origin. As the colonies grew, more cabildos were created and increasing disputes over jurisdiction of territories appeared between old and new Cabildos.<sup>244</sup>

During the eighteenth century, Cabildos were progressively disempowered by the fragmentation of their jurisdiction and by the reforms of the late 18<sup>th</sup> century. The emergence of new regional groups that claimed sovereignty over local affairs as good subjects of the King fostered the appearance of new Cabildos. With the exception of newly settled frontiers, the new Cabildos governed areas previously under control of “older” Cabildos. This process was a contradictory one. On the one hand it empowered local groups that found in the regional cabildos a fortress to defend their local interests. On the other hand, the fragmentation of jurisdictions weakened the influence of the institution. However, according to the historian John Lynch, it was the creation of the Intendant system (later Superintendacy) in the late 1770’s that most seriously affected the power of the Cabildo, since the Intendant had jurisdiction over city regulations and taxation.<sup>245</sup> Nevertheless, the Cabildo maintained the right to petition directly authorities in Spain including the King himself about local matters. Moreover, during the Bourbon reforms, because of the emergence of competing jurisdictions of governors and

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<sup>243</sup> William Pierson Jr. “Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution” *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Vol 5, No. 4. 1922).

<sup>244</sup> For the role of the cabildos in regional disputes in the rural setting and how this institution shaped the political and social tissue in the colonial period see the excellent study of Ana Frega *Pueblos y Soberanía en la Revolución Artiguista* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental. 2007). Pgs. 56-64. For a broader analysis of the role of the juridical culture centered on Cabildos and Natural Law: Jose Carlos Chiaramonte “La Cuestión iusnaturalista en los Movimientos de Independencia” *Boletín del Instituto de Historia Argentina y Americana Dr. Emilio Ravignani* (Tercera Serie, No. 22. Buenos Aires. 2000). Pgs. 33-71.

<sup>245</sup> John Lynch “Intendants and Cabildos in the Viceroyalty of La Plata 1782-1810. (HAHR, 1955).

intendants, the Cabildo became the *locus* of regional disputes.<sup>246</sup> As a result, the cabildos did not interfere in viceregal politics and administration; maintaining sovereignty exclusively over local affairs.<sup>247</sup>

It was the governors and the viceroys that exerted the key power over fiscal, military and political matters. The governors oversaw customs, military and frontier matters, and foreign trade. The branches of Real Hacienda and Aduana as well as many other officials and clerks were under the authority of the Governor or the Viceroy, where one existed. During most of the 18<sup>th</sup> century there was a strong connection between the authorities and the local elites. With the reforms, the bureaucratic body became more professionalized, and with the creation of the Intendant system, the authority of the Viceroy was counterbalanced.<sup>248</sup>

The creation of the office of Intendent and later the Superintendent also empowered some governors who were named Gobernadores Intedentes. Thus, regional governors gained authority over fiscal and political matters that had previously been exclusively under the Viceroy. Between 1782 and 1788, the Office of the Superintendent had jurisdiction over the Comandancia de Resguardos and Customs; in addition it oversaw Real Hacienda matters. Superintendent Sanz claimed jurisdiction over trans-imperial trade, and supported Montevidean authorities and interests. In the case of Montevideo, the creation of the new legal institutions gave the local bureaucracy

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<sup>246</sup> Ana Frega *Pueblos y Soberania en la Revolucion Artiguista* (Montevideo: Ediciones de la Banda Oriental. 2007). Pgs. 56-57.

<sup>247</sup> William Pierson Jr. "Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Vol 5, No. 4. 1922). Pg. 591. See also Ricardo Levene *Los Origenes de la Democracia. Argentina*. P 105.

<sup>248</sup> Susan Socolow. *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1987). Appendix D

jurisdiction over emergency landings, the local branch of the Real Hacienda, the House of Customs and the *Comadancia del Resguardo*.

### **The Jurisdiction of Montevideo – the Expansion of the Governorship**

The Cabildo of Montevideo was created in 1729 by the Governor of Buenos Aires, Bruno Mauricio de Zavala, and had its first officials elected in 1730. The Cabildo, following the pattern of Cabildos of other dependent cities in the Spanish Empire, had six officials (regidor and alcaldes) plus one *Alcalde de la Sta. Hermandad de Buenos Aires*.<sup>249</sup> During the initial phase, most of the members of the Cabildo of Montevideo were either immigrants from the Canary Islands, Spaniards or Porteños. In these years, the Jurisdiction of the Cabildo was limited to local affairs, having for its limits the undefined area that could be disputed by neighboring Portuguese of Colônia, the Missions' Estancias, and Indigenous groups.

The Cabildo was the only governing body of the city until 1751, when the governorship of Montevideo was created. The first political and military Governor was José Joaquín de Viana, an officer who led the joint armies of the Spanish and the Portuguese against the rebellious Siete Pueblos. The governorship of Montevideo extended approximately one hundred miles, from the center of the city in the east roughly defined by the Cerro Pan de Azúcar and in the north by the San José creek. Nevertheless, because of the intermittent warfare in the area, Montevideo was able to extend its jurisdiction in the interests of restraining the Portuguese expansion. In 1757, the

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<sup>249</sup> William Pierson Jr. "Some Reflections on the Cabildo as an Institution" *The Hispanic American Historical Review* (Vol 5, No. 4. 1922).

Governor of Montevideo founded the town of Maldonado in order to promote Spanish control of the port and counterbalance the Portuguese presence in the region. Although given formal jurisdiction over fiscal, military and political matters in the area, the governor was still dependent on Buenos Aires, since Montevideo had neither a branch of the Real Hacienda, nor with a Customs house. Thus, the suppression of contraband trade in the Rio de la Plata was directed from Buenos Aires, although the officer in charge, Francisco de Alzaybar, had strong interests in the Northern Bank.<sup>250</sup>

Five men were appointed governor of Montevideo between 1751 and 1804, one of whom held office twice.<sup>251</sup> The average time in office for a governor was 10.6 year. The long period of service of these men suggests there were good relations between them and local elites. The longest pealed governor was Jose Joaquin Viana, who governed for two terms, one of 13 and other of 2 years, and Joaquin del Pino, Viana's successor, who governed Montevideo for 17 years. Two of the Governors of Montevideo later became Vvceroyes of La Plata after serving in Montevideo (Joaquin del Pino and Olaguer Feliu).

Viana, the first governor, had already long experience with the Portuguese, while in office he maintained good relations with authorities and merchants from Colônia. In addition to the years spent allied with the Portuguese in the Guerra Guaranitica, as governor of Montevideo he refused to expel the Portuguese population.

In the decades of 1760 and 1770, new branches of the colonial administratoin in Montevideo were created. In the late 1760's regular postal service was established

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<sup>250</sup> Alzaybar had the right to patrol the River Plate with lanchas corsarias. AGN Sala IX 2.8.1 . Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. (Montevideo: Universidade de la Republica – FHCE. 1997). Pg. 178.

<sup>251</sup> The Governors of Montevideo during the period were: José Joaquín de Viana (1751 - 1764), Agustín de la Rosa (1764 - 1771) José Joaquín de Viana (1771 - 1773) Joaquín del Pino y Rozas (1773 - 1790) Antonio Olaguer y Feliú (1790 - 1797) José de Bustamante y Guerra (1797 - 1804).

between Montevideo and the Atlantic coast of Spain, and shortly thereafter, the port of Montevideo was chosen as the base for a naval base in the region. The 1770's brought the creation of a branch of the Real Hacienda in Montevideo, giving the region more autonomy in the administration over local expenses (1772). In the following year, a Royal ordinance established Montevideo as the official port of entrance in the region, but it was only after the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia in 1777 that Montevideo, like Buenos Aires, became a licensed Atlantic port.<sup>252</sup> In 1778, the new *Reglamento de Comercio Libre* made Montevideo the mandatory port of call at the entrance of the Rio de la Plata estuary. In the following years, a Customs agency, and the *Comandancia del Resguardo* controlling the inland and maritime trade and contraband expanded the jurisdiction of Montevideo over trans-imperial trade routes and the resources of the countryside. The Resguardo initially employed 34 people including officers, mariners, soldiers and clerks.<sup>253</sup> This agency gained more autonomy in 1781, when for all intents and purposes, Montevideo became the port of Buenos Aires.<sup>254</sup>

Throughout its existence, even though its level of autonomy might have varied, the Governance of Montevideo was part of the Viceroyalty of La Plata and was utterly connected to Buenos Aires. As a result, there are a series of administrative reports and correspondence exchanged between the Viceroy and its secretaries with the Governor and authorities in Montevideo. That helps to analyze the changing patterns in the institutional

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<sup>252</sup> Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. (Montevideo: Universidad de la Republica – FHCE. 1997). Pg.178.

<sup>253</sup> Arturo Cipriano de Melo *Senor de Forsteras*. (Montevideo: ARCA. 1985). p 14. The Resguardo counted with: “un comandante de barco, un visitador, un teniente de este, un guardamayor, seis dependientes de numero, diez soldados, un cabo, así como un contramestre y 12 marineros que tripulaban la embarcaion.”

<sup>254</sup> For the importance of the initial proceedings and the generation of the *sumaria* in shaping the outcome of the legal procedures, see: Oswaldo Barreneche. *Crime and Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires*. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press. 2006). Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. (Montevideo: Universidad de la Republica – FHCE. 1997). P 180-184.

relationship between Montevideo and the Viceroyal capital.<sup>255</sup> This source shows already the increasing volume of correspondence over time. These documents start in 1762 and continue until 1816, increasing in volume almost every year.

In order to analyze the change in the type of the documents. I selected three samples years: 1772-73, 1781 and 1792.<sup>256</sup> For each sample, I examined geographical references, as well as the type and nature of the document – whether there were requests, reports, petitions, consultations, for signs of expansion or retraction of jurisdiction. I read as increasing level of autonomy the inclusion new geographical areas in this correspondence, the increasing number of reports of actions performed rather than request for orders, the increasing documents about management of colonial enterprises and control over shipments, and the control of transit of people and goods in the region. As indicator of diminished authority I included reports detailing expenses, requests for orders, the sending of records of ships and contraband to Buenos Aires' authorities.

For the period 1772-73, documents sent from Montevideo to Benos Aires consisted mainly of monthly lists of the amounts of money expended with troops (*Relacion de Medias Pagas*), salaries paid to the same troops and soldiers hospitalized.<sup>257</sup> There are also directives on the creation of cuadrilleros (police force) in the interior region of Rio Negro and Yi with the specific instruction to send the people and the goods seized to Buenos Aires (Map 4.1).<sup>258</sup> Furthermore, there is also a report describing the actions taken after the emergency landing of a Portuguese ship.<sup>259</sup> Another recurring

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<sup>255</sup> AGN- Sala IX - Serie Montevideo. 3.2.4 to 3.7.10.

<sup>256</sup> AGN – Sala XI Montevideo 3.2.1; Sala IX 2.4.1; Sala IX 2.7.5.

<sup>257</sup> AGN 3.1.2 the following documents specifically: 25-1-1772, 14-1-1773, 25-1-1773, 20-4-1773, 29-1-1773,

<sup>258</sup> AGN Sala IX 3.2.1 Montevideo 10-I-1773

<sup>259</sup> AGN Sala IX Montevideo 3.2.1 26-II-1773. Also AGN Sala 2.1.4 Montevideo 1731-1751.

document are reports on prisoners, including specific names, crimes, and information whether they were freed or transferred to Buenos Aires.<sup>260</sup> Other documents reflect the role of Montevideo to Buenos Aires as the corridor of communication between the Viceroyalty and the commandant of Spanish occupied Rio Grande. Montevideo did not have jurisdiction over the conquered territory, but was required to keep communication open as well as to furnish resources for the troops occupying Rio Grande.<sup>261</sup> During this period, contraband apprehended via land or sea was registered, although the frequency was substantially inferior to that after 1777.

The picture that appears a decade later is substantially different. After the creation of the Customs House and the Comandancia del Resguardo, and the new status of the city as a mandatory port of call for Atlantic ships, both the types and content of the documents moving from Montevideo to Buenos Aires are changed. Instead of lists of soldiers in the hospital, or lists of *medias pagas*, the documents sent in 1781 were lists of colonizers being dispatched to the new colonies of Malvinas, Santa Lucia and Maldonado. In addition, the Governor of Montevideo included lists of tools and supplies provided for the colonists in order to get reimbursed by the Real Cajas de Buenos Aires. There is also a list of existent horses, cattle and carts belonging to the Crown. Although there are still lists providing numerical information actions performed to the authorities of Buenos Aires, their content and nature are very distinct from previous periods, showing a greater degree of autonomy and control of resources by the authorities of Montevideo.

In other correspondence, the most frequent topic is the control and suppression of inland and maritime contraband. Illicit commercial activities in the region of the rivers Yi

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<sup>260</sup> AGN Sala IX Montevideo 3.2.1 25-I-1773

<sup>261</sup> AGN Sala IX 3.2.1 24-4-1773, 13-4-1773.

and Negro were under the jurisdiction of the Real Hacienda of Buenos Aires in the 1770's, but they are now within the jurisdiction of the *Resguardo*, who commandant was Don Antonio Pereira, an officer in Montevideo's militia batallion (Map 4.2). Confiscation of contraband goods by Resguardo officer occurred not only in the Yi and Negro River, but also Santa Lucia and in various areas of the Montevideo port. Warehousing or auctioning the confiscated goods was now Montevideo's prerogative.<sup>262</sup> The exclusive right of inspecting ships in order to suppress contraband was exerted in the port of Montevideo by the second commandant of the Resguardo, Don Cipriano de Mello. Thus, a relative growth in autonomy is noticeable, specifically because on two occasions authorities of Buenos Aires protested about the privileges taken by Montevidean authorities. On one occasion the Viceroy would order that the goods confiscated from a French ship arriving from Rio loaded with Portuguese merchandise be sent to the Buenos Aires because the original denunciation of the smuggling had been made by Buenos Aires authorities. The second conflict involved the protest filed by sergeant-major Francisco Xavier de Vera, who claimed to be threatened by Don Cipriano de Melo of being shot if he visited a Portuguese ship that was being inspected by Cipriano and his men.

Nonetheless, the management of prisoners as well as the communication between Buenos Aires and Rio Grande continued. However, correspondence sent via Montevideo referred to the restitution of Colônia do Sacramento's properties and the Expedição de

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<sup>262</sup> AGN IX 2.4.1 – 29.XI.1781; 1.XII.1781; 3.XII.1781, 23.IX.1781; The case of 20.XII.1781 comprises a French ship that is embargoed because of the denunciation made by the Viceroy; the product of such action is deposited in the Reales Cajas de Buenos Aires, after the discounts of the costs of the operation by Montevideo's officers.

Limites. Finally, it was still the role of Montevideo to support navigation to Egmont in the Malvinas Islands and to supply other colonial enterprises in the region.

The new role played by Montevideo is reflected in both the presence of a large number of foreign ships docked in the port and its role suppressing contraband trade. After the Portuguese expulsion from Colônia, the illegal trans-Imperial traffic was redirected to the burgeoning port. In these records I alone was able to identify at least five cases of smuggling. The Montevideo Aduana and Resguardo confiscated and auctioned goods; thus, whitening the merchandise and integrating it into the market.<sup>263</sup>

In 1792, the third “snapshot” shows the prevalence of documents regarding the Portuguese contraband suppression, the presence of Portuguese subjects in Spanish domains, defense of the borders and, to a lesser extent, administrative matters regarding the colonial projects in Patagonia and Malvinas, and they comprise almost the entire sample.<sup>264</sup> The lists included in the correspondende are restricted to reports of total of hides exported via Montevideo’s port, a list of Portuguese settlers asking permission to inhabit the Spanish dominions, and lists of prisoners being sent to the Malvinas.<sup>265</sup> These lists suggest the fluidity of the border and the involvement of Montevideo’s government in dealing with foreign settlers, as well as the maintenance of the colonial enterprises in Malvinas and transporting prisoners to Buenos Aires.

The appearance of multiple requests from Portuguese to immigrate into Montevideo’s jurisdiction, in 1792, suggests the fluidity of relations in the borderland area and the relatively easy integration of the Portuguese into Banda Oriental society. The

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<sup>263</sup> Zacarias Moutoukias, *Contraband y Control Colonial en el Siglo XVII* (Buenos Aires: Centro Editor de America Latina. 1988). Fabricio Prado *A Colonia do Sacramento – o Extremo Sul da America Portuguesa*. (Porto Alegre: Fumproarte. 2002).

<sup>264</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5

<sup>265</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 reports of 31 V 1792 and 29 V 1792 and 22 VI 1792.

petitions of 17 individuals, among whom included a medical doctor, coming from “del Rio Grande were willing to settle in this Province”.<sup>266</sup> Most interesting is the petition of a contrabandist, Manuel Pereira, who after finishing a 3.5 years jail term in Montevideo asked to become Spanish subject because he had “a brother and relatives, and he was born and raised in this Province.”<sup>267</sup>

The correspondence also reflects a growth in jurisdiction of Montevideo. The regions bordering the rivers Yi and Negro, Santa Lucia, the forts of Santa Tereza, Santa Tecla, Maldonado, the Mirin Lagoon and even the regions of Herval and Piratini, in the Brazilian Southernmost captaincy of Rio Grande were now under the Governor and Resguardo of Montevideo (Map 4.3).<sup>268</sup> Outposts controlling the extraction of hides and cattle, preventing the entry of runaway slaves, and illegal Portuguese settlers were charged with suppressing contraband trade along the border and throughout the inland routes.<sup>269</sup> Prisoners arrested for trafficking in contraband trade and the goods confiscated were to be transported to Montevideo as the above regions were under the jurisdiction of the Real Hacienda of Montevideo.<sup>270</sup>

The correspondence between authorities in Montevideo and Buenos Aires reflects a significant increase in interaction with the Portuguese in the period between 1781 and 1792. Documents reporting the confiscation of goods in the countryside, such as dark tobacco, smuggled slaves (all Brazilian products), and hides appear regularly.<sup>271</sup> The

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<sup>266</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 - 29 V 1792

<sup>267</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 - 16 IV 1792.

<sup>268</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 -21 V 1792.

<sup>269</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 – 29 V 1792 for Laguna Mirin Jurisdiction, 28 XII 1792 for formal Jurisdiction over matters in the Borderland forts.

<sup>270</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5 -30 VII 1792: “sobre envio de cueros decomisados a Montevideo.”

<sup>271</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5- 23 V 1792, 29 XI 1792, 4 de Julho, 16 de Abril de 1792.

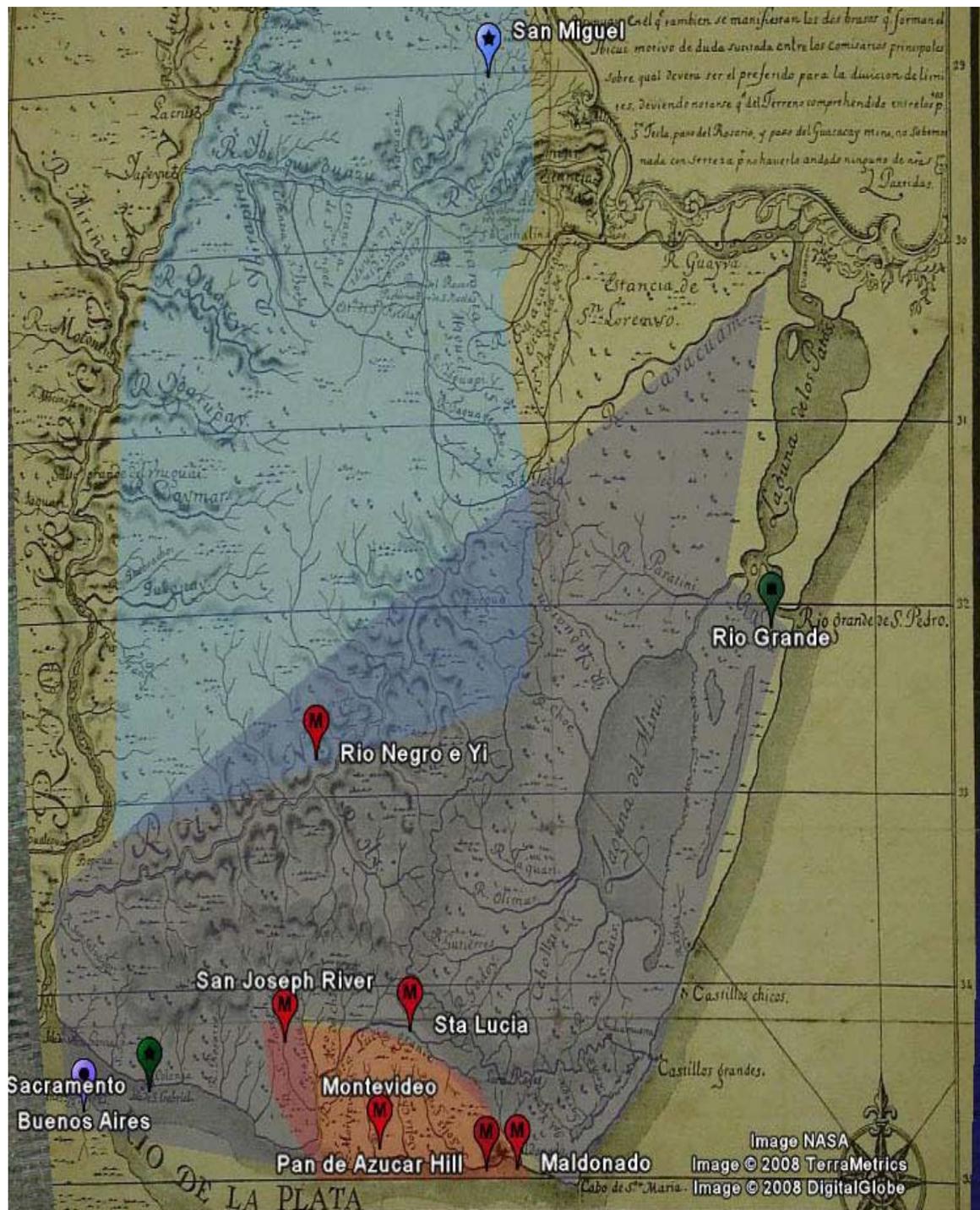
routine nature of contraband trade is also seen in documents about the smuggling of hides, the arrival of Portuguese ships, and the confiscation of contraband goods and slaves in Montevideo's port.<sup>272</sup> The increase in the jurisdictional area together with the expansion of trade registered in the period led Governor Olaguer Feliu to complain about the urgent need for more government officials to perform the duties of customs and to control the routes in the countryside.

Based on 1771-1772, 1781 and 1792, the expansion of Montevideo's jurisdiction is clear. However, this was not an uncontested process. While Montevideo was concentrating authority over trans-imperial trade routes and the exploitation of the resources of the countryside, Buenos Aires was losing its sovereignty over the same region.

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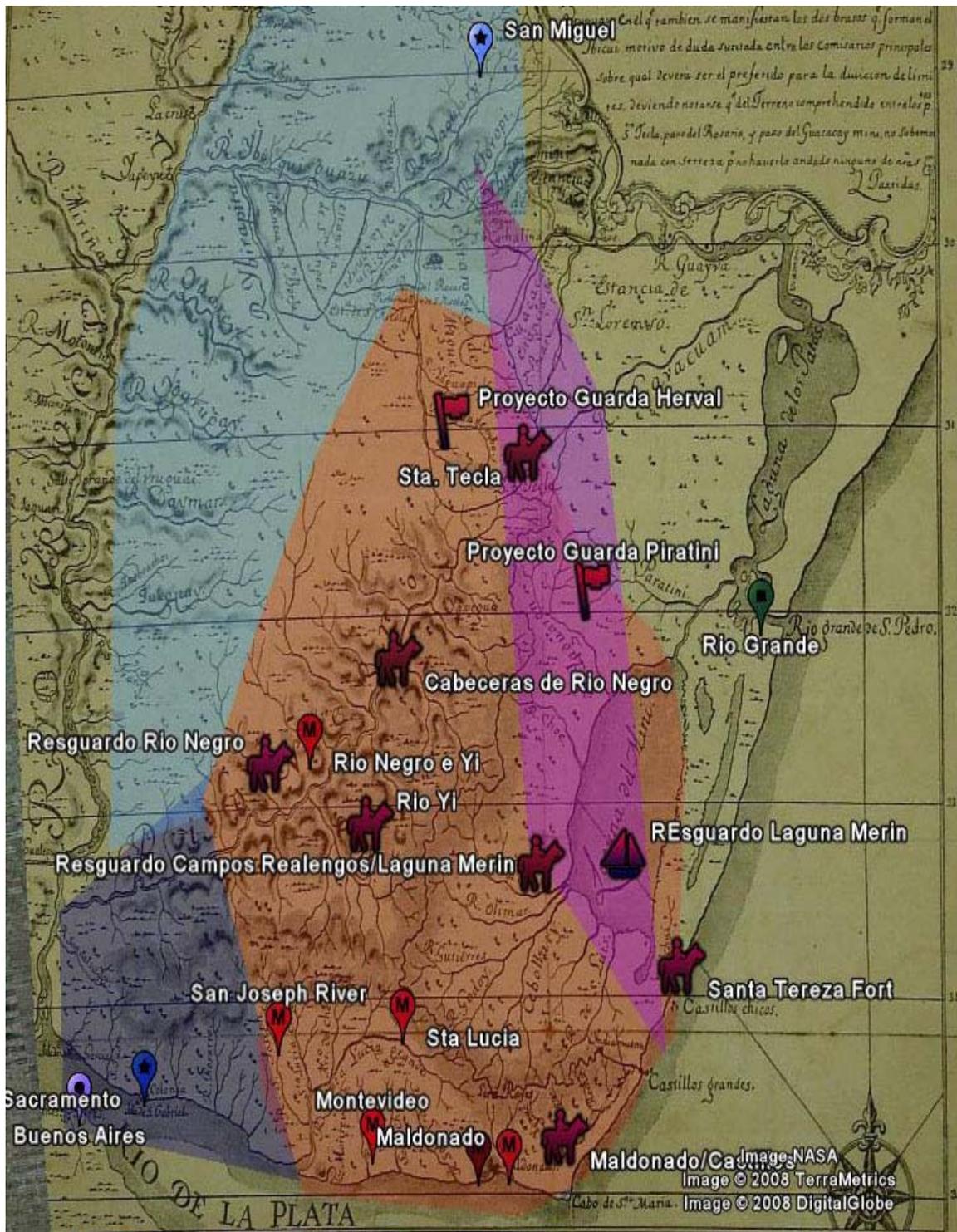
<sup>272</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.7.5- 30 VII 1792, 31 V 1792, 27 VI 1792, 29 VI 1792.

Expansion of the Jurisdiction of Montevideo – 1770's to 1800's

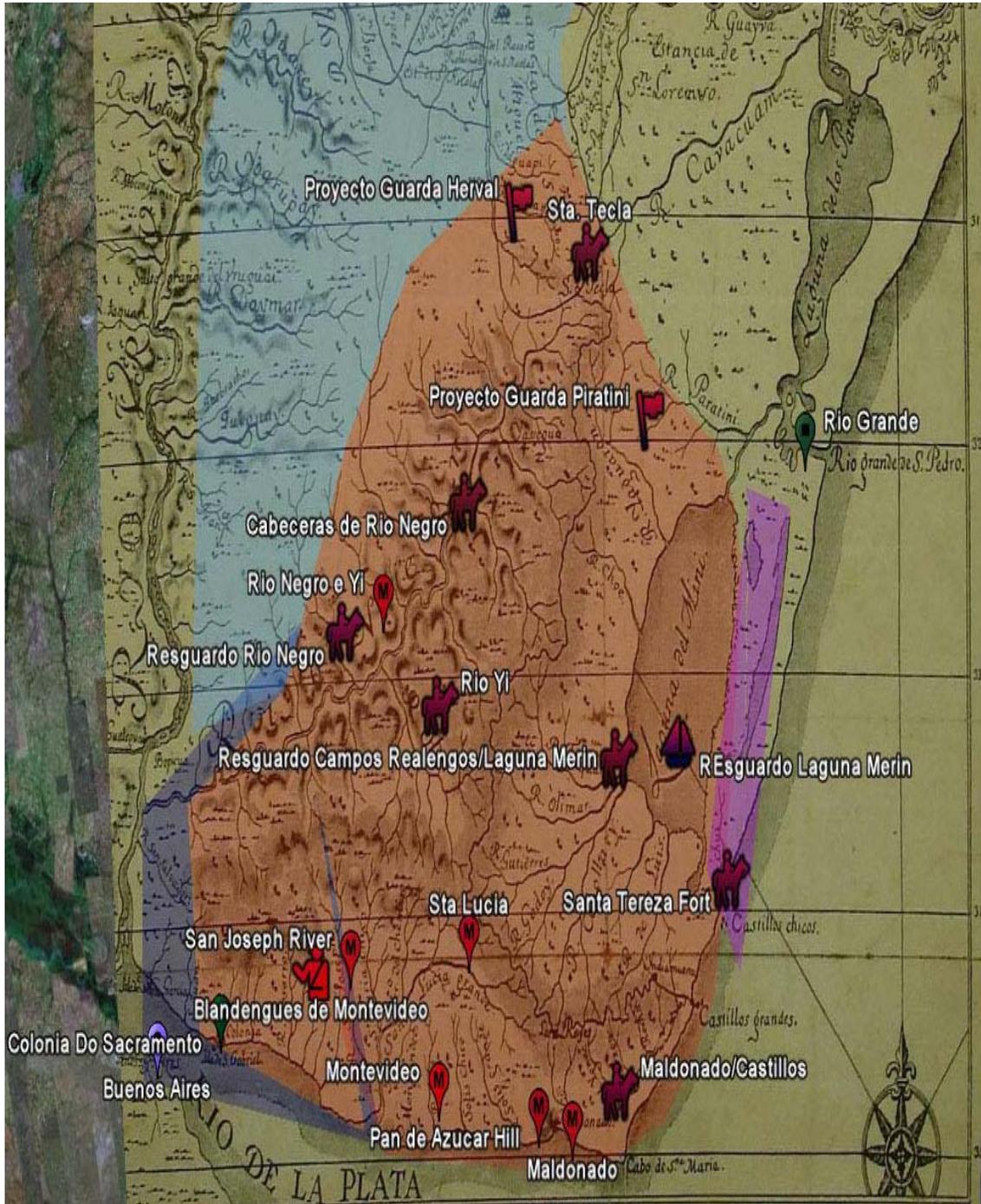


Map 5.1 – Multiple jurisdictions over the Banda Norte in the 1770's : jurisdiction of Montevideo (area in red), Jurisdiction of Missiones (light blue) and Jurisdiction of Buenos Aires (deep blue).





Map 5.3 – Jurisdiction of Montevideo 1793 (area in red).



Map 5.4 –Jurisdiction of Montevideo 1797 (area in red).

## ***The Arreglo de los Campos de Montevideo & the Control of the Borderland***

After the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia do Sacramento the Spanish divided the Northern bank of the Rio de la Plata into three jurisdictions: the region of Colônia and Soriano controlled by Buenos Aires, the jurisdiction of Montevideo extending towards Maldonado and Brazil, and Misiones with its jurisdiction over its “estancias” South to the 7 Pueblos (See Map 4.1). In addition to these areas, the treaty of Santo Ildefonso (1777) created the Campos Neutrales, a hundred kilometers wide buffer zone between both empires in the Americas that included the regions of Chuy and the Merin Lagoon. In theory, this area was supposed to be evacuated and remain unpopulated.<sup>273</sup> The problem with these jurisdictions was the vaguely defined limits of all four jurisdictional zones.

In the aftermath of the Bourbon reforms in the late 1770’s and early 1780’s in the Rio de la Plata, jurisdictional conflicts began in the countryside of the Northern Bank. As these conflicts grew, opposing factions in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, became involved questions of regarding the control of contraband trade and cattle herds in the contested region.

In 1781 and 1782, a heated correspondence between Viceroy Loreto and the Commandant of the Resguardo signaled the emergence of a legal conflict.<sup>274</sup> The Viceroy constantly reminded Commandant Antonio Pereira, of his duties in repressing contraband along the border, and avoiding the action of Portuguese *changadores* close to the Neutral Fields. After repeated requests went unheard, the Viceroy sent a squad of

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<sup>273</sup> AGN Sala IX 8.10.4 – 11 X 1777.

<sup>274</sup> AGN Sala IX 2.4.1 - 9.XII.1781, AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno 333 - 22 II 1783, 05 XII 1781, 23.XII.1782, 05.VIII 1783, 07.XI.1783.

*Blandengues* to patrol the region close to the Yi and Negro rivers, adjacent to the Neutral Fields. In the same area, in addition to the Portuguese other Spanish agents were also exploiting the herds of wild cattle, claiming their traditional right to so.<sup>275</sup> At the same time, inhabitants of the Misiones region claimed their right to exploit the herds based on the prior Jesuit estancias in the region.

The Viceroy also began a legal offensive to undermine the authority of both Montevideo and Intendant over contraband and cattle. Viceroy Loreto denounced the actions of Commandant Antonio Pereira charging him with contraband, and successfully removed him from office. In addition, Buenos Aires authorities attempted to nullify the rights of the vecinos of Montevideo to call the herds grazing along the Yi and Negro rivers, near the borderland.

The removal of Antonio Pereira from office triggered a violent response by the Intendant regarding the Viceroyal authority:

After being tolerant and had explored all possibilities for maintaining the harmony, the Viceroy dissimulates to the extreme not accepting my advices to avoid ostentation of authority; I believe it was the excessive suffering that pushed the Viceroy to such a point, so he made use of the 2<sup>nd</sup> article of the Intendant Statute concerning the faculties of the Viceroy, and in spite of exempt the Fiscal matters of the Royal Treasury, he thinks his authority does not have limits.<sup>276</sup>

Sanz also mentioned that the jurisdiction over the regions had been already settled by Loreto's predecessor, Viceroy Vertiz, and that Vertiz, Sanz himself and the First

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<sup>275</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – Arreglo de los Campos de Montevideo. 1785. Punto 1 – Carta 295. Edicts of Viceroy Vertiz and the Intendant Sanz favored Montevideo's groups.

<sup>276</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – Arreglo de los Campos de Montevideo. 1785. "despues de haver llevado la tolerancia y el disimula hasta el estremo, haver agotado quantos medios le ha sugerido su genial deseo de la buena armonia y su poco apego a la obstentacion de autoridad cree que talvez habra sido su exceso de sufrimento en esta parte cauxa de haver llegado el Virrey a tal punto; pues valiendose de la expresion qual usa el articulo 2º de la ordenanza de Intendentes acerca de las omnimodas facultades del Virrey, y sin embargo de la excepcion que hace en todos negocios de Real Hacienda cree que su autoridad no tiene limites."

Commandant of the Resguardos had agreed on the distribution of estancias along the borderland to the *hacendados* of Montevideo. Moreover, people under Montevideo's jurisdiction had been populating the region since the 1760's. The Superintendent also mentioned that the Comandante of the Misiones had not protested these practices. Most importantly, the actual distribution of the fields of Montevideo had been based on the most accurate information about the region, information provided by authorities and agents who were present in the region and knew how to repress contraband and exploit the herds without Portuguese interference. As proof of the success of such policy, Sanz mentioned the large number of confiscations performed by the Resguardo officers.<sup>277</sup> His rhetoric suggests that he believed that it was in the best interest of the Empire to keep the region in the hands of authorities of Montevideo. Moreover, the *hacendados* of Montevideo are also portrayed as responsibly converting the resources of the region into Royal revenue. In practice, according to the Arreglo de los Campos, there were no northern limits to the estancias of Montevideo. This allowed the *hacendado* to penetrate into the Campos Neutrales.

Eventually, the legal arguments of the Superintendent convinced the the Council of the Indies to rule in favor of the rights of Montevidean authorities over contraband in the region. The council also ruled that the rights of the *hacendados* of Montevideo over the herds of the region should be respected. Although the Council called for a future limit to the region's extension, Montevideo was to regulate the branding of cattle in the area and patrol for Portuguese.<sup>278</sup>

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<sup>277</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – Arreglo de los Campos de Montevideo. 1785– Comandante Pereira, defensa de Vertiz.

<sup>278</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – Arreglo de los Campos de Montevideo. 1785.

In late 1786, a Real Orden was signed confirming the Jurisdiction of the Superintendent and the officers of Real Hacienda, establishing that

the countryside's jurisdiction on suppressing contraband trade is under the Intendant's authority, as well as other goods produced in the Portuguese domains, such as the smuggling of tobacco from Brazil and other illicit trade goods.<sup>279</sup>

Moreover, all the goods, *sumarias del proceso*, and prisoners originating in the Campos Neutrales were to be sent to Montevideo. Even if a Buenos Aires military patrol caught a smuggler, all the materials were to be handled by authorities of Montevideo.

The Viceroy jurisdiction in Banda Oriental was, thus, restricted to the military defense of the borders, the safety of the population against "robberies and acts of violence," and protecting the borderland against the Portuguese and other foreigners.<sup>280</sup>

The effectiveness of such legislation can be seen in the general correspondence between the Viceroyalty and the Governor Intendente of Montevideo. Although the office of Superintendent was suppressed in 1788, the duties of the Regional Intendent remained in force.<sup>281</sup> In 1792, frequency of reports of confiscations of contraband goods, slaves, and the arrival or immigration of Portuguese subjects were sent from Montevideo to Buenos Aires. By then, Montevideo controlled regions disputed in the 1780's, as well as

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<sup>279</sup> AGN Sala IX 25.1.8 Reales Ordenes - 05 VI 1786. "la Jurisdiccion de la campaña enquanto se dirige a contravando extraccion de cueros, ganados y fraude pertenece al Superintendente. Asi como los efectos producidos en dominios de Portugal, como de la introduccion de Tabacos del Brasil y otros generos de ilicito comercio."

<sup>280</sup> AGN Sala IX 25.1.8 Reales Ordenens 06 III 1786 "precaver rovos y violencias q en ella se cometan, y la seguridad de los campos para que se prevenga la internacion de PORTUGUESES y estrangeros y cutodiar las fronteras." The Real Orden was specific in stating that the Viceroyal authorities were not supposed to intervene in the *Arreglo* of the countryside and its police, as well as the rules applied over the land and cattle herds on the Neutral Fields." [...] "deve V.Exa. inivirse absolutamente de conocimiento del arreglo de la campaña y su peculiar policia enquanto se dirige a precaver y cortar el contravando (...)tambien la reduccion de estancias de los hacendados dela parte de Montevideo con declaracion de las reglas con declaracion de las reglas que han de observar para errar los ganados y sobre la pertenencia de los terrenos realengos."

<sup>281</sup> Susan Socolow. *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1987). Appendix D

Herval and Piratini, areas claimed by the Portuguese.<sup>282</sup> In 1797, the Cuerpo de Blandengues of Montevideo was created to patrol the region of Colônia. Despite Colônia being under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires, the *Gremio de Hacendados* de Montevideo was responsible for funding this company. This suggests that, in practice, groups of Montevideo controlled parts of the area under Buenos Aires jurisdiction.

Control over contraband and trans-imperial trade allowed the authorities of Montevideo to collect taxes, control legal processes related to smuggling, and to auction embargoed goods.<sup>283</sup> The evolution of the city's jurisdiction was intimately related to their claim that they were successfully controlling the borderland, while preventing Portuguese expansion and contraband. However, the expansion of such Montevideo's jurisdiction favored existent trans-imperial trade and familial networks. Indeed, these networks tied illegal trade to local authorities who protected large scale introduction and circulation of contraband goods.

### **The Atlantic Port of Rio de la Plata and Jurisdiction over Trans-Imperial Trade**

“To want to distinguish a dependent city [Montevideo] more than the Capital is the cause of annoying actions (...) of which harmful results we have seen.”<sup>284</sup> That's how the Consulado de Buenos Aires defined the situation regarding the Rio de la Plata port statute. The merchants of Buenos Aires bitterly complained about the role of Montevideo as the mandatory first port of call in the Rio de la Plata in place since

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<sup>282</sup> These areas ended up as part modern Brazil.

<sup>283</sup> Susan Socolow. *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1987).Appendix D. For the significance of the filling the summary, see Oswaldo Barreneche. *Crime and Administration of Justice in Buenos Aires*. (Lincoln: Univ. of Nebraska Press. 2006).

<sup>284</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346 - 3 III 1798 “El querer distinguir una ciudad subalterna [Montevideo] mas que a la Capital [Buenos Aires] es el motivo de unas providencias irritantes (...) cuyos resultados perjudiciales los hemos tenido a la vista.”

1778.<sup>285</sup> As noted, it was the government of Montevideo who controlled the local port, suppression of contraband and Customs collection.

In the 1790's, a serious conflict took place over the jurisdiction over Atlantic commerce. The result of that conflict was the polarization of merchant community into the two factions, Buenos Aires and Montevideo as well as the attempt of the porteño merchants to open a new official port in Ensenada del Barragan.<sup>286</sup> This conflict did not strip the elites of Montevideo of their exclusive jurisdiction over the trans-imperial trade.

During the last two decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, Montevideo functioned as the port for Buenos Aires. As such, offered new opportunities for local merchants, authorities and workers. A strong connection to Luso-Brazilian trade were already felt in 1779, shortly after the conquest of Colônia, when a ship arrived in Montevideo loaded with merchandise and 35 slaves. Unlike the earlier period, when Buenos Aires' authorities were in charge of all issues related to contraband trade, Montevideo authorities were now in control. As a result, the Buenos Aires merchants found themselves keeping representatives in Montevideo, paying fees for handling and storage, and most importantly, having their ships subjected to inspection by Montevideo authorities.

In 1798, the newly created Consulado of Buenos Aires announced that the city was suffering “los prejuicios” of Montevideo's port monopoly. The Junta del Consulado demanded the maintenance of the “primacy of the trade of Buenos Aires” over

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<sup>285</sup> Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. Montevideo: Universidade de la Republica – FHCE. 1997 P 178. “continuacion del Trafico Ultramarino exclusivamente por Montevideo.”

<sup>286</sup> AGN Sala IX 1.2.5 - 8.X.1804. The port of Barragan was licenced for Atlantic trade between December 1801 and 1802 as a southern branch of the Buenos Aires port. After that date it was only habilitated for harboring Spanish ships. Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. (Montevideo: Universidade de la Republica – FHCE. 1997). p 178 e 179.

Montevideo, demanding the end of the mandatory stop in Montevideo, the end of Montevideo's exclusive right to receive slave ships, and the prosecution of Montevidean authorities on charges of contraband.<sup>287</sup> Furthermore, the Consulado argued that the port of Montevideo was geographically disadvantaged compared to Ensenada; that the losses to Buenos Aires's merchants caused by port fees and the requirement that ships leaving Buenos Aires stop in Montevideo was prejudicial to *porteño* commerce; and that corruption was rampant among Montevideo's officials – “malos e infieles servidores.”<sup>288</sup>

In trying to bypass Montevideo's harbor, the *Junta del Consulado* focused on the “adverse” conditions of Montevideo's harbor. According to Manuel Belgrano, “nobody could deny the advantages the port of Buenos Aires compared to Montevideo's port” because the former was better protected against foreign invasions.<sup>289</sup>

The Junta del Consulado alleged that the slow procedures of the officials and, to a lesser degree, the fees of *Almojarifazgo* were a source of losses in their commercial transactions. As an example, the Consulado presented the case of Josef de Maria, whose ship waiting for two months to be authorized for clearance and, as a result, suffered a loss of 4,000 pesos.<sup>290</sup> In addition, they reported that ships from Africa, Ile Bourbon, and Rio de Janeiro arriving in Buenos Aires with slaves, or in bad conditions, were forced to return to Montevideo. They estimated in one case, Pedro Duval lost 30% of his sugar cargo, and 15% of the *cachaça*.

The Consulado of Buenos Aires accused the elites of Montevideo of trying to stifle their access to trans-Atlantic trade. According to Josef de Maria, interim Viceroy,

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<sup>287</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 3.III.1798.

<sup>288</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 30.IV.1798.

<sup>289</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - [between 13 and 27].II.1797. “nadie podra negar que el puerto de Buenos Aires lleva conocidas ventajas sobre el de Montevideo,”

<sup>290</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 27 II 1797

Olaguer Feliu, who had also served as the former governor of Montevideo, prevented him from sending ships to the coast of Mozambique to buy slaves. Maria also denounced Feliu for not allowing him to bring two ships loaded with goods from Rio de Janeiro, claiming that the trade was not legal since “the ships neither bring goods nor come from European ports.”<sup>291</sup> The merchants of Buenos Aires were so inflamed by Olaguer Feliu’s policy that they petitioned the Court to remove the Viceroy followed by a *Residencia*.

The Consulado also denounced the lost of royal revenue because of smuggling in Montevideo. They reported the introduction of more than 40 thousand pesos by a French frigate. Moreover, the Consulado reported that Montevideo officials turned a blind eye on goods arriving in foreign ships. Illegal merchandise was rarely confiscated in Montevideo, while in Buenos Aires, the Real Aduana seized large quantities of foreign goods.<sup>292</sup> The strongest denunciations of smuggling were, however, reserved for the authorities and merchants involved in the trade with Brazil:

“the ships come [from Portuguese colonies] straight to our ports without slaves and loaded with *aguardiente*, rice, and other goods. Such is the case of the Portuguese ship named S. Del Buen Fin y S. Antonio, which according to Montevideo’s deputy had entered the port on February 28<sup>th</sup>, the day before another ship under the Portuguese captain D. Manuel Josse de Silva had entered the port transporting 58 barrels of *aguardiente* and 50 bags of rice. To try to make the math to figure the amount of the loss imposed to the national trade would be just to bother Your Excellency. Enough has been said in the previously mentioned documents, and it has been proved that the *Resguardo* officers have not done anything about the matter.”<sup>293</sup>

The merchants of Buenos Aires were never successful in undermining Montevideo’s control over trans-imperial navigation and trade. They were able, however, to activate the port of Ensenada from 1801-1803 for their Atlantic trade, and from 1804

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<sup>291</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 27 II 1797.

<sup>292</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 23 [I] 17[97-98]

<sup>293</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 13 [I] 1798

to receive local ships. Moreover, in 1802, the Consulado successfully eliminated the *almoxarifazgo* tax. Trans-imperial trade, nonetheless, remained based in Montevideo. Additional porteño reformist attempts were disrupted by the British invasions in 1806-1807.

Despite the protest of porteño merchants, Montevideo's elites kept their jurisdiction over trade with Brazil because of the strong connections and efficient networks of trade with Luso-Brazilian merchants and authorities. The Montevidean authorities and merchants maintained trans-imperial networks that not only ensured the supplying of goods and slaves for the region – even in periods of warfare– such networks ensured that Spanish ships could cross the Atlantic under Portuguese protection in the Rio de Janeiro fleet.<sup>294</sup>

The end result was the increasing autonomy of Montevideo's merchants and authorities in matters of trade. The control of trans-imperial networks empowered local elites and also allowed the authorities to build a stronger control over the countryside. The last two decades of the 1700's witnessed of jurisdiction building in the region of Montevideo. Based on the reformist aim to control contraband and to promote administrative efficiency, the elites of Montevideo used their privileged insertion in trans-imperial networks to optimize new opportunities that appeared on their horizons. In securing jurisdiction over trans-imperial trade, social groups of Montevideo progressively re-territorialized the region previously under Buenos Aires' control or that were disputed by the Portuguese.

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<sup>294</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg 346 - 30 XII 1797, 15 [I] 1798

## Chapter 6 - Changing Toponymy and the Emergence of the *Orientales*

(c.1730 – c.1813)

In the century between the foundation of Montevideo (1726) and Uruguay's formal independence as an autonomous state (1830), the names by which observers referred to the region and its inhabitants changed. The toponymy that appear in written accounts evolved from "Rio de la Plata" to "North Bank of Rio de la Plata," to "Province of Montevideo," to "Banda Oriental," to "Uruguay."<sup>295</sup> Simultaneously, the words used to describe the inhabitants of the region varied from "Spaniards," to "inhabitants of Montevideo's countryside," to "inhabitants of the Eastern Bank," to "Orientals." The process whereby observers renamed the region and its people was intimately tied to colonial reforms and the growth of Montevideo's role as an Atlantic port.

In this chapter, I analyze the changes that took place in written descriptions and in maps of Montevideo and its adjacent countryside. I suggest that together with the reforms and disputes between Montevidean and *porteño* elites regarding jurisdiction over the Banda Oriental, changes took place in the toponymy and names that were used to describe the region's inhabitants. I argue that the new nomenclature highlighted the role of Montevideo as the primary port of the region and center of provincial power. Moreover, I suggest that the growing role of the city as a port of call for authorities, international travelers and merchants also contributed to the centrality of the city in written and cartographic representations that were created after 1777. These developments were intertwined with the local elite's manipulation of networks of information and trade centered in Montevideo.

The evolution of the region's toponymy suggests that the development of the colonial structure empowered local groups, which in turn fostered the creation of a notion of community attached to a territory. This process implies that at the end of the colonial period the elites based in Montevideo sought to foster their influence and control over larger areas of the territory that were previously contested between the Portuguese or

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<sup>295</sup> The terms toponymy and space suggests a social production and a historical construct, while location refers more specifically to the geographical characteristics of the terrain. Raymond Craib. *Cartographic Mexico: a History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2004). p 5.

under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. Together with the expanding jurisdiction of Montevideo and the increasing mercantile power of its community, imperial and trans-imperial networks of information allowed groups centered in Montevideo to participate in shaping the new representations of the region that were being produced and circulated in the Atlantic. Thus, creating a two way process in the production of maps and written accounts within and beyond imperial realms was created.

During the last three decades of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the elites of Montevideo were contesting the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires over areas of the region now called “Fields of Montevideo” or “Banda Oriental”. Such disputes were based on the fact that soon after 1777, Montevideo became the seat of the custom authorities in charge of dealing with all foreign vessels arriving in the estuary, and most importantly, the city became the seat of the Resguardo Officers – the authorities in charge of repressing and controlling contraband trade. In other words, Montevideo’s authorities gained a monopoly over legal decisions about trading with foreigners, and over the primary port of call in the region. Furthermore, Montevideo was the only port that was allowed to disembark slaves in the Rio de la Plata - a trade that introduced 50.000 Africans according to the newest numbers.<sup>296</sup>

The process of renaming the region and its inhabitants can be charted in written accounts that were produced by foreigners, as well as local cartographers. In the first part of this chapter I will analyze these cartographic representations, showing the growing of the centrality of Montevideo in the maps depicting the Rio de la Plata. Buenos Aires, although being the capital, appears progressively in more peripheral areas of the maps, and at times does not even appear at all.

In the second part of this chapter I examine the different toponymy deployed in written accounts about the region from 1727 until 1830, showing the variations and its relationships with the historical process of the region. Because the changing toponymy

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<sup>296</sup> For the numbers of the Trans-Atlantic slaver trade see the Slave Voyages Online Database. [www.slvavoyages.org](http://www.slvavoyages.org)

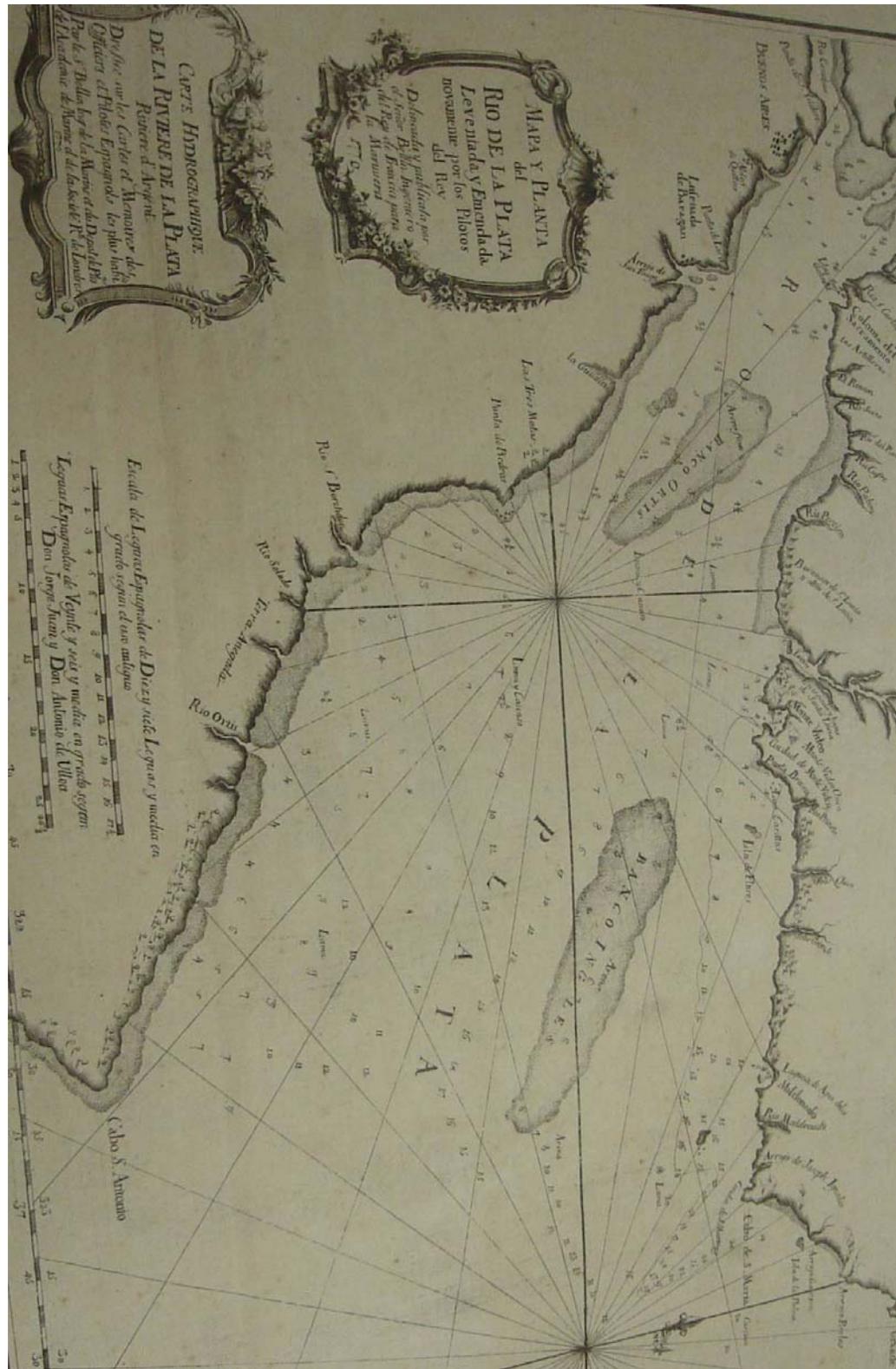
reflected the social and political construction of space, the new names that were deployed were not neutral, but instead were loaded concepts from contemporary perspective.

### *Montevideo in Cartography – An Atlantic Port and its Hinterland*

The cartography produced in the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century reveals a shift in the representation of the Rio de la Plata estuary. The maps of the region produced reflect the growth of the importance of Montevideo as the primary Atlantic port after the 1770's. As we have seen, behind this lay the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia, and the Bourbon reforms, which made Montevideo the primary port in the Rio de la Plata. As a result, despite being the viceregal capital, Buenos Aires was placed on the periphery of maps that portrayed the region.

Imperial rivalries also contributed to the production of information and knowledge about the Banda Oriental and Montevideo by the end of the eighteenth century. After 1777, the region was surveyed by cartographers of both Iberian empires in order to establish the boundaries between Portugal and Spain in South America. This process, although initiated by imperial policies, was mediated by local networks of information and of course was shaped by local informants and infrastructure of the regions, such as roads, rivers and lagoons.





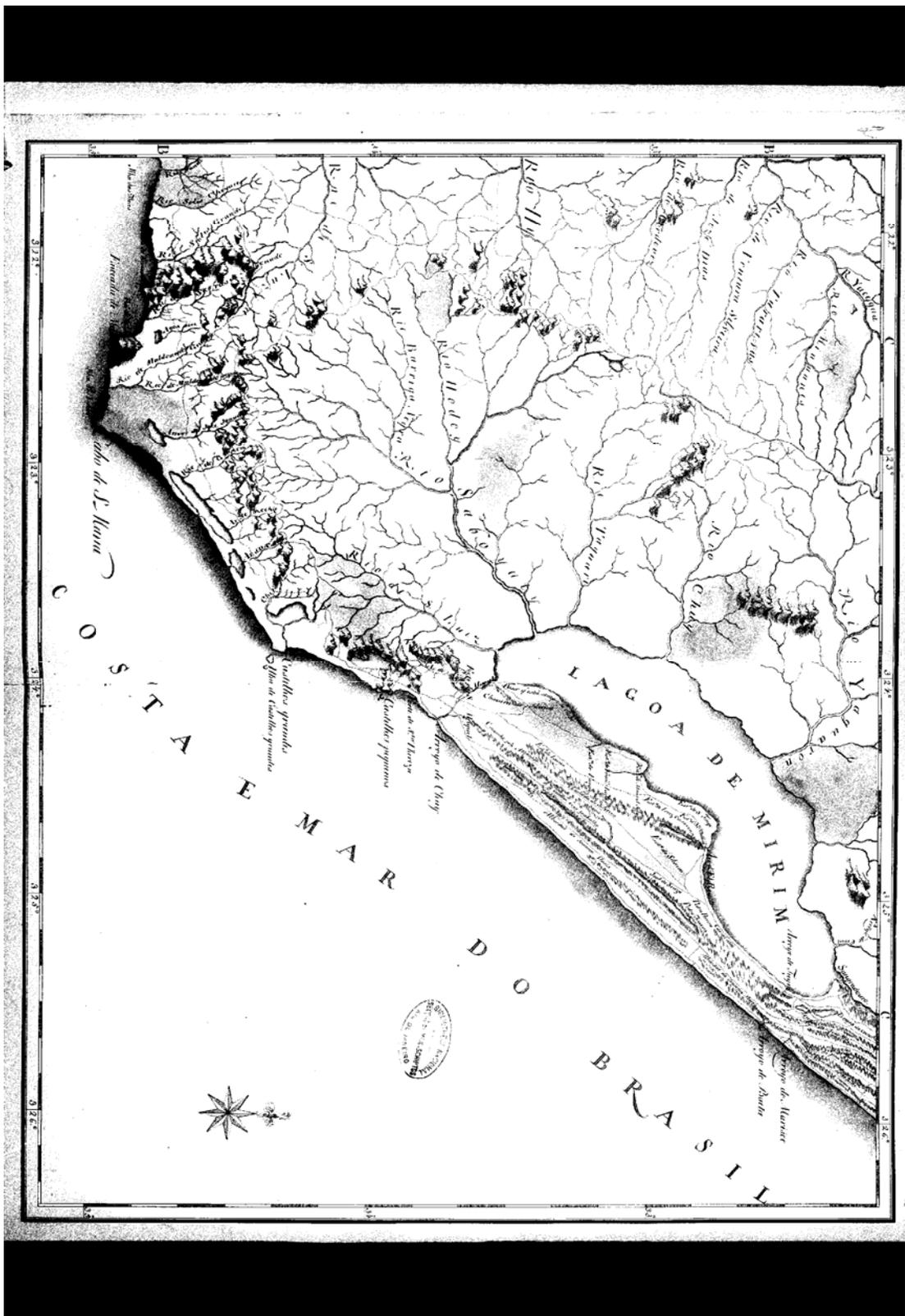
Map 6.2 – Rio de la Plata 1770. Spanish and French Languages. (John Carter Brown Library).

Map 5.1 was produced in 1731 by the Portuguese priest Diogo Soares. In his representation, the centrality of Buenos Aires and Colônia do Sacramento is clear, and reflects the privileging of maritime and territorial information intended to assist navigation. The abundant data showing the depth of the waters and the position of sand banks not only indicates safe navigational routes to Colônia do Sacramento, but also how to sail to Buenos Aires. Newly founded Montevideo, although being the best natural harbor of the estuary, does not receive attention as an important port of call in the region.

Map 5.2 was produced in 1770 by Spanish officials, and it denotes important changes in the information offered about the River Plate. The piece was clearly produced for navigational use, emphasizing the safe routes within the estuary. The data displayed privileges navigation towards the port of Montevideo instead of Buenos Aires. The viceregal capital and the Portuguese town of Colônia appear as peripheral locations. The information that the map provides about their harbors or their navigational routes within the estuary is significantly less than the data that is included for Montevideo. Map 2 was produced at the time of the creation of an official postal service between Spain (Bilbao) and the Rio de la Plata (Montevideo)<sup>297</sup>. This measure was part of the Bourbon reformist impetus, and reflected the aim of the Spanish metropole to improve the efficiency of Spanish administration in the region.

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<sup>297</sup> Arturo Bentancur *El Puerto Colonial de Montevideo*. . (Montevideo: Universidade de la Republica – FHCE. 1997). P 50's



MAP 6.3 – Rio de la Plata e Banda Oriental. Portuguese map by João Roscio. 1784 (Instituto Histórico e Geográfico do Rio Grande do Sul).



Maps 5.3 and 5.4, were produced in 1784 by the Portuguese cartographer João Roscio, and differs from Maps 1 and 2. In drawing these maps, the cartographer's main objective was to survey the borderland between Portuguese and Spanish dominions in the region. João Roscio was part of a joint cartographic expedition organized by both Iberian empires to establish the southern borders between the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata and the Portuguese military government of Rio Grande de São Pedro. As a result, the maps that were produced present information about the river and the countryside's topography, but do not pay attention to navigational data.

Map 5.3 shows the north-eastern portion of Banda Oriental with reference to Maldonado, a natural port and population center under the jurisdiction of Montevideo. Buenos Aires, the viceregal capital, is not included on the map. Although the main purpose of the author was to portray the borderland area, the Banda Oriental is not represented in relation to Buenos Aires, but in relation to other geographical markers.

Map 5.4 portrays the Rio de la Plata, and the Northern portion of the Banda Oriental. In this map, Colônia do Sacramento is displayed as the most central city of reference. Buenos Aires and Montevideo appears more towards the corners of the map. It is noteworthy that Montevideo appears with more detailed information about the surrounding geography than Buenos Aires. Furthermore, both cities are equally labeled city, with no marker of Buenos Aires as being the capital. Map 5.4 displays roads linking Montevideo to Colônia and to the countryside.

The importance given to the urban centers in Banda Oriental by Roscio, specifically to Montevideo, Colônia and Maldonado, reflects the Luso-Portuguese perception of the region. The port of Maldonado was well known to Portuguese seafarers, it was also the destination of hundreds of Portuguese settlers forcefully moved from Rio Grande in 1764. Thus, Map 5.3 portrays Maldonado in relation to the border area, and the Campos Neutrales. Due to the intense commercial and human flow between Portuguese America and the ports of Colônia and Montevideo, it is not surprising that the Portuguese cartographer gave primary importance these cities in representing the area. The Roscio's representation of the territory was a product of the information received by the cartographer from previous borderland surveys that always emphasized the Banda Oriental in relation to Sacramento. After the fall of this city, Portuguese seafarers became

important agents in the port of Montevideo. Furthermore, many of these sailors and *pilotos* worked the route Rio de Janeiro-Montevideo.

Finally, it is important to mention that the *Expedicion Demarcadora* was based in Montevideo. As a result, the networks of informants and guides for the expedition were primarily connected to Montevideo rather than to Buenos Aires. This factor influenced the way in which cartographers represented the region.



MAP 6.5 - Campos de Montevideo, Spanish map, 1802. (Archivo General de Indias).

Map 5.5, produced by a Spanish cartographer in 1802, represents the Banda Oriental as being officially under the jurisdiction of Montevideo. In portraying the region as *campos de Montevideo*, the map makes clear that Montevideo was seen as the major colonial center of power in relation to the adjacent countryside. The lack of emphasis given to Buenos Aires in the map reinforces this perspective. By the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the once peripheral city founded by Buenos Aires had not only acquired relevance as the main port, but was now officially recognized as possessing legal jurisdiction over the surrounding territory.

In addition to information about roads, rivers and creeks in the countryside, Map 5.5 shows the importance of the harbor of Montevideo. In the 18<sup>th</sup> century, territorial divisions of land use and ownership were often based on rivers and other geographical features. As a result, the 1802 map not only represents the Banda Oriental with a name that directly associates it with Montevideo, but also shows creeks, rivers and hills. Montevideo and the Banda Oriental are now intrinsically connected. For Montevideo's elites, the map confirmed their claims over the jurisdiction of the Banda Oriental.

### ***Written Accounts***

If cartographic production reveals changes in the ways the region was portrayed as a result of the growing centrality of Montevideo, written accounts about the region show an even more nuanced process of changing toponymy. During the period between 1777 and 1810, the representations of collective identity in the accounts become more

complex and subtle.<sup>298</sup> The original category of “Spaniards” used to describe all residents of the region was divided into the inhabitants of the Banda Oriental and inhabitants of Buenos Aires. Simultaneously, the Portuguese were redefined and attached to the Brazilian territory rather than Colônia do Sacramento. These descriptions ultimately reflected the conflicting interests of the late colonial period, how these interests fostered the formation of distinct groups in the border regions, and how the presence of subjects from different Empires affected this process.

Before we proceed, it is necessary to review some important conceptual and methodological implications regarding written accounts. For the European empires, written accounts -- i.e. administrative reports, corographies, travelers’ journals, traders’ descriptions, and natural history accounts -- were one of the most important formats in which information was presented, contributing to the integration and governing of colonial and non-European territories. These narratives circulated in small yet influential elite circles throughout a trans-Atlantic space. On the one hand, these narratives informed significant segments of the reading public, partially shaping mass opinions in the trans-Imperial arena. On the other hand, these reports informed policy-makers and business leaders – in Europe and in the Americas.<sup>299</sup>

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<sup>298</sup> I am using the concept of representations as discursive and symbolic constructions that had embedded power relations and ethical and political values. The competing representations reflected power struggles between diverse social groups, diverse interests, and perspectives about the future. See Carlo Ginzburg *Wooden Eyes: Nine Reflections on Distance*. (New York: Columbia University Press. 2001). See especially the chapter “Representation: the Word, the Thing, the Idea.”

<sup>299</sup> For the importance of written accounts for colonial identity in British America and in the Caribbean see Jack Greene “Reformulando a identidade inglesa na América britânica colonial: adaptação cultural e experiência provincial na construção das identidades corporativas” *Almanack Braziliense*. (USP, N.4 Nov. 2006), p 5-36.

Written accounts were intrinsically biased. They were produced as instrumental knowledge by historical agents who were committed to specific agendas. Nevertheless, written pieces that circulated in trans-Imperial networks aided social agents in decision-making, as they attempted to manipulate ongoing political and economic processes according to their own designs.<sup>300</sup> These written descriptions, created by outsiders and insiders alike, influenced social agents' strategies in interacting in local and trans-Imperial settings.

The perspectives of informants always shaped their representations, and therefore they must be analyzed with care. In the contexts of colonial contacts between Europeans and other societies, written accounts were produced in what Mary Louise Pratt described as "contact zones."<sup>301</sup> These were spaces in which two different cultures encountered each other and the social agents redefined themselves in relation to the other. Pratt's contact zones existed in frontiers where European travelers tended to be passive observers, the travelers described the foreign society using European categories; thus, making the "other" more familiar and at the same time exotic to them. Departing from Pratt's contact zone, I suggest that the colonial setting of eighteenth century Rio de la Plata would be more accurately defined as an *interaction zone*.<sup>302</sup>

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<sup>300</sup> Elizabeth Elbourne. "Indigenous Peoples and Imperial Networks in the Early Nineteenth Century: the Politics of Knowledge" In: Buckner & Francis (ed.) *Rediscovering the British World*. (Calgary: University of Calgary Press. 2003).

<sup>301</sup> Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation*. (New York: Routledge. 1992). Pg. 06-09.

<sup>302</sup> Pratt's concept of contact zone has been challenged for other part of the Americas as well. Mathew Brown criticizes use of contact zones for Venezuela and Colombia through the writing of the British mercenary Richard Vowell. *Richard Vowell's Not So Imperial Eyes: Travel Writing and Adventure in 19<sup>th</sup> century Hispanic Latin America*. *Journal of Latin American Studies*. (38. 2006). 95 – 122. for the discussion on contact zones, and an excellent review of recent historiography on travel writing see pages 98-101.

*Interaction zones* encompass regions that were already colonized by Europeans where a variable number of agents from different empires and with different cultural background interacted. Within these zones, I suggest, the nature of the interaction that shaped the writer's perspective was more important than origin. Unlike Pratt's contact zones, which focus on Northwestern European encounters in Asia and Africa during the 18<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the colonial regions in the Americas were already shaped by European culture (urban architecture, acclimated European fauna and flora). Latin American societies, in the third century after the original European encounter, were in many respects old regime societies in the tropics. In the Southern Cone, the relatively small demographic proportion of the indigenous population and the high number of European immigrants contributed to the shaping of a colonial setting that resembled the Old World more than other regions of the continent. Observers in eighteenth and nineteenth century Rio de la Plata were viewing colonial urban centers that were in many aspects similar to Europe. Moreover, in the interaction zones observers were not passive as in Pratt's contact zones; they had specific projects which they wanted to implement, which ultimately shaped their accounts.<sup>303</sup> Thus, an interaction zone is not merely a cultural and geographical space in which social agents redefine themselves in relation to each other, or a space where two different cultures are entering in contact for the first time.<sup>304</sup> It is marked by long standing social, political, and economic interactions including diverse and shared cultural, religious, institutional and social practices. The

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<sup>303</sup> Mary Louise Pratt. *Imperial Eyes: travel writing and transculturation*. (New York: Routledge. 1992). p 6-9

<sup>304</sup> For contact with the other and the gap in the process of cultural interaction during the European Expansion see Tzvetan Todorov. *The Conquest of America: the Question of the Other*. (New York: Harper and Row. 1984). Stuart Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: observing, reporting, and reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era*. (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994). Especially the "Introduction". Pg. 3-4.

accounts that were produced in the interaction zone of the Rio de la Plata informed readers about policy-making, investments and group alliances. The information gathered by observers was determined by the type of interaction the author had in the region: his networks, social insertion, interests and the length of time spent in the area.

Representations of collective regional identities and toponymy often did not emphasize the subtleties and differences among the distinct social groups present in the area. Although the observers were not necessarily accurate in describing existing collective identities, they used race, ethnicity, religion, state loyalty, community, and natural endowments as the markers of collective distinction.<sup>305</sup> In describing distinct social factions, observers made sense of how to interact in the region and inform the broader trans-Atlantic scene about the possible contacts. I use the term “collective identity” or “regional identity” to refer to the representations of authors’ perceptions about the distinct social groups existing in the region, and to how they mark the differences among them. These descriptions of collective identity reflect how the observers, foreigners or creoles, understood and used these variables simultaneously.

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<sup>305</sup> Social groups construct collective identities based on one or more characteristics that may be either exclusive or inclusive, or both at the same time. These characteristics are based on ethnicity, race, language, politics, or shared experiences linked to a territory – geographically or legally defined. For a broader discussion on the use of identity and its plural meanings see: Anthony Cohen “Culture as Identity: an Anthropologist’s view” *New Literary History* (24:1 Winter 1993), for national identity see: Anderson, *Imagined communities* (New York: Routledge. 1982). For political and economical aspects of group identification see Canny and Pagden, *Colonial identity in the Atlantic world, 1500-1800*. (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1987). For racial and ethnic identity: Carla Grinberg *Os Judeus no Brasil*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira. 2005). Regarding the role of the communication networks: Francois Xavier-Guerra. “Forms of Communication, Political Spaces and Cultural Identities in the Creation of Spanish American Nations” In: Casteen and Castro-Klaren. *Beyond Imagined Communities*. (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press. 2003). Paz, Elbourne. For the role of religious identity and its connections with the early modern Iberian states see Bartolome Clavero, *Antidora : antropología católica de la economía moderna*. (Madrid. 1992). The role of the encounter of different cultures in defining “self” see: Said, *Orientalism* (New York: Pantheon Books. 1978); Stuart Schwartz (ed.), *Implicit Understandings: observing, reporting, and reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and other peoples in the early modern era*. (Cambridge/New York: Cambridge University Press. 1994).

### *The Rio de la Plata Case*

In the late 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, the production of written reports on non-European regions increased substantially, a result of a wide-reaching change in Atlantic empires produced by a crisis of the Old Regime and mercantilism in the face of liberalism and a capital-oriented rationale. In the Rio de la Plata, these reports were produced by Spanish and Spanish American born bureaucrats, military, merchants and clergy, British military men, traders, seafarers and naturalists and Portuguese merchants, military men and bureaucrats. Sophisticated observers were able to identify and make direct comparisons with Europe and other colonial cities in the Americas in terms of buildings, clothing, customs and many aspects of daily life. They also interacted primarily with Europeans or people of European descent, and, although reproducing European social hierarchy and prejudice, they considered the local elites as interlocutors, friends and even possible marriage partners.<sup>306</sup>

In these written descriptions, most comparisons are made with Europe. Observers describe religious activities, architecture, clothing, cultural habits, market places, and fauna and flora, always in relation to Europe. Accounts differ not in essence but rather in degree. Church buildings are often described as less wealthy than those in Europe, yet we are told that religious parades displayed more ornaments and more luxurious garments.<sup>307</sup>

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<sup>306</sup> J. A. B. Beaumont *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957). In this book the author established relationship with the Creole elite, who were friends with his family, and visited his parents in London. Beaumont also insists that the *porteñas* make excellent wives according to European standards.

<sup>307</sup> Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre: Arcano 17. 1993). Emeric Essex Vidal Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery. (London: Ackerman. 1820); J. A. B.

Wheat was consumed in Europe and in the New World, though in the latter it was more abundant and had a slightly different color.<sup>308</sup> The women dressed similarly to those in Europe but had their own particular fashions and accessories.<sup>309</sup> Frequent described topics in almost all are the market places.<sup>310</sup>

The urban-based local elites also borrowed most of their cultural and political ideas from Europe, allowing them to interact on their own and on European terms. In Rio de la Plata, urban elites occupied a prominent role in spreading order and rationality from ordered and lettered cities and their hinterlands.<sup>311</sup> The colonial elites' discursive and political rhetoric was similar to that of their European counterparts, although their political and daily life practices were distinct. Nevertheless, the elites, through the written word and spatial representation, legitimized and reified power relations. By the eighteenth century, Latin American elites used European-derived ideals, information, and symbols that were circulating in the Atlantic to exert control over space and population.

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Beaumot *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957).

<sup>308</sup> J. A. B. Beaumot *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957).

<sup>309</sup> J. A. B. Beaumot *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957); Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem Pelas Províncias Do Rio De Janeiro E Minas Gerais*, Coleção Reconquista Do Brasil V. 4 ([Belo Horizonte]: Itatiaia, 1975). John Luccock. *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818*. (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820).

<sup>310</sup> Church descriptions are present in all narratives, with the exception of Hood and Parish. Women's clothing and behavior are mentioned in the descriptions of *Journal of a Scotch Sailor*. Hispanic Society of America New York HC 363-1299. 1726-1728. The parts referred here are mainly from 1727-1728. I thank to Prof. David Eltis for this material; Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988); Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820), Ibid. John Luccock *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818*. (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820). J. A. B. Beaumot *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957).

<sup>311</sup> Angel Rama, *La Ciudad Letrada* (Hanover, N.H., U.S.A.: Ediciones del Norte. 1984).

Through these processes the above-mentioned groups created a certain degree of cultural cohesion and shared experiences.

Trans-Imperial information networks surpassed political boundaries and dynamically fed off many smaller networks based on trade, family, religion, state alliances, and newspaper circulation. In 1800, Francisco Cabello y Mesa wrote a justification for the creation of the paper “El Telegrafo Mercantil” in Buenos Aires. According to Cabello y Mesa, the paper would be beneficial to the Viceroyalty and the Empire in publishing “moral and physical news”, as well as “to inform the world about the findings within the Viceroyalty”<sup>312</sup> Cabello y Mesa’s argument implied the idea of an Imperial and Atlantic (if not global) audience. The precautions aiming to ensure the secrecy and to avoid the spreading of information also attest that information regularly crossed borders. Spanish seafarers, for instance, had orders to destroy all papers in case of being caught on the sea by enemies.<sup>313</sup> Moreover, often letters and documents from the Americas were sent with duplicates to Europe as a measure of precaution to ensure that the information would arrive. Sacramento merchants often sent letters and orders to Lisbon in the regular fleet from Brazil, as well as copies in British ships via London to finally arrive in Lisbon.

These elites of European descent were not only aware of the discursive and symbolic tools that they used; they understood the plural meanings that language and

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<sup>312</sup> [“con finalidad las noticias oportunas físicas, y morales” ... “ilustre el Orbe con noticias útiles sacadas de sus propios fondos, y de la que le subministra la vasta extensión de este Virreinato, en cuya jurisdicción se contienen inmensas riquezas, en los tres Reynos de la Naturaleza, capaces de alterar los sistemas aplaudidos de los Naturalistas.” ] Cabello y Mesa, Francisco Antonio, *Análisis del Papel Periódico El Telegrafo Mercantil – Rural, Político-Económico, e Historiográfico del Río de la Plata* (Buenos Aires, 1800) John Carter Brown Library. B800 C114a .

<sup>313</sup> The LONDON TIMES, Aug 04, 1800. Issue 4865; Col B.London.

symbols could have in local society. This allowed some elite groups to articulate regional and long-distance networks, changing alliances and strategies in consideration of such differences and using them to their own benefit.<sup>314</sup> Thus, these discourses could have multiple meanings depending on their audience (such an ambiguity was perceived and consciously used by the local elites).

### **Trans-Imperial Interaction and Re-Territorialization**

In the second half of the century, the growth of imperial disputes in the Rio de la Plata was accompanied by the production of a large number of maps and written accounts by agents of different Empires.<sup>315</sup> The economic, political and social changes that happened 1770's motivated Spanish, Portuguese, British and French agents to produce knowledge about the region. These accounts were instrumental in policy-making and constituted the available data that informed Imperial designs in the region. Table 5.1 shows the different occupation of the the authors. Their descriptions share linguistic and categorical similarities that not only reveal the existence of a common European (or Europeanized) audience but also the importance of the dispersion of information.

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<sup>314</sup> Homi Bhabha "Of Mimicry and Man: the Ambivalence of Colonial Discourse" In: Cooper & Stoler, *Colonialism in Question*. (Berkeley: University of California Press. 1997).

<sup>315</sup> According to the Oxford English Dicctionary, to "territorialize" is "to make territorial; to place upon a territorial basis; *to associate with* or restrict to a particular territory or district (Italics are mine). Hence territorialization." Oxford English. Dicctionary, Second Edition. 1989.

**Table 6.1 - Evolution of the Denomination of the Banda Oriental and its Inhabitants**

<i>Observer's Name and Occupation</i>	<i>Year</i>	<i>Toponymy/Inhabitants</i>
Anonymous Scotsman Sailor	1727	Spanish/Portuguese from Colônia
Sylvestre Ferreira da Silva (Portuguese Bureaucrat)	1748	Spanish/Portuguese from Colônia
Simão Pereira de Sa (Portuguese Bureaucrat)	1750	Spanish/Portuguese from Colônia
Francisco Millau (Spanish Clergy)	1772	Northern Bank - Spanish From Montevideo and Buenos Aires/Portuguese from Colônia
Cosme Bueno (Spanish Clergy)	1772	Bishopric of Buenos Aires – Other Bank (Otra Banda)
Perez Castellanos (Spanish Clergy)	1777-1808	Banda Oriental - Vecinos de Motevideo/Portuguese from Rio Grande
Xavier de Vianna (Spanish Military)	1792	Country of Montevideo
Anonimo (Spanish Bureaucrat)	Circ. 1780	Vecinos de Montevideo/Portuguese from Rio Grande
Manuel Cipriano de Melo (Spanish Bureaucrat)	1784/85	Campos de Montevideo – Vecinos de Montevideo
William Gregory (British Missinaire)	1798/99	Montevideo and its Vecinity
Spanish Bureaucrat to Marques de Aviles	1799	Banda Oriental/Provincia Oriental
Felix de Azara (Spanish Demarcator)	1801	Inhabitants of the Campaña of Montevideo
Gaspar Vigodet/Javier Elio (Spanish Bureaucrats)	1810	Banda Oriental - Orientales
Artigas (Spanish Military/Caudillo)	1811	Banda Oriental – Pueblos Orientales
(Damaso Larrañaga) (Spanish Clergy)	1813	Montevideo's Jurisdiction/Patria
Emeric Essex Vidal (British Naturalist)	1816-1820	Inhabitants of the East Bank – Herdsmen
Saint Hilarie (French Naturalist)	1818-1820	Spanish/Portuguese - Capitancy of Montevideo
John Luccock (British Naturalist)	1820	Inhabitants of the Province of Uruguay
Beuamont (British Tradesman)	1824-1826	Inhabitants of Banda Oriental
Woodbine Parish (British Consul)	1824-1826	Orientalists
Samuel Hood (British Consul)	1824-1826	Orientalists

The authors were frequently informed by previous accounts of the region, often repeating topics and discursive patterns. For instance, in the Rio de la Plata, the Spanish bureaucrat Felix de Azara's account, published in 1801, was cited by later British travelers (e.g., E.E. Vidal.)<sup>316</sup> Azara begins his description of the countryside of the Banda Oriental by claiming that he has consulted maps and read all the printed and manuscript histories of Rio de la Plata in order to present reliable information.<sup>317</sup> Reports such as Azara's constituted a broad corpus of information that circulated outside the region and crossed imperial boundaries influencing how people in other regions of the Atlantic conceptualized the area.

The written accounts produced in eighteenth century Rio de la Plata were varied and had different goals. Descriptions of war praising the authorities and others subjects were aimed at obtaining rewards from the Crown -- *mercedes*.<sup>318</sup> Private or bureaucratic letters were sometimes classified.<sup>319</sup> Most written accounts were descriptions influenced by eighteenth century science and trade ideologies, or administrative reports shaped by enlightenment ideals.<sup>320</sup> These written pieces, though diverse and not necessarily

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<sup>316</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820);

<sup>317</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943). p 3.

<sup>318</sup> Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre: Arcano 17. 1993); Silvestre Ferreira da Silva. *Relação do Sítio da nova Colônia do Sacramento*. (São Paulo. 1977 [1748]).

<sup>319</sup> "Journal of a Scotch Sailor." *Hispanic Society of America New York* HC 363-1299. 1726-1728. The parts referred here are mainly from 1727-1728. I thank Prof. David Eltis for this material.

<sup>320</sup> Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). Bartolome Cosme Bueno. *El Aragonés Cosme Bueno y la Descripción Geográfica del Rio de la Plata 1768-1776*. (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses. 1996); Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel, 1943); Damaso Larranaga *Diario del Viaje de Montevideo a Paysandu* (Montevideo: Instituto Nacional del Libro. 1994); John Luccock *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818* (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820); J. A. B. Beaumont *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y la Banda Oriental 1826-1827* (Buenos Aires: Hachette. 1957); Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and*

connected, created through their circulation a trans-Atlantic flow of information that was tied to Imperial and regional dynamics and needs. They were used simultaneously as intelligence by imperial administrators and to represent regional interests revealing how local groups wanted to be perceived and integrated within the trans-Imperial scenario.<sup>321</sup>

### **When the Spaniards were Spaniards and the Portuguese were from Colônia (1727-1777)**

During the period of Colônia do Sacramento's existence as a Portuguese town, the toponymy and words used to describe the social groups in written accounts of the River Plate brought to light the rivalry between the two Iberian empires. The Spanish, including the River Plate, were considered a homogeneous category as opposed to the Portuguese, who were principally the people from Colônia do Sacramento (Table 5.1). Only late in this period would a differentiation be made between Buenos Aires and the "other bank."

The first account about the region after the foundation of Montevideo dates to the late 1720's. In 1727, an anonymous Scottish seaman stayed for more than a year in the River Plate on board the *St. Michael*, moved close to the harbor of Colônia do

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*Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery.* (London: Ackerman, 1820); Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem Pelas Províncias Do Rio De Janeiro E Minas Gerais*.

<sup>321</sup> For more thoughts on the Atlantic audience and information networks see also Gustavo Paz "Reporting Atlantic News", Presented at Emory University, January 6<sup>th</sup> 2006.; Elbourne, Elizabeth "The sin of the Settler" *Journal of Colonialisms and Colonial History* (4:3. 2003). Pgs. 2-3. Here I am appropriating Anderson's concept of imagined communities suggesting that the 18<sup>th</sup> century Atlantic World also connected people through imaginary ties around the European colonial system. However, I am not implying the existence of Modern nation-states or national identities in Latin America for the period in question; rather I am arguing the existence of a Trans-Imperial community conscious of themselves in a imagined level. For more thoughts on the Atlantic audience and information networks see also Paz, Gustavo "Reporting Atlantic News", Presented at Emory University, January 6<sup>th</sup> 2006.; Elbourne, Elizabeth "The sin of the Settler" *Journal of Colonialisms and Colonial History* (4:3. 2003). Pgs. 2-3.

Sacramento.<sup>322</sup> During his stay, the seaman registered his many impressions about the region. He described the buildings as low, in comparison with their European counterparts. He mentioned that the religious festivals and masses were quite similar to those celebrated in Portugal. He also described the fauna and flora, mostly comparing them to those of Europe, even using scientific names in Latin to describe species. The traveler's eyes did not have to wander far beyond his home continent to find comparisons for the reality that he was trying to explain.

Our anonymous Scottish sailor identified two main groups – the Portuguese from Colônia and the Spanish, in from Buenos Aires. Although he mentions ships coming from and going to Montevideo, there is no further information about the city or its population. Moreover, the Scotsman did not specify any differences between the inhabitants of Montevideo and of Buenos Aires. In his narrative, Spaniards and Portuguese represent possible partners for trade and social interaction - the former mainly from Buenos Aires and the latter from Colônia. While in the region, the Scottish seaman socialized more with the Portuguese than with the Spanish, with whom he generally maintained commercial relations. Thus, he describes the Portuguese settlement as an urban, civilized, European-style environment, a little backward in relation to England but similar to Portugal.

Almost ten years later, Colônia do Sacramento was subject to a two-year long military siege by the Spaniards (1735-1737). This event resulted in the production of two printed accounts authored by Portuguese officials who were present in the town. The work of Simão Pereira de Sá, *História Topographica e Bélica da Colônia do Sacramento*,

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<sup>322</sup> *Journal of a Scotch Sailor*. Hispanic Society of America New York HC 363-1299. 1726-1728. The parts referred here are mainly from 1727-1728. The Slave Voyages – The Online Slave Trade Database ID Number 76203. I thank to Prof. David Eltis for this material.

and of Sylvestre Ferreira da Silva, *Relação do Sítio da Nova Colônia* were printed in Portugal in the late 1740's and early 1750's, respectively (Table 5.1). These books constituted the first comprehensive published accounts of the region from a Portuguese perspective.

Both authors wrote their books to legitimize the Portuguese claim over the Banda Oriental and particularly over Colônia do Sacramento. They start their works with the discovery of the region by Iberian explorers, and they build a historical narrative to justify the Portuguese claim. Sá and Silva also described the architecture of the town and the religious activities, always using European examples as reference. Relations with the Spanish, although often tempestuous, were understood within a framework of Christian morals and values.<sup>323</sup> However, the description of the social groups interacting in the region was clear: there were the subjects of the Spanish Crown and the subjects of the Portuguese Monarchy. For the authors the Spanish were synonymous with *Castelhanos*. Although most of the time they were referred to as the “*Castelhanos* from Buenos Ayres”, this denomination also used to refer to the inhabitants of Montevideo.<sup>324</sup>

The Spanish or *Castelhanos* were seen as naturally in opposition to the Portuguese, and also opposed to two other groups, the Indians and the British. The Indians were always differentiated from the Spanish in the region, including those who had been converted by the Jesuits.<sup>325</sup> The British were not settlers; rather they appeared

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<sup>323</sup> Sylvestre Ferreira da Silva. *Relação do Sítio da nova Colônia do Sacramento*. (São Paulo. 1977. [1748]). Pgs. 75, 77.

<sup>324</sup> Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre: Arcano 17. 1993). Pgs. 25, 51, 90, on page 53 *castelhanos* from Buenos Aires. Sylvestre Ferreira da Silva. *Relação do Sítio da nova Colônia do Sacramento*. (São Paulo. 1977. [1748]). Pgs. 45, 74, 75, 77, 95.

<sup>325</sup> Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre:

as commercial partners, in general closely related to the Portuguese, although they traded with all Europeanized groups.<sup>326</sup>

Pereira de Sá and Ferreira da Silva derived their vision through interaction with people in the region. Although the non-European Other was present, the authors' main focus was the interactions between people of European descent. Furthermore, their perceptions were largely pragmatic, for they paid attention not only to the "enemy" but also to the broader Imperial readership and the political and social implications of confrontation between the two Iberian rivals.

In 1772, two Spanish explorers commissioned of the Spanish Crown arrived in the River Plate provinces. Francisco Millau and Cosme Bueno traveled separately and probably never met each other, but they produced important contributions to the way the region was represented. Millau distinguished between those Spanish dominions that comprised the River Plate region of Buenos Aires and the "Banda Norte." Bueno did not consider this division, since he organized his narrative according to bishoprics. However, in his descriptions of Montevideo, its hinterland and Colônia do Sacramento, the Portuguese were a main feature. Both authors were extremely influential. Although not consistent with each other, these narratives presented tropes that would later appear in representations of the region – the distinction between the Spanish from Buenos Aires and from Montevideo and their conflict with the Portuguese in the "Banda Norte."

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Arcano 17. 1993). *passim*. Silvestre Ferreira da Silva. *Relação do Sítio da nova Colônia do Sacramento*. (São Paulo. 1977 [1748]). p 95.

<sup>326</sup> "Ingleses q. tomarão nosso partido, mas tb. negociarão com os castelhanos." Simão Pereira de Sá. *História Topográfica e Bélica da Nova Colônia do Sacramento do Rio da Prata, Escrita por Ordem do Governador e Capitão Geral do Rio de Janeiro em 1737 e 1777*. (Porto Alegre: Arcano 17. 1993). p 97 & 101.

Millau's *Descripción de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata* is a general description of the whole formal jurisdiction under Buenos Aires rule. It encompasses regions from the eastern side of the Andes to the eastern bank of the Rio de la Plata. In this account, for the first time, the eastern bank receives special attention. Although Millau describes the River Plate as part of the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires, he dedicates three chapters exclusively to the "Banda Norte" emphasizing the natural ports of the region, Montevideo, and Montevideo's hinterland.<sup>327</sup> In this section, Colônia do Sacramento is also mentioned, and the issue of contraband is the main topic that is discussed in relation to the Portuguese.

Millau did not directly differentiate between the Spaniards in Buenos Aires and those in Montevideo, indirectly, however, his descriptions of the territory, the farms and the human activities he constantly divides his information between two reference points: Buenos Aires as the province capital and trade partner for the Portuguese from Colônia, and Montevideo as a port city with its own countryside.<sup>328</sup> Millau is redefining the territorial representation of the region and presenting another center Spanish center. This can be seen in his mentions of farms connected to the city and port of Montevideo rather than to Buenos Aires.<sup>329</sup> At this point he clearly offers a new division for the region and implicitly suggests a distinct population of inhabitants.

Bueno, an Aragonese ecclesiastic, arrived in the Rio de la Plata from Peru and Chile. In his description of the Buenos Aires bishopric, Cosme Bueno separates

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<sup>327</sup> Francisco Millau. *Descripción de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata* (Buenos Aires and Mexico: Espasa Calpe. 1947). pp 95-124.

<sup>328</sup> Francisco Millau. *Descripción de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata* (Buenos Aires and Mexico: Espasa Calpe. 1947). p 103.

<sup>329</sup> Francisco Millau. *Descripción de la Provincia del Rio de la Plata* (Buenos Aires and Mexico: Espasa Calpe). 1947. p 99, 100

Montevideo and Colônia do Sacramento.<sup>330</sup> Colônia is represented along with Buenos Aires as a port of illegal trade. Montevideo is tied to the Jesuit settlements in the region.<sup>331</sup> Nevertheless, although Bueno does not portray the region as a unit *per se*, it is noteworthy that he describes the presence of the Portuguese and the recurrence of illegal trade in the regions of the “Banda Norte.”

Millau had been in the region for many years working as a Spanish commissioner for the Spanish-Portuguese boundary commission. He was the first writer to divide the Rio de la Plata region into “bandas,” and observe how the different cities articulated their space and human activities in particular ways. In doing so, the author triggered a process of re-territorialization derived from his own experience in the region and at the same time conveyed his perceptions to the administrative powers. Bueno came from Peru and described the region as part of the bishopric of Buenos Aires. In his account Bueno does not represent the “Banda Norte” as an articulated regional unit. However, the space that was located in the so called “banda Norte” is portrayed in his text as the *locus* of interaction between the Spanish and the Portuguese.

Because the authors were writing to Spanish authorities, their descriptions of the northern bank of the River Plate emphasized the presence of the Portuguese, the illegal connections between the Spanish and Portuguese in that space, and the existence of another important port in the region besides Buenos Aires. Millau implicitly suggests that the “Banda Norte” was a unique territory with specific characteristics and needs. This information was related to the strength of metropolitan control of the region. With the

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<sup>330</sup> Bartolome Cosme Bueno. *El Aragonés Cosme Bueno y la Descripción Geográfica del Río de la Plata 1768-1776*. (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses. 1996). p 129-145.

<sup>331</sup> Bartolome Cosme Bueno. *El Aragonés Cosme Bueno y la Descripción Geográfica del Río de la Plata 1768-1776*. (Huesca: Instituto de Estudios Altoaragoneses. 1996). p 132-136, 142-145

aim of improving state control as well as producing knowledge, observers represented the region's complexity in ever greater depth, specifying collaboration between distinct groups and regional peculiarities.

### **From Banda Norte to Banda Oriental and to Provincia de Montevideo**

The descriptions produced between 1777 and the early 1800's reflect the Bourbon enlightened reformist spirit in the Spanish empire. With the aim of optimizing Imperial administration and control of the territory, written accounts of the period presented three principal changes in relation to those of previous periods. First, the name "Banda Oriental" is used to refer to the region of the north bank of the River Plate that was under the jurisdiction of Montevideo. Second, the Portuguese begin to be represented as the inhabitants of the southern provinces of Brazil. Third, the inhabitants of the region are described as *gauchos*, daily wage laborers or nomadic semi-outlaw smugglers.

These characteristics of the written accounts were in part connected to the political and administrative changes that took place in the region between 1776 and 1778. As we have seen before, the creation of the Viceroyalty in 1776, the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia in 1777, and the "free trade" regulations of 1778, affected the social life of the Rio de la Plata. These changes also affected the way in which observers perceived the region's inhabitants. The creation of new administrative structures allowed greater participation by local groups in bureaucratic affairs, and this was reflected in the fact that the authors who wrote about the region usually belonged to the local elite.

The narratives emphasized the administrative aspects of the region focusing primarily on the economy and social life and how this organization could be improved to

benefit the Spanish metropole. In light of these concerns, the distinction between the Buenos Aires side of the river and the Montevideo region was emphasized. With the reforms of the late 1770's, Montevideo gained commercial autonomy and increased jurisdiction over its hinterland. Although the Portuguese were expelled from Colônia, illegal trade and interchange were still on-going between Portuguese and Spanish settlers, although the Portuguese were now located in the south of Brazil. Thus, the narratives produced during this period reveal growing competition between two commercial ports, Buenos Aires and Montevideo, and reinforced the notion that the north bank was the region where illegal contacts with the Portuguese took place. Coincidence or not, at this point the region began to be described as the "Banda Oriental."

One of the first authors to use "Banda Oriental" to describe the region was the Creole ecclesiastic Manoel Perez de Castellanos.<sup>332</sup> Perez de Castellanos was born in the Provinces of Rio de la Plata, received a degree from the University of Cordoba, and was probably an ordained priest in Buenos Aires in the early 1770's. Between 1778 and 1808, he wrote a series of letters to Benito Riva, an Italian clergyman. In his letters, Perez de Castellano described the religious life in the region, including activities, festivals, and church buildings. The narrative structure of his letters emphasizes the differences between Montevideo and Buenos Aires. Prices, reactions to political events, and business practices were stressed as important distinctions between the Banda Oriental and the Buenos Aires side of the estuary. The representation of Montevideo's hinterland as the "Banda Oriental" reinforced an oppositional relationship between the two port towns and their countryside.

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<sup>332</sup> Creole were natives of European descent. Jose Manuel Perez Castellanos *Seleccion de Escritos 1787-1814* (Montevideo, Biblioteca Artigas, 1968). "Descripcion de Montevideo y la Campaña de la Banda Oriental". Pgs. 5-15.

The idea that the north bank of the River Plate coincided with the east side of the Uruguay River was not new. However, when the authors started describing the region as Banda Oriental, they attached to the space a broader notion of distance and difference. In the Western world, the word “Orient” has been associated with “otherness” since the late Medieval Ages.<sup>333</sup> Although not directly connected to anything “oriental,” the north bank of the River Plate was symbolically associated with Eastern cultures. This symbolic connection reinforced the opposition between the Banda Oriidental and Buenos Aires. By means of this representation, Perez de Castellanos not only deepened the distinction between Buenos Aires’ and Montevideo’s hinterlands, but also underlined the oppositional relationship between the two Spanish ports in the River Plate, reifying the political and economic centrality of Buenos Aires.

The distinction between Montevideo and Buenos Aires was also represented in the way Castellanos referred to the inhabitants of Montevideo and its hinterland, calling them *vecinos* (neighbors) of Montevideo.<sup>334</sup> *Vecinos* was the official term to describe a person who was socially recognized as belonging to a community, property owner and was eligible to hold public offices. Communities in Spanish America were usually organized around the town council. Therefore, in describing the inhabitants of Montevideo as *vecinos*, the author was also reinforcing the idea that the inhabitants of the

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<sup>333</sup> The impact in Europe of the *Travels of Marco Polo* in the late 14<sup>th</sup> century was extremely significant and popularized many ideas about the Orient. The *Travels of Marco Polo* was edited in Spanish and French version in the subsequent decades. John Larner. *Marco Polo and the Discovery of the World*. (New Haven: Yale University Press. 1999). Marco Polo. *The Travels of Marco Polo. With 25 illus. in full color from a 14<sup>th</sup> century MS. In the Bibliotheque nationale, Paris*. (New York: Orion Press. 1958). Manuel Komroff, *Contemporaries of Marco Polo, consisting of the travel records to the eastern parts of the world of William of Rubruck (1253-1255), the journey of John of Pian de Capini (1245-1247), the journal of Friar Odoric (1318-1330) & the oriental travels of Rabb*. (New York: Boni & Liveright. 1928).

<sup>334</sup> Jose Manuel Perez Castellanos *Seleccion de Escritos 1787-1814* (Montevideo, Biblioteca Artigas. 1968). “Descripcion de Montevideo y la Campaña de la Banda Oriental.” pp 35-37.

Banda Oriental constituted part of a distinct community with a certain degree of political cohesion and autonomy in relation to Buenos Aires.<sup>335</sup>

Perez Castellanos was one of the first authors to use “Banda Oriental” to describe Montevideo and its hinterland. Eventually, the term became a common way of referring to the region, especially in the first decades of the 1800’s. The appearance of “Banda Oriental” in private letters from a Creole suggests that the term became widespread in the region; thus, the use of this denomination was not exclusive to one author or person. In the following decades, the term would appear in numerous administrative accounts, though the emphasis would be on Montevideo’s jurisdiction over the region.

An anonymous account probably written in the 1790’s also compared Montevideo and Buenos Aires, but it emphasized the Portuguese presence and smuggling activities as significant aspects of the River Plate.<sup>336</sup> Because the author was predominantly concerned with administrative reforms aimed at improving metropolitan control over the region, disputes over territory and illegal trade with the Portuguese were central to his description.<sup>337</sup> According to the writer, the countryside of Montevideo was inhabited by four categories of people: the land owners (*hacendados duenos de estancias*), the daily wage labourers also known as *gauchos* (“*jornaleros, trabajadores, o penoes del campo*

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<sup>335</sup> This trend becomes clearer especially in Castellano’s letters about the British invasion, and the role of Montevideo in liberating Buenos Aires. The author also mentions the “honor” of Montevideo as defined by the actions of its inhabitants. Jose Manuel Perez Castellanos *Seleccion de Escritos 1787-1814* (Montevideo, Biblioteca Artigas, 1968). “Descripcion de Montevideo y la Campana de la Banda Oriental.” Pp 46, 52-56, 125.

<sup>336</sup> Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). Especially “Introduccion.” Because the manuscript was not dated, there is some debate about when it was written, and the years 1792, 1794 and 1797 have all been suggested. However, it is possible that the accounts were produced at various times. Pgs. 7- 42.

<sup>337</sup> The narrative is entitled “Information to the improvement of the Buenos Aires’ and Montevideo’s countrysides (*Noticia para el arreglo de los campos de Buenos Aires y Montevideo*”. Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). p 43.

*conocidos por gauchos*”), the Indians of the Jesuit Missions, and the Portuguese.<sup>338</sup> It is noteworthy that the Indians and the Portuguese were the only categories of people who were limited to specific areas. While the author located the Indians in the “Banda Oriental” of the River Uruguay, he situated the Portuguese on the “oriental” side of the River Gy. The non-Spanish population of the “countryside of Montevideo” was therefore identified with the “Orient.” Meanwhile, Buenos Aires, the seat of the Bishop and the capital, was described as the “Occidental” bank.<sup>339</sup>

The eastern part of Montevideo’s countryside, where the Portuguese were located, was one of the main concerns of the anonymous writer. According to him, this was the location where several conflicts, robberies and the illegal transactions between the subjects of the two Iberian empires took place. On some occasions, gauchos were involved in such activities with the Luso-Brazilians. Thus, the author proposed many reforms for Montevideo with a view to maintaining control over the countryside of the Banda Oriental and preventing the “disorders.”<sup>340</sup>

Although the author used the term “Montevideo’s countryside” instead of “Banda Oriental”, he described the area and a group of its inhabitants as quite separate from the “Occidental” Buenos Aires and its people. The region was also described as bordering at East with the Portuguese dominions. In the anonymous account, the “Montevideo’s countryside” (*campañas de Montevideo*) is situated between two “other” regions.

In the 1792 account written by Francisco Xavier de Viana, leader of a scientific and cartographic expedition, the term “Banda Oriental” is rarely used. The author

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<sup>338</sup> Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). p 91. “Los gauchos

<sup>339</sup> Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). p70-71.

<sup>340</sup> Anonimo. *Noticias sobre el Rio de la Plata*. (Madrid: Historia 16. 1988). p 51 and following, 90 and following.

referred to the region as a “pais” (country), but the maps and geographic knowledge produced by his expedition are related to Montevideo and its territory.<sup>341</sup> Xavier de Viana was born in Montevideo and graduated from a Spanish university.<sup>342</sup> He traveled to the River Plate to make trigonometric maps and take precise coordinates to circumnavigate South America via Cape Horn. In his “Diarios de Viaje,” the natural features of the Banda Oriental are always described in relation to Montevideo. Buenos Aires is defined as the capital of another province – there is no mention of the Viceroyalty, and the Portuguese only appear as the first settlers of Colônia do Sacramento. Xavier de Viana’s representation of the region emphasized the centrality of Montevideo and offered cartographic and technical material that established connections between the rural province and the city.<sup>343</sup> His use of the word “country” to describe the region is, I believe, derived from the fact that he was born there, and understood region as a natural whole.

Although Viana did not emphasize the use of “Banda Oriental,” and his mention of the Portuguese presence was seen as part of the past, his production of maps and geographic coordinates contributes to the re-territorialization of the region. In other words, Viana’s maps and description constitutes a change in the way the region was being conceptualized. Viana documented the jurisdiction of Montevideo over the

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<sup>341</sup> Xavier de Viana. *Diários de Viaje*. (Montevideo: Col. Clasicos Uruguayos. [1848]). Pgs. 36-39.

<sup>342</sup> Xavier de Viana was the son of Francisco Vianna who governed Montevideo in the 1750’s and 1760’s. His family was still very influential in Montevideo during subsequent decades.

<sup>343</sup> The production of maps, description of landscape, terrain and routes “materialized” the connections between cities and countryside. These materials did not represented the plurality of identities and communities present in the portrayed area. Representations that used statistics, geography and other scientific methods were tools of state formation. Maps, descriptions and measurements were eminently utilitarian considering the improvement of defense, and political and economical control over territories. Raymond Craib. *Cartographic Mexico: a History of State Fixations and Fugitive Landscapes* (Durham: Duke University Press. 2004). p 20, 22-24.

*campaña* (countryside) and represented it as an integrated unit not connected to Buenos Aires.

In 1799, an administrative report about contraband and disorder in the countryside was presented in Madrid. In the memo that was sent to the Consejo de Indias, the so called Banda Oriental of the Rio de la Plata is defined as the region in which Spaniards and Portuguese had competed for three centuries.<sup>344</sup> According to the document, the borderland disputes were the results of the lack of state control and safety in the countryside. As a remedy for these problems, a line of fortifications and an increase in patrolling troops were suggested as possible solutions. In this document, Montevideo was regarded as the city that was in charge of implementing such policies.

Because of the importance of Montevideo's harbor, the city was the point of arrival for merchants and other travelers.<sup>345</sup> For the period 1800 to 1809, I was able to find two accounts written by British subjects which describe the city and its adjacent countryside. Although these texts present very different descriptions of Montevideo and its surrounding areas, both authors referred to the countryside as part of the hinterland of Montevideo. William Gregory was a British missionary whose ship was captured by French corsairs on their way to the Pacific Islands. The corsairs conducted their prizes to Montevideo, and as a result, Gregory spent more than one year in the city. Because of his lack of connections in Montevideo and poor financial situation, the missionary was only able to rent a house on the outskirts of town. In his description, he constantly mentioned the presence of mestizos and Indians in the countryside of Montevideo, which he referred

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<sup>344</sup> Real Academia de la Historia – Coleccion de La Mata Linares CVLLL.

<sup>345</sup> John Carter Brown Library – William Gregory *A Visible Display of Divine Providence*. (London. 1802). Thomas Kinder *The Kinder Manuscript*. 1808-10.

to as the “vicinity of Montevideo”. On many occasions, he revealed that he was afraid of interactions with such characters.

Thomas Kinder, on the other hand, was a British businessman who arrived in Montevideo in 1809 looking for business opportunities. Carrying letters provided by another British trader, Kinder was hosted within the walls of the city by the powerful merchant Francisco Joanico. Kinder spent much of his time in Montevideo going to cafes, playing blackgammon and chatting with other businessmen. In his journal, Kinder provided details about the roads in the countryside, as well as the land routes connecting Montevideo and Rio Grande in Portuguese America, along with other useful commercial information. Once more, the countryside of the Banda Oriental appears as the hinterland of Montevideo. It is noteworthy that Kinder did not go to the countryside by himself, but relied instead on informants whom he met in Montevideo to gather information about the market, products and trade routes.

Felix de Azara was also in the service of the Spanish Crown. Azara, a Spanish bureaucrat who participated in the demarcation of the borders between Portugal and Spain in the previous decades, wrote the “Rural memoirs of the River Plate” in 1801.<sup>346</sup> Azara’s goal was to secure Spanish control over the borderland, thus, in his description, the North bank, or region under Montevideo’s jurisdiction, was one of his main concerns.<sup>347</sup> For him, the Portuguese presence in the areas of Spanish dominion was unavoidable and even desirable, since the Portuguese “washed more often and were more economic, they would be a good example.”<sup>348</sup> Azara wrote that the Portuguese and

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<sup>346</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943).

<sup>347</sup> Large portions of the text are dedicated to descriptions of the Paraguay province, north of Buenos Aires.

<sup>348</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943), p 6.

Spanish were involved in illegal activities, and that the problem could only be solved by the improvement of border control by Montevideo and, most importantly, the creation of parrish chapels in the countryside to instruct the population.<sup>349</sup> It is significant that the author connected religion with education as the means to solve the problem of the inhabitants' lack of loyalty.

In his writings Azara constantly refers to Montevideo's jurisdiction as the "Fields of the North of the River Plate" and "our countryside of Montevideo," always considering the region in relation to Montevideo.<sup>350</sup> The author also represents the *vecinos* of Montevideo as an organized community that took actions to increase their control over the region, especially to root out illegal trade and robbery.<sup>351</sup> It is worth noting that Azara's expedition was equipped by personnel and logistical support of the *Cuerpo de Blandengues*. The *Cuerpo de Blandengues* was a militia unit created to defend the borders and patrol the countryside sponsored by the association of landowners of Montevideo (the *Gremio de Hacendados*).

Azara's described the region as an administrative unit centered in Montevideo, with a more or less defined territory. The Portuguese were depicted as a threat. Although the author was writing his report to inform the authorities of Buenos Aires, the local administrative center mentioned in the region is Montevideo. The limit of Montevideo's jurisdiction was the contested border with the Portuguese Rio Grande. Although Azara does not regard the Portuguese with prejudice, he argues for the necessity of assimilating

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<sup>349</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943),p 5-6.

<sup>350</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943). p 11, 13, 15, 30, and following.

<sup>351</sup> Felix de Azara *Memoria sobre el estado rural del Rio de la Plata*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Bajel. 1943),p 12.

them into the Spanish population. Finally, in examining the *vecinos* of Montevideo, the author pinpoints their sense of political community, reinforced by the repeated use of the term “Montevideo’s countryside” to describe the region. Azara’s account presents the countryside as a unit connected to Montevideo, but with a constant Portuguese presence. Although, according to Azara, his account was based on many earlier descriptions, in the following decades, his work became the reference most cited by travelers, particularly the British.

In spite of written reports that saw the Banda Oriental as the hinterland of Montevideo, this link was formally created as a result of the monarchical crises that emerged from the Napoleonic wars in Spain. The fragmentation of the royal authority in the region led many officers and political leaders to appeal to the Spanish subjects for support and loyalty. In 1810 and 1811, both loyalist and revolutionary leaders appealed to the “Orientales” Their concepts of “Orientalidad”, however, were not homogeneous.<sup>352</sup> The governor of Montevideo, Gaspar de Vigodet, claimed loyalty to the King of Spain, and asked the Orientales to prove their value as good subjects of the monarchy. On the other hand, Artigas, the popular Caudillo of the Banda Oriental, called on good “Orientals” to defend the revolution. In analyzing the two “proclamations, it is clear that there was no consensus on who the “orientales” were, nor on their political agenda. Nevertheless, both leaders appealed to the people of Banda Oriental – *Orientales* – linking their political participation to the territory and to Montevideo, thereby excluding Buenos Aires from the picture.

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<sup>352</sup> John Carter Brown Library – B81 A692c V.2. Gaspar Vigodet, 1810. Jose Artigas, 1811.

These opposing proclamations clearly show the lack of unity, and the non-national scope of the ideas and projects linked to the notion of *orientalidad*. Although not homogeneous, the existence of a regional identity connected to the territory was indisputable. The recognition of Montevideo's political and economical importance for the adjacent countryside can be viewed as the success of the elites of Montevideo in expanding the influence of the city over the hinterland during the last decades of the colonial period.

The emergence of a regional identity centered on the links between Montevideo and the Banda Oriental, was reaffirmed during the revolution. The travel journal of Damaso Larrañaga, a well educated local priest and writer, said as much in 1815. Larrañaga, regarded by nationalist Uruguayan authors as the first "Uruguayan man of science," was in touch with many travelers and authorities who passed through the region at that time. His journal recounts his travels between Montevideo and Paysandu, both located in the Banda Oriental. In his narrative the author describes the landscape, geography and topography of the region, emphasizing its peculiarities. There were also many references to its political condition, since in 1815, Artigas' army controlled the region, confronting Brazil and Buenos Aires.

In Larrañaga's account, all comparisons are made in relation to the city. Montevideo is represented as the center of the region. In using Montevideo as a focal point of reference, the author conceived of the city and countryside as a unit. Larrañaga wrote his account during the War of Independence. His representation of space was shaped by his active participation in the events that were unfolding. Thus, in portraying

Montevideo and the countryside as a cohesive unit, the author was re-territorializing the rural space, and attaching it to Montevideo rather than to other cities.<sup>353</sup>

Larrañaga refers to the region as “patria”, or “pais” (country).<sup>354</sup> The use of “country” to describe the unit is consistent with Xavier de Vianna’s descriptions of 1792. Like Xavier de Viana before him, he also emphasized the centrality of Montevideo and used words that suggested the existence of a shared regional identity implied in the use of the terms “pais” and “patria” to describe the territory. Furthermore, on several occasions, Larrañaga used “ours” in reference to the landscape and habits of the region.<sup>355</sup> This is significant considering that both authors were from the region, and that the word “patria” was associated with place of origin in the eighteenth century. This suggests that native authors’ descriptions of the territory were shaped by their sense of belonging to its community. It is also interesting that both local authors - Xavier de Vianna and Larrañaga - rarely used the term “Oriental” to describe the territory. Larrañaga adopted the term only to describe the location of the Indian town of Soriano.<sup>356</sup>

Between 1777 and 1815, a clear distinction between Montevideo’s and Buenos Aires’s hinterland appeared in the written representations of the region. The North Bank of the River Plate began to appear as “Banda Oriental” or Montevideo’s countryside. The inhabitants of the region were Montevidean *vecinos*, rural workers (the gaucho), the Portuguese and the Indians. Yet, the narratives continued to emphasize the Portuguese

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<sup>353</sup> Damaso Larrañaga *Diario del Viaje de Montevideo a Paysandu* (Montevideo: Instituto Nacional del Libro. 1994). p 21,

<sup>354</sup> Damaso Larrañaga. Larranaga *Diario del Viaje de Montevideo a Paysandu* (Montevideo: Instituto Nacional del Libro. 1994). p 19, 39, 43.

<sup>355</sup> Damaso Larranaga *Diario del Viaje de Montevideo a Paysandu* (Montevideo: Instituto Nacional del Libro. 1994). p 63, 79, and following.

<sup>356</sup> “Paysandu- It is the Indian town on the oriental side of the Uruguay river.” [“Paysandu – es el pueble de indios que esta sobre la costa oriental del Uruguay.” The author also mentions that most of the Indians are Christians, and describes the Church and the few houses of the inhabitants. Damasio Larranaga *Diario del Viaje de Montevideo a Paysandu* (Montevideo: Instituto Nacional del Libro. 1994). P 75.

presence as either the enemy or as the source of trouble for the Spanish government in the region.

### **Neither *Porteños*, nor Portuguese: the “Orientals” and the creation of Uruguay**

In 1817, the Portuguese invaded Montevideo and its countryside. Three years later, Artigas’s army was defeated and the region was annexed to Brazil under the name of the “Cisplatine” province.<sup>357</sup> Under Luso-Brazilian rule, the region was opened to British consular presence.<sup>358</sup> As a result, many travelers and diplomats from Northwestern Europe lived and traveled in the region and wrote narratives and descriptions. Although the representations produced by these travelers almost univocally called the region “Banda Oriental,” for the first time the word “Uruguay” was also used to describe the region as a unit. Travelers also portrayed the region emphasizing the distinctiveness of the space and its social groups in comparison to Buenos Aires and to the Portuguese territory.

The period of Brazilian rule legally formalized the jurisdiction of Montevideo over the whole Banda Oriental, including areas that under Spanish rule were subordinated to Buenos Aires (e.g. Colônia). Moreover, the Luso-Brazilian dominion over the region consolidated the state apparatus and its political institutions (e.g. Assembly of Representatives). As a result, the Cisplatine period marked the strengthening of

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<sup>357</sup> This situation lasted until 1825, when a group of *caudillos* entered the region from Buenos Aires to liberate it from Brazilian rule.

<sup>358</sup> For the alliance between the Portuguese and the British see: Alan Manchester, *The British Preeminence in Brazil*. (Oxford, 1978); and Peter Winn *Inglaterra y la Tierra Purpurea*. (Montevideo:EBO. 2000).

<sup>358</sup> Beaumont; Parish; Samuel Hood In: Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940); John Luccock *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818*. (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820).

Montevideo's control of the territory. By the end of the period, the British consuls began describing the inhabitants of the region as "Orientals."

Between 1816 and 1818, the British traveler Emeric Essex Vidal went to Buenos Aires and Montevideo. He described and painted the landscapes and human types of the region, comparing them to Europe.<sup>359</sup> Vidal began his narrative with a brief historical review of the region, emphasizing the disputes between the Portuguese and the Spanish. According to him the region presented an important commercial opportunity and astonished the "civilized world because of its struggle for Independence."<sup>360</sup> Moreover, he mentioned the 1806 and 1807 failed British invasions, blaming the "imbecility, or something worse, of the commander in chief" of the British forces.<sup>361</sup> Comparisons with Europe are frequent throughout his descriptive account. The author continually mentioned England as a point of reference for comparing prices, women's clothing, roads, and services. Vidal also compared the region to cities like Philadelphia and Boston in the United States.<sup>362</sup>

Vidal was aware of the earlier accounts by other authors. On more than one occasion, Vidal cited and discussed the work of Azara in relation to the themes of slavery

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<sup>359</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman, 1820).

<sup>360</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman, 1820).

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<sup>361</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman, 1820).

p xx-xxi

<sup>362</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman, 1820).

p 13, 20-22, 37-40, 50.

and indigenous populations.<sup>363</sup> He also compared the region with the United States based on the account of Henry Latrobe, an Englishman who wrote about American cities.<sup>364</sup>

Vidal described the region simply as Banda Oriental, or the Eastern Bank, and depicted it in opposition to Buenos Aires.<sup>365</sup> The author constantly compared the two cities' agricultural production, population, and customs. In discussing the Independence movement, he emphasized the role of Montevideo in resisting Buenos Aires authority.<sup>366</sup>

According to Vidal, the Eastern Bank inhabitants were not like the Buenos Aireans or the Portuguese. The rebels who sided with Artigas to fight the Portuguese and Buenos Aires were "in fact, nothing more than gauchos in another dress."<sup>367</sup> The author did not, however, define the precise meaning of "gaucho." In fact, an illustration of two gauchos in this section has the curious caption "Paulistas".<sup>368</sup>

Another British traveler, John Luccock, passed through the region between 1816 and 1818. In his account, he emphasized the differences between the inhabitants of Montevideo, the Portuguese and the Spaniards. For the first time, the region is described

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<sup>363</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820).30-31, 60-65.

<sup>364</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820). p 22.

<sup>365</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820). xxviii, 3, and passim.

<sup>366</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820). p xxv.

<sup>367</sup> Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820). p 60.

<sup>368</sup> Paulistas are the inhabitants of the São Paulo region, in Brazil. When the author was writing his account, Luso-Brazilian troops occupied the region. It was common that troops from São Paulo be drafted by the government to complement the troops already present in the borderland region. Emeric Essex Vidal *Picturesque Illustrations of Buenos Ayres and Montevideo consisting of 24 views accompanied with description of the scenery*. (London: Ackerman. 1820).

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as the Province of “Uruguay.”<sup>369</sup> Coming from Brazil, Luccock traveled through the region during wartime. This seemed to reinforce his representation of the inhabitants of the “Province of Uruguay” in opposition to the Portuguese. Buenos Aires was also portrayed in an oppositional relation to the “Province of Uruguay,” since the jealousies of Buenos Aires’s inhabitants inhibited the development of the “valuable port” of Colônia.<sup>370</sup> Although Luccock was in the region during the Luso-Brazilian occupation, he recognized that the “Province of Uruguay” and its inhabitants were neither exactly Portuguese nor Spanish. Moreover, he depicted the Province of Uruguay as encompassing the entire territory of the Banda Oriental, including the town of Colônia, which had always been under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires. Therefore, Luccock’s account placed the Province of Uruguay in between Buenos Aires and the Luso-Brazilian Empire, and separated it clearly from others.

This distinctiveness was also described by the French traveler Auguste de Saint-Hilaire in 1820. Saint-Hilaire went to the River Plate as part of his travels in Brazil, and during this expedition he held the office of Colonel of the Luso-Brazilian Empire.<sup>371</sup> In his accounts, the author repeatedly mentioned the state of poverty of the region due to warfare. Regarding the social groups present in the “Province of Montevideo,” he distinguished between the Portuguese and the “patriots,” referring to Artigas’s followers.<sup>372</sup> However, in describing the lifestyle of the population, he constantly

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<sup>369</sup> John Luccock *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818*. (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820). p 157 and 164.

<sup>370</sup> John Luccock *Notes on Rio de Janeiro and the Southern parts of Brazil: taken during a residence of ten years in that country from 1808 to 1818*. (London: Samuel Leigh. 1820). p 166

<sup>371</sup> The Brazilian emperor granted Saint-Hilaire with the rank of Colonel to ensure his safety and freedom of traveling throughout the Empire.

<sup>372</sup> Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem Pelas Províncias Do Rio De Janeiro E Minas Gerais*, Auguste de Saint-Hilaire and Leonam de Azeredo Pena, *Viagem Ao Rio Grande Do Sul (1820-1821)*, 2. ed., Biblioteca Pedagógica Brasileira. Sér. 5.A: Brasileira, (São Paulo: Companhia editora nacional, 1939). p 164.

compared the Spanish and the Portuguese.<sup>373</sup> The author also noted that the region's inhabitants "hate their neighbors," namely the Portuguese.<sup>374</sup> Buenos Aires is practically absent from the narrative.

It is noteworthy that during the period 1811-1828 Northern European travelers emphasize the distinctiveness of the Banda Oriental and its inhabitants. The separate identity of the Luso-Brazilians, the Spanish, and Buenos Aires are repeatedly mentioned. These accounts discredit any claims of sovereignty over the region as formulated by the Luso-Brazilian Empire or Buenos Aires. This trend is reinforced and consolidated by the accounts of British consuls and entrepreneurs in the following years.

From 1824 on, the British Empire had two consuls in the River Plate, Woodbine Parish in Buenos Aires and Samuel Hood in Montevideo. They produced many classified consular reports that were influential in informing British policy for the region. In addition, Parish and Hood interacted with local elites, other European entrepreneurs living in the area, and British consuls and political leaders in Brazil.<sup>375</sup> The British Consuls' representations refer to the region principally as Banda Oriental, although they also called it Cisplatine Province because of the Luso-Brazilian dominion.<sup>376</sup> By this time, the term "Banda Oriental," began to be used quite frequently by other British diplomats in the Americas and in London (e.g. Lord Ponsonby, George Canning).

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<sup>373</sup> Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem Pelas Províncias Do Rio De Janeiro E Minas Gerais*, Saint-Hilaire and Pena, *Viagem Ao Rio Grande Do Sul (1820-1821)*.p 165-168.

<sup>374</sup> Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem Pelas Províncias Do Rio De Janeiro E Minas Gerais*, Saint-Hilaire and Pena, *Viagem Ao Rio Grande Do Sul (1820-1821)*.p 164.

<sup>375</sup> Thomas Hood In: Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940).

<sup>376</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. F.O. 6/4. Woddbine Parish to Canning. Bs As 25 June 1824 In: Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940). Pg. 19, 31, 50,69-72.

In the British consular reports the Banda Oriental appears as an autonomous region, distinct from Buenos Aires and from Brazil. The descriptions emphasize the different agricultural and commercial interests of Buenos Aires and the Banda Oriental. The political developments also mark a distinction between Buenos Aires and the Banda Oriental. According to Samuel Hood, after 1810, the people of the Banda Oriental's "never contemplated coming under Buenos Aires' rule."<sup>377</sup> Since 1811, the Banda Oriental army, under the command of Artigas, fought first against Buenos Aires, and then against the Luso-Brazilians. According to the consuls, the Luso-Brazilians domain over the Banda Oriental was calamitous for the economy and its inhabitants because of the prolonged war. Nevertheless, Hood observed that "it is undisputed fact that the Orientalists dislike being subject to Buenos Ayres *only* less than being subject to Brazil, and that Independency is their dearest wish."<sup>378</sup> Thus, the only effective way of assuring peace in the region was to recognize it as an autonomous state, although Canning, in London, expressed his concerns about "how far the territory and population of such new State might be fitted for acquiring, and capable of exercising an independent political existence."<sup>379</sup>

The British agents in the region were already portraying the inhabitants of the Banda Oriental as a discrete group who possessed a collective identity and stood in contrast to the "Buenos Aireans" and the Luso-Brazilians.<sup>380</sup> The Orientals, however, were not depicted as a homogeneous group. Hood placed the inhabitants of Montevideo

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<sup>377</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. In: Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940). p 74.

<sup>378</sup> Foreign Office. 10/2/1826 Lord Ponsoby to George Canning. In: Webster. P 154.

<sup>379</sup> Foreign Office. 03/18/1826 Canning to Ponsonby. In: Webster. P 143.

<sup>380</sup> Parish and Hood used the term "Buenos Ayreans" to describe the inhabitants of Buenos Aires.

and its countryside into the following “classes”: “Old Spaniards, Creoles – native born, Native of the Canary Islands, Creoles – of other provinces, Foreigners – Europeans, Brazilians and Slaves.”<sup>381</sup> According to him, the Old Spaniards were mostly former Spanish officials and artisans from Galicia and Biscay who “were reduced to beggary; their estates were plundered of the cattle and destroyed” during of the Revolution.<sup>382</sup> The Creoles, meanwhile, were the natives of Spanish descent. This groups was represented as:

“ brave but not sanguinary people. From their early infancy they are taught fraud, deception, lying and flattery. Integrity, truth, and punctual fulfillment or engagement do not form part of their education. They consider these things as European prejudices, the effects of a foolish weakness of disposition and superstitious education, and the man who makes a sacrifice of his interests to his character and sense of moral obligation, they consider a very good man, but a very great fool.”<sup>383</sup>

The “Creoles Native Born” from other provinces were principally from Paraguay and were depicted as laborious, taciturn, and mostly literate. Regarding the immigrants from the Canary Islands, Hood wrote that they “are not numerous. They are principally

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<sup>381</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. In: Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940). P 174,175, 176.

<sup>382</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940). P 174,175, 176.

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<sup>383</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of The Royal historical Society. 1940). P 174,175, 176.

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agriculturists (...) very laborious (...) and as they intermarry among themselves they form now a distinct race.”<sup>384</sup>

The Brazilians or “Portuguese creoles” were, according to Hood

“amongst these (...) of the oldest and most wealthy families in the province whose ancestors settled here before the Spaniards. It is well known that from the earliest times this province has been claimed by the Portuguese by right of discovery [that the Portuguese] were the founders of Colônia, from whence they were driven about 50 years ago.”<sup>385</sup>

The British diplomat also mentioned that the slaves were more numerous before the wars because most of them were fighting in the armies with the promise of manumission. Among the foreigners living in the Banda Oriental, the consul listed Luso-Brazilian officers who were part of the occupying force, along with French, British, and North American merchants.

Foreigners, however, were always Northern Europeans, Americans, and the Luso-Brazilian occupation troops and bureaucrats. It is worth noting that the Brazilians who were considered part of the local elite were Orientals, while Luso-Brazilians who came to the region with the Portuguese-Brazilian troops were considered foreigners. Moreover, Paraguayans and other “Creoles” were not included as foreigners in Hood’s description. Such a distinction indicates that shared experience of short term residency in the territory as defining elements of being a “foreigner” to the British consul.

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<sup>384</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of the Royal historical Society). 1940. P 174,175, 176.

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<sup>385</sup> F.O. 51/1. Thomas Samuel Hood to George Canning. Mtvdeo 1824. Humpheys. R. *British consular reports on the trade and politics of Latin America, 1824-1826*. (London, Offices of the Royal historical Society). 1940). P 174,175, 176.

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Between 1826 and 1827, the British entrepreneur A.J. Beaumont also described the Banda Oriental, as a distinctive population. Beaumont went to the region to develop a project for a British colony in Entre Rios, which eventually failed. Because of his activities in the region, his account is permeated with references to personal interactions with political leaders, such as the Argentinean Rivadavia, with the British diplomats Parish and Hood, and other elites. However, Beaumont's account devotes many pages to a description of the Banda Oriental and its distinctive fauna and flora. According to Beaumont the animals and the vegetation of the Banda Oriental were slightly different from those found in the Buenos Aires hinterland, while the agricultural productivity was far superior. The author also made comparisons with the English countryside. Pointing out differences in the size and productivity of rural estates in England and the Banda Oriental, he suggested that the latter held the advantage. Regarding the occupation of the countryside, Beaumont wrote "los muros de piedra son caracteristicos de esta provincia oriental" [the stone walls are characteristic of this oriental province].<sup>386</sup>

Beaumont represented the Banda Oriental as an autonomous and politically independent region, with specific natural and human characteristics. According to him, "if the Brazilians were expelled from the Banda Oriental, there is no reason to believe that the inhabitants [of the Banda Oriental] would accept Buenos Aires' rule. A wide and dangerous freshwater sea divides them and they are opposed to its interests."<sup>387</sup>

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<sup>386</sup> J. A. B. Beaumont *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y La Banda Oriental 1826-27* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957). "Si lo brasileños fueron arrojados de la Banda Oriental, no es de se esperar que sus habitantes [de la Banda Oriental] ahora no mas que antes se sometan a ser gobernados por el gobierno de Buenos Aires. Un ancho y peligroso mar dulce los divide y son opuestos a sus intereses." P 100.

<sup>387</sup> J. A. B. Beaumont *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y La Banda Oriental 1826-27* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957) P 273

Therefore, he concluded that self-determination is the only option for longstanding peace in the region.<sup>388</sup>

The British observers adopted and reinforced the terms “Orientals” and Banda Oriental,” terms that emphasize the otherness of the region in relation to its neighbors Buenos Aires and Brazil at the same time these observers were in favor of self-determination in the region.. It is noteworthy that this trope of representation, stressed by British travelers, was a product of the interaction zone, where the interests of the authors and local elites were intertwined.

Years later, British-brokered peace treaty between Brazil and the United Provinces of Argentina granted autonomy to the newly created nation of Uruguay. Nevertheless, as the British consul in Montevideo commented, the so-called “orientals” were not a homogenous or national group.

### *Conclusion*

In the 18<sup>th</sup> and early 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, maps and written accounts of the River Plate played a fundamental role in creating representations that informed influential circles in the trans-Atlantic arena. Unlike the accounts produced in Mary Louise Pratt’s contact zones, in which observers and observed with distinct cultural and historical backgrounds redefined themselves in relation to each other, I argue that representations of Latin

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<sup>388</sup> “Cualquiera quede dominando en la Banda Oriental, e de creer que el territorio sea teatro de guerras por muchos anos y en consecuencia nadie podera emplear su capital o su industria en aquella provincia con seguridad. La unica manera, en apariencia, por la que puede ser salvada de estas continuas luchas y gozar de las bendiciones de la paz y la seguridad, es la de convertirla en estado independiente bajo la garantia de un gran poder maritimo como la Gran Bretanha. Un estado neutral de esa naturaleza seria tambien mas deseable para defender la parte mas debil de la frontera brasilena, dejaria entonces de ser objeto de aprension por parte del Brasil y Buenos Aires no tendria pretexto para nuevas interferencias.” J. A. B. Beaumont *Viajes por Buenos Aires, Entre Rios y La Banda Oriental 1826-27* (Buenos Aires: Hachette, 1957). Pg. 274

America during this period were produced in interaction zones. These were the cultural and geographical spaces in which Europeans and natives interacted in the late colonial settings of the Americas. In the Southern Cone the relatively limited demographic presence of the indigenous population allowed the formation of colonial settlements in accordance with European standards. The colonial elites were mostly of European descent and to a significant degree possessed European ideals. In these interaction zones, the authors who produced written accounts were engaged in social, political and economic exchanges. Integrated into local networks, they produced narratives that reflected their interests in the region. Within these narratives, the words that were used to describe the space and its inhabitants over the period (c.1730-c.1830) clearly changed over time. These changes reveal how social groups in the region were perceived and represented by themselves or by foreigners.

From the foundation of Montevideo to the independence of Uruguay, the words that were used in written descriptions to represent collective identities and space designations in the Rio de la Plata varied significantly. The terms that were employed to describe the people evolved from the general label of Spaniards to the specific notion of Orientals. The Orientals were described as a heterogeneous group of people connected to the territory of the Banda Oriental, in contrast to the Portuguese and the Luso-Brazilians from Brazil, and the Buenos Aireans. The authors who portrayed the Orientals in this manner were actively involved in the re-territorialization of the region by defining Montevideo and its countryside as an integrated whole. This process of knowledge production was fostered by late colonial reforms and resulted in the empowerment of groups in Montevideo that emphasized a distinct regional identity. This distinctiveness

was primarily based on the shared experience of occupying the same space, where contact between the Spanish, the Portuguese and the Indians occurred. The representation of the North Bank as “Oriental” symbolically linked the region to ideas of the East and the notion of otherness. Significantly, the narratives that used the term “Oriental” to name the region during the colonial period equated the presence of the Portuguese and indigenous groups with disorders and robberies, thereby reinforcing the notion that the region was the location in which interaction with the “Other” occurred. Thus, this process reinforced differences between the Orientals, the Portuguese/Brazilians, the Spanish, and the Buenos Aireans.

The shared experience that connected people and territory was even more significant during the period of warfare and Brazilian rule. The independence movement pitted the Orientales against Buenos Aires and against Brazil. For roughly ten years, the Brazilian occupation of the region (1817-1825) increased the state apparatus in Montevideo, extending its jurisdiction over the Banda Oriental. By the same token, the foreign occupation was represented as a catalyst in stimulating the formation of a non-homogeneous collective identity. The representations which I have analyzed, however, are products of an interaction zone within which their authors were active agents who pursued concrete interests. They reflected how the contemporary observers understood the relationship between collective identity, territory and jurisdiction in that contested ground.

## **Chapter 7 - Traversing Empires: the Trans-Imperial Career of the Luso-Spaniard Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo**

In the early modern period, powerful social, political and economic networks crossed political boundaries, connecting societies on both sides of the Atlantic Ocean. These networks allowed individuals to circulate, establish connections in different regions in order to mobilize resources near and afar. Individuals relied on networks of interaction for social, economic, and political support; such networks enabled local groups to develop a sense of community and regional identity within the realm of Empire. Trans-imperial networks provided peripheral communities with social, political and economic opportunities, alternatives to the ones offered in the local centers of power. Focusing on how individuals manipulated and inserted themselves in trans-imperial networks emphasizes the connections between different empires in the Atlantic world.

The study of empires in the Atlantic world has been revitalized in recent decades by a series of works that emphasized the interconnection of social and economic processes that unfolded on the three continents of the Atlantic basin. However, these groundbreaking works were limited in scope by the political boundaries of empires or by geographical limits, such as the British Atlantic, the Spanish Atlantic, and the North Atlantic. Consequently, these studies emphasized processes that unfolded within political units that resemble contemporary national boundaries.<sup>389</sup> In addition, the study of

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<sup>389</sup> For a review of such trend see: Mancke & Shamma (Ed.) *The Creation of the British Atlantic* (Baltimore : Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005). Introduction. P 02. Efforts to connect history of different empires: Peggy Liss *The Atlantic Empires: The Network of Trade and Revolution 1713-1726* (Baltimore: 1993). Jeremy Adelman, *Revolution and Sovereignty in the Iberian Atlantic*. (Princeton: Princeton Univ Press, c2006).

interaction between empires has positioned the state at the center of analysis, thus favoring research on diplomatic and military aspects of trans-imperial interaction.

In the beginning of the 1990's, John Elliot, Jack Greene and Antonio Manuel Hespanha published work on the idea of composite monarchies, negotiated authorities, and the role of the local elites in Empire building and governance.<sup>390</sup> The study of diverse sources such as notary records, church records, and private correspondence, as well as the cross-referencing of evidence from various archives, illuminated imperial dynamics and argued for the role of the periphery in developments in imperial centers of power. As a result, a growing body of scholarship has emphasized the importance of networks of trade, family, religion, and friendship within the Atlantic empires, and the role of these ties on the shaping of colonial and imperial identities. This scholarship, nonetheless, has been confined to imperial geographic and political boundaries.

Nevertheless, human interactions moved beyond the boundaries designed by the political metropolises of the Atlantic. The Rio de la Plata region is one of the prime examples of such trans-imperial dynamics. In the eighteenth century, the region was a stage for colonial disputes between Spain and Portugal and an area of interest for the British and French. It became hot spot of trans-imperial interaction. In contested territory, colonial subjects developed networks that crossed imperial borders. These networks

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<sup>390</sup> John Elliott "An Europe of Composite Monarchies" *Past and Present* (No. 137. Nov. 1992). Pgs. 48-71, Jack P Greene,. "Negotiated Authorities". In: *Essays in Colonial Political and Constitutional History*. (The University Press of Virginia, 1994). Hespanha, Antonio Manoel *As vésperas do Leviatã*. (Almedina, Lisboa, 1994).

could be social, commercial, religious, political, and/or interpersonal. Regardless of the nature of the networks, they all impacted subjects' behavior and loyalties.<sup>391</sup>

Political boundaries did not prevent the interaction between subjects of different empires. In the case of Rio de la Plata, specifically Montevideo, the control of these networks combined with the manipulation of imperial legislation enabled local groups to improve their status within the imperial system. As we have seen, this combination fostered the emergence of regional colonial identities that translated into the emergence of distinctive communities within Imperial realms – namely the clear difference between a community with interests centered in Montevideo and its adjacent territory, the Banda Oriental, and the one centered in Buenos Aires. This process of colonial regional identity formation predated the emergence of modern nations.<sup>392</sup>

In this chapter, I analyze the relationship between trans-imperial networks, an individual, and colonial regional identities.<sup>393</sup> In order to better illustrate the relationship between trans-imperial networks and regional groups, I examine the career of Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo, a Portuguese businessman who served both Iberian empires at different times of his life. Cipriano de Melo had contacts beyond imperial limits to better manipulate resources and improve his position within the empire which he served.

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<sup>391</sup> For a comparative study on borderlands see: Donna Guy and Thomas Sheridan (Ed.) *Contested Grounds*. (Tucson: Univ. of Arizona Press. 1998). For a discussion of identities in borderlands: Bartlett, Robert. *The Making of Europe: conquest colonization and cultural change, 950-1350* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1993); Gonzalez Gimenez, Manuel, "Frontier and Settlement in Castile", in: *Medieval Frontiers Societies*, edited by Robert Bartlett and Angus Mackay. (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1989). 49-76; Hal Langfur *Forbidden Lands: colonial identity, frontier violence and the persistence of Brazil's eastern Indians 1750-1830*. (Stanford: Stanford University Press. 2006). John Chasteen *Heroes on Horseback* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press. 1995).

<sup>392</sup> Anthony Pagden and Nicholas Canny (Ed.). *Colonial Identity in the Atlantic World* (Princeton, N.J. : Princeton University Press, c1987). João Fragoso. "A nobreza da República: notas sobre a formação da primeira elite senhorial do Rio de Janeiro (séculos XVI e XVII)". In: *TOPÓI, Revista de História do Programa de Pós-graduação em História Social da UFRJ* – n.º. 1, 2000.

<sup>393</sup> I would like to thank Susan Socolow for the comments on a previous version of this chapter, presented at the 56<sup>th</sup> RMCLAS Annual Meeting.

Although my analysis centers on Cipriano, I will use his life story to examine the larger picture of his connections – the vertical and horizontal networks to which he was linked within and beyond imperial boundaries. On the one hand, Cipriano de Melo had experiences that were representative of those of many of his contemporaries; on the other hand, he concentrated so many of these experiences turning his life story into an unique example of the use of networks. Although this chapter is centered on the biography of an individual, I use his life to analyze the significance of networks in a late colonial peripheral area.<sup>394</sup>

Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo was born into a wealthy family in Lisbon in 1740. He was orphaned before he turned ten years old. Thanks to family connections, he was sent to Brazil under the care of the Governor of Rio de Janeiro, who sent him to Rio de la Plata to the Governor of Colônia do Sacramento. Once in Rio de la Plata, Cipriano de Melo ran away from Sacramento to Buenos Aires, where he ended up under the patronage of the Spanish governor.

In 1754, Cipriano de Melo volunteered to be part of Spanish forces fighting in the Guaranitic War. Between 1754 and 1757, the Guarani Indians from the Seven Eastern Missions of Paraguay rebelled against the provisions of the Treaty of Madrid that demanded the exchange of Sacramento for the territory of the Missions. Because he was a protégé of the Governor of Buenos Aires, Joseph de Andonaegui, Cipriano de Melo probably knew other regional authorities, such as the Governor of Sacramento, and most

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<sup>394</sup> Giovanni Levi, *A Herança Imaterial: trajetória de um exorcista no Piemonte do século XVII*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2000). Zacarias Moutoukias. “Redes Personales y Autoridad Colonial” 1992. *Annales. Histoire, Sciences Sociales* (Paris, mai-juin. 1992). Jose Maria Imizcoz (Ed.) *Casa, familia y sociedad : País Vasco, España y América, siglos XV-XIX*. (Bilbao : Servicio Editorial, Universidad del País Vasco = Euskal Herriko Unibertsitatea, Argitaipen Zerbitzua, 2004. Michel Bertrand “De la Familia a la Red de Sociabilidad” *Revista Mexicana de Sociología* Vol 61 No. 2 1999). p 107-135

importantly, the Governor of Montevideo, Francisco de Viana. Manuel Cipriano de Melo, while still a teenager, was well acquainted with the region and the authorities with whom he shared wartime experiences.

Once the joint Iberian campaign against the rebellious Guaranis ended, Cipriano went to Cadiz where he studied nautical sciences and was introduced to theater and theater culture. After concluding his degree, Melo returned to Lisbon and collected his inheritance. He then returned to Rio de la Plata, arriving in Colônia do Sacramento with heavy luggage and four slaves.<sup>395</sup> In Sacramento, Cipriano established himself as a pilot of ships in the Rio de la Plata.<sup>396</sup>

During the 1762 military campaign against Colônia do Sacramento led by the Governor of Buenos Aires, Don Pedro de Cevallos, Cipriano de Melo switched imperial allegiance and was named pilot of the Spanish fleet. He actively fought the Portuguese and British during the naval blockade of Colônia do Sacramento and took two hundred sixty Englishmen prisoner.

Nevertheless, Cipriano de Melo was again working under the Portuguese flag in 1763, when Sacramento was returned to them as part of a diplomatic agreement. In the following decade, Melo crossed the Atlantic conducting business in Sacramento, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Lisbon, West Africa, and London. In 1765, he was once again in Colônia do Sacramento. There, Cipriano married Ana Joaquina da Silva, the daughter of an important local merchant, who brought a dowry of 30,000 pesos.<sup>397</sup>

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<sup>395</sup> Arturo Bentancur *Don Cipriano de Melo, Senor de Fronteras* (Montevideo: ARCA. 1985).

<sup>396</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa. Manuscritos Pombalinos. Cod. 10855. 1776.

<sup>397</sup> Enrique Udaondo *Diccionario Biografico Colonial Argentino*. (Buenos Aires: Editorial Huarpes. 1945). and Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa. Manuscritos Pombalinos. Cod. 10855. 1776.

In Sacramento, Melo was both merchant and pilot. He also enjoyed a close relationship with the governor and prominent businessmen in the Portuguese colony. He crossed imperial boundaries, trading sugar, tobacco, textiles, woods, furniture, paper, and slaves. Some of the wealthiest merchants of Sacramento and Rio de Janeiro as well as government authorities figured among his business partners. In Sacramento, Don Cipriano de Melo conducted extensive business with the powerful merchant Colonel João de Azevedo Souza – a man who frequently advanced money to the local government and was associated with Don Bras Craneiro Leão, a powerful Rio de Janeiro merchant.<sup>398</sup> His other business partners in Sacramento included the merchants Don Mamede João, the famous smuggler João da Cunha Neves, and Don Joseph da Costa Ferreira. In addition to his associations with these influential individuals, the status of Don Cipriano de Melo in Colônia do Sacramento is underscored by his inclusion by the Governor as one of the “most honorable” people of Colônia to give a statement to the Concelho Ultramarino about the state of the colony.<sup>399</sup> Through his partners in Colônia, Cipriano de Melo had access to networks in Rio, which connected him directly to merchants of that city with extensive business in the slave trade in the South Atlantic.<sup>400</sup>

In 1777, a Spanish fleet transporting more than 10,000 troops led by the newly appointed Spanish Viceroy, Don Pedro de Cevallos, arrived in Rio de la Plata to establish the Viceroyalty and expel the Portuguese from Colônia. Once again, Cevallos made Cipriano de Melo pilot of a squadron of ships in charge of conquering Colônia do Sacramento. In June of that year, Colônia do Sacramento fell into Spanish hands and was

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<sup>398</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa. Manuscritos Pombalinos. Cod. 10855. 1776

<sup>399</sup> Biblioteca Nacional Lisboa. Manuscritos Pombalinos. Cod. 10855. 1776

<sup>400</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 333 – 22 VIII 1779. See also João Fragoso *Homens de Grossa Ventura*. (Rio de Janeiro: Civ. Brasileira. 1993).

leveled. After the conquest, Cipriano de Melo was one of the hundreds of Portuguese citizens who swore loyalty to the King of Spain. He soon relocated to Montevideo where, as a reward for his services to the Spanish crown, he was appointed to the new office in charge of suppressing contraband trade.

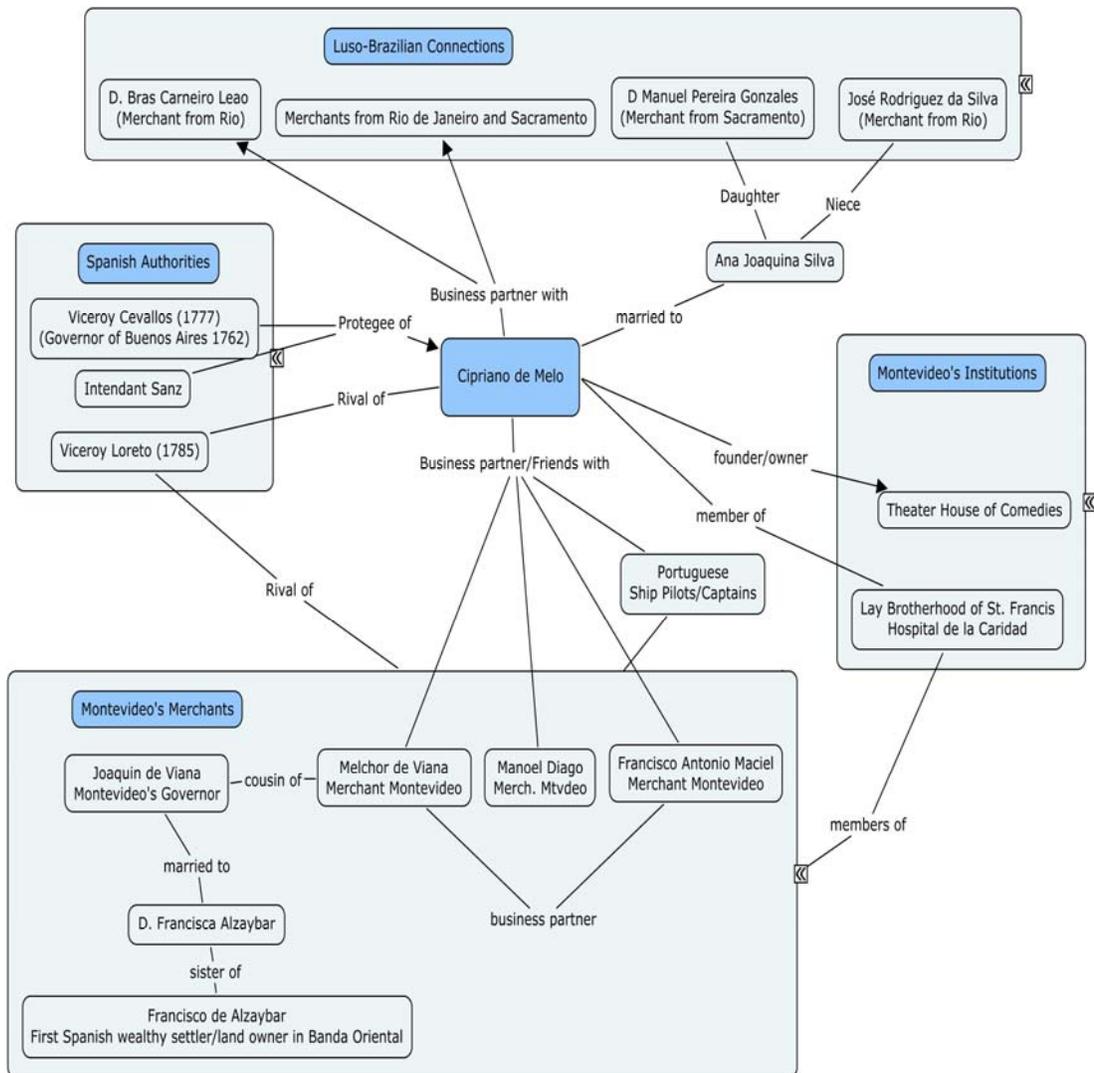


Figure 7.1 – Networks of Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo

## **Cipriano and the Re-establishment of the Networks with Brazil**

The newly created office of the *Comandancia del Resguardo* was based in Montevideo. Its role was to prohibit contraband by land and by sea. Don Cipriano de Melo was the *Segundo Comandante del Resguardo*, the one in charge of controlling ports and navigation in lakes and lagoons.<sup>401</sup> As the authority in charge of suppressing contraband, Cipriano was in a strategic position in Montevideo to mediate the re-establishment of profitable routes between Portuguese America and Rio de la Plata; he was both the person responsible for determining the legality of ship arrivals in the port and the person in charge of inspecting cargo. Cipriano de Melo counted thirty-two men under his command.

In 1780, a close associate of Cipriano de Melo, the Montevideo merchant Francisco Maciel, went on a business trip to Rio de Janeiro. There, according to the Brazilian viceroy, Maciel arrived as the delegate of the Montevidean merchants, and he met with merchants and authorities in Rio in order to acquire ninety slaves, tobacco, sugar, and textiles. But the most important part of his visit was to re-establish the route from Rio de Janeiro to Rio de la Plata. Maciel ensured that Portuguese ships would be welcome in Montevideo by the *Comandante* under the pretext of needing emergency repairs.<sup>402</sup>

Although the viceroy was suspicious of the proffered strategy, a merchant of “good reputation and large credit” in Rio de Janeiro guaranteed the safety of the ships and the trustworthiness of the authorities and merchants of Montevideo. The merchant

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<sup>401</sup> The *Segundo Comandante* was in charge of controlling ports and lagoons, the *Primero Comandante*, Don Antonio Pereira, was in charge of suppressing contraband in the countryside.

<sup>402</sup> AHU – Rio de Janeiro Doc. 9294 - 30 III 1780

was Don Bras Carneiro Leao, who had been involved in trade with Sacramento in the past and had owed money to Don Cipriano de Melo.<sup>403</sup>

Between 1781 and 1786, at least seventy-four Portuguese ships arrived in Montevideo, forty-three of them had declared their destination as Rio Grande or Santa Catarina (other Portuguese ports in the south Portuguese America). Among the captains who frequently traveled this route, three were business partners and/or friends of Cipriano. They traveled between from Rio de Janeiro to Montevideo carrying sugar, tobacco, and slaves. They were hosted at Cipriano's house, or were reported as eating dinner at his table.<sup>404</sup>

Cipriano de Melo also participated in the Rio de la Plata-Luso-America route. In 1779, Cipriano petitioned the Spanish crown to be allowed to transport money that Luso-Brazilian merchants owed him. The total sum was 32,000 pesos, and the debt was distributed across the cities of Rio de Janeiro and Salvador da Bahia as well as on the Island of Santa Catarina. To support his request, Melo appended the statement of businessmen from Sacramento, Buenos Aires, and Montevideo confirming that it was well known that Cipriano had credits in Portuguese-America. Moreover, Cipriano also had several statements from a Spanish officer who fought with him in the war of 1777 attesting the good services Cipriano performed for the Spanish Crown. The authorization was granted. He also was granted license to import 32,000 pesos worth of goods and merchandise from Brazil—slaves, tobacco, sugar, *cachaça*, and other goods.<sup>405</sup>

Moreover, Cipriano de Melo was also awarded compensation for his property in Colônia

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<sup>403</sup> AHU - Rio de Janeiro Doc. 9561 – 12 VII 1781, AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 311 - 27 IX 1783.

<sup>404</sup> AGNU – EGH Caja 22. Exp. 38. 1794-1795. The Pilots: Miguel de Fleytas, Antonio João da Cunha and Leonardo Perdigão. Miguel de Fleytas and Cipriano de Melo severed their partnership during this judicial case.

<sup>405</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 333 - 22VIII 1779, 13 VI 778, 13 XII 1778, 27 IX 1783.

do Sacramento by Don Pedro de Cevallos, and for the property of his father-in-law, Don Manuel Pereira Gonzales, who fled to Rio de Janeiro in 1777.

The above transactions make it clear that in Montevideo Melo was in a strategic position: he was an officer of the Spanish bureaucracy and possessed capital and connections.

Cipriano de Melo also arrived in Montevideo with the resources, means, and knowledge to reestablish commerce between Rio de la Plata and Rio de Janeiro, formerly based in Colônia do Sacramento. Melo secured not only the legal ability to ensure the safety of the operations, but also enough capital to finance his own business. But if knowledge about Luso-Brazilian markets and products was important, insertion in the local community was also crucial. Cipriano de Melo was welcomed by an important group of merchants who were eager to profit from Montevideo's newly acquired status within the Spanish empire. Such local arrangements were fundamental for the growth of the local mercantile and political community.

### **Cipriano's Connections in Montevideo**

Cipriano de Melo found important allies among the merchants and authorities of Montevideo. The group most responsible for Cipriano's integration in Montevideo's society was the Viana family and their allies, who were also profiting from the new status of Montevideo as an Atlantic port and the port of Buenos Aires. The family included the former Governor of Montevideo, Joaquin de Viana; his cousin, Melchor de Viana; Don Francisco Maciel, and later, Melo himself. The Viana familial network connected them

to the first settlers of Banda Oriental and guaranteed that they also received favors from the Crown in compensation for their efforts to build the city.<sup>406</sup>

The first governor of Montevideo, Don Joaquin de Viana, was married to Dona Francisca de Alzaybar, sister of Don Francisco de Alzaybar, the first settler and latifundia owner on the Northern Bank. Joaquin de Viana governed Montevideo for fifteen years (1751-1764 and 1771-1773). His connection with the Alzaybar family not only assured access to ample economic and social resources, but also ensured *mercedes* from the Crown for the services of Alzaybar family in assisting settlers and patrolling the Rio de la Plata.<sup>407</sup> Moreover, Joaquin de Viana had led Spanish troops during the Guaranitic War entitling him to additional royal favors. During his years in Montevideo, Joaquin de Viana was responsible for distributing land, choosing the governors of Montevideo (De la Rosa and Joaquin del Pino respectively), and securing a prominent estate for himself and his family in the region.

Viana was able to build an extensive network of relatives, fictive kin, and business associates who were prominent in the later decades of the eighteenth century in Montevideo. His cousin, Don Melchor de Viana, was one of the most important merchants of Montevideo, trading slaves and all type of goods from Europe and the Americas. Viana named the sister of another powerful Montevidean merchant, Don Francisco Maciel, and the wife of the Portuguese merchant named Manuel Jose Melo Pereira, as the executor of his estate. Maciel was one of the most active slave traders in Montevideo. Another important member of this group is Don Francisco de Medina, a

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<sup>406</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya*. Montevideo. 1975. Tomo I *passim*.

<sup>407</sup> For more details about the Alzaybar family and their influence in early Montevideo see Chapter 2 of this study.

wealthy trader who was the responsible for the creation of the first *saladero* in the Banda Oriental.<sup>408</sup>

This network of locals welcomed Don Cipriano de Melo and incorporated him as business associate and friend after the fall of Colônia do Sacramento. Don Cipriano de Melo, Don Melchor de Viana, and Francisco Maciel would hire and share the same vessels, the same pilots, and most importantly, the same networks in Rio de Janeiro and Bahia.<sup>409</sup> These merchants would have the same agents and would submit orders for goods as a group, relying on Cipriano de Melo's contacts to acquire general and specific products such as jacaranda chairs and slave cooks from Bahia.<sup>410</sup> These types of operations had a direct relation to trust. Because of the nature of trans-imperial trade, the level of informality was much higher than traditional intra-imperial trade. The latter system relies on the legal regulation much more than interpersonal relationships.

Joaquin de Viana's connections, however, extended beyond the merchant community of Montevideo. The Montevidean governor was a political protégé of Viceroy Vertiz, who ruled in Buenos Aires from 1778 to 1784. Among the merchants of Buenos Aires, Martin de Altolaquirre was reputed to be a business associate and political ally.<sup>411</sup>

The trans-imperial connections of Cipriano de Melo benefited groups centered in Montevideo and non-monopolist merchants of Buenos Aires. Montevideo became the Atlantic port of the region due to the Bourbon reforms, and, because of the Luso-Platine networks, the city of Montevideo replaced Colônia do Sacramento as the center for

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<sup>408</sup> Arturo Ariel Bentancur *Cipriano de Melo Señor de Fronteras*. (Montevideo:ARCA. 1985). Cipriano de Melo had credits of more than 2.000 pesos in Medina's probate records.

<sup>409</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Legajo 333. 14/VI/1785.

<sup>410</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Legajo 333. 14/VI/1785.

<sup>411</sup> Juan Alejandro Apoland *Genesis de la Familia Uruguaya* (Montevideo, 1975). Partida 55. Pgs. 935-937, 967.

networks of Portuguese and British traders in the region. As a result, it became the preeminent port of Buenos Aires for legal and illegal trade.

### **The Control of Contraband and the Autonomy of Montevideo**

Cipriano de Melo had a relatively easy task in re-establishing himself in Montevideo because he profited from the new offices and regulations created by the Bourbon reforms. He also mobilized his connections in Portuguese America and Montevideo. During periods of war between Spain and England, increasingly lax regulations on neutral trade allowed trans-imperial networks to function even more actively and with a higher level of legality. The increased traffic in the port of Montevideo in the years after the downfall of Colônia had initially been welcomed by traders in Buenos Aires. However, the growing power of Montevideo's merchant community and officials in controlling trans-imperial trade began to concern important factions in Buenos Aires.

As we have seen, the monopolistic merchants from Buenos Aires were against the new role of Montevideo, but an emergent faction of merchants who did not have monopolistic contracts and were active in trade with foreign colonies did not complain about Montevideo's new role in the 1780's. Among this group, the most visible members were Tomás Antonio Romero; Don José de Maria; and Don Juan de Aguirre.<sup>412</sup>

The nomination of a new viceroy for Buenos Aires triggered conflict among some factions of the mercantile communities of the two cities. The arrival of the Viceroy

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<sup>412</sup> The group I identify as "monopolist" merchants is the group of merchants that has traditionally operated within the monopolistic system centered on the axis Cadiz-Rio de la Plata. For a better analysis of the merchants of Buenos Aires see: Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor. 1991); Viviana Grieco *Politics and public credit: the limits of absolutism in late colonial Buenos Aires* (Emory Univ. dissertations (Ph.D.) Dept. of History. 2005).

Marquis de Loreto in Buenos Aires was welcomed by important segments of the mercantile community of Buenos Aires. Determined to put an end to the intense trans-imperial traffic channeled through Montevideo, the Viceroy enacted measures designed to restrain the “excesses” of autonomy and the contraband of Montevideo’s authorities. Beyond the contraband issue, a dispute between the Viceroy and the Intendant of Rio de la Plata, Don Francisco de Paula Sanz soon arose. In the Rio de la Plata, the Viceroy and the Intendant often had overlapping or loosely defined jurisdiction.<sup>413</sup> With the arrival of Marquis de Loreto, divergent opinions about policies toward trade with neutrals and stimulus for local industries emerged. On the one hand, Intendant Sanz protected trade with foreigners, local shipyards. On the other hand, the Marquis of Loreto aimed to protect monopolistic policies. Such a conflict could be understood as two competing visions of imperial policy or even as the conflict between the old structure of power and the new one created by the Bourbon reforms. Nevertheless, the personal grievances between the two men and their loyalties to the factions which they served greatly affected local politics.

One of the most visible targets of the Loreto’s conservative reaction was Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo. The Viceroy charged Cipriano with supporting contraband trade, permitting Portuguese ships to harbor in Montevideo, and allowing the illegal introduction of goods and subjects to Spanish dominions.<sup>414</sup> The events that culminated in a series of law suits against Cipriano de Melo began when one of his Portuguese business partners, the pilot and well-known smuggler Don Antonio Joseph de Acuña, was arrested after illegally entering the city and staying for two days at Cipriano’s house.

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<sup>413</sup> For the bureaucracy in Rio de la Plata: Susan Socolow. *The Bureaucrats of Buenos Aires* (Durham: Duke University Press. 1987).

<sup>414</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Legajo 333. 14/VI/1785

According to his statement, after arriving in the city on board a Portuguese brigantine that had entered in Montevideo two days earlier, he went to Cipriano's house because Cipriano was connected to Don Melchor de Viana, an important merchant indebted to Acuña. Thus, Acuña justified his presence in the city by claiming that he needed to collect a debt.

The problem grew larger for two reasons. First, Acuña's infractions were under the jurisdiction of customs officials who were, at that time, under the direct influence of the new Viceroy and *porteño* authorities. Second, letters, receipts, and account books of operations involving Cipriano de Melo; Cipriano's wife, Dona Ana Joaquina da Silva; Melchor de Viana, Don Francisco Maciel, and other Montevidean merchants were found among Acuña's confiscated belongings. The episode gave birth to a long lawsuit in which the authorities of Buenos Aires made a case not only against Cipriano de Melo, but also against the capacity of Montevidean bureaucracy to control trans-Atlantic trade. The essence of the dispute was who had jurisdiction over inspecting ships and authorizing goods to be disembarked.

In the lawsuit, the prosecutors exposed intricate commercial relationships among Montevidean merchants. According to evidence cited, Cipriano de Melo and his wife, Dona Ana Joaquina, were sending illegally imported slaves to Alto Peru, using one of their own slaves to manage the deliveries. The number of slaves allegedly involved in such operations varied from twenty-seven to three hundred at a time.<sup>415</sup> The Viceroy also questioned the legitimacy of Cipriano's license to introduce 32,000 pesos *fuertes* from Luso-America. According to Loreto, Cipriano claimed to have introduced less than 5,000 pesos up to that date, although five ships had arrived under his orders from Brazil. Thus,

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<sup>415</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Legajo 333. 14/VI/1785

the amount introduced by each ship was approximately 1,000 pesos, less than the cost of the expense in paying for the voyage of the ship and crew.

The evidence exposed even larger smuggling networks involving the Portuguese pilot Juan de Acuña and the Montevidean merchants Leonardo Pereyra, Melchor de Viana, Francisco Maciel, and Francisco de Medina. Acuña's papers revealed that for more than four years, the merchants had been importing contraband slaves, sugar, tobacco, and other goods and illegally exporting hides to Rio de Janeiro and Bahia. These operations totaled more than 51,400 pesos *fuertes*.<sup>416</sup> Interestingly, this network had more connections in Rio than in Bahia.<sup>417</sup>

In addition to having larger number of associates in the *fluminense* port, Don Francisco Maciel complained about a former partner from Bahia, Manoel José Froes, who had not paid for 5,697 hides sent to on his account. The Montevidean merchants spread this information not only to the merchant in Bahia in charge of collecting the debt—but also among their associates in Rio de Janeiro. We can see that the group used their networks in ways characteristic of business organizations in Old Regime societies to ensure trust and the safety of operations.<sup>418</sup>

Moreover, among the confiscated papers there were lists of goods ordered by Cipriano de Melo for his family, the Governor of Montevideo, and the *Primer Comandante del Resguardo*, Don Antonio Pereira. Among the items listed are various pieces of furniture made from jacaranda wood, slave cooks, *salterio* scores, a slave

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<sup>416</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – “Montevideo, 1785, Autos formados con motivo del arresto de Portugués Antonio Juan de Acuña (alias Capitan Barriga) y aprehensión de sus papeles.” The operations involved the purchasing of slaves, sugar, tobacco, furniture, textiles and clothing. The values mentioned in individual receipts: 30.000ps, 1.400,ps 13.000ps, 7.000ps.

<sup>417</sup> Cipriano's partners in Rio de Janeiro were Don Antonio João da Costa, João da Costa Pineiro, João Diniz Vieira, and Don Brás Carneiro Leão. The representative of the group in Bahia was Don Francisco José de Lucena.

<sup>418</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno 333, 12-XI-1783

musician, shirts, and velvet dresses – all items for personal use by their families. In addition to that, description of items for selling also appeared.<sup>419</sup>

The Viceroy used the evidence found among Acuña's belongings to argue against the primacy of Montevideo as a mandatory port of call for the region, bolstering his arguments by highlighting the corruption of Montevidean authorities, whom he said were known to protect smuggling with the Portuguese. Moreover, the Viceroy argued against the reformist policies liberalizing neutral trade and underlined the need to “close the door to Portuguese traders” as well as to the British, “even if it meant allowing their ships to sink in front of the harbor.” Loreto also made direct charges against Cipriano de Melo, who was defined as a “corrupt official, who was receptive to bribes,” “a foreigner,” and “a Portuguese, whose conduct and performance were most damaging to the Royal Treasury.”<sup>420</sup>

In his defense, Cipriano de Melo was adamant in affirming his loyalty to the Spanish crown, argued that according to the laws of conquest, former residents of Colônia who swore loyalty, enjoyed full rights as vassals of the Castilian crown.<sup>421</sup> “It is a public and well known fact that I was a resident (*vezino*) of *Colônia do Sacramento*, thus, I shall not be considered a foreigner, and rather I should be reputed as a Spaniard, with all the rights and privileges that Spanish subjects enjoy.” He also presented a list of all services he had performed for the Spanish Crown: military actions during the war of 1777 and the conquest of Colônia, participation in expeditions to ensure the control and of the Patagonia and the Malvinas (Falkland Islands), as well as a list of all his official

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<sup>419</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 333 “Montevideo, 1785, Autos formados con motivo del arresto de Portugués Antonio Juan de Acuña (alias Capitan Barriga) y aprehensión de sus papeles”

<sup>420</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 333. 22-XII-1784

<sup>421</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Legajo 311 19-XII-1786

contraband confiscations. He also justified the licenses for foreign ships admitted to Montevideo for repair using Natural Law principles, and reviewed the royal ordinances regarding trade with neutrals. Melo stated that the arrival of Portuguese traders ensured the continued flow of slaves during the years of war with Great Britain. He used this argument to explain his involvement with Antonio Juan de Acuña, who, according to Cipriano de Melo, was one of the agents involved in such trade. The Bourbon reforms did indeed increase the introduction of slaves in the Americas in order to expand agricultural production. Thus, policies designed to stimulate the acquisition of slaves in the Spanish empire ended up reinforcing the traditional commercial route between Rio de la Plata and Rio de Janeiro.

The intendant of Rio de la Plata, Francisco de Paula Sanz, testified that trade with the Portuguese was beneficial for the empire because of the introduction of slaves. In addition to the slave trade, the King had authorized some merchants to bring their capital from Portuguese-America to Spanish-America after the wars of 1777. Sanz argued that such flow of capital was only beneficial for the empire and therefore not possible to label as contraband.<sup>422</sup>

What started as a local conflict reached the Council of the Indies in Seville as a confrontation between the Intendant, under whose jurisdiction the *Reguardo* functioned, and the Viceroy, who controlled the custom officials. In other words, it turned into a conflict between the newly instituted reforms and the old power structure. Such a dispute demonstrates how both local elites and authorities could interpret and manipulate colonial legislation according to their own interests.

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<sup>422</sup> AGI Buenos Aires 333 – 22-XII-1784, 06-X-1784. In addition to the case of Cipriano de Melo, Sanz cited the case of Francisco Mendez Ribeyro, a Portuguese living in Buenos Aires whose request to import an inheritance he received from a deceased brother in Rio de Janeiro was denied.

In 1788, the Intendant of Rio de la Plata, Francisco de Paula Sanz, was transferred in Potosi, Alto Peru. Viceroy Loreto was replaced, but Montevideo's officials retained jurisdiction over all trans-Atlantic arrivals in the Rio de la Plata. Such an outcome did not mean an end to the conflict between mercantile factions in Montevideo and Buenos Aires, in spite of the fact that the port activity of the cities complemented one another.

In 1788, Cipriano's enemies presented new charges to the Council of the Indies accusing him and his business associate Don Manuel Diago of contributing to a fraud that led to the bankruptcy of the Custom House of Buenos Aires and for smuggling goods to Brazil and La Habana.<sup>423</sup> Cipriano was jailed briefly in Buenos Aires. When brought to trial, he emphasized the lack of evidence connecting him to the fraud in the Custom House and blamed the influence of the Viceroy Loreto over the *fiscal* of the Council of the Indies in his defense. Cipriano denounced the Viceroy for making false accusations against him and the *fiscal* for not processing the documents he had sent to the Council. Moreover, Cipriano accused them of persecuting him "since he had sworn vassalage to the King of Spain, thus having denied his status as a Portuguese subject."<sup>424</sup> As for the smuggling charges, Cipriano claimed that all business with Habana was run solely by his wife; thus, he was not involved.

After a lengthy lawsuit, Cipriano de Melo was found guilty of smuggling and forbidden to trade slaves and other goods. His argument that this trade was Ana Joaquina's was rejected because legally she could only participate in commerce with his consent. His official position, however, was maintained and the King reaffirmed his

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<sup>423</sup> AGN Sala IX 33-4-5 Hacienda Exp. 41, Sala IX 31-16-6 Justicia 1791. The denunciations of smuggling involved also his wife Ana Joaquina. They were charged of smuggling *tasajo*, wax, tallow, candles, and slaves.

<sup>424</sup> AGN Sala IX 31-16-6 Justicia 1791

status as a naturalized Spaniard. Such a ban did not prevent his wife, Dona Ana Joaquina da Silva, from conducting a series of commercial transactions that involved slaves, sugar, and tobacco as well as a series of trans-imperial deals with Potosi, Chile, La Habana, Portuguese-America, and Europe.<sup>425</sup> His partner, Don Manuel Diago, was also to engage in trade.<sup>426</sup>

Don Cipriano de Melo continued to be a very active member of Montevideo's community. He founded the first theater of Montevideo, the House of Comedies, and served as the manager for Montevideo's Hospital of Charity, a hospital owned and run by the Lay Brotherhood of Saint Francis. During the 1790's, he was also actively involved with the Luso-Brazilian community in Montevideo, sponsoring and helping newly arrived immigrants from Brazil, especially artisans. He also continued to interact with Portuguese authorities, and was involved in getting clearance for Portuguese vessels that arrived in Montevideo transporting Franciscan missionaries.<sup>427</sup> Don Cipriano de Melo was successfully integrated into the city's institutional and social life as well as had strong trans-imperial connections.

Cipriano de Melo was no longer allowed to engage directly in Atlantic trade in 1790's. Instead, he was actively engaged in suppressing contraband trade in the port of Montevideo, in the Merin Lagoon, and in the borderland region between Spanish-America and Portuguese-America. In Montevideo, Cipriano personally inspected many of the vessels arriving from foreign colonies.<sup>428</sup> In several of these ships, among the

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<sup>425</sup> AJ – Uruguay - 1821 Caja 203 Civil 1– Probate records of Ana Joaquina da Silva. I thank Alex Borucki for the reference for this record.

<sup>426</sup> The commercial partnership between Don Manuel Diago and Don Cipriano de Melo lasted until the death of the latter in 1813.

<sup>427</sup> AGI Legajo 2466 1-X-1799

<sup>428</sup> AGNU EHG Cj 34, 20-II-1797, AGNU EHG Cj 34, 18-II-1797, AGNU EHG Cj. 40, 14-XII-1799, AGNU EHG Cj. 40, 23-IX-1799, AGNU AHG Cj. 40 19-XII-1799. AGNU EHG Cj. 18 13-III-1793.

captains and passengers there were old acquaintances or business partners. In the borderland with Brazil, Cipriano de Melo initiated several raids and established guards and canoes to repress contraband in the waters of the lagoon.<sup>429</sup> In these anti-smuggling operations, Cipriano de Melo counted on the help of the Portuguese merchant and official Rafael Pinto Bandeira, himself accused of monopolizing contraband trade in the Merin Lagoon area. Such accusations never ended in conviction.<sup>430</sup>

The last decade of the eighteenth century was again marked by warfare involving Spain and other Atlantic empires. Again, legislation authorizing trade with neutrals was passed. During 1795 and 1797, Montevideo's harbor was officially open to vessels from Portugal and other friendly nations. As in the previous decade, Rio de la Plata merchants from Montevideo and some factions from Buenos Aires ample opportunity for trans-imperial trade. The 1790's, however, produced another dispute between groups centered in Buenos Aires and in Montevideo. This time, the *porteño* faction involved in the dispute with merchants and authorities from Montevideo were old allies, the same merchants that were involved in trade with foreigners.

As we have seen, the mercantile community of Buenos Aires was already internally divided in the 1790's, with a clear split between the groups opposed to trade with neutrals and the faction in favor of such practices.<sup>431</sup> If during the 1780's, the non-monopolistic merchant of Buenos Aires were supporting Montevideo's role, but the 1790's witnessed the end of such association.

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<sup>429</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno 113. 29-V-1791. AGNU EHG Cj. 18, 9-V-1792.

<sup>430</sup> Tiago Gil *Infieis Transgressores*. (Universidade Federal do Rio de Janeiro. Dissertacao de Mestrado. 2002). Inedita.

<sup>431</sup> Susan Socolow. *Los Mercaderes de Buenos Aires Vireinal*. (Buenos Aires, Ed. De la Flor. 1991); Viviana Grieco *Politics and public credit : the limits of absolutism in late colonial Buenos Aires* (Emory Univ. dissertations (Ph.D.) Dept. of History. 2005).

The alliance between Montevidean traders and non-monopolistic merchants of Buenos Aires ruptured over the issue of primacy of trans-imperial trade. As the head of the agency in charge of suppressing contraband, between 1794 and 1800, Cipriano de Melo performed a series of confiscations targeting vessels of *porteño* merchants who were involved in trans-imperial trade.<sup>432</sup>

The main issue that underlined the separation of the two groups, however, involved the primacy of Montevideo as a mandatory port of call in the region. The *porteño* group decried the excesses of the viceroy and of the *Comandante del Resguardo* Cipriano de Melo, who “threatened the primacy of the Capital Buenos Aires” and imposed “miserable losses” on free trade.<sup>433</sup> The group of businessmen from Buenos Aires, represented by Juan de Aguirre, José de María and Pedro Duval, complained about the enforcement of the stipulation that all ships from foreign colonies should enter in Montevideo first. The pivotal episode for the open confrontation was the denial of entry into the port of Buenos Aires of two ships coming from Islas Mauricio and from Pernambuco in Portuguese-America. The ships were owned by Don Pedro Duval and Don Juan de Aguirre, powerful merchants of Buenos Aires and members of the local Consulado. The merchants complained that their ships with perishable cargo and slaves were excluded from Buenos Aires, because Viceroy Olaguer Feliú has decreed that all trans-Atlantic trade must be conducted through the port of Montevideo. Moreover, the Viceroy, in response to a petition to designate an officer to inspect the ships without their having to sail back to Montevideo, had chosen the *Comandante del Resguardo* of Montevideo, Don Cipriano de

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<sup>432</sup> AGNU EHG Cj 22 – 19-IX-1794. Dna. María del Carmen vs. Dn Miguel de Fleytas. Cipriano stated against Fleytas, who worked for Romero. AGNU EHG Cj 46. 22-II-1800. Confiscation of contraband belonging to Pedro Duval, Casimiro Necochea, Miguel Josef Fleytas et alii.

<sup>433</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346 3-III-1798

Melo, to perform the task. Melo, however, was not resident in Buenos Aires; thus, the ships were forced to return to Montevideo. In an attempt to circumvent the order, the merchants directed their ships to go to Colônia do Sacramento, a port under the jurisdiction of Buenos Aires, and then to return to the *porteño* harbor under the guise of arriving from another Spanish port. This maneuver, however, did not produce the expected results, and the ships eventually went back to Montevideo. The merchants complained this had impeded their disembarking of cargo, and caused damages and the death of a number of slaves when the ships were caught by a storm while sailing back to Montevideo.<sup>434</sup> They also argued that Buenos Aires should be allowed to receive slave ships because the city provided the capital to finance the trade. Moreover, they contended that Buenos Aires port had better logistics, including medical, for disembarking of slaves.

Merchants Duval and de Maria called the *Resguardo* officers “*malos y infieles servidores*” (bad and unfaithful bureaucrats) and declared that the authorities in Montevideo, wanted to maintain a monopoly over trans-imperial trade and contraband. According to them, there was no illicit trade in Buenos Aires. Moreover, the *porteño* merchants and their allies argued that extending the authority of a Montevidean official over Buenos Aires, a suggestion that caused a serious offence to the bureaucrats of the viceregal capital. This change “constituted the dominance of Montevideo over Buenos Aires.” They also claimed that Viceroy Feliú spent more time in Montevideo, where he kept his home, than in Buenos Aires. Maria also alleged that Feliú did not honor the licenses for trans-imperial trade granted by the former viceroy, Pedro Melo de Portugal, and that such a refusal targeted Buenos Aires merchants.<sup>435</sup> In Montevideo, Maria stated,

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<sup>434</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346, 27-II-1797. See also Peticion s/f Josef de Maria. No. 4

<sup>435</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346 27-II-1797.

Feliú associated closely with Cipriano de Melo, to whom he gave more authority than was legal.<sup>436</sup> They also reported that result of the Viceroy's policies was unrest among the people in the streets of Buenos Aires.<sup>437</sup> This statement makes clear the division between the communities of the two port cities. Even though the conflict started as a political and economic question, the merchants were able to mobilize people beyond the strict mercantile community.<sup>438</sup>

The dispute lead directly to an unsuccessful attempt of the mercantile community of Montevideo to create their own *Consulado de Comercio*. At the same time, the merchants of Buenos Aires made an effort to authorize the port of Ensenada de Barragán, a bay south of Buenos Aires, as a trans-Atlantic port. They were temporarily successful. From 1801 to 1802, the port of Ensenada was declared a physical extension of the port of Buenos Aires open to Spanish vessels navigating trans-Atlantic routes, although foreign vessels were excluded. Although the creation of a new Consulado in Montevideo was rejected by the Council of the Indies, the Council was receptive to arguments in favor of the primacy of the port of Montevideo.<sup>439</sup> As a result, after 1802, Montevideo resumed its role of primary port of call for trans-Atlantic voyages in the Rio de la Plata estuary. By the beginning of the nineteenth century, a new balance of power had been created in the Rio de la Plata. The communities of merchants from Montevideo and Buenos Aires, although they did conduct business together, had clearly different interests.

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<sup>436</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346 30-IV-1798. It is noteworthy that the merchants of Buenos Aires did not use the title of "Don" to refer to Cipriano de Melo.

<sup>437</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno Leg. 346 30-IV-1798.

<sup>438</sup> Galamrini also reports that the conflict between monopolist merchants and non-monopolist merchants in the Consulado also affected the people on the streets of Buenos Aires. These examples show that in late colonial Rio de la Plata social factions were composed of individuals of different classes and social status. Hugo Raul Galmarini *Los Negocios del Poder*. Buenos Aires: Corregidor. 2000. p 53.

<sup>439</sup> AGI Buenos Aires Gobierno 346 18-IV-1798.

Cipriano de Melo had been an active protagonist in many of the conflicts generated by the emergence of Montevideo as a regional center of power. Although in the first decade of the 1800's, Cipriano's actions did not have the same repercussions as in the previous decades, his influence in the city remained strong. In 1809, the governor of the Rio Grande, the southernmost captaincy of Brazil, sent Don Cipriano some boxes of sweets in reciprocation for Portuguese newspapers. The Portuguese governor thanked Don Cipriano saying that he had not had been able to get a hold of a Portuguese gazette in months. This episode demonstrates that Don Cipriano kept alive important trans-imperial connections.<sup>440</sup>

At the time of the revolution of Independence, Don Cipriano de Melo supported the Junta de Montevideo and the Portuguese invasion of the city. Melo died in his comfortable colonial house in 1813, while Montevideo was under military siege by troops from Buenos Aires.<sup>441</sup> By the time of his death he had more than 37,000 pesos owed him from business associates in Montevideo and Rio de Janeiro. Of this total, 36,000 pesos were related to trade. The total estate amassed by Cipriano de Melo amounted to more than 186,000 pesos.

The life story of Don Cipriano de Melo and his connections beyond imperial limits, ranging from Alto Peru, to Rio de Janeiro, to Africa, to Europe, exposes the fluidity of political boundaries during the late eighteenth century. Moreover, Cipriano de Melo's case illuminates the significance of trans-imperial networks for peripheral regions and how the manipulation of trans-imperial resources together with imperial legislation

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<sup>440</sup> Arquivo Historico do Rio Grande do Sul – A1.06 and A1.02. 1810.

<sup>441</sup> Arturo Ariel Bentancur *Don Cipriano de Melo Señor de Fronteras* (Montevideo: ARCA 1985). Cipriano de Melo's house is located in actual Ciudad Vieja in Montevideo, and it serves as the Museo Casa de Lavalleja.

enabled local groups to improve their status within the imperial system in order to gain more autonomy regional regional centers of power. The political and economic conflicts in which Don Cipriano de Melo was involved were, to a large degree, conflicts that opposed the political and commercial interests of the viceregal capital and the growing provincial capital of Montevideo.

The Bourbon Reforms and the trans-imperial connections to Portuguese and Anglo-America were the roots of Montevideo's emergence as a regional center. Montevideo's society was able to develop a larger sense of economic, political, and cultural identity within the realms of the Spanish Empire by manipulating the imperial discourse and new legislation, and benefiting from the social capital transferred from Colônia do Sacramento.

Communities that emerged on contested grounds, where trans-imperial interactions were part of daily life, developed distinct regional identities. These regional colonial identities were achieved by leveraging control over networks that went beyond imperial boundaries and by manipulating imperial dynamics. Trans-imperial interactions allowed peripheral communities to gain social, economic and political autonomy from regional centers of power. Although this study focuses on the case of Montevideo, legal and economic evidence suggests that similar processes might have developed in other peripheral communities of the Spanish and Portuguese empires, communities in which trans-imperial interactions were prevalent.

In the 1990's and early 2000's, Latin American historians have called for the insertion of a "Middle Period" between the traditional "Colonial" and "Modern" histories of the sub-continent. This interpretation emphasizes the importance of regional processes

during the hundred-year period stretching from the middle of the eighteenth to the middle of the nineteenth century by focusing on how regional communities resisted centers of imperial power and thus created local social coherence and cultural autonomy within the realms of empires. The life story of Cipriano de Melo, whose experiences were shared by many of his contemporaries, adds a new layer to our understanding of the creation and maintenance of these regional communities; while usually processes of regional identity formation are described as inward-looking, following trans-imperial and trans-national networks of family, trade, and information turns our attention outward as well.

Beyond the Latin American perspective, Melo's dynamic trans-imperial connections, and flexibility in interpreting the meaning of what we might call "subjectship," exposes some of the limits of, and possibilities in, the current state of research on the Atlantic World. While historians are right in talking about "an Atlantic World" in the singular form, we tend to break it to "North Atlantic," "Black Atlantic," "Dutch Atlantic," and other "Atlantics" defined mostly by imperial political boundaries. Melo's story teaches us that we should overcome geographical, linguistic, and archival limitations on the analysis of "the Atlantic World" and seek to follow human interactions that were not contained by official borders. His biography suggests that we should turn our attention toward connecting the different Atlantics into a unified, more interlaced, and more complex Atlantic World.

## Conclusion

During the last quarter of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the elites of Montevideo used their control over trans-imperial networks and manipulated the new legislation implemented by the Bourbon reforms in order to enhance the status of the city within the Spanish empire. The control over trans-imperial networks connecting Montevideo with Portuguese America and Anglo America allowed the consolidation of a mercantile elite that was able to mobilize significant resources and people in the adjacent region of Banda Oriental. Moreover, the Montevideo elites' specific interpretation of reformist regulations over trans-imperial trade and the power to suppress of contraband provided them with the legal tools to expand their juridical, social and economic control over the countryside at the expense of the authorities in Buenos Aires. As a result of these trends, by the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century Montevideo was the capital of a province that encompassed most of the so-called Banda Oriental. The people residing in the area identified themselves and were identified as *orientales*, namely, as inhabitants of a specific region – the Banda Oriental – and therefore as a community distinct from Buenos Aires. The process of fostering a sense of local community, or a colonial regional identity, was not homogenous and unfolded within imperial realms. The elites and wider population of Montevideo used their trans-imperial networks of family, trade, religion and friendship to gain autonomy from Buenos Aires and to improve their status within the Spanish system, as subjects of the Bourbon kings. These networks allowed the population of the Banda Oriental to share social, economic and political experiences that differed from those provided by the local center of power. In addition, newly created legislation provided the

legal channels on which the elites relied to create a juridical body for a colonial polity – and thereby allowing the emergence of a late colonial regional identity.

The emergence of Montevideo as a trans-imperial hot spot and a regional center was the product of the city's involvement in trans-Atlantic economic, social and political dynamics. Traditionally, when analyzing the creation of regional identities, historians tend to examine internal processes and to look for signs of early patriotism. Nevertheless, in politically peripheral areas, processes that went beyond imperial boundaries had an important role to play in shaping the social, economic and political aspects of colonial subjects' lives. The Bourbon reforms, which were Atlantic in their scope, impacted on different areas of the Spanish empire in a wide variety of ways. In the Rio de la Plata region, and specifically in the contested territory of the Banda Oriental, the reforms interacted with powerful trans-imperial networks that structured colonial society. The outcome of this interaction was the construction of a new space within the colony – the emergence of a provincial capital that progressively increased its control over the countryside. The opportunities that were created by the longstanding and enduring connections between the Banda Oriental and Portuguese America were crucial to this process.

This study is about a region within a viceroyalty in the commercial periphery of the Spanish empire, and about that region's internal dynamics. Nevertheless, the study emphasizes the importance of Atlantic processes in shaping social, economic and political dynamics within a local context. Imperial boundaries held less meaning for the subjects of this study than for historians of the nation-state. In highlighting the importance of trans-imperial networks I suggest that networks of trade, family, religion,

information and friendship had a profound impact on local communities that were situated in hot spots of interaction. Communities located in areas of intense trans-imperial interaction were also connected to intra-imperial networks. I define such spaces as interaction zones -- areas where subjects of different empires and local colonial subjects interacted, mediating the local and the trans-oceanic dimensions of their lives. Despite the unequal balance of power between the parties involved, colonial subjects were able to leverage their regional and imperial positions by manipulating imperial and trans-imperial networks and balancing the local demands for foreign goods as well as the Atlantic demand for regional products and information. In contested territories, interaction zones allowed local groups to develop specific notions of community and regional identity that were derived from their interactions within and beyond imperial borders.

The Rio de la Plata region was an area of intense trans-imperial interaction since the beginning of the European presence in the 16<sup>th</sup> century. The Spanish and Portuguese empires formally competed for possession of the territory, but the Dutch, the British and the French also had commercial and political interests in the area. During the 18<sup>th</sup> century, the Spanish consolidated their supremacy over the region. Nevertheless, until 1777 the Luso-Brazilian town of Colônia do Sacramento was a busy contraband center that furnished cheap goods to the merchants of Buenos Aires. Despite Buenos Aires' proximity to the mines of Potosí and the commercial control exercised by *porteño* merchants over the vast hinterland into which Potosí's silver flowed, the port city was not authorized to engage in regular Atlantic trade until 1778. Contraband flourished as a result of this commercial system. Through Colônia do Sacramento, furniture, paper, iron,

sugar, tobacco, *cachaça*, slaves, textiles, and medicine were introduced into the Spanish dominions. The Portuguese and their associates, the British, obtained hides, tallow, cacao, wool, and silver from the region in copious quantities. The networks that crossed imperial boundaries in the region were strong and enduring, involving large as well as petty merchants, and peasants and authorities alike. Between 1750 and 1777, there were more women from Buenos Aires residing in Sacramento than from Portugal and Portuguese America combined. Moreover, Sacramento's role as the main hub for the introduction of slaves in the region reveals the key significance of trans-imperial interactions in the reproduction of colonial society.

The creation of the Viceroyalty of Rio de la Plata in 1776 was accompanied by the expulsion of the Portuguese from Colônia and by the establishment of free trade with other Spanish colonies. The obliteration of Colônia do Sacramento meant the end of the Portuguese colonial project in the region. Many Luso-Brazilian inhabitants swore loyalty to the King of Spain, and they resettled in Spanish dominions. Important merchants from Sacramento moved to Montevideo and were easily integrated into the community. Montevideo, in contrast to Buenos Aires, never possessed effective legislation that regulated the presence, mobility and residence of foreigners, and specifically the Portuguese. In addition, an important Portuguese contingent that enjoyed well-established familial networks with landowners, merchants and authorities was already present in Montevideo. Some subjects of Portuguese descent were even members of the Cabildo. The conquest of Sacramento triggered the relocation of the Luso-Platine merchants to Montevideo – they brought their connections and trans-imperial networks with them.

During the decades of 1780 to 1800, more than 230 ships navigated between Montevideo and Portuguese America. Montevideo replaced Colônia do Sacramento as the trans-imperial port in the Rio de la Plata. The elites of Montevideo and their Luso-Brazilian associates rapidly reestablished the commercial routes that once went through Sacramento. The manipulation of imperial legislation that was designed to foster the trade in slaves and of royal ordinances that allowed trade with foreigners during periods of war became a common strategy used by merchants and authorities of Montevideo to facilitate trans-imperial trade. Such operations involved Luso-Brazilian merchants in Montevideo and in Rio de Janeiro who had been previously involved in the trade with Sacramento, in addition to their associates in Montevideo. Because of the broad scope of this trade, the mercantile community of Montevideo experienced fast-paced growth. It is worth noting that the semi-legal operations were the only visible part of the trans-imperial trade. Denunciations of contraband trade were very frequent.

Due to the growing importance and role of Montevidean merchants and authorities as intermediaries between the Atlantic routes and Buenos Aires, the *porteño* merchants tried to undermine Montevideo's role as the preferential port in the region on more than one occasion. Although such a maneuver was led by the elites and was eminently political, its repercussions echoed through the communities of both cities, involving merchants, peasants and urban workers.

The relocation of Luso-Brazilian and trans-imperial networks merchants from Sacramento was not the only way in which Montevideo profited from the reforms of the late 1770's in Rio de la Plata. The decree that established free trade within the Spanish empire opened the ports of Montevideo and Buenos Aires for Atlantic trade. Montevideo,

however, because of its excellent natural harbor, was declared the mandatory port of call for all vessels entering or leaving the estuary. Moreover, Montevideo was the only port authorized to disembark slaves, and the base for the South Atlantic Spanish Naval fleet. As a consequence, new bureaucratic offices in charge of suppressing contraband were established in the city. The elites of Montevideo used a specific interpretation of the new legislation to gain control over terrestrial as well as maritime trans-imperial networks. Between 1780 and 1805, the jurisdiction of Montevideo, which originally comprised only the surrounding areas of the city, expanded to the borderlands of Portuguese America, towards the Siete Pueblos Misiones, and to the surrounding areas of Colônia do Sacramento. Most importantly, the authorities of Montevideo gained power to police crime and contraband in the countryside and borderlands. The emergence of the province of Montevideo was marked by constant conflict and disputes with authorities from Buenos Aires. Progressively, Montevidean authorities consolidated their influence over the population and territory in the countryside by creating patrols, guards, and forts along the border to repress criminal activities and exert control over contraband in the region. Trade routes, the market place, religious life and the expansion of roads connecting Montevideo to the *campaña* was part of this process.

The ascension of Montevideo as an administrative, social and economic center for the inhabitants of the Banda Oriental was apparent in commercial flows and in the expansion of the city's jurisdiction, which came to replace Buenos Aires in many areas. The cartographic and written representations of the Rio de la Plata produced during the final quarter of the eighteenth century also reinforced the aim of Montevideo's elites to bring about the city's integration with the countryside. Because the region was a

contested territory, a plethora of material was produced about the region by subjects of the Atlantic empires. European and locally born imperial agents, travelers and merchants produced maps and descriptions of the area in which the centrality of Montevideo was apparent. In cartographic representations Montevideo was placed more centrally than Buenos Aires, even though the latter was the viceregal capital. Moreover, the toponymy used to describe Montevideo's adjacent countryside also changed, reflecting the region's new jurisdictional arrangements. The fact that Montevideo was an Atlantic harbor also made it possible for travelers to stay for prolonged periods of time in the city and to produce descriptions about the area that emphasized the distinctiveness of Montevideo's community in relation to that of Buenos Aires.

The processes that led to the formation of a distinct late colonial identity that focused on Montevideo and the Banda Oriental were initiated by ordinary men and women. The conflicts and enterprises in which they were engaged, their loyalties and their perceptions of community is the basis of this study. In examining the micro-history of one individual and his connections, we can see the relationship between trans-imperial networks, the notion of community and the economic and social processes. The story of Don Manuel Cipriano de Melo is illustrative of how individual agents lived their lives in a zone of imperial interaction, switching loyalties between different empires, engaging in trans-Atlantic enterprises, and at the same time becoming active members of the local community. Melo was born in Lisbon, grew up in Buenos Aires, studied in Cadiz, lived in Sacramento, conducted business in Lisbon, West Africa, London, Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and finally settled in Montevideo. On two occasions he switched loyalty between the Portuguese and Spanish empire, and finally became a subject of the Spanish Crown.

His familial, religious, commercial and friendship networks, however, did not substantially change throughout the years. Cipriano de Melo was able to channel resources through the trans-imperial networks that gave him and his associates a qualitative advantage in improving their status within the empire. Cipriano, as the head of the agency in charge of suppressing contraband, actively participated in many of the disputes and legal maneuvers that allowed Montevideo to expand its influence over the countryside and to improve the community status within the viceroyalty and the empire.

Because of the strength of local and trans-imperial networks, local factions were able to resist larger centers of power and push forward their interests. Cipriano de Melo's involvement in trans-imperial networks of family, friendship and trade was an experience that he shared with many of his contemporaries. Melo was exceptional only because, over the course of his life, he combined many experiences that other people experienced separately.

This dissertation emphasizes the importance and the interconnection of regional and Atlantic processes during the last fifty years of colonial rule in Latin America. It demonstrates how local communities, structured by networks that went beyond imperial limits, were able to resist centers of imperial power, thereby creating social and political coherence on a local scale. This interpretation constructs a bridge between the emergence of regional imperial identities in the last half of the eighteenth century and the political crisis of early 19th century independence. In doing so, it sheds new light on the roots of the emergence of provincial identities in the post-independence period. The case of Montevideo and the Banda Oriental adds a new layer to our understanding of the creation

and maintenance of regional identities. Although their creation is usually described by scholars as an inward-looking process, close scrutiny of trans-imperial networks of commerce and family reveals that this process of creation was also the product of outward linkages. Finally, the study traces the emergence of late colonial regional identities. These identities, while resisting local centers of power, were also products of the late reforms of empire and lacked all traces of independence or proto-national ideals.

In analyzing the importance of trans-imperial social, economic and political networks for the creation of regional identities within an Atlantic empire, I suggest that imperial boundaries were less significant for historical subjects than they are for contemporary historians who are raised in societies shaped by the centrality of the nation state. In following the thread of human interactions in a world dominated by empires, the challenge for historians is to overcome national, linguistic and archival barriers. Greater dialogue between Latin American history and the history of the Atlantic world can provide new insights into important historical processes by looking beyond the political barriers and ideals that were built following the emergence of the nation state.

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