*PORTUGUESE MIGRATION
TO RIO DE JANEIRO,
1822-1850.*

By

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Em Memória da Minha Sogra,
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ABSTRACT

Contrary to what has been indicated by previous sources, Portuguese migration to Rio de Janeiro from 1822 to 1850 was a significant aspect of the city's history. During the first half of the nineteenth century, many Portuguese fled the difficult economic and social conditions in Portugal for better economic opportunities in post-independence Brazil, which was experiencing a boom that was fuelled by such commodities as coffee.

The capital of the Empire, Rio de Janeiro was the most affected by this prosperity. In particular, its retail commercial sector attracted many immigrants from France, England, Spain, Italy, Germany, and most especially from Portugal. A majority of Rio's migrants worked in the retail and wholesale sectors. The arrival of Portuguese migrants was facilitated by the fact that they were mostly well received by the Brazilian government and elite, who wanted to create a "white" nation, while still continuing to import thousands of Africans every year. Portuguese immigrants served these ends, as they were arriving in large numbers and did so over a long period of time, virtually without any state sponsorship.

Yet, the Portuguese sometimes faced hostility and aggression from the population at large, as a consequence of the nationalism which arose from Brazilian independence, and the fact that they were regarded as competition for jobs. Brazilians also blamed the many Portuguese shop-owners for the high cost of living in Rio. Yet, despite the presence of this hostility, most Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro, adapted well to their new environment. They married or developed relationships with local people, bought properties in Brazil, and most did not

return to Portugal.

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MAP I
BRAZIL IN 1830

Source: Leslie Bethell (ed.). Brazil: Empire and Republic (Cambridge, 1989), p. 44.

I. INTRODUCTION

Portuguese migration to Brazil has always been a significant aspect of Brazilian history. Since the early years of colonisation, Portuguese settlers migrated to Brazil in order to assert their control over the new land. The exact number of the Portuguese who settled in Brazil during the colonial period is uncertain. What is known is that Portuguese settlers made up most of the white population of Brazil during the sixteenth, seventeenth, and eighteenth centuries. For instance, Azorean couples played a significant role as frontier settlers in southern Brazil during this period. The Portuguese Crown sent these migrants to establish a settlement at Santa Catarina in the late 1600s. More Azoreans arrived in the 1700s in order to serve the same purpose: settling areas in southern Brazil which were in constant threat from the neighbouring Spanish.¹ Passport books from the late eighteenth century also show that there was a constant flow of Portuguese to Brazil, migrants seeking to work in the most important centres of the colony.²

Portuguese migration did not stop after Brazil became an independent country. Large numbers continued to migrate to Brazil during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. For instance, passport registers show that from April 1831 to May 1842, there were more than eighteen thousand Portuguese immigrants registered

¹ H. B. Johnson. "Portuguese Settlement, 1500-1580," in Leslie Bethell (ed). Colonial Brazil (Cambridge, 1987), p. 35.

² Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Registo de Passaportes, 807/808, anos de 1791 a 1799.

at Rio de Janeiro alone.³ From 1855 to 1922, it has been estimated that almost one million Portuguese arrived in Brazil as immigrants.⁴

However, despite this fact, the Portuguese as an immigrant group have received little attention from Brazilian historians. This has been due to the fact that the Portuguese were originally regarded by Brazilians as colonisers, rather than immigrants. It has also been a result of Brazilians' desire to turn their back on the colonising nation and forge ahead in new directions.

Within this general picture of limited interest, the least studied period of Portuguese immigration has been the years between the declaration of Brazilian independence and the abolition of Brazil's slave trade (1822 to 1850). This was a period which saw many important changes occur in both Brazil and in Portugal, including the end of the Portuguese trade monopoly with Brazil, the eventual independence of Brazil, the rise of Brazilian nationalism, and an increase in Brazilian hostility towards the Portuguese.

The following study will show that large numbers of Portuguese arrived in Rio de Janeiro from 1822 to 1850. These migrants were attracted by the vigorous economic expansion that was occurring in the city and were readily accepted by the

³ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 1 - 16.

⁴ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. O Brasil Monárquico. Tomo II, Vol. 4 (São Paulo, 1964), pp. 209/210. Sacuntala de Miranda. "Emigração e Fluxos de Capital, 1870-1914," in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (ed). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal (Lisboa, 1993), p. 55. Miriam Halpern Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, 1850-1930 (Lisboa, 1981), p. 20.

Brazilian elite who saw them as an easily accessible source of European immigrants who could 'whiten' the new nation. Yet, the general population of the city reacted negatively towards these newcomers. Still, despite this animosity the Portuguese adapted well and, generally, did not return to Portugal.

HISTORICAL BACKGROUND

The historical developments during the first half of the nineteenth century had a profound impact on the flow of Portuguese migrants to Brazil and on the environment these newcomers found in their new country. Beginning in 1807 European events precipitated Brazilian independence, one of a series of crises that affected Portugal throughout the nineteenth century. In that year, Napoleon's troops threatened to invade Portugal and to remove from power Dom João, the prince regent who governed Portugal in the name of his insane mother, Dona Maria I. The response of the Portuguese nobility was to transfer the Portuguese government to Brazil, which at that time was the most important colony of the Portuguese empire. Dom João and his court, around 16,000 people,⁵ fled Portugal and in early 1808 established themselves in the colony. With this move, Dom João was able to keep control of the Portuguese government even after the French invasion became a fact.

This solution solved the immediate threat to the Portuguese royal family but it precipitated a new challenge to the Portuguese colonial empire. The measures enacted by Dom João during his thirteen years in Brazil created de facto independence for Brazil.

⁵ Gilberto Ferrez. O Paço da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1985), p. 31.

Portugal was never able to recapture total control over its colony. As soon as Dom João arrived in Brazil, he found himself compelled to open its ports to commerce with other nations, ending the monopoly Portugal had enjoyed over its colony for centuries. He revoked existing restrictions on the development of manufacturing industries in Brazil. A printing press was established for the first time and the first newspapers appeared in Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and in Salvador, Bahia, in 1811. In Rio, Dom João opened a medical school, a national museum, a national library, and a botanical garden. Most important was the raising of Brazil, on December 16, 1815, to the status of a kingdom, of equal importance to Portugal, thereby losing its colonial status. Rio de Janeiro replaced Lisbon as the capital of the empire and Portugal seemed to have been reduced to second place in terms of overall importance.⁶

With the de facto independence of Brazil, Portugal lost the economic foundation of its empire. Great Britain soon replaced Portugal as the most important supplier of goods to the Brazilian market. At the time of the Portuguese royal family's flight from Europe in 1807, Britain protected and helped in the escape of the Portuguese court in exchange for a number of economic advantages, such as the right to trade directly with Brazil, along with other special trading rights.⁷ This move signalled the decline of Portugal as the major trading partner of Brazil, as Portugal could

⁶ Bradford Burns. A History of Brazil (New York, 1980), pp. 144-151.

⁷ See Chapter VI.

not compete with Great Britain's manufacturing sector.⁸ Portugal was a dependent country, with an archaic system of agriculture and an undeveloped manufacturing sector that was deeply affected by the loss of the trade monopoly with Brazil.⁹ As a consequence, unemployment and poverty increased within Portugal and many people resorted to migration as a solution for their economic and social problems.¹⁰

The decline of the Portuguese economy resulted in a liberal revolution in the northern part of the country in the early 1820s that led to de jure Brazilian independence. The new leaders demanded the return of Dom João to Portugal and the return of Brazil to its original colonial status. The Brazilian elite were not willing to give up the advantages of a free market system and self-government and supported Dom João's son, Dom Pedro, who declared formal independence in September 1822. Subsequently, the Portuguese tried to replace Brazil with their African colonies, but they were never able to recover the benefits of the original economy.¹¹ The Portuguese colonies in Africa were closely tied to Brazil because of the slave trade and the Portuguese proved unable to develop a profitable economic system with Africa.

⁸ Valentim Alexandre. Origens do Colonialismo Português Moderno (Lisboa, 1979), pp. 29-30.

⁹ Emília Viotti da Costa. The Brazilian Empire. Myths and Histories (Chicago, 1985), p. 13.

¹⁰ See Chapter III.

¹¹ Valentim Alexandre. "O Liberalismo Português e as Colônias de Africa, 1820-39," Jaime Reis (ed). O Século XIX em Portugal (Lisboa, 1979), pp. 356-357.

As for Brazil, the political changes of the early nineteenth century brought no significant changes to the country's social and economic structures. The landed elite continued to rule, slaves continued to be imported, and the economy continued to be based upon the exportation of raw materials and the importation of manufactured goods.¹² Still, Brazil was able to offer economic opportunities to Portuguese who were willing to migrate overseas. This was especially true after the early 1830s, when coffee became a profitable export commodity for Brazil and the country grew economically.¹³

Immigrants arrived in Brazil in the 1830s and 1840s despite the political instability of the period.¹⁴ The government of Dom Pedro I enjoyed a very short moment of popularity but in the late 1820s became involved in a series of political crises which culminated in his abdication in 1831. His loss of popularity was tied to the terms of the agreement that Dom Pedro had signed with Portugal and Great Britain for the recognition of Brazil as an independent country. Portugal had resisted accepting the loss of Brazil, and it was only in 1825 that an agreement was reached between the two countries, in which Brazil was recognized as an independent state. In exchange for this recognition, the Brazilian government agreed to pay Portugal two million pounds sterling. Since Brazil's status had been an accepted fact for almost three

¹² Caio Prado Junior. História Econômica do Brasil (São Paulo, 1977), pp. 134-141. Emilia Viotti da Costa. Da Monarquia à República. Momentos Decisivos (São Paulo, 1985), p. 52.

¹³ See Chapter IV.

¹⁴ See Chapter III.

years, this payment irritated the Brazilian elite. Dom Pedro was attacked for not demanding better conditions for Brazil in the negotiations with Portugal, and his submission was attributed to the fact that he was the son of the Portuguese king.¹⁵

In the same year, Great Britain also recognized the sovereignty of Brazil, but in exchange for two treaties which were equally unpopular with the Brazilian elite. First, Brazil was obliged to renew the 1810 treaty which allowed Great Britain to import goods into Brazil at a very low tariff. Second, Brazil had to agree to end the slave trade three years after the treaty had been ratified by both countries. This enraged the landed elite who depended on slave labour for the running of their estates.¹⁶

Other events in the late 1820s also contributed to the growing opposition to Dom Pedro's government. For instance, in 1825 war broke out between Brazil and Argentina over the southern Cisplatine province. This proved to be a very unpopular war as the economic costs were high and the Brazilian elite had no special interest in the region because it was unsuitable for tropical agriculture. The war continued until 1828, when, with British intercession, the two countries involved reached an agreement to grant independence to the province that became the republic of Uruguay.¹⁷

Finally, the increasing involvement of Dom Pedro in Portuguese affairs, after the death of his father in 1826, also

¹⁵ Burns. A History of Brazil, pp. 165-168.

¹⁶ See Chapter VI.

¹⁷ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 167.

irritated Brazilians, who accused their emperor of attempting to reunify the two states. In order to avoid conflict, Dom Pedro renounced the Portuguese crown in favour of his daughter, Maria. Yet, this move was not enough to distance the Brazilian emperor from Portuguese matters. In 1828, Dom Pedro's younger brother, Miguel, supported by the Conservatives, rejected Maria as Queen and seized the Portuguese government. Dom Pedro, supported by the Liberals, declared war on his brother involving himself once again in Portuguese politics. The civil war lasted until 1834 with a Liberal victory. However, hostility in Brazil grew to such an extent that, in 1831, Dom Pedro decided to renounce the Brazilian crown in the name of his son, the five-year-old Dom Pedro, and to return to Portugal.¹⁸

Despite Dom Pedro's abdication, political instability continued as Brazil experienced new threats to its unity. The new emperor was unable to assume control of the government owing to his age, so that Brazil was ruled by regents who lacked the authority to impose a central government over the nation, provinces which lacked common interests and resented the

¹⁸ Neill Macaulay. Dom Pedro. The Struggle For Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834 (Durham, 1986), p. 229.

After Dom João's death in 1826, the legitimate heir of the Portuguese king, Dom Pedro I, was unable to wear the Portuguese crown owing to his commitment to Brazil. He had no choice but to renounce the crown in favour of his daughter, Dona Maria. However, his brother, Dom Miguel, supported by the Conservatives, took over the government in defiance of Maria's rights. The Liberals, supported by Dom Pedro, did not accept Dom Miguel's move and a civil war between the two brothers took place from 1828 to 1834 when the Liberals were able to take back control of the country. Maria Alexandre Lousada. "Nacionalismo e Contra-Revolução em Portugal: O Episódio Miguelista (1823-1834)," Luso-Brazilian Review, XXIX, 1 (1992), p. 63.

privileged position of Rio de Janeiro. This period was characterized by widespread unrest with several revolts erupting throughout Brazil, in Grão-Pará (from 1835 to 1840), in Bahia (from 1837 to 1838), in Maranhão (from 1838 to 1841), and in Rio Grande do Sul (from 1835 to 1845). All of these movements called for the independence of the areas involved and the establishment of republican governments. The central government in Rio de Janeiro was able to impose unity over the provinces only after the premature inauguration of Dom Pedro II in 1840, at the age of fourteen. The new emperor was recognized by most Brazilians as the legitimate ruler and was supported by the elite. His inauguration coincided with the beginning of an economic boom associated with the production of coffee, that carried his government through a period of almost fifty years of stability and economic growth.¹⁹

BRAZILIAN NATIONALISM

Despite the many regional and political crises which occurred in Brazil during the period from 1822 to 1850, this was also a time of burgeoning nationalism which brought Brazilians together to form a new nation. There has been much discussion amongst historians about the roots of nationalism in Brazil. It is difficult to find much about the nationalist sentiments before the late nineteenth century, as regional interests prevailed over national ones during the colonial period and the first decades after independence. Still, historians have attempted to locate the birth of Brazilian nationalism in earlier periods. Some have

¹⁹ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 174.

stated that the origins can be traced to the time of Brazil's discovery, arguing that "from the beginning Brazil was not the same as Portugal".²⁰ Other historians have attempted to locate the birth of Brazilian nationalism in the exploration process of the Brazilian west by the bandeirantes of São Paulo, in the early seventeenth century.²¹ Still others have argued that "the roots of Brazilian national self-consciousness are to be found in the middle of the seventeenth century" when the people of Pernambuco expelled the Dutch who had occupied the area for twenty-five years.²² As Barbosa Lima Sobrinho has stated, the struggle against the Dutch had an impact not only on the unity of Brazil but also on the creation of a national awareness within the colony.²³

Even though historians have not been able to agree as to a single root of Brazilian nationalism, they have concluded that it was during the late eighteenth century that a sense of national identity began to be more pronounced as the desire for independence from Portugal began to ripen in Brazil. Carlos Guilherme Mota has stated that, in the late eighteenth century, Brazil experienced an emerging nationalism which took the form of

²⁰ E. Bradford Burns. Nationalism in Brazil (New York, 1968), p. 7.

²¹ Leslie Bethell. "The Independence of Brazil," in Leslie Bethell (ed.), The Independence of Latin America (Cambridge, 1987), p. 160.

²² Bethell. "The Independence of Brazil," p. 160.

²³ Barbosa Lima Sobrinho. Desde Quando Somos Nacionalistas? (Rio de Janeiro, 1963), p. 17.

anti-colonialism.²⁴ Leslie Bethell has asserted that during this period there emerged in Brazil a more acute sense of self-identity among some sectors of the white, Brazilian-born, colonial oligarchy.²⁵

This sense of identity gave rise to hostility amongst the Brazilian-born population that was directed towards the Portuguese government.²⁶ In 1792, Sir George Staunton, an Irishman who was visiting Brazil, noted that Brazilians were irritated with, and acrimonious towards, the Portuguese government.²⁷ The Portuguese Chancellor, Sebastião Xavier de Vasconcelos Coutinho, who came from Lisbon to preside over an inquiry into the Minas Gerais' conspiracy of 1789 that was seeking separation from Portugal, asserted that the general atmosphere in Brazil in the late eighteenth century was tense, and he noted the conflict between Brazilians and Portuguese. His explanation for the situation was that the Brazilians were upset with the control which the mother country exercised over Brazil. Coutinho added that Brazilians seemed to believe that they had the right to govern their own country and that the Portuguese were taking away the riches of the nation.²⁸

²⁴ Carlos Guilherme Mota. Idéia de Revolução no Brasil, 1789-1801 (Petrópolis, 1977), p. 90.

²⁵ Bethell. "The Independence of Brazil," p. 160.

²⁶ Bethell. "The Independence of Brazil," p. 161.

²⁷ Affonso de Taunay. Rio de Janeiro de Antanho - Impressões de Viajantes Estrangeiros (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), p. 111.

²⁸ Keneth R. Maxwell. Conflicts and Conspiracies: Brazil and Portugal, 1750-1808 (Cambridge, 1973). p. 192.

After independence, this sense of identity and the hostility towards the mother country began to express itself as feelings of anti-Portuguese and anti-foreign nationalism. Bradford Burns and Barbosa Lima Sobrinho have both provided examples of a nineteenth-century Brazilian nationalism which demonstrated not only anti-Portuguese, but also anti-British, and anti-Spanish elements. Burns has stated that "British imperialism, the Portuguese presence in the country after 1822, and threats from Spanish America, particularly in the Rio de la Plata area, were external antagonisms that periodically intensified nationalism as a defensive force".²⁹ Samuel L. Baily has also stated that "benign, romantic, and slightly anti-Portuguese nationalism emerged along with anti-British and, at times, anti-Spanish American nationalism" in the early nineteenth century. Yet, Baily has also stated that in comparison to other Latin American countries nationalism in Brazil was not particularly strong, that it was probably stronger in Argentina and Mexico. He continues that, because of the fact that Brazil had the monarchical institution working as a unifying factor, there was not as much need for nationalism to promote unity in Brazil as there was in the case of the other two countries.³⁰

The importance of the monarchy in aiding the unification of independent Brazil cannot be denied. As Richard Graham has stated, "The unity of Brazil was ensured then and later by the legitimacy bestowed on the central government by the royal presence." Most of

²⁹ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, p. 10.

³⁰ Samuel L. Baily (ed). Nationalism in Latin America (New York, 1971), p. 12.

the Brazilian elite recognized the right of the emperors, João VI, Pedro I, and Pedro II, to rule. This factor, in addition to the elite's fear of a possible social revolution emanating from the conditions of the enslaved population, largely explains the unity of Brazil.³¹

This was especially true in the case of the government of Dom Pedro II. In 1840 he was inaugurated at the age of fourteen in an attempt to save the country from partition. After Dom Pedro II's coronation, the government was able to suppress the regional revolts in a short period of time and impose a long period of political equilibrium within Brazil. Dom Pedro's conciliatory rule continued until 1888, when a republican coup deposed the monarchy. Pedro was able to bring stability and unity to the country, not only because he had the support of the elite, but also because his monarchical position gave him a prestige and authority which the previous regents had lacked.³²

Yet, even though the monarchy was an essential factor in helping to maintain the unity of Brazil, this unity can also be attributed to other factors. Amongst these was the existence of an anti-Portuguese sentiment, which acted as a unifying nationalistic element amongst Brazilians during the early nineteenth century. At times, it almost seemed that the only common sentiment of all Brazilians was their antipathy towards the Portuguese. In fact, many historians have identified Brazilian animosity towards the Portuguese as a major unifying factor in the late colonial period

³¹ Richard Graham. The Independence of Latin America (New York, 1994), pp. 133-134.

³² Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 174.

and in the unstable decades after Brazilian independence. For instance, Emília Viotti da Costa has stated that "there were definite and unifying anti-Portuguese tendencies in Brazil at the end of the colonial period."³³ Bradford Burns has shown that "xenophobia towards the Portuguese in the 1830s and 1840s was a useful instrument in the creation of national unity amongst all provinces of the empire".³⁴

One dissenting voice, that of Samuel Baily, has also been heard. Baily has claimed that anti-Portuguese sentiment was not very strong in Brazil. However, his view that Brazil's anti-Portuguese nationalism was benign needs to be examined more closely. Baily has based his assumption on a formal speech given by politicians at the founding of the Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute in early 1839.³⁵ Had Baily conducted more extensive research, he would have found several examples of anti-Portuguese feelings.

For instance, the newspapers of the period give specific examples of the deep level of hostility which some Brazilians held regarding the Portuguese. An article written in the Diario do Rio de Janeiro of January 30, 1841, is probably the clearest evidence that can be found to counter Baily's notions. This article refers to a secret club in Rio de Janeiro that existed solely to assassinate Portuguese immigrants. Even though the existence of this club, called "the Kill Portuguese club" was not proven, the

³³ Da Costa. The Brazilian Empire, pp. 9-10.

³⁴ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, pp. 31-33.

³⁵ Baily (ed). Nationalism in Latin America. p.12 and Document 2.

mere mention of the possibility of its existence demonstrates the depth of Brazilian animosity towards the Portuguese.

Anti-Portuguese feelings developed as a consequence of the struggle for independence. In the late colonial period Brazilians expressed a clear antagonism towards colonialism and towards the mother country. In the early years of independence, this antagonism took the form of anti-foreign feeling which was most clearly manifested in the form of animosity toward the Portuguese.³⁶ This attitude was the single unifying factor found in all provinces in the new empire, and, therefore, has been identified by some historians as a manifestation of nationalism.

IMMIGRATION DURING THE EARLY 1800S

Despite the political uncertainty that affected Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century, and despite the twin factors of a rising nationalism and an increasing anti-foreign sentiment, many immigrants from Europe arrived in the country during this period. Of these, the Portuguese constituted the largest number, although a small number of Spanish, French, English, and Italian migrants, amongst others, also found their way to Brazil.³⁷

Immigrants went to Brazil because of the promising economic opportunities in the commercial sector. After the opening of the ports in 1808, an increasing quantity of goods were being sold in Brazil's markets, especially in the capital, Rio de Janeiro. The

³⁶ See Chapter VI.

³⁷ See Chapter V.

migrants who accompanied the Royal Family placed new demands on this market and it expanded in order to supply them. After independence, the slow but gradual growth of the coffee exporting economy guaranteed the continuing development of Rio's population and of its commerce.

European immigration also continued unabated because the Brazilian empire enthusiastically welcomed any European who wanted to immigrate to the new country as they helped to offset to some extent the African presence in the country. The Brazilian elite, who pushed for and carried out independence, had envisioned creating a nation of white Brazilians.³⁸ The large number of Africans in the population of Brazil was seen as a problem which needed to be resolved. Yet, this same elite was not willing to give up the benefits of having enslaved labour. Even after 1830, when the slave trade was considered illegal as a result of the Brazilian and English agreement, slaves continued to be brought into Brazil in large numbers. It has been estimated that almost 500,000 slaves were imported into Brazil from 1831 to 1850. In demographic terms, this means that blacks and mulattos dominated the population of Brazil, with whites making up less than one-third of the country's population.³⁹ Censuses show that in the city of Rio de Janeiro alone, the enslaved population more than doubled in the period from 1831 to 1850.⁴⁰

³⁸ See Chapter IV.

³⁹ Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho, "1822-1930," in Leslie Bethell (ed). Brazil: Empire and Republic, pp. 45 and 95.

⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa do Município da Corte, Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais, Microfilme 007-0-82. Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da população existente no Município Neutro no fim do ano de 1849. Manuscrito I-17,11,1.

The desire of the Brazilian ruling elite to increase the size of the white population was evident in its programme of colonisation introduced in the late colonial period and continued into the early years after independence. European settlers were sponsored to come to Brazil in exchange for some kind of service to the empire. For instance, Dom Pedro I in the 1820s covered the travel costs of German and Irish families who immigrated to Brazil. They received plots of land after the males served in the Brazilian army for a number of years. Moreover, during the first half of the nineteenth century, Europeans - primarily Portuguese, Germans, and Swiss - were brought to Brazil in order to colonise unsettled areas of the country.

Economic opportunities in the commercial sector of Brazil attracted immigrants from Europe. These were welcomed and sometimes sponsored by the white Brazilian elite who continued to invest in enslaved Africans as a labour force but who also wanted to counter their significant demographic influence in the country. The Portuguese immigrants served the Brazilian elite well in its desire to increase the white population of Brazil. Moreover, they were not an economic burden for they constituted the only group of Europeans arriving in the country in significant numbers who came without financial sponsorship.

PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION IN THE EARLY 1800S

Amongst the European immigrants coming to Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century, the Portuguese constituted the largest group. From the passport registers found in the Arquivo Nacional of Rio de Janeiro, it can be calculated that Portuguese

totalled more than 80 percent of all free immigrants to that city between 1831 and 1842.⁴¹ Qualitative sources have also shown the preponderance of the Portuguese in Rio.⁴²

These immigrants were, in the majority, literate young men who went to Rio in order to work in the expanding commercial sector of the city. The attraction of commerce for the Portuguese immigrants lay not only in the significant growth of this sector but also in the fact that the retail commerce of Rio had been controlled by the Portuguese since the colonial period. This provided an attractive and positive environment for young Portuguese to find work.

Not all immigrants from Portugal became involved in commerce. Only people with some formal education were able to get into the field. Immigrants with little or no education had to accept low-status work. Usually, these immigrants came to Brazil with no passport, stayed in the city as illegals, and accepted, in many cases, indentured labour. Within this non-educated group were immigrant women who came to Rio de Janeiro mostly to work as domestics. However, circumstances caused some to end up in prostitution.

People from Portugal migrated to Brazil despite the general dislike of Portuguese that existed throughout the country during these years. This hostility was a consequence of the emerging

⁴¹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 1 - 16. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 714, 20 de Junho de 1826, and Livro 722, 1 de setembro de 1846.

⁴² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 714. 20 de junho de 1826 and 30 de julho de 1842. Caixa 312. 30 de setembro de 1841.

nationalism, that had been nurtured during the struggle for independence, as well as various economic factors. The Portuguese control of Rio's commerce antagonised the urban and propertyless inhabitants of the city. The Portuguese came to monopolise the occupation of clerk, an occupation that was considered a privileged one among the landless and poor white population of Rio. These Brazilians felt that they were being denied the same opportunity as the Portuguese, simply because they were Brazilians. In addition, there was a general feeling that Portuguese retailers were deliberately charging exorbitant prices for basic commodities during periods of high inflation. As a consequence, from 1822 to 1850 the general population of Rio, on several occasions, publicly demonstrated their animosity towards the Portuguese immigrants, by rioting and participating in other civil disturbances.

The ruling elite, on the other hand, accepted these immigrants and showed little animosity towards them. The Portuguese were seen as an especially rich and ready source of white, European colonists. Furthermore, the Brazilian state did not have to incur any costs in order to bring these white migrants into the country. Therefore, although the local population complained about the extent of the influence of the Portuguese in the city, the government of Brazil did nothing to restrict their flow or to control their influence over the commerce of Rio. Thus, the Portuguese continued to arrive in Rio de Janeiro throughout the nineteenth century.

Despite the animosity of the locals, the Portuguese seemed to adapt quite easily to Brazilian society. The majority of them did

not return to Portugal nor did they marry other Portuguese. Instead, they developed relationships with local people, had Brazilian children, and bought property in Brazil. The positive experiences of these individuals had an influence on later generations of Portuguese immigrants who were part of the large-scale Portuguese migration of the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

II. THE LITERATURE

INTRODUCTION

The influx of Portuguese immigrants has been a constant in the history of European contact with Brazil. This South American country constituted the main destination for Portuguese immigrants from the middle of the sixteenth century to the 1790s.¹ From the nineteenth until the middle of the twentieth centuries "over four fifths of all registered Portuguese migrants went to Brazil."² In absolute terms, there were at least 1,055,154 registered Portuguese migrants entering Brazil from 1820 to 1920.³

Despite these numbers, Portuguese immigration has been poorly studied and has not received the attention which it deserves. The first half of the nineteenth century has been the most neglected period. Although there was, during this period, a constant flow of Portuguese into Brazil, historians have insisted that there was no significant Portuguese immigration at that time.

This belief has probably arisen because most of the documents and statistics that are readily available to researchers cover the period after 1850. Some documents were lost and Brazilian statistics regarding immigrants are non-existent for the first

¹ Jorge Carvalho Arroteia. A Emigração portuguesa - suas origens e distribuição (Lisboa, 1983), p. 23.

² Herbert Klein. "The Social and Economic Integration of Portuguese Immigrants in Brazil in the Late and Early Twentieth Century," Journal of Latin American Studies, 23, 2 (1991), p. 311.

³ Miriam Halpern Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, 1850-1930 (Lisboa, 1981), p. 19.

half of the nineteenth century. As a result, in order to obtain an approximate idea of the number of Portuguese arriving in the port of Rio de Janeiro during this period, it has been necessary to count passport after passport of the people who registered on their arrival. The reality is not that Portuguese immigration to Brazil was insignificant prior to 1850, but that historians have chosen to ignore this less documented period.

STUDIES ON PORTUGUESE IMMIGRATION TO BRAZIL

Significant gaps also exist in books written about Portuguese migration to Brazil. Brazilian, Portuguese, and North American historians have not fully analysed Portuguese migration patterns to Brazil. Brazilians have published some significant studies on the immigration of other groups, such as the Italians, the Germans, and the Japanese.⁴ However, the study of the Portuguese as an immigrant group has been largely neglected. For instance, in 1990 Giralda Seiferth wrote a book on immigration and culture in Brazil in which she paid little attention to the Portuguese. Indeed, there is almost no significant work published on the subject in Brazil. Most of the works completed by Brazilians on Portuguese immigration have been published in Portugal. This is

⁴ Some of the most recent works published on specific immigrant groups in Brazil include: Santoro de Constantino. O Italiano na Esquina: imigrantes na sociedade porto-alegrense (Porto Alegre, 1991). Boris Fausto. Historiografia da Imigração em São Paulo (São Paulo, 1991). Cláudio Aguiar. Os Espanhóis no Brasil: Contribuição ao Estudo da Imigração Espanhola no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1991). Susane Worcman (ed). Heranças e Lembranças: imigrantes judeus no Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1991). Tereza Hatue de Rezende. Ryn Mizuno: sogra japonesa em terras brasileiras (Curitiba, 1991). Zuelaika M. F. Alvim. Brava Gente! Os Italianos em São Paulo, 1870/1920 (São Paulo, 1986).

the case of a thesis on Portuguese immigrants in Bahia during the second half of the nineteenth century by Tania Penido Monteiro, articles by Cecilia Maria Westphalen, Marcus Carvalho, and Maria Izilda Santos de Matos which were published in 1993 in a book on emigration/immigration in Portugal, and one of two studies conducted by Gladys Sabina Ribeiro.⁵

The works by Tania Monteiro, Marcus Carvalho, and Maria Izilda Santos de Matos are significant contributions to the study of Portuguese immigration to specific regions of Brazil. Tania Monteiro's thesis is the first and only study completed on Portuguese immigration to Bahia. She analyses the dominant role of the Portuguese in the urban commerce of Bahia. Yet, her study would have contributed even more to an understanding of the impact of such immigration had it covered the first half of the nineteenth century. Marcus Carvalho undertook the first work conducted on anti-Portuguese sentiment in the state of Pernambuco from 1822 to 1848. He concludes that lusophobia was mainly a consequence of the Portuguese monopoly of jobs in the field of commerce. However, he does not discuss Portuguese immigration in that period nor does he present data on the number of Portuguese entering Pernambuco. Maria Izilda Santos de Matos' study analyses

⁵ Tania Penido de Almeida. Portugueses na Bahia na Segunda Metade do Século XIX: Emigração e Comércio (Porto, 1985). Gladys Sabina Ribeiro. "'Ser Português' ou 'Ser Brasileiro'? algumas considerações sobre o primeiro reinado," Ler História, 25 (1994). Cecília Maria Westphalen and Altiva Pilatti Balhana. "Política e Legislação Imigratórias Brasileiras e a Imigração Portuguesa," Marcus Carvalho. "O Antilusitanismo e a questão Social em Pernambuco, 1822-1848," and Maria Izilda Santos de Matos. "Estratégias de Sobrevivência. A Emigração Portuguesa e o Mundo do Trabalho. São Paulo, 1890-1930," in Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal (Lisboa, 1993).

the working experiences of Portuguese immigrants in rural and urban areas. However, her focus is restricted to São Paulo and to the period from 1890 to 1930 which are the most studied region and period of Brazilian immigration.

Ribeiro's first study was based on her 1987 M.A. thesis, "'Cabras" e "Pés-de-chumbo": os rolos do tempo. O Antilusitanismo na Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1889-1930'. In this study she explains that anti-Portuguese sentiment in Rio de Janeiro during the early twentieth century was directly related to competition within the working environment. However, she does not mention the conflicts that existed between Portuguese and Brazilians during the nineteenth century. Moreover, even though she states that the commerce of Rio in the early twentieth century was already dominated by Portuguese, she does not mention their migration to the city during the previous century.⁶

Gladys Sabina Ribeiro has written another study that attempts to define what it meant to be Portuguese and Brazilian in the early 1820s in Brazil. She concludes that personal and economic interests were the primary factors that made the distinction between "Brazilian" and "Portuguese" at this time. However, Ribeiro does not discuss the movement of Portuguese immigrants to Rio de Janeiro. She only details some cases of a few Portuguese residents in the city who were caught in Portugal when Dom Pedro declared the independence of Brazil and who decided to go back to

⁶ Gladys Sabina Ribeiro. Mata Galegos: os portugueses e os conflitos de trabalho na República Velha (São Paulo, 1990), pp. 20-63.

Brazil and assume citizenship of the new country.⁷

The article by Cecília Maria Westphalen and Altiva Pilatti Balhana discusses in general Brazilian policy towards immigration and how it changed from the eighteenth to the twentieth centuries. For the independence period they have demonstrated that the government of Brazil was mostly concerned with populating underpopulated regions. However, they do not discuss the significant urban migration of the period. Moreover, Westphalen and Balhana have analysed the subject in a limited way. They do not present any data on immigration, and they have superficially analysed some issues. For instance, they state: "From 1826 to 1868, according to the number of naturalizations granted to Portuguese, it can be seen that the empire maintained a policy of acceptance towards the Portuguese, since of 158 naturalizations which were conceded, 112 were of Portuguese, virtually 70 percent".⁸ However, Westphalen and Balhana miss the more obvious point, which is that these numbers were a consequence of the fact that the Portuguese constituted the largest group of immigrants to Brazil during this period. Thus, their numbers were not the result of a deliberate Brazilian policy favouring the Portuguese.

The most relevant studies on Portuguese immigration to Brazil have been conducted by Portuguese scholars such as Miriam Halpern Pereira, Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, Maria Antonieta Cruz, Jorge

⁷ Ribeiro. "'Ser Português' ou 'Ser Brasileiro'?" pp. 27-55.

⁸ Westphalen and Balhana. "Política e Legislação Imigratórias Brasileiras e a Imigração Portuguesa," p. 19.

Fernandes Alves, and Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues.⁹ Joel Serrão and Jorge Arroteia have also published significant works on Portuguese emigration in which they have included migration to Brazil.¹⁰ Yet, most of these studies focus on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. The first half of the nineteenth century has been largely neglected. As Nizza da Silva stated in 1992, for the period from 1822 to the middle of the nineteenth century, no studies have been published on Portuguese immigration to Brazil.¹¹ Only the theses by Jorge Fernandes Alves and Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues - defended in 1991 and 1993 respectively - have covered the early nineteenth century.

Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues wrote his M.A. thesis for the University of Porto on the emigration from the Portuguese region of Alto Minho to Brazil during the period from 1835 to 1860. Even though his work is limited to a specific area of Northern Portugal, he draws some conclusions that contribute greatly to a

⁹ Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, 1850 - 1930. Nuno Simões. O Brasil e a Emigração Portuguesa (Coimbra, 1934). Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva. Documentos para a História da Imigração Portuguesa no Brasil, 1850-1938 (Rio de Janeiro, 1992). Jorge Fernandes Alves. Os Brasileiros e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista, Dissertação de Doutoramento (Porto, 1993). Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues. A Emigração do Alto Minho, 1835-1860: A Miragem do Brasil, Tese de Mestrado (Porto, 1991). Maria Antonieta Cruz. "Agruras dos Emigrantes Portugueses no Brasil," Revista de História, VII, (1986-1987), pp. 7-134.

¹⁰ Joel Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa - sondagem histórica (Lisboa, 1982). Jorge C. Arroteia. A Emigração Portuguesa - suas origens e distribuição (Lisboa, 1983). Jorge C. Arroteia. Atlas da Emigração Portuguesa (Porto, 1985).

¹¹ Da Silva. Documentos para a História da Emigração Portuguesa no Brasil, p. XVI.

better understanding of Portuguese emigration to Brazil. He provides a picture of the people who emigrated to Brazil, giving specific information on their ages, education levels, destinations in Brazil, and gender. He shows that the majority of these people were young, literate males who settled in Rio de Janeiro. Moreover, he deserves credit for being the first historian to complete such a study on the first half of the nineteenth century.¹²

Jorge Fernandes Alves wrote his doctoral thesis on emigration during the 1800s from Porto to Brazil, as well as an article on the same subject. Both studies show that before 1850 most of the emigrants were literate males who went to Rio de Janeiro to work in the field of commerce, and that in the second half of the century more unskilled and illiterate people began emigrating to Brazil. In addition, his analysis of the Porto region is relevant to Brazilian immigration since the majority of the Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century came from Porto. Yet, even though his works cover the 1800s, Jorge Alves has a tendency to emphasize the second half of the nineteenth century rather than the earlier period.¹³

The other Portuguese scholars refer to the period prior to 1850 only very briefly. Joel Serrão has written one of the most respected studies on Portuguese emigration and he describes very little of the movement in the first half of the nineteenth

¹² Rodrigues. A Emigração do Alto Minho, 1835-1860: A Miragem do Brasil.

¹³ Alves. Os Brasileiros e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista. Alves. "Lógicas Migratórias no Porto Oitocentista," da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal, pp.78-97.

century. Serrão has stated that not very much is known about Portuguese emigration before 1855. For instance, he cites a statement by Alexandre Herculano from 1838 that Portuguese emigration was "astonishing in these last few years." However, Serrão comments, "We do not yet know upon what Herculano based his idea or the actual numbers behind his term "astonishing". We are, however, left knowing that in 1838 Portuguese emigration was practically synonymous with migration to Brazil."¹⁴ Serrão continues that from 1808 to 1817, 24,000 Portuguese entered Rio de Janeiro, but for the period from 1818 to 1855 he presents no numbers.¹⁵ Jorge Carvalho Arroteia has focussed his work on the twentieth century and on giving a global perspective to the places that have received Portuguese immigrants. In his book, A Emigração Portuguesa, he does not mention any immigration before 1850.¹⁶ Miriam Halpern Pereira has published a book on Portuguese policy towards emigration from 1850 to 1930 in which she discusses emigration to Brazil. However, Halpern Pereira almost completely ignores the years prior to 1850, as if there was no significant emigration to Brazil during that period. She cites data from Brazilian statistics which describe foreigners entering Brazilian ports from 1820 to 1922. However, the numbers she presents for the period between 1820 to 1852 are too low to be considered reliable. These figures are:

¹⁴ Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa, p. 41.

¹⁵ Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa, pp. 32-33.

¹⁶ Arroteia. A Emigração Portuguesa.

1820 to 1836		not reported
1837		120
1839		141
1840		206
1841		159
1842		48
1843 a 1852		almost nil ¹⁷

Maria Antonieta Cruz not only ignores the first half of the nineteenth century, but she also focusses her work on Portuguese emigration to rural areas. Cruz emphasises the experiences of those immigrants who did not succeed financially and who suffered exploitation and poverty in Brazil. However, in order to do this she has made some simplistic generalisations about rural Brazil during the late nineteenth century. For instance, she states that there was no good land available for the European immigrants as the large plantation owners monopolised all the good land for the production of sugar-cane, coffee, and cocoa.¹⁸ Yet, Thomas Holloway has stated that "many first-generation immigrants became the owner-operators of small and medium-sized farms".¹⁹ There is no doubt that many immigrants were exploited. This is a fact which has been well documented.²⁰ However, to generalise from this point and say that the situation of Portuguese immigrants in Brazil was

¹⁷ Relatório do Adido Comercial de Portugal no Brasil. 15 de dezembro de 1923. Miriam H. Pereira, A Política Portuguesa de Imigração, p. 20.

¹⁸ Cruz. "Agruras dos Emigrantes Portugueses," p. 10.

¹⁹ Thomas Holloway. Immigrants on the Land (Chapel Hill, 1980), p. XVI.

²⁰ See for example, Warren Dean. Rio Claro. A Plantation System, 1820-1920 (Stanford, 1976), pp. 88 to 123.

a miserable one is, at best, only partially accurate.

José Simões Coelho, Moreira Teles, and Nuno Simões, who published the first books on Portuguese emigration to Brazil, in 1913, 1915, and 1934 respectively, present a rather superficial view of the subject, providing only descriptions without any analysis. As Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva has stated, the studies completed by Simões, Teles, and Coelho have to be used more as documents than as historiographical productions.²¹ Yet, despite this limitation, some more recent historians have continued to rely on Simões because of the lack of studies on the subject. In terms of statistics, for the early nineteenth century, Simões' data are too low to be acceptable. He states that from 1820 to 1836 Brazilian statistics do not register any Portuguese immigration, and it was only in 1837 that a total of 137 Portuguese immigrants appeared in the statistics. He adds that in the following years Portuguese immigration continued to be insignificant. He claims that from 1842 to 1852 it almost disappeared, but in 1853 it suddenly reached a total of 8,329 individuals. He provides no explanation for this abrupt increase.²²

In North America there have been a few significant studies conducted on immigration to Brazil, especially those by Thomas Holloway and Michael M. Hall.²³ However, their works focus on rural

²¹ Da Silva. Documentos para a Historia da Imigração. p. XIV.

²² Simões. O Brasil e a Emigração Portuguesa. p. 31.

²³ Holloway. Immigrants on the Land. Michael M. Hall. The Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil, 1871-1914. (Columbia University, Ph.D, 1969).

immigration to São Paulo in the late nineteenth century. They mention nothing on immigration to the city of Rio de Janeiro, or on earlier periods. Hall even states that Brazil received few European immigrants before the 1880s,²⁴ indicating a lack of understanding of immigration to Brazil and a restricted view of the subject. Moreover, Hall limited himself to the subsidised immigrants who arrived - mostly in São Paulo - at the time of the abolition of slavery in 1888.

Herbert Klein and June Hahner have published articles specifically on Portuguese immigration to Brazil.²⁵ In 1991 Klein produced a good summary of the subject, concentrating on the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries. In this study he compares the immigration of the Portuguese with other major immigrant groups found in Brazil, such as the Italians and the Spaniards, and shows that the Portuguese were the group who migrated to Brazil most consistently. Also, the Portuguese were the most numerous of all the immigrant groups who went to Brazil.²⁶ However, the importance of his work lies more in presenting the subject in English than in presenting something new. As a reflection of the lack of studies in English, most of the

²⁴ Hall. The Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil. p. I (Abstract).

²⁵ June E. Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos. Urban Radicals Versus Portuguese Immigrants in Rio de Janeiro in the 1890s," Journal of Interamerican Studies and World Affairs, 8, 2 (1976), pp. 125-154. Herbert Klein "The Social and Economic Integration of Portuguese Immigrants."

²⁶ Klein "The Social and Economic Integration of Portuguese Immigrants," p. 316.

secondary sources Klein used were in Portuguese. His conclusions were basic and well known to those conversant with Portuguese historiography.

June Hahner published an interesting article in 1976 on Brazilian xenophobia towards the Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro in the 1890s. She shows that lusophobia was directly connected to the economic problems of the new republic, the high prices of some major food products, and the long Portuguese control of commerce in Rio. However, Hahner makes some generalisations about Portuguese migration to Brazil that need to be challenged. First of all, she states that the Portuguese "received no government subsidies" when migrating to Brazil. It is true that in the 1890s the Italians were the major group being subsidised by the Brazilian government; however, Portuguese immigrants had been brought to Brazil by the government since the late eighteenth century. Miriam Halpern Pereira has shown that in the nineteenth century the Brazilian government was always favourable to Portuguese immigration.²⁷ Warren Dean has also demonstrated that in the middle of the nineteenth century the Portuguese were the only Europeans immigrating as subsidised workers to the plantations of the Rio Claro region in the state of São Paulo.²⁸ It seems that the Italians were the major group being subsidised in the 1890s because there was no need to subsidise Portuguese immigrants at that time, as they were already arriving in Brazil in large numbers. As Jorge Carvalho Arroteia has stated, between 1891 and

²⁷ Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, p. 55.

²⁸ Dean. Rio Claro, p. 116.

1900, of 218,782 emigrants leaving Portugal, 93.1 percent went to Brazil.²⁹

In order to explain the supposed preference of the planters for Italians over Portuguese, Hahner also implies that they preferred "to sponsor docile, poor northern Italian peasants whom they hoped would not protest the abuses, harsh working conditions, and minimal wages of the coffee fazendas".³⁰ However, the Portuguese were no different from the Italians. It has been clearly shown that the majority of the Portuguese immigrants in Brazil in the late nineteenth century were illiterate and poor. Joel Serrão has stated that the largest proportion of such immigration - at least 75 percent - was composed of "individuals of humble conditions, destitute and uneducated - mostly illiterate".³¹

In another instance, Hahner states that Portuguese immigration declined in the early twentieth century because of the "spread of news concerning anti-Portuguese sentiments in Brazil".³² However, even though this immigration may have decreased for a short period of time, in the long run, Portuguese immigration to Brazil did not decline. As Joel Serrão and Miriam Halpern Pereira have shown, there was another peak in the early 1910s in the number of Portuguese entering Brazil, and this immigration remained significant up to the second half of the twentieth

²⁹ Arroteia. Emigração Portuguesa, p. 23.

³⁰ Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos," p. 127.

³¹ Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa, p. 132.

³² Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos," p. 146

century.³³ Even though the focus of the present study is neither the second half of the nineteenth century nor rural immigration, the generalisations presented in the existing literature illustrate how inadequately the subject of Portuguese immigration to Brazil has been studied.

GENERAL STUDIES ON NINETEENTH-CENTURY BRAZIL

General studies on nineteenth-century Brazil have also ignored or provided only a partial view of immigration during the first half of the century. For instance, David Bushnell and Neil Macaulay write about Brazilian nationalism and its relationship with the Portuguese inhabitants of Rio in the first half of the century but do not explain in detail the flow of individuals from Portugal to Brazil during that period. Bushnell and Macaulay explain the immigration as a consequence of the internal politics in Portugal. They state that "the ire of nationalism in the streets of Rio was raised by the increased size of the Portuguese community in the capital city. Hundreds of Portuguese liberals and their families, refugees from the despotic regime of the usurper Dom Miguel in Lisbon, flocked to Rio where they placed themselves under the protection of the Brazilian emperor whose daughter they recognized as their constitutional queen."³⁴ However, even though the flow of Portuguese increased at this time, they fail to mention that Portuguese immigration to Rio was not restricted to

³³ Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, p. 20. Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa. Figura II.

³⁴ David Bushnell and Neil Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America in the Nineteenth Century. (New York and Oxford, 1994), p. 165.

this period, nor to this class of people.

Other studies have also neglected to examine immigration to Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century. Bradford Burns in his A History of Brazil almost completely ignores the immigration of Portuguese and other groups during the period. Richard Graham in his book, Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil, mentions the issue in only a few instances, when referring to Brazilian policy towards immigration in the second half of the century. Neill Macaulay in his book on Dom Pedro also mentions immigration to Brazil in a few places, and ignores the arrival of the Portuguese. Macaulay's few examples focus on the immigration of northern Europeans - mostly Germans and Irish who went to Brazil as mercenaries in the Brazilian army - and on the colonies of Germans and Swiss that were organized by Dom João in the 1810s and later by Dom Pedro I.³⁵

The studies by Stanley Stein on Vassouras and Warren Dean on Rio Claro during the nineteenth century describe some aspects of immigration to the coffee plantations. However, they do not discuss Portuguese immigration in great detail and almost completely ignore this topic as it relates to the first half of the century.³⁶ In relation to nationalism, Stein states that the fact that many Portuguese immigrants to Vassouras eventually returned to Portugal and spent the money that they had made in

³⁵ Burns. A History of Brazil. Richard Graham. Patronage and Politics in Nineteenth-Century Brazil (Stanford, 1990). Macaulay. Dom Pedro. The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal, 1798-1834.

³⁶ Dean. Rio Claro. Stanley Stein. Vassouras. A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900 (Cambridge, 1957).

Brazil back in their home country "inspired nationalist resentment" amongst Brazilians.³⁷ However, he does not go beyond this to discuss further anti-Portuguese sentiments in the nineteenth century.

Brazilian historians have also inadequately studied immigration to Brazil in the first half of the nineteenth century. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, in his well-respected eleven-volume História Geral da Civilização Brasileira dedicates a chapter in volume II to the relations between Brazil and Portugal. With regard to Portuguese immigration to Brazil from the 1820s to the 1840s, he bases his material on the data of Nuno Simões and states that there was no significant immigration during that period.³⁸ Emília Viotti da Costa, who has written two significant books on Brazilian history during the nineteenth century, also pays very little attention to Portuguese immigration to Brazil.³⁹

The prominent Marxist economic historian, Caio Prado Júnior, has also neglected the study of immigration in the first half of the nineteenth century. For instance, in his História Econômica do Brasil, he states that the flow of immigrants was weak until the late 1840s. He discusses migration to rural areas, while ignoring the significant flow of people to the cities, especially to the

³⁷ Stein. Vassouras. p. 128.

³⁸ Sérgio Buarque de Holanda. História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. Volume II. O Brasil Monárquico, Tomo 4. Declínio e Queda do Império (São Paulo, 1985), p. 209.

³⁹ Emília Viotti da Costa. Da Monarquia à República - Momentos Decisivos (São Paulo, 1985) and Da Senzala à Colônia (São Paulo, 1982).

capital of the empire.⁴⁰ Another economic historian, Heitor Ferreira Lima, has made some simplistic generalisations about the subject. For instance, he states that in the first half of the nineteenth century "not counting the 5,000 Portuguese nobles who came over with the Royal Family in 1808, those who can be counted are the Swiss, who came over during the time of Dom João VI and founded Nova Friburgo, and the colonists who were contracted by Campos Vergueiro in 1830 to work on his plantation".⁴¹

Finally, Gilberto Freyre, who devoted so much attention to the Portuguese as colonisers, pays little attention to the Portuguese as immigrants in the nineteenth century. In his book, The Mansions and the Shanties, he makes a few references to issues related to Portuguese immigration to Brazil. For instance, he writes that the Portuguese in the 1880s migrated at a very young age and that Portuguese merchants in Brazil preferred to hire these young migrants rather than Brazilians. Also, Freyre comments briefly on the animosity some Brazilian groups showed towards Portuguese merchants. Yet, he does not expand on these issues nor does he attempt to understand the quantitative influence of the Portuguese in nineteenth-century Brazil.⁴²

⁴⁰ Caio Prado Júnior. História Econômica do Brasil (São Paulo, 1977).

⁴¹ Heitor Ferreira Lima. História Político-Econômica e Industrial do Brasil (São Paulo, 1976), p. 213.

⁴² Gilberto Freyre. The Mansions and the Shanties (New York, 1963), pp. 176-179.

STUDIES ON THE CITY OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Studies published specifically on Rio de Janeiro have also tended to ignore the first half of the nineteenth century and neglected Portuguese immigration to the city. The more traditional works on the city, such as the studies by Noronha Santos, Delso Renault, Vivaldo Coaracy, Gastão Cruls, and Luís Edmundo, have provided good descriptions of the city and its urban development through the years.⁴³ However, they have provided little information on the eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries and have also painted a distorted picture of the city as a result of their tendency to emphasize only the European aspects of Rio⁴⁴, especially those influenced by the French.

The impact of Portuguese immigrants on the city has been largely ignored since these immigrants - as well as the Africans - were identified with the poor and "non-prestigious" segments of the city. Although Vivaldo Coaracy includes a chapter on the enslaved population, his material on the Portuguese focusses mostly on the nobility rather than the commoners.⁴⁵ Luís Edmundo not only ignores the poor and the black population of the city but

⁴³ Affonso de Taunay. Rio de Janeiro de Antanho - Impressões de Viajantes Estrangeiros (Rio de Janeiro, 1942). Noronha Santos. As Freguesias do Rio Antigo (Rio de Janeiro, 1965). Delso Renault. O Rio Antigo nos Anúncios de Jornais. (Rio de Janeiro, 1969). Vivaldo Coaracy. Memórias da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1955). Gastão Cruls. Aparência do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1965). Luís Edmundo. O Rio de Janeiro Do Meu Tempo (Rio de Janeiro, 1957).

⁴⁴ Mary Karasch. Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro. (Princeton, 1987). p. XV.

⁴⁵ Coaracy. Memórias da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro.

he also openly criticises the facets of the city which these people represented. With regard to the blacks, he boasts that - in his opinion - the proportion of these people in the population of Rio had decreased significantly by the beginning of the twentieth century. With regard to the Portuguese, he portrays them as uncouth and ill-refined. For instance, he describes Rio as a city "with its population [running] barefoot and poorly-dressed, its crass shops (...) and the man of Arabic features, rotund and dirty [standing] at the back, selling his wares."⁴⁶

The refusal to study the Portuguese can be explained by the fact that the Portuguese were considered inferior to other European groups in the city, mainly the French. As Lenira Menezes Martinho has shown, the idea of progress was associated with the French presence in Rio. The colonial past that was being rejected was associated with the Portuguese and their small shops. France incarnated the image of progress and civilisation; Portugal the image of backwardness that had to be expelled from Brazil.⁴⁷ Gastão Cruls seems to share this view as he openly criticises Portuguese immigrants as the owners of poor and small stores. He considers the immigration of the French and the English in the first half of the nineteenth century to have been an important aspect in improving Rio's commerce. He states that "it gave a more prosperous look to the commercial area of the city that had so

⁴⁶ "... com a sua população descalça e mal-vestida, as suas toscas lojas de comércio (...) o homem de feição árabe, roliço e porco, ao fundo, vendendo a mercadoria". Luís Edmundo. O Rio de Janeiro Do Meu Tempo, Vol. 1, p. 45.

⁴⁷ Lenira Menezes Martinho e Riva Gorenstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros na Sociedade da Independência, p. 27.

far been dominated by the *ramerrão Português*" (Portuguese commoners).⁴⁸ However, even though he specifically discusses the Portuguese, he does not examine the immigration patterns of the group to Rio.

More recent books have tended to be more accurate as they have attempted to present a picture of all the social classes of Rio. Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo published in 1978 what may be considered the most comprehensive study of the history of the city throughout the nineteenth century. However, she focusses on the financial and economic developments and does not give much attention to immigration.⁴⁹ Maurício de Abreu in 1988 published a significant work on the urban evolution of Rio de Janeiro. However, he mentions almost nothing about immigration to the city and gives very little attention to the period prior to the 1850s.⁵⁰

The works published by Sidney Chalhoub in 1988 and 1990 have contributed greatly to our understanding of the immigrant and black populations of Rio during the late nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.⁵¹ In his book Trabalho, Lar e Botequim he has given a detailed description of the working classes in Rio de

⁴⁸ Gastão Cruls. Aparência do Rio de Janeiro, p. 300.

⁴⁹ Eulália Maria Lahmeyer Lobo. História do Rio de Janeiro (Do Capital Comercial ao Capital Industrial e Financeiro), 2 Volumes, (Rio de Janeiro, 1978).

⁵⁰ Maurício de Abreu. Evolução Urbana do Rio de Janeiro (Rio de Janeiro, 1988).

⁵¹ Sidney Chalhoub. Trabalho, Lar e Botequim. O Cotidiano dos Trabalhadores no Rio de Janeiro da Belle Époque (São Paulo, 1988) and Visões da Liberdade. Uma História das Últimas Décadas da Escravidão na Corte (São Paulo, 1990).

Janeiro in the first decade of the twentieth century. In Visões da Liberdade Chalhoub has attempted to recall some aspects of the experiences of the enslaved population of the city, their way of thinking about their world, and their reaction to that environment in the last years of Brazilian slavery. However, he fails to discuss immigration in the first half of the nineteenth century, which would have clarified and explained some of the issues raised in his books. For instance, in Trabalho, Lar e Botequim he writes about the large number of Portuguese immigrants in Rio, but he does not examine earlier immigration in the century to explain why the Portuguese in 1890 comprised twenty percent of the total population of Rio de Janeiro.⁵² In Visões da Liberdade Chalhoub once again makes some generalisations about Portuguese immigration to Rio, referring to their large numbers as being a characteristic of the late nineteenth century.⁵³ He fails to appreciate the slow and gradual flow of Portuguese into the city throughout the entire century. In Trabalho, Lar e Botequim he states that one characteristic of Rio's population at the turn of the century was the gender disequilibrium, with men outnumbering women. He tries to explain this situation as a consequence of the emergence of capitalism in Brazil at the turn of the century which attracted male immigrants to serve in the work force of the city. However, the gender imbalance already existed in Rio in the first half of the nineteenth century as a result of the heavy male migration of the period. Therefore, this cannot be considered a specific

⁵² Chalhoub. Trabalho, Lar e Botequim. p. 25.

⁵³ Chalhoub. Visões da Liberdade, pp. 199-200.

development of the later period.⁵⁴

Among North American writers, the works by Mary Karasch on Rio and on slave life in that city from 1808 to 1850 have added some insight into immigration to Rio during the nineteenth century.⁵⁵ Karasch has not only called attention to the huge and usually forgotten black population of Rio in the first half of the nineteenth century but she has also contributed to the study of immigration to the city. For instance, she has illustrated the transformation which the city experienced from 1808 to 1850 owing to its growing immigrant population. Even though she does not describe in detail the flow of immigrants during the 1820s and 1830s, she calls attention to immigration in the 1840s. She states that "increasingly, slaves found themselves working side by side with colonists from the Azores or peasants from Portugal, as more and more whites made up the city's population, taking over jobs once restricted to blacks".⁵⁶ Karasch also provides some insights into the types of occupations held by the Portuguese in Rio, concluding that the majority of them were involved in commerce.⁵⁷

Thomas Holloway's examination of police in Rio de Janeiro also provides information on the transformation which Rio went through at this time as a result of the development of the coffee

⁵⁴ Chalhoub. Trabalho, Lar e Botequim, pp. 25-27.

⁵⁵ Mary Karasch. "Rio de Janeiro: From Colonial Town to Imperial Capital (1808-1850)," in: Robert Ross and Gerard Telkamp (eds.). Colonial Cities (Dordrecht, 1985). Mary Karasch. Slave Life.

⁵⁶ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 65.

⁵⁷ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 70.

industry in the nineteenth century, and discusses the role of the police in controlling the population of Rio. In his introduction, he acknowledges the existence of a growing Portuguese community, stating that "another significant sector of the non-slave urban underclass, increasing proportionally during the nineteenth century, was of more recent European origin, and the Portuguese predominated among the immigrant groups." Although throughout his book he cites some cases in which Portuguese immigrants were involved, he does not elaborate on the immigration of these people to Rio de Janeiro.⁵⁸

Sandra Lauderdale Graham has published a well documented study on the relationship between servants and masters in Rio during the nineteenth century. However, even though she mentions in her introduction that Rio was "a city of slaves, poor blacks, and poor European immigrants", she does not make reference to those "poor immigrants" very often. In addition, Graham's book focusses on the later period of the last century and adds almost nothing to the period prior to the 1850s.⁵⁹

GENERAL STUDIES ON MIGRATION

General studies on the field of migration have also largely ignored Portuguese emigration as well as Brazilian immigration. Works dealing with European migration have not given much

⁵⁸ Thomas Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro. Repression and Resistance in a Nineteenth-Century City (Stanford, 1993), p. 8.

⁵⁹ Sandra Lauderdale Graham. House and Street: the Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro (New York, 1988), p. 7.

attention to the Portuguese migratory experience. For instance, the studies Europe and International Migration by Sarah Collinson, Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 by Dudley Baines, and European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives by Leslie Page Moch provide no specific details about Portugal.⁶⁰

The studies that present something on the Portuguese migration experience do so at a very general and restricted level. For instance, the work European Expansion and Migration. Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe by P.C. Emmer and M. Morner contains an article by the Portuguese historian Vitorino Magalhães Godinho on Portuguese emigration, "Portuguese Emigration from the Fifteenth Century to the Twentieth Century: Constants and Changes". However, the article is very general and focuses mostly on the twentieth century, even though it claims to cover emigration from the fifteenth to the twentieth centuries. Russell King's work, Mass Migration in Europe, presents an article on returning immigrants and their impact on the community but gives no particular reference to Portuguese emigration history.⁶¹

Studies concerned with international and intercontinental migratory movements have also ignored Portuguese emigration and Brazilian immigration. For instance, Luigi De Rosa and Ira A.

⁶⁰ Sarah Collinson. Europe and International Migration (London, 1993). Dudley Baines. Emigration from Europe, 1815-1930 (Cambridge, 1995). Leslie Page Moch. European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives (Boston, 1996).

⁶¹ P.C. Emmer and M. Morner (eds.). European Expansion and Migration. Essays on the Intercontinental Migration from Africa, Asia, and Europe (New York/Oxford, 1992). Russell King. Mass Migration in Europe. The Legacy and the Future (London, 1993).

Glazier's Migration Across Time and Nations, Andrei Rogers and Frans Willikens' Migration and Settlement, Robin Cohen's The Cambridge Survey of World Migration, and William Serrow, Charles Nam, David Sly, and Robert Weller's Handbook on International Migration make almost no reference to either Portugal or Brazil.⁶²

The few works on world migration that cover Portuguese emigration tend to focus only on the twentieth century and to areas other than Brazil. For instance, the book Migrants in Europe by Hans Christian Buechler and Judith-Marie Buechler includes two articles on Portuguese emigration. However, very little is said about the nineteenth century and about Portuguese migration to Brazil. For instance, Collette Callier Boisvert has written an article on Portuguese emigration to France, and Anthony Leeds' "Work, Labour, and the Recompenses: Portuguese Life Strategies Involving Migration" mentions nothing of Portuguese emigration in the nineteenth century. Robin Cohen's The Cambridge Survey of World Migration,⁶³ published in 1995, contains an article on Portuguese migration, but it ignores the most important destination for Portuguese migrants: Brazil. In the article, "Unbroken Links: Portuguese Emigration to the USA", Maria Ioannis B. Baganha ends by making extensive reference to immigration to

⁶² Ira A. Glazier and Luigi De Rosa (ed). Migration Across Time and Nations. Population Mobility in Historical Contexts (New York/London, 1986). Andrei Rogers and Frans J. Willikens. Migration and Settlement. A Multiregional Comparative Study (Dordrecht, 1986). Robin Cohen (ed). The Cambridge Survey of World Migration (Cambridge, 1995). William Serrow, Charles Nam, David Sly, and Robert Weller. Handbook on International Migration (New York, 1990).

⁶³ Robin Cohen (ed). The Cambridge Survey of World Migration (Cambridge, 1995).

Brazil owing to its undeniable significance within the history of Portuguese migration.⁶⁴

With regard to Brazilian immigration, studies on world migration have had a tendency to emphasize the arrival of Italians to the detriment of the migration of the Portuguese. For instance, in a book edited by Leslie Page Moch, there is an article by Walter Nugent, "Aspects of European Migration World Wide", which makes reference to Brazilian immigration, but it deals mostly with the arrival of the Italians. Nugent writes as if the Portuguese were of secondary importance within Brazilian immigration trends.⁶⁵ The only mention of the Portuguese is a comment that, besides Italians, Brazil also attracted Portuguese because of their language affinity. If Nugent had expanded his research to the nineteenth century he may have realised that the Portuguese constituted the most important immigrant group in the history of Brazil.

STUDIES ON THE REASONS WHY PEOPLE MOVE

If more attention were given to the Portuguese, scholars studying theories of migration would conclude that the Portuguese migration case falls into most theoretical explanations of why people move. Undoubtedly, the reasons for migration are complex and varied and scholars must avoid making unfounded

⁶⁴ Maria Ionannis B. Baganha. "Unbroken Links: Portuguese emigration to the USA," in Robin Cohen (ed). The Cambridge Survey of World Migration, pp. 91-96.

⁶⁵ Walter Nugent. "Aspects of European Migration World Wide," in Leslie Page Moch (ed). European Migrants. Global and Local Perspectives (Boston, 1996).

generalisations. Throughout history there have been people who have been forced to leave their homes by events and circumstances beyond their control. For example, certain historical movements ranging from the Spanish "reconquista" to the Spanish and Portuguese Inquisition have resulted in persecutions, which have pushed many individuals out of different regions. Another institution, slavery, forced millions of Africans out of their lands into new territories, from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. It has been estimated that, from 1450 to 1867, 9,778,500 Africans were forced to emigrate.⁶⁶ In the twentieth century, other peoples have been forced to migrate by other reasons beyond their control. Michael Marrus has written:

...the growth of the modern nation-state implied not only the naming of certain people as enemies of the nation, but also the expulsion of significant groups for whom the state would not or could not assume responsibility.⁶⁷

Yet, the nineteenth and twentieth centuries have also seen millions of individuals migrating of their own free will. What are the factors which pushed these people to migrate? Scholars studying this field have developed various theories to answer this question. Studies on immigration have shown that certain social and economic realities in the motherland, as well as in the country of immigration, have played fundamental roles in the decision to migrate. Sun-Hee Lee has written that "... people intend to move

⁶⁶ Paul Lovejoy. "The Volume of the Atlantic Slave Trade: A Synthesis," in Patrick Manning (ed). Slave Trades, 1500-1800: Globalization of Forced Labour (Brookfield, 1996), p. 60.

⁶⁷ Michael Marrus. The Unwanted European Refugees in the Twentieth Century (New York, 1985), p. 51.

if they confront limited chances of maintaining or improving their current living conditions."⁶⁸ Yet, in order to make the decision to emigrate people must also have the idea that "resources exist in the societies of destination to satisfy their needs."⁶⁹ Therefore, people are pushed out of their countries owing to the deprivations they face in their country, and are pulled to other areas that seem to offer a better chance for economic and social improvement.

In the case of the Portuguese, during the first half of the nineteenth century, people were emigrating because of the precarious economic and social realities in their country. The Napoleonic invasion, Brazilian independence, and the civil war that erupted in Portugal in the 1830s bankrupted the already dependent and weak Portuguese economy. Portuguese scholars such as Alexandre Herculano and Eça de Queiroz have pointed to extreme poverty as the most relevant force in Portuguese emigration during this period.⁷⁰

At the same time, emigrants were attracted to Brazil. Although this country endured some economic difficulties at the time of independence, its economy was much stronger than that of Portugal. In the late 1820s and early 1830s, Brazil's economic advantage over Portugal became wider, with the development of coffee in the southeastern part of the country.

Within Brazil, the city of Rio de Janeiro experienced the

⁶⁸ Sun-Hee Lee. Why People Intend to Move (London, 1985), p. 39.

⁶⁹ Magnus Morner. "Divergent Perspectives," in Emmer and Morner (eds.). European Expansion and Migration, p. 300.

⁷⁰ Eça de Queiroz. A Emigração Como Força Civilizadora (Lisboa, 1979), p. 73.

most significant economic growth of any of the major urban centres. The end of the Portuguese monopoly over international trade in 1808 and the increase in coffee exports in the late 1820s had an impact on all sectors of the city but most especially on Rio's commerce. In addition, after 1808, European products, mainly British, flooded the city. Never before had there been so many products available to consumers. Thus, the commerce of the city expanded in order to supply the new demand. Import/export houses as well as a variety of shops flourished in the city, attracting a large number of immigrants to Rio to work in these establishments. Thus, Portuguese immigrants were pushed from Portugal due to the poverty of the country and were pulled to Brazil because of the economic growth of the period.

Yet, some historians defending push/pull factors have over-emphasized the role of poverty in causing migration. Oscar Handlin has asserted that Italian emigrants during the nineteenth century had the choice of migrating or remaining in Italy and starving.⁷¹ This view needs to be modified, as it has been by scholars who have recognized that economic frustration in the country of origin is not enough to explain emigration. They argue also that the prospect of improving one's socio-economic condition in a different country does not totally explain immigration.⁷²

Other factors have to be considered. In the case of the Portuguese, there were middle-men who profited by setting people up in the new country. These middle-men also had a fundamental

⁷¹ Oscar Handlin. The Uprooted (Boston, 1951), p. 33.

⁷² Morner. "Divergent Perspectives," p. 277.

role in convincing people to emigrate. Throughout the nineteenth century some ships' captains in Portugal became involved in the specific business of enticing people into migrating, transporting them to their new land, and, in some cases, "selling" them into indentured labour.

Scholars have also acknowledged that individuals are often influenced to migrate by friends and relatives who had previously migrated and who could assist in their settlement. As Douglas T. Gurak and Fe Caces have demonstrated, kin and friendship networks are important in shaping and sustaining migration.⁷³ This pattern has also been demonstrated in the case of the Portuguese by Grace Anderson in her book Networks of Contact. The Portuguese and Toronto. In this study, Anderson analyses the importance of kinship in bringing a continual flow of Portuguese immigrants to the already established Luso-Canadian community in mid twentieth-century Toronto.⁷⁴ Anderson's study is one illustration of the theory of chain migration. Portuguese immigration to Rio de Janeiro also illustrates this process as, from the late eighteenth century, most people moving to that city had a friend, a relative, or an acquaintance who was already established in the city.

Finally, scholars have identified various other factors, such as age, resources, and personality that influence people's decision whether or not to move. Sun-Hee Lee has shown that

⁷³ Dougals Gurak and Fe Caces. "Migration Networks and the Shaping of Migration Systems. A Global Approach," in Mary M. Kritz, Lin Lean Lim, and Hania Zlotnik (eds.). International Migration Systems (New York, 1992), p. 150.

⁷⁴ Grace M. Anderson. Networks of Contact. The Portuguese and Toronto (Waterloo, 1974).

immigration is facilitated by the individual's ability to bear economic and noneconomic moving costs, and that commitment to family and jobs can deter an individual from migrating. As a result, young and single people are more likely to have fewer commitments within their environment and, therefore, are more likely to migrate.⁷⁵ Paul Shaw has also asserted that age is an important factor in the decision to emigrate. As Shaw states,

The propensity to migrate varies inversely with age. Persons in their late teens, twenties and early thirties are more migratory than those in other age groups.⁷⁶

Leon and Rebeca Grinberg have further argued that:

External circumstances being equal, the personality of the individual, his prominent psychological traits, and his age are [also] factors that enter into the decision to emigrate or not.⁷⁷

Thus, migrant movements are very often composed of younger people who have fewer family restrictions than their countrymen.

The case of Portuguese migration to Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century fits into many of the theoretical explanations for migration. The vast majority of Portuguese immigrating to Rio de Janeiro from 1822 to 1850 were

⁷⁵ Sun-Hee Lee. Why People Intend to Move, p. 40.

⁷⁶ Paul Shaw. Migration Theory and Fact (Philadelphia, 1975), p. 133.

⁷⁷ Leon Grinberg and Rebeca Grinberg. Psycoanalytic Perspectives on Migration and Exile (New Haven, 1989), p. 1.

unmarried individuals younger than thirty years of age, who went to Brazil to better their lives.

Finally, one aspect which is often ignored in migration studies has been the influence of cultural similarities between the homeland and the country of immigration. Another reason why Brazil attracted a large number of Portuguese was because of the common language and common customs shared by Portugal and its former colony.

CONCLUSION

As can be seen, the few works written on Portuguese emigration and immigration to Brazil have focussed on the period after 1850. The first half of the nineteenth century has been largely neglected. Historians have also assumed or insisted that there was no significant Portuguese immigration to Brazil during the earlier period. More general studies on the history of Brazil and Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century have virtually ignored immigration in the period prior to 1850. The few works that have mentioned immigrants to the city of Rio in that period have given a partial and superficial view of the subject.

III. THE IMMIGRANTS

INTRODUCTION

The lack of migration studies during the first half of the nineteenth century has created the idea that there was little or no immigration into Brazil during these years. This chapter will show that, contrary to what is indicated in other historical sources, there was a significant flow of free immigrants to Rio de Janeiro during the period from 1822 to 1850. They came primarily from Portugal but also from other European nations. The majority were male, but females also migrated to Brazil at this time.

The best sources from which to estimate the number of Portuguese entering the port of Rio de Janeiro during the early nineteenth century are the "Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia" (Presentation of Passports of Portuguese to the Police) and the "Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia" (Presentation of Passports of Foreigners to the Police) found in the Arquivo Nacional of Rio de Janeiro. From this documentation, it is possible to establish not only some idea of the total number of Portuguese entering Rio de Janeiro, but also some general characteristics of these immigrants, such as their occupation, age, place of origin in Portugal, residence in Rio, and marital status. Unfortunately for historical studies of this sort, the Arquivo Nacional of Rio de Janeiro does not hold passport registers for the period from late 1843 to the early 1860s. Therefore, the information for the 1840s is less detailed, and for some years of this decade no data are available. Passenger

charts found in the Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Lisbon also provide some figures for the years from 1847 to 1850.

The existence of the passport registers was a result of the requirement by the Brazilian government that foreigners entering any city in Brazil register at the local police department. Nevertheless, a large portion of the Portuguese coming to Rio de Janeiro did not register. For example, from April 25 to June 20, 1831, of 198 foreigners entering the city of Rio de Janeiro, only 69 registered.¹ However, even though the passport registers do not provide a complete picture of the number of Portuguese coming into Rio de Janeiro, they demonstrate that the flow of immigrants was much more extensive than has been portrayed by earlier historians.

PORTUGUESE MIGRATION TO RIO DE JANEIRO

It is very difficult to determine the exact number of Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century owing to the fact that non-registered immigrants are invisible in the statistics. From the passport registers and the ships passengers' charts, a total of 26,785 can be calculated for the city between 1826 to 1850. Even though this number is not precise, it clearly demonstrates that Portuguese immigration to Rio de Janeiro was a significant reality in Brazil during this period, with the related conclusion that it had an impact on the city and country. In 1841, a representative of the Portuguese government in Rio, Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard, described the Portuguese influence on the city:

¹ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 25 de junho de 1831.

In the shops in Rio de Janeiro you find that the majority of the clerks are Portuguese..., in the "engenhos" the Portuguese are the administrators and the slaves' overseers, in the residences they are the servants, and in the maritime work they are the ships' masters, and even the white fishermen.

He concluded that the demand for Portuguese workers was very large and any immigrant could find a job in less than eight days after arriving in Rio.²

Quantitative sources have shown that between October 1826 and August 1827, 905 Portuguese registered with the police department of Rio.³ For the period between August 1828 and March 1830, 1,200 immigrants from Portugal were registered.⁴ These two passport registers were designed to list exclusively Portuguese immigrants. They do not include other foreigners. This does not mean, however, that there were no other foreigners living in Rio in the 1820s. In 1821 Rio had more than 3,000 foreign residents, mostly from France, Britain, Switzerland, and the German States.⁵ In contrast, the registers in the Arquivo Nacional of Rio, for the period from 1831 to 1843, were established to record not

² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. 26 de maio de 1841. Livro 720.

³ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378.

⁴ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 379.

⁵ Macaulay. Dom Pedro, p. 88

TABLE 3.1
Numbers of Foreigners Registered in the Police Department of Rio de Janeiro

	Vol. 1	Vol. 2	Vol. 3	Vol. 4	Vol. 5	Vol. 6	Vol. 7	Vol. 8	Vol. 9	Vol. 10	Vol. 11	Vol. 12	Vol. 13	Vol. 14	Vol. 15	Vol. 16	Total
Nationalities	Apr. 1831 to Dec. 1831	May 1832 to Apr. 1833	Dec. 1833 to Mar. 1834	Nov. 1833 to Feb. 1834	Mar. 1834 to Oct. 1834	Oct. 1834 to Nov. 1835	Nov. 1835 to May 1836	May 1836 to Mar. 1837	Mar. 1837 to Jan. 1838	Jan. 1838 to Feb. 1839	Feb. 1839 to Aug. 1839	Aug. 1839 to May 1840	May 1840 to Jan. 1841	Feb. 1841 to Dec. 1841	Dec. 1841 to Feb. 1842	Apr. 1842 to May 1842	
Portuguese	616	857	382	786	556	1,481	1,196	1,750	1,459	1,503	1,612	1,652	1,468	1,973	470	666	18,427
French	32	68	6	35	65	70	262	105	67	141	76	105	138	153	23	-	1,346
Spanish	15	40	11	25	36	66	96	44	88	130	90	82	61	69	16	-	869
English	28	57	3	21	37	25	57	15	8	15	27	31	47	25	10	-	406
Germans	1	35	2	10	10	19	40	8	12	19	22	29	38	18	4	1	268
Swiss	-	27	-	-	12	16	37	20	9	12	13	12	9	16	2	-	185
Genoese	3	4	-	1	4	6	21	9	2	18	18	34	19	17	3	-	159
Italians	2	17	1	3	12	16	25	4	7	15	15	13	9	13	3	-	155
Prussians	5	19	-	5	2	8	42	6	1	5	17	18	8	13	1	1	151
Sardinians	1	9	-	-	8	4	24	5	4	22	14	15	15	22	2	-	145
Hanoverians	3	20	-	6	-	6	15	7	10	5	6	16	10	17	1	-	122
Uruguayans	-	1	-	1	6	8	1	2	2	5	4	23	7	15	3	-	78
Americans	-	2	-	2	-	4	9	1	5	3	10	11	11	11	8	-	77
Argentines	1	2	1	1	4	6	4	1	1	6	5	2	8	16	1	-	59
Danes	1	3	-	1	2	4	16	1	3	2	3	4	4	9	-	1	54
Austrians	3	5	1	-	1	1	6	4	4	-	1	4	5	3	3	-	41
Belgians	-	7	-	-	1	1	5	2	-	4	3	2	3	5	2	1	36
Africans	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	-	1	2	-	8	8	-	2	21
Others	5	18	-	13	42	24	93	30	33	22	24	31	30	62	7	-	434
Total	716	1,191	407	910	798	1,765	1,949	2,014	1,715	1,928	1,962	2,084	1,890	2,465	559	672	23,025

* Includes people from Hamburg

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, Volumes 1 - 16.

only Portuguese but also other foreigners. These registers indicate clearly that there was a significant flow of Portuguese immigrants into Rio de Janeiro, while French, Spanish, and English immigrants were the most important groups after the Portuguese. Table 3.1 shows that the Portuguese formed by far the largest foreign group in Rio de Janeiro during the period of study. Despite the lack of passport registers for the 1840s and 1850s other sources indicate that 12,830 Portuguese were registered as entering Rio de Janeiro from 1847 to 1850. (See Table 3.2).

Even though the 1840s are not very well represented in the data, it is possible to conclude that there was an increase in the flow of Portuguese immigrants into Rio de Janeiro from the late 1830s and throughout the 1840s, as table 3.3 shows. In addition, Jorge Fernandes Alves has indicated that in the 1840s a larger number of Portuguese chose Rio de Janeiro as their destination when applying for a passport in the city of Porto.⁶

TABLE 3.2
NUMBER OF PORTUGUESE ENTERING RIO DE JANEIRO
1847-1850

1847	1848	1st. semester 1849	1850	Total
3,396	3,189	1,949	4,296	12,830

Source: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo.
Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 314.
Mapas de Passageiros vindos dos portos de Portugal e
seus domínios.

⁶ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno, Quadro 5.17.

TABLE 3.3
MONTHLY AVERAGE OF THE NUMBER OF PORTUGUESE
ENTERING RIO DE JANEIRO

From October 1826 to August 1827	91
From August 1828 to March 1830	67
From April to December 1831	77
From May 1832 to April 1833	78
From November 1833 to March 1834	195
From March to October 1834	70
From October 1834 to November 1835	118
From November 1835 to May 1836	199
From May 1836 to March 1837	175
From March 1837 to January 1838	154
From January 1838 to February 1839	116
From February to August 1839	293
From August 1839 to May 1840	183
From May 1840 to January 1841	163
From February to December 1841	188
From December 1841 to February 1842	200
From April to May 1842	445
1847	283
1848	266
1849 (first semester)	325
1850	358

Sources: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 1 to 16. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Mapa de Passageiros. 1847, 1848, 1849 (1st semester), and 1850. Caixa 314.

Some documents of the period have provided an estimate for the total number of Portuguese immigrants living in Rio de Janeiro during the 1830s and 1840s. The Police census of 1834 states that there were 5,750 foreign men living in Rio de Janeiro, including 3,701 Portuguese, 549 French, 500 English, and 1,000 from various nations.⁷ In 1842 Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard, listed a much large figure as he reported that there were around 30,000 Portuguese living in the Province of Rio

⁷ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 63

de Janeiro⁸, which included the urban and rural parishes of the city. In 1846, another representative of the Portuguese Queen, José de Vasconcelos e Sousa, stated that there were from 20,000 to 30,000 Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro.⁹

A more precise estimate of the total number of Portuguese living in Rio de Janeiro in the 1840s can be found in the 1849 census of municipal Rio. It shows that there were 28,942 male and 7,384 female free foreign inhabitants in the city.¹⁰ Even though these figures refer to the free foreign population in general, the Portuguese comprised the majority of that population as the earlier tables indicate. One other minor, but interesting, indicator of the size of the Portuguese population in Rio can be seen in a list of witnesses who testified at an inquiry into a fire that took place in a pharmacy in downtown Rio, in July 1831. Of twenty-two witnesses, eleven were Portuguese, two were French, two were British, one was Spanish, one was Russian, and only five were Brazilians.¹¹

Non-quantitative sources also provide evidence which illustrates the influx of Portuguese immigrants into the city. For instance, in 1826, the Portuguese consul in Rio de Janeiro, Carlos

⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 721. 16 de maio de 1842.

⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722. 1 de setembro de 1846.

¹⁰ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério do Império. Microfilme 007-1-82.

¹¹ O Americano. (Rio de Janeiro). 28 de julho de 1831.

Mathias Pereira, wrote to the Portuguese foreign minister, the Conde do Porto Santo, that all the vessels from Portugal, particularly from Porto, arrived in Rio full of people fleeing from Portugal.¹² In 1836, the Portuguese Foreign Minister, Joaquim Antonio de Magalhães, wrote that he had received information from representatives in Rio de Janeiro, Bahia, and Pernambuco on the many Portuguese individuals who were emigrating to these provinces.¹³ In 1842, the Portuguese representative in Rio, Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard, commented on a letter to his government on the large number of Portuguese arriving in the port of Rio.¹⁴

The non-quantitative sources also show that there was a flow of illegal immigrants to the city. Pereira continued that a Portuguese vessel, the "Danúbio", had arrived in Rio in 1826 not only with a large number of immigrants who had no documents and who were listed as crew-members, but it had also brought 38 stowaways who were planning to stay in Rio illegally.¹⁵ Indeed, the practice of ship captains bringing illegal immigrants to Brazil disguised as crew-members was common throughout the period of

¹² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 714. 20 de junho de 1826.

¹³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 593. 19 de maio de 1836.

¹⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 716. 22 de agosto de 1842.

¹⁵ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 714. 20 de junho de 1826.

study.¹⁶ Jorge Fernandes Alves has stated that there was a flow of illegal emigrants from Portugal to Brazil throughout the nineteenth century and that there were several ships involved in the transportation of clandestine passengers from Porto to Brazil.¹⁷ In November 1859, the Portuguese representative in Rio de Janeiro, Conde de Thomar, accused the captain and owner of the ship "Nova Lima" of bringing clandestine immigrants, who possessed no passports, to Rio de Janeiro from the Portuguese island of São Miguel.¹⁸

The available documents are unclear as to what constituted an "illegal immigrant". The term seems to have meant the people who left Portugal without a passport as well as the individuals who did not register on their arrival in Brazil. This did not always indicate criminal intent. Jorge Fernandes Alves explains that in Portugal some people had simply decided to avoid the long process of applying for a passport. This was also a result of other reasons, including young males seeking to escape recruitment into the Portuguese army.¹⁹

Many of the people who migrated without a passport were poor people who went to Brazil subsidised by the captain of the ships on which they travelled. After their arrival in Brazil, they were engaged as indentured workers by anyone willing to pay their

¹⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 595. 30 de julho de 1842.

¹⁷ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno, p. 203.

¹⁸ Cited in Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, p. 81.

¹⁹ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno, p. 213.

travel expenses. In this case the immigrants were in debt to their employers until they were able to pay back the amount of their tickets.²⁰

Even though there is no detailed information about the individuals who came to Brazil in this manner and the conditions they found in Brazil, documents of the period imply that there was a significant number of ships involved in this "trade". For example, on October 14, 1835, the Portuguese representative in Bahia, Domingos de Castro Ferreira Sousa, wrote to the Duque de Palmela that a ship from the Azores, destined for Rio de Janeiro, had docked in Bahia at the beginning of the month because of a lack of provisions. Very few of the passengers had passports to enter Rio and all of them "came subjected to evil contracts" with the captain of the schooner that had brought them. Magalhães added that the passengers were going to be detained by the captain until someone was prepared to pay their fares. The situation, Sousa continued, provoked comments by local individuals who were critical of the Portuguese. One businessman, for example, stated that it was not worth paying 50\$ or 60\$ thousand réis for the ticket of one of these "slaves" (escravos de libambo) with the condition that they serve their masters only for twenty years. It was preferable to buy a slave for 300\$ to 400\$ thousand réis who would serve the master for life. A Frenchman stated that he was sorry that he had just bought a black slave, because if he had not

²⁰ Revista Universal Lisbournense. (Lisboa) Tomo III, 1843/1844. p. 231. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 197. 14 de outubro de 1835.

done so he could now buy a Portuguese.²¹ A month later, the Portuguese Foreign Minister wrote that the instances of immigrants being brought to Brazil from Porto and Azores who were "traded on their arrival as if they were Africans" were becoming increasingly numerous.²² Incidents like these prompted the Portuguese government in 1843 to try to stop this form of forced labour. It prohibited the detention of any passenger by the captain of a ship on its arrival in any foreign port.²³

However, despite this, Portuguese immigrants continued to be brought and "sold" by ships' captains as indentured labourers. Throughout the 1840s the Revista Universal Lisbonnense published several articles condemning the emigration of people who had no means to pay their travel expenses. In 1844 it stated that ships' captains took people who had been duped from Porto and from the Portuguese islands to Brazil and on their arrival sold those who could not pay for the trip.²⁴ As late as September 1849 the same magazine criticized the emigration of Portuguese who were sponsored by ships' captains by stating that in some cases "this was true slavery" (verdadeira escravidão).²⁵ Apparently, the system

²¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 197. 14 de outubro de 1835.

²² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 718. 10 de novembro de 1835.

²³ O Echo do Rio (Rio de Janeiro). 11 de novembro de 1843.

²⁴ Revista Universal Lisbonnense, Tomo III, 1843/44. p. 231.

²⁵ Revista Universal Lisbonnense, 2ª Série, Tomo I, 1848/49. p. 518.

continued into the 1850s. Luiz-Felipe de Alencastro wrote that after the abolition of the Brazilian slave trade some former slave traders continued their "business" by bringing Portuguese workers, mostly Azoreans, to Brazil.²⁶

IMMIGRANT WOMEN

Most of the material discussed so far makes virtually no reference to women. Were there no immigrant women in Rio de Janeiro between 1825 and 1850? An examination of the passport registers suggests that immigrant women were not present in Rio at all. Of the registered Portuguese immigrants, not only were they all males, but the vast majority were also single, as Table 3.4 shows. Moreover, the passport registers show that almost all of those who were married migrated to Rio without their wives. In fact, of all the registered Portuguese immigrants only one declared that his wife was coming to Rio de Janeiro with him. In

TABLE 3.4

MARITAL STATUS OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

	Nov. 1826	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Single	33	271	107	107	518
Married	2	26	14	5	47
Widower	5	1	-	-	6
Unknown	-	9	4	10	23
Total	40	307	125	122	594

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

²⁶ Cited by Chalhoub. Visões da Liberdade, p. 200.

June 1832, seven claimed that their wives were in Rio. However, these men had not migrated with Portuguese wives. They were married to Brazilians and three of them had Brazilian-born children. In the other cases examined there was no mention of the location of their wives.

Among the non-Portuguese immigrants male immigrants also predominated, as Table 3.5 shows. In the three periods of June 1832, August 1838, and January 1842, only two women were registered, both of whom were married: a Uruguayan who was returning to Montevideo and a French dressmaker who was moving to Bahia.²⁷ Amongst the married men, there was no mention of their wives migrating with them. In June 1832, only six men declared that their wives were in Rio. However, most of them were married to Brazilians and none of them was married to someone of the same nationality. There was a Swede who was married to a Brazilian, a Spaniard married to a Portuguese with a Brazilian-born daughter of thirteen, an Italian married to a Brazilian with two Brazilian-born children, a Frenchman also married to a Brazilian with two Brazilian-born children, a Spaniard married to an Argentine with two Brazilian-born children, and, finally, a Spaniard married to a Brazilian with three Brazilian-born children. In August 1838 and January 1842 there was no mention of the location of the spouses of the married males.²⁸

²⁷ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

²⁸ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

TABLE 3.5

MARITAL STATUS OF THE NON-PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Single	39	14	16	69
Married	25	10	7	42
Widower	1	-	1	2
Unknown	-	1	-	1
Total	65	25	24	144

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.
 Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na
 Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

The male immigration to the city created a gender imbalance within the white population of Rio. Statistics of the period show that throughout the 1830s and 1840s there were more free male inhabitants than free women. In 1838 there were 27,606 free women in comparison to 32,419 free male inhabitants. In 1849, the number of free women totalled 47,744 and that of free males 68,581.²⁹

Mary Karasch supports the view that there was a scarcity of European women in Rio de Janeiro. In her study of slave life in Rio de Janeiro, she writes, "Because of the large number of free male immigrants who lived in Rio without their spouses, there was a shortage of white women and thus free whites often turned to slave women as concubines, mistresses, and common-law wives."³⁰

However, even though it seems clear that there was a shortage

²⁹ Mapa da População do Município Neutro da Corte - 1838; and Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da População Existente no Município Neutro no fim do ano de 1849. See Tables 7.1 and 7.2.

³⁰ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 294.

of white women, this does not mean that there were no immigrant women in the city. An examination of sources other than the passport registers reveals that a small number of immigrant women lived in Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the nineteenth century. Amongst the non-registered or clandestine immigrants the number of women was, indeed, significant. In 1842, Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard noted that on March 26 the Portuguese schooner "Maria José" arrived in Rio bringing sixty-five people, of whom sixteen were females. Of these, four were accompanying their husbands and sons, one was a widow, one was a small child who had come with her father, and ten were single women who had migrated in order to work as servants.³¹ In 1849, the Portuguese consul, João Baptista Moreira, wrote that on January 3 the Portuguese schooner "Thelis" from the Azores brought 181 passengers, of whom 32 were women.³²

The higher incidence of women among the non-registered group may be explained by the fact that most of these immigrants were subsidised to travel to Brazil, making it affordable for families and for poor single women to migrate. Indeed, many young, single and poor women migrated to Rio in order to work as live-in maids.³³

³¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 200.

³² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 314.

³³ Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 2 de janeiro de 1823 and 31 de agosto de 1826. Jornal do Comércio. 1 de dezembro de 1827 and 15 de janeiro de 1841.

CONCLUSION

Contrary to what previous studies have argued, research shows that there was a significant flow of free migrants to Rio de Janeiro during the period from 1822 to 1850. French, English, Spanish, Italians, Germans, but mostly Portuguese migrated to Rio de Janeiro during this period in significant numbers. Even though males predominated among the Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro from 1822 to 1850, there was a small number of women who also migrated to the city. Earlier historians decided to ignore immigration before 1850 owing to the lack of statistics for that period. Yet, a count of every person who was registered with the police department of Rio makes clear that Portuguese immigration in the first half of the nineteenth century was a very real aspect of Brazilian development.

IV. THE REASONS FOR MIGRATING

INTRODUCTION

This chapter will show that economics was the main factor driving people out of Portugal and attracting them to Brazil. Portugal experienced severe social and economic problems in the nineteenth century. In contrast, Brazil, especially the capital, Rio de Janeiro, enjoyed significant economic growth during most of the 1800s owing to the booming coffee exports of the period. The other factors, such as the similarity in culture, the existence of migration "brokers", the presence of an already established Portuguese community in Rio, and the young age of most migrants would not have prompted the extensive migration that occurred if there had not been the strong economic influences. The specific economic attraction is apparent from an examination of the immigrants' occupations and their places of settlement in Rio de Janeiro. It shows that young, single Portuguese immigrants sought their fortunes in Rio's retail trade, and that they settled primarily in the business area of the city.

PORTUGAL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

In the early to mid-nineteenth century, the Portuguese economy was stagnant. Agriculture had not been modernised, having been abandoned by the nobility who were more interested in Portugal's overseas lands.¹ The structural problems of the

¹ José Augusto França. Lisboa Pombalina e o Iluminismo (Lisboa, 1977), p. 38.

Portuguese economy were hidden by the rich profits from the colonies. However, already by the eighteenth century, Portugal had lost its trading monopoly with India, and the only lucrative enterprise that its colonies in Africa offered was the slave trade - a business which the Portuguese Crown could not always control to its own advantage. The healthiest segment of the Portuguese economy was the colonial commerce which it held with Brazil. In the 1730s, the Portuguese ambassador to Paris, Dom Luís da Cunha, wrote that "in order to preserve Portugal, the king needs the wealth of Brazil more than that of Portugal itself".²

Brazilian independence added to the economic languor that Portugal had been experiencing for some time. Indeed, after the opening of the Brazilian ports to international trade in 1808, the Portuguese economy entered an era of stagnation. After 1808 both the manufacturing and the agricultural sectors in Portugal were severely damaged due to the loss of the Brazilian market.³ This single fact "struck a blow at the commercial economy of Lisbon, upon which the prosperity of the state seemed to be founded."⁴ Portugal was a dependent mother country that failed to generate internal investment from the profits brought from Brazil. A contemporary Portuguese scholar, José Acúrsio das Neves, wrote in the 1820s that:

² André Mansuy-Diniz Silva. "Imperial Re-Organization, 1750-1808," p. 244.

³ Da Costa. The Brazilian Empire, p. 13.

⁴ H. V. Livermore. A New History of Portugal (Cambridge, 1966), pp. 278-279.

The gold that came to us from Brazil was the prestige which blinded us, concealing underneath the appearance of an opulent court, the poverty and destitution of the Nation. When we opened our eyes, our fields were already deserted, our industry annihilated.⁵

Strong foreign competition in the manufacturing sector also contributed to Portugal's descent into a deep economic crisis.⁶ Portuguese industries were incapable of competing in a free market economy with the mechanised industries of other European countries, mainly Great Britain. In 1834, the Portuguese consul in Rio de Janeiro, João Baptista Moreira, wrote that, of four hundred Portuguese ships that were used in the commerce with Brazil during the colonial period, fewer than one hundred were still active. He continued that several factories had closed due to the loss of the Brazilian market.⁷

The most affected sectors of the Portuguese economy were those producing wine, salt, cloth, shoes, and agricultural tools. After Brazilian independence was accepted in 1825, Portugal made an attempt to replace the Brazilian market by creating new ones in

⁵ O Ouro que dali do Brasil nos vinha foi o prestígio que nos cegou, ocultando debaixo das aparencias de uma corte opulenta, a pobreza e a miséria da Nação. Quando abrimos os olhos já os nossos campos estavam desertos, aniquilada a nossa industria. Quoted in Valentin Alexandre. "O Liberalismo Portugues e as Colonias de Africa (1820-39)," Reis e Outros (eds.). O Século XIX em Portugal, p. 364.

⁶ José Acúrcio das Neves. Memória Sobre os Meios de Melhorar a Indústria Portuguesa Considerada nos seus Diferentes Ramos (Lisboa, 1983), pp. 78-79.

⁷ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 81, maço 3, documento 7.

its African colonies, mainly Angola and Mozambique.⁸ Yet, these colonies were intensely involved in the transatlantic slave trade, which did not allow the development of a significant internal market, and Portugal made little in the way of profit from its African connections. Not even the slave trade was profitable to Portugal, as the trade was directed mostly to Brazil and carried by Brazilians.

Portugal's economic problems became even more serious in the late 1820s as a result of the dynastic war that took place from 1828 to 1834 between Dom Pedro I and his younger brother, Dom Miguel.⁹ This war left the state deeply in debt¹⁰ as both sides in the war had to borrow from abroad on a large scale in order to finance the war. In the meantime, there was no attempt to modernise the economy. Vagrancy due to unemployment had been a concern for some time. In 1734, the prime minister of Dom João V, Cardinal da Mota, stated that "in no other kingdom are there so many idle and poor people owing to a lack of work."¹¹ The situation was much the same one hundred years later.

In the late 1830s, Portugal was a ruined country in the midst of a tremendous economic, social, and political crisis with a weak commercial sector and an insignificant industrial sector. Job

⁸ Alexandre. "O Liberalismo Portugues e as Colonias de Africa," pp. 356-357.

⁹ Lousada. "Nacionalismo e Contra-Revolução em Portugal," p. 63.

¹⁰ Livermore. A New History of Portugal, p. 278.

¹¹ Piedade Braga Santos, Teresa S. Rodrigues, and Margarida Sá Nogueira. Lisboa Setecentista Vista por Estrangeiros (Lisboa, 1987), p. 49.

opportunities in the cities were limited since Portuguese industries were underdeveloped and unprofitable. Unemployment worsened. The population of Portugal was increasing but no sector of the Portuguese economy could fully employ them.¹² Agriculture was outdated and profits were insufficient to create new jobs. In 1838 the contemporary Portuguese historian Alexandre Herculano wrote:

It has been demonstrated that our country can support seven million inhabitants yet it has fewer than three million. However, Portuguese emigration to Brazil would seem to indicate that our population is superabundant. The reasons for this have been stated a thousand times: the large centres are crammed with people, while the fields are empty; and this happens because agriculture does not offer any advantages, as it is not possible to transport the products of the soil to the large centres.¹³

The persistence of forms of feudalism, in addition to an increasing privatisation of public land, contributed to growing alienation among the peasantry.¹⁴

As a consequence of the economic crisis, the number of crimes

¹² Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa, pp. 149 and 155.

¹³ Alexandre Herculano. "A Emigração para o Brasil," in Joel Serrão. Testemunhos Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa. Antologia (Lisboa, 1976), p. 98.

¹⁴ Maria de Fatima S. Brandão. Terra, Herança e Família no Noroeste de Portugal. O Caso de Mosteiro no Século XIX (Porto, 1994), p. 11.

throughout the country increased.¹⁵ The poverty of some families during the civil war was such that Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro organized campaigns to raise money to be sent to Portugal to help families in need.¹⁶

This economic crisis was responsible for causing numerous Portuguese to migrate. Some moved from the countryside to the cities, particularly Lisbon and Porto. Others chose to go to Brazil. Emigration to Brazil was an option for people who could afford the costs of the trip and even of those who were willing to go into debt in order to travel. In the late 1830s Alexandre Herculano commented on the reasons why the Portuguese were prepared to leave:

What end can one achieve by saying to men who only see in the motherland the prospect of poverty: "You risk destitution in your emigration"? "At least", they will say, "this ill fated adventure has an uncertain end and over there we may be happy, while here we are almost certain of never being so".¹⁷

Thus, one of the factors in attracting people to Brazil was the fact that although Brazil had endured economic difficulties at the time of independence, it appeared more prosperous than Portugal. The availability of job opportunities in the former colony attracted young individuals who lacked the same opportunities in their own country.

¹⁵ Jorge Babo. Tragédia Portuguesa. Dos Mitos às Realidades, 1820-1975 (Lisboa, 1991), pp. 70-77.

¹⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 197, 30 de janeiro de 1835.

¹⁷ Herculano. "A Emigração para o Brasil," p. 99.

Yet, economic and job opportunities alone were not the only reason for the large number of people leaving Portugal. By the 1830s, a profitable system had developed to facilitate emigration. The transportation of immigrants became a very lucrative business and carriers were prepared to use any scheme in order to take people to the other side of the Atlantic. Taking people from Porto and the Portuguese islands and setting them up as indentured workers in Brazil was a profitable business for ships' captains as shown above.¹⁸

The already established community of Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro also served as an incentive for people to migrate to that city. Since the eighteenth century the Portuguese had relied upon a system of kinship when migrating. For instance, of 112 men who applied for passports in Portugal from 1791 to 1799, 62 mentioned that they were migrating to meet a relative. With regard to women, this tendency is even more evident. Of 34 women who applied for a passport to Rio, 27 said that they planned to meet a relative in that city.¹⁹ During the first half of the nineteenth century it was also common procedure for the Portuguese in Rio to sponsor other Portuguese to come to Brazil, especially those who were interested in working as clerks. In the port, it was common to see Portuguese-born individuals waiting for newcomers disembarking from ships arriving from Portugal. This was the case of João Dias Padrão, who on December 26, 1843, was in the port of Rio in order

¹⁸ See chapter III.

¹⁹ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Registo de Passaportes de Passageiros para o Rio de Janeiro e outros Portos do Brasil, Africa e India. Nos. 807/808, anos de 1791 a 1799.

to meet two men who had come to the city to work for him.²⁰

Besides the networks of contacts, the fact that Brazilians spoke Portuguese and had cultural similarities with Portugal also influenced people in their decision to migrate. As Alexandre Herculano wrote in 1838, Portuguese were the best immigrants for Brazil because of the similarities in culture, the way of thinking of the two peoples, and the common language.²¹

BRAZIL IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE NINETEENTH CENTURY

Economic reasons were the most important incentives behind Portuguese migration to Brazil during the period from 1822 to 1850. Immigrants were attracted to Brazil despite the political instability of the period.²² Although Brazil's economy suffered some setbacks in the 1820s, it still offered more opportunities than that of Portugal. At the time of independence, Brazil maintained the agro-export focus of the colonial period, but without a single, major product. The traditional commodities traded in colonial times, such as sugar, minerals, cotton, and leather, were proving to be less profitable than in the past. In the early nineteenth century, the better mechanised sugar plantations of Cuba were able to sell their product more cheaply than Brazil. After being exploited without end for most of the eighteenth century some of the country's mineral resources were

²⁰ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 199. 26 de dezembro de 1843.

²¹ Alexandre Herculano. "Diário do Governo, 13 de janeiro de 1838," in Serrão. Testemunhos Sobre a Emigração Portuguesa, pp. 97/98.

²² See Chapter I.

exhausted (i.e., gold and diamonds) and mines were of little importance in the 1800s. Brazil's cotton and leather exports experienced some growth in the early years of the nineteenth century. However, cotton produced in the United States soon replaced that of Brazil, and the cattle industry of Argentina proved to be more aggressive in the foreign market than that of the southern part of Brazil.

The industrial sector of the Brazilian economy was also not significant during the first half of the nineteenth century. Even though there had been no restrictions on the development of manufacturing in this country since 1808, industrial development was very slow. The existing manufacturers in Brazil focussed upon the local and domestic markets, as there was no large investment in this sector. Most of the investments in the country were directed to the agro-exporting sector and to the traffic in slaves. Moreover, the special trading rights with England, fixed by Portugal in the 1810 treaty and renewed in 1827 in exchange for the recognition of Brazilian independence, made it un-profitable to invest in national industries. Great Britain was permitted to export a large quantity of low-priced manufactured commodities to Brazil. A contemporary writer stated in 1823 that, because of the treaty with England "shoes, furniture, clothes, even mattresses entered Brazil, and I have seen coffins being disembarked for the funeral of boys. [England's] ferocious avarice has extended to all, and everything has been devoured and swallowed..."²³ Thus, industries in Brazil continued to be of little significance and

²³ Quoted in Manoel Maurício de Albuquerque. Pequena História da Formação Social Brasileira (Rio de Janeiro, 1981), p. 259.

even less so after the rise of coffee as a major export agro-product in the 1830s.

In the late 1820s, coffee gave a new boost to the Brazilian economy, stimulating long lasting period of economic growth. During the first years of the government of Dom João VI in Brazil, the first coffee plantations began to appear in the areas surrounding the city of Rio de Janeiro. In a few years the production of coffee had extended to the provinces of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo. Southern plantations previously devoted to sugar were re-planted to produce coffee. Forested areas were cleared for the production of coffee as the demand for this product increased in the foreign market.

TABLE 4.1
BRAZIL: EXPORTS OF PRIMARY PRODUCTS
IN PERCENTAGES

Products	1821-1830	1830-1840	1841-1850	1851-1860
Coffee	18.4	43.8	41.5	48.8
Cotton	20.6	10.8	7.5	6.2
Leather/Fur	13.6	7.9	8.5	7.2
Sugar	30.1	24	26.7	21.2

Source: Hamilton de Mattos Monteiro. "Da Independência à Vitória da Ordem," in Maria Iedda Linhares. História Geral do Brasil. p. 125.

The development of coffee exports in Brazil from 1820 to 1840 was impressive. For instance, in the period from 1821 to 1825 a

total of 487,594 bags of five "arrobas"²⁴ were exported. From 1826 to 1830 this figure grew to 1,618,202 bags; from 1831 to 1835 to 3,304.312; and from 1836 to 1840 to 4,623,345 bags. In other words, the total of Brazil's coffee exports increased nine and a half times in twenty years.²⁵ Table 4.1 shows that while coffee exports grew, the export of sugar, cotton, and leather declined. In the 1850s, Brazil had become the most important supplier of coffee in the international market, producing more than 50 percent of all the coffee consumed in the world.²⁶

The rise of coffee as Brazil's most important export commodity both caused more immigrants to arrive in Brazil and provoked a shift in Brazil's economic centre from the northeast to the southeast. This shift had already begun in the eighteenth century as a result of the exploitation of the mines of Minas Gerais in the southeast area of the country. In 1763, the capital of the colony was transferred from Salvador, Bahia, to Rio de Janeiro. At this time the port of Rio as well as the ports of Bahia and Pernambuco were the only ones allowed to trade directly with the mother country.²⁷ However, Rio's port was the only one located close to Minas Gerais, and because of this it became the intermediary between Europe and the mining region. Rio was also

²⁴ One arroba equals thirty-two pounds.

²⁵ Lima. História Político-Econômica do Brasil, p. 201.

²⁶ Virgílio Noya Pinto. "Balaço das Transformações Econômicas no Século XIX," in Carlos Guilherme Mota (ed). Brasil em Perspectiva (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), p. 139.

²⁷ Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino. Documentos do Reino, Alfândega, 1783.

the leading centre supplying manufactured commodities to the southern states. John Mawe wrote in 1805 that:

This city [Rio] is the chief mart of Brazil, and especially of the provinces of Minas Gerais, São Paulo, Goyazes, Cuyaba and Curitiba [sic]. The mining districts, being the most populous, require the greatest proportion of consumable goods, and in return send the most valuable articles of commerce...²⁸

As a consequence of the disruption of sugar production in Haiti, due to its revolution in the late eighteenth century, Brazil's sugar economy experienced a significant but temporary growth during that period. This, in addition to the decline of the mining economy of the southeast, allowed Salvador to continue to have an important economic role within Brazil. Only after the transfer of the Portuguese royal family from Lisbon to Rio de Janeiro in 1808 and the subsequent development of coffee, did Rio de Janeiro definitively assert itself as the principal political, economic, and demographic centre of the empire attracting a large number of immigrants.

RIO DE JANEIRO'S GROWTH

The arrival of the royal family in Brazil had an impressive impact on the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1828, Robert Walsh wrote that "...from the moment the court landed, everything was changed; new streets and squares were built, the islands and hills were covered with villas and Rio assumed that lovely aspect of nature, improved by the hand of art, which now renders it so striking an

²⁸ John Mawe. Travels in the Interior of Brazil (London, 1822), p. 139.

object".²⁹

The most sudden and apparent impact was with regard to the population of the city. With the royal family came the Portuguese court, along with their servants and accompanying families - in total numbering somewhere between 16,000 and 18,000 people. These added to a total city population which, according to the census of 1799, numbered 43,376 inhabitants.³⁰ The population of the city continued to grow in the succeeding years so that by 1820 Rio was by far the largest city in Brazil, as Table 4.2 shows.

TABLE 4.2

1823 POPULATION OF THE TEN LARGEST BRAZILIAN CITIES
(NUMBERS ROUNDED OFF)

Rio de Janeiro	100,000
Bahia	60,000
Recife	50,000
São Luís	25,000
Ouro Preto	20,000
Belém	20,000
São Paulo	18,000
Porto Alegre	10,000
Cuiabá	10,000
Goiás	9,000 ³¹

²⁹ Robert Walsh. Notices of Brazil (London, 1830), p. 171.

³⁰ Ferrez. O Paço da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, p. 31.

³¹ Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva. O Império Luso-Brasileiro, 1750-1822 (Lisboa, 1986), p. 38. Nizza da Silva has based her information on a Table published in 1895 in the Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro. The estimate of the population of Rio seems to be a bit high. For instance, Mary Karasch, based on information found in the Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, presents the total population for Rio in 1821 as 86,323. See Karasch. Slave Life, p. 62. It is unlikely that the population of the city increased to 100,000 inhabitants in the space of less than two years. However, even though the table may not be entirely accurate, it demonstrates the supremacy of Rio's population within Brazil.

The arrival of the Portuguese court also brought other changes to the city. For instance, the first printing press was established in Rio in 1808. A National Library, a school of arts, as well as military and naval schools were set up in the following years. Economically, the transfer of the court to Rio and the opening of Brazil's ports to international trade had an impact on the development in Rio's export sector. The city's port - which was already the most vibrant in the colony - saw the volume of its commerce rise considerably. For instance, the number of foreign ships trading through Rio's port multiplied from 90 in 1808 to 354 in 1820.³²

Economic growth continued in the following decades, owing to the development of the coffee industry. In 1820, Rio's coffee exports totalled 6,763 tons. The yearly export figure doubled to 13,286 tons in 1825, and three years later it had doubled again to 26,703 tons.³³ From the early 1830s to the middle of the nineteenth century, the port of Rio de Janeiro shipped 88 percent of Brazil's coffee exports.³⁴

Rio's position as the main exporter of Brazil had a profound impact on the city. Coffee exports influenced many sectors of the city, such as commerce, transportation, and construction.³⁵ For example, the port area of Rio experienced extensive construction as a result of the development of the coffee industry. Fishermen's

³² Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 145.

³³ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 148.

³⁴ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 192.

³⁵ Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 107.

houses were replaced by exporting offices, and warehouses were built everywhere in the area.³⁶

Travellers to Rio in the early 1800s provided first-hand accounts of Rio's growth. In 1823, the English traveller Maria Graham wrote that:

... some (...) solid works have been executed, since I last saw Rio, new fountains opened, aqueducts repaired, all the forts and other public places visibly improved, and the streets new paved. There is besides everywhere an air of business.³⁷

Another foreigner, the Frenchman Alcide D'Orbigny, who was in Rio de Janeiro in August 1832 for three weeks, also commented on the vigour of the commercial life of the city:

It would be difficult to transmit an idea of the intensity of the commerce of Rio de Janeiro. The port, the stock exchange, the market of the streets that are parallel to the sea all are filled with crowds of business people, sailors, and Negroes.³⁸

Indeed, as the demand for slaves increased with the city's growth, more Africans were brought to Rio. Between 1808 and 1850 Rio de Janeiro had the largest population of enslaved Africans in

³⁶ Paulo Bastos Cezar and Ana Rosa Viveiros de Castro. A Praça Mauá na Memória do Rio de Janeiro (São Paulo, 1989), pp. 33-34.

³⁷ Elizabeth Mavor (ed). The Captain's Wife. The South American Journal of Maria Graham, 1821-1823 (London, 1993), p. 150.

³⁸ "Seria difícil dar uma idéia do intenso comércio do Rio de Janeiro. O porto, a bolsa, os mercados das ruas paralelas ao mar ficam abarrotadas de uma multidão de negociantes, marinheiros, e negros." Alcide D'Orbigny. Viagem Pitoresca Através do Brasil (São Paulo, 1976), p. 167.

its history.³⁹ The censuses of 1838 and 1849 reproduced in Table 4.3, clearly illustrate the large percentage of enslaved blacks within Rio's population.⁴⁰ This table shows that the enslaved population in Rio comprised almost 40 percent of the city's population.

Table 4.3 also indicates the relevance of free immigrants to the growth of Rio's population. Although the numbers of free nationals and enslaved people were larger than those of free

TABLE 4.3

POPULATION OF THE URBAN PARISHES OF RIO DE JANEIRO

	Free Nationals	Free Foreigners	Freed People	Enslaved People	Total
1838	59,824	9,246	?	37,330	106,400
1849	79,996	36,320	10,732	78,855	205,903

Source: Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais, microfilme, 007-0-82 and Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da População Existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Manuscrito I-17,11,1.

foreigners, the number of free foreigners increased four times from 1838 to 1849, while that of free nationals increased only 1.3 times and the enslaved population 2.1 times. In addition, as a

³⁹ Karasch. Slave Life, pp. 60-61.

⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Mary Karasch considers the number of slaves given in the 1838 census unrealistically low. In her estimate there may have been 55,000 slaves living in Rio de Janeiro at that time. Karasch. Slave Life, p. 64.

result of forced and free immigration, the population of the urban parishes of Rio almost doubled in the space of ten years, as it jumped from 106,400 in 1838 to 205,903 in 1849.⁴¹

RIO DE JANEIRO: A DESTINATION FOR IMMIGRANTS

As a result of its various attractions, it is not surprising that Rio de Janeiro constituted the most important destination for Portuguese immigrants. In fact, it can be said that during the period from 1822 to 1850, Rio de Janeiro absorbed the majority of all Portuguese emigrants. Brazil, in the first half of the nineteenth century, constituted the most favoured destination for Portuguese leaving their country⁴², with Rio de Janeiro receiving the majority of the immigrants.⁴³ Studies that have looked at the most common areas of emigration in Portugal - the northern provinces of Douro and Minho - show that most emigrants from those areas chose Rio de Janeiro as their destination. This is relevant as the majority of Portuguese immigrants in Rio during the first half of the nineteenth century came originally from Douro and Minho. Of 596 Portuguese listed in the passport registers for November 1826, June 1832, August 1838, and January 1842, 188 were from Porto (Douro region), 94 from Braga (Minho region), 57 from

⁴¹ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais, microfilme, 007-0-82; and Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da População Existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Manuscrito I-17,11,1.

⁴² Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa, p. 41.

⁴³ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e o Retorno, p. 334.

Lisbon, 29 from the Azores, sixteen from Madeira, and the remaining 212 from diverse areas of the mainland.⁴⁴ In his thesis on emigration from Porto, Jorge Fernandes Alves has shown that, from 1836 to 1850, Rio absorbed between 60 and 86 percent of all Portuguese immigrants in Brazil, as Table 4.4 shows. This table

TABLE 4.4
DESTINATION OF EMIGRANTS FROM PORTO
IN PERCENTAGES

	Rio de Janeiro	Pernambuco	Bahia	Others
1836	65.7	10.9	10.3	13.1
1837	60.1	13.3	13.9	12.8
1838	71.2	14.8	5.2	8.7
1839	62.7	17.4	11.5	8.4
1840	64.7	14.1	9.5	11.6
1841	61.3	16.7	5.9	16.1
1842	66.7	10.7	5.1	17.5
1843	76.5	9	4.3	10.2
1844	73.3	7.3	8	11.3
1845	77.2	5.8	6.3	10.6
1846	75.2	5.8	6.1	13
1847	80.1	5.3	4	10.6
1848	79.7	3.1	5.2	12
1849	86	2.1	2.6	9.2
1850	79.2	4.8	6.3	9.6

Source: Adapted from Jorge Fernandes Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista. Dissertação de Doutorado. Universidade do Porto. (Porto, 1993). Quadro 5.17.

⁴⁴ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381. See Map II for the location of the most important cities and regions in mainland Portugal.

MAP II
MAINLAND PORTUGAL

Source: Sarah Bradford. Portugal (London, 1973), p. 13.

also clearly shows that as the number of immigrants entering Rio de Janeiro increased, those going to Bahia and Pernambuco decreased, a reflection of the economic decline of the northeast. Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues in his study of passport files of Minho concluded that more than 56 percent of the emigrants that he studied expressed an intention to go to Rio de Janeiro, while 36.5 percent had left Portugal with the general destination of "Brazil", without specifying the city or state where they were going.⁴⁵ It is most probable that amongst these individuals there was a significant number who also emigrated to Rio de Janeiro.

TABLE 4.5
NUMBER OF PORTUGUESE STAYING IN RIO DE JANEIRO

	Nov. 1826	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Staying	39	293	117	116	565
Not Staying	1	12	8	6	27
Total	40	305	125	122	592

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

Although the city was the main arrival point of immigrants, the available documentation is insufficient to prove that a majority of the Portuguese immigrants (that is, both registered

⁴⁵ Rodrigues. A Emigração do Alto Minho, 1835-1860, p. 234.

and non-registered migrants) arriving in Rio in the first half of the nineteenth century settled there permanently. What is known is that a large majority of the Portuguese listed in these registers initially established themselves in the capital. Table 4.5 shows that more than 95 percent of the immigrants listed in the passport registers for November 1826, June 1832, August 1838, and January 1842 declared their intention not to return to Portugal nor to move from Rio de Janeiro. The number of people intending to leave Rio de Janeiro was slightly higher amongst the non-Portuguese group (as Table 4.6 shows). Twelve percent of these declared their intention to move from Rio in the near future. However, as was the case with the Portuguese, the majority - 88 percent - showed no intention of leaving the city.

TABLE 4.6
NUMBER OF NON-PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS STAYING
IN RIO DE JANEIRO

	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Staying	54	24	32	110
Not Staying	13	1	1	15
Total	67	25	33	125

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

OCCUPATIONS

The reason why immigrants went to Rio and settled there was because of the presence of its retail sector which offered

opportunities for jobs. An analysis of the immigrants' occupations in Rio shows the extensive involvement of the new arrivals in this economic sector. The majority of the Portuguese immigrants listed in the passport registers were employed in the field of commerce, as Table 4.7 shows. The occupation of "sales clerk" was monopolised by the Portuguese and was by far the most sought-after occupation of this group. More than 45 percent of the registered Portuguese immigrants listed in Table 4.7 were clerks. Lenira

TABLE 4.7
OCCUPATIONS OF PORTUGUESE IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Occupations	Nov. 1826	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Clerks	27	164	40	45	276
Businessmen	4	79	14	24	121
Carpenters	1	15	2	3	21
Shoemaker	-	2	9	1	12
Tailor	-	2	6	8	16
Sailor	-	4	5	3	12
Barber	-	3	1	5	9
No Occupation	1	4	17	16	38
Unknown Occup.	4	5	10	3	22
Others	3	27	21	14	65
Total	40	305	125	122	592

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

Menezes Coutinho has also shown that in 1827, 1828, and 1829 more than 40 percent of the Portuguese entering Rio sought the

occupation of clerk.⁴⁶ "Merchant" (referred to as *comerciante* in the documents, a term that implies ownership of property,) was the second most popular occupation, with around twenty percent.

The newspapers of the time are also full of examples of Portuguese immigrants seeking jobs in the commerce of the city. For instance, on January 3, 1831, the Jornal do Comércio published an advertisement in which a Portuguese offered himself as a manager for any type of shop. In the same newspaper, on January 7, 1831, there was an advertisement from a recently arrived Portuguese immigrant who was looking for a job as a clerk in a fabric store; and on February 27, 1834, a sixteen-year-old Portuguese offered himself in another advertisement for work as a clerk. The Diario do Rio de Janeiro also published several advertisements on Portuguese seeking work in Rio. On February 17, 1830, a recently arrived immigrant from Madeira, claiming skills in the field of commerce, was seeking a job in Rio or outside the city. In the same newspaper, in 1841, a young Portuguese offered himself as a clerk to any grocery store of the city.⁴⁷

The preference for the field of commerce amongst Portuguese immigrants is also apparent in the nineteenth-century wills of inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro. In a sample of 170 wills from the years 1864, 1865, 1870, and 1872, thirty-nine Portuguese declared that they worked in the field of commerce. This number may have been even higher as 30 percent of the 170 individuals declared

⁴⁶ Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, p. 79.

⁴⁷ Jornal do Comércio. 3 de janeiro de 1831, 7 de janeiro de 1831; and 27 de fevereiro de 1834. Diário do Rio de Janeiro. 17 de fevereiro de 1830 and 16 de janeiro de 1841.

that they lived off savings and investments. It is probable that some, if not several, of them were former merchants and clerks who were no longer working.⁴⁸

The non-Portuguese group also demonstrated a clear preference for the field of commerce. However, as Table 4.8 shows, fewer than six percent of them were clerks, while 35 percent were businessmen who were generally able to establish themselves as store owners. Foreigners visiting Rio de Janeiro in the first half of the

TABLE 4.8
OCCUPATIONS OF NON-PORTUGUESE IN RIO DE JANEIRO

Occupations	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
Clerks	4	1	2	7
Businessmen	31	3	9	43
Blacksmith	2	3	1	6
Tailor	1	1	1	3
Hairdresser	-	2	-	2
Doctor	-	1	1	2
Servant	1	1	1	3
No Occupation	2	2	4	8
Unknown Occup.	3	2	4	9
Others	23	8	10	41
Total	67	24	33	124

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

nineteenth century presented a picture of French and English residents as owners of shops and commercial houses. In general,

⁴⁸ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscrições de Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 5, 6, 14 and 16.

the English concerned themselves with wholesale business while the French dominated the commerce in luxury goods.⁴⁹ Although the English established themselves earlier in Rio de Janeiro, the French soon replaced them in the commerce of the city as the English traveller, Robert Walsh, noted in 1828. He wrote:

In 1814 the French were invited; some residents established themselves at Rio, and the first ships of that nation entered the port in a friendly manner... They have so increased as far to exceed the English who had arrived before them, and whole streets are now occupied by their shops and bijouteries.⁵⁰

The French shops were noted for their elegance and richness. One traveller in 1824 wrote that in comparison to the French shops, the Portuguese stores were not only very small but also inelegant.⁵¹ A Frenchman, C. H. Lavollée who was visiting Rio de Janeiro in 1844, also commented on the elegance of the French shops in comparison to others.⁵²

Of those Portuguese who owned shops, the few descriptions that are available give a picture of small groceries or fabric shops and botequins (small café-bars). "Small one room stores, usually owned by a Portuguese, vended candles and soap, dried

⁴⁹ Gastão Cruls. Aparência do Rio de Janeiro. Volume 1 (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), p. 300.

⁵⁰ Walsh. Notices of Brazil, Vol. 1, pp. 167-168.

⁵¹ Ernst Ebel. O Rio de Janeiro e seus Arredores em 1824 (São Paulo, 1972), pp. 69-70.

⁵² De Taunay. Rio de Janeiro de Antanho - Impressões de Viajantes Estrangeiros, p. 267.

codfish, jerked beef, sausages and cheese; or pottery, metal pans from Minas Gerais, wooden spoons and bowls, foodstuffs for the use of households in Rio."⁵³ Ernst Ebel a traveller from Riga who stayed in Rio de Janeiro from January to June 1824 described the Portuguese fabric stores as so tiny that if three or four people were inside they could not move properly.⁵⁴ Anyda Marchant has provided another description of the Portuguese shops in Rio de Janeiro that underlines the simplicity of their external area: "At each shop door was a long bench, in the daytime covered with goods and display. In the evening this became a seat for the merchant and his cronies as they played backgammon, often for high stakes".⁵⁵

The immigrants' choice for a life in commerce can be traced to the fact that the expanding population of Rio was demanding an improvement in the sector. The wealthy were not interested in this kind of occupation since it was not considered noble. The slaves of the city dominated the street-vending sector,⁵⁶ but they rarely worked as shopkeepers and shop assistants. The slaves had neither the capital to invest in a shop nor the freedom to decide their own lives and occupations. Moreover, shop owners were unlikely to trust a slave as a clerk, preferring to invite a relative or a

⁵³ Mary Karasch. "Rio de Janeiro: From Colonial Town to Imperial Capital (1808-1850)," in Ross and Telkampp (eds.). Colonial Cities. p. 136.

⁵⁴ Ebel. O Rio de Janeiro e seus Arredores em 1824, p. 69.

⁵⁵ A. Marchant. Viscount Mauá and the Empire of Brazil. A Biography of Irineu Evangelista de Sousa (1813-1889) (Berkeley, 1965), p. 20.

⁵⁶ Luiz Carlos Soares. "Os Escravos de Ganho no Rio de Janeiro do Século XIX." Revista Brasileira de História, 8:16 (1988), p. 112.

friend from Portugal to work for them.

Using kinship links was very common amongst the Portuguese immigrants. Mary Karasch has asserted that the Portuguese "used their common ancestry and regional ties in Portugal to help each other to enter middle-status occupations and work as clerks, commercial agents, shopkeepers, retailers, tavern owners, slave traders, and merchants."⁵⁷ It was typical for young immigrants to be "recommended" to friends and relatives already established in Brazil, mostly merchants and people employed in commerce.⁵⁸ For instance, on December 26, 1843, the Portuguese-born businessman, João Dias Padrão, went to the port of Rio de Janeiro in order to meet two young men arriving from Portugal who were coming specifically to work for him.⁵⁹

That system of bringing young men from Portugal to work in the commercial sector of Rio was important to its profitability, as store owners were able to impose very demanding working conditions. Since most of the young men had no direct family in Rio, the employer would have the dual and ambiguous role of master and father. A young clerk usually lived and worked in the same place, slept on the floor of the store, and worked seven days a week.⁶⁰ Some of them accepted working under these conditions

⁵⁷ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 70

⁵⁸ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno, p. 99.

⁵⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 199. 26 de dezembro de 1843.

⁶⁰ Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, pp. 79 and 123.

without even demanding a wage. This was the case of a man who, through an advertisement in the Diario do Rio de Janeiro, offered himself to work for six months without payment.⁶¹ This was also the case of two boys of thirteen and fifteen years of age, who volunteered to work without a wage until their employers decided they deserved payment.⁶²

The experiences of Irineu Evangelista de Sousa, the future Visconde de Mauá, provide a good example of the conditions of work of a young clerk in Rio de Janeiro during the 1830s. Irineu began working for a wealthy Portuguese merchant, João Rodrigues Pereira de Almeida, at the age of nine. At this time, he slept in the middle of the merchandise on the floor of the store and was in charge of only minor jobs, such as wiping the floor and organizing shelves. Even though he was Brazilian (the grandson of Azoreans who had migrated to Rio Grande do Sul in the late eighteenth century), he had the two basic characteristics of a clerk in Rio de Janeiro: he had the right connections to get his job, and he was a newcomer in the city with no family, no house, and no close friends.⁶³ The case of the Portuguese José Cardoso de Oliveira Guimarães provides another illustration of a clerk employed in Rio de Janeiro: he was a single man who had migrated to Rio in order to "seek his fortune" in February 1825. In November 1826, he was working and living in the store of José Bento Ferreira Soares on

⁶¹ Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, p. 46.

⁶² Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, p. 46.

⁶³ Caldeira. Mauá, pp. 36-70.

Direita Street.⁶⁴

These young men accepted the demanding conditions imposed on them with the hope of gaining the trust of their employers and then of achieving a better position within their place of work. The occupation of clerk in Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century had different levels of work that were usually performed by different clerks, especially in the case of a large business. For instance, the general term "clerk" meant a variety of jobs, such as salesperson in the store, salesperson and collecting agent outside the store, secretary in the store's office, bookkeeper, and servant.⁶⁵

TABLE 4.9

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

Age Groups	Nov. 1826	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
10 to 20 years					
	23	143	71	66	303
21 to 30 years					
	13	120	35	43	211
31 to 40 years					
	1	33	14	12	60
41 to 60 years					
	4	9	5	1	19
Total	41	305	125	122	593

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10 and 15.

⁶⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 195. 9 de novembro de 1826.

⁶⁵ Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, pp. 38-39.

It was possible for clerks to rise through these levels. For instance, Irineu, when he first began to work for his Portuguese employer, was in charge of cleaning the shop, organizing the merchandise, and attending to the employers' personal needs. In other words, he was the servant of the shop. Yet, five years later Irineu had gained Pereira de Almeida's trust and achieved the highest occupational level within the career of clerk: bookkeeper.⁶⁶ In May 1831, Evaristo da Veiga, the editor of the newspaper Aurora Fluminense, commented on the social rise of clerks, stating that often these become partners of their employers.⁶⁷

The job opportunities for young people influenced the age structure of Rio's immigrants. The majority of the Portuguese in Rio - as shown in Table 4.9 - were younger than 30 years of age. Historians, using a variety of sources, have also shown that the majority of the immigrants from Portugal to Brazil were young people. Henrique Fernandes Rodrigues has demonstrated that individuals younger than twenty years represented almost 60 percent of the total of the emigrants leaving the Alto Minho region from 1835 to 1860, while people younger than eighteen comprised more than 48 percent.⁶⁸ Lenira Menezes Martinho has shown that 97.2 percent of the Portuguese entering Rio de Janeiro in 1827, 1828, and 1829 were younger than thirty years of age. Of these, people from nineteen to fifteen years of age comprised

⁶⁶ Caldeira. Mauá, p. 96.

⁶⁷ Aurora Fluminense (Rio de Janeiro). 16 de maio de 1831.

⁶⁸ Rodrigues. A Emigração do Alto Minho, p. 80.

almost 50 percent of all Portuguese immigrants arriving in Rio during these years.⁶⁹ The passport registers are full of examples of very young Portuguese working in Rio as clerks. For example, Antonio Alexandre Soares from Porto migrated to Rio in June 1838 at the age of twelve, and in August was working as a clerk at the Praia dos Mineiros, number 42. Joaquim Antonio Azevedo was also twelve when he was working as a clerk in Alfandega Street. José

TABLE 4.10

AGE DISTRIBUTION OF NON-PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

Age Groups	June 1832	Aug. 1838	Jan. 1842	Total
10 to 20 years	1	3	6	10
21 to 30 years	21	8	13	42
31 to 40 years	27	10	6	43
41 to 60 years	18	4	7	29
Total	67	25	32	124

Source: Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

Antonio Gomes Correia, also from Porto, was fifteen and a clerk in Ferradores Street.⁷⁰

Among the Portuguese immigrants, it was specifically the

⁶⁹ Martinho and Goreinstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros, p. 80.

⁷⁰ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volume 10.

opportunities for becoming a clerk that attracted young people. The non-Portuguese group, who had a small concentration of clerks, was considerably older. Table 4.10 shows that within this group the number of people younger than twenty was very small, while the number from 41 to 60 years was significant. Amongst the Portuguese, more than 50 percent were younger than twenty, while of the non-Portuguese immigrants less than ten percent were part of this age group. On the other hand, less than fifteen percent of the Portuguese were between the ages of 31 and 60, whereas almost 60 percent of the other foreigners were part of this group.

PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT PATTERNS IN RIO DE JANEIRO

The attraction the retail commerce of Rio exercised over the Portuguese also influenced the area that they settled in the city. The first sight these young migrants had of Rio was, probably, very impressive. After several weeks at sea, the eyes of the newcomers would have been met by the sight of the parishes of Lagoa and Gloria, with their white houses facing the sea. Maria Graham who arrived in Rio on December 15, 1821, described the city's appearance in glowing terms:

MAP III
ADMINISTRATIVE DISTRICTS OF RIO DE JANEIRO

Source: Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 25.

Nothing that I have seen is comparable in beauty to this bay. Naples, the Firth of Forth, Bombay harbour, and Tricomalee, each of which I thought perfect in their beauty, all must yield to this, which surpasses each in its different way.

Lofty mountains, rocks of clustered columns, luxuriant wood, bright flowery islands, green banks, all mixed with white buildings; each little eminence crowned with its church or fort; ships at anchor or in motion; and innumerable boats flitting about in such a delicious climate, - combined to render Rio de Janeiro the most enchanting scene that imagination can conceive...⁷¹

Despite the beauty of this area, very few people settled in this part of Guanabara Bay. Although they received an increasing number of inhabitants during the first half of the nineteenth century, these parishes were still rural areas, where the elite had built their cottages and where some small plantations were located. Most Portuguese immigrants chose to settle in the crowded urban parishes - Santa Rita, Candelaria, São José, Sacramento, and Santana - and preferred their narrow streets as their place of residence. The attraction of the urban area of Rio lay in the fact that it was where most of the population was to be found and where most of the commerce was located.

The parish of Candelária, located in the heart of the commercial area of Rio, was the preferred residential area for the Portuguese immigrants in the city.⁷² Indeed, in 1838, Candelária

⁷¹ Mavor (ed). The Captain's Wife, p. 48.

⁷² Noronha Santos. As Freguesias do Rio Antigo (Rio de Janeiro, 1955), p. 18.

MAP IV
AREAS OF PORTUGUESE SETTLEMENT IN RIO

Quitanda	31	Rua da Vala	53
São Pedro	27	Rua do Cano	23
Prainha	035	Praia Dom Manoel	10
Sabão	26	Praia do Peixe	8
Ouvidor	15	Praia dos Mineiros	08
Rosário	24	Direita	4
Alfandega	9		

Source: Eduardo Canabrava Barreiros. Atlas da Evolução Urbana da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1565-1965 (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), p. 19.

Parish was the area of Rio that had the highest density of foreigners. This was followed by Sacramento and Santa Rita,⁷³ which, in 1849, replaced Candelária as the areas with the most foreign inhabitants. However, Candelária remained the only area in the city where the number of foreigners surpassed that of Brazilians.⁷⁴ The passport registers indicate that 40 percent of the Portuguese immigrants who registered in June 1832, August 1838, and January 1842 settled in Candelária.⁷⁵ Within Candelária, two streets were the preferred destination of the Portuguese: Quitanda and São Pedro. Anyda Marchant has asserted that Quitanda was the main street of Portuguese merchants in the first half of the nineteenth century.⁷⁶ Ernst Ebel also described Quitanda as the street where the Portuguese had their small stores.⁷⁷ The predominance of Portuguese on Quitanda Street is further illustrated by an inquiry into a fire at a pharmacy on Quitanda Street in 1831. Of 22 witnesses called by the inquiry, eleven were Portuguese, only five were Brazilians, and the rest were of

⁷³ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais. Microfilme, 007-0-82.

⁷⁴ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da população existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Manuscrito I - 17,11,1.

⁷⁵ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2 (junho 1832), 10 (agosto 1838), and 15 (janeiro 1842).

⁷⁶ Marchant. Viscount Mauá and the Empire of Brazil, p. 20.

⁷⁷ Ebel. O Rio de Janeiro e Seus Arredores em 1824, p. 69.

different nationalities.⁷⁸ After Quitanda and São Pedro, the other streets which were preferred by the Portuguese were also located in the commercial area of Rio. These included Prainha, Sabão, Ouvidor, Rosário, Alfandega, Direita, Praia Dom Manoel, Vala, Praia do Peixe, Cano, and Praia dos Mineiros.⁷⁹

The reason why a large number of Portuguese settled in Quitanda and São Pedro is unclear. These two streets were very old. Perhaps a large number of Portuguese had already settled here in previous years. Still, the greatest attraction for the Portuguese to all of these streets was undoubtedly their location in the commercial area of Rio de Janeiro and the job opportunities found there. These streets held most shops in the city and hosted the large majority of the Portuguese who went to Rio in search of economic improvements. Such was the case of Torquato Francisco dos Reis who immigrated from Porto in 1829 at the age of eighteen and worked as a clerk for, Bernardo Pereira Soares (probably also a Portuguese) on Direita Street.⁸⁰ Another street, Rua do Rosario, was home to two other Portuguese clerks, Rufino Joaquim da Silva and Antonio Pinto Sampaio, who worked for their Portuguese boss, João Antonio Fernandes at 135 Rosario. Yet, their hopes for economic success were not realised. Their fate was something they probably never expected. Apparently, after a quarrel with a mulatto and two black males Rufino and Antonio were killed, in

⁷⁸ O Americano. 28 de julho de 1831.

⁷⁹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2 (junho 1832), 10 (agosto 1838), and 15 (janeiro 1842). For location of these streets see Map IV.

⁸⁰ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Cidadãos Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 379, 1829.

that same store where they had worked, lived, and hoped to achieve social and financial advancements.⁸¹

CONCLUSION

Rio de Janeiro's economic opportunities were the major factor attracting immigrants from an impoverished Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. Throughout this period, Portugal was a bankrupt empire. It had lost its most important colony and engaged in a costly civil war. In contrast, Brazil was living a moment of prosperity, as its coffee exporting economy boomed. Within Brazil, the capital, Rio de Janeiro, experienced substantial economic growth. The port of Rio was the major intermediary between the coffee plantations and the European market. This city became the most important exporting centre of the country as, throughout the 1830s and 1840s, coffee constituted more than half of all exports from Brazil.

All sectors of the city were influenced by the coffee economy. Construction boomed in the port area of Rio, with new warehouses and offices being built in order to supply the expanding demand for exports. The population of the city also increased significantly, as numerous people were attracted to this centre in search of employment. The retail commerce of Rio especially expanded with the increase in population. Portuguese immigrants took advantage of this situation to settle extensively in the commercial area of the city, where they became widely involved in the retail sector.

⁸¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 196. 3 de junho de 1831. Livro 725. 30 de junho de 1831.

Other factors besides the strong economic situation also played a role in the decision to migrate. These included the influence of individuals who earned a living by transporting immigrants; the contact networks established by the migrants in the region of immigration; the immigrants' ability to bear the cost of their dislocation; the age of the migrants, as well as family ties and civil status. Yet, although they were influential, these forces alone do not explain the large-scale migration of Portuguese to Rio de Janeiro. There is little doubt that the city's strong economy represented an irresistible attraction for young, entrepreneurial Portuguese immigrants who were coming from an increasingly impoverished and destitute nation. In fact, the lure of Brazil - and Rio - was so great that the opportunities to be found in this country took on almost mythical proportions in the minds of some Portuguese who had not yet migrated.

V. THE ELITE'S VIEW

INTRODUCTION

Another important factor explaining the immigration of Portuguese to Brazil was the attitude of the Brazilian elite who actively supported white immigration. Indeed, the constant and increasing numbers of Portuguese who migrated to Brazil played an important role in the elite's plan for the future of the country, since the small group that brought about Brazilian independence envisioned that they were creating a nation of white people. Yet, this same group also continued to import large numbers of enslaved Africans into the country. The large population of slaves in Brazil was seen as a necessity which the elite had to endure in order to ensure an abundant labour force. But while maintaining slavery, this small elite was not prepared to accept blacks as an integral part of the new nation they were creating. The most striking evidence of the elite's attitudes towards Brazil's enslaved population is found in the Constitution of the Empire, which did not consider slaves to be Brazilian citizens.¹ Thus, the large number of blacks in Brazil, together with the continuing influx of even more enslaved Africans, seriously jeopardised the intention of the elite to create a white nation. Moreover, it also produced a security problem, because of the ever present possibility of the eruption of black unrest. Indeed, during the first half of the nineteenth century, white Brazilians lived in constant fear of the onset of violent reactions on the part of

¹ Prado Junior. Evolução Política do Brasil, p. 56.

their slaves.

The situation was particularly delicate in the capital of the empire. This city housed not only the ruling elite and the rich coffee planters of the Paraíba Valley but also the largest black population in the Americas.² The constant fear of slave revolts, plus the fear of the Africanization of Brazil's population, made the importation of large numbers of white immigrants an important goal for the ruling elite. Despite the existence of widespread anti-Portuguese feelings at this time, the Brazilian elite accepted and encouraged the arrival of Portuguese immigrants into the country.

THE AFRICANIZATION OF THE BRAZILIAN POPULATION

Fear of a black revolt was a very real aspect of Brazilian life in the first half of the nineteenth century. The violent slave revolution that began in Haiti in 1791 terrified whites living in the many slave societies of the Americas for many years after the event.³ When the sovereignty of the first black-run nation in the Americas was declared in 1804, it seemed possible that a similar revolt could occur anywhere where enslaved people outnumbered whites. Slaves were seen as a potential threat to the white population.⁴ The impact of the Haitian revolution on the white population of Brazil was so great that as late as the 1830s people still used the term "Haitianismo" when referring to social

² Karasch. Slave Life, p. XXI.

³ Franklin Knight. The Caribbean. The Genesis of a Fragmented Nationalism (New York, 1990), p. 213.

⁴ Jornal do Brasil. (Rio de Janeiro). 3 de janeiro de 1997.

disruption or political uprisings. For instance, the newspaper O Jurujuba dos Farroupilhas used the term frequently in its issue of September 12, 1831, when commenting on the political instability of the period after Dom Pedro's abdication.⁵ The Bahian slave rebellion of 1835 reinforced this fear by clearly revealing the threat under which Brazilian whites were living. This revolt involved some 500 slaves, claimed the lives of around 70 people, and brought chaos to the streets of Salvador, the former capital of colonial Brazil.⁶

The situation in Rio de Janeiro was especially precarious for whites, since this city held the largest concentration of slaves in the Americas. The slave population in Rio in the 1820s comprised between 46,000 and 56,000 individuals.⁷ In the 1840s, the enslaved population reached a total of 78,855, constituting 38 percent of the total population of Rio. When the numbers of freed blacks are taken into consideration, the percentage of black people in the city increased to almost 50 percent.⁸

Fear of blacks was constant among Rio's population. A doctoral thesis written in 1996 by Maria Fernando Bicalho, O Rio de Janeiro do Século 18: Uma Cidade Sitiada shows that throughout

⁵ O Jurujuba dos Farroupilhas. (Rio de Janeiro). 12 de setembro de 1831.

⁶ João José Reis. Rebelião Escrava no Brasil - a história do Levante dos Malês (1835) (São Paulo, 1986), pp. 107-108.

⁷ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 63.

⁸ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da População Existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Manuscrito I -17,11,1.

the eighteenth century, fear dominated the life of Rio's inhabitants who were caught between the menace of pirates from the sea and the threat of runaway slaves from the interior. Bicalho states that she found documents from several people requesting permission for weapons in order to defend themselves from runaway slaves who were hidden in the surrounding woodlands of the city.⁹ In the first half of the nineteenth century, this fear was extended to include all slaves, even those working in the houses of the city who were in close contact with the white masters. For instance, in late 1835 and early 1836, there was the threat of a general slave rebellion in Rio. Mary Robinson Hunter wrote on December 23, 1835, that:

The Negroes of some Brazilian families had been bribed to admit others into the house at night, which was to be the watchword for a general massacre and extermination of the whites. These reports alarm me very much.

She continued that rumours had reached Rio of an insurrection that was being planned for Christmas Day in 1835. She heard that slaves based near the city "were to march down to the city, secure both arsenals and murder all the whites".¹⁰ No real uprising occurred in Rio at this time, yet these rumours were one more example of the apprehension under which the whites of the city continued to live. In 1836 the Justice of the Peace, Luis da Costa Franco e Almeida,

⁹ An interview with the author of this thesis appeared in the Jornal do Brasil. 3 de janeiro de 1997.

¹⁰ Evelyn M. Cherpak. "A Diplomat's lady in Brazil: Selections from the Diary of Mary Robinson Hunter, 1834-1848," Revista Interamericana de Bibliografía/Interamerican Review of Bibliography, XLII, 4 (1992), p. 629.

stated that there was a "state of terror" in Brazil as a result of the threat of slave rebellions, and he called for close vigilance of all slaves.¹¹ In 1848, the Minister of Justice, Pimento Bueno Coutinho, commented that slaves in Rio had acquired knowledge of slave resistance from other areas of Brazil.¹²

It was not only organized slave resistance that preoccupied the whites of Rio. It seems that tension existed in the everyday life of the city. Reports of fights between blacks and whites were frequent in Rio. Blacks reacted to their oppressive social conditions by attacking Portuguese immigrants, representatives of the police forces, and other whites.¹³

The whites in Rio de Janeiro were also concerned by the fact that the Brazilian army was composed of a large number of freed blacks.¹⁴ This fact raised doubts among the white inhabitants of Brazil as to whether they could count on the army for protection in case of possible black rebellion. In 1836, Mary Robinson Hunter indicated this anxiety, writing:

¹¹ Holloway. *Policing Rio de Janeiro*, p. 121.

¹² Dale T. Graden. " 'An Act of Public Security': Slave Resistance, Social Tension, and the End of the International Slave Trade to Brazil, 1835-1856," Hispanic America Historical Review, 76, 2 (1996), p. 271.

¹³ Gladys Sabina Ribeiro. " 'Brasileiros Vamos a Eles!' : Identidade Nacional e Controle Social no Primeiro Reinado," Ler História, 27/28 (1995), p. 114.

¹⁴ Prado Júnior. História Econômica do Brasil, p. 185.

Mrs. Hutton had invited our family to their counting room to see the procession of the corpus Christi...A great number of military followed and I felt comforted to see so many as in case of a rising of the Negroes we should have to depend on them for our safety, though this was abated by observing that every third man among the troops was a full blooded Negro.¹⁵

Yet, although the whites of the city feared the black population, they made little effort to halt the flow of enslaved Africans to Brazil. The group that brought about Brazil's independence did not intend to put an end to slavery in Brazil. The landed elite of Rio was particularly interested in acquiring more slave labour in order to service the development of the coffee export economy. The ruling and commercial elite also relied on slaves to carry out low-status urban work. Indeed, slaves were involved in many aspects of Rio's economy, such as the cultivation and harvesting of coffee in the interior of the state, coffee transportation to the city (in order for it to be shipped abroad), working in the streets where they sold all types of commodities, and engaging in every level of domestic work.

Thus, the groups profiting from slave labour were not prepared to abolish slavery. Consequently, when Dom Pedro agreed to end the slave trade in exchange for British recognition of Brazil's independence, opposition from these groups was intense. The abolition of the trade in 1830 was not taken seriously, even by most Brazilian politicians, and there was a general disrespect

¹⁵ Evelyn M. Cherpak. "Reminiscences of Brazilian Life, 1834-1848. Selections from the Diary of Mary Robinson Hunter," The Americas, XLIX, 1 (1992), pp. 72-73.

for the law. The trade continued to increase significantly¹⁶ in order to attend to the demand of the expanding coffee economy and to the urban development of Rio. Each day it was reported that more Africans were being disembarked on Brazilian beaches.¹⁷ The trade was such an important aspect of Rio's economy that, even though it was illegal after 1831, it continued to be tolerated and sometimes protected by many Brazilian authorities.¹⁸ They imposed no penalties on slave traders who continued to disembark groups of enslaved Africans on Rio's beaches. Nor did they persecute individuals who were prepared to buy slaves in opposition to the law of 1831 which stated that all Africans arriving in Brazil were free.¹⁹

Thus, the situation remained, with the elite desiring the abundant labour force which the institution of slavery could offer them, but unwilling to accept the Africans in Brazil as equals to the whites. The independence of the country was brought about by a small group of whites whose intentions were to free Brazil from the colonial limitations in terms of trade and administration, but who wanted to keep the social structure of the country intact.²⁰

¹⁶ Alan K. Manchester. British Preeminence in Brazil its rise and decline (New York, 1964), p. 225.

¹⁷ Aurora Fluminense. 10 de março de 1831.

¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 594, 2 de janeiro de 1837.

¹⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722, 27 de setembro de 1847.

²⁰ Da Costa. Da Monarquia à República, p. 52.

This group firmly opposed social change. A Brazilian politician, the deputy, Muniz Tavares, declared in 1823, "I feel a horror at the very mention of revolution", meaning social revolution.²¹ The Africans in Brazil were seen as a necessity for the empire but were not regarded as a group who should be granted political, social, or civil rights. The Constitution not only prohibited slaves from political participation - as it did with waged workers - it also made sure that the slaves were a group apart from the rest of society by not recognising them as Brazilian citizens.²²

Even the few people who called for the end of the slave trade did so not through humanitarian concerns but by pointing to the negative influence that blacks had on the country. For instance, the Aurora Fluminense published an article in November 1831 criticizing the slave traders for barbarising the country through their importation of enslaved Africans. According to the editor of the newspaper, his fellow countrymen "...continued in the vicious circle of working on one hand to civilise the nation and on another to barbarise it with the frequent dealings with these men, born and reared without civilisation and promptly transported to the most intimate places of our abodes, and put into close contact with our children, from their tender infancy..."²³

²¹ "Causa-me horror só o ouvir em revolução". Quoted in Da Costa. Da Monarquia à República, p. 73.

²² Prado Junior. Evolução Política do Brasil, p. 56.

²³ "...continuava no círculo vicioso de trabalhar por um lado para civilizar a nação e por outro para barbariza-la com o trato amidoado destes homens nascidos e criados na bruteza e transportados logo para o mais íntimo de nossas habitações, postos em contato próximo com os nossos filhos desde a sua tenra infância..." Aurora Fluminense. 30 de novembro de 1831.

Thus, the Brazilian elite was not entirely happy with the presence of large numbers of blacks in the empire. For this reason, they welcomed European immigration as it added substantially to the numbers of whites in the country.

THE ELITE AND EUROPEAN IMMIGRANTS

The Brazilian rulers in the first half of the nineteenth century wanted to stimulate European immigration to offset the large presence of blacks in Brazil. In 1822 Dom Pedro I declared that European immigrants were going to be accepted and protected in Brazil - a country which he considered to be rich and welcoming.²⁴ In 1827, he again acknowledged the fact that Brazil needed to promote the immigration of Europeans.²⁵ In the 1840s, the government of Dom Pedro II was also committed to bringing more Europeans into the country.²⁶ In 1841, the Brazilian Minister of the Empire, Candido José de Araújo Viana, commented on the necessity for substituting African workers with Europeans.²⁷ In 1845, the newspaper A Tribuna published an article stating that one of the most important necessities of Brazil was the

²⁴ Cybelle de Ipanema. Dom Pedro I. Proclamações, Cartas e Artigos de Imprensa (Rio de Janeiro, 1973), p. 134.

²⁵ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 533. 18 de janeiro de 1827.

²⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 721. 7 de novembro de 1842.

²⁷ Arquivo Geral da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro. Imigração = Portaria do Ministério do Império. Códice 44-2-45.

immigration of Europeans.²⁸

The desire for white settlers was a direct consequence of the elite's racist approach to Africans. The liberal revolutionaries who produced Brazilian independence were in general elitists, racists, and slave owners.²⁹ The level of racism towards Africans is apparent in many statements of the period. In 1823 the Minister of the empire, José de Bonifácio e Silva, was probably the only member of the government who defended the end of the slave trade with conviction. During a dialogue with Charles Chamberlain, the British representative in Brazil, he stated:

I wish your cruisers would take every slave ship they fall in with at sea. I want to see no more of them, they are the gangrene of our prosperity. The population we want is a white one, and I soon hope to see arrive here from Europe in shoals the poor, the wretched, the industrious; here they will find plenty, with a fine climate; here they will be happy; such are the colonists we want.³⁰

The Brazilian Constitution of 1824 showed this same racist attitude, when it commented on the superiority and advantage of the work done by white people.³¹ The publisher of one of the most important of Rio's newspapers stated in 1834, "Our country is

²⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 721. 4 de abril de 1845.

²⁹ Da Costa. Da Monarquia à Republica. p. 27.

³⁰ Charles Kingsley Webster (ed.). Britain and the Independence of Latin America, 1812-1830. Selected Documents from the Foreign Office Archives (Oxford, 1938), p. 222.

³¹ Luís Demoro. Coordenação de Leis de Imigração e Colonização do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1960), p. 32.

inundated by a rude and stupid race, the number of whom already existing ought to cost us".³² Two months later he stated his clear preference for white colonists and the need for Brazil to invite settlers from Europe to come to Brazil.³³

In 1837, Frederico Leopold Cezar Burlamaque wrote a book on the slave trade and on the negative aspects of domestic slavery. In it he supported the end of slavery in Brazil, the buying of a colony by Brazil in Africa so that all blacks in the country could be sent to Africa after the abolition of slavery, and an increase in European immigration. He added:

Don't think that, by proposing the abolition of slavery, my vote is to keep the freed race in this country: This would not be convenient in any way to the dominant race, nor even to the dominated race.³⁴

He defended the arrival of Europeans on the grounds that, in his opinion, the slaves were unfit for any work demanding intelligence:

All the slaves together, utilizing all the intelligence and dexterity with which they are capable, would not be able to manufacture a good pin.³⁵

In the second half of the nineteenth century, the preference

³² Aurora Fluminense. 10 de março de 1834.

³³ Aurora Fluminense. 14 de maio de 1834.

³⁴ Frederico Leopold Cezar Burlamaque. Memória Analítica Acerca do Comércio de Escravos e Acerca dos Males da Escravidão Doméstica (Rio de Janeiro, 1837), p. 94.

³⁵ Burlamaque. Memória Analítica, p. 141.

for white immigrants began to take a more organized form. The "Sociedade Central da Imigração", created in the early 1880s, had the specific objective of bringing Europeans to Brazil. It believed that even though Africans and Orientals were superior to the European as an agricultural labour force, Europeans were more intelligent than the Orientals who in turn were more intelligent than the African.³⁶

By the end of the nineteenth century, the preference for white settlers was also clearly acknowledged by the government. A decree in 1890 declared that the country welcomed all healthy and able-bodied immigrants who were not subject to any criminal persecution in their own countries. However, it excepted "natives of Asia or Africa, who can be admitted only by authorisation of the National Congress and in accordance with the stipulated conditions".³⁷

This desire of the government to stimulate European migration to Brazil is also evident in the special programmes which were utilized to sponsor the entry of more white immigrants into the country. For example, the recruitment of Irish and German mercenaries for the Brazilian army in the early 1820s was an attempt to solve two problems at once: to enlarge the meagre Brazilian army and simultaneously to increase the white population of the country. German and Irish families were brought to Brazil and given a plot of land on the condition that the adult males

³⁶ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Códice 807 - Volume 11. Memórias Diversas. 1 de novembro de 1883.

³⁷ Thomas Skidmore. Black into White. Race and Nationality in Brazilian Thought (New York, 1974), p. 137.

serve in the Brazilian army for a period of about eight years.³⁸

Other European families were also brought to Brazil on different occasions and granted plots of land in empty or border areas of the empire, as a way to assert and guarantee sovereignty over regions under dispute with neighbouring countries. From 1824 to 1826, more than 2,000 Germans were brought to Brazil specifically to found a settlement in the southern area of the country - São Leopoldo.³⁹ In addition, Portuguese from the Azores and Madeira were brought to Brazil from the eighteenth century in order to settle the area of Santa Catarina. From July 1836 to March 1838 there were 2,112 "colonos" (the name given to immigrants who were sponsored by the government) registered in Rio de Janeiro who were - after their arrival from Europe - relocated to specific areas of the empire. The majority of these were Germans and Portuguese.⁴⁰

In the 1840s, the Brazilian government was still interested in bringing white immigrants to Brazil. At this time, as a result of the imminent end of the slave trade, there was greater interest in bringing over people who could be hired as agricultural workers on the large plantations, than in sponsoring "colonos". For instance, the government ceased its practice of offering land to

³⁸ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 162.

³⁹ Carlos H. Hunsche. O Biênio 1824/1825 da Imigração e Colonização Alemã no Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre, 1975). Carlos H. Hunsche. O Ano de 1826 da Imigração e Colonização Alemã no Rio Grande do Sul (Porto Alegre, 1977).

⁴⁰ Biblioteca Nacional. Estatística do Depósito da Sociedade Promotora de Colonização do Rio de Janeiro. Inscrição de Colonos desde julho de 1836 até 31 de março de 1838.

any immigrant wishing to settle in rural areas. The intention of the government was to develop a system of sharecropping in which the newcomers would be allowed to sow a piece of land within a large plantation as long as they provided a labour force for the same plantation.⁴¹ This system prevailed during the rest of the nineteenth century as the abolition of the slave trade became a fact in 1850.⁴²

THE ELITE AND PORTUGUESE IMMIGRANTS

Despite the various governments' attempts to bring Germans, Irish, and Swiss immigrants among other Europeans to Brazil, the numbers of these settlers continued to be modest throughout the first half of the nineteenth century. During this period, the only Europeans arriving in Brazil in significant numbers were the Portuguese. They comprised 80 percent of the total registered immigrants in Rio de Janeiro in the late 1820s, 1830s, and early 1840s.⁴³ Non-quantitative sources also point to this preponderance of the Portuguese within the immigrant communities in Brazil.⁴⁴ The Portuguese-born emperor, Dom Pedro I, was especially interested in bringing Portuguese immigrants to Brazil. In 1827, he stated that these were the most suitable immigrants for Brazil, owing to the

⁴¹ O Echo do Rio. (Rio de Janeiro). 12 de agosto e 2 de setembro de 1843.

⁴² See Holloway. Immigrants on the Land, pp. 70-73.

⁴³ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, Volumes 1 to 16.

⁴⁴ Aurora Fluminense. 9 de maio de 1834.

fact that they shared a common language and customs with Brazilians.⁴⁵ Furthermore, after Dom Pedro's abdication, that was marked by outbursts of animosity towards the Portuguese, these immigrants still continued to be welcomed by Brazil's ruling class. In 1842, the Portuguese Representative in Rio wrote to his government that the Brazilian government was interested in promoting immigration of people from Portugal.⁴⁶

The Brazilian elite not only accepted the immigration of Portuguese into Brazil but they also disapproved of the popular manifestations of xenophobia towards these immigrants. Indeed, the only time the Brazilian elite supported public demonstrations against the Portuguese was in the months prior to Dom Pedro's abdication on April 7, 1831.⁴⁷ On this occasion, their support served mostly as a means of opposing Dom Pedro's government, which had become unpopular with the elite for a multitude of reasons. They objected to Dom Pedro's absolutist tendencies, his increasing involvement in Portuguese affairs, and his acquiescence to Great Britain's demands to end the Brazilian slave trade. As soon as the emperor resigned, the members of the Brazilian elite took control of the country and put a halt to the public manifestations of animosity towards the Portuguese.

The Brazilian elite had specific reasons to approve of the immigration of Portuguese and to protect the interests of these

⁴⁵ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 533. 18 de janeiro de 1827.

⁴⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. novembro de 1842.

⁴⁷ See Chapter VI.

people in Brazil. First of all, it is important to point out that the immigrants did not threaten the position of the Brazilian ruling elite. The 1824 Constitution guaranteed that the majority of the immigrants in Brazil would have no chance of involving themselves in the running of the nation. The Constitution stated that people who earned less than the value of 150 "alqueires" of manioc flour were unable to vote or to run for political office.⁴⁸ In this way the Constitution excluded from political participation most clerks, domestic workers, and other skilled labourers, which covered the vast majority of the Portuguese in Brazil.

The Brazilian government was interested not only in promoting immigration but also in having a peaceful and stable relationship with the Portuguese already living in Brazil. In the period after Dom Pedro's abdication, there was a significant wave of animosity towards the Portuguese in Brazil.⁴⁹ Yet, on the day of his abdication, during an extraordinary Assembly, the new rulers of the country expressed the desire to ease the fears of the Portuguese living in Brazil. One of the Assembly members, Odorico Mendes, voiced very clearly the wishes of the elite for a reconciliation with the Portuguese in Brazil:

⁴⁸ Prado Júnior. Evolução Política do Brasil, p. 56.

⁴⁹ See Chapter VI.

As soon as possible, we should proclaim, so as to still the fears of our adoptive brothers, who have convinced themselves that we are armed against them. On the contrary, we love them, and we should love them; how could it be possible to go against people who are linked to us by blood, people who are married to our sisters and relatives, and who are fathers to many of our countrymen? ⁵⁰

A few days later, the Assembly had a manifesto prepared in which it declared that all Portuguese-born people in Brazil were going to be respected and protected by the government. The manifesto declared to the Portuguese-born citizens:

Be certain that your tranquillity, persons, and property, all will be respected, as long as you obey the laws of the Magnanimous Nation to which you belong. Brazilians abhor tyranny, have a horror of the yoke of oppression by foreign interests, but, it is not their intent to make heavy the iron hand over the vanquished, to take advantage of the victory in order to satisfy rancorous passions.⁵¹

Four years later, on March 28, 1837, the newspaper A Mulher do Simplicio ou A Fluminense Exaltada published some verses in which the desire for conciliation between Brazilians and the Portuguese-born population was also expressed:

⁵⁰ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 9 de abril de 1831.

⁵¹ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 11 de abril de 1831.

Para haver nacionalismo
(Isto hei dito muitas vezes),
Nao é preciso verter-se
o sangue dos Portugueses;

... Se o Rio tem conhecido
O que melhor lhe conveém
Si com a gente que o povoa
Tem-se dado muito bem;

Para que suscitar pois
Rivalidade Odiosa?...

[In order to have nationalism
(this I have said many times)
It's not necessary to shed
The blood of the Portuguese;

...If Rio has known
What is better for itself
If with the people that populate it
It has done very well;

For what reason engender then
Odious rivalry?...]⁵²

Portuguese immigrants continued to be accepted throughout the nineteenth century as the elite's desire to increase the white population of Brazil continued.

CONCLUSION

The Brazilian elite's desire to increase the number of Europeans in the country facilitated the immigration of people who wanted to take advantage of Brazil's economic growth. In the case of the Portuguese, they were widely accepted by the elite owing to

⁵² A Mulher do Simplicio ou A Fluminense Exaltada. (Rio de Janeiro). 28 de março de 1837.

the fact that they were the only Europeans arriving in Brazil in significant numbers. Throughout the nineteenth century, Germans, Swiss, and Italians, amongst other Europeans, were sponsored in order to migrate to Brazil. Yet, the Portuguese did not need sponsorship. They migrated spontaneously, and, without knowing it, they helped in the whitening process of the Brazilian population.

Still, the number of white immigrants was small in comparison to the number of Africans brought to Brazil during the slave trade. After its abolition in 1850, more Europeans arrived, especially in the southeast region, increasing the population of white people. Yet, the Brazilian elite was unable to erase the African presence in Brazil so that today descendents of the former African slaves continue to make up a large part of the population of the country.

VI. ANTI-FOREIGN RESPONSES

INTRODUCTION

Despite the elite's conciliatory approach towards the Portuguese and their desire for white immigrants, the general population of Brazil was less accommodating to foreigners. On several occasions from 1825 to 1850, the foreign community in Rio de Janeiro faced the animosity of the Brazilian-born population. For example, in the first half of the nineteenth century Brazilians reacted negatively to British imperialist gestures. Soon after Brazilian independence, the British obtained firm control over Brazil's international trade.¹ British supremacy over Brazil's international commerce, the predominance of English goods in Brazil, and the intense British pressure to end the Brazilian slave trade gave rise to anti-British feelings that became apparent at this time.² Anti-British sentiment erupted in 1839 as Brazilians attacked members of the British navy in Rio de Janeiro, after the capture of a Brazilian vessel and the subsequent shooting of a Brazilian man by a British officer.³

Rio's population also reacted negatively to individual foreigners who did not necessarily originate from a perceived imperialistic nation, but who were, in some ways, interfering in

¹ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, p. 34.

² Da Costa. Da Senzala a Colônia, p. 21.

³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. 6 de maio de 1839. Livro 720.

the daily life of the inhabitants of the city. This was the case of Irish and German mercenaries who were brought to Brazil by Dom Pedro I in 1828 in order to serve in the Brazilian army. The Brazilians were upset because the foreigners were assigned to elite regiments and received better salaries than the Brazilians. The population of Rio was so resentful of the mercenaries that even though the control of the capital depended on these foreign troops it was feared that "any use of them would cause an explosion".⁴

While Brazilian animosity was directed towards all foreigners who seemed to jeopardise the sovereignty of the Brazilian empire, the Portuguese were the ones who suffered the most. In 1826, a Ministry of Justice report stated that the strained relationship between Brazilians and Portuguese in Brazil created all kinds of conflicts throughout the country.⁵ In March 1836, Joaquim Antonio Magalhães wrote to the Marques de Loulé that Brazilians held a "natural antipathy" towards the Portuguese.⁶

The anti-foreign demonstrations of the nineteenth century were part of a nationalism which was prevalent in Brazil at the time. This nationalism originated in the desire of Brazilians to maintain political and economic control of the country in their own hands. In this context, the Portuguese became a particular

⁴ Roderick J. Barman. Brazil - The Forging of a Nation, 1798-1852 (Stanford, 1988), p. 150.

⁵ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Brasil - Ministério da Justiça (Relatórios, 1826). Microfilme, rolo 004.0.82.

⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. 20 de março de 1836. Livro 718.

target. The reasons for the antipathy of the Brazilian-born population towards Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro between 1822 and 1850 had their roots in the initial political control of the country by the unpopular Portuguese-born emperor, Pedro I; the Brazilian fear of a restoration of Portuguese rule in Brazil; the continuing Portuguese dominance of Rio's retail commerce; and the large numbers of Portuguese immigrants arriving from the mother country.

ANIMOSITY TOWARDS FOREIGNERS

Brazilian animosity towards foreigners in Rio de Janeiro arising from nationalistic feelings was evident shortly after independence. Foreign mercenaries were a particular target in 1828. The conflict with foreign mercenaries can be traced to the immigration programme Dom Pedro initiated in 1822. This was designed to acquire recruits for the new Brazilian army. The immigration was particularly evident at the time of the Uruguayan war, when several thousand foreigners - mostly Irish and Germans - served in the Brazilian army. The imperial government paid their passage in exchange for a period of service of approximately eight years in the imperial armed forces. After that period the immigrants were to receive land grants in Brazil.⁷

However, even though this idea seemed a perfect solution for the young empire, as it could provide not only soldiers but also immigrants, it lasted for only a few years. Tension between the foreign mercenaries and the Brazilian population soon developed in

⁷ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 162.

response to a number of reasons. First, the war to retain Uruguay in the Brazilian empire was not a popular one. In addition, the mercenaries came to Brazil under a policy of the government of the unpopular Dom Pedro I. Moreover, the foreigners were placed in elite regiments and were better paid than their Brazilian counterparts.⁸ Finally, it appears that the Irish and the Germans acquired a reputation for arrogance and for racist displays towards the Brazilians.⁹

The hostility was particularly evident in Rio de Janeiro where most of the mercenaries were located. The newspapers of the time presented a negative image of the mercenaries. In May 1828 an article in the Aurora Fluminense described the mercenaries as rowdy and rebellious and charged that the only possible outcome from the recruitment of foreigners was an increase in the criminal population of the city.¹⁰ In June 1828 there was street violence involving the Brazilian population and German and Irish mercenaries. Even though the riot was initiated by the mercenaries - who mutinied against the tough discipline imposed on them - Brazilians, who were already irritated with the mercenaries and the system which had brought them to Brazil, took the opportunity to attack them. The Aurora Fluminense wrote that "white, mulatto, and black men" united on June 11 in order to fight the mercenaries in the streets of Rio. The confrontation was violent as the Irish and the Germans armed with rifles and bayonets went through the

⁸ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, pp. 162 and 166.

⁹ Holloway, "A Healthy Terror," p. 648.

¹⁰ Aurora Fluminense. 19 de maio de 1828.

streets of downtown Rio sacking stores, attacking people, and killing some of them. It was only during the night of the 11th that the army finally arrived and, eventually, on the morning of the 12th, the mercenaries were brought under control. The results of the riots were the deaths of one hundred people on both sides,¹¹ the return of the rebellious troops to Europe, and the end of the mercenary programme.

On June 16, the Aurora Fluminense published an article declaring that it was a shame that the nation had brought from Ireland and Germany their "own enemies" and that the often despised and mocked Brazilian people were the ones who had saved the city from the "German and Irish invasion". It continued that the citizens of Rio de Janeiro had never approved the hiring of foreigners for the Brazilian army, and these mercenaries were a "germ of division and discord" within the city.¹²

Scholars have interpreted the reasons for the 1828 riots differently. Bushnell and Macaulay, for example, have explained this event as a response by the foreigners to the harassment of the Brazilian population. They write: "The native population was incited to acts of violence against the German and Irish soldiers and their families and the foreigners replied in kind." They continue that "hundreds of Germans and Irish went on a rampage in Rio, assaulting and killing scores of their tormentors, looting and destroying their property".¹³ Thomas Holloway has

¹¹ Aurora Fluminense. 26 de junho de 1828.

¹² Aurora Fluminense. 19 de maio and 16 de junho de 1828.

¹³ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 163.

presented a different view of the event, stating that it was because of the foreigners' arrogant attitude that almost all sectors of Rio's population went into the streets to fight the mercenaries.¹⁴

It is difficult to ascertain who ignited the animosity between two groups. Both were irritated with the system that had brought the mercenaries to Brazil. The latter were angry owing to the strict discipline under which they had to serve. The Brazilians were resentful of the better salaries the foreigners received. When the mercenaries rioted, the Brazilians took the opportunity to express their anger towards the symbols of a system they considered unfair.

In 1839 another major anti-foreign reaction erupted in Rio de Janeiro, this time involving members of the British navy and several inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro who were antagonised by the strong British influence in Brazil.¹⁵ British interests in Brazil had become very significant after the 1810 treaty between Britain and Portugal gave special trade rights to Great Britain. After the Brazilian declaration of independence in 1822, the British were not prepared to let go of what they had achieved, as Brazil had become the most important market for British goods in Latin America. In 1825, British exports to Brazil totalled almost half of the value of goods sent to the United States and almost as much as the amount exported to the British West Indies. In Latin America, Brazil absorbed almost half of the

¹⁴ Holloway. "A Healthy Terror," p. 648.

¹⁵ Martinho and Gorenstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros na Sociedade da Independência, p. 140.

value of merchandise sent to the entire continent.¹⁶

In order to maintain its position, the British government promised to recognise the young nation and to help Brazil gain its acceptance as an independent country from Portugal. But it sought to protect its advantages through two treaties which were signed and ratified by the two countries in late 1825 and early 1826. Under these agreements, the government of Dom Pedro had to consent to a commercial treaty, which was a reenactment of the previous treaty signed with Portugal in 1810. As a result, the British continued to receive a favourable import duty of fifteen percent on British goods.¹⁷ Also, Dom Pedro had to agree to end the Brazilian slave trade within three years after 1827. Article I of the treaty stated:

At the expiration of three years to be reckoned from the exchange of the ratifications of the present Treaty, it shall not be lawful for the subjects of the Emperor of Brasil to be concerned in the carrying on of the African Slave Trade, under any pretext, or in any manner whatever; and the carrying on of such Trade after that period, by any person subject of His Imperial Majesty, shall be deemed and treated as Piracy.¹⁸

After that period the "British navy would have the right of high-seas search and seizure of any Brazilian-flag vessels

¹⁶ Manchester. British Preeminence in Brazil, p. 207.

¹⁷ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 166.

¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 312. 23 de novembro de 1826.

suspected of slaving".¹⁹ The British navy, then, had the right to seize Brazilian vessels carrying slaves in any latitude north or south of the equator, and send them for judgment by one of the two Anglo-Brazilian mixed courts that were to be established in British territory in Africa (Freetown, Sierra Leone) and in Brazil (Rio de Janeiro).²⁰

The Brazilian population reacted negatively to the two treaties. Already many people considered British influence in Brazil as excessive. With regard to the slave trade, Brazilians saw the suppression of the trade as having the same meaning as subordination to England.²¹ In economic terms, inhabitants of Brazil believed that Great Britain was the only nation that benefited from the economic ties established between that country and Brazil.²² For instance, the Portuguese merchant and consul in Rio de Janeiro wrote in 1826: "The Treaty which the Empire of Brazil has celebrated with England (...) will cause the greatest retardation of progress and disfavour to Brazil because it establishes reciprocity in words only but not in practice..."²³

Distrust of the British continued to build in the 1830s. In August 1836, the English Admiral, Graham Eden Hamond, wrote in his

¹⁹ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 161.

²⁰ Leslie Bethell. "Britain, Portugal, and the Suppression of the Brazilian Slave Trade: the origins of Lord Palmerston's Act of 1839." The English Historical Review. 80 (1965), pp. 763-766.

²¹ Manchester. British Preeminence in Brazil, p. 221.

²² Da Costa. Da Senzala a Colônia, p. 21.

²³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 535. 20 de abril de 1826.

diary that in Brazil there was growing rancour towards England.²⁴ The slave trade issue received the most criticism. The intense British repression of the slave trade turned public opinion against the British for their interference in Brazilian affairs.²⁵ In 1837 the Brazilian minister of justice and empire, Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, declared in a public speech: "Let the English carry into execution this treaty which they have forced upon us by abusing their superior power, but to expect that we should co-operate with the English in these speculations gilded with the name of humanity is unreasonable".²⁶ Brazilian officials felt little or no social obligation to defend and support a law which most believed was designed primarily for the benefit of Great Britain.²⁷

In the 1830s, the British navy represented the only serious threat in Brazil to the continuation of the slave trade. It was the British navy, rather than the Brazilian one, which policed the sea in search of vessels suspected of trafficking in slaves.²⁸ The Brazilian government ignored the prohibition of trading slaves

²⁴ "... o rancor que se esta criando neste país contra a Inglaterra (...) O melhor que o nosso governo poderia fazer era dar a esses sujeitos uma boa surra e tomar posse de tres ou quatro das suas ilhas principais ..." Paulo Geyer. Os Diarios do Almirante Graham Edem Hamond, 1825 - 1834/38. (Rio de Janeiro, 1984) p. 130.

²⁵ Prado Junior. História Econômica do Brasil, p. 151.

²⁶ Quoted in Leslie Bethell. The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade (Cambridge, 1970), p. 84.

²⁷ Robert Edgar Conrad. World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil (Baton Rouge, 1986), p. 107.

²⁸ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 182.

and, thus, the slave traders pursued their activities quite openly.²⁹ Britain's representatives in Brazil reported with increasing irritation that instead of prohibiting the trade the Brazilian government was protecting it.³⁰ The fact that it was the unpopular emperor, Dom Pedro I, who had signed the treaty also did not help the Brazilians to accept it. Moreover, the end of the slave trade was considered virtually unfeasible by many Brazilians because of the growing demand for labour in the developing coffee economy in the first half of the century.

During this period of British political pressure on Brazil, disturbances involving local residents occurred in Rio. In January 1838 a group of about forty, drunken, English-speaking sailors marched along Misericórdia Street and the adjoining roads physically assaulting many individuals, for no apparent reason.³¹ In the following year Rio's inhabitants vented their hostility towards members of the British navy. The reaction followed the seizure of a Brazilian vessel, the "Ganges", which was accused of being involved in the slave trade. On April 21, the day after the arrest of the ship, a Brazilian man who was on board the "Ganges" was shot by an English officer. The incident was described by the Portuguese representative in Brazil, Figariere Morão, on April 20. He wrote that the British navy captured the Brazilian vessel "Ganges" with Africans on board. However, when the captain of the ship was taken to Rio in order to be tried by the

²⁹ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 168.

³⁰ Bethell. The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, p. 88.

³¹ Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 128.

Brazilian-British mixed court, some inhabitants of the city helped him to escape and assaulted some British officers, both verbally and with stones. On the following day, the tension continued. The "Ganges" was kept anchored close to Rio's port, with all of the Africans still on board. At night a Brazilian steamship coming from the island of Paquetá³² carrying men and women who had spent the day, a Sunday, on the island approached the "Ganges". Suspecting a possible attempt to unload the Africans, a British vessel advanced on the steamship. Fearing that something was about to happen, an English officer on the "Ganges" fired towards the steamship, killing a Brazilian man.³³

The Brazilian reaction was quick and forceful. The incident was considered a question of Brazilian national honour.³⁴ The Brazilian foreign minister on April 22 asked the British representative in Rio, Mr. Gore Ouseley, to punish all the officers responsible for the incident. He added that this scandalous act, after so many others involving British warships in Rio, was creating indignation amongst the population of the city.³⁵ Disorders continued until the funeral of the Brazilian victim³⁶,

³² Paquetá island since the nineteenth century has been a common vacation spot for the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro because of its proximity to the city and its natural beauty.

³³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 720. 6 de maio de 1839.

³⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 720. 24 de abril de 1839.

³⁵ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 25 de abril de 1839.

³⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 720. 6 de maio de 1839.

João Soares Bulhões, who was said to have been an innocent man returning from a Sunday ride to Paquetá Island together with his wife.³⁷ The Diario do Rio de Janeiro stated that Mr. Bulhões was a victim of the brutality and petulance of the English and concluded that "we hope that those who have been mocking our patience have learned that it is not always possible to offend the honour and the dignity of the Brazilian nation with impunity."³⁸

It is unclear whether the British officers involved in the incident were punished for the death of Mr. Bulhões. What is known is that anti-British feeling continued to have an impact on nineteenth-century relations between Brazil and Great Britain. As a result, by 1845 the commercial treaty granting special favours to English goods was revoked and the agreement to end the slave trade annulled.³⁹

ANIMOSITY TOWARDS THE PORTUGUESE

Amongst the foreign groups in Brazil, the Portuguese were the target of the most animosity as a result mainly of their large numbers in the immigrant community of Rio and the anti-Portuguese nationalism that developed during Brazil's independence process. During the entire nineteenth century, incidents between Brazilians and Portuguese immigrants were reported in Rio de Janeiro as well as in other parts of Brazil. João José Reis writes that, in the

³⁷ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 25 de abril de 1839.

³⁸ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 25 de abril de 1839.

³⁹ Manchester. British Preeminence in Brazil, p. 221.

early 1830s "anti-Portuguese sentiment permeated Bahia".⁴⁰ In 1834, in the small town of Arraial do Pilar in the state of Mato Grosso, Portuguese-born inhabitants were attacked during riots provoked by Brazilians who believed that local Portuguese were stock-piling weapons to bring about a possible restoration of Portuguese rule over Brazil. The unrest resulted in the deaths of thirty Portuguese and two Brazilians.⁴¹ During that same decade, Pará also experienced anti-Portuguese demonstrations.⁴² In the late 1840s new waves of xenophobia broke out in Brazil with Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro experiencing violent riots directed against the Portuguese-born population.⁴³ By the end of the century, xenophobic manifestations were still being reported. In the 1890s riots against Portuguese immigrants occurred once again in the streets of Rio de Janeiro.⁴⁴

Animosity towards the Portuguese was a direct consequence of the Brazilian struggle to create a new nation. The historical developments during the first decades after independence illustrated that gaining political sovereignty did not necessarily

⁴⁰ João José Reis. Slave Rebellion in Brazil (Baltimore, 1993), p. 23.

⁴¹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Brasil - Ministério da Justiça (Relatórios, 1835). Microfilme, rolo 004.0.82.

⁴² Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Brasil - Ministério da Justiça (Relatórios, 1835). Microfilme, rolo 004.0.82.

⁴³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 202. 1 de dezembro de 1848.

⁴⁴ Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos," pp. 125-154.

create nationhood.⁴⁵ From the declaration of independence in 1822 to the first years of the government of Dom Pedro II in the 1840s, the young nation suffered severe threats to its unity as several movements for independence developed in different parts of Brazil. In 1822, when Dom Pedro I declared Brazil's independence from Portugal, no united Brazilian nation was formed. Regionalism predominated and interests varied. In order for Brazilians to succeed in imposing unity, there was a need to create some sort of national identity once independence was secured.⁴⁶ Anti-Portuguese sentiments that had developed from the late colonial period served to unify Brazil and to create a national identity.⁴⁷

The attitude of Brazilians to the Portuguese was evident in the late 1820s. At this time, many sectors of the Brazilian population came together in their opposition to the government of the Portuguese-born emperor, Dom Pedro, and helped to precipitate his abdication in 1831. The popular movement which overthrew Dom Pedro involved a great deal of anti-Portuguese sentiment. Many Brazilian sectors united for the first time around a common issue: their hatred of Portuguese influence in their country.

Dom Pedro's increasing unpopularity can be traced to various factors. The war with Argentina that eventually ended with the creation of Uruguay was unpopular amongst the general Brazilian population as well as the elite. The latter group had no interest

⁴⁵ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 6.

⁴⁶ Brian R. Hamnett. "Process and Pattern: A Re-examination of the Ibero-American Independence Movements, 1808-1826," Journal of Latin American Studies, 29, 2 (1997), p. 279.

⁴⁷ See Introduction, section on Nationalism.

in Uruguay since no tropical agriculture could be developed there. The landless people realised that they had nothing to gain from the conflict. In 1828, after three years of conflict, the two countries compromised to give independence to Uruguay and to end the war. All the time and money spent on the war had achieved nothing. Another matter which alienated especially the landed elite was the agreement with Britain to end the Brazilian slave trade in 1830. Criticism of Dom Pedro's government also increased because of his continuing involvement in Portuguese politics after the death of his father in 1826 and during the Portuguese civil war of 1828-1831.⁴⁸ As a consequence, "anti-Portuguese sentiment, long simmering, began to boil."⁴⁹

In 1831, the antagonism between Brazilians and Portuguese exploded as a result of popular opposition to Dom Pedro I.⁵⁰ The Portuguese who supported Dom Pedro's government and groups of Brazilians who were opposed to it began insulting each other in their daily activities in Rio. On March 11 and 12, Portuguese-born inhabitants of the city organized street festivities in support of the Emperor, a celebration in which most Brazilians refused to take part. On the night of March 13 a group of Brazilians appeared

⁴⁸ Macaulay. Dom Pedro, p. 229.

⁴⁹ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 167.

⁵⁰ It is not the intention of this chapter to discuss in particular the politics of the abdication process; however a brief review of some points will take place in order to highlight events relevant to understanding xenophobia at this time. The events that led to D. Pedro's abdication have been examined in detail by many historians. See for example, Macaulay. Dom Pedro. The Struggle for Liberty in Brazil and Portugal. Barman. Brazil - The Emerging of a Nation, and Burns. A History of Brazil.

on the scene, provoking the Portuguese. What followed was a night of rioting between the two groups in the streets of downtown Rio. "The Portuguese struck back at the provocateurs with sticks, stones and bottles and quickly routed their adversaries, severely beating many of them."⁵¹

The Brazilian reaction to this episode, which became known as the "Night of the Bottle Blows" (Noite das Garrafadas), was immediate. On March 17, the newspaper Astrea published an article declaring that the Brazilian government was not Brazilian but Portuguese. It also accused the government of doing nothing about the Portuguese who had attacked the Brazilians on the night of March 13. It concluded by charging that the enormous immigration from Portugal was designed to enlarge that "multidão sanguinária" (bloodthirsty mass) who had been causing disturbances throughout Rio.⁵² On March 22, the newspaper, Diario do Rio de Janeiro, stated that the events of March 13 to 15 had been very painful for all Brazilians and that they had been perpetrated by ungrateful foreigners who did not respect the laws of the country.⁵³

Brazilian revenge came about a few weeks later. In early April the nationalists were back in the streets of Rio de Janeiro leading mass demonstrations against the Emperor and the Portuguese. Tension was apparent in most of the provinces of the

⁵¹ Macaulay. Dom Pedro, p. 246.

⁵² Astrea. (Rio de Janeiro). 17 de março de 1831.

⁵³ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 22 de março de 1831.

empire.⁵⁴ After the news of the "Night of the Bottle Blows" reached Bahia, anti-Portuguese riots occurred in the streets of Salvador. Brazilians severely beat many and killed a few Portuguese. They also sacked houses, inns, and stores owned by immigrants from Portugal.⁵⁵

In early April, opposition to Dom Pedro's government increased, as his intransigence doomed all efforts to resolve the crisis. Instead of negotiating with the opposition, Dom Pedro dismissed all of his ministers and replaced them with a cabinet composed of his most trusted advisers, two of whom were Portuguese.⁵⁶ Opposition leaders understood this act as the first step towards a coup d'état. Popular reaction was immediate. On the night of April 5, a crowd of around 4,000 people, including segments of the army and Dom Pedro's personal guard, gathered in downtown Rio to protest against his government and the Portuguese influence over it. Dom Pedro realised that "his position as monarch could be maintained only by embarking on a civil war".⁵⁷ As a result, on April 7, he abdicated in favour of his Brazilian-born son, the five-year-old Dom Pedro II. Dom Pedro I, his wife, and his court boarded a British warship and sailed a few days later to

⁵⁴ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Brasil - Ministério da Justiça Relatórios Ministeriais (1825-1853). Microfilme, rolo 004.0.82.

⁵⁵ Reis. Slave Rebellion in Bahia, pp. 25-26.

⁵⁶ Macaulay. Dom Pedro, p. 250.

⁵⁷ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 159.

Europe.⁵⁸

In his abdication statement, Dom Pedro directly referred to the anti-Portuguese feelings of the period:

I prefer to descend the throne with honour than to go on reigning as a sovereign who has been dishonored and degraded. Those born in Brazil no longer want me for the reason that I am Portuguese. I have been expecting this for a long time ... My son has the advantage over me of being Brazilian by birth. The Brazilians respect him. He will have no difficulty in governing, and the Constitution guarantees him his rights.⁵⁹

Dom Pedro's abdication has been understood as the final act in the Brazilian independence process. The Portuguese who occupied the main positions in the public administration were replaced by Brazilians. It was only after Dom Pedro's abdication that the control of the country was placed solely in Brazilian hands.⁶⁰

The newspapers of the time conveyed the view that Brazilian independence was finally achieved in 1831. The Diario do Rio de Janeiro claimed on April 9, 1831, that future generations would feel proud of the Brazilians who went into the streets to protest against Dom Pedro's government as they had been demanding the

⁵⁸ Bushnell and Macaulay. Latin America in the Nineteenth Century, p. 167.

⁵⁹ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, pp. 32-33.

⁶⁰ Hamilton de Matos Monteiro. "Da Independência à Vitória da Ordem," in Maria Ieda Linhares. História Geral do Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1990), p. 121.

genuine independence of Brazil.⁶¹ The same newspaper on April 11 boasted that Brazil's national existence had begun on April 7. It continued that Brazil would now not only be free but would also belong to Brazilians.⁶² On May 4, 1831, O Jornal do Comércio published the speech of the new government which stated that April 7 had marked the triumph of Brazilian independence and nationalism.⁶³

However, Dom Pedro's abdication did not end Brazilian animosity towards the Portuguese. After Dom Pedro's abdication disturbances, riots, fights, and assassinations took place in the streets of Rio, mostly involving Portuguese.⁶⁴ On July 8, 1831, the Portuguese consul wrote to his government that after Dom Pedro's abdication there had been several incidents between Portuguese and Brazilians, some of which had resulted in casualties.⁶⁵ In the month of June of that year he reported that a Portuguese immigrant in Rio de Janeiro had been murdered on Ouvidor Street, in downtown Rio, and that the crime had been more horrifying than any other because it had been motivated by hatred of his nationality and not of his person. The consul requested that the Portuguese government take energetic measures with the Brazilian government

⁶¹ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 9 de abril de 1831.

⁶² Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 11 de abril de 1831.

⁶³ Jornal do Comércio. (Rio de Janeiro). 4 de maio de 1831.

⁶⁴ Martinho e Gorenstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros na Sociedade da Independência, p. 113.

⁶⁵ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 183. 8 de julho de 1831.

in order to avoid other Portuguese citizens in Brazil being insulted, persecuted, and killed, purely for their having been born Portuguese.⁶⁶ On June 30 he wrote that two other Portuguese had been murdered in downtown Rio.⁶⁷

The police department had tried to control this instability. In June 1831 it passed some temporary measures that declared the instigation of hatred between Portuguese and Brazilians a crime subject to prison and fines.⁶⁸ Yet, subsequent events showed its limited effect. In May 1834, Joaquim Barrozo Pereira wrote to Agostinho José Ferreira, the Portuguese foreign minister, that the Portuguese in Brazil were living in fear and sorrow, as they were disliked by the Brazilian-born population and abused by them.⁶⁹

After April 7, 1831, the social climate in all of Brazil became considerably more nationalistic in character and, therefore, increasingly hostile to foreigners, mainly the Portuguese. In Rio de Janeiro and Salvador, in early April 1831, people demanded the deportation of Portuguese merchants and politically involved foreigners as well as the prohibition of Portuguese immigration for the next ten years.⁷⁰

⁶⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 725. 3 de junho de 1831.

⁶⁷ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 725. 30 de junho de 1831.

⁶⁸ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 4 de junho de 1831.

⁶⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 718. 6 de maio de 1834.

⁷⁰ Bethell and De Carvalho. "1822-1850," p. 59.

Some newspapers of the time deliberately tried to excite the anti-Portuguese anger within the population of Rio. The government opposition, represented by the Exaltados' party, had very little representation in the government but were very active in the media. Many of its members owned small newspapers which ran an open campaign against the Portuguese-born.⁷¹ O Filho da Terra published an article in November 1831 in which the Portuguese were accused of dominating the business of "our land", and of attempting to "exterminate our race".⁷² In December 1833, A Luzitania Triunfante published an article in which the Portuguese-born inhabitants of Brazil were accused of organizing themselves in order to restore Portuguese rule in Brazil. The article also stated that the large immigration from Portugal had the specific objective of assisting the Portuguese restoration.⁷³ In 1832, a nationalistic group formed to defend the independence of the country, the "Society for the Defence of National Liberty and Independence," published some brochures in which it warned the population of Rio of the "real danger" threatening the security of the Brazilian people, that a Portuguese faction (facção restauradora) "planned to create scenes of blood, crimes, and horror" amongst the Brazilian population.⁷⁴ The anti-Portuguese campaign of the "Exaltados" was designed to challenge the

⁷¹ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 171.

⁷² O Filho da Terra. (Rio de Janeiro). 4 de novembro de 1831.

⁷³ A Luzitania Triunfante. (Rio de Janeiro). 6 de dezembro de 1833.

⁷⁴ Biblioteca Nacional. Manuscritos. I - 32, 11, 1. Rio de Janeiro. 21 de julho de 1832.

government of the time, as the group was both anti-monarchy as well as opposed to the other opposition party, the "Caramuru," whose main goal was to bring Dom Pedro back to Brazil as regent.⁷⁵

While fear of a Portuguese restoration dissipated after September 1834 and the death of Dom Pedro I, yet, Brazilian antagonism towards the Portuguese continued, as political issues played only one part in the lusophobia in Brazil. Economic factors also contributed to the acrimonious feelings of Brazilians towards the Portuguese. During the campaign against Dom Pedro, people linked their hatred of Portuguese merchants with their hostility to the Portuguese-born emperor. People reacted against Dom Pedro as they sought to achieve social justice. The poor regarded the Portuguese merchants as enemies, accusing them of speculating on the price of basic commodities at a time when inflation was prevalent.⁷⁶

This popular hostility based on the socio-economic position of the Portuguese was evident in Rio. The large concentration of Portuguese in the retail sector caused the local population to blame them for Rio's high cost of living.⁷⁷ From 1822 to 1850 Rio de Janeiro experienced a period of high prices in foodstuffs.⁷⁸ On September 2, 1840, Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard wrote to the Portuguese foreign minister stating that Rio de Janeiro was a very

⁷⁵ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 171.

⁷⁶ Reis. Slave Rebellion in Bahia, p. 23.

⁷⁷ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 196.

⁷⁸ Lobo. Do Capital Comercial ao Capital Industrial e Financeiro, Vol. 1, p. 129.

expensive place to live.⁷⁹ Evidence from the second half of the century makes the same point. For instance, a Portuguese immigrant from the Azores, Antonio Augusto Loureiro, wrote to his wife in Portugal on September 19, 1875, that even though he had already found a job, he was still short of money, as most of his wages went to pay for food and shelter since "everything is very expensive in this land".⁸⁰

The Portuguese domination of the grocery shops and the related high prices in Rio were not the only causes of popular Brazilian hostility. The Portuguese monopoly of the position of clerk also created jealousy among the poor free population of the city. They regarded the occupation as a privileged one. They felt that they were being denied an opportunity in the job market and for social advancement only because they were Brazilians.⁸¹

Indeed, few Brazilians had the chance to become clerks. Irineu Evangelista de Sousa (the future Visconde de Mauá) was one of the few Brazilians who was able to get into the field of commerce. He was the grandson of Azoreans who had immigrated to Rio Grande do Sul in the late eighteenth century and who had established cattle farms. Irineu, three years after the death of his father, was taken to Rio de Janeiro by his uncle who had the necessary connections in Rio to get the boy a job in the

⁷⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 720. 2 de setembro de 1840.

⁸⁰ Antonio Augusto Loureiro, 19 de setembro de 1875. Family Archive in Toronto.

⁸¹ Martinho and Gorenstein. Negociantes e Caixeiros na Sociedade da Independência, p. 103.

commercial sector of the city. There, Irineu worked for a Portuguese merchant for almost ten years as a clerk and later as bookkeeper. After his employer went out of business, Irineu began to work for the Scotsman Richard Carruthers, who had come to Brazil with the Portuguese Royal Family in 1808. Irineu eventually became one of the most influential businessmen in the empire. One interesting aspect of his story is the resentment people in the commercial sector of the city held towards him because of the fact that he was a Brazilian working within a Portuguese environment.⁸²

Portuguese control of Rio's commerce was a heritage of the colonial period. Portuguese immigrants had begun establishing themselves in this sector in the eighteenth century, and by the late 1700s commerce in Rio de Janeiro was almost totally monopolised by Portuguese immigrants. The Viceroy, Marques do Lavradio, stated in 1779 that all Portuguese immigrants coming to Brazil had the ambition of becoming "masters of commerce," and they refused to allow any Brazilian to become a clerk, as this would have created the opportunity for the latter to become a merchant.⁸³ Sixty years later, in 1839, the same point was made by the newspaper A Liga Americana. The newspaper stated that none of the Europeans who had established themselves as merchants in the downtown area of Rio de Janeiro would allow any Brazilian to enter the same business.⁸⁴

The Brazilian resentment over Portuguese control of Rio's

⁸² Caldeira. Mauá. Empresario do Império, pp. 1-61.

⁸³ Prado Junior. Evolução Política do Brasil, p. 40.

⁸⁴ A Liga Americana. (Rio de Janeiro). 7 de novembro de 1839.

commerce was clearly exemplified in 1829 in an anonymous letter from a Brazilian who declared himself to be openly opposed to foreigners establishing themselves as small merchants in Rio de Janeiro.⁸⁵ The author of the letter considered the foreign monopoly and the lack of opportunities for Brazilians in the field unfair. The "Lei dos Caixeiros" (Clerks' law), which was proposed in May 1831, also indicated the Brazilian desire to assert national control over the retail commerce of Rio.⁸⁶ In that year, the Chamber of Deputies was considering two proposals. The first suggested that all commercial establishments in Brazil be compelled to employ at least one Brazilian clerk. The second recommended the creation of a tax to be paid by the store owner who employed more than one foreigner as a clerk. The second proposal was approved in that same year. However, there is no indication whether it was implemented. It continued to exist until 1836 when it was revoked.⁸⁷ In 1846 a "caixeiro law" was once again approved. It imposed a fine of 120\$000 reis upon each commercial establishment which employed more than one foreigner as a clerk.⁸⁸

Opposition to the law was intense within the foreign community. The representative of the Portuguese government in Brazil stated that if the law was enforced it was because the Brazilian administration - as well as almost everyone in Brazil -

⁸⁵ Astrea. (Rio de Janeiro). 8 de Janeiro de 1829.

⁸⁶ O Observador. (Rio de Janeiro). 24 de maio de 1831.

⁸⁷ O Observador. 24 de maio de 1831.

⁸⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722. 1 de setembro de 1848.

was hostile to foreigners.⁸⁹ The same representative wrote to his government that he had advised merchants to delay as much as they could the payment of the tax. He believed that resistance by Portuguese, French, and English businesspeople in Rio de Janeiro to the law would embarrass the Brazilian government into not enforcing it.⁹⁰ He appears to have been right as the tax was withdrawn for a second time in October 1847.⁹¹

The difficulty in enforcing the law indicates the extent of foreign control over the internal commerce of Rio, as well as the large number of foreigners who were employed in the field. The newspaper O Observador stated that the "caixeiro law" was not viable as there were not enough Brazilians to staff each store with only one clerk, nor were Brazilian youth interested in working in commerce.⁹² Even though the political tendency of the newspaper is not known, it seems to have favoured the interests of the Portuguese merchants, as it misrepresented the attraction Brazilians had towards commerce.

The Portuguese control of the internal market of Rio, in addition to the increasing number of Portuguese immigrants arriving in the city, explains the continuing tense atmosphere between Brazilians and Portuguese. An article published in the

⁸⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722. 29 de março de 1847.

⁹⁰ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722. 10 de abril de 1847.

⁹¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 202. 4 de outubro de 1847.

⁹² O Observador. 24 de maio de 1831.

Diario do Rio de Janeiro in 1841 clearly demonstrates the continuing animosity felt by some Brazilians towards the Portuguese in the country. On January 30th it published a warning to the police stating that the editor of the paper had received an anonymous letter denouncing a secret club in Rio de Janeiro that was organized for the sole purpose of assassinating Portuguese.⁹³ The Portuguese-born editor of the Diario, alarmed by such a possibility, demanded action from the Brazilian government. In response, the government stated that there was no indication of the existence of such a club and that it was ready to suppress and to punish any action against peaceful inhabitants, whatever their origin.⁹⁴ Even though there was no other evidence of the existence of the "kill-Portuguese club" the fact that someone was prepared to write an anonymous letter to the newspaper editor gives some indication of the degree of hatred then existing among some Brazilians towards the Portuguese.

Contributing to the continuing hostility were the political loyalties of the immigrants. The Portuguese merchants tended to support the Conservatives who traditionally defended the interests of the property-owning class.⁹⁵ The Liberals resented that support and had a tendency to "attribute the nation's ills to the malevolent presence of the Portuguese-born."⁹⁶ Although the

⁹³ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 30 de janeiro de 1841.

⁹⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 720. 11 de fevereiro de 1841.

⁹⁵ Burns. A History of Brazil, p. 178.

⁹⁶ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 225.

Liberals were in power from 1844 to 1848, Conservatives tended to dominate governments during the first half of the nineteenth century, so that the Liberals were looking for any scape-goat. The late 1840s was especially difficult for the Liberals, as they were unable to establish a stable government and, therefore, were losing support among the population.

The political disputes in 1848 gave rise to new anti-Portuguese demonstrations, as riots erupted once again against the Portuguese-born population. Animosity exploded first in June in Pernambuco during the Praieira revolution. The Praieira political faction in Pernambuco was defeated in the 1842 elections, but its members were determined to break the local government and to obtain control of the province of Pernambuco.⁹⁷ They defended, among other issues, land reform and the end of the dominant position the Portuguese held over Brazil's retail commerce. This movement had been influenced by the overthrow of the Orleans dynasty in France and by the establishment of a radical democratic republic in February 1848. As a consequence of the events in France, many movements with an egalitarian and nationalistic philosophy spread, not only through Europe but also to the rest of the world. In Brazil, the French movement created a mood of lusophobia and social protest, mostly in Pernambuco and in Rio de Janeiro.⁹⁸ During the Praieira revolution, many Portuguese

⁹⁷ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, pp. 228-229.

⁹⁸ Barman. Brazil: The Forging of a Nation, p. 231.

were assaulted and their properties sacked.⁹⁹ The revolutionaries demanded a prohibition of all foreigners in the retail trade, and pushed for the return of the "caixeiro law" in order to force each store owner to hire at least one Brazilian clerk.¹⁰⁰

The wave of lusophobia reached the city of Rio de Janeiro in September of that same year when the Emperor, worried about the possible impact of the revolutionary mood, replaced the Liberal cabinet with a Conservative one.¹⁰¹ Contributing to the ill-will was the fact that in a local election in Rio, the Liberals campaigned against the Portuguese-born Conservative candidate by inciting anti-Portuguese feelings. Consequently, on September 7 and 8 violence directed at the immigrants spread through Rio's streets. Portuguese inhabitants of the city were assaulted and many were injured in the riots that took place.¹⁰²

The 1848 riots were the last anti-Portuguese manifestations of the first half of the nineteenth century. However, animosity towards the Portuguese continued to exist in Rio de Janeiro. In the 1890s, the streets of Rio, once more, were the scene of riots against the Portuguese immigrants. These disturbances proved that the city's population was still prepared to react violently

⁹⁹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 723. 7 de dezembro de 1848.

¹⁰⁰ Sergio Buarque de Holanda. História Geral da Civilização Brasileira, Tomo II, Vol. 2 (São Paulo, 1964), p. 538.

¹⁰¹ Bushnell and Macaulay. The Emergence of Latin America, p. 178.

¹⁰² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 723. 9 de setembro de 1848 and 14 de setembro de 1848.

against the large Portuguese community and their continuing domination of the commerce of the city. As June Hahner has stated: "Various foreign observers over the years commented both on the predominance of the Portuguese in commerce, especially in Rio's retail trade, and the ill feelings caused by this preponderance" within Rio's population.¹⁰³

Another element of the Portuguese community that might have provoked animosity towards the Portuguese in Rio was the significant number of Portuguese involved in criminal activities in the city. That there were large numbers of immigrants in Rio de Janeiro working in the field of commerce does not mean that all newcomers were successful in finding rewarding work. Table 6.1 indicates that in the late 1830s and 1840s there was a significant increase in the number of Portuguese immigrants with no occupation. This may have been a result of the fact that immigrants were registering with the police department only a few days or a few weeks after their arrival in Rio de Janeiro. For instance, of the 125 Portuguese who registered in August 1838, 97 had arrived in Brazil that same year. The 122 newcomers who registered in January 1842 were also recent immigrants. Of these, 36 had arrived that same month, while 45 had arrived in December 1841. It is probable that many of these had not yet had time to find employment. It is reasonable to assume that many recent immigrants needed a few weeks to find an occupation in their new environment.

This, however, may not be sufficient to explain the large number of unemployed Portuguese. The numbers aroused widespread

¹⁰³ Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos," p. 130.

comment. Throughout the 1830s and 1840s, representatives of the Portuguese government together with Brazilian public authorities expressed concern about the number of Portuguese immigrants who had no apparent occupation. In 1838 the Portuguese consul, João Baptista Moreira, wrote to the Portuguese foreign minister expressing his embarrassment at the large number of unemployed and vagrant Portuguese in the city. Moreira stated that of 102 persons recently brought to trial, 75 were Portuguese,¹⁰⁴ in the process making a link between unemployment and criminal activity. A Brazilian Justice Ministry report of 1834 suggested that the Brazilian government needed to be careful with regard to the arrival of "certain guests". It noted that, in Rio de Janeiro in 1834, crimes had been committed by 221 foreigners and 104 Brazilians. The foreigners included 88 Portuguese, 51 Africans, six Englishmen, four Frenchmen, and two Spaniards.¹⁰⁵ In 1849, Moreira complained once more about the large number of Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro who, in Moreira's opinion, "possessed no capacity nor aptness to employ themselves in any kind of occupation".¹⁰⁶

Other evidence agrees with the Justice Ministry report, that there were significant numbers of criminals within the Portuguese

¹⁰⁴ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Correspondência das Legações Portuguesas. Caixa 536. 20 de dezembro de 1837.

¹⁰⁵ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais. 1832 a 1846. Microfilme. 007-0-82.

¹⁰⁶ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Correspondência dos Consulados Portugueses. Caixa 314. 24 de janeiro de 1849.

community. An article in the Portuguese magazine, Revista Universal Lisbonnense, noted in 1842 that not all Portuguese who migrated to Brazil found good jobs easily. Many worked in low status occupations while others were forced, because of their poverty, into a life of crime.¹⁰⁷ The Portuguese representative in Rio, Daniel da Silva Ferreira agreed, stating in October 1865 that there were large numbers of young Portuguese men in Rio de Janeiro living in poverty because they did not have a job, and who were involved in petty crimes.¹⁰⁸

The criminals included people who had migrated to Brazil without passports in an attempt to escape the Portuguese police.¹⁰⁹ This was the case of the bandit, Pedro Espanhol, who had been born in Galicia and migrated to Portugal as a teenager after killing someone in Spain. In Lisbon, as a leader of a gang, he had been responsible for a wave of terror and anarchy. After several serious crimes he and another criminal, the Portuguese Manoel da Beira, decided to migrate to Rio from Porto. Espanhol's first crime in Rio was to kill da Beira, who knew too much of his past life. Espanhol continued his criminal career until his death in 1834 in Rio de Janeiro.¹¹⁰

Deportation cases of Portuguese migrants give further evidence that some were involved in criminal activity in Rio de

¹⁰⁷ Revista Universal Lisbonnense. Tomo II, 1842-43. p. 125.

¹⁰⁸ Pereira. Política Portuguesa de Emigração, p. 130.

¹⁰⁹ Alves. Os Brasileiros e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista, p.213.

¹¹⁰ Melo Barreto Filho and Hermeto Lima. História da Polícia do Rio de Janeiro, 1831-1870 (Rio de Janeiro, 1942), pp. 94-97.

Janeiro. The diplomatic correspondence of the period relates that many Portuguese were involved in a wide variety of crimes. In 1839, for instance, José Luís da Silva Porto was deported after a series of crimes which were not specified. In 1843, João Bernardo dos Santos Coimbra was deported for theft. In 1844, another Portuguese was expelled from Brazil for several robberies and other crimes. In 1846, three more Portuguese, José Porfírio Maia, Antonio da Silva Varella, and Antonio Tapa, were deported for robbery.¹¹¹

Thomas Holloway has written that "summary deportation was the method of choice for foreigners" who engaged in any criminal activity in Brazil.¹¹² In January 1834 the Diario do Rio de Janeiro declared that the Brazilian government was determined to expel from its territory any foreigner accused of criminal behaviour.¹¹³ Holloway continues that in a brief period in 1849, police chief Antonio Simões da Silva ordered thirteen Portuguese, one Austrian, and one Chilean deported. He justified his action by stating that these individuals were of "terrible habits, incorrigible, drunks, and troublemakers who had been convicted and served jail time for various crimes".¹¹⁴

Portuguese immigrants were also involved in prostitution in

¹¹¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 719. 14 de fevereiro de 1839. Livro 721. 19 de novembro de 1843 and 21 de janeiro de 1844. Caixa 202. 14 de julho de 1846.

¹¹² Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 185.

¹¹³ Diario do Rio de Janeiro. 11 de janeiro de 1834.

¹¹⁴ Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 186.

the city of Rio de Janeiro. In 1845 Dr. Herculano Augusto Lassance Cunha stated in his medical thesis that there was an increase in prostitution in the city and, therefore, of sexually transmitted diseases. He continued that one of the principal groups of prostitutes working in the city was composed of Portuguese women, who had come mostly from the Azores to work as domestics.¹¹⁵ In 1849, the Police Chief of Rio de Janeiro, Antonio Simões da Silva, ordered a number of Portuguese deported. Da Silva stated that some of these people "carried depravation and immorality to such extremes that they ran the most repulsive and scandalous houses of prostitution, where orgies were constant and where turbulent and vicious vagrants gathered".¹¹⁶ In order to prevent the involvement of Portuguese migrants in prostitution, in 1858 the Portuguese consul of Bahia stated that no young women should be allowed to migrate to Brazil without their fathers, husbands, or brothers.¹¹⁷

The case of the Portuguese Rosa da Cunha de Jesus and her teenager daughters in 1839 shows how easy it was for young Portuguese women to engage in prostitution in the city of Rio de Janeiro. Rosa had migrated to Rio de Janeiro with her three daughters and two sons in order to meet her husband, Francisco José de Almeida. However, when they arrived in Rio there was no sign of Francisco as he had apparently gone to the interior of

¹¹⁵ Ronaldo Vainfas. História e Sexualidade no Brasil (Rio de Janeiro, 1986), p. 147.

¹¹⁶ Holloway. Policing Rio de Janeiro, p. 186.

¹¹⁷ Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva. "Família e Integração do Imigrante Português na Sociedade Brasileira," in Da Silva e Outros. Emigração/Imigração em Portugal, p. 212.

Brazil where he had died. Rosa, after one year in Rio and seriously impoverished decided to go back to Portugal with her three daughters. The interesting fact is that when Rosa asked for financial help from the Portuguese government to return to Portugal, she mentioned that, if she remained in the city, she was afraid she would see her daughters becoming prostitutes, as this was one of the ways for them to earn some money.¹¹⁸

In the second half of the nineteenth century prostitution involving Portuguese women continued in the city. In 1863, the Portuguese vice-consul in Rio, Antonio Emílio Machado dos Reis, denounced a ship which had brought some poor and ignorant young women from Portugal to be employed as prostitutes.¹¹⁹ In 1876 a traveller in Rio stated that there were few blacks, some mulattos, and a large number of Portuguese women working as prostitutes in Rio de Janeiro.¹²⁰

CONCLUSION

In the early nineteenth century, a strong anti-foreign nationalism was evident in Brazil, a reflection of the young's nation struggle for sovereignty. This nationalism gave rise to animosity towards immigrant groups. Portuguese, English, Germans, and Irish immigrants were disliked by Rio's local

¹¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 199, 1839.

¹¹⁹ Pereira. Política Portuguesa de Emigração, p. 122.

¹²⁰ De Menezes. Os Estrangeiros e o Comércio do Prazer nas Ruas do Rio, 1890-1930 (Rio de Janeiro, 1992), p. 44.

population and, on several occasions, conflicts occurred between Brazilians and some of these immigrants.

The Portuguese were the target of most of the animosity owing to their intimate involvement in the politics of Brazil, their economic role, their large numbers, and the criminal activities of some members of the Portuguese community. Moreover, local political factions incited the animosity of Brazilians against the Portuguese to satisfy their own political agenda.

This political manipulation of popular anti-Portuguese sentiments produced scenes of violence in Rio. Yet, it also helped in the creation of Brazil as a nation. Anti-foreign, especially anti-Portuguese sentiment united all the provinces of the new nation and helped to overcome the existing regionalism. This cannot be considered the only reason for the successful unification of all the provinces of Brazil. The monarchy as has been discussed in chapter II, had a major role in unifying these same regions around a single legitimate ruler. Still, the hatred for the Portuguese was an additional and important force in unifying Brazilians at the time of independence.¹²¹ The events which precipitated Dom Pedro's subsequent abdication indicated further the power of animosity in unifying different sectors of Brazilian society.

The animosity was so ingrained that anti-Portuguese sentiment continued throughout the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. In the 1890s, once more significant waves of lusophobic demonstrations broke out in the streets of Rio de Janeiro. Traces of this sentiment can be found even today in Brazil. For instance,

¹²¹ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, pp. 31-33, and Da Costa. The Brazilian Empire, pp. 9-10.

several anti-Portuguese comments were printed in the Brazilian media in 1993 following an episode in which eleven Brazilians were detained and apparently badly treated by Portuguese staff at Lisbon's airport, before being deported to Brazil as illegal immigrants. On February 2 one of the most important newspapers in Rio published in its "Letters to the Editor" a comment by Marcio Zieze that "... It is definitely proven that Portugal is a brother-country and not a friend-country. Because friends you choose..." Another writer, Julio Fernandes, voiced his anger towards Portuguese immigrants who owned shops in Rio and went back to Portugal with the money they had earned in Brazil. Finally, a third writer, Jorge Campos, accused the Portuguese of being cruel and selfish colonisers.¹²²

Brazilian journalists covering the event displayed a bias that recalled stories published over one hundred years earlier. When referring to the way that the Portuguese received the Brazilians at the airport, Veja, one of the most important Brazilian magazines, ran the following headline: "Tamancas na Mão" (Clogs in Hands).¹²³ The journalist who had written the article was referring to the stereotypical image of the Portuguese merchant, who was so thrifty that he preferred to wear these long-lasting wooden shoes and not buy regular shoes in order to save money. Incidents such as these serve to indicate the continuing existence of anti-Portuguese feelings in Brazil, feelings that had culminated in the nineteenth century in riots in the streets of several Brazilian cities.

¹²² Jornal do Brasil. (Rio de Janeiro). 2 de fevereiro de 1993.

¹²³ Veja. 3 de fevereiro de 1993.

VII. ADAPTATION

INTRODUCTION

Portuguese immigration to Rio de Janeiro between 1822 and 1850 involved a flow of large numbers of literate young males engaged mostly in commercial activities. These immigrants were well received by the Brazilian elite. However, their presence generally produced much resentment among other sectors of the local population. Yet, not even this negative sentiment was effective in dissuading further Portuguese immigrants from arriving, nor in convincing those who were already in the country to return to their homeland. In general, the Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro between 1822 and 1850 adapted well to their new environment. They did not return to Portugal nor did they maintain ties to their homeland by marrying Portuguese women. Instead, most developed relationships with local people and invested their money in their adopted country. The reasonably easy adaptation of the Portuguese to the local situation and the continuing and increasing flow of Portuguese into the city show the ambiguity that marked the anti-Portuguese sentiments. While some Brazilians disliked the Portuguese, others accepted and welcomed them. The immigrants quickly became well integrated into Brazilian society and contributed to the creation of a new society.

IMMIGRANTS AND THEIR LINKS WITH PORTUGAL

Reports from the Portuguese legation in Rio de Janeiro indicate that a large part of the Portuguese community in the city did not maintain close ties with the home country. For instance, in 1841 - in referring to problems arising from the illegal military recruitment of Portuguese and the difficulty in discerning between these residents and the Brazilians - the Portuguese representative in Brazil, Idelfonso Leopoldo Bayard, commented that the Portuguese authorities in Brazil resented the fact that their nationals only remembered their country of origin at the time they attempted to avoid some Brazilian obligation.¹ In 1845 José de Vasconcelos e Sousa also complained that there were some Portuguese who only remembered that they were Portuguese when this was convenient for them. He continued that the patriotism of these people who had immigrated in order to "seek their fortune" consisted only of words and sometimes not even that.²

The tendency of the Portuguese immigrants in Brazil to lose their ties with their homeland can also be seen in the significant number of immigrants who lost contact with their relatives in Portugal. A case in the correspondence of the Portuguese legation in Rio de Janeiro clearly illustrates the family separation and the loosening of ties which often followed the process of immigration. In 1839, Rosa da Cunha de Jesus went to the Portuguese legation in Rio in order to request financial help to

¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 716. 27 de julho de 1841.

² Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 721. 7 de março de 1845.

return to Portugal with her children. She explained that her husband, Francisco José de Almeida, had left Portugal for Brazil ten years before her arrival in Rio de Janeiro. Her husband eventually ordered her to join him in Brazil, but by the time she arrived in Rio, Francisco had gone to the interior where he, apparently, had died.

Although on the surface, this case might simply represent the sad story of how misfortune and death resulted in the separation and destruction of a family, the details indicate that it goes beyond this superficial explanation. Although Francisco had called for Rosa to join him in Brazil, he did not pay for her voyage or that of their five children. The fact that he called them but did not send money for the tickets seems very strange because the reason for his emigration had been the great poverty of his family. It may be possible that Francisco had called his family to Brazil only because his wife had been pressuring him to do so and not because of a desire to reunite with his family after ten years of separation. He may have established some other interests and even a new family in Brazil and had lost completely the links with his family back in Portugal. It may be possible that Francisco thought it would be impossible for Rosa to find the financial means to travel to Brazil with their five children. With the news of their imminent arrival he may have chosen to leave Rio for the interior in order to avoid reassuming ties with his Portuguese family. After more than one year without news of her husband, Rosa decided to return to Portugal. At that time, she was not only definitively separated from her husband, she had also made the difficult decision to leave her two older sons in Brazil in the hope that they would be able to do what Francisco had

failed to accomplish: improve the family's economic situation.³

Rosa's story is only one case of many families separated by migration. Another example of a similar experience involves the Carvalho family from the Minho region in Portugal. Three of José Maria de Carvalho's sons - Manoel Joaquim, Antonio José, and Adelino - emigrated to Brazil in the middle of the nineteenth century and lost contact with their parents. In 1878, when José Maria died, his widow declared she did not know where her sons were in Brazil.⁴

The story of Antonio Augusto Loureiro illustrates another situation of family separation. Antonio left the Azores for Rio de Janeiro in the middle of the nineteenth century. In 1847, in a letter to his wife, he expressed his sadness at being away from his family:

It is always with the greatest of pleasure that I pick up the quill in order to write to you, remembering that I am going to write to the one for whom I have the greatest esteem in this world and that, from her, I am going to receive news and from my cherished children, whom I so wish to embrace and from whom, unfortunately, I am so distant... [W]ithout your company it seems to me that we shall never see one another once again; Oh! may God not permit it. To Senhora do Carmo I promise that I will come to embrace and join with my dear wife and my dear children....⁵

The loss of contact between family members in Portugal and

³ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 199. 1839.

⁴ Brandão. Terra, Herança e Família, pp. 166 and 172.

⁵ Family Archive in Toronto.

immigrants in Brazil was one characteristic that illustrates the permanent nature of the settlement of some Portuguese immigrants. Another, more telling aspect that shows the ease of adaptation of the Portuguese immigrants to Brazil during the first half of the nineteenth century was the frequency with which they decided to become naturalized Brazilian citizens. In October 1832 the empire of Brazil issued its first law of naturalization. Under it most Portuguese in Brazil were eligible. The individuals applying for citizenship had to prove - amongst other things - to be over 21 years of age, and resident in Brazil for at least four years. Moreover, the law demanded that these individuals own land or property, possess a useful job, or prove that they lived honestly from their work.⁶

Although the National Archives in Rio de Janeiro contain a collection of naturalization papers for the nineteenth century, it is unclear if these constitute the totality of the cases of naturalization in Brazil for the period. For this reason, it is impossible to ascertain exactly what proportion of the Portuguese immigrants acquired Brazilian citizenship between 1832 and 1850. Yet, one can draw the conclusion from the records that the majority of the foreigners who became citizens were Portuguese. For the period from 1832 to 1850 the National Archives show that

⁶ Cecília Maria Westphalen and Altiya Pilatti Balhana. "Política e Legislação Imigratórias Brasileiras e a Imigração Portuguesa," Da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal, p. 19.

299 Portuguese and 92 other foreigners⁷ were listed as new Brazilian citizens throughout the empire.⁸ Among this group, the Portuguese constituted 70 percent of all foreigners listed who had received Brazilian citizenship. Cecília Maria Westphalen and Altiva Pilatti Balhana have arrived at the same percentage for Portuguese acquiring Brazilian citizenship for the period from 1826 to 1868. However, their information seems to be incomplete when compared with the material found in the National Archives of Rio. For the period of 42 years, they list only 158 new Brazilian citizens, 122 of them Portuguese,⁹ rather than the 299 Portuguese and 92 other foreigners listed in the National Archives for the shorter period of eighteen years.

Westphalen and Balhana have considered the large percentage of Portuguese among the foreigners acquiring Brazilian citizenship as a sign of a Brazilian policy of acceptance of the Portuguese. However, the percentage should be not considered exceptional. Rather, it ought to be understood as a consequence of the fact that the Portuguese constituted the largest group within the

⁷ Amongst the 92 other foreigners were 26 French, twelve English, twelve Spaniards, eight Italians, five Germans from Hamburg, five Genoese, five Sardinians, four Americans, three Danes, three Belgians, and nine of other origins. Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

⁸ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

⁹ They have based their conclusions on a document found in Mexico: "Legislação y Política Inmigratória en el Cono Sur de América," Instituto Panoamericano de Geografia e História, 1987, n.428. pp. 269-275. Westphalen and Balhana. "Política e Legislação Imigratórias Brasileiras e a Imigração Portuguesa," p. 19.

foreign community in Rio de Janeiro in the early and mid nineteenth century. From April 1832 to May 1842, 18,427 Portuguese immigrants were registered in Rio de Janeiro, in comparison to 4,598 other foreigners.¹⁰ In other words, among the registered immigrants, the Portuguese constituted 80 percent of the total immigrant population of Rio. Thus, it was only natural that the Portuguese would be the most prominent group being naturalized.

The files on naturalization in the National Archives do not provide detailed information about the individuals who were acquiring Brazilian citizenship nor do they contain any explanation of the reasons for their decision. These documents state only that the individual in question should be granted Brazilian citizenship in order that he or she might receive all the "rights, honours, and prerogatives" promised to every Brazilian citizen by the Constitution.¹¹ As a consequence of the lack of details of these lists, the issue of whether Portuguese immigrants decided to become Brazilian citizens in order to avoid hostile confrontations with the Brazilian population remains unanswered.

Nonetheless, these lists provide the names of the individuals who were seeking Brazilian nationality, their places of residence, and in some cases, their occupations. With regard to the last category, the predominant occupation amongst these individuals was that of "businessman" - expressed by the general term

¹⁰ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381. Volumes 1 - 16.

¹¹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

"*negociante*", which most of the time was applied to individuals who owned commercial properties. From 1825 to 1850, 135 Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro are listed who had acquired Brazilian citizenship. Of the 98 individuals from this group whose professions were known, 36 declared themselves to be *negociantes*. There were also eighteen priests, eight sailors, seven farmers/agricultural workers, and 29 individuals with diverse occupations.¹²

Although there must have been many and varied reasons for different individuals to become Brazilians, it can be argued that the category of *negociantes* dominated the cases of naturalization because they were likely to have established deeper roots in Brazil with their ownership of property. For instance, in December 1849 a Portuguese immigrant from Pernambuco stated in the magazine Revista Universal Lisbonense that most of the Portuguese in Brazil with good economic positions were naturalized Brazilian citizens.¹³ This was the case of Antonio Ribeiro Borges da Fonseca, a businessman who became a Brazilian citizen in October 1833. In June 1832 he presented his passport to the police department of Rio after having been in the city for six years. He was the owner of a fabric store, was 30 years old at the time he became a Brazilian, and lived in the downtown area of the city, at 107

¹² Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

¹³ Revista Universal Lisbonense. Tomo II, 2ª série, 1850. p. 442.

Pescadores Street.¹⁴ Nicolau Lobo Vianna is another example of a Portuguese immigrant who became a Brazilian citizen. He owned one of the most important newspapers in Rio during the 1830s and 1840s, the Diario do Rio de Janeiro.¹⁵ Amongst many other businessmen who opted for Brazilian citizenship were Antonio Felix Sarzedas, who was naturalized in 1833, Antonio José de Azevedo, who became a citizen in 1836, and Diogo Francisco Alves Fortuna and Antonio Teixeira Pinto Carvalho who took out Brazilian citizenship in 1849.¹⁶

Despite the occupation of the individuals, age must have been another factor influencing those Portuguese who chose Brazilian citizenship. It seems that people who were young and single at the time they immigrated more easily lost their links with Portugal and decided to become Brazilian citizens. The aforementioned Antonio Borges da Fonseca was one such individual. He had migrated to Rio in his early twenties and acquired Brazilian citizenship at the age of 30. Other Portuguese whose ages are known were also young when they took out Brazilian citizenship. Antonio José de Miranda was 33 years old at the time he became a Brazilian citizen in June 1844. He had entered Brazil in August 1838 at the age of 27. At that time he had declared that he was a sailor, single, and

¹⁴ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça . Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX. Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volume 2.

¹⁵ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 724. 27 de junho de 1827.

¹⁶ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

from Porto. João Francisco da Costa received his Brazilian citizenship in November 1839. He was a 24-year-old clerk at the time. He had come from Porto in December 1831 and lived in downtown Rio on Da Glória Street. Finally, there was Manoel Pereira who acquired Brazilian citizenship in May 1834 when he was 23. He had entered Brazil in June 1829 and was still single three years later. He was a clerk and lived in downtown Rio at 207 Rosario Street.¹⁷

Other reasons that influenced people to become Brazilian citizens were marriage or a common-law relationship with a Brazilian, and the existence of Brazilian children. For instance, Manoel Pinto Aleixo immigrated to Brazil from Porto in 1836 and in 1855 took out Brazilian citizenship after marrying the Brazilian Alexandrina Rosa da Silva. He was a businessman who lived in Vitoria, Espirito Santo. Antonio Vaz Ferreira, who lived in Rio de Janeiro, was also married to a Brazilian and was naturalized in 1848.¹⁸

Nevertheless, it seems that most Portuguese in Rio de Janeiro did not marry. This is evident from the wills and testaments from the period collected at the National Archives of Rio. According to 170 wills of Portuguese immigrants, 99 or 59 percent of these

¹⁷ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça. Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX. Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381. Volumes 2 and 10.

¹⁸ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Ministério da Justiça . Listas de Naturalizações - século XIX.

people died unmarried.¹⁹ However, this does not preclude the possibility that these individuals may have had some sort of nuclear family in Brazil. In fact, of these 99 single people, 26 left as heirs their illegitimate children; twenty left their possessions to specific women, without explaining their relationship to them; one left possessions to a woman whom he declared to be a common-law spouse; and seven left as heirs the mothers of their illegitimate children. This was the case of Augusto Benedito de Almeida, a single Portuguese who in 1865 left as his heir the woman with whom he had lived, Dalmeida Gertrudes da Conceição. José Garcia Pereira was another Portuguese bachelor who in 1865 left as his heirs Leopoldina José Ribeiro, the mother of his children, and his illegitimate children. Another single Portuguese in a similar situation was José Gomes de Azevedo who in 1864 left as his heirs the mother of his children, Mariana, and their children. Finally, there was Agostinho Gonçalves Bastos, single and Portuguese, who had four children with Maria José de Freitas and left them as his heirs in 1872.²⁰

It was the practice among immigrants in Rio de Janeiro to have concubines and common-law wives. Many Portuguese in Brazil during the nineteenth century did not maintain family ties in the juridical and religious way that was expected at the time.²¹

¹⁹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscricões da Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 5, 6, 14, and 16.

²⁰ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscricões da Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 5, 6, 14, and 16.

²¹ Da Silva. Documentos para a História da Imigração Portuguesa no Brasil, p. 73.

Portuguese immigrants frequently took local women - white or coloured - as common-law partners. It seems that there were several legal and financial obstacles to consummating legal marriages in Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century. For instance, there were so many regulations and fees imposed on people who wanted to get married in the city that 71 percent of the people of marriageable age in Rio were counted as single persons in 1872.²²

As a result, common-law relationships were common amongst the white male population of Rio. Some foreigners were critical of the Brazilian custom. This was the response of Mary Robinson Hunter, an American woman who lived in Rio with her husband and children from 1834 to 1848. She has been described as an intensely religious woman who considered the sexual relationships of the Brazilians scandalous. In her diary she described "the easy-going Catholicism of the Brazilian Portuguese as shameful".²³ In 1841, she criticized one of her neighbours, who in her view was living in sin with a mulatto woman by whom he had children. In the following year she noted in her diary the indignant response of a papal representative visiting Rio de Janeiro to religious and moral standards in Brazil. She wrote that he "was shocked to find religion in this country in so low a state. He says there is none he can discern, even among the clergy. Their houses are filled with children of every color. Not only no religion, but no

²² Graham. House and Street, pp. 73-74.

²³ Evelyn M. Cherpak. "Reminiscences of Brazilian Life, 1834-1848. Selections from the Diary of Mary Robinson Hunter," The Americas, XLIX, 1 (1992), p. 70.

morality."²⁴

The Portuguese tendency to interact with coloured people has been a subject studied by Gilberto Freyre. In his view, the close contact the Portuguese had had with Muslims for centuries before the expansion overseas developed a greater acceptance of coloured people amongst the Portuguese than amongst any other European peoples. He described Portugal as a country living a cultural, moral, and racial duality between Africa and Europe. Freyre wrote:

The singular predisposition of the Portuguese to the hybrid, slave exploiting colonisation of the tropics is to be explained in large part by the ethic or, better, the cultural past of a people existing indeterminately between Europe and Africa and belonging uncompromisingly to neither one nor the other of the two continents; with the African influence seething beneath the European and giving a sharp relish to sexual life, to alimentation, and to religion; with Moorish or Negro blood running throughout a great light-skinned mulatto population, when it is not the predominant strain, in regions that to this day are inhabited by a dark-skinned people; and with the hot and oleous air of Africa mitigating the Germanic harshness of institutions and cultural forms, corrupting the doctrinal and moral rigidity of the medieval Church, drawing the bones from Christianity, feudalism, Gothic architecture, canonic discipline, Visigoth law, the Latin tongue, and the very character of the people.²⁵

Freyre also argued that their close relationship with Muslim peoples explained the Portuguese willingness to develop

²⁴ Evelyn M. Cherpak. "A Diplomat's Lady in Brazil: Selections from the Diary of Mary Robinson Hunter, 1834-1848," Inter-American Review of Bibliography, XLII, 4 (1992), pp. 622-623.

²⁵ Gilberto Freyre. The Masters and the Slaves (New York, 1964), pp. 4-5.

relationships with coloured women. He wrote that:

As to their miscibility, no colonizing people in modern times has exceeded or so much as equalled the Portuguese in this regard. From the first contact with women of color, they [the Portuguese] mingled with them and procreated mestizo sons...For this they had been prepared by the intimate terms of social and sexual intercourse on which they had lived with the colored races that had invaded their peninsula or were close neighbors to it... ²⁶

Yet, his theory is not entirely convincing. He generalises and seems to be trying to provide a scientific basis to a commonly held stereotype. Even though it may be true, as he argues, that the Portuguese were particularly and unreservedly attracted to the blacks of Rio, the fact that males dominated the population of Rio de Janeiro must have been a factor in explaining why whites established relationships with female slaves. It was a common practice for the free males of Rio to buy slave women for companionship and household services.²⁷ As can be seen in Table 7.1, even though the number of enslaved women was smaller than that of free women, it still represented a significant percentage of the female population. Table 7.2 shows that in 1849 - even though the population of the city had increased significantly by this time - the total number of free and freed males still outnumbered the total of free and freed females. It is interesting

²⁶ Freyre. The Masters and the Slaves, p. 19.

²⁷ Mary Karasch. "Anastácia and the Slave Women of Rio de Janeiro," in Paul Lovejoy (ed). Africans in Bondage (Madison, 1986), p. 89.

TABLE 7.1

Free and Slave Population in the city of Rio de Janeiro, 1838.

Free Males	32,419
Free Females	27,606
Enslaved Males	22,192
Enslaved Females ...	14,945

Source: Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Mapa das Oito Freguezias da Cidade. Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.

to note that the number of freed females was higher than that of freed males. This may be considered, partly, a consequence of the close relationships between enslaved women and free white men that resulted in manumission. Mary Karasch has written that "the uneven sex ratio, the search for female companionship, and the incorporative or familial function are crucial in explaining the status, social mobility, and even opportunities for manumission of slave women in Rio".²⁸

The wills of Portuguese immigrants in Rio provide some examples of enslaved women acquiring freedom on the death of their masters. This was the case of Maria Parda who in 1864 became a free person in the will of Francisco Esteves da Silva, a single Portuguese businessman in Rio de Janeiro. Another enslaved woman acquired her freedom in 1871 after the death of her master, Manoel Moreira dos Santos, a Portuguese barber who was not married.²⁹

²⁸ Karasch. "Anastácia and the Slave Women of Rio de Janeiro," p. 89.

²⁹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscrições da Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 5 and 14.

TABLE 7.2

Free and Slave Population in the city of Rio de Janeiro, 1849.

Free Males	68,581
Free Females	47,744
Freed Males	4,690
Freed Females	6,093
Enslaved Males	47,557
Enslaved Females	31,665

Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da População Existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro.

Documents of the period describe other Portuguese immigrants who developed relationships with enslaved women. The story of Francisco Chaves de Freitas is one example of a Portuguese immigrant who developed a stable relationship with his slave. Francisco lived in the state of Rio de Janeiro in the nineteenth century. In his will in 1882 he left as his heirs two children, João and another who was soon to be born, both by a slave named

TABLE 7.3

Population of the Urban Parishes of Rio
1838

Parishes	Free Nationals	Free Foreigners	Enslaved People
Candelária	5,816	2,431	8,334
Sacramento	15,922	2,373	5,084
Santa Rita	8,850	1,469	4,297
São José	9,126	1,312	5,707
Santana	10,282	635	5,491
Gloria	3,950	509	2,618
Engenho Velho	3,876	392	4,483
Lagoa	2,003	125	1,316
Total	59,824	9,246	37,330 ³⁰

³⁰ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa da População do Município da Corte. Ministério do Império. Relatórios Ministeriais. Microfilme 007-0-82.

Domingas with whom he lived in a common-law relationship.³¹ Others left their slaves as heirs but were not clear on what relationship they had. Domingos José Tavera, a single Portuguese living in Rio in 1865, left as his heirs the freed black woman, Leopoldina, and her mulatto son. In the same year, the widower Domingos Antonio de Avelar left as his heir the freed black woman, Ana Luiza Barbosa. The single businessman Francisco Esteves da Silva who freed his slave, Maria Parda, in his will also left as his heir his illegitimate children.³²

TABLE 7.4
Population of the Urban Parishes of Rio
1849

Parishes	Free Nationals	Free Foreigners	Freed Inhabitants	Enslaved Inhabitants
Sacramento	17,193	8,242	2,206	14,215
Santa Rita	11,395	6,700	1,413	12,304
Candelária	4,388	5,561	194	8,540
São José	10,353	5,060	1,638	10,357
Santana	18,644	4,546	2,687	12,840
Engenho Velho	7,163	2,595	1,367	9,759
Gloria	5,905	2,263	723	6,779
Lagoa	4,955	1,353	504	4,061
Total	79,996	36,320	10,732	78,855 ³³

³¹ Pinho Neno. Morrer no Brasil (Lisboa, 1989), p. 95.

³² Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscrições da Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 6 and 14.

³³ Biblioteca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Mapa Geral. Recenseamento da população existente no Município Neutro no Fim do Ano de 1849. Manuscrito I - 17,11,1.

The interaction of blacks and whites in Rio de Janeiro must have also been influenced by the fact that most social classes in Rio were concentrated in the downtown area of the city since Rio was, geographically, a modest city up until the 1850s. The study of settlement patterns of the Portuguese shows that not only were they concentrated in the urban parishes of the city, but they also lived together and shared the urban space of the city with the enslaved population. Tables 7.3 and 7.4 show that Candelária was not only the parish with more free foreign inhabitants, but it was also the parish with the largest population of enslaved people. Indeed, in 1838 there were more enslaved individuals living in Candelaria than free nationals and free foreigners together. The gathering of blacks and whites in the urban parishes of Rio has been described by foreign travellers of the period. The Englishman Robert Walsh in 1828 described the Square of Carioca in downtown Rio and the mixture of whites and slaves:

In the middle of the square is a whipping post, to which some refractory member is tied and punished; and round about are vendas and stalls, where fish, flesh, and fruit, of a quality not very agreeable to look at, are sold for the lower classes, who constantly crowd the place, mixed with the Blacks.³⁴

The French traveller, Johan Moritz Rugendas also was aware of this reality, portraying it in one of his drawing of the most important street in downtown Rio, Rua Direita. (See Picture 1.)

³⁴ Walsh. Notices of Brazil in 1828 and 1829, pp. 501-502.

PICTURE I

DOWNTOWN RIO, RUA DIREITA

Source: Gastão Cruls. Aparência do Rio de Janeiro, vol. 1. (Rio de Janeiro, 1965), pp. 392-393.

RETURNING IMMIGRANTS

Most of the Portuguese who migrated to Brazil during this period did not return to Portugal. In referring to the nineteenth and twentieth centuries Maria Beatriz Rocha-Trindade has asserted that "as in most great migratory movements, many more leave than ever return ... and only in exceptional circumstances would individuals move back home".³⁵ In the first half of the nineteenth century the return of Portuguese immigrants must have been even rarer than in later periods because of the slow and strenuous Atlantic passage which was still carried out by sailing ships. As a consequence, Portuguese emigration in the first half of the nineteenth century was almost always permanent or, at least, immigrants stayed in the adopted country for a long period before they returned.³⁶ From the wills of Portuguese-born individuals in Brazil, the tendency to remain is apparent. Of 170 individuals, only 22 (fifteen percent) returned to Portugal. The remaining 148 were still living in Rio de Janeiro when they died. These were mostly involved in commerce or were living off savings.³⁷

The cost of the voyage must also have convinced immigrants not to return. In this context, it might be assumed that only individuals with some financial success returned to Portugal. Yet, this was not the case. In general, once having acquired some

³⁵ Rocha-Trindade. "Portuguese Migration to Brazil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries: an example of International Cultural Exchanges," in David Higgs (ed). Portuguese Migration in Global Perspective (Toronto, 1990), p. 36.

³⁶ Alves. "Lógicas Migratórias no Porto Oitocentista," p. 80.

³⁷ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscricões da Verbas Testamentárias. Livros 5, 6, 14, and 16.

material wealth, Portuguese immigrants invested their money and established themselves in Brazil permanently.³⁸ In 1849 a Portuguese immigrant in Pernambuco stated in the Portuguese magazine Revista Universal Lisbonense that it was rare for an immigrant who had become rich to return as most did not even think about returning to Portugal. The author also made the ambiguous observation that they were not very "benevolent about their homeland".³⁹

Although most Portuguese immigrants remained in Brazil, a small number did return to Portugal during the period. They returned because of two main reasons. First, there were those who could not find the means to make a living in the new country and who ultimately had to depend on the financial help of the Portuguese government for their return. In 1847 the Portuguese representative in Rio de Janeiro noted that the Portuguese legation did not have the means to finance the return of all the people who could not afford the expenses of the voyage and sought the help of the Portuguese legation.⁴⁰ Such was the case of Rosa da Cunha de Jesus, who after a year seeking her husband in Brazil, was in such desperate straits that she asked the Portuguese government to pay for her and her three daughters to return to

³⁸ Alves. Os Brasileiros. Emigração e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista, p. 341.

³⁹ Revista Universal Lisbonense. Tomo 2, 2ª Série. 1849-1850. 30 de dezembro de 1849.

⁴⁰ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Livro 722, 4 de fevereiro de 1847.

Portugal.⁴¹

The other reason for Portuguese immigrants to return to Europe was the outbreak of lusophobia in Brazil. It seems that affluent individuals were the ones most affected. In the 1830s and 1840s, a significant number of rich immigrants returned to Portugal because of the waves of anti-Portuguese sentiment.⁴² Their decision can be explained by the fact that they were the ones who could lose the most. In fact, lusophobic groups in Brazil commonly destroyed and damaged properties owned by Portuguese.

However, some of these immigrants who were affected by Brazilian animosity chose not to return to Portugal but rather looked for other places of opportunity, such as the Portuguese colonies in Africa. This was the case of a group of 277 Portuguese citizens who left Recife for Angola in 1849 and 1850, following the anti-Portuguese violence between 1844 and 1848.⁴³ As one of these colonists stated, the Portuguese could still find good land, filled with opportunities, within the Portuguese empire, where they could seek their fortune without suffering insults.⁴⁴ The

⁴¹ Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo. Ministério dos Negócios Estrangeiros. Caixa 199. 1839.

⁴² Alves. Os Brasileiros. Emigração e o Retorno no Porto Oitocentista. p. 360.

⁴³ Marcus Carvalho. "O Antilusitanismo e a Questão Social em Pernambuco, 1822-1848," in Da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal. p. 145.

⁴⁴ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Resultado dos Acontecimentos que contra os portugueses tiveram lugar em Pernambuco nos dias 26 e 27 de junho de 1848. Cópia extraída do B.O. do governo geral da província de Angola. Luanda, 27 de agosto de 1849. N. 205 - 1- 09 - 1849. Códice 807 - vol. 1.

group, supported by the Portuguese government, established an agricultural colony in Massamedes in 1849.

The fact that a large group of people chose to found a new colony in Angola instead of returning to Portugal indicates that returning to Portugal was not an attractive possibility among the immigrants. Portugal did not have much in economic terms to offer these people and, therefore, the decision to go back was avoided or at least delayed. As the writer Alexandre Herculano wrote in 1838, the reason why many Portuguese decided to migrate to Brazil was because of their poverty in Portugal.⁴⁵ Therefore, in order to return, an individual had to be sure that he or she would not go back to the same situation of need. Furthermore, immigrants with capital may have been afraid to invest their money in Portugal, since it was seen as a country with few economic opportunities.

This may explain as well why some wealthy immigrants chose to return to Portugal only temporarily. In 1849 a Portuguese in Pernambuco wrote to the Revista Universal Lisbonense that there were some rich Portuguese, especially from Rio de Janeiro, who had returned to Portugal in the previous years. However, he stated that their return was not out of patriotism but had been a response to the wave of xenophobia in Brazil, and that as soon as they had heard that the situation had improved, they had come back. He continued that this was also the case of some Portuguese who had left Recife for Porto and then returned to Brazil as quickly as possible.⁴⁶ Thus, the return of Portuguese immigrants to

⁴⁵ Herculano. "A Emigração para o Brasil," p. 99.

⁴⁶ Revista Universal Lisbonense. Tomo 2, 2ª Série. 1849-1850. 30 de dezembro de 1849.

their homeland was not a common trend in the period from 1825 to 1850, indicating that the large majority of immigrants adapted well to Brazilian society and saw no reason to leave.

THE FLOW OF NEW IMMIGRANTS

The continuous and increasing flow of Portuguese into Brazil proves that throughout the nineteenth century the existence of lusophobia in Brazil had little effect on the flow of new immigrants to Brazil. For instance, even though the 1830s and 1840s were periods of especially strong hostility, there was an increase in the number of Portuguese immigrants arriving in Rio de Janeiro during those decades.⁴⁷ In fact, Rio de Janeiro became the most significant destination for Portuguese immigrants until the late nineteenth century.⁴⁸

The number of Portuguese arriving in the period after 1850 was even more impressive than in the first half of the century. Although it was reported that anti-Portuguese hostility existed in Brazil throughout the second half of the nineteenth century,⁴⁹ the Portuguese continued to migrate in large numbers.⁵⁰ The official records for Portuguese migration to Rio de Janeiro from April 1832 to May 1842 provide a figure of 18,427 individuals. In the second

⁴⁷ See Chapter II.

⁴⁸ Alves. Os Brasileiros: Emigração e Retorno no Porto Oitocentista. Quadro 5.17.

⁴⁹ Hahner. "Jacobinos Versus Galegos," pp. 125-154.

⁵⁰ Miriam Halpern Pereira. "Liberdade e Contenção na Emigração Portuguesa (1850-1930)," in Da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração, p. 11.

half of the century there were years in which the number of Portuguese entering the port of Rio de Janeiro almost totalled the amount for the earlier decades. For instance, from 1855 to 1878 a total of 178,027 Portuguese migrated to Brazil through the port of Rio de Janeiro. Between 1855 and 1888, the peak years accounted for totals from 6,000 to more than 18,000 immigrants per year:

1855.....	9,839
1861	6,460
1872	12,918
1888	18,289 ⁵¹

This immigration had a significant impact on Rio. The growing Portuguese influence in the city became a theme in novels, such as Emigração by João Assunção. It is a romance about a young Portuguese immigrant, Chico, who lived in Rio at the beginning of the twentieth century. Assunção writes:

... and are there many Portuguese asked Chico once again.
- And how! There are almost as many Portuguese or direct descendents of Portuguese as in Lisbon. Whoever walks those streets, it is almost as if they are in Lisbon, seeing the shops that are also like the old shops of our cities. What our little Portuguese likes to do is to go to the large cities to work in the grocery shops and in the small café-bars.⁵²

The increase in the number of immigrants arriving in Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries was a consequence of historical developments within the two

⁵¹ De Holanda. História Geral da Civilização Brasileira. O Brasil Monárquico. Tomo II, volume 4, pp. 209-210.

⁵² João Assunção. Emigração, p. 129.

countries. In Brazil, the growing coffee economy, the cessation of the slave trade in 1850, and the abolition of slavery in 1888 created a demand for more labourers, not only in rural areas but also in the urban centres of Brazil. In Portugal, the continuing poverty and lack of opportunities for economic growth for a large part of the Portuguese population pushed a significant number of people out of the country.⁵³ The continuing Portuguese migration to Brazil shows that lusophobia had no profound repercussions. The economic advantages Brazil had to offer to most of these immigrants and the cultural similarities between the two peoples outweighed the negative force of xenophobia and ensured a continuing flow of people from Portugal to Brazil.

CONCLUSION

In general, Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro in the period from 1822 to 1850 adapted well to their new environment. They did not return to Portugal even to find a spouse nor did they tend to invite Portuguese to Brazil for the purpose of marriage. Instead, they established casual or long-term relationships with local people. It indicates that even though the Portuguese were disliked by some Brazilians, they were accepted by others, and were able to integrate into local society and contribute to the creation of today's society in Rio de Janeiro.

Moreover, the Portuguese in Rio bought properties and commercial establishments in their new country, illustrating an

⁵³ Hall. The Origins of Mass Immigration in Brazil, 1871-1914. Holloway. Immigrants on the Land - Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934. Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Emigração, 1850-1930. Serrão. A Emigração Portuguesa.

intention to stay in Brazil indefinitely. The animosity which the Portuguese encountered among some Brazilians was not effective in convincing those who were in the country to return to their homeland. The large majority of the Portuguese who migrated to Rio de Janeiro between 1822 and 1850 died in that city in the second half of the century. New Portuguese immigrants continued to arrive in Brazil. In fact, Portuguese immigration increased significantly in the second half of the nineteenth century.

VIII. Conclusion

Contrary to what has been indicated by previous historical studies, Portuguese migration to Rio de Janeiro from 1822 to 1850 was a significant aspect of the city's history. Passport registers show that from April 1831 to May 1842 more than eighteen thousand Portuguese registered as immigrants with Rio's police department. Moreover, qualitative sources indicate that there was a substantial number of non-registered immigrants in the city who migrated to Brazil without passports and who stayed in Rio clandestinely. These immigrants are invisible statistically and, therefore, the total number of Portuguese in the city was probably much higher than the figures derived from the police department records.

The Portuguese chose to emigrate because of the difficult economic and social conditions in Portugal during the first half of the nineteenth century. In the late 1820s, Portugal was a bankrupt country on the verge of civil war. After the opening of the Brazilian ports in 1808, Portugal's manufacturing and agricultural sectors were severely damaged. Portugal lost its domination over the Brazilian market because it could not compete with the more industrialised European economies. From 1828 to 1834, Portuguese economic problems increased as the result of the civil war which erupted in the country. The state had to borrow abroad to finance the war and it did nothing to modernise its economy. Poverty increased as there were no jobs in either the urban or rural sectors for the expanding population.

Brazil attracted Portuguese because it offered better economic opportunities than their own country. Although Brazil experienced a period of economic stagnation right after its independence, it soon began experiencing a period of prosperity. Coffee exports reached significant levels in the 1830s and continued to rise in the next decades. By the second half of the nineteenth century, Brazil was the most important world supplier of coffee.

Within Brazil, the capital of the empire, Rio de Janeiro, was the city most affected by the booming coffee economy. The port of this city was the major intermediary between the coffee plantations and the European markets. All sectors of the city were significantly affected by the coffee economy. Construction boomed in the port area of Rio as warehouses and offices had to be built in order to meet the needs of the new exports. The population of the city also increased as large numbers of people were attracted to the city in search of employment. The retail commercial sector of Rio in particular grew with the increase in population. Portuguese immigrants took advantage of this situation. They migrated to Brazil, settled in the commercial area of the city, and became heavily involved in the retail trade.

Immigrants - not only from Portugal but also from France, England, Spain, Italy, Germany, and elsewhere - were attracted to Rio because of this commercial growth. Passport registers show that a majority of Rio's migrants worked in the retail and wholesale sectors of the city. And of the immigrants, it was the Portuguese who dominated this sector. More than 70 percent of the Portuguese in Rio listed in the same passport registers of November 1828, June 1832, August 1838, and January 1842 were

involved in commerce.¹ The non-Portuguese immigrants of Rio listed in the same passport registers also showed a preference for commerce, but only 40 percent were working in this sector.²

Yet, it was not only economic considerations that pushed people from Portugal to Brazil. There were also many individuals who earned their living by convincing people to migrate and transporting them overseas as indentured labour and who, in this fashion had an impact on the flow of migration. Several ships were reported to be involved in the transportation of people from Portugal to Brazil who could not pay for their tickets and who were offered as labourers to anyone willing to pay their travel expenses. After 1850, former slave traders participated in and profited from the business of transporting immigrants.³

Another factor which influenced the arrival of Portuguese in Rio was the established Portuguese community in the city. In the late eighteenth century, a large proportion of the Portuguese who were migrating did so in order to meet relatives or friends in Rio who helped them to find shelter and work. This system of kinship continued throughout the nineteenth century. It was common for young men to migrate to Rio specifically to work for someone who was already established in the city. Linked to this was another "pull factor," the attraction of the common language which made settlement in Brazil much less difficult for Portuguese

¹ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Portugueses na Polícia. Códice 378. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

² Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Apresentação de Passaportes de Estrangeiros na Polícia. Códice 381, volumes 2, 10, and 15.

³ Chalhoub. Visões da Liberdade, p. 200.

immigrants.

A factor that eased the arrival of Portuguese immigrants in Rio was the fact that they were well received by the Brazilian government. The immigrants posed no threat to the Brazilian elite because the Constitution of the country ensured that only the landed upper class had the right to get involved in the formal political process. The Constitution excluded almost all clerks, domestic workers, and other middle-class labourers, because they did not earn enough money and lacked sufficient property to be allowed to vote or to run for political office.

Moreover, the people who promoted Brazilian independence in 1822 wanted to create a nation of whites. The obvious question which they faced was how to create a "white" nation while they continued to import thousands of Africans every year until 1850. One solution was to deny Brazilian citizenship to enslaved people, so that, at least theoretically, these were not Brazilians. Yet, the predominant physical presence of blacks in the population of Brazil was something the elite could not ignore. Another solution was to encourage the immigration of white settlers in order to offset the African presence in Brazil.

Portuguese immigration served this purpose to some extent as the Portuguese arrived in Brazil in large numbers and did so over a long period. Best of all, from the Brazilian point of view, was the fact that the Portuguese migrated to Brazil without the necessity of incentives on the part of the Brazilian government. In the first half of the nineteenth century, the Brazilian state sponsored groups of Germans, Swiss, and Irish to migrate to Brazil. Despite the money spent by the government, however, their numbers never approached those of the Portuguese who came without

the benefits of government financial support.

The Portuguese were the only group of white immigrants who can be said to have comprised a sustained and spontaneous movement into Brazil. Their migration continued, in large numbers, throughout the second half of the nineteenth century and well into the first half of the twentieth century. It has been estimated that from 1884 to 1913, more than 700,000 Portuguese migrated to Brazil.⁴ Brazil remained the most important area for Portuguese immigration up to the middle of the 1960s. Between 1855 and 1865, 87 percent of all emigrants from Portugal went to Brazil. From 1880 to 1960 the figure remained high, at around 76 percent of Portuguese leaving their homeland.⁵

Yet, despite the acceptance of Portuguese immigrants by the Brazilian elite and the many factors which facilitated the settlement of these immigrants in Brazil, the Portuguese faced a certain amount of hostility from the population at large. On different occasions not only the Portuguese but also the other immigrant communities in Rio had to contend with animosity from the Brazilian-born population. The Portuguese suffered the most, as a consequence of an emerging nationalism which developed from the process of Brazilian independence. Moreover, the large numbers of Portuguese migrating to Rio de Janeiro caused friction with the Brazilian-born population, by creating an unwelcome competition for jobs. The Portuguese monopolisation of the occupation of clerk enraged the young and propertyless sector of Rio's population, who

⁴ Sacuntala de Miranda. "Emigração e Fluxos de Capital, 1870-1914," in Da Silva e Outros (eds.). Emigração/Imigração em Portugal, p. 55.

⁵ Pereira. A Política Portuguesa de Imigração, p. 15.

felt that Brazilians did not have the same employment chances as the Portuguese. The large numbers of Portuguese owning shops in the city caused Brazilians to blame them for the high cost of living in the city. Animosity flared up at different times in response to local conditions. It continued throughout the nineteenth century as in the 1890s, once again, anti-Portuguese demonstrations occurred in the streets of Rio de Janeiro.

Yet, despite the presence of this hostility, most Portuguese immigrants in Rio de Janeiro adapted to the new environment. They married or developed relationships with local women, bought properties in Brazil, and did not return to Portugal. The wills of Portuguese in Brazil during the nineteenth century show that a large majority of immigrants died in Brazil.⁶ In 1898, the Portuguese immigrant, J. A. Correia Guimarães, wrote in the editorial of the Rio newspaper, O Eco Lusitano, that the Portuguese, in general, because of the common identity of language, origins, and customs, felt at home in Brazil. They lived a little bit better than in Portugal and little by little they identified more and more with the national milieu.⁷

Portuguese migration to Brazil influenced the country in many different and profound ways. It created a labour force for Brazil, contributed to the development of the internal market, and furthered urbanisation. Economically, the small shops owned by the Portuguese immigrants helped in providing the basic commodities

⁶ Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro. Inscrições de Verbas Testamentarias. Livros 5, 6, 14, and 16.

⁷ Cited in Da Silva. Documentos para a História da Imigração Portuguesa no Brasil, p. XX.

for a growing city. In political terms, the constant flow of Portuguese into Brazil helped in the development of a sense of nationalism or national identity. Anti-Portuguese sentiment, especially in the first half of the nineteenth century, was one of the few factors uniting all the regions of Brazil.⁸

The constant flow of European immigrants in Brazil, of whom the Portuguese comprised the majority, also had a profound impact on the racial structure of Rio's population. Today, the city of Salvador, in Bahia, is considered the "African" city of Brazil. Yet, in the early 1800s, Rio housed the largest black population in the Americas. It has been estimated that in 1835 Salvador had a slave population of 27,500, while in 1838 in Rio there were 37,137 slaves.⁹ Yet, Rio today is not considered the "black city" of Brazil. This is in large part because of the number of white immigrants that Rio received throughout the nineteenth and early twentieth centuries.

The arrival of the European newcomers decreased the proportion of blacks in the population of the capital. As a result, even though Salvador had fewer slaves than Rio in the 1830s, the percentage of slaves was larger, 42 percent in comparison to 38 percent in Rio.¹⁰ In 1849, the number of slaves in Rio increased to almost 80,000; however, they comprised less than 40 percent of the entire population. In 1870, slaves were less than 22 percent of Rio's population, owing to the end of the slave

⁸ Burns. Nationalism in Brazil, pp. 31-33.

⁹ Graden. "An Act "Even of Public Security," p. 253.

¹⁰ Graden. "An Act "Even of Public Security," p. 253.

trade in 1850 as well as the increasing European immigration of the late nineteenth century.¹¹

Miscegenation between European immigrants and blacks also served to diminish the black presence in the city. The racial system of Brazil in which appearance rather than ancestry determined racial classification,¹² corroborated and was, probably, a consequence of the elite's policy towards the "whitening" of Brazil's population. "Lighter" mulattos had a tendency to identify themselves with their white predecessors and to deny their African ancestry.

The impact of European immigration also affected the social position of the city's blacks. The immigration of large numbers of whites meant that the blacks now faced increased and unfair competition for Rio's jobs. The newcomers had the advantage of being white and of having an easier route to social improvement. It is not surprising that in Salvador blacks managed to attain in higher professional positions than those in Rio. This situation influenced "lighter" mulattos to deny their black ancestry as they tried to secure acceptance by the white population of the city.

This does not mean, however, that the African influence in Rio was lost. The city still has a significant number of residents of African descent, and African culture is evident, especially in music, food and religion. In fact, African culture, in many ways, has survived better in Brazil than the culture brought by the Portuguese immigrants. For instance, Portuguese music is not particularly popular in Brazil. Even the Portuguese language, in

¹¹ Karasch. Slave Life, p. 65.

¹² Skidmore. Black into White, pp. 39-40.

the way that it is spoken and written in Portugal, is not well accepted. Moreover, although Portuguese culinary influences are still present in Brazil, most notably cod fish (bacalhau) and cod fish cake (bolinho de bacalhau), the predominant dish in Brazil is black beans stew (feijoadada) - which was the basic food for the enslaved population. It seems that Portuguese influence remained stronger in literature, as Portuguese authors such as Eça de Queiroz and Fernando Pessoa remain respected writers in Brazil. Still, only a limited proportion of the population has an interest in literature or access to books.

In general, the Portuguese immigrants failed to maintain Portuguese culture in Brazil, as they became acculturated to Brazilian society. As a consequence, the second generation of Portuguese in Brazil had very little in the way of identification with the country of their parents. In 1916, an editorial in the newspaper O Lusíada of São Paulo stated that all second-generation Portuguese in Brazil lost their sense of being Portuguese and became Brazilian. This could be seen as a natural development of the immigration experience. At the same time, the children of Portuguese in Brazil developed a certain disdain of everything that related to Portugal. Brazilian animosity towards the Portuguese, as well as the lost ties between the immigrants and Portugal, were responsible for the second generation's rejection of their Portuguese background.

Well into the twentieth century the image of the Portuguese who migrated to Brazil has been a negative one. The immigrants have been seen generally as a stupid people who were only interested in making and saving money from their commercial enterprises. That image is presented in the novel O Cortiço by

Aluísio Azevedo. The story was published in 1890. It centres around two Portuguese immigrants, João Romão and Miranda, who lived in Rio some time in the late nineteenth century. João had worked for twelve years as a clerk - from the time he was thirteen years old - for another Portuguese immigrant. When João was twenty-five, his employer went back to Portugal, leaving his little store to João, who became obsessed with the idea of getting rich now that he had his own store. The author of the novel shows that João had no hesitation about doing what was necessary to achieve his objective. He slept in the store with no comforts at all. He stole money from an enslaved woman - Bertoleza - who became his concubine and who had saved money all her life to buy her manumission. João forged a letter of freedom so that Bertoleza would believe she was free, sent a note to her master who lived in the interior that she had run away, and with her money expanded his business. The other Portuguese character, Miranda, is a well-to-do businessman of downtown Rio, of limited intelligence, who had come to Brazil as a poor person and now considered his business and his social position as being more important than even his family.¹³

These two characters in Azevedo's book are examples of the Brazilian stereotypes of Portuguese immigrants. The concentration in the retail sector and the large number of illiterates who were part of the migratory flow in the second half of the nineteenth

century lay behind the creation of these stereotypes of greedy and not very intelligent, Portuguese immigrants. Brazilian attitudes towards the Portuguese have distorted the latter's, lack of

¹³ Aluísio de Azevedo. O Cortiço (São Paulo, n/date).

education into a lack of intelligence and their interest in the retail trade into an obsession with money. It is true that some immigrants considered the economic position which they achieved in Brazil to be of the utmost importance. Yet, immigration brought a variety of people, with different perspectives on life and varied backgrounds. To generalise about them is, to say the least, unfair. It also deprecates the many Brazilians who are direct descendants of these immigrants.

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