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NOTES AND COMMENTS

Resistance and Accommodation in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: The Slaves' View of Slavery

STUART B. SCHWARTZ*

To a great extent, despite an extensive and ever-increasing bibliography, the history of slavery in Brazil remains to be written. As an institution that persisted in Brazil for almost four centuries, the nature and conditions of slavery underwent a series of modifications related to changes in the economy, the social structure, and the dominant cultural norms. Moreover, we should not forget the continuous influence of the Africans themselves on the shape of the institution which molded their destiny as Brazilians. Within these four centuries of change there are certain constant themes and among them is the continuous struggle of African or Brazilian born slaves against the institution of slavery. The great *quilombo* of Palmares, the revolt of the Males in Bahia, and other such dramatic events are now relatively well known by historians of Brazil and students of slavery in general. However there were many others.¹ In this short article I wish to present some information concerning a long-forgotten slave revolt that occurred in Ilhéus (now a part of the state of Bahia) at the end of the eighteenth century. While the revolt itself was a relatively minor affair, it is especially significant because it produced the only contemporaneous document now known

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1. The literature on slave revolts and escaped slave communities is growing rapidly. See, for example, José Alípio Goulart, *Da fuga ao suicídio: Aspectos da rebeldia dos escravos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro, 1972). The number of regional studies based on local sources is now increasing as can be seen in works such as Pedro Tomas Pedreira, "Os quilombos baianos," in *Revista Brasileira de Geografia*, N. 24 (1962), 79–93; José Antônio Soares de Sousa, "Quilombo de Bacaxá," *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, 253 (Oct.–Dec., 1961), 3–11; Armando Salles, *O Negro no Pará* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971). I have cited most of the standard sources in Stuart B. Schwartz, "The *Mocambo*: Slave Resistance in Colonial Bahia," *Journal of Social History*, 3 (1970), 313–333.

in which the slaves themselves commented on the nature of Brazilian plantation slavery. This document is appended here as Document II.

For a variety of reasons slave resistance in Bahia intensified in the period 1790 to 1840. Certainly, external events such as the French Revolution of 1789, the great slave rising in Saint Domingue in 1791, and other events in the Atlantic world influenced the aspirations of both slaveowners and slaves in Bahia.² Also, the rapidly expanding sugar economy, responding to the new market conditions caused by the elimination of Saint Domingue as a major producer, probably prompted increased demands on the servile population that adversely affected their lives. These conditions and the changing political situation at the beginning of the nineteenth century that eventually resulted in the demise of the colonial regime between 1821 and 1824 exposed the slave population to new motives and greater opportunities for overt resistance. The importation of significant numbers of slaves from the Mina coast including Hausa-speaking Muslims who, coming together and in quantity, were able to maintain much of their culture intact has also been offered as an explanation of much slave unrest in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.³ Whatever the reasons, it is clear that in this period the slave regime of Bahia and the surrounding areas was being severely challenged.

As part of the unknown history of slave resistance in Bahia, I wish to present here information from two unpublished documents from the Arquivo Público da Bahia (Secção Histórica, Cartas ao Governo 207). The first of these is a letter from Desembargador Ouvidor Geral do Crime (royal magistrate) Claudio José Pereira da Costa to the Conde da Ponte, governor of Bahia. This letter relates the history of a group of slaves from Engenho Santana in Ilhéus who killed their overseer and fled to the forests establishing a *mocambo* (escaped slave community) from which they resisted all attempts to recapture them.

2. Documentary evidence of the Haitian revolution on blacks and mulattos in Brasil is provided by Luis Mott, "A escravatura: O propósito de uma representação a El-Rei sobre a escravatura no Brasil," *Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros* v. 14 (1973), 127–136. The general intellectual situation is presented in Kenneth Maxwell, "The Generation of the 1790s and the Idea of Luso-Brazilian Empire," in Dauril Alden, ed., *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 1973), 107–146. See also Katia M. de Queiros Mattoso, *Presença francesa no movimento democrático baiano de 1798* (Bahia, 1969); Carlos Guilherme Mota, *Atitudes de inovação no Brasil—1798–1801* (Lisbon, no date [1969]).

3. This thesis is suggested most recently by Pierre Verger in his *Flux et reflux de la Traite des Negres entre le golfe de Bénin et Bahia de todos os santos* (Paris, 1968), pp. 325–350.

The slaves knew how to disrupt the operations of their master's plantation, and they had carefully taken with them all the hardware (*ferramenta*) of the engenho so that the mill remained inactive (*fogo morto*) for two years.

The existence of a group of fugitives on the perimeters of the plantations challenged the continued captivity of other slaves. The slave system could simply not permit fugitive communities that would serve as a beacon of freedom to those who remained enslaved. Thus, colonial authorities and individual planters sought to eliminate these *mocambos* by force and this is the course that was followed against the escaped slaves of Engenho Santana. In this case, the actions of the slaves and the response of the colonial authorities while interesting are not in any way extraordinary since they follow the general pattern of such incidents in Brazilian colonial history. What is extraordinary and singular, however, is the contents of the second document: a treaty of peace proposed by the escaped slaves to their former master, Manoel da Silva Ferreira, in which they sought to define the conditions under which they would return to captivity.

To place this treaty in proper perspective it is necessary to present here the background of the incident. The Engenho Santana of Ilhéus was one of the oldest sugar plantations in the central captaincies and probably the largest in Ilhéus. Established in the sixteenth century by Governor Mem de Sá, it had become the property of the absentee Count of Linhares and with the death of his wife and heir, Dona Felipa de Sá, passed into the control of the Jesuit College of Santo Antão of Lisbon. For most of its history it was administered by the Jesuits and was linked with their other great sugar mill, Engenho Sergipe do Conde in the Bahian Recôncavo.⁴ After the expulsion of the Jesuits from Brazil in 1759 the *engenho* was sold to Manoel da Silva Ferreira who in 1789 still owed some 8,000 *mil-réis* to the royal treasury for the purchase. It was in this year that the crown magistrate of Ilhéus (Ouvidor Geral da Comarca de Ilhéus) reported that fifty of the three hundred slaves of Engenho Santana had fled to the

4. The best summary of the history of Engenho Santana and Engenho Sergipe do Conde are provided by Wanderley Pinho in "Testamento de Mem de Sá, Inventário de seus bens no Brasil," *Terceiro Congresso de História Nacional*, III (1938), 5-161. This article includes an inventory of Engenho Santana made in 1810. See also Serafim Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, 10 vols. (Lisbon, 1938-1950), V, 243-251.

forest and established a *mocambo* near the *engenho*.⁵ The crown magistrate, fearing the effect of the *mocambo* on other slaves and on “public order (*sossego público*)” at first tried to persuade the fugitives to return. Failing this, he then organized a punitive expedition composed of slave hunters (*capitães do mato*) and Indians from the villages of Barcelos and Olivença. The use of Indians as shock troops against escaped slaves was a common tactic in Brazil throughout the colonial period. The expedition was placed under the command of Sargento-Môr da Comarca, Ignácio de Azevedo Pericoto.

Between the date of the letter of the Ouvidor Geral da Comarca de Ilhéus (June 12, 1789) and that of the Ouvidor Geral do Crime (January 22, 1806) published here as Document I, we have no further information. Still, Document I makes it clear that the punitive expedition must have failed and it narrates in some detail the manner in which the fugitives were finally moved to offer a treaty of peace to their former master stating the conditions under which they would return to slavery. It goes on to tell how Manoel da Silva Ferreira by deceit and dissimulation recaptured the slaves and sent their leader, a *cabra* named Gregório Luís, and fifteen or sixteen others to José da Silva Maia, a merchant in Salvador, so that he could sell them in Maranhão.⁶ These events occurred at the end of 1789 or early in 1790. We do not know the ultimate fate of the fugitives with the exception of Gregório Luís who was imprisoned in Salvador. There he remained for some sixteen years and it was probably this long confinement without trial that led him to appeal to the Ouvidor Geral do Crime who in response drew up the two documents appended here.

5. Here we encounter a discrepancy between the reports of the Ouvidor Geral da Comarca de Ilhéus (1789) and that of the Desembargador Ouvidor Geral do Crime (1806) in reference to the actual number of “revolted” slaves. The former speaks of fifty slaves who participated in the resistance while the latter claims that the majority (*o maior número*) joined the rebels. It should be noted, however, that both agree that there were three hundred slaves at Engenho Santana. This is a number far above the average size of eighty to one hundred slaves characteristic of the Bahian *engenhos* of the period.

6. The booming cotton agriculture of the Amazonian region created the market in Maranhão for even troublesome slaves.

José da Silva Maia was an important merchant in Salvador in the last decade of the eighteenth century. A man of wealth and position, he owned a number of ships in the coastal trade and had three vessels engaged in trans-Atlantic commerce. He was a lay brother of the Third Order of São Domingos and he became a brother of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in 1802. His will, drawn up in 1802, indicates that among his possessions were twenty-five slaves. See Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Seção judiciária, maço 676, n. 5. The author wishes to thank Ms. Catherine Lugar for some of the information concerning José da Silva Maia.

The Treaty of Peace

A treaty of peace between escaped slaves and a colonial regime is not unknown in the history of slavery in the Americas. In Mexico and in Ecuador escaped slaves established their freedom and eventually forced colonial authorities to recognize it, usually with the condition that no other fugitives would be welcomed. Perhaps the most famous example of this phenomenon is provided by Maroon War of Jamaica in the eighteenth century, during which a large number of slaves under the leadership of the African Cudjoe won their freedom after a long guerrilla campaign.⁷ The treaty presented here is quite different from these others in that it attempts to set out the conditions under which the slaves will return to captivity. It seems at first glance to be a simple attempt to ameliorate the conditions of slave labor in recognition of defeat. On closer examination, however, its content is far more revolutionary.

There are two aspects of the treaty that deserve special commentary. First, in that the treaty establishes a series of *desiderata* it offers us a vision of the conditions of life and labor on Brazilian sugar plantations at the end of the eighteenth century from the point of view of the slaves. Many of the articles of the treaty refer to specific conditions of labor and to the minimum needs of physical comfort—the clothing of the boatmen, the number of workers needed in the mill, the elimination of unpleasant tasks. In a number of paragraphs it is made clear that the slaves were accustomed to providing their own sustenance.⁸ The demands for two days free from responsibility to the *engenho* with the right to fish, plant rice, and cut firewood indicate a certain degree of economic independence and self-sufficiency. The fact that these slaves were able to produce a marketable surplus is underlined by their demand that the plantation owner provide them with a large boat to carry their produce to the market in Salvador and free them of the usual transport costs. We have here evidence

7. For a comparison see David Davidson, "Negro Slave Control and Resistance in Colonial Mexico," *HAHR*, 46 (1966), 233–253. This and other essays have been collected in Richard Price, ed., *Maroon Societies* (New York, 1973). The treaty ending the first Maroon War in Jamaica signed in 1738 was reprinted in Bryan Edwards, *The History . . . of the West Indies* (London, 1807) and is included in the *Maroon Societies* volume, pp. 237–239.

8. The slaves in Bahia were often poorly fed. In 1606 and 1701 royal orders were issued that required slaveowners to feed their slaves properly, but observers in 1711, 1756, and 1807 all agreed that slaves were generally not given proper nourishment. Cf. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Ordens régias 6, n. 103; C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire, 1485–1825* (Oxford, 1963), p. 111.

that even agricultural slaves participated directly in the market economy and were able to accumulate capital. This provides one explanation of how slaves acquired the funds necessary to purchase their freedom. Moreover, this evidence should raise some serious questions about the often repeated generalization that because slaves were unable to accumulate capital there existed no internal market in colonial Brazil, and that as a result there was no real opportunity for industrial development. Until we understand more about the relationship between slaves and the cash economy, this generalization is hypothetical at best.⁹

The greatest part of the treaty refers to the slaves' labor obligations. The paragraph that refers to the quantity of a *tarefa* of sugarcane is an example of the nature of these requests. The slaves demanded that the *tarefa de canas*, that is the amount of sugarcane to be cut in one day, should be "of five hands (*mãos*) and not of six, and ten canes in bundle (*feixe*)." Cane cutters measured their work in "hands" of cane. Each hand was equivalent to five "fingers," each of which was made up of ten bundles, with a dozen canes per bundle. Thus a hand of cane was equal to 600 canes. The slaves of Engenho Santana therefore were seeking a reduction in both the number of hands required for the daily quota and the number of canes required in each bundle. Instead of a daily quota of 3,600 canes ($6 \times 5 \times 10 \times 12$) they wanted a requirement of only 2,500 canes ($5 \times 5 \times 10 \times 10$), a reduction of thirty percent. In either case, both figures are substantially below the quota of seven hands of cane, or 4,200 canes, reported by Antonil as the *tarefa* expected of cane cutters in Bahia at the end of the seventeenth century. These very practical matters were of most concern in the proposed treaty.¹⁰

The articles of the treaty relating to work also illustrate two interesting aspects of slave life. First, the role of slave women as milling and agricultural laborers and not simply as house slaves is quite apparent from this document. Quotas for women in the planting of manioc and the role of women in the cutting of firewood are both

9. This argument is perhaps best known from the works of Celso Furtado, especially his *Economic Growth of Brazil* (Berkeley, 1963), pp. 50–58.

10. Antonil's book was published in 1711 but the critical edition of Mlle. Andrée Mansuy indicates that most of the sections dealing with sugar date from the year 1689. See *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (Paris, 1968). Conditions of labor in the cane fields are described in Stuart B. Schwartz, "Free Labor in a Slave Economy: The Lavradores de Cana of Colonial Bahia," in Dauril Alden, ed., *Colonial Roots of Modern Brazil* (Berkeley, 1973), pp. 147–197.

mentioned. Also, it was common practice in Bahia for women to accompany the cane cutters and to bind the cane into bundles in the field. Second, it is also curious to note the continuous animosity between the various "nations" of slaves. The concept of "divide and conquer" was an old and efficient means of slave control. The run-aways from Engenho Santana, led by a Brazilian-born *cabra*, apparently had little sympathy for their fellows from the Mina coast in Africa. Certain disagreeable tasks such as searching for crabs and shellfish in the tidal pools and saltwater swamps were particularly disliked by the slaves. The attitude of the fugitives expressed here was "leave these tasks to the Mina slaves."

Despite the practical and everyday nature of most of the treaty's articles, there are three paragraphs that warrant special attention. In one, the slaves declared clearly that they would not accept the present overseers. Perhaps this was a way to speak out against physical punishment, an aspect of slave life not mentioned directly in the proposals. The rebels also declared that the new overseers had to be chosen with the approval of the slaves. The threat that such a condition would impose on the slave regime is obvious. Even more revolutionary was the demand that the equipment (*ferramenta*) of the *engenho* also remain in their control. This would place control of the plantation entirely in their hands and would reduce the concept of slavery to a farce. To accept such conditions would be tantamount to the end of slavery. What the slaves of Engenho Santana sought was basically to establish acceptable conditions of life and labor including such modern concepts as a four-day work week. The control they hoped to obtain over their own servitude was far too revolutionary for any slave regime to accept. As Document I explains, they were finally tricked, captured and re-enslaved.

Finally, it is worth noting that within the context of a series of demands concerning the nature of work, the slaves of Engenho Santana also affirmed their humanity. The final article of the treaty seeks to protect their culture, or in their own words, "we will be able to play, relax, and sing any time we wish without your hinderance nor will permission be needed." This reference to the larger dimension of man, to his spirit and not only to the body, represents that which was perhaps the greatest contribution of the slaves to Brazilian culture, that is the desire to maintain these human dimensions intact under the most difficult conditions of life. Given the tragic end of the fugitives from Engenho Santana, this last article of the treaty becomes even more poignant.

DOCUMENT I

Arquivo Público do Estado
da Bahia: Secção histórica
Cartas ao Governo, 207

Illustrious and most Excellent Sir

The Supplicant Gregorio Luís, a *cabra* finds himself a prisoner in the jail of this High Court where he was sent by his master, Captain Manoel da Silva Ferreira, resident on his Engenho called Santana in the district of the Town of Ilhéus; there coming at the same time with him, as I remember, some fifteen or sixteen other slaves. These were sent to the merchant José da Silva Maia, his commercial agent, so that he could sell them in Maranhão while the Supplicant came with the recommendation that he be held in prison while the Court of that district prepared the charges so that he could be given exemplary punishment. Taking a preliminary investigation of the Supplicant, I have determined the following facts. The above mentioned Manoel da Silva Ferreira being master and owner of the aforesaid *engenho* with three hundred slaves, including some of the Mina nation discovered the majority of them in rebellion refusing to recognize their subordination to their master. And, the principal leader of this disorder was the Supplicant who began to incite among them the partisan spirit against their master and against the Sugar Master. The Supplicant was able with a few of his followers to kill the latter and until now none know where they buried him. Taking control of part of the *engenho's* equipment, they fled to the forest refusing not only to give their service or to obey their master, but even placing him in fear that they would cruelly take his life. For this reason the *engenho* has remained inactive for two years with such notable damage that its decadence is dated from that time forward, and, moreover, these damages added to the danger that the rest of the slaves might follow the terrible example of those in rebellion. Thus the majority of the slaves persisted divided into errant and vagabond bands throughout the territory of the *engenho*, so absolute and fearless that the consternation and fright of their master increased in consideration that he might one day fall victim to some disaster. Matters being in this situation, the rebels sent emissaries to their Master with a proposal of capitulation contained in the enclosed copy [see Document II] to which he showed them that he acceded: some came and others remained. The Supplicant as the most astute was able to extort from him a letter of Manumission which was granted at the time without the intention that it have any validity, at the same time he [the Supplicant] sought the District Judge who entering the *engenho* with eighty-five armed men sought out the house of his Master: The latter who could not now confide in the principal leaders of that uprising took advantage of a stratagem of sending the Supplicant Gregorio and fifteen others with a false letter to the Captain major of the

militia, João da Silva Santos, who was in the Vila of Belmonte, telling them that they would receive from him some cattle and manioc flour for the *engenho*. Arriving at the said Vila all were taken prisoner with handcuffs despite the great resistance that they made almost to the point of much bloodshed. They were finally conducted to the jail of this High Court as I have said, that is, the Supplicant as the prime mover to be held until his charges were seen and the others with orders to the aforementioned merchant to be sold to Maranhão as they were.

Twice there has been required from this court an order to be sent the investigation or any other charges against the Supplicant and until now they have not arrived.

I must also tell Your Excellency that the Master of the said Engenho has on repeated occasions recommended with the greatest insistence that the Supplicant not be released from prison except by a sentence that exiles him far away because if he is freed he will unfailingly return to the *engenho* to incite new disorders, that may be irreparable.

That which is reported here seems to me enough to give Your Excellency a sufficient idea concerning the Supplicant and the reasons for his imprisonment. God Protect Your Excellency. Bahia 22 of January of 1806.

The Desembargador Ouvidor geral do Crime

Claudio Jose Pereira da Costa

DOCUMENT II

Treaty Proposed to Manoel da Silva Ferreira
By His Slaves during the Time that They
Remained in Revolt

My Lord, we want peace and we do not want war; if My Lord also wants our peace it must be in this manner, if he wishes to agree to that which we want.

In each week you must give us the days of Friday and Saturday to work for ourselves not subtracting any of these because they are Saint's days.

To enable us to live you must give us casting nets and canoes.¹¹

You are not to oblige us to fish in the tidal pools nor to gather shellfish, and when you wish to gather shellfish send your Mina blacks.

For your sustenance have a fishing launch and decked canoes, and when you wish to eat shellfish send your Mina blacks.

11. The *tarrafa* or casting net is still widely used along the coast of North-east Brazil. It is presently about 170 inches in length with a 480-inch circular bottom that is weighted. See Shepard Forman, *The Raft Fishermen* (Bloomington, 1970), pp. 58-59.

Make a large boat so that when it goes to Bahia we can place our cargoes aboard and not pay freightage.

In the planting of manioc we wish the men to have a daily quota of two and one half hands and the women, two hands.¹²

The daily quota of manioc flour must be of five level *alqueires*, placing enough harvesters so that these can serve to hang up the coverings.¹³

The daily quota of sugarcane must be of five hands rather than six and of ten canes in each bundle.¹⁴

On the boat you must put four poles, and one for the rudder, and the one at the rudder works hard for us.

The wood that is sawed with a hand saw must have three men below and one above.¹⁵

The measure of firewood must be as was practiced here, for each measure a woodcutter and a woman as the wood carrier.¹⁶

The present overseers we do not want, choose others with our approval.

At the milling rollers there must be four women to feed in the cane, two pulleys, and a *carcanha*.¹⁷

At each cauldron there must be one who tends the fire and in each series of kettles the same, and on Saturday there must be without fail work stoppage in the mill.

The sailors who go in the launch beside the baize shirt that they are given must also have a jacket of baize and all the necessary clothing.

12. As with sugar cane, the daily quotas (*tarefas*) were measured in "hands," as a mnemonic device. While it is possible to establish the quantity of a *arefa* of sugar cane, it has been impossible to do so for manioc.

13. The *alqueire* is a dry measure equal to 36.27 litres or approximately one English bushel. The reference to coverings (*tapetes*) is obscure, apparently referring to the processing of manioc flour.

14. See the text, p. 74.

15. The reference here is apparently to the rip saw that was widely used in colonial Brazil. There is a good pictorial representation of its use by slaves in Jean Baptiste Debret, *Viagem Pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil*, 2d ed., 3 vols. in 2 (São Paulo, 1949). The occupation of sawyer (*serrador*) was commonly listed for sugar plantation slaves since building and repairing the mill called for much carpentry.

16. Some idea of the quota of firewood required of slaves is provided by Antonil. He reported that the daily requirement was a pile of firewood seven *palmas* (*palmo* = nine inches) high by eight *palmas* deep of 63" × 72". This was the equivalent of one cartload. See Antonil, *Cultura e opulência*, p. 200.

17. *Moedeiras* were the women whose job it was to feed the cane through the milling rollers. At the time of Antonil only two women were employed at the rollers. The juice squeezed from the cane was collected in a large vat (*parol*) and was then taken out by buckets on a hoist (*guinda*) and poured into the cauldrons for boiling. The women employed in this task were called *guinda-deiras*. For a pictorial representation based on Antonil's account, see Hamilton Fernandes, *Açúcar e Alcool ontem e hoje* (Rio de Janeiro, 1971), pp. 56-57. I have been unable to identify a *carcanha*.

We will go to work the canefield of Jabirú this time and then it must remain as pasture for we cannot cut cane in a swamp.

We shall be able to plant our rice wherever we wish, and in any marsh, without asking permission for this, and each person can cut jacaranda or any other wood without having to account for this.

Accepting all the above articles and allowing us to remain always in possession of the hardware, we are ready to serve you as before because we do not wish to continue the bad customs of the other *engenhos*.

We shall be able to play, relax and sing any time we wish without your hinderance nor will permission be needed.

DOCUMENTO I

Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia
Cartas ao Governo 207

Ilm^o e Exm^o Senhor

O sup^e Gregorio Luis homem cabra acha-se prezo na Cadea desta Rellação p^a onde veio remetido por seu Senhor o Cap^m Manoel da Silva Fer^a, morador no seu Engenho denominado de St^a Anna no termo da Villa de Ilheos; vindo na mesma condução segundo minha lembrança mais quinze ou deseseis escravos, estes incumbidos ao Negociante desta Praça Joze da Silva Maia seu correspondente p^a os vender p^a o Maranhão, e aquelle com recomendação p^a ser conservado na Cadea, enquanto no Juizo daquelle distrito se formaizavão as suas Culpas p^a ser exemplarm^{te} castigado, pois que dando-se me huma preliminar informação da conducta do Supt^e; por ella se me fez saber. Que sendo o sobred^o Mel da Silva Ferreira, Senhor e possuidor do mencionado Engenho, come trezentos escravos incluindo alguns da nasção Mina, se achavão no maior numero levantados, sem quererem jamais reconhecer subordinação a Seu Senhor, e que o principal Chefe deste desordem era o Supt^e, o qual principando a suscitar entre elles o espirito de partido contra elle Seu Senhor, e contra o mestre de açucar, poude Conseguir com hums poucos da sua facção que o matarem, sem até agora se saber onde havião enterrado, e senhoriando-se dept^e da ferramenta se refugirão p^a o matto recuzando não só a obediencia a seu Sr^o e prestação de seus serviços, mas até pondo este no justo receio de lhe tirarem a vida cruelm^{te}; ficando por este motivo o Engenho quaze dois annos de fogo morto, com tam notavel prejuizo que daquella Epoca em diante se foi conhecendo a sua//decadencia, e que alem destes estragos accrescia o perigo de q. o resto da escravatura seguisse o pessimo exemplo dos levantados. Assim prezistirão a maior parte dos escravos divididos em bandos errantes e vagabundos pello territorio do Eng^o tam absolutos e destemidos, qt^o se aumentava a Consternação e os sustos de seu Senhor na consideração de poder ser em qualq^r dia a victima de algum desastre. Estando as couzas

nestes termos enviarão os levantados emissarios a seu Senhor com a proposta da Capitulação Constante da Copia incluz, a qual lhes mostrou que annua: vierão huns efficacy outros. O Supte como mais astuto poude extorquir delle Carta de Liberdade que por emtam lhe foi Concedida, sem animo de que tivesse alguma validade: ao mesmo tempo recorreu ao Juiz do distrito o qual entrando no Eng^o com oitenta e cinco homens armados fez com q. procurassem a Caza de seu Senhor; porem este que já não devia confiar-se dos principaes Cabeças daquelle levante se valeu do estratagemma de mander o Supte Gregorio e mais quinze com huma carta affectada ao Cap^m Mor das Ordenanças João da Silva Santos q se achava na vila de Belmonte, dizendo-lhes que delle receberião hum pouco de gado e farinha p^a o Engenho: chegando a dita Villa forão ali presos com algemas apezar da grande resistencia q fizerão quaze ao ponto de haver mt^o Sangue. Vierão finalmente conduzidos p^a a Cadea desta Rellação como deixo dito, a Saber o Supte//como primeiro movel p^a ficar retido ate verem as suas Culpas, e os outros com recommendação ao Negociante refferido p^a os vender p^a o Maranhão como forão.

Pr duas vezes se têm expedido deste juizo ordem p^a ser remetida a devassa ou quaes q. outras culpas do Supte e até agora não tem chegado.

Precizo dizer a V. Ex^a que o Senhor do dito Engenho, tem repetidas vezes recomendado com as maiores instancias p^a que o Supte não sahia da prizão senão pr Sentença que o extermine p^a longe por que se o soltarem volta infalivelmt^e ao Eng^o a suscitar novas desordens, que tal vez sejam irremediaveis.

O que fica exposto he quanto me//parece pode dar a V. Ex^a sufficiente idea aresp^o do Supte e dos motivos da sua prizão: Deos G^{de} a V. Ex^a B^a 22 de Jahr^o de 1806.

O Dez^{or} Ouv^{or} Grl do Crime

Claudio Joze Pr^a da Costa

DOCUMENTO II

Tratado proposto a Manoel da Silva Ferreira pellos seus escravos durante o tempo em que se conservarão levantados

Meu Senhor, nos queremos pás e não queremos guerra; Se meu Senhor também quizer a nossa pás ha de ser nesta conformidade, se quizer estar pello que nós quizermos a saber.

Em cada semana nos ha de dar os dias de sesta fr^a e de Sabado p^a trabalharmos p^a nós não tirando hum destes dias por cauza de dia St^o.

Para podermos viver nos hade dar Rede tarrafa e canoas.

Não nos hade obrigar a fazer camboas, nem amariscar, e quando quizer fazer camboas e mariscar mande os seus pretos Minas.

Para o seu sustento tenha Lanxa de pescaria o canoas do alto, e quando quizer comer mariscos mande os seus pretos Minas.

Faça huma barca grande p^a quando foi p^a a Bahia nós metemos as nossas cargas p^a não pagarmos fretes.

Na planta de mandioca, os homens queremos que só tenham tarefa de duas mãos e meia e as mulheres de duas mãos.

A tarefa de farinha hade ser de cinco alqueires razos, pondo arrancadores bastantes p^a estes servirem de pendurarem os tapetes.

A tarefa de cana hade ser de cinco mãos, e não de seis, e a des canas em cada freixe.

No barco hade pôr quatro varas, e hum p^a o Leme, e hum no leme puxa mt^o por nós.

A madeira que se serrar com serra de mão em baixo hão de serrar tres, e hum em cima.

A medida de lenha hade ser como aqui se praticava, p^a cada medida hum cortador, e huma mulher p^a carregadeira.

Os actuais Feitores não os queremos, faça eleição de outros com a nossa aprovação.

Nas moendas hade pôr quatro moedeiras, e duas guindas, e huma carcanha.

Em cada huma caldeira hade haver botador de fogo, e em cada terno de taixas o mesmo, e no dia Sabado hade haver Remediavelmt^e peija no Engenho.

Os marinheiros que andão na Lanxa alem de camisa de bacta que se lhes dá, hão deter Gibão de bacta, e todo o vestuario necessario.

O canavial de Jabirú o hiremos aproveitar por esta vez, e depois hade ficar p^a pasto por que não podemos andar tirando canas p^a entre mangues.

Poderemos planter nosso arros onde quizermos, e em qualq^r Brejo, sem que p^a isso peçamos licença, e poderemos cada hum tirar jacarandas ou outro qualq^r pau sem darmos parte p^a isso.

A estar por todos os artigos a cima, e concedernos estar sempre de posse da ferramenta, estamos prontos p^a o servir-mos como dantes, por que não queremos seguir os maos costumes dos mais Engenhos.

Poderemos brincar, folgar, e cantar em todos os tempos que quizermos sem que nos empeça e nem seja preciso licença.