

Brazilian Gold and the Commercial Sector in Oporto, 1710–1750

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Abstract. In the historiography on the Atlantic in the Early Modern period, Oporto has been primarily associated with emigration and the export of wine. This is an essay in compensatory history in that it argues that Oporto, already the major city of northern Portugal and a major emporium, became a preferred (with Lisbon) destination for consignments of Brazilian gold. As a player in the Atlantic bullion-carrying trade, Oporto became an active participant in a European network of institutions, merchants, bankers, and individuals, which disseminated Brazilian gold from Portugal to northern Europe and as far east as Italy. Oporto was the hub from which consignments were distributed throughout northern Portugal. Based on ships' manifests, which indicate consignors and consignees (individual, institutional, lay, and clerical), this essay focuses on recipients identifiable as part of the commercial sector in Oporto and provides new information on partnerships of British businessmen, on Portuguese-Brazilian collaboration, and on resident Dutch and German merchants. Brazilian gold contributed to an urban florescence that embraced art, architecture and the fine arts, social philanthropy and public health, and urban infrastructure in the first half of the eighteenth century.

The period from 1695 to 1750 was characterized by C. R. Boxer as the “golden age” of Brazil. In the 1690s, alluvial gold had been found in the Rio das Velhas region. The next half century witnessed multiple gold strikes

in many regions, especially in Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and Goiás; gold rushes *in seriatum*; measures for the administration and fiscalization of gold production; mining encampments; chartered towns; and new captaincies to impose royal government. Overall, gold production increased through the 1750s, but already in the early 1740s in Minas Gerais there were signs of decline.¹ The impact on Portugal was both positive and negative. During the reign of Dom João V (1706–50), Portugal was represented at international council tables and the king was admired in the courts of Europe. Lisbon was a major European gateway to the wider world. Internationalism was a prominent feature of Portugal during his reign. Unfortunately, much of this gold left Portugal, notably for England both legally and clandestinely, and for northern Europe, to pay for imports, or was spent on royal palaces, coaches, and the king's extravagant lifestyle, and was not invested in building a strong national financial infrastructure. The unquestioned preeminence of Lisbon made it almost synonymous with Portugal, and part of my purpose here is to engage in an essay in compensatory history by focusing on the north of Portugal and the great city of Oporto, which achieved new glories in the eighteenth century. Connections between the north of Portugal and Brazil may be expressed in two words: emigration and commerce. The former has received much scholarly attention; less has been paid to the relationship between Brazilian gold and Oporto's commercial sector.

Oporto was the major demographic, administrative, commercial, and urban center of northern Portugal. It was an episcopal see, and counted a Court of Appeals (*Relação*), fine churches, impressive public buildings, and imposing private residences. In the eighteenth century there was demographic growth. Provisional data suggest that the city's population increased from 16,086 souls in 1623 to 24,883 in 1732, and more than doubled over the next half century. In 1710 the city was divided into two *bairros*, one with four parishes and the other with three. Location on the right bank of the River Douro, a harbor bar, and rock-infested passage from the mouth to the port did not stop Oporto from being an emporium with a multi-national merchant community and strong maritime links to northern Europe. This period saw a shift of the commercial center from the Rua dos Mercadores to the Rua Nova and foundation of the British Factory. Commodities from Brazil flooded into Portugal: sugar, molasses, manioc flour, honey, fish oil, cotton, coffee, cacao, tanned hides and skins, tobacco, construction and fine woods, resins and gums, and *drogas do sertão*. These found a ready market in

Oporto and were also distributed throughout northern Portugal. Exports to Brazil included salt, olive oil, codfish, cloth, tools, ironware, manufactured goods, items of personal adornment, and religious objects. One commodity associated specifically with Oporto was wine, already being exported to Brazil in the seventeenth century.²

The thesis posited in this essay is that Brazilian gold made Oporto part of a network of bullion consignments that embraced Brazil, Portugal, northern Europe, and extended eastwards to Italy. The focus is on the commercial sector in Oporto. This essay also calls attention to a source underutilized by social historians. This is the collection of *Manifestos das naus* in the Casa da Moeda in Lisbon. For the period 1710–1750, these number 756 bound volumes containing between 200,000 and 250,000 individual declarations.³ Consignments of gold, silver, and precious stones had to be declared in manifests of vessels originating in Brazilian ports and bound for Portugal. Such declarations were made prior to departure or on board.⁴ Consignments were of gold coins struck in colonial mints in Brazil; of gold bars forged and registered in colonial foundry houses; of gold dust and nuggets; of gold jewelry and personal objects such as toothpicks and buttons; and of religious objects such as crosses and medallions of Nossa Senhora da Conceição. There were also silver coins, bars, and objects worked in silver, originating in Spanish America.

Manifests identify consignors and consignees. The consignor was the person who delivered the consignment on board in a Brazilian port. This person might be acting on his/her own behalf, as agent for another person in Brazil, or as agent for the consignee who would take delivery in Portugal. Persons returning from Brazil to Portugal often traveled on the same vessel as their consignments. The consignee was the person to whom final delivery was made. Consignees not resident in Lisbon named an agent to act on their behalf. References to the place of residence of a consignee or his/her agent were as general as “morador no Porto” or as specific as “Porto em o lugar do ouro.”⁵ Manifests also record the name of the person at whose financial risk the consignment was sent. This could be the consignor, consignee, or a third party. Often unclear is whether a consignor was acting on his behalf or on behalf of an institution. Delivery of consignments to mints in Lisbon or Oporto was registered by the respective officials; unrecorded is whether, once they left the mints, consignments were delivered to consignees.

Most vessels sailing to Brazil had Lisbon as their home port but, especially before 1720, there are examples of vessels whose home port was Oporto. Their

destinations were most frequently Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, and Pernambuco.⁶ Even when vessels left Oporto for Brazil, their first port of call on return was Lisbon. Captains from Oporto followed procedures outlined in this example. On 24 May 1713, Manuel Saldanha Marinho, captain and master of the *Bom Jesus e São Domingos e Nossa Senhora do Bom Sucesso*, went to the mint in Oporto and received a book for manifests from Pedro da Costa Lima, Superintendent of the Casa da Moeda and variously styled as Superintendente das fábricas d'ElRei da Ribeira do Ouro or Superintendente das fábricas dos galiões da Ribeira das Naus. The book had been signed and pages numbered by the Desembargador Manuel da Cunha Sardinha, in his capacity as an official with jurisdiction in fiscal matters concerning the royal treasury. Marinho sailed for Pernambuco. Homeward-bound, on 12 July 1714 at 5° North and 42° 20' West, he posted on the main mast an *edital* informing passengers and crew who had not yet declared consignments of gold to do so. On 14 August the captain closed the vessel's manifest and no more declarations were accepted. Officials came on board in Lisbon. Penalties were imposed on those found in possession of undeclared gold. Consignments were delivered to the mint. Those consignments for Oporto continued on board and were delivered to the mint in Oporto for final clearance.⁷

The paradigm of consignor-consignee for consignments from Brazil to Oporto differed significantly from the model for consignments to Lisbon. A substantial proportion, both by numbers and value, of consignments for final delivery in Lisbon were institutional. These fell into three categories: consignments for the royal exchequer; for institutions under the royal protection; and consignments from overseas provinces of religious orders and of the Society of Jesus to procurators in Lisbon. Rarely are any of these categories represented in consignments to Oporto.⁸ Thus, most consignors in Brazil of consignments to Oporto were individual, rather than institutional. They were predominantly male, reflecting emigration patterns from the north of Portugal to Brazil.⁹ Many were priests, a reflection also of the disproportionate number of young men from the north of Portugal who took their vows. Rarely were consignors identified other than by name, but the context shows that often they acted on behalf of individuals in Brazil or as agents for individuals or business partnerships in Oporto. The small amount of silver suggests that their commercial networks did not include trade with Spanish America.

There was also the practice of designating a person to be responsible for handing in consignments in a Brazilian port, making a declaration of their

value and nature, and then accompanying these himself as a passenger on the same vessel to Lisbon and even on to Oporto. An example of bundling together a number of consignments was the case of Joseph Teixeira e Sousa, a native and resident of Oporto. Teixeira e Sousa was a passenger homeward-bound from Salvador in 1721. He made individual declarations for the following consignments of gold on vessels of the fleet on which he was traveling: 10,000 gold *moedas* each valued at 4\$800 *reis*; 11,000 *moedas*; a further 7650 *moedas*; 9843 *oitavas* of gold dust, divided among 58 packages (*embrulhos*) of different individuals; 54 packages totaling 7580 *oitavas* of gold dust for various people; a further 1299 *oitavas* of dust at the risk of a consortium in Vila do Conde.¹⁰ Teixeira e Sousa's role was limited to delivering consignments on board, making the respective declarations, and taking delivery on arrival in Lisbon. He was not financially liable for the above consignments. Other than a consignment of 1130 *moedas* and 6379 *oitavas* of dust, where risk was assumed by persons in Recife and Bahia,¹¹ in all other cases risk was assumed by persons in Portugal. Teixeira e Sousa had receipts for consignments and recorded each consignment in a *caderno*, but there is no indication of whether or not consignees were in the commercial sector. His only personal interest was in a consignment of 467.5 *moedas* that he handed in and of which he would take delivery, for which he shared the risk with the heirs of Francisco Dias, a sometime resident of Oporto, and with other consignees in Oporto, and further consignments of 250 *moedas*, of 939.5 *oitavas*, and of 400 *moedas* respectively for which he personally assumed sole risk.¹² A fellow passenger was Captain Manuel do Vale de Carvalho, a resident of Oporto who handed in a consignment of 350 *moedas*, for which he had receipts for individuals in Entre Douro e Minho who assumed risk, and of which he would take delivery in Lisbon.¹³ Marçal de Lima Veiga, returning in 1722, handed in 2152 *moedas* of 4\$800 *reis* in Rio de Janeiro, at the risk of third parties, and intended to take delivery in Lisbon in his role as *carregador* and then make final delivery in Oporto. Aware of the dangers of an Atlantic crossing, he made provision that, in his absence, the consignment be delivered to Pe. Domingos Alvares da Veiga or, failing him, to the Procurador da mercância da cidade do Porto.¹⁴ There are also examples of persons handing in consignments in Brazil and later taking final delivery in Oporto. Naval personnel were also involved in such consignments. The pilot on the Santa Cruz, homeward-bound from Salvador to Oporto in 1713, was responsible for consignments of gold dust, a gold bar, and coins for delivery in Oporto. Manuel da Silva, ship's surgeon

on the Santa Cruz das Portas from Salvador in 1715, declared consignments of gold dust and a gold bar for delivery in Oporto.¹⁵

Consignments were of gold dust, bars, and coins. Gold dust was weighed in *oitavas* (1 *oitava* = 72 *grãos* or grains) and in 1724 fluctuated between 1\$515 *reis* and 1\$520 *reis* per *oitava*. Bars were forged in Brazilian smelting-houses from gold on which the royal fifth had been paid. Each bar was stamped with the royal seal and numbered and a matching certificate issued stating its weight. Gold coins were the most common form of consignment. Most frequent were *moedas* of 4\$800 *reis* struck in Brazil; less frequent were *dobrões* of 24\$000 *reis* (known as *dobrões grandes*) and *dobrões* of 12\$800 *reis* or 12\$000 *reis* (known in Brazil as *meio dobrões*). This gold was transported in containers, packages, and sewn wrappings. The 27,800 *oitavas* of gold dust destined for Ventura de Azevedo in Oporto were contained in a small trunk.¹⁶

By volume and by value, the lion's share of consignments had Lisbon as their final destination, but manifests show Oporto as the final destination for a considerable amount of bullion. Consignments for Oporto were transshipped in Lisbon or continued on in the same vessel in which they had crossed the Atlantic. It was not unusual for all consignments on a vessel whose home port was Oporto to be exclusively for delivery there. Much in evidence was the large number of consignments of gold dust for delivery in Oporto, especially on vessels from Pernambuco prior to 1720, but most fleets from Rio de Janeiro and Salvador also carried consignments of gold dust for Oporto. A passenger returning home from Pernambuco to Oporto in 1714 accompanied three consignments of gold dust. Likewise, Joseph Domingues Maia of Oporto, a passenger on Nossa Senhora da Palma e S. Pedro from Salvador to Lisbon in 1721, declared 6804.5 *oitavas* of gold dust, of which he would take delivery in Lisbon and which would then be delivered to various locations as per receipts.¹⁷ Domingues Maia was also accompanying four consignments totaling 15557.5 *moedas*. An alternative to take delivery of two of these consignments totaling 5974.5 *moedas* was the ubiquitous Joseph Teixeira e Sousa.¹⁸

The use of ships' manifests as sources of information on commercial practices in Oporto, and on the merchant community in particular, presents a challenge. Unless the occupation of the consignor or the consignee is explicitly stated, it is impossible to differentiate a merchant or businessman (*homem de negócios*) from a person with no commercial interests. Nor is there sufficient information to reconstruct a hierarchy of merchants, ranging from those engaging in oceanic or long-distance trade to humble shopkeepers. Some

consignments involved large amounts of bullion but, even when the name of a consignee is available, this fact alone does not permit identification of such a person as a member of a mercantile elite. Oceanic commerce was the prerogative of a few merchants in each port who had sufficient capital accumulation to dominate all sectors—supply and distribution, finance, insurance, making loans, and even naval construction—of the market and commerce, and to act as points of articulation between domestic and oceanic trade networks.¹⁹ Only rarely do manifests indicate the nature of a transaction, of a commodity being bought or sold, or of a service being remunerated. Notwithstanding such caveats, manifests contain information on commercial practices, merchants, and traders in Oporto.

Merchants tried to maximize their trading and purchasing potential by forming partnerships or having collaborative arrangements with Brazilians. In 1720, João Carneiro da Silva & Cia delivered on board in Rio de Janeiro and manifested consignments, mostly of gold bars and gold dust, for delivery to Veríssimo Mendes da Fonseca in Lisbon. Risk was shared by members of the partnership in Brazil and by residents in Lisbon, Oporto, and Rio de Janeiro. Unstated is whether João Carneiro da Silva & Cia was acting merely as agent for Mendes da Fonseca. Another example concerned shared liability for a consignment in 1727 from Brazil to Portugal. Risk was assumed equally by Captain António Nunes da Silva in Oporto and Manuel Barbosa of the Engenho da Birinoga in the parish of Ipojuca in Pernambuco.²⁰

Another option was for a businessman resident in Oporto himself to travel to Brazil. This may have been for solely personal reasons, but he was open to accepting commissions to defray part of his costs. Nossa Senhora do Pilar, homeward-bound from Salvador in 1716, carried on board António de Campos. He was described as an “homem de negócios” and “morador do Porto.” Campos declared consignments of *moedas* and gold dust that he was accompanying for delivery to consignees in Lisbon and Oporto. There are also examples from other sources of merchants in Portugal encouraging a son or relative to take up residence in Brazil, represent family interests, and thereby further their own careers.²¹

As for consignees, most consignments whose final destination was not Lisbon—including those for Oporto and northern Portugal—were delivered to an agent in Lisbon. He ensured that they reached their final destination, either by transshipping them to another vessel or overland. Usually consignees are identified by name, but some preferred to use a third party. This practice

seems to have been institutionalized in the creation of the post of “procurador dos homens do negócio da cidade do Porto” referred to in 1724.²²

The name that appears most often among commercial consignees in Oporto is “viuva Aylvarde & Cia” (probably a variant on the English Aylward). Rare was the fleet from Brazil between 1720 and 1729 that did not have on board two or more consignments for this commercial house in Oporto. Such consignments were invariably in gold *moedas* of 4\$800 *reis* and, for the most part, were carried on fleets from Rio de Janeiro. Consignments from Salvador can be counted on one hand, although Salvador provides the only example of a consignment of gold dust: 423.5 *oitavas* in 1722.²³ In 1725 and again in 1727 Diogo Aylward is designated by name as the consignee, and in 1727 Margarida Aylward is named as a consignee of 150 *moedas*.²⁴ It appears there was a change of ownership or management. After years of being designated as “Viuva Aylvarde & Cia,” in 1726 and subsequently the company is referred to as “Viuva Aylvarde e Arcediago.” The latter referred to one Pedro Arcediago. In 1728, 774\$400 *reis* from Rio de Janeiro consigned to “Aylvarde e Arcediago” were handed to Pedro Arcediago with the agreement of Margarida Ariardo, widow of Ricardo Ariardo.²⁵ For the years 1720–29 inclusive, the manifests show that the business received consignments from Rio totaling some 17879\$000 *reis* before the merger in 1726 and 6456\$000 *reis* afterwards, and from Salvador some 1200\$000 *reis* and 423.5 *oitavas* prior to 1726 and a further 256\$000 *reis* after the merger.

The tantalizing question, namely, why consignments clearly of a business nature were made, remains largely unanswered. The manifest for a consignment of 31 *moedas* dispatched from Rio de Janeiro in 1722 notes that risk was assumed by a consortium referred to as Amigos do Norte. This consortium dealt in flanellette and other cloths. Two consignments were sent on the fleet from Rio de Janeiro in 1722 for delivery to investors with business interests in the vessel Bom Jesus da Gaia. Each was of 387 *moedas* and each was on a different vessel. This was a common strategy, presumably to avoid loss should one vessel founder at sea. A consignment of 108\$800 *reis* from Salvador in 1740 was for delivery to André Teixeira in Oporto. Teixeira assumed risk and was identified as a “boticário” who had presumably dispatched potions or pills to a client in Bahia.²⁶ Such occupational identification is rare for consignees in Oporto, despite a lively community of persons in the “mechanical trades.”

Manifests for consignments of bullion from Brazil to Portugal have a strong international component. Places of residence of consignees range from

London, Hamburg, and Paris, to Barcelona and Genoa. By the eighteenth century there was a thriving international merchant community in Oporto. Wholesale and retail sectors of the economy attracted not only Portuguese investment but foreign merchants: Flemish, French, and English. In the first half of the eighteenth century a vigorous exchange continued of products from northern Europe—foodstuffs, cloth, and manufactured goods—for Portuguese fruits, wax, honey, vinegar, and two products especially identified with the region of the River Douro: sumac and wine. The British were prominent in the commercial life of Oporto and England was a major market for the product already known as Port Wine. Members of this community appear as consignees for bullion consignments from Brazil, their names often appearing as Portuguese adaptations. Nothing indicates what generation of expatriates they were or their length of residence in Oporto. In the decade between about 1722 and 1732, John Stevenson & Co. appears frequently as consignee for shipments of *moedas* of 4\$800 *reis* and invariably on fleets from Salvador. Only once, in 1722, was he named as consignee of 400 *oitavas* of gold dust. A ship's manifest recorded the consignment on the Nossa Senhora da Conceição, homeward-bound from Rio de Janeiro and which arrived in the Tagus in November 1737, of 126\$000 *reis*, “bens do defunto João Stevenson.”²⁷ The Hopman family name—Sibrando, Reinaldo, and Arnaldo—was associated with consignments from Brazil for more than 20 years: other than a consignment from Pernambuco in 1714 of a gold bar of 119 *marcos* for Sibrando, subsequent consignments were in *moedas* from Rio de Janeiro. This pattern did not change when a Hopman entered into a partnership with Arnold Vanzeller in 1733.²⁸

Other British partnerships make fleeting appearances in manifests: Benjamin Tilden & Co., for a consignment of 1008\$000 *reis* from Rio in 1720, another consignment in coin in 1730, and another of *moedas* from Rio, this time in 1733 and in partnership with Daniel Hunt and Richard Lance in Lisbon. In 1740 the partnership of Acland, Young, and Palmer in Oporto received two consignments in coin from Rio de Janeiro. Francis Milner in Oporto was the consignee for three consignments of coins from Salvador and Rio de Janeiro respectively in 1721 and 1740.²⁹ Other British names are scattered through the manifests as consignees: Jorge Clarque (Clark), Timothy Harris, John Lee, Samuel Palmer, John Hitchcock, Richard Thompson, John Paige & Co, and Cristóvão Croft. Pedro Beasley in Oporto was probably related to Guilherme Beasley, a commercial partner of Benjamin Jones in Lisbon.³⁰

Despite their roles as consignees, there is not sufficient evidence from this source alone that persons of British birth or descent in Oporto intensively or consistently engaged in trade with Brazil in this period.

Manifests indicate that merchants of Oporto had relationships with their counterparts elsewhere in Europe. A consignment on the fleet from Salvador in 1721 referred to a consignment of 64 *moedas*. Risk was assumed by João Burmestre (Johan Burmeister) of Hamburg and delivery was to be made in Lisbon to the order of “João Brestins e Venduque” (Dutch van Diyk?) resident in Oporto. There are also references to risk being assumed by a merchant in Hamburg for consignments of gold dust and *moedas* from Salvador in 1724 for final delivery in Oporto. In 1721 a Raymundo Ritte (German Ritter?) and his son were residents in Oporto and receiving consignments from Brazil.³¹

The most visible evidence of a Brazilian presence in Oporto was the superbly gilded and carved *talha* executed in the church of São Francisco in the early 1750s. The years after 1731 also saw Nicolo Nasoni at the height of his creative powers in the city. Gold is a great enabler, with the capacity to be both the instrument and the catalyst for change: promotion of music and the fine arts; new architectural styles; enhanced support for social philanthropy; public health in the form of cemeteries, hospitals, and foundling wheels; distinguished private, public, and religious buildings; public services such as fountains, roads, bridges, and streets; and as the engine to drive local economies and commercial networks whose development could have positive ramifications for the *res publica*.

Notes

¹ See Boxer (*Golden Age*) and Russell-Wood (“Colonial Brazil” 547–600).

² See Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos (*História do Porto* 264–66) and Russell-Wood (*Um mundo* 198–200, 205–6).

³ For a description of the 1386 volumes of *Manifestos das naus*, 23 volumes of *Manifestos das visitas do ouro*, and 32 volumes of *Receita do 1 por cento de ouro*, see Leme (“O Arquivo” 47–56).

⁴ See Russell-Wood (“As frotas” 701–17); for the international dimension of this trade, see Russell-Wood (“An Asian Presence” 148–67).

⁵ Arquivo da Casa da Moeda de Lisboa (hereafter ACML): vol. 1784 #476.

⁶ See Pinto (*O ouro brasileiro* 133–85).

⁷ ACML: vol. 1666. For other examples of Oporto-based vessels traveling to Brazil in 1713 and 1714, see vols. 1665, 1671, 1675, 1685, 1686, 1692, 1695, and 1702.

⁸ See Russell-Wood (“Holy and Unholy Alliances” 815–37).

- ⁹ See Donald Ramos ("From Minho to Minas" 639–62).
- ¹⁰ ACML: vol. 1783 #528 and #1021; vol. 1784 #219; vol. 1785 #136, #264, #265.
- ¹¹ ACML: vol. 1784 #378.
- ¹² ACML: vol. 1783 #666; vol. 1784 #379; vol. 1785 #266; vol. 1786 #114.
- ¹³ ACML: vol. 1784 #400.
- ¹⁴ ACML: vol. 1799 #73, #74, #97.
- ¹⁵ ACML: vol. 1653; vol. 1693, fols. 14v–17v.
- ¹⁶ ACML: vol. 1679, fol. 36r.
- ¹⁷ ACML: vol. 1692; vol. 1666; vol. 1787 #39.
- ¹⁸ ACML: vol. 1786 #137, #382, #383, #388.
- ¹⁹ Cited in Frago (Homens 253–303).
- ²⁰ ACML: vol. 1754 #87; vol. 1916 #357.
- ²¹ ACML: vol. 1714. Also see Furtado (*Homens de negócios* 61–62).
- ²² ACML: vol. 1828 #6.
- ²³ From Rio: ACML: vol. 1747 #42; vol. 1748 #244, #245, #249; vol. 1756 #62; vol. 1757 #31; vol. 1792 #15, #16; vol. 1800 #71, #111, #112, #113; vol. 1812 #114; vol. 1821 #75; vol. 1849 #55; vol. 1853 #36; vol. 1855 #216; vol. 1871 #37; vol. 1879 fol. 109v; vol. 1885 #115; vol. 1892 #13; vol. 1893 #129. From Salvador: ACML: vol. 1788 #95; vol. 1809 #70; vol. 1810 #6; vol. 1939 #7.
- ²⁴ ACML: vol. 1849 #55; vol. 1871 #18; vol. 1894 #237; vol. 1901 #212.
- ²⁵ ACML: vol. 1892 #13; vol. 1894 #241; vol. 1901 #211; 1921 #361; vol. 1939 #97; vol. 1921 #361.
- ²⁶ ACML: vol. 1798 #69; vol. 1792 #13; vol. 1800 #109; vol. 2162 #195.
- ²⁷ See Luís A. de Oliveira Ramos (*História do Porto* 281–287). ACML: vol. 1788 #21; vol. 1789 #22; vol. 1860 #156; vol. 1936 #158; vol. 2000 #151; vol. 2095 #51.
- ²⁸ ACML: vol. 1686 fol. 21r; vol. 1902 #170–71; vol. 1980 #199; vol. 2012 #241.
- ²⁹ ACML: vol. 1747 #30; vol. 1963 #300; vol. 2012 #287; vol. 2147 #38; vol. 2149 #326; vol. 1785 #46; vol. 2144 #1074; vol. 2149 #44.
- ³⁰ ACML: vol. 1761 #21; vol. 1686; vol. 1719, fol. 50r; vol. 2180 #71; vol. 1936 #167; vol. 2000 #150; vol. 2239 #97; vol. 2000 #149; vol. 2135 #115; vol. 2143 #71, #343.
- ³¹ ACML; vol. 1784 #98; vol. 1835; vol. 1836 #125; vol. 1783 #112.

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