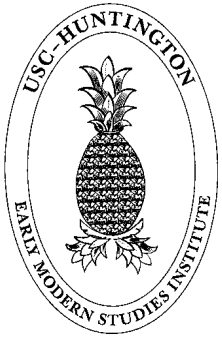

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The Black Urban Atlantic in the Age of the Slave Trade

EDITED BY

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, Matt D.Childs, and James Sidbury

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CHAPTER ELEVEN

The Hidden Histories of African Lisbon

James H. Sweet

> But whatever I may believe, don't you begin to think that Portugal is rather too much in the neighbourhood of Africa?
>
> —Italian traveler Giuseppe Marco Antonio Baretti, 1770[1]

The Monument to the Discoveries overlooking the Rio Tejo, with the faces of Portugal's early overseas explorers permanently etched in stone, acts as a memorial to Portugal's imperial greatness—a testament to a glorious past in which Portuguese invention and bravery brought extraordinary wealth to the metropole, inspiring the envy of other Europeans. As most people know, Portuguese imperial supremacy was short-lived, as they were soon surpassed, in short order, by the Spanish, the Dutch, and the English. Nevertheless, the Monument to the Discoveries marks Portugal's heritage and legacy for the modern world—a way of proudly asserting the country's crucial role in the emergence of a new global order.

This ossified, outward projection of Portugal as a cradle of early modern European innovation and discovery belies the complex set of human relations spawned by these early encounters, not only in overseas colonies like Brazil, but in the very heart of the metropole. In a bitter irony, the histories of some of Portugal's earliest colonial subjects are literally buried beneath the feet of those who soak in its monumental history and its many beauties. In 2008, just outside the old walls of the city of Lagos in the southern part of Portugal, archaeologists discovered the remains of 155 slaves buried in an old trash heap. Lagos was the kingdom's most important slave market in the

late fifteenth and early sixteenth centuries, precisely the period to which the archaeologists date the burial site. Given their status as slaves, it is not surprising that these 155 individuals were discarded as rubbish. Indeed, most of the bodies appear simply to have been thrown into the pit without any regard for how they landed, a practice that was not uncommon in sixteenth-century Portugal. What should draw our attention, however, is the small details that defined individual skeletons. More than 25 percent of the skulls showed signs of intentional dental modification, indicating the likely West African origins of most of the slaves. At least one was buried with several rings on his fingers and a necklace around his neck. One woman was buried with her recently born infant in her arms. And at least three were thrown into the trash heap with their hands and feet bound.[2]

These small details speak to both the beauty and the barbarity of African slavery in early modern Portugal, traits that are buried as deeply in the sediment of the country's history as in its very ground. Since the 1990s, Portugal has begun to recognize itself as a multicultural, multiracial country, the pace quickened by immigration from former African colonial holdings, North Africa, and, more recently, West Africa. Yet in the historical consciousness of the country, there seems to be something of a collective amnesia about its diverse, often exploitative, past. Imperial history has largely been reduced to Portugal's glorious era of "discoveries," on the one hand, and "things that happened in the colonies," on the other, as if the metropole remained hermetically sealed from the human influences of the colonies. To some extent, this is true. For about a century and a half, from Brazil's independence until the 1970s, few colonial subjects arrived in the metropole. This gave the impression that Portugal was a predominantly "white" country. Meanwhile, the histories of the colonies emphasized Luso-Tropicalism and the "plasticity" of race, where Portuguese men mixed and mingled with colonial women in ways that blunted the sharp racial edges defining other European imperialisms. Thus emerged two uneasy, and perhaps contradictory, national myths: Portuguese people were firmly antiracist, but Portugal itself remained almost exclusively "white."

Lost in these incongruent "truths" were the realities of African slavery and its impacts on Portugal, especially prior to the nineteenth century. When I first arrived in the Portuguese National Archives to do research in the early 1990s, I was told by several scholars and archivists that all of the material on slavery was located in the Brazilian collections, because "slavery didn't exist in Portugal." In a polemic in a Lisbon newspaper in 2000, Duarte Pio, the Duke of Bragança, argued that scholarly works on Portuguese slavery were a "falsification of history" and part of a "war which some countries launched against Portugal."[3] In particular, the duke targeted American and English scholars for advancing these distortions. More recently, in contrast to the popular interest generated by archaeological discoveries like the African Burial Ground in New York or the Valongo slave market in Rio de Janeiro, the Portuguese media largely ignored the findings of the African burial site in Lagos. The most widely read newspaper in the country reported the discovery of the site only three years after archaeologists first unearthed it. The headline announcing the find described it as a "cemetery," sanitizing the vulgar manner in which the African bodies were discarded. Perhaps even more telling were the online responses to the article. Doubting that the Portuguese actually traded slaves, several of the newspaper's readers hypothesized that the Africans must have arrived via Arabs or North Africans. Another reader suggested that the Africans were not slaves, but were likely among hundreds of mass burials during an outbreak of the bubonic plague.[4]

Left unanswered in all of this denial of African slavery is the question of exactly *why* the Portuguese seem so reluctant to embrace the topic as a part of their own historical heritage.[5] This question seems particularly salient in the context of England's very recent public engagement with its own slaving past. Though the two-hundredth anniversary of the abolition of the slave trade in 2008 focused largely on British humanitarianism, slavery became an integral part of the public discourse in politics, schools, museums, newspapers, television, and film, a stark contrast to the absence of such discourse in Portuguese society.

The ongoing challenges of writing slavery into the history of Portugal are crucial for framing any exploration of the history of the Black Atlantic in Lisbon. Portugal's collective national amnesia toward the topic of slavery has resulted in a dearth of historical literature on the black experience in the country, writ large, let alone in Lisbon itself.[6] That literature that does exist is mostly limited to the earliest periods—the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. The historiography on blacks in Portugal during the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries is practically nonexistent. In this chapter, I provide a brief overview of some potential avenues and possibilities for studying black life in Lisbon in the eighteenth century. There are a range of sources that speak to these issues; this is only a beginning. Indeed, I am confident that a systematic and sustained research agenda could reveal a vibrancy to black Lisbon surpassing

all other ports cities in Europe during the period, and perhaps even some American ports.

The most obvious starting point for any such inquiry is demographics: how many African-descended people lived in Lisbon during the eighteenth century? In the absence of quantitative work in parish archives, this is a difficult question to answer. By the middle of the century, Lisbon was one of the largest cities in Europe, boasting a population approaching two hundred thousand.[7] African-descended slaves made up only a small portion of the population, probably not more than 5 percent.[8] However, there was a sizable freed black population, in addition to various mixed-race folk. Certainly, for other Europeans traveling to Lisbon, it seemed to be a "black" space. For example, in 1760, an Italian traveler noted,

> One of the things that most surprises a stranger as he rambles about this town, is that great number of Negroes who swarm every corner. Many of these unhappy wretches are natives of Africa, and many born of African parents, either in Portugal or in its ultramarine dominions. No ship comes from those regions without bringing some of either sex, and, when they are here, they are allowed to marry not only among themselves, but also with those of a different colour. These cross-marriages have filled the country with different breeds of human monsters. A black and a white produce a mulatto. Then a mulatto joins with a black or a white, and two other creatures are engendered, both called mestices. Then the mestices white join with the mestices black, or with true blacks, true white, or mulattos; and all branch out into so many and various kinds, that it becomes very difficult, if not impossible, to distinguish them by peculiar names, though they are all discriminated by their peculiar hues. To such a degree the original breed is here depraved.[9]

If the Italian viewed Lisbon as a racial "house of horrors," an English observer in the 1770s was a little more cautious. He estimated that "about one fifth of the inhabitants of Lisbon consists of blacks, mulattoes, or of some intermediate tint of black and white."[10] This figure is probably very close to being accurate. At the beginning of the eighteenth century, a French traveler claimed that there were thirty thousand "Negros and Moors" in Lisbon.[11] If we assume a black slave population of around ten thousand (roughly 5 percent of the overall population), combined with a free(d) population of color

approaching twenty thousand, most living in the city's center, we can estimate that roughly one-fifth of Lisbon's eighteenth-century population consisted of people of color. Whatever the exact numbers, outsiders perceived that the black genetic contribution was changing Lisbon irrevocably. The Italian ultimately concluded, "These strange [racial] combinations have filled this town with such a variety of odd faces, as to make the traveller doubt whether Lisbon is in Europe; and it may be foreseen, that in a few centuries not a drop of pure Portuguese blood will be left here, but all will be corrupted between Jews and Negroes."[12]

Ironically, the "strange combinations" of white Portuguese and others eventually erased the "Jews and Negroes," rather than the other way around, in a metropolitan variation of what would come to be known as "whitening" in the colonies. Nevertheless, despite the erasure of blacks from Lisbon's genetic and historical past, they have not been completely erased from the city's physical landscape. Even as tourist attractions like the Monument to the Discoveries draw the preponderance of historical attention, one small neighborhood still retains discernible elements of its black past. Located in the present-day parish of Santa Catarina, the neighborhood of Mocambo was Lisbon's black and laboring quarter from at least the sixteenth century. Mocambo, aptly named after the Kimbundu word for "hideout," was situated in Lisbon's northwest quadrant. Though the term bore a specific Kimbundu meaning, it had come to be associated with runaway slave communities in the Portuguese Atlantic World, particularly in Brazil. Likewise in Lisbon, Mocambo had long been a refuge for the city's African-descended population, as well as a popular destination for runaway slaves from Portugal's interior.[13] The neighborhood's principal thoroughfare, Rua do Poço dos Negros (Street of the Blacks' Pit), refers to the old slave burial pit that had once existed there. In 1515, King Dom Manuel I ordered the opening of the burial ground to combat the health hazards caused by rotting African corpses abandoned in various places across the city. The king's description of African burials in Lisbon prior to 1515 eerily reflects the findings of the archaeologists in Lagos nearly five hundred years later. The king wrote, "We are informed that the slaves that die in this city, brought from Guinea . . . are not buried as well as they should be . . . and they are thrown on the ground in such a manner that they are discovered . . . and eaten by dogs; and a large number of these slaves are thrown on the dung heap . . . and still others in the fields of farms."[14] By the eighteenth century, Lisbon's Mocambo burial pit was gone, but the street name remained. The neighborhood's other streets, named after Jews,

fishermen, ship builders, boilers, and sheriffs, give a clear flavor of the cosmopolitan and laboring backgrounds of those who populated this section of Lisbon during the early modern period.[15] Most of the neighborhood's residents worked along the riverfront, where small shacks dotted the terrain from as far back as the sixteenth century. In some of these, people grilled sardines to feed the various "men and negros who work on the river."[16] In others, prostitutes tried to lure customers.[17]

As might be expected of a tough, working people's neighborhood, Mocambo spawned its share of indigents, vagabonds, and street hustlers, arriving from all corners of the empire. For example, in 1747, the judicial magistrate of Mocambo ordered the arrest of twenty-five-year-old Ignácio Xavier Flores, a single man from the island of Faial in the Azores. Authorities discovered Flores carrying a knife illegally, for which the crown sentenced him to ten years of galley labor. Flores escaped the galleys and returned to Mocambo, where he teamed up with a nineteen-year-old mixed-race man (*pardo*) Manuel Antônio and twenty-year-old black man (*preto*) Sebastião Telles, both former slaves from Bahia, Brazil. Together, the three men were arrested in 1752 for stealing a watch and for "associating with other thieves."[18]

Mocambo was also widely known as a spiritually powerful space, perhaps as an embedded, communal memory of the dead Africans who were buried there years earlier. In fact, Mocambo's main crossroads (*encruzilhada*) at São Bento was considered the most potent in the city.[19] At night, people gathered there to invoke the powers of the spirit world for the purposes of divining and healing. For example, in 1730, the African-born (Ouidah) slave José Francisco Pereira buried several *bolsas de mandinga* at the crossroads of São Bento to aid in their empowerment.[20] The *bolsa de mandinga* was a powerful talisman, usually worn around the neck, which could protect the wearer from harm, provide luck in games of chance, and so on.[21] Pereira worked closely with another Ouidah slave, João Francisco Pedroso, in the manufacture and sale of bolsas. The two men apparently formed part of a much broader network in the city. Between them, Pereira and Pedroso named more than half a dozen accomplices in Lisbon, all of whom had ties to Brazil. Moreover, Pedroso claimed that there were many other mandingueiros in Lisbon whose names he could not remember.[22]

If the neighborhood of Mocambo was a cosmopolitan and black, mostly freed space, much of the city's remaining African-descended population consisted of slaves. It is often assumed that Lisbon's slaves arrived from Brazil; however, some came directly via the slave trade from Africa. For example,

between 1725 and 1735 almost two thousand Africans arrived in the city on slave ships contracted explicitly for the Lisbon trade.[23] Not all of Lisbon's servants were black. Though African-descended slaves made up the vast majority, there were also East Indians, Chinese, Turks, Moors, and even poor Portuguese who filled the servile ranks. The latter "white" servants were deemed to be particularly problematic. As one French traveler in 1730 put it, "The majority of servants are composed of negro slaves, particularly in the houses of those Portuguese wealthy enough to buy them. They prefer them to white servants because they are more docile, cowed by the fear of being sold to work in the mines [of Brazil]. In general, white servants are more roguish and more insolent. It is said, however, that when they are good, for their dedication and competence, they are the best servants in the world."[24] Just as the wealthy made distinctions among the different types of servants racially, so they made similar distinctions among different groups of African nations. Like their slave-owning brethren in Brazil, Lisbon slave masters esteemed Mina slaves more highly than Angolans. Brazilians extolled the "good luck" brought by Mina slaves, especially in their mining ventures. Meanwhile, the Portuguese believed the West Africans were harder workers than their Central African counterparts: "The rein of Angola, tributary to the King of Portugal, furnishes negros, but they are not as apt for work as those from the Guines, and for that reason the Portuguese desire them little."[25]

Black slaves engaged in a variety of forms of urban labor. Women cleaned and whitewashed houses, laundered clothes, carried their masters' waste buckets to dump into the river, and hauled fresh water from the city's fountains to their masters' houses. Men carried sedan chairs and pushed carts through the streets, hauled wood to the shipyards, and cleaned sewers. In general, the Portuguese associated black slaves with the filthiest, most arduous forms of labor. A common insult was to pretend to sneeze whenever a black slave passed in the streets.[26] At the same time, many slaves, perhaps the majority, worked in close contact with their masters as personal body servants, coachmen, cooks, and artisanal apprentices. These occupations were not as physically taxing as the backbreaking labor of Brazil's mines and cane fields. Some of Lisbon's enslaved apparently understood the relative ease of their condition. As suggested in the earlier passage by the French traveler, the threat of colonial rendition "to work in the mines" loomed large, acting as a curb on "insolent," resistant behavior.

Regardless of the broad stereotypes, Lisbon's enslaved did resist their condition, sometimes violently. For example, in 1750, Antônio da Costa, the

Angolan slave of a Lisbon merchant, was sentenced to ten years in the king's galleys for attempting to stab his master with a knife.[27] Black slaves also ran away from their masters with some degree of frequency. One might even argue that the opportunities created by Lisbon's cultivated, metropolitan environment—the very conditions that supposedly made slavery "easier" there than in Brazil—actually made slavery all the more intolerable. For those with education and skills, the shackles of enslavement stifled creativity, growth, and aspiration. In 1743, eighteen-year-old Antônio Mina had already learned to read and play the trumpet. In spite of his apparent good fortune, Antônio ran away from his master, Francisco Roberto. Nearly a month later, Antônio remained at large, prompting Roberto to post a runaway slave notice in Lisbon's weekly newspaper.[28] Similarly, just a year earlier, in June 1742, Luís São Tomé, a domestic slave and cook, fled his master's house in the Benfica neighborhood of Lisbon. According to Luís's master, Dom Afonso Manuel de Meneses, Luís "bakes very well," but "when he walks and talks he sticks his chest out, and he is very easily angered." By adopting the posture and attitude of a free man, Luís publicly defied his social status. Meneses no doubt considered such behavior intolerable, demanding, instead, deference and docility. Apparently, a defiant Luís refused to accept these daily indignities, eventually abandoning his servitude altogether. He was still on the run six months later when Meneses advertised his flight.[29] Similar to fugitive slaves in the Black Atlantic port cities of the Americas, fugitive slaves in Lisbon could blend into and pretend to be a part of the freed population that thrived in urban areas.

Opportunities to earn manumission existed for some slaves, especially female domestic workers. Just as was the case in urban Brazil and other Atlantic port cities discussed in the chapters by João Reis, David Geggus, and Trevor Burnard, slave masters often allowed women to cook, clean, and sew on their own accord, in exchange for regular cash payments. In Lisbon, "one sees many slave women and . . . masters who own them in relatively large numbers, not for their service but as instruments of a lucrative exploration. This business consists of putting them to work in the city, the *negras* receiving payment of fifteen to eighteen soldos per day. Everything that the *negras* receive beyond this last amount is theirs to keep for dressing themselves and eating, since their masters are only obligated to give them shelter. These *pretas* alone have the whitewashing and cleaning of houses to themselves, and those that . . . save their money in few years have enough for their *alforria*."[30] The emphasis here on the financial opportunities available to female slaves in Lisbon suggests that they were more likely than men to build wealth and

to earn their freedom, much as was the case in other port cities of the Black Atlantic.

The mobility of Lisbon's enslaved, combined with broader perceptions of the danger of the city's streets, suggests that the city's thoroughfares might very well have been considered "black" spaces, not unlike what occurred in Havana, Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, Cap Français, and Kingston, as described in other chapters of this volume.[31] One prominent Portuguese historian describes Lisbon's streets as a "veritable anthill of beggars," thieves, and idlers during the eighteenth century.[32] Elites rarely ventured out alone on foot. Their horse-drawn carriages rambled through the crowded streets, often with reckless disregard for pedestrians. In 1742, for example, a royal carriage ran over a young mulatto (*mulatete*), "immediately spilling his brains out" on one of the city's busiest avenues.[33] The wealthy feared the hoi polloi of the streets, but they were not above hiring blacks to carry out acts of criminal vengeance on their behalf. In 1699, one traveler commented, "Residents of Lisbon do not go into the street without sword, dagger, and knife. . . . If one has rancor with any person he orders that person to be killed by a negro or moor . . . who perform these missions in exchange for little money. The preto will not miss the occasion of encountering him in the street, where he will follow him closely. . . . As soon as he has a chance, he will give him a sideways stab and take refuge in a church for the time necessary for the thing to calm down."[34] More than twenty years later, in a sermon at the Igreja dos Caetanos in Lisbon, Catholic priest Rafael Bluteau decried Lisbon's crime and murder rates. He also blamed the cycle of violence on elite impunity: "In Lisbon, negros and villains, when they do not have godfathers, will perhaps be punished; for 'good' men, when they do evil, rarely is there punishment."[35]

A quick survey of those banished to the king's galleys seems to confirm Father Bluteau's suspicion that blacks were punished disproportionately. In an admittedly small sample of 133 men condemned to galley labor between 1750 and 1752, only 41 percent were "white" Portuguese, while almost 15 percent were either enslaved or freed blacks.[36] The remainder were other Europeans, Moors, and one Brazilian. Among the Portuguese only, blacks represented one-quarter of those condemned to galley labor. These black convicts could be seen in Lisbon's public spaces as parts of chain gangs, working in backbreaking projects on behalf of the Portuguese crown—cleaning sewers, hauling wood to the docks for shipbuilding, and loading food and ballast onto ships.[37] Most of these black galley laborers were convicted for carrying illegal weapons, usually knives. Others had run away from their masters and

were living as "vagabonds" before being arrested. Still others were convicted of petty thefts. At least one of these "thefts" was apparently motivated by passions of the heart. In November 1750, the slave José da Silva ran away from his master, Thomas da Silva. He then tried to "steal" the female slave of Luís Tavares Toscano, so she could run away with him. Authorities captured Silva and condemned him to three years in the king's galleys.[38] Silva served almost two-thirds of his sentence before escaping the chain gang. He was again captured and condemned to six years in the galleys, doubling his original sentence.[39] In total, Silva faced eight years of incarceration and hard labor, seemingly just because of his desire to live freely with his enslaved lover.

If Lisbon's African-descended population appeared prominently as servants, slaves, convicts, and vagabonds, they also populated the city's public spaces as entertainers and performers for the well-heeled nobility. At the most basic level, Africans might be asked to give an impromptu performance in the streets. In the 1750s, an Italian traveler strolling along the Tejo River "enjoyed the sight of two Negros swimming and playing gambols in the water." He later wrote, "Had I never seen blacks before, I had mistaken them for some particular species of fish. They sprang out of the water and wheel'd upon it, as tumblers do upon firm ground. For a few *reis* I made them sing several songs in their Mosambique language, of which I comprehended nothing but that they were in rhyme."[40]

In more formal public settings, such as bullfights or religious festivals, Africans played integral roles in the dramatic and performative aspects of the proceedings. Throughout the eighteenth century, Africans sang, danced, and acted as part of the entertainment that preceded bullfights. Not unlike the *cabildos de nación* festivals described in the chapter by Matt Childs that often caught the attention of Havana tourists, foreign travelers in Lisbon also commented on the use of Africans in festivals and performances. For example, in the 1720s, a Frenchman attending a bullfight described "two negro kings with their courts composed of pretos and pretas who danced for a long time those lascivious and infamous dances . . . that disturb me. The Portuguese, however, were full of enthusiasm."[41] Nearly forty years later, in 1760, an Italian described a well-choreographed battle between Africans and Amerindians:

> As the [Portuguese] King came in, two trimphal cars very meanly adorned entered the area [at Campo Pequeno], each drawn by six mules. Eight black Africans were upon one, and eight copper-coloured Indians upon the other. They made several caracoles round; then all leapt from the cars and bravely fought an obstinate battle with wooden swords one band against the other. The Indians were soon slain by the Africans, and lay extended a while on the ground, shaking their legs in the air as if in the last convulsions, and rolling in the dust before they were quite dead. Then, like Baye's troops in the Rehearsal, both the dead and the living went to mix with the croud, while the cars drove away amidst the acclamations of the multitude, and made room for the two knights that were to fight the bulls.[42]

During religious festivals, Africans were less the subjects of the Portuguese exotic imaginary than active, vocal, partisans celebrating their patron saints. Ibero-African Catholic brotherhoods originated in Lisbon as early as the fifteenth century, eventually spreading to the Americas, as described in Nicole von Germeten's chapter on Mexico City. These African brotherhoods persisted in Lisbon well into the eighteenth century. On October 1, 1730, the brothers of Nossa Senhora do Rosário celebrated their saint's day with a massive celebration in Igreja do Salvador in the Alfama section of Lisbon. At the entrance to the church was a group of musicians who played "with a bizarre dissonance." These included "three marimbas, four piccolos, two fiddles, [and] more than 300 berimbaus, tambourines, congos, and cangáz (canzás), instruments that they use."[43] The majority of the celebrants represented the Angola nation; however, the "king" of the Angolas, a man named Simão, did not neglect his Mina counterparts. Indeed, Simão purportedly sent a letter to the Mina king, inviting him to sing the "Zaramangoè" and dance the fofa in their procession.[44] In his letter of invitation, the Angolan king addressed the Mina king as his "cumpadra Re Mina Zambaiampum tatè," or his "godfather, Mina King, Father Nzambi Mpungu." Entwined in this title of grandeur are several fascinating cultural strands. At a macro level, the string of titles used to address the Mina king was very much in keeping with a sense of deference and respect toward elevated or noble status, both in Africa and in Europe. The words "godfather" and "king" represented a filial connection and a political one, both emanating out of Portuguese language and cultural imperatives. However, the invocation of Nzambi Mpungu, the ancestral creator and "supreme being" in Central African belief, suggests an interesting insertion of the Mina king (in Portugal) into the cosmology of Central Africans. The addition of the Kimbundu word *tatè*, or "father," again invokes the filial connection felt by the Angolan King Simão toward his Mina counterpart.[45]

Whether or not this "letter" of invitation was actually written by the

Angolan Simão remains unclear. Not unlike the nineteenth-century newspaper *O Alabama*, which published stories on the religious practices of Africans in Bahia, Brazil, the periodical in which the invitation appeared, *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*, published a range of satires, parodies, and other "humorous" vignettes. Simão's letter is written in the "lingua de negro," a corrupt version of Portuguese that one might argue was a simple mockery of African illiteracy. If this was the case, the letter still reveals a deep understanding of specific African national differences—in language, music, dance, and religion—even in mid-eighteenth-century Lisbon. King Simão, or his Portuguese ghost writer, attempted to bridge these cultural differences through Central African gestures of respect. Arguably, an invented letter of invitation, written by a Portuguese, would represent more powerful evidence of Central African cultural vibrancy in Lisbon than one actually written by an Angolan. Either way, for Portuguese readers to understand the cultural implications of the description, they must have been thoroughly conversant in Central African ideas, an indication that Kimbundu language and culture not only arrived via enslaved Africans, but thrived even among Lisbon's literati. That this culture seeped into local literature demonstrates just how "Angolan" Portugal had become, inverting our normal assumptions of one-way cultural flows from masters to slaves.

Another example of this kind of hybrid Portuguese–Central African Catholic cultural exchange can be found in the published account of a fictional conversation between a Portuguese priest and a "Preto." The Preto first presents himself to the Catholic priest, addressing him as "sioro ganga" or "Senhor Ganga"—"ganga" being the Kikongo and Kimbundu word for diviners, healers, and priests. The priest returns the greeting and asks the Preto his name. The Preto answers, "My name is Bento, sir." The priest's response is a clever play on words tying the name "Bento" to black devotion of "São Bento" (Saint Benedict). Though the priest mocks the Preto in a "humorous" play on words for a Portuguese audience, the depth of understanding of African realities in Lisbon—the importance of the "ganga," the widespread black devotion to Saint Benedict—reveals just how intertwined Portuguese and Central African culture could be in everyday life.

Not *all* African interactions with the Catholic Church took place through the cultural idioms of Africa; nor did the Portuguese *always* treat African devotion with such mocking disrespect. Africans and Portuguese were also very much implicated in one another's "separate" institutions in Lisbon. For example, some African slaves expressed a level of Catholic piety that exceeded

that of their Portuguese masters. In 1727, the Angolan slave Vicencia Monica appeared before the Portuguese Inquisition to denounce a Portuguese man, Henrique de Lemos. Lemos had married Vicencia's mistress, Dorothea de Ataide, less than a year earlier. During the brief time Vicencia served the newly married couple, she was distressed to see that Lemos ate meat on Fridays and Saturdays, refused to attend Mass with his wife, and desecrated an image of Saint Anthony.[46] Vicencia also complained that Lemos refused to allow her and another slave, Roza, to attend Mass. Though Vicencia's denunciation of Lemos never reached a full trial, her expression of Catholic faith and her willingness to address her grievances through the system of ecclesiastical justice demonstrate the depths of her devotion to a Portuguese Catholic religious orthodoxy.[47]

Likewise, even though Portuguese subjects ridiculed black brotherhoods and even feigned fits of sneezing as their processions passed through the streets of Lisbon, the Portuguese royal family endorsed some of these celebrations in very public ways.[48] For example, in April 1744, the black brotherhood of Nossa Senhora de Guadalupe celebrated Saint Benedict with a three-day festival. The festival almost certainly included some of the same raucous singing, dancing, and musical processions that characterized the celebrations for Nossa Senhora do Rosário discussed earlier in this chapter. Nevertheless, on the second day of the feast, the king and queen of Portugal graced the brothers with their sober and illustrious presence. In return, the brotherhood bestowed the honorific title of lifelong office (*Juiz perpetuo*) on King João V. The occasion was later reported in the official royal gazette, thereby signaling the king's embrace of African Catholicism to his mostly white metropolitan subjects.[49]

Of course, one might argue that, in these religious exchanges, the protagonists used the Catholic Church to achieve other, ulterior motives, alongside their devotional or spiritual ones. In the case of Vicencia Monica, she claimed that Henrique de Lemos abused all of the women and children in their house, tying them up, gagging them, whipping them with a *chicote*. In the absence of a physical response to this abuse, perhaps she hoped Church authorities would condemn her master's heretical behavior and apply inquisitorial justice. In the case of King João V, his strong endorsement of the black brotherhood was contingent on the brothers' avowed devotion to the Catholic Church and on their deference to the king's sovereignty. The king's patronage rested entirely on the Africans' subjectivity. Ultimately, the "taming" of Africans to God's law was a testament to the glory and power of the king,

to be celebrated by the crown through public displays of noblesse oblige. In return, Africans were able to carve out their own social and cultural spaces, sanctioned by the crown, often up and against the vitriol of its white metropolitan subjects. In this way, an absolutist crown sometimes served as both master and protector of African interests in the heart of the metropole.

This very brief, composite overview of black life in eighteenth-century Lisbon is meant only as a suggestive starting point for those who might wish to engage in more dedicated research projects. There are rich veins of economic, social, and cultural history of African and African-descended peoples in Lisbon that remain to be tapped. My overall goal here has been modest: to demonstrate the extent to which blacks were etched into the historical landscape of the city, not just as colonial appendages, but as central players in metropolitan affairs. I have largely avoided discussions of the "circulation" of Africans through Lisbon; however, these circulations also contributed mightily to Lisbon's identity as a Black Atlantic port. The seaborne connections to Africa and Brazil brought a steady stream of black travelers and sailors to Lisbon. The network of six African mandingueiros, mentioned earlier, was probably only a small sample of a much broader network. Evidence suggests that at least thirty different, mostly African-born, men were connected by this trade in mandingas, stretching from Africa, to Brazil, to Portugal. Another Ouidah slave, Luís de Lima, named twenty-five different slaves with whom he conspired to manufacture bolsas in Porto during the same period the Lisbon network was uncovered. Some of these mandingueiros had traveled to Lisbon.[50] At least eighteen had once lived in Brazil; two were the slaves of Englishmen; and two more worked on merchant ships.[51]

Clearly, this network of mandingueiros with ties to Brazil highlights the fluidity between colonial Brazil and metropolitan Lisbon. Lisbon was the primary destination of merchants and colonial officials returning to Portugal, often with their slaves in tow. But Portuguese merchants and government officials were not the only ones who carried Africa to the metropole via the Atlantic. For instance, in the late 1750s, a teenage slave named José accompanied his young masters when they left Brazil for university studies at Coimbra. He served them there, eventually running afoul of the Inquisition when he was overheard to say that there was no such thing as hell.[52] Other blacks arrived in Portugal through the criminal institutions of crown and Church. In 1744, the Portuguese Inquisition sent two Africans, one black creole, and one Brazilian Indian to Lisbon to stand trial for crimes committed in Brazil. The

two Africans were eventually banished to southern Portugal, where they each continued the divining and healing practices that landed them in trouble in the first place.[53] Other blacks arrived, not necessarily from Brazil, but as servants of English merchants conducting business in Lisbon. Some of these blacks were part of the mandinga network. Others denounced their English masters for not allowing them to practice the Catholic faith in Lisbon.[54] And still others became pirates. In 1755, the "black Englishman" Bristol Grefe (Griffin?) was condemned to ten years in the galleys for piracy at sea.[55]

Altogether then, one can see the broad contours of an extremely vibrant black presence in Lisbon during the eighteenth century, both at the local, institutional level and at the level of broader Atlantic circulations. When considered alongside the handful of studies that demonstrate the importance of the black presence in Lisbon during the sixteenth century, we can begin to link African-descended influences that persisted in the city for hundreds of years. To ignore African slavery or the profound importance of African-descended peoples in Portugal prior to the nineteenth century is to succumb to the "monumentality" of the "discoveries," literally burying Africans in the trash heaps of history. To be sure, maritime exploration should be celebrated, but not simply as elaborations of Portuguese genius, wealth, and Christian charity. The human dimensions of imperial expansion directly affected the metropole, bringing significant numbers of African slaves to places like Lisbon. Both enslaved and freed peoples of African descent helped to shape the social relations and cultural expressions of the city, even as they often suffered under the yoke of slavery, Portuguese absolutism, and merchant might. The histories of these Africans and their descendants deserve to be highlighted as part of Lisbon's history. They are not histories etched in stone, like those of the explorers and the forefathers of the current Duke of Bragança. Rather, they are woven deeply into the tapestry of the country—in its streets, neighborhoods, language, music, and dance. Often hidden in plain view, these histories reveal a different kind of glory, one of human resilience, persistence, and survival.

Symbols: Aspects of Ndembu Ritual (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1967), 313, 316.

65. Information about Hausa barber-surgeons provided here comes from the interesting monograph by the anthropologist L. Lewis Wall, which, despite being an anthropological work from the 1970s, does not appear to present much of a risk of backdating oral sources since historical data verify this as a long-standing practice among Hausa. L. Lewis Wall, *Hausa Medicine: Illness and Well-Being in a West African Culture* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1988), esp. chap. 6 on Hausa medical practitioners.

66. Wall, *Hausa Medicine.*

67. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 212–13.

68. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 223–25.

69. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 225.

70. There is an extensive literature on sickle-cell anemia in Africa and among African descendents that I do not list here. For the slave trade, I do mention Walter A. Schroeder, Edwin S. Munger, and Darleen R. Powars, "Sickle Cell Anaemia, Genetic Variations, and the Slave Trade to the United States," *Journal of African History* 31, no. 2 (1990): 163–80; for Africa, an early work was presented by Ronald Singer, "The Sickle Cell Trait in Africa," *American Anthropologist,* n.s. 55, no. 5, pt. 1 (Dec. 1953): 634–48. There is no information about sickle-cell anemia among slaves in Brazil, just some recent ongoing research with very few results.

71. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 223–24.

72. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 226.

73. Wall, *Hausa Medicine,* 212–13.

74. Regarding Yoruba and Hausa in Brazil, see Reis, *Rebelião escrava no Brasil.*

75. AN, Fisicatura Mór do Reino, códice 145. I have to thank Cristiana Lyrio Ximenes, who identified Francisco Pires Guimarães in the list of Bahian traders she is preparing for her dissertation.

76. The biography of Antonio José Dutra and the extensive work by Zephyr Frank shed some light on the subject. Unfortunately, most information about Dutra's barber shop comes from his inventory postmortem, from 1849. At the time, the presumed heirs were involved in a dispute and the shop was not regularly functioning. Frank, "Individuals and Neighborhoods in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro."

77. Paulo César Azevedo and Maurício Lissovsky, eds., *Escravos Brasileiros do Século XIX na Fotografia de Christiano Jr.*, text by Jacob Gorender, Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, and Muniz Sodré (São Paulo: Editora Ex Libris, 1988).

78. Here I make a reference to Paul E. Lovejoy and Jan S. Hogendorn, *Slow Death for Slavery: The Course of Abolition in Northern Nigeria, 1897–1936* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1993).

79. Regarding how Mina slaves dealt with their African background in Rio de Janeiro, see Mariza de Carvalho Soares, "From Gbe to Yoruba: Ethnic Changes within the Mina Nation in Rio de Janeiro," in *The Yoruba Diaspora in the Atlantic World,* ed. Toyin

Falola and Matt Childs (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2004), 231–47; Soares, "A 'nação' que se tem."

Chapter 11

1. Giuseppe Marco Antonio Baretti, *A Journey from London to Genoa, through England, Portugal, Spain, and France,* 3rd ed., 4 vols. (London, 1770), 1:169.

2. Maria João Neves, Miguel Almeida, and Maria Teresa Ferreira, "Separados na vida e na morte: Retrato do tratamento mortuário dado aos escravos africanos na cidade moderna de Lagos," *Actas do 7o Encontro de Arqueologia do Algarve: XELB* 10 (2009): 547–60.

3. Letters to the editor, *Anglo-Portuguese News* (Lisbon), Aug. 17, 2000.

4. "Cemitério de escravos de Lagos é único no mundo," *Diário de Notícias,* Dec. 7, 2011, http://www.dn.pt/inicio/ciencia/interior.aspx?content_id=2169763.

5. For some preliminary exploration of this question, see Bernd Reiter, "Portugal: National Pride and Imperial Neurosis," *Race and Class* 47 (2005): 79–91.

6. The following represents what I believe is a nearly exhaustive list of book-length manuscripts on the history of blacks in Portugal during the era of the slave trade. This list includes fewer than a dozen books, none of them focused predominantly on Lisbon: Manuel Heleno, *Os escravos em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1933); Antonio Brasio, *Os pretos em Portugal* (Lisbon, 1944); A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441–1555* (Cambridge, 1982); José Ramos Tinhorão, *Os negros em Portugal: Uma presença silenciosa* (Lisbon, 1988); Jorge Fonseca, *Os escravos em Évora no século XVI* (Évora, 1997); Ana Maria Rodrigues, ed., *Os negros em Portugal: Sécs. XV–XIX; Mosteiro dos Jerónimos 23 de setembro de 1999 a 24 de janeiro de 2000* (Lisbon, 1999); Didier Lahon, *O negro na coração do Império: Uma memória a resgatar—séculos XV–XIX* (Lisbon, 1999); Alessandro Stella, *Histoires d'esclaves dans la péninsule ibérique* (Paris, 2000); Jorge Fonseca, *Os escravos no sul de Portugal* (Lisbon, 2002); Daniela Buono Calainho, *Metrópole das mandingas: Religiosidade negra e Inquisição portuguesa no Antigo Regime* (Rio de Janeiro, 2008).

7. Estimates of Lisbon's population on the eve of the 1755 earthquake vary wildly. In popular renderings such as those found on Wikipedia, figures run as high as 275,000. Historian Teresa Rodrigues places the figure at around 191,000 for Lisbon and its immediate suburbs. She estimates that the central city had around 168,000 residents. Teresa Rodrigues, *Cinco Séculos de Quotidiano: A Vida em Lisboa do Século XVI aos Nossos Dias* (Lisbon, 1997), 26, 39.

8. Admittedly, this is pure speculation. Fonseca shows that the slave population of southern Portugal declined from a high of around 8 percent in the sixteenth century to 4 percent in the seventeenth century. According to A. C. Saunders, slaves represented roughly 10 percent of Lisbon's population in the 1550s. Assuming that Lisbon's slave population declined at a similar rate to that in the south, a figure of 5 percent seems reasonable. Thus, Lisbon likely had around ten thousand slaves in 1750. Fonseca, *Os*

escravos no sul de Portugal, 25. For Lisbon's slave demography in the sixteenth century, see Saunders, *Social History*, 50–58.

9. Baretti, *Journey from London*, 1:273–74. Also see Anonymous Frenchman, "Descrição da Cidade de Lisboa, 1730," in *O Portugal de D. João V visto por três forasteiros*, ed. Castelo Branco Chaves (Lisbon, 1983), 55.

10. Richard Twiss, *Travels through Portugal and Spain in 1772 and 1773* (London, 1775), 2.

11. François de Tours, "Itinerário em Portugal, 1699," in *Portugal nos séculos XVII e XVIII: Quatro testemunhos* (Lisbon, 1989), 63.

12. Baretti, *Journey from London*, 1:274.

13. According to Jorge Fonseca, of 115 runaway slaves from Portugal's interior who were captured in the seventeenth century, 31 (27 percent) were captured in Lisbon. Fonseca, *Os escravos no sul de Portugal*, 140.

14. Dom Manuel I, quoted in Victor Ribeiro, *A Santa Casa da Misericórdia de Lisboa* (Lisbon, 1902), 182–83.

15. A history of the Mocambo neighborhood remains to be written. Today, it retains some immigrant flavor, especially from the Cape Verdians who settled there in the 1960s. Though the neighborhood survives in popular memory as an "African" space, its history, especially prior to the 1755 earthquake, remains practically unknown.

16. João Brandão, *Grandeza e Abastança da Cidade de Lisboa (1552)*, ed. José da Felicidade Alves (Lisbon, 1990), 107. Brandão's account describes the various economic activities in Lisbon, including those along the riverfront. See esp. 72–84.

17. James H. Sweet, "Mutual Misunderstandings: Gesture, Gender, and Healing in the African Portuguese World," *Past and Present Supplement* 203, supp. 4 (2009): 128–43.

18. Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (hereafter ANTT), Casa da Suplicação, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Juízos dos Degredados, Livro 1 (para as Galés), fol. 17v.

19. Didier Lahon, "Inquisição, pacto com o demônio e 'magia' africana em Lisboa no século XVIII," *Topoi* 5 (2004): 31–33.

20. ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 11767.

21. Other cases of black slaves being accused of carrying mandingas in Lisbon during this period include the following: ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 4260 (Processo of Joseph, single slave of Antônio Marques Gomes, jailed Sept. 23, 1730); ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 15572 (Denunciation of Francisco, slave of João Ruiz do Valle, May 2, 1735); ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Novos Maços, Maço 27, no. 41 (Denunciation of Antônio de Sousa, slave of João de Freitas, Jan. 6, 1733); ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 16722 (Denunciation of Matheus, slave, Aug. 7, 1731). On the use of bolsas in Portugal, see Calainho, *Metrópole das mandingas*. Also see Laura de Mello e Souza, *The Devil and the Land of the Holy Cross: Witchcraft, Slavery, and Popular Religion in Colonial Brazil* (Austin, Tex., 2003), 130–41; José Pedro Paiva, *Bruxaria e superstição num país sem "caça às bruxas, 1600–1774* (Lisbon, 1997), 113–14; James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441–1770* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2003).

22. ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 11767 (José Francisco Pereira) and Processos, no. 11774 (José Francisco Pedroso)

23. According to the Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database, 2,083 slaves (imputed) boarded in Africa and 1,789 (imputed) arrived in Lisbon. Thus, roughly one ship arrived from Africa per year, with an average of 200 slaves on board. See www.slavevoyages.org.

24. Anonymous Frenchman, "Descrição da Cidade de Lisboa, 1730," 60–61.

25. Ibid., 81.

26. Carl Israel Ruders, *Viagem em Portugal, 1798–1802*, preface and notes by Castelo Branco Chaves, trans. António Feijo (Lisbon, 2002), 52; Rodrigues, *Cinco Séculos de Quotidiano*, 67.

27. ANTT, Casa da Suplicação, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Juízos dos Degredados, Livro 1 (para as Galés), fol. 9 (Nov. 22, 1750). Similarly, in the city of Porto, the slave Antônio Preto "beat a white man," for which he received a six-year sentence in the Galleys. Ibid., fol. 7 (Mar. 16, 1750).

28. *Suplemento á Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 51, Dec. 19, 1743, 1020.

29. *Suplemento á Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 3, Jan. 17, 1743, 60.

30. Anonymous Frenchman, "Descrição da Cidade de Lisboa, 1730," 61.

31. For the most explicit articulation of the street as "slaves' space" in Brazil, especially for women, see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Master in Nineteenth-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Austin, Tex., 1988).

32. Rodrigues, *Cinco Séculos de Quotidiano*, 68.

33. Maria Rosalina Delgado, ed., *O Jornal Manuscrito de Luiz Montez Mattozo: Anno Noticioso e Historico, 1742: Estudo Crítico*, vol. 2, Lisbon: Lisóptima Edições/Biblioteca Nacional, 1996), 227.

34. François de Tours, "Itinerário em Portugal, 1699," 63.

35. Sermon of Father Rafael Bluteau in the Igreja dos Caetanos in January 1723, as quoted in Manuel Bernardes Branco, *Portugal na época de D. João V* (Lisbon, 1886), 35–37, cited on 173n17.

36. Of the nineteen black convicts, fifteen were slaves and four were freedmen. The actual numbers break down as follows: fifty-seven Europeans (mostly Spaniards and Galicians), fifty-four Portuguese, fifteen black slaves, four freed blacks, two Moors, and one Brazilian. ANTT, Casa da Suplicação, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Juízos dos Degredados, Livro 1 (para as Galés).

37. For descriptions of the galleys, see Charles Frederic de Merveilleux, "Memórias Instrutivas Sobre Portugal, 1723–1726," in *O Portugal de D. João V visto por três forasteiros*, ed. Castelo Branco Chaves (Lisbon: Biblioteca Nacional, 1983), 221. Also see João de Mendonça, "Processo do arquitecto inglês John Couston—Condenado pela Inquisição de Lisboa por ser pedreiro-livre, 1743–1744," *O Occidente*, Nov.–Dec. 1886, 283–86.

38. ANTT, Casa da Suplicação, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Juízos dos Degregados, Livro 1 (para as galés), fol. 9v. (Nov. 26, 1750).

39. Ibid., fol. 22v (Nov. 24, 1752).

40. Baretti, *Journey from London*, 1:169.

41. Merveilleux, "Memórias Instrutivas Sobre Portugal, 1723–1726," 209.

42. Baretti, *Journey from London*, 1:125–26.

43. For other descriptions of Africans playing musical instruments in Lisbon's streets to celebrate feast days in the latter part of the eighteenth century, see William Beckford, *Italy: With Sketches of Spain and Portugal*, 2 vols. (Philadelphia: Key & Biddle, 1834), 2:56–57 (Sacred Heart of Jesus, 1787); and Ruders, *Viagem em Portugal*, 52 (St. Anthony), 59 (St. Peter), and 102 (St. Patrick).

44. Since the Mina king was invited to dance the "Zaramangoe," one would logically conclude that his must be some corruption of a Mina language term. In fact, it seems closely related to the Ovimbundo, "sarapango," which describes dancing and singing in a circular motion. See both "saragpango" and "surupango," in Nei Lopes, *Dicionário Bantu no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa da Cidade, 1996), 234, 240.

45. *Folheto de Ambas Lisboas*, no. 7, Oct. 6, 1730 (Lisbon, 1781). Also see Tinhorão's treatment in *Os negros em Portugal*, 208–11.

46. On the importance of St. Anthony for Central Africans in the early eighteenth century, see John K. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684–1706* (Cambridge, 1998).

47. ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Cadernos do Promotor, no. 100, Livro 293, fols. 13–14v. (Oct. 9, 1727).

48. On the "gross insults" of "uninterrupted sneezing" aimed at blacks walking in religious procession, see Ruders, *Viagem em Portugal*, 52.

49. *Gazeta de Lisboa*, no. 17, Apr. 28, 1744, 332.

50. See, for instance, the case of the mandingueiro Manuel de Piedade, who fled his master in Porto, running away to Lisbon. ANTT, Inquisição de Lisboa, Processos, no. 9972 (Manuel de Piedade).

51. ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Processos, no. 1630 (Luís de Lima). For more on this mandinga network, see James H. Sweet, "Slaves, Convicts, and Exiles: African Travellers in the Portuguese World, 1720–1750," in *Bridging the Early Modern Atlantic World: People, Products, and Practices on the Move*, ed. Caroline A. Williams (London, 2009), 193–202.

52. ANTT, Inquisição de Coimbra, Cadernos do Promotor, no. 102, Livro 396, fol. 221 (July 3, 1760).

53. The two Africans were Domingos Álvares (Mina) and Luzia Pinta (Angola). The creole was Luzia da Silva Soares. And the Indian was Miguel Pestana. For more on these figures, see Laura de Mello e Souza, *O diabo e a terra de Santa Cruz: Feitiçaria e religiosidade popular no Brasil colonial* (São Paulo, 1986); Luiz Mott, "O calundu Angola de Luzia Pinta, Sabará 1739," *Revista do Instituto de Artes e Cultura*, Universidade Federal de Ouro Preto 1 (1994): 173–82; Luiz Mott, "Um Tupinambá Feiticeiro do Espirito Santo nas Garras da Inquisição," *Revista de História (UFES)* 18 (2006): 13–28; and James H. Sweet, *Domingos Álvares, African Healing, and the Intellectual History of the Atlantic World* (Chapel Hill, N.C., 2011).

54. See Sweet, *Recreating Africa*, 96–100.

55. Casa da Suplicação, Feitos Findos, Livros dos Juízos dos Degredados, Livro 1 (para as Gales), fol. 45 (Dec. 19, 1755).

Chapter 12

1. Throughout this chapter, I cite colonial race labels such as *negro*, *mulato*, *pardo*, and *moreno*. I cannot judge from the surviving fragments of brotherhood documentation whether individuals described as such labeled themselves in this manner or if these labels were added by the scribe or cleric present. On rare occasions (which are noted in this chapter), individuals chose to make a special point of their race label, but generally New Spanish documents offer no discussion of who chose the description or why. For this reason I use the term "Afro-Mexican" when referring generally to the population of Africans and their descendants in New Spain. My reasoning is to emphasize that "a diverse range of individuals of African descent contributed individually and collectively to many aspects of life in New Spain. . . . [This term] connotes a fluid group and is meant to highlight the long-term presence of people of African ancestry and suggest that they influenced the development of [modern] Mexican religion and society." See Nicole von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Tallahassee, 2006), 5. The term "Afro-Mexican" also avoids an inaccurate emphasis on slavery as a defining condition for Africans and their descendants in New Spain—those individuals labeled Afro-Mexican could be slaves or free people. It also rejects labels such as *negro* and *mulato* as rigid or constant since Afro-Mexicans manipulated these and other labels throughout their lives. For further discussion, see Joan Bristol, *Christians, Blasphemers and Witches: Afro-Mexican Ritual Practice in the Seventeenth Century* (Albuquerque, 2007), 1–2 and 12–13, for a discussion of the fluidity of labels such as "black" and "mulatto."

2. See von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 11–40 for an exploration of this pious expression.

3. Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers*, 84.

4. For example, Herman Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570–1640* (Indianapolis, 2005). Bristol's *Blasphemers* also tends to examples from Mexico City. Patrick Carroll's *Blacks in Colonial Veracruz: Race, Ethnicity, and Regional Development* (Austin, 2001) offers a regional perspective. Ben Vinson's *Bearing Arms for His Majesty: The Free-Colored Militia in Colonial Mexico* (Stanford, 2003) offers a broader vision of Afro-Mexican regional experiences. See also Frank Proctor, *Damned Notions of Liberty: Slavery, Culture, and Power in Colonial Mexico, 1640–1769* (Albuquerque, 2010).

5. Lourdes Mondragón Barrios, in *Esclavos africanos en la ciudad de México: El servicio domestico durante el siglo XVI* (Mexico City, 1999), 36–39, documents slave sales recorded by Mexico City's notaries, adding to 340 between 1528 and 1609. However, these data by no means reflect the myriad ways Africans might have arrived in Mexico City—some came as conquistadors with Hernando Cortes, others were bought and sold