

The Portuguese Crown and Brazil

Tobacco Cultivation, Asia and the African Slave Trade, and the Atlantic and Global Economy, c. 1674 to 1776

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Historians in general and maritime economic historians in particular have intensified their focus on explaining how the world, today, became the way that it is by examining the world or worlds that trade created.¹ Within many of the contemporary “big” and contested historiographical discussions of globalization, material culture and divergence, the history of individual commodities or groups of commodities has emerged as a popular narrative or vehicle in presenting, contextualizing and discussing development in the past.² From salt, silver, chocolate, coffee, sugar and tea, to porcelain, rice and opium, the list grows, and the history of commoditization or objects of utility also grows.³ Some of these commodity histories have been made contextually richer through their incorporation of inter-disciplinary approaches, such as history-anthropology or anthropology-history.⁴

This article examines the history of the Portuguese Crown’s monopoly and trade in an American commodity, Brazilian tobacco, and African and Asian commodities in the Atlantic and global economy from about 1674 to 1776. It discusses the importance of this institution in the functioning of the Portuguese empire in America (Brazil),

Africa (Mozambique, in particular) and Asia, the *Estado da Índia*, the commercial relations and operations of this monopoly, and the use of African and Asian commodities in interconnecting the African slave trade in and within the economies of the Atlantic and Indian Ocean worlds or the early modern global economy.

Tobacco originated in the New World.⁵ Throughout the last quarter of the 16th and the early 17th centuries, the two primary species of tobacco (of the genus *Nicotiana*—*N. rustica* and *N. tabacum*) were introduced in Asia by the Portuguese and Spanish via commercial exchanges.⁶

The terms Atlantic,⁷ Pacific⁸ and Indo-Atlantic⁹ exchanges are used here to describe the long-term interaction of goods, peoples, ideas and technologies between Europe and America, and between Asia and America. The Atlantic exchange, usually mentioned as the Columbian exchange, deals primarily with the bio-history of smallpox and syphilis, Old World plants and animals in the Americas, and the influence of New World foods, such as maize and manioc, on European demography. It is associated in part with the annual trans-Atlantic shipping of the Spanish and Portuguese seaborne empires.¹⁰ This essay touches tangentially with all three exchanges but concentrates on the Indo-Atlantic exchange. Both the Pacific and Indo-Atlantic exchanges possess similarities with the Atlantic in that they focus on the bio-history of disease, plants and animals, the influence of New World and African and Asian foods on demography, and the movement of goods, peoples, ideas and technologies between Asia and America via two maritime routes, across the Pacific

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Tobacco plant blossom. In *Flora de Filipinas* de Fray Ignacio Mercado, Manila, 1877.

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and across the Indian Ocean, including the South and East China Sea, around the Cape of Good Hope, and in the South Atlantic Ocean.

The Portuguese brought tobacco from Brazil via the Cape of Good Hope route to India and the rest of Asia, and the Spanish brought tobacco from New Spain (Mexico) via the Pacific exchange or the trans-Pacific route to the Philippines and to China. Based on the subsequent diffusion of tobacco in China, it was *tabacum*—the typical species from America—that was more widely diffused and accepted. The dissemination and acculturation of tobacco production and its use was widespread and profound in its penetration and acceptance throughout Asia. Previous social customs and practices aided tobacco's acceptance and the extent of its consumption. In particular, the practice of betel-chewing served as the cultural bridge to tobacco smoking throughout the Indonesian Archipelago and the Malay world as well as in parts of south China.¹¹

Because of the rapid and pervasive acceptance and growth of tobacco production throughout Asia, early Portuguese efforts to commercialize Brazilian tobacco production were frustrated.¹² Despite sporadic early attempts by the Portuguese Crown to monopolize the sale of tobacco at home and overseas, these efforts were not successful. The *Estado da Índia's* early use of tobacco for the Crown was limited to the control and the generation of rather small amounts of tax revenue on retail tobacco sales within their imperial territorial boundaries in India. This changed dramatically in the last quarter of the 17th century.

After the successful restoration of Portuguese independence from Spain in 1640, the Portuguese Crown confronted an acute fiscal and economic crisis both at home and overseas that required a serious re-organization and re-structuring of revenue sources in order to pay accumulated obligations and attend to current operating expenditures. One of the solutions for the Crown's economic and fiscal difficulties was to establish a monopoly over Brazilian tobacco.¹³ Since private contractors handled the actual distribution of the commodity, the implementation of the monopoly was "a means of obtaining a share of the income produced from its sale."¹⁴

The *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* (or the Tobacco Administrative Council, which is normally shortened to the Tobacco Council) was established on 14 July 1674. Whether it was intended to be a

temporary or permanent solution to the Crown's revenue requirements is not clear. The *Junta* was responsible for the commercialization and control of the tobacco monopoly in metropolitan Portugal and its empire. It was granted and exercised broad search and seizure powers. Violators faced legal proceedings and, if found guilty, met diverse and draconian punishment. Customs duties and the cultivation of tobacco were subordinated to it. The establishment of the *Junta* has been seen as "among the most important manifestations of increasing state involvement in the [Portuguese] economy," but the "real aim of the crown's economic policy was the raising of capital from whatever source available."¹⁵ Within a short time span, by 1681, the tobacco monopoly was producing around one-sixth to one-seventh of the revenue collected annually by the Crown in Portugal.¹⁶ It was not eliminated until 1834.

The monopoly operated on four continents (South America, Europe, Africa and Asia), and Brazilian tobacco and products were found globally.¹⁷ The *Junta* was a small but powerful administrative unit presided over by a President and four *dezembargadores* (high court judges), who met in Lisbon. The *Junta's* members were all appointed and held their office at the pleasure of the Crown. They normally vetted and appointed two superintendents in different geographically determined territories, who were in permanent residence and responsible to the Council and the Crown for the functioning of the monopoly.

The superintendents executed different functions and responsibilities depending upon their geographical location. As the local representatives of the *Junta*, they possessed a wide range of economic and political power, including the authority to integrate Crown assets, especially shipping, and utilize Crown administrators as commercial agents in the execution of the monopoly's business.

The superintendents in Brazil operated out of Bahia, where they coordinated the reception, grading, handling and shipping of tobacco to Portugal. They oversaw the sale of the lowest grade of leaf tobacco in Brazil to local merchants, who exported it primarily to the Mina Coast of West Africa as a key commodity in the slave trade. They also became involved in the reception, handling and sale of Asian commodities shipped from the superintendents of the tobacco monopoly in the *Estado da Índia*. The Asian commodities that these superintendents began to sell

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to local merchants in the early 1750s were Indian (primarily Gujarati) colored cotton textiles. These were destined primarily for re-exportation to Africa as items used to purchase slaves or for consumption in Brazil and/or re-exportation within South America. It was the responsibility of the superintendents in Brazil to remit the proceeds of those sales to Lisbon. They purchased gold in Brazil and remitted that commodity to the *Junta*.

The *Junta* and its superintendents coordinated the reception, handling (including customs clearance and warehousing) and processing at the *Fábrica do Tabaco* in Lisbon, the sale of Brazilian tobacco and products to foreign merchants for re-export and to local contractors for consumption in Portugal and the shipments to the *Estado da Índia*. The *Junta* subdivided the internal metropolitan market in Portugal (including the Atlantic islands and North Africa) into specific geographically demarcated regions. Private Portuguese merchants, as previously mentioned, contracted the supply of tobacco, and the *Junta's* superintendents oversaw its delivery and commercialization by these contractors. At Lisbon, the superintendents also oversaw the handling and export of the highest grade of Brazilian leaf tobacco and snuff in Crown and privately owned and operated company shipping that was destined for the *Estado da Índia*. The quantities of tobacco and tobacco products that were exported to the *Estado da Índia* were significantly smaller than the amounts sent to Portugal. They coordinated the reception, handling and sale of African and Asian commodities in Portugal that were regularly shipped to Lisbon and had been purchased using the proceeds and profits of the tobacco monopoly in Asia by the superintendents in the *Estado da Índia*. These superintendents received and oversaw the sale of Asian commodities from India and China to local and foreign merchants. The primary commodities from India were initially pepper from the Malabar Coast, diamonds from Golconda, and saltpeter from Bengal, with the subsequent inclusion of textiles, primarily Gujarati colored cotton textiles. In the case of saltpeter from Bengal, they oversaw the delivery of this commodity to the Crown's *Fábrica de Pólvora* (gunpowder factories) before releasing any excess deliveries for sale to foreign or local traders at Lisbon. The African commodities were primarily cowries or shells from Mozambique that were utilized as items of exchange in the South Atlantic slave trade.

The primary commodities from China were tea, fine silk (damask) textiles and porcelain.

The monopoly in the *Estado da Índia* initially focused upon the consumption of tobacco in the Portuguese settlements and indigenous populations that extended from East Africa to India, the Indonesian Archipelago and China. Subsequently, in the later half of the 18th century, in the particular case of Macao, commercialization efforts were developed to increase demand and sales of tobacco and snuff in a broader market in China. The superintendents in the *Estado da Índia* operated in and out of Goa. The *Junta* appointed two superintendents at Goa. They operated as commercial agents and were remunerated by sales commissions. They were respected actual or former Crown administrators with commercial experience, as indicated in their service records.¹⁸ Their appointment lasted for the rest of their career. They were responsible for the functioning of the monopoly over the vast territory assigned to them. There were minor but important variations in how they organized the monopoly which have not been mentioned or emphasized in the general description of the Crown's tobacco monopoly, such as the Goa *rendas* (rents or the farming out by the Crown of a revenue source, usually via a three-year contract to the highest bidder).¹⁹

The superintendents in the *Estado da Índia* coordinated the reception and handling (including customs clearance and warehousing) of the tobacco and snuff that arrived from Portugal. They oversaw its delivery and commercialization by the Goa tobacco *renda* contractor. Nearly all of the Brazilian tobacco and snuff was destined for the successful contractor, usually a prominent Hindu merchant or association of merchants who actually commercialized the commodities in Goa and its environs and re-exported them to markets that the superintendents had not excluded from the *renda* contract. Initially the superintendents excluded the sale of small quantities of tobacco and snuff in East Africa (Rios de Senna and Mozambique) and in Northwestern India (the port cities and fortresses or *praças* that included Diu, Daman, Chaul and Bassein, which formed what the Portuguese called the *Provincia do Norte*), and administered their direct sale by Portuguese Crown officials—judges in these instances. The superintendents subsequently excluded additional geographical territories via negotiation with the Goa *renda* contractor and arranged for the monopoly's

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Tobacco production. In Pierre Pomet, *Histoire Générale des Drogues*, Paris, 1694.

tobacco and snuff to be directly sold by Portuguese Crown administrators, the governors of Solor and Timor and of Macao, and eventually specifically appointed representatives of the monopoly in China. The monopoly's representatives at Macao handled sales and revenues in China and, for a period of time, the Coromandel Coast in India.

The superintendents in the *Estado da Índia* were also involved in the contracting or purchasing on the spot market, reception, handling (including packing and customs clearance) and loading of commodities shipped from Asia to Portugal and Brazil. They supervised the export of commodities on the Crown's account from India (pepper from the Malabar Coast, diamonds from Golconda, saltpeter from Bengal, with the subsequent inclusion of textiles, primarily Gujarati colored cotton textiles), East Africa (cowries or shells from Mozambique), and China (initially tea and some fine silks) from the proceeds of the sale of the Goa *renda* and direct sales in East Africa, the *Provincia do*

Norte, China, the Indonesian Archipelago and the Coromandel Coast. They were also responsible for instructing the monopoly's local representatives in East Africa to purchase gold, ivory and cowries from the proceeds of those local tobacco sales. The gold, ivory and cowries were remitted to Goa, where the superintendents sold them and added the revenues to the monopoly's accounts. When market conditions in Brazil or Portugal were not sufficiently profitable or conducive because of stocks being too high, cowries from Mozambique would be sold in India and the proceeds added to the monopoly's accounts and used to pay for other commodities being purchased for Portugal.

The Brazilian tobacco that arrived in Portugal and was destined for the *Estado da Índia* was packed in wooden barrels in the attempt to ensure quality and safe handling in the voyage on the Crown shipping route, the *Carreira da Índia*, and in the warehouse that the superintendents operated at Goa.²⁰ Although

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the dimensions of the barrels are not available, they apparently were of a standard size, and each held approximately 92 *arráteis* (92 pounds or 42 kilograms) of tobacco.²¹ From 1675 to 1715, the *Junta* re-exported a total of 8,571 barrels (or approximately 788,532 pounds or 359,982 kilograms) of different grades (*fino*, *cidade*, and *simoneta*) of Brazilian tobacco and snuff to the superintendents in Goa. Over the same period, the annual average number of barrels of tobacco that was delivered to the *Estado da Índia* was 220 barrels (20,240 pounds or 9,200 kilograms).²² From 1699 to 1704, the contemporaneous annual average of the total quantity of tobacco that was shipped from Brazil to Portugal, which included the tobacco to be re-exported to the *Estado da Índia*, was 6,225,669 pounds or 2,829,850 kilograms.²³ By volume, therefore, the Crown tobacco monopoly in the *Estado da Índia* was a relatively insignificant fraction of Portugal's overall trade in Brazilian tobacco.

The great majority of the small amount of tobacco that was shipped to the *Estado da Índia* was destined for commercialization by the Goa *renda*. The sale of this tobacco emerged as a significant source of revenue for the Crown that was disproportionately greater than the volume of tobacco that was involved. Excluding the even smaller sales of tobacco in East Africa, the *Provincia do Norte*, the Indonesian Archipelago and China, the sale of the Goa tobacco *renda* produced a total income of 6,288,840 *xerafines* for the *Estado da Índia* from 1700 to 1760.²⁴ Over the same period, it generated an average annual income of 104,814 *xerafines*, which was slightly over one-eighth of all of the *Estado da Índia*'s total yearly revenue.²⁵

At present, it is not possible to quantify the earlier 1675 to 1699 total or annual income generated by the Goa tobacco *renda*. However, it must have been similar to the later period because of the relatively stable quantity of the tobacco delivered. The revenue that the Goa tobacco *renda* generated at that time also aided dramatically in the fiscal stabilization of the *Estado da Índia*. It provided the Crown, as the superintendents reported, with adequate revenue to fund public works and military and naval operations, and to repay loans made to the Crown by ecclesiastical institutions. The superintendents documented that 1,199,501 *xerafines* had been used and paid for the above-mentioned purposes from the tobacco monopoly from 1678 to 1708.²⁶

It was not until the early 18th century that the superintendents of the Crown's tobacco monopoly in Goa began to address the commercialization opportunities for Brazilian tobacco and snuff in China and the Indonesian Archipelago. This is not to say that the Goa contractor had not sold tobacco and snuff to Macao-based Portuguese merchants and shipping that normally frequented Goa on an annual basis. It is likely that the Macao-based Portuguese shipping carried extremely limited amounts of Brazilian tobacco and snuff at this time to sell in China and throughout the Indonesian Archipelago. The superintendents initially identified that they would utilize Portuguese Crown administrators—the governors at Macao in China and in Solor and Timor in the Indonesian Archipelago—as the monopoly's exclusive commercial agents. They also decided that they would use Crown shipping to deliver the tobacco that would be sold in those markets.

A brief examination of their efforts in the Indonesian Archipelago illustrates one of the salient characteristics of the Crown's monopoly that was repeatedly replicated in East Africa, China and the Indonesian Archipelago. The characteristic in reference was that proceeds of the small sales of tobacco were never directly remitted to Goa or Lisbon but used to purchase highly fungible and profitable commodities that multiplied the value of the sales of tobacco. This practice increased the value of tobacco sales and the profitability of this monopoly, but it makes any precise calculation as to the overall profitability of any segment and the consolidation of the trade difficult to estimate.

In early 1706, for example, Jácome de Moraes Sarmiento, the Portuguese governor and captain-general of Timor and Solor, received a paltry amount of 36 *arráteis* (36 pounds or 16 kilograms) of *fino* and *cidade* tobacco from Goa. His instructions were to sell the tobacco primarily to local Portuguese settlers and members of the religious orders on those islands. The governor sold the tobacco at local prices of 8 and 10 Timorese *pardaos* that were, respectively, the equivalent of 20 and 25 *xerafines* in Goa per *arrátel* per different grade of tobacco. The total value of the tobacco that was sold was around 810 *xerafines* in local currency. With the proceeds of the sale of tobacco, he purchased local sandalwood (6½ *bahars*, though the quantities and values of the intermediate transactions are irrelevant for the point that is being made) that

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was shipped to Macao, where it was received and sold profitably. With the sales proceeds of the sandalwood, the Portuguese governor of Macao purchased gold in China, which was shipped to the superintendents of the tobacco monopoly at Goa. They sold the gold and paid the freight expenses for its shipment from China to India. With the proceeds of the sale of the gold, they purchased diamonds from Golconda, valued at 4,665 *xerafines*, in Goa, which were exported to the *Junta* in Portugal in 1709.²⁷

The *Junta* and the superintendents at Goa initiated shipments of Brazilian tobacco to Goa for re-export to “open” the China market in 1712.²⁸ They chose to utilize the Portuguese governor at Macao as the monopoly’s exclusive commercial agent. Because the Goa *renda* contractor tried to claim these sales as part of his contract, China, Solor and Timor, and the Coromandel Coast were excluded from the territory of the Goa *renda* in 1712.²⁹ Although some of the Portuguese governors at Macao would be more successful and diligent in this role than others, the governor of Macao would remain responsible to the superintendents at Goa and the Crown for the tobacco monopoly until 1725.³⁰ In that year, the superintendents at Goa changed their strategy and nominated two exclusive representatives of the monopoly at Macao: António Ribeiro and Manuel de Sande e Vasconcelos. These representatives, apparently, were active and responsible for the monopoly until the death of Sande e Vasconcelos in Macao in 1745.³¹ Although there were shipments in 1746 and 1752, the monopoly’s activities at Macao lapsed or diminished to such a degree that they are not documented in the superintendents’ annual general letter to the *Junta*. The Portuguese monopoly’s activities in China were renewed in 1758 via the appointment of exclusive representatives and continued without any further disruption for the rest of the 18th and into the early 19th century, when it was extinguished in Portugal and its empire.³²

The Portuguese governors at Macao faced a series of important and difficult issues, which included establishing the monopoly’s authority and defining and implementing a successful commercial strategy. In the early stages of developing the market, they encountered resistance and contestation of the monopoly’s authority from two unlikely sources. The two incidents, which were similar in nature, occurred in 1718 at the end of Dom Francisco de Alarcão Sotto-Maior’s term and at the beginning of António de Albuquerque Coelho’s

period as governor.³³ The first consisted of Alarcão Sotto-Maior’s confiscation of a quantity of tobacco (209 *arráteis*) from the Society of Jesus that was illegally in the possession of the *procurador* (agent) of the Vice-Province of China, Father Joseph Simões.³⁴ The second consisted of Albuquerque Coelho’s confiscation at Macao of a quantity of Brazilian tobacco on board the recently arrived *Santa Catharina e Almas*, a privately owned ship belonging to the *Companhia do Comercio de Lisboa*, which had permission to sail directly from Lisbon to China. Although the tobacco, it was claimed, was destined to be sold at Batavia,³⁵ Albuquerque Coelho upheld the Crown’s monopoly, since the ship and Company agents could not produce evidence that the Crown had stipulated in its license permission to carry or negotiate this commodity. The quantity of tobacco is not stated, but its cost value was mentioned as the equivalent of 3,750 *xerafines*.³⁶

The quantities of Brazilian tobacco and snuff that were shipped from Portugal to Goa for China or directly from Lisbon to Macao were volumes incremental or additional to those exported to the *Estado da Índia*. The quantities were even smaller than the exports for sale and consumption in East Africa and India, and there was a different product mix. In addition to different grades (*fino*, *cidade*, and *simoneta*) of Brazilian tobacco and snuff, a grade of *tabaco em pó* (snuff) known as *amostrinha* was included and introduced to accommodate Chinese consumers’ preferences, following observations made on this point by the governors of Macao to the superintendents at Goa and the *Junta* in Lisbon. In early 1716 the governor of Macao, Dom Francisco de Alarcão Sotto-Maior, reported to the Crown on the difficulties in establishing the monopoly in that city and a mass market for Brazilian tobacco in China. He estimated the annual market at Macao for Brazilian tobacco was a meager 200 *arráteis*. One of the reasons for such slack demand, which was also expressed by other Crown administrators about the markets in Solor and Timor and on the Coromandel Coast, was that internal and regionally produced tobacco from south China and Manila was already available and successfully competing with the Portuguese-controlled Brazilian commodity.³⁷ The second difficulty that he observed at Macao was that he lacked jurisdiction over Chinese merchants and control over the sale of tobacco in their shops in the city. The Portuguese monopoly could only control

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the sales of tobacco within the Portuguese and foreign community. Snuff was the preferred tobacco product that was sold to elite Chinese buyers—mandarins. Finally, he concluded, “this commodity can only be introduced in this Empire [in volume] selling at reduced price, and [only] after its introduction [in this manner] can the Royal Treasury realize great advance, this is what I can certify.”³⁸

The *Junta* and the superintendents did not share Alarcão Sotto-Maior’s advocacy for implementing a commercial strategy that included the reduction of prices or “dumping” the commodity to gain greater market penetration and share. Despite their early marketing difficulties and frustrations, the Portuguese governor in Macao in late 1720 António da Silva Telo e Meneses, estimated that the market for Brazilian tobacco and tobacco products had grown but was still a modest 2,000 *arráteis*, with more than one-half being in snuff or *amostrinha*.³⁹ With the sales proceeds from the monopoly at Macao in that same year, Silva Telo e Meneses had remitted to Goa over 35 ounces of gold. It was sold for 21,669 *xerafnes*, which were used to pay for a quantity (368 *quintais*) of pepper that was exported to Lisbon in 1721.⁴⁰ This meant that around 1720, the amount of tobacco shipped to China was

one-tenth or less the amount shipped from Lisbon to the Goa *renda* in India, but the revenue generated by tobacco sales in China was approximately one-fifth of the revenue generated by the sales of the Goa *renda*. While the *Junta* and superintendents in Goa desired greater acceptance of the commodity and larger sales in China, at this time they contented themselves with profit maximization on small volumes.

Some of Alarcão Sotto-Maior’s and subsequent governors’ recommendations were accepted. There are three interesting and significant examples. The first was the inclusion of *amostrinha*—the more yellow in color the better—and shifting its packaging from wooden barrels to crates and its presentation in bulk first in clear glass bottles and later in white glass bottles that initially held one *arrátel* to one-half or one-fourth of an *arrátel* of snuff. From an undetermined date in the 18th century, the glass bottles were produced by the *Fábrica de Vidrio* (glass factory) at Palvaterra in Portugal and delivered to the *Fábrica do Tabaco* in Lisbon, where the snuff was bottled and packed for export. The second was the organization of the delivery, to the extent possible, of the monopoly’s tobacco to Macao on Crown or privately owned Company shipping sailing directly from Lisbon to China in order to deliver a fresher

Fábrica do Tabaco in Lisbon in the 19th century by João Pedroso. Oil on canvas (City Museum, Lisbon).



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product. The third recommendation accepted was the decision to diminish, if not cease, the initial practice of purchasing tea from the tobacco sales proceeds in China and revert to purchasing gold with that revenue and remitting it to Goa to be sold. The superintendents used these revenues to pay for pepper that they exported from India to Lisbon. The argument that was made for this change was that, although the tea purchased in China was packed in tin-lined chests, upon arrival in India the tea had to be warehoused to wait for the proper time to sail. These conditions and delays would damage the quality of the tea. When, however, shipping directly from China to Lisbon was available, especially in the latter half of the 18th century, the proceeds of the tobacco monopoly's sales in China were employed to purchase tea, fine silk damasks, and porcelain on the Crown's behalf.

The technical and nautical skill to sail directly from Lisbon to China and return directly to Portugal was not new. It had been advocated in the mid-17th century.⁴¹ In its efforts to resuscitate and strengthen commerce with the *Estado da Índia* in the late 17th and early 18th century, the Crown used its own shipping and supported Portuguese private investors' and ship owners' efforts in establishing companies⁴² to trade in Asia in general and with China in particular by providing licenses to sail this route.⁴³ One of the stipulations for these licenses was the freighting and delivery of the Crown tobacco monopoly's products to its representatives in China. When direct shipping was not available, the shipments for China were sent to Goa, where it was re-exported on Crown shipping or via freight contract with Macao-based Portuguese shipping that frequented Goa. The freight rates were a subject of sharp discussion and negotiation between the Crown and Macao's ship owners. The Crown generally was the winner and obtained a lower rate, 4% or 5% versus 10% *ad valorem*.⁴⁴

Finally, although the Portuguese records offer few details on the buyers and consumers of Brazilian tobacco and snuff at Macao, they do offer some lines of inquiry that warrant further research. The buyers that are elliptically mentioned are Chinese mandarins and members of the local Portuguese community, including members of Catholic religious orders. It is speculated that while leaf tobacco and some snuff was consumed locally in Macao, some quantities were purchased by members of the *Senado da Câmara* and given by

that institution as gifts to local Qing administrators, especially at Canton, for their personal consumption or remission to Beijing, where such gifts might have been perceived as tribute. Jesuit interest and involvement with Brazilian tobacco was demonstrated, as already mentioned, by the governor of Macao's confiscation of a significant quantity from the *procurador* of the Vice-Province of China in early 1718. Purchases by the Jesuits did occur, and there may have been support payments in kind to them of tobacco or snuff by the Portuguese Crown as part of its *padroado* (or patronage) obligations to the missionary's activities in China. The Jesuits present at Beijing were significant cross-cultural interlocutors between China and the West. Further research would have to be done to determine the extent of their involvement in promoting the consumption of snuff at elite levels in China in the 17th and 18th centuries.

CONCLUSIONS

This essay discussed the organization and functioning of the Portuguese Crown's monopoly of Brazilian tobacco from its cultivation to its control over commercialization. This monopoly provides a telling case study of globalization in early modern world history. Out of political and economic necessity, the Portuguese Crown harnessed a New World commodity—Brazilian tobacco—and fashioned a monopoly that provided revenues for its metropolitan and imperial requirements.

By making buyers and consumers in Europe, Africa, America, and Asia pay for the pleasure they derived from smoking tobacco and taking snuff, the Crown reduced its debt and generated income that it might not have found elsewhere. In metropolitan Portugal, the tobacco monopoly produced around one-sixth to one-seventh of the revenue collected annually by the Crown. In Portuguese Asia, the tobacco monopoly produced over one-eighth of all of the *Estado da Índia's* total yearly revenue.

For the *Estado da Índia* and China, although the quantities of tobacco and snuff were small, the revenue that was generated was disproportionately large and important to imperial fortunes and the

A Chinese merchant smoking a pipe while overseeing the unloading of tea.
Chinese album early 18th century.

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maintenance of the Portuguese Empire. By exporting and commercializing Brazilian tobacco, the Portuguese Crown diminished the necessity of remitting silver to Asia. By selling and using the proceeds of those sales of tobacco to purchase African and Asian commodities that circulated within Asia, Africa and America, the monopoly multiplied its economic impact and importance. Areas of the globe were interconnected in a way and at a level of activity that might not have been present before these contacts. Direct sailings from Portugal to China and from China to Portugal were instituted at this time to increase Portuguese trade with China. Although these sailings were not initiated

to deliver tobacco and snuff, the monopoly did take advantage of this change in colonial and commercial policy. Despite the shipments of Brazilian tobacco and snuff being extremely small, the use and consumption of snuff in China became increasingly fashionable.

In Brazil and in the Atlantic region, the interconnections that this monopoly fostered in Asia provided a competitive mix of commodities and items in demand that were highly fungible in Africa, contributing towards an explanation for the relative commercial advantage and the longevity of the Portuguese participation in the South Atlantic slave trade in the 18th century. **RC**

NOTES

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- 5 For an excellent introduction to tobacco, see Jordan Goodman. *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1993). For tobacco in Spain and in the Spanish Empire, see Marcia Norton, "New World of Goods: A History of Tobacco and Chocolate in the Spanish Empire, 1492-1700," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2000. For the history of the French tobacco monopoly, see Jacob Price. *France and the Chesapeake: A History of the French Tobacco Monopoly, 1674-1791, and its Relationship to the British and American Tobacco Trades* 2 vols. (Ann Arbor, Michigan: The University of Michigan Press, 1973); for the Spanish efforts in the New World in Mexico and Venezuela and in Asia in the Philippines, see Susan Deans-Smith. *Bureaucrats, Planters, and Workers: The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin, Texas: University of Texas Press, 1992); Eduardo Arcila Fariás. *Historia de un Monopolio: El Estanco del Tabaco en Venezuela, 1779-1833* (Caracas, Venezuela: Ediciones de la Facultad de Humanidades y Educación, 1977); and Ed. C. de Jesús. *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines: Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766-1880* (Quezon City, Philippines: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980).
- 6 For a general overview on the introduction of tobacco in Asia, see Berthold Laufer. *Tobacco and its Use in Asia* (Chicago: Field Museum of Natural History, 1924); for Southeast Asia in particular, see Thomas O. Höllman. *Tabak in Südostasien: Ein ethnographisch-historischer Überblick* (Berlin: Dietrich Reimer Verlag, 1988). For India, see Balkrishna G. Gokhale, "Tobacco in Seventeenth-Century India," *Agricultural History* 48:4 (1974), pp. 484-492.
- 7 Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. first introduced the term "Columbian exchange" to distinguish pre- and post-contact between America and Europe. See Alfred W. Crosby, Jr. *The Columbian Exchange: Biological and Cultural Consequences of 1492* (Westport, Connecticut: Greenwood Press, 1972). The term "Atlantic exchange" is used in this essay as a synonym. The Atlantic exchange is being employed since it geographically and conceptually correlates to the world and ocean systems descriptions of the other exchanges that are discussed.
- 8 Although John R. McNeill coined the term "Magellan exchange", which is a more evocative but a potentially polemical term, the term

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- Pacific or trans-Pacific is used here to describe this exchange. See John R. McNeill, "From Magellan to Miti: Pacific Rim Economies and Pacific Island Ecologies Since 1521," in Sally Miller, A. J. H. Latham and Dennis O. Flynn. (eds.) *Studies in the Economic History of the Pacific Rim* (London: Routledge, 1998), pp. 72-93; and John R. McNeill, "Islands of the Rim: Ecology and History in and around the Pacific," in Dennis O. Flynn, Lionel Frost and A. J. H. Latham. (eds.) *Pacific Centuries: Pacific and Pacific Rim History since the Sixteenth Century*, (London: Routledge, 1999), pp. 70-84. For a discussion of the trans-Pacific exchange of New World crops to Asia, see Sucheta Mazumdar, "The Impact of New World Food Crops on the Diet and Economy of China and India, 1600-1900," in Raymond Grew. (ed.) *Food in Global History* (Boulder: Perseus Books, 1999), pp. 58-78.
- 9 For a discussion of the Indo-Atlantic exchange, see George Bryan Souza, "Early Global Encounters with Beauty: The Pacific and Indo-Atlantic Exchanges between Asia and America," *Review: Literature and Arts of the Americas* 39/1 (2006), pp. 13-29, especially 19-21.
 - 10 For examples of the literature on Spanish seaborne maritime activities in the Atlantic between Europe and America, see John Horace Parry. *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Woodrow Borah. *Colonial Trade and Navigation between Mexico and Peru* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1954); Pierre and Huguette Chaunu. *Séville et l'Atlantique* 8 vols. in 11 parts (Paris: Colin, 1955-1960); Antonio García-Baquero González. *Cádiz y el Atlántico (1717-1778). El comercio colonial español bajo el monopolio gaditano* 2 vols. (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1976); Eufemio Lorenzo Sanz. *Comercio de España con América en la época de Felipe II* 2 vols. (Valladolid: Servicio de Publicaciones de la Diputación Provincial, 1979-1980); Lutgardo García Fuentes. *El comercio español con América, 1650-1700* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1980); and Lutgardo García Fuentes. *Los Peruleros y el comercio de Sevilla con las Indias, 1580-1630* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla, Secretariado de Publicaciones, 1997). For examples of the literature on Portuguese seaborne maritime activities in the Atlantic between Europe and America, see C. R. Boxer. *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 1969); Frédéric Mauro. *Le Portugal et l'Atlantique au XVII^e siècle, 1570-1670* (Paris: S.E.V.P.E.N., 1960); and Vitorino Magalhães Godinho, "Le Portugal, les Flottes du Sucre et les Flottes de l'Or, 1670-1770," *Annales E.S.C.* 5 (1950), pp. 184-197. For the Portuguese role in inter-connecting Spanish and Portuguese America, the Portuguese community in Peru, and Spanish reactions, see Alice Piffer Canabrava. *O comércio português no Rio da Prata (1580-1640)* (São Paulo: Faculdade de Filosofia, Ciências e Letras da Universidade de São Paulo, 1944); Gonçalo de Reparaz. *Os Portugueses no Vice-Reinado do Peru (Séculos XVI e XVII)* (Lisbon: Instituto de Alta Cultura, 1976); and Harry Cross, "Commerce and Orthodoxy: A Spanish Response to Portuguese Commercial Penetration in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1580-1640," *The Americas* 35:2 (1978), pp. 151-167.
 - 11 See Anthony Reid, "From Betel-Chewing to Tobacco Smoking in Indonesia," *Journal of Asian Studies* 44:3 (1985), pp. 529-49.
 - 12 André João Antonil. *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas*, André Mansuy. trs. and ed. (Paris: Institute des Hautes Etudes de l'Amérique Latine, 1968).
 - 13 For background on the role of tobacco, including the Crown monopoly of Brazilian tobacco, in Portugal, see Carl A. Hanson. *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703*, (Minneapolis, Minnesota: University of Minnesota Press, 1981), pp. 59, 145, 160, 222, 235, 236, 239, 241, 249, 254, 256, 258, and 259; Carl A. Hanson, "Monopoly and Contraband in the Portuguese Tobacco Trade, 1624-1702," *Luso-Brazilian Review* 14:2 (1982), pp. 149-151; and Raul Esteves dos Santos. *Os Tabacos: Sua Influência na Vida da Nação* 2 vols. (Lisbon: Coleção Seara Nova, 1974). For discussions of production of tobacco in Brazil, see James Lang. *Portuguese Brazil: The King's Plantation* (New York: Academic Press, 1979); B. J. Barickman. *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava, and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860*, (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1998); Jean-Baptiste Nardi, "Le Tabac Brésilien et ses Fonctions dans l'Ancien Systeme Colonial Portugais (1570-1830)," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, Aix en Provence, 1990; and his numerous publications: *O Fumo no Brasil Colonial* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasileira, 1987); *O Fumo Brasileiro no Período Colonial: Lavoura, Comércio, e Administração* (Campinas, Brazil: Editora Pontes, 1996); and *Sistema Colonial e Tráfico Negreiro* (São Paulo, Brazil: Editora Brasileira, 2002). For discussions of the trade in Brazilian tobacco by the Portuguese and others, see Catherine Lugar, "The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period," in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean. (eds.) *Essays Concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville, Florida: The University Presses of Florida, 1977), pp. 26-70. For the use of Brazilian tobacco in North America, see Linda Wimmer, "African Producers, European Merchants, Indigenous Consumers: Brazilian Tobacco in the Canadian Fur Trade, 1550-1821," unpublished Ph.D. dissertation, University of Minnesota, 1996.
 - 14 Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703*, p. 235.
 - 15 Ibid., p. 160.
 - 16 Ibid., pp. 154-155.
 - 17 The Instituto do Arquivo Nacional, Torre do Tombo (IAN/TT) in Lisbon, Portugal holds the voluminous records of the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco*, which include seven collections (*Consultas, Decretos, Avisos, Cartas do Brasil e Índia, Papéis Findos, Vária, and Cartas e informes*) that contain pertinent information from 1674-1833 on the general and specific structure and functioning of the Portuguese Crown's tobacco monopoly in Portugal, Brazil, and the *Estado da Índia*, including China. Portions of all seven collections have been examined, but the *Cartas do Brasil e Índia* (Letters from Brazil and India) collection, which are in 31 *maços* or boxes of loose documents, is the primary archival source for the research discussed in this essay. Research is on-going for the preparation of a monograph on this topic, tentatively entitled: "The Dimension of Empire: The Portuguese Crown's Monopoly and Trade in Brazilian Tobacco and Afro-Asian Commodities in the Global Economy, 1674 to 1776." I wish to thank and acknowledge the IAN/TT-FLAD program in Lisbon, Portugal for the support that I have received to develop this research.
 - 18 For an extensive and detailed service record of one of the superintendents—Salvador Gomes de Britto, who replaced Sebastião Nunes de Oliveira upon the latter's death at Goa in early 1728—see *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98.
 - 19 See Michael N. Pearson, "Indigenous Dominance in a Colonial Economy: The Goa *Rendas*, 1600-1670," *Mare Luso-Indicum* 2 (1972), pp. 61-73, especially p. 63 for a description of the *rendas* at Goa. For other descriptions of the Brazilian tobacco in India, see Rene J. Barendse. *The Arabian Seas: The Indian Ocean World of the Seventeenth Century* (Armonk, New York: M. E. Sharpe, 2002), p. 311; Karubaki Datta, "Portugal's Experiment with Brazilian Tobacco in India in the Eighteenth Century," *Indica* 28:2 (1991), p. 104. For the late 18th and early 19th century, see Celsa Pinto, *Trade and Finance in Portuguese India* (New Delhi, 1994), pp. 193-201; and her article, "At the Dusk of the Second Empire: Goa-Brazil Commercial Relations, 1770-1825," *Purabhilekh-Puratatva* 8:1 (1990), pp. 41-69.
 - 20 The *Carreira da Índia* is the term used for Portuguese shipping using the Cape of Good Hope route to Asia from the late 15th century onwards. For the role of Bahia, Brazil in supporting these efforts, see José Roberto do Amaral Lapa. *A Bahia e a Carreira da Índia* (São Paulo, Brazil: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1968).

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- 21 The *arrádel* is an old Portuguese measure of weight that was equal to 16 ounces. Its relationship to other Portuguese measures of weight used in India and the tobacco trade was: 1/32 of an *arroba* or 1/128 of a *quintal*, see Humberto Leitão and J. Vicente Lopes, *Dicionário da Linguagem de Marinha Antiga e Actual* second ed. (Lisbon: Centro de Estudos Históricos Ultramarinos da Junta de Investigações Científicas do Ultramar, 1974), p. 59. Naturally there was shrinkage, and each barrel was weighed upon receipt at Goa in order to control fraud. Since some reports only give the number of barrels, this approximation was reconstructed and calculated.
- 22 IAN/TT, *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, “Balanço dos Barris do tabaco fino e de simonete que se Remeteo por Conta e Risco da Fazenda de Sua Magestade que Deos Guarda começando no anno de 1675 athe 1715.” This report indicates that tobacco was not delivered in two years: 1692 and 1708.
- 23 For the number of rolls of Brazilian tobacco shipped to Portugal from 1680 to 1704 and their weight in *arrobas* from 1699 to 1704, which have been converted to pounds and kilograms, see Hanson, *Economy and Society*, p. 240.
- 24 The *xerafin* was a silver coin worth 300 Portuguese *reis*. It had a strong exchange rate to the Spanish *peso*, Dutch *rijksdaalder* and Chinese *tael*. One *xerafin* was equal to 1.07 *pesos*, 1.29 *rijksdaalders* or 1.33 *taels*.
- 25 For the annual income generated from the Goa tobacco *renda*, see *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, *renda* report for 1700 to 1724, and the superintendents’ annual accounts from 1700 to 1760 in *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maços 97 to 105. For details of the *Estado da Índia*’s income and expenditures around 1684 to 1687, which permits the calculation of this percentage estimate, see Hanson, *Economy and Society*, p. 212.
- 26 For the 1708 report, which documented the partial use of the monopoly’s revenue for military and naval aid for the relief of Mozambique in 1678 and 1681, extraordinary expenses by the *Estado da Índia* in 1684 and 1684, the Mormugão public works project from 1696 on an ongoing basis, donations to the *Estado da Índia* from 1689 on an ongoing basis, and the repayment schedule of the loans provided by the church silver of the island of Goa and Salcete from three to eight years beginning in 1689, see *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 100-A, “1708 Petição e mais papeis que fizerão para a Junta Geral de Comercio de Mozambique.”
- 27 This operation was described in detail in two of the superintendents’ general annual letters from Goa to the *Junta*, see *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 100-A, 19/xii/1708 and Maço 97, 8/xi/1709.
- 28 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 97, *Junta* to Goa, Lisbon, 3/x/1712 and superintendents’ general annual letter, Goa, 19/i/1713 and 17/i/1714.
- 29 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 97-A, *Junta* letter to the governor of Macao, Lisbon, April, 1712.
- 30 From 1712 to 1725 there were six Portuguese governors of Macao. For a list with the periods of service in that position, see C. R. Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East, 1550-1770: Fact and Fancy in the History of Macao* (The Hague: Martinus Nijhoff, 1948, reprint Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1968), p. 274.
- 31 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 104-A, Lisbon, 22/xi/1757. The representatives were responsible to the Crown for their administration of the monopoly even after their death. As this report indicates, Manuel de Sande e Vasconcelos’ heir, his nephew, Rodrigo de Sande e Vasconcelos, had to respond to the Crown inquiry over his uncle’s activities at Macao. Rodrigo was a Lisbon-based merchant who was active in the trade to Asia and China. He was a small shareholder in the *Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão*, which traded with China. See *Diário da Navegação de Macau, 1759-1761* (Lisbon: Agência-Geral do Ultramar, 1970), p. 43.
- 32 For the superintendents’ general annual letters and accounts, which document the monopoly’s activities in China from 1758 to 1765, see *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maços 104 and 105. For the limited number of transcribed correspondence and documents concerning Brazilian tobacco and snuff and the Crown’s monopoly at Macao in the 18th century, see, for example, the third series of *Arquivos de Macau*, 7:1 (1967), pp. 14-15; 9:1 (1968), p. 42; 9:4 (1968), p. 201; and 10:3 (1968), pp. 122 and 180. For Portuguese translations of Chinese documents (*chapas*) or official correspondence between Qing authorities at Canton and the Portuguese municipal council at Macao referring to Brazilian tobacco and snuff, see Jin Guo Ping and Wu Zhiliang. (eds. and tr.) *Correspondência Oficial Trocada entre as Autoridades de Cantão e os Procuradores do Senado, 1749-1847*, 8 vols. (Macao: Fundação Macau, 2000), pp. 63-65.
- 33 For a description of the life and career of this governor, see Boxer, *Fidalgos in the Far East*, pp. 199-221, and Charles Ralph Boxer, “A Fidalgo in the Far East, 1708-1726: António de Albuquerque Coelho in Macao,” *Far Eastern Quarterly* V/4 (1946), pp. 387-410.
- 34 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, 18/i/1719 and the fifty-folio legal case against the Jesuits prepared by the local Crown judge (*ouvidor*) in Macao, Gaspar Franco da Silva. See *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, 10/iii/1718.
- 35 For details about Portuguese trade at Batavia at this time, see Souza, *Survival of Empire*, pp. 128-156; and for Chinese and Portuguese trade at Batavia in Chinese tobacco, see George Bryan Souza, “Developing Habits: Tobacco and Opium in the Indonesian Archipelago, c. 1650 to 1800,” paper presented at the Association for Asian Studies (AAS) Annual Conference, March 31–April 3, 2005, Chicago, Illinois.
- 36 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, in a second Albuquerque Coelho letter to the superintendents at Goa, dated and signed at Macao, 18/i/1719 with the legal case or *auto de tomada* against the *Santa Catharina* attached.
- 37 Similar comments about Chinese and Philippine tobacco and difficulties in selling larger quantities of Brazilian tobacco were made and encountered on Solor and Timor, *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 97, letter of the governor of Solor and Timor, 10/vi/1707. After dispatching Brazilian tobacco from Macao to the Coromandel Coast from 1712 to 1715, the governor temporarily or permanently desisted in that practice because of a slack market caused either by weak demand or more competitively priced or preferred local and other regional tobaccos, *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, Macau, 27/i/1716.
- 38 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, Macau, 20/i/1716. In an attempt to find additional sales, Sotto-Maior re-exported some of the Brazilian tobacco delivered at Macao to Batavia, *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, Macau, 27/i/1716.
- 39 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, Macau, 20/xi/1720 and 7/xii/1721.
- 40 *Cartas do Brasil e Índia*, Maço 98, Goa, 20/i/1721.
- 41 Leon Bourdon, “António Fialho Ferreira et le projet de liaison Macao-Lisbonne en droiture, 1640-1645,” *Economia e Finanças, Anais do Instituto Superior de Ciências Economia e Financieiras* 19 (1951), pp. 101-128.
- 42 For archival references and secondary literature on the activities of the Portuguese companies that traded with China and sailed directly from Lisbon to China and China to Lisbon (*Companhia do Comercio de Lisboa; Companhia da Cidade de Macau; Companhia da Fábrica Real da Seda; Felix von Oldenburg Companhia*; and the *Companhia Geral do Grão Pará e Maranhão*), see Souza, *Survival of Empire*, pp. 179-180, and notes 46 and 47.
- 43 Hanson, *Economy and Society in Baroque Portugal, 1668-1703*, pp. 209-215.
- 44 George Bryan Souza, “The Portuguese Merchant Fleet at Macao in the 17th and 18th Centuries,” *Revista de Cultura Edição Internacional*, 13 (2005), pp. 48-64.