

Quality, Nation, and Color: Constructing Identities in Central Brazil, 1775-1835

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Brazil is but one region of the Portuguese Atlantic world in which elites from Europe discriminated against people of indigenous and African descent. Although the origins of prejudice and discrimination may be found in early colonial Brazil, we can also observe patterns of social relations based on older Iberian concepts of “race” preserved in Brazil’s interior in the former captaincy of Goiás, now the modern states of Goiás and Tocantins. In the eighteenth century, Goiás had been one of the richest captaincies of Brazil due to its gold mines.¹ As in other captaincies of Brazil, the Portuguese had transferred their traditional values and hierarchical social structure from Portugal to this remote region, where they justified their rule and defined those they governed utilizing a number of criteria to distinguish themselves from the strangers in their midst and win others to their side as loyal allies of the Crown. In doing so, however, they rarely invoked “race” in the modern meaning of the word. Instead, Luso-Brazilian elites focused on their own religion, quality, and white color that differed from the slave origins, darker colors, or foreign background of others. Although we are limited to documents produced by the literate Luso-Brazilians of the Captaincy for status values and definitions of “the other,” occasionally, we also obtain insights into how indigenous people defined “the other” or how freed Africans self-identified in black lay brotherhoods. One result of such flexible categories is that Portuguese governors did not always privilege white men in Goiás and even allied with free men of color and indigenous women against local whites. But this was typical of colonial Brazil in which a talented few could escape the

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limitations of their low status or slave origin, but the status of their ethnic or racial group remained unchanged.²

Luso-Brazilian writers used the following constructions of identity in Goiás: Christians as opposed to gentiles, Moors, or Jews; “good men” and women of quality versus those lacking in quality; “barbarous” or hostile gentiles at war with the “civilized” (Luso-Brazilians) in contrast to allied Indians living as peaceful vassals in missions (*aldeias*); African and *crioulo* (Brazilian-born black) slaves versus hostile fugitive slaves (*quilombolas*); and the free/freed men and women of color, i.e., *pardos* (browns), *crioulos*, and *cabras* (racially mixed) in contrast to their *agregados* (household dependents) and Indian captives. Even whites were given two different identities by the 1820s—*alvo* or *branco*, apparently to suggest class and status differences, since *alvos* were the richest whites, while *brancos* more closely approached mulattoes in property ownership.

In brief, this essay will argue that late colonial elites did not use color alone to construct their hierarchical society; Portuguese concerns about religion, quality, and nation also informed their discourses, thus forging a complex society in which Christian men of quality ruled at the top of society, enslaved Africans and Indians were relegated to the bottom, and hostile gentiles and *quilombolas* were viewed as outside colonial society. However, they integrated enslaved black and indigenous women into their households, while subjecting them to harsh labor demands and concubinage.

Christians, Jews, and Moors

The first Portuguese category of classification in the captaincy of Goiás was based on religious affiliation: being Christian or not. Even indigenous nations absorbed this usage by the late colonial period, and many referred to Luso-Brazilians as “Christians.”³ As to be expected, the Portuguese had brought their Catholic religious beliefs to Central Brazil; and Jesuit missionaries had attempted to convert the indigenous peoples to Christianity. Before they were expelled in 1759, the Jesuits had established missions in the captaincy, among which were São Francisco of Duro, which housed the Xakriabá after 1751, and São José of Duro, where the Akroá resided.⁴ Subsequent missions were organized under the *Diretório dos Índios* (Directorate of Indians), 1757-1798. In this period, the state-sponsored missions were São José de Mossâmedes for the Akroá and Kayapó (1755; renovated 1775), Nova Beira for the Karajá and Javaé (1775), Maria I for the Kayapó (1780), and Pedro III do Carretão (1788) for the Xavante. Here state authorities and military officers located those indigenous peoples that they had “pacified” and made into “loyal vassals” of the

Crown.⁵ As Maria Regina Celestina de Almeida documents for the aldeias of Rio de Janeiro, however, the missions became “Indian spaces” in which it was possible to recreate indigenous identities and maintain traditional cultures and ritual practices.⁶ The Xavante, for example, maintained separate residences of thatched-roof houses detached from the tiled-roof houses of the Luso-Brazilians and Christian Indians. On one side of the Carretão River lived the white priest along with blacks and Christian Indians; on the other side of the river were the 33 thatched-roof houses of the Xavante. As for the Kayapó, they continued to perform secret dances at night where the whites could not observe them, and refused to abandon their traditional houses.⁷

Most indigenous nations, however, refused to convert; therefore, the Portuguese termed them “gentiles” or “gentile nations.” In fact, this practice was so common that the term “*gentio*” was often preferred to “*índio*.” In contrast, friendly allies came to be known as “tame Indians (*índios mansos*),” “domestic Indians,” or “civilized Indians” as opposed to “barbarous Indians.” Pejorative terms included “*bugres*” or “savages” and “*feras*” (wild beasts), which were used by Luso-Brazilians to demonize their enemies. One of the few negative statements applied to Luso-Brazilians that can be documented is that of an elderly Xavante, who called the Christians “very bad” because of the stocks and chains they had experienced while resident in the mission of Pedro III do Carretão.⁸

Another distinction made on this frontier was that of Christian versus Moor. The ritual re-enactments of the battles between Christians and Moors date to at least the early nineteenth century, when the Austrian traveler Johann Emanuel Pohl observed mounted cavalymen defeat the Moors who refused to convert to Christianity. Modern *cavalcadas*, in particular those at Pirenópolis, continue the tradition of displaying the victory of Christians over Muslims.⁹ The appeal of *cavalcadas* over the centuries undoubtedly reflects local elite values about conquest as essential for conversion and Christianization. Being Christian, therefore, was an essential determinant of high status, of inclusion in the Luso-Brazilian world, or of exclusion as “barbarous gentiles.” In the absence of a resident bishop in the captaincy, the defenders of the faith were Portuguese merchants, who acted as *familiars* of the Inquisition, denouncing African healers for witchcraft and non-practicing “Catholics” as Jews, who were believed to be hiding from the Inquisition in Goiás.¹⁰

Those who were Christians then built churches and chapels throughout the captaincy—almost a hundred can be counted for the late colonial period.¹¹ The individuals responsible for so many churches in such a remote part of Brazil were the members of the lay brotherhoods (*irmandades*). If a wealthy man did not support the building of a church and if Church and state did not provide sufficient funding, then each brotherhood built its own chapel or church and cared for its

sacred space and burial grounds. Furthermore, each brotherhood raised funds for the support of the popular festivals in honor of the Blessed Sacrament, Our Lady of the Rosary, or other saints. As society was divided by status categories that included color, so too were the brotherhoods of the captaincy, although there were exceptions, since those of different backgrounds were admitted to specific irmandades in violation of a brotherhood's charter (*compromisso*). Furthermore, white men served on the boards of black brotherhoods, although not vice versa; and a white man's status in local society was reflected in the number of irmandades, including those of pardos and blacks, that marched in his funeral procession. Association with black brotherhoods did not lower a white man's status but enhanced it.¹²

Membership in white, pardo, or black brotherhoods provided additional markers of high, middle, or low status due to color. Claiming the highest status in the captaincy were the white brotherhoods, which specifically excluded people of color and non-Christians as members. Furthermore, the brothers were also expected to be married to wives who were Christian and white; but this language in the charters was not always observed. It is in the charters of the elite brotherhoods that we encounter the language of exclusion by religion, ethnicity, and color: of Jews, Moors, and Africans, or of pardos and blacks.¹³

One of the earliest white brotherhoods, which was established in the church of Santa Ana in Vila Boa, the capital of the captaincy, was dedicated to the Holy Souls [of Purgatory], who, in popular belief, were protected by St. Michael, the Archangel. In 1792, the irmandade of St. Michael and Souls was based in the mining town of Crixás in the church of Our Lady of the [Immaculate] Conception. Those concerned with saving their souls often had a special devotion to St. Michael, and his statue was commonly found in churches throughout the captaincy. Although images of St. Michael are now popular in Afro-Brazilian religions in Rio de Janeiro, the irmandade was more closely linked with whites in Central Brazil in the colonial period.¹⁴ A second important white brotherhood especially associated with the Portuguese troops stationed in Vila Boa, was the brotherhood of Santo Antônio, which was located in Santa Ana. However, military officers in this brotherhood were also affiliated with the black brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary and served on its board.¹⁵

In contrast to these two white brotherhoods, the most important and widespread white brotherhood was Santíssimo Sacramento (the Blessed Sacrament), which was also based in the church of Santa Ana as early as 1742. Its charter clearly stated that it was exclusive to whites, both men and women, and it specifically excluded blacks. Its brothers and their family members were buried in Santa Ana, the most important church in the captaincy.¹⁶ One of the white brotherhood's major religious responsibilities was to promote and organize the

procession for Corpus Christi (the Body of Christ). Each year they wrote to church authorities to ask for permission to hold the religious rituals and a procession on the feast day. At that time, the brothers dressed in red and, carrying large candles, walked in procession to the church of Santa Ana. Apparently, the white men also carried the Blessed Sacrament on a bier in the procession, since the Jesuits were criticized for permitting black women to do so in the mining town of Pontal not long before their forcible expulsion from the captaincy after 1759.¹⁷ Routinely, the white brothers also accompanied the Eucharist when it was taken to the sick; but it is unknown if black women could do so in Pontal. The correspondence on the brotherhood of Santissimo Sacramento, however, clearly defines membership in this white brotherhood as one of the markers of high status in the captaincy.¹⁸

Because they were excluded from this brotherhood, even though their white father might have been a member, pardos had yet another brotherhood, although they were apparently less rigid in their charter language than those who belonged to the white brotherhoods. In Vila Boa the patroness of the pardos was Our Lady of the [Immaculate] Conception, whose image was located in the church of Boa Morte.¹⁹ However, the most popular brotherhoods, judging by the number of churches dedicated to the Virgin Mary, were the black brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary. In most towns of the captaincy, the church of Our Lady of the Rosary, built by blacks, was the second most important church after the main church erected by local whites. Perhaps the reason for so much devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary is that many blacks believed that she was “African,” even though her picture on the charter of the brotherhood is white. Free, freed, and enslaved blacks, both men and women, served on the board, engaged in fund raising, and buried their dead in the churches dedicated to Our Lady. They also celebrated her special feast days and organized the *congadas* danced on the night before Pentecost, where the King of Congo paraded with his court and musicians. In the mining town of Natividade, free blacks tried to construct the largest church in the captaincy, which was never completed; it now stands as a roofless testament to their enormous effort.²⁰

Next in significance was the black brotherhood that honored the black St. Benedict. The crioulos, i.e., blacks born in Brazil, were devoted to that saint in the church of Our Lady of Carmo in Vila Boa, but the largest surviving separate church built by blacks for St. Benedict is in Natividade; elsewhere small chapels named for St. Benedict dot the captaincy, although many are in ruins.²¹ In São José do Tocantins, a rich mining town with a significant black population, there used to exist a brotherhood dedicated to the Princess of Nubia, Santa Efigênia, which has cared for her substantial church for over two centuries. On her feast days, the faithful performed the dances of Congo and sang the praises of Santa

Efigênia and Our Lady of Carmo to the sound of tambourines, violas, and the large drum (*bumba*).²²

One of the more unique black brotherhoods, however, was that of Our Lady of Mercies in Cocal, a once rich mining town. When gold had been plentiful, the brotherhood had required its African and crioulo members to donate two *oitavas* of gold as an entrance fee and one on a yearly basis thereafter. In the early years, the brotherhood's charter had restricted its membership to Africans and crioulos; but when they reformed their charter in 1788, they admitted whites who could donate gold. Their identity, however, they proudly proclaimed in their charter was "Ethiopian."²³

In brief, membership in specific brotherhoods was defined by both national origin, in Portugal or Africa, or by color in the case of the pardos and crioulos. The charters of the brotherhoods clearly detail who was to be admitted or excluded from each brotherhood and document their careful attention to nation and color; but most brotherhoods were also not racially segregated since they often made exceptions to the language in their charters and admitted those who were not legally married in the church or who were of different colors or nations.

Quality

Besides being Christian, the colonial rulers of Goiás also had to be high-born men of quality from Portugal, and, if a high judge (*oidor*) or royal bureaucrat, they had to be educated at the University of Coimbra; those lacking in quality were excluded from high offices. Although Portuguese governors lived in Vila Boa without their wives, a few women also claimed to be "of quality," usually in petitions sent to the Crown.²⁴ Although they were white, they did not claim whiteness as the basis for preference; what mattered in the petition was quality. Intendants of gold at the two foundry houses and tax contractors might also use their quality to secure their lucrative offices. However, most white men occupied much less exalted positions; therefore, they invoked their white color to claim a higher status in society. By the 1820s, however, some scribes refined whiteness even further by calling those at the top of society "*alvo*," perhaps in the sense of pure white. Thus, those with the most slaves and large sugar plantations (*engenhos*) and ranches (*fazendas*) were listed as "*alvo*"; those of middle status in slave ownership were "*branco*."²⁵ What the scribes may have been recognizing were the status differences between the most important white men in a community and those of lesser wealth, who probably had some degree of racial admixture. *Alvos* and *brancos* were often married in the Catholic Church with legitimate

children; their households were large with many family members and *agregados*; and they held the most wealth in slaves, mines, and large estates.

Second to quality was membership in a Portuguese military order, in particular the Order of Christ, which could be earned by documenting payment of the tax in gold (the *quinto*). The wealthiest miners in the captaincy with more than 100 slaves had to prove that they had delivered eight arrobas of gold to the Foundry Houses of Vila Boa or São Félix in order to make them eligible to petition for the honor of the Order of Christ. Of those who were successful, three were military officers serving in the Dragoons, while others were Portuguese merchants and property owners, who were living in Portugal at the time of the completion of their petition for the Order of Christ. The most notable merchant on the list of those receiving honors was Francisco José Barretto, a long-distance trader from Bahia, who dealt in dry goods and slaves, bringing them to Natividade in the north. In general, the richest and best connected merchants receiving the Order of Christ were from Portugal or the Azores.²⁶

Related to being Christian and men of quality, those white men of highest stature were also expected to be of legitimate birth. Unless they became priests, they were also supposed to marry in the Catholic Church; but in Goiás, where white women were few in number, they usually took indigenous, mestizo, black, and mulatto women as concubines and mistresses and did not marry them in the Church.²⁷ In spite of the elite's reluctance to marry women of color, young couples of different color and legal status received permission to marry. Although these marriages were not numerous, men and women of color were permitted to marry those of a different color.²⁸ Young men of color, usually pardos, the son of a white father and an African mother, also received permission to be ordained as a priest, an occupation then defined as one of "quality." The pardo priest who enjoyed the highest social mobility was the son of a Catholic priest and the slave woman Joana. Freed at baptism, Monsenhor Bento Severiano da Luz (1855-1917) became a bishop in Cuiabá, Mato Grosso. By the 1820s and 1830s, pardo priests were more common; and being pardo did not exclude one from entering the priesthood.²⁹

Nation³⁰

In contrast to the pardo priests, other men of color were usually identified and excluded by their nation: indigenous or African. Furthermore, the term *nação* (nation) also defined blacks born in Brazil, i.e., the *crioulo* nation. With reference to the indigenous peoples of the captaincy, the Portuguese called them either "*a nação Caiapó*" (the Kayapó nation) or "*a gente Caiapó*" (the Kayapó people).

When the Kayapó, Xavante, or Krahó were enslaved, they were often described as *cativo* (captive) or *agregado*; but they kept their national indicator. For example, Severino, an infant of the Krahó nation, was an *agregado* of Marcella da Cunha, when he died in 1836.³¹ But who or what was an eighteenth-century member of the Caiapó nation? As the anthropologist Odair Giralдин argues, some of the people who once formed a part of the Caiapó nation were actually the ancestors of the Panará, who now live in Mato Grosso.³²

Another problematic nation is that of the people called Canoeiro, who also received their national identity from the Luso-Brazilians. The word simply means “canoer.” Reputed to be fugitive slaves from São Paulo, they appear to have incorporated diverse groups, including fugitive Africans that fled the mines. Their women and dogs went into battle with them, and they were remarkable for their fierce resistance to enslavement and pacification. Thus, the Canoeiro nation was ubiquitous in both colonial and nineteenth-century sources; but who comprised this eighteenth-century nation remains uncertain.³³ What is suggestive, however, from these two examples is that the Luso-Brazilians also helped construct new identities for small bands or tribes that were not the same as the original ethnic groups. Hence, the following are only a few of the many indigenous “nations” of Goiás in the late colonial period: Akroá, Apinajé, Canoeiro, Javaé, Karajá, Kayapó, Krahó, Xacriabá, Xavante, and Xerente. Notably, other nations such as the Goyá, for whom the captaincy was named, have long been extinct as distinct ethnic groups. In the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, the nations of Goiás were commonly captured by *bandeiras* (expeditions) and taken as captives to São Paulo; and in the nineteenth century, they were also branded, bought, sold, and traded north to Belém via the Tocantins River. Being of an indigenous nation did not save them from enslavement unless they accepted Christianity and agreed to be pacified and settled in mission villages.³⁴

Africans were also grouped in nations and identified in the same manner as on the coast of Brazil. Since most Africans arrived in the captaincy after the 1720s, their nations usually reflected patterns of the eighteenth-century slave trade and coastal slave societies, in particular those of the Northeast, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais. Tax records from three separate mining towns (1810-1821) in the north at Porto Real (now Porto Nacional), the center in Traíras, and the west at Crixás reveal that slaves of the Mina nation were especially common.³⁵ These documents as well as others, such as brotherhood registers of slave members, clarify that slaveowners of these towns could distinguish between Minas (in general), Nagôs (Yoruba), Ussá (Hausa), Sabarú (Savaru or Mahi from modern Benin), Tapa (Nupe from modern Nigeria), Guiné, and “da Costa,” which was used with a freedwoman, who bought a Mina slave in Crixás in 1811. In other words, all of these nations could also be found in Salvador or Rio de Janeiro to

define West Africans. On the whole, Africans from what is now the region of West Africa were common in the north of the captaincy, what is now the state of Tocantins.³⁶

For West Central Africa, there is no shortage of documentation on the nation of Angola, which was especially common in the south. Even the late slave registries of the 1870s (the *matriculas*) continue to record a substantial number of Angolans in the province of Goiás. By that time, Africans were defined as Angolas or Minas with a minority of Benguelas. Who belonged to the Angolan nation in Goiás is more difficult to document, although one suspects that the same peoples imported from Angola into Belém, Recife, Salvador, and Rio de Janeiro were also living in the captaincy of Goiás. The tax records add only a few additional names, such as Congo. No Mozambiques appear on the early tax registries, but the Mozambique nation was more common on the 1870s *matriculas*; and they are also represented in the *congada* traditions of modern Goiás, where they dance “slowly” in honor of Our Lady of the Rosary.³⁷

In brief, the usage of nation suggests that the Portuguese continued an ancient custom of identifying foreign populations as nations. How and why the Africans and indigenous peoples also chose to accept the designation of nation attached to Angola or Kayapó is uncertain; what we can document is that they did so, often on ritual occasions, such as the *congada*. In the neighboring captaincy of Maranhão, what distinguished the nations were the saints. Each distinct nation followed a particular image in a specific church; and when they interacted, they did so in a ritual form—hence, each group paraded with its specific saint.³⁸ Clearly, they had an “imagined community”; and many of them were no longer associated with a specific ethnic group but with all those who honored a particular saint installed in a specific church, which was supported by a lay brotherhood. Similar communities had clearly emerged in Goiás among the Christians and even those who were not so Christian.³⁹

Color

Although African and indigenous nations may have transformed Luso-Brazilian constructs of nation to create their own new identity, Portuguese officials and scribes also continued to think in terms of color. We have two types of sources from Central Brazil that further document their definitions of identity by color: censuses from 1779 to 1832 and military records on the regular and militia forces. Parish registers and *devassas* (judicial inquiries) supplement these sources and confirm the same categories, except that they add *cabra* for the racially mixed.

The first official census for the captaincy dates from 1779, when the Portuguese government singled out the white, pardo, and *preto* (black) population.⁴⁰ Hence, this first census establishes the three categories that scribes would follow throughout the late colonial period. According to the 1779 census, almost two-thirds (64%) were then identified as preto. A fifth, however, were pardo (19.6%), and the rest or 16.4 percent were white. Obviously, more than four-fifths of the population were people of color; and whites formed a distinct minority. This census did not record gender or slave status, but presumably a large percentage of the blacks were then enslaved.

As the Portuguese officials and priests refined their census collection in the 1780s, gender appeared as a category; but the census takers continued to utilize the tripartite division of the population into white, pardo, and preto. However, as of 1781, they also included the free and slave status for annual censuses from 1781 to 1787 and 1789 to 1792. Only the 1783 census, which is incomplete, included the categories of *agregados* and *pessoas de obrigação* (obligated persons).⁴¹ While whites usually held both slaves and *agregados*, black men and women had obligated persons and a few slaves in their households.⁴²

After the 1780s and 1790s, the census of 1804 changed the pardo category to *mulatto*. It also documented the people of color, who were *livre* (free) and enslaved, as well as their marital status. By this time, only 6,950 whites still resided in Goiás, but there were also 15,452 mulattoes, 7,936 free blacks, and 20,027 slaves. People of color were clearly in the majority by 1804 at 43,415 or 86.2 per cent of the total population of 50,365. Apparently, the reason why the Portuguese were concerned with counting the people of color with more precision was related to the decline of the captaincy's slave population, i.e., those available to do the mining.⁴³

This was the last of the colonial censuses; the next census of 1825, which was conducted shortly after independence, provides even more detailed information on the population of the captaincy. It created the following categories: whites, *ingênuos*⁴⁴ *de cor* (freeborn of color), *libertos* (freedmen), Indians, and slaves. Furthermore, each group was further distinguished by sex, marital status, and age in the case of the mission Indians. This was the first time that the category of Indian was included on an official government census. Furthermore, this useful census divided the people of color by those who were freeborn (*ingênuos*) and those who had been freed via the manumission process. Thus, the census of 1825 reveals that 37,985 were then free or freed people of color, who far outnumbered the 13,375 slaves, 10,495 whites, and 623 mission Indians. Black slavery had clearly eroded between 1804 and 1825, while the free/freed population of color had increased significantly. In other words, the identity of most blacks and pardos

Table 1
Population of the Province of Goiás in 1832
By Sex and Legal Status

	Males	Females	Total	%
Whites	6,186	5,575	11,761	17.2
Free People of Color				
Pardo	16,421	16,290	32,711	
Crioulo	4,482	4,771	9,253	
African	306	211	517	
Total:	21,209	21,272	42,481	62.0
Slaves				
Pardo	807	879	1,686	
Crioulo	5,116	4,536	9,652	
African	1,297	626	1,923	
Total	7,220	6,041	13,261	19.4
Indians	459	535	994	1.5
Sum total:	35,074	33,423	68,497	

Source: Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, Cod. 808, vol. 1, Censo da População da Provincia de Goyaz, City of Goiás, 30 May 1832, fol. 96.

by 1825 was that of free and freed men and women of color. Only 21.4 per cent of the total population of 62,478 was still enslaved.⁴⁵

How many of these slaves might have shared an African identity is unclear until the last census for this period, that of 1832.⁴⁶ This census (Table 1) reveals that whites had risen slightly in number to 11,761 (17.2%), a percentage that is similar to the 16 per cent recorded in 1779. The census also reveals a slight increase in the number of mission Indians to 994 with 276 in Duro, 163 in Carretão, and 54 in São José. However, this census also distinguished between the free people of color and the enslaved. In this year, the census clarifies that 32,711 were free pardos, 9,253 were free crioulos, and only 517 were Africans, apparently freedmen and women. This census thus documents the creolization of the enslaved black population, since there were 9,652 crioulos as opposed to 1,923 Africans and 1,686 pardos for a total enslaved population of 13,261 (19.4%), as opposed to 42,481 (62%), who were free men and women of color. Clearly, this census suggests that the transition period from slavery to freedom

for the people of color occurred between 1779 and 1835. By 1832 most pardos and pretos enjoyed the free or freed status, and most blacks were crioulos, who took pride in being born in Brazil.

The Military

Thus far, the previous sources have documented late colonial visions of local society in Central Brazil, but yet another group reflected the color divisions of the captaincy, i.e., the military. As other Luso-Brazilians organized their society by color, so too did the military. Since the captaincy of Goiás was only a small part of the Portuguese Empire, not many troops of the line were ever sent there to claim high status. The most prestigious were the mounted Dragoons, who were few in number for their many responsibilities, one of which was to guard the shipments of gold to the coast. Petitions of their officers for honors reveal that they were Portuguese by birth. In fact, some were quite successful in “acquiring” the gold of Goiás.⁴⁷ The second paid force was the bare-footed infantry, the *pedestres*, who were of low status; among their many jobs was guarding the Indian missions. An examination of the enlistment registers for the pedestres reveals that they were men of color, and their identities were diverse. Initially, many were simply termed “*bastardo*,” which usually indicated a person whose mother was indigenous. Also common was *mestizo*, the Spanish term for the racially mixed children of white and indigenous parents. There were also mulattoes and an occasional black. At least one black sergeant named Luis Bras served in the pedestres in 1811. Most, however, were indigenous men of recently conquered nations, such as the Akroá, Kayapó, and Xavante. In other words, those who performed the ordinary and hazardous military duties of this frontier, such as attacking quilombos, going on patrols, or fighting other nations, were either the racially mixed or the indigenous, rather than white soldiers. Discrimination within the pedestres was usually directed at the indigenous men, who were paid half of the salaries of the other soldiers—or not at all.⁴⁸

In addition to the regular forces, the captaincy also depended on militias. Only white men served in the Ordenanças, and their honorific military titles of Coronel (Colonel) or Tenente Coronel (Lieutenant Colonel) often corresponded with their wealth in mines, land, and slaves. An examination of titles held by the landed elite of the late colonial and early national periods demonstrates the historical roots of *coronelismo* in the state of Goiás.⁴⁹ By the time they achieved the title of coronel, it reflected their prominence within local communities. Quite often their only onerous responsibility was to march in religious processions, carrying a staff.⁵⁰ By the late colonial period, those who led official expeditions

of contact and pacification were either Portuguese officers, men of color, or one remarkable Kayapó woman, Damiana da Cunha.⁵¹ Even the pardos saw themselves as “defenders of the conquest” and loyal vassals of the king, since they were the ones who actually did the fighting, along with the black regiments. Correspondence of the Portuguese governors, plus protests of the pardos against the Senado da Câmara of Vila Boa, suggest that Portuguese officials allied with the officers of the pardo regiments against local Goiano whites. The Portuguese could not have ruled Goiás without their pardo allies, although they would not permit a pardo officer to govern the captaincy.⁵²

Pardo identities emerge in a number of sources related to their separate regiments of the Auxiliary Cavalry and the Infantry, which were led by pardo officers, who received elegant patents of appointment approved by the governor of the captaincy and signed by the Crown in Lisbon. We also have their own petitions to Portugal in which they protested against the discrimination that they endured from local whites due to their mother’s color and low social status. Even though their father was a man of quality, they did not inherit his status, nor did all pardos have a mother’s slave status, since many were freeborn or freedmen. Furthermore, pardos avoided marrying women who were dark in color. Hence, pardo men married parda women, which is documented in marriage registers, such as those from Meia Ponte (now Pirenópolis), where almost all pardo men married other pardas.⁵³

One petition of 1803 by the pardos documents many of their services to the Crown. When the Kayapó and Xavante attacked, they reported that they were “the first sent on the Bandeiras . . . dispatched to conquer them.” When the Javaé and Karajé entered the mission of São José de Mossâmedes, they served there, as well as when the Kayapó were settled in the mission of Maria I. They were also stationed at the mission of Pedro III do Carretão upon the arrival of the Xavante, and they garrisoned that mission for four years afterwards. They also claimed to have conquered the “ferocious” Canoeiro. In addition to still other services, they also had their regular duties that they performed in Vila Boa and were “ready for everything.” Their petition was signed by Coronel Miguel Alvarez da Ora and 81 other men.⁵⁴

Eight years later in 1811, the two regiments of cavalry were then without a colonel; one had died and the other was more than ninety years old. According to Governor Fernando Delgado Freire de Castilho, the pardo regiment of infantry was then headed by a poor pardo, whom he accused of drinking too much. Apparently, this was the same colonel on the list of pardos, who had protested against the discrimination that they had suffered in spite of their services to the Crown. Coronel Alvarez da Ora was still heading the pardo regiment of infantry

in 1814, when he was replaced by a veteran soldier Tenente Coronel Lino Manuel Lopes Chagas, of the same regiment; he was also a pardo.⁵⁵

In addition to the pedestres and pardo regiments, free and freed blacks had their own regiments, denominated Henriques.⁵⁶ In 1789, 752 crioulo and black freedmen served in seven Henriques regiments. In the eighteenth century, Africans had been included in these regiments; but by the early nineteenth century, most were crioulos, who were the sons or grandsons of African men. One surviving list for the mining town of São José do Tocantins (now Niquelândia) reveals that 115 men served in the Henriques regiment, which was headed by Captain Luis Gonçalves dos Santos. All of the men bore surnames without any indication of the slave status; furthermore, 26 of them were slaveholders. Thirty-nine of the men had been born in Africa (33 Mina and 6 Guiné), but 91 fathers and 90 mothers of the troops had been born in Guiné or Mina. Thus, the majority were in the second-generation of those of African descent. In the 1820s, another regimental list for São José reveals that all the men were crioulos, including their crioulo captain, Luis Gonçalves dos Santos, a tailor, who was then aged 78.⁵⁷

The provincial household lists of the 1820s also reveal that black men worked at a variety of occupations, while providing militia duty. These lists help to determine a little more about their occupational identity. Like their African fathers and grandfathers, many still mined gold, especially in the City of Goiás and Santa Luzia; but by the 1820s, black men were also living by their own agency and one kept a tavern. They also engaged in skilled occupations (*ofícios*), such as metal working: one in gold, two in tin, but twenty in iron as blacksmiths. Many others, however, labored in the construction and clothing trades as carpenters, stone workers, tailors, and shoemakers. There were also one pilot [of river boats], a musician, and three saddle makers. In the rural countryside, they were small farmers (*roceiros*), who cultivated food crops; but some raised or herded animals, and a few were fazendeiros. Day workers, agregados, family members, and unknowns were also included on the list of occupations. As the scribe for Meia Ponte concluded, free/freed blacks worked at either *roças* or *ofícios*, in other words, at occupations that the Portuguese defined as lacking in quality.⁵⁸

Free men of color who defended the conquest and held slaves as small property owners, must have challenged certain elite constructions of identity; but women of color also had their own roles in this racially ambiguous society. In examining the topic of miscegenation and concubinage between white men and women of color, we can especially perceive social attitudes toward color that led to harsh discrimination against women who were indigenous and black, although many black women controlled more wealth than white women. In Vila Boa, for example, poor white women attended a separate early morning Mass

in order to avoid the “disdainful eyes” of the black women who attended a later Mass and openly displayed their wealth in gold jewelry.⁵⁹

Gender

Wealthy black women, however, should not obscure the reality that they may have had to endure sexual violence because the history of gender relations on this frontier was so often marked by violence and vengeance killings. In the early period, those who participated in *bandeiras* attacked and killed indigenous women and their children as part of efforts to exterminate their nation; or, if they did not slaughter them, they brought them back to the mining towns as war captives. If they resisted, they were punished like enslaved African women with the whip and paddle (*palmatória*). Although they may also have suffered sexual assault, the only indirect evidence in the historical record is the presence of mestizo and “bastardo” children.⁶⁰ On the other hand, most indigenous nations also took captive women from among their enemies, including Luso-Brazilian and African women and children. Except for the Canoeiro, who killed all their enemies, those involved in the frontier conflicts seized women. The Xavante, for example, commonly raided the Karajá for women, and in turn the Karajá raided the Apinajé.⁶¹

Although some indigenous women served as translators and negotiators in the frontier wars, others went into battle with their husbands; and in the case of the Canoeiro, fought as bravely as the men. Because women participated in combat, Luso-Brazilian *bandeiras* were merciless, treating them exactly like their husbands with violent deaths or enslavement. In retaliation, indigenous warriors killed women leaving the corpses for their families to find. Or, in one notable case, they burned the body of a black woman, probably in vengeance against the black militias that attacked them. On this frontier, women could suffer greatly as competing bands of violent men retaliated against the families of the opposing side; one’s sex or age did not protect one from cruelty and murder.⁶²

Punishments were often continued when war captives were put to work for their new masters along with enslaved African women. For captive and enslaved women domestic service and field work were usually their principal occupations; but work in textiles was also common in the towns, such as Pontal, where 6 white women, 14 *pardas*, and 15 black women worked at spinning.⁶³ White women, however, were more likely to be identified as weavers, especially of fine vegetable-dyed coverlets; but some black men were also set to weaving cloth. Rural labor for *parda* and black women included harvesting and cleaning cotton, pounding maize and castor beans, and processing *farinha* (manioc meal)

and *rapadura* (bricks of raw sugar). Black women also distilled sugar cane into *aguardente* (white rum) as *alambiqueiros* and sold it in taverns and market stalls. Some also hawked fruits and vegetables as *quitandeiras* and sugared sweets (*doces*) as *doceiras*, although white women usually made the famous sugared fruits of Goiás.⁶⁴

Besides laboring for a master, captive and enslaved women were also expected to engage in sexual relations with him. Concubinage between white men and women of color was the norm rather than the exception, and even the priests had their lovers among their slaves. According to the foreign traveler Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, the lack of marriage was due to the “immorality” of the early white men, who traveled to the region with black women; but “their pride did not permit them to be united to them by marriage.” Nor, he claimed, did they marry “Indian” women. Instead, they had only “lovers” (*amantes*). He also wrote [in 1819] that “white men lead an unregulated life, in company of black and Indian women.”⁶⁵

The most notable example of concubinage involved the Portuguese governors. According to Saint-Hilaire, “Among the captains-general that governed the province of Goiás until 1820, there was not one that was married, and all had amantes with whom they lived openly.” One such governor that took a mistress was Governor Fernando Delgado Freire de Castilho (1809-1820), who lived in Vila Boa at the time of Saint-Hilaire’s visit. When Saint-Hilaire dined with him, they discussed “the strange customs of the place”; and the governor pointed to his two children, who were then seven and eight years of age, and said, “You think . . . that I could marry the mother of these children, the daughter of a carpenter?” When the governor was recalled to Europe, he took his mistress and children with him as far as Rio de Janeiro. When she demanded that he marry her and he was faced with “the dilemma” of either marrying the daughter of a carpenter or of leaving her in Brazil, he committed suicide.⁶⁶

Obviously, the governor and the carpenter’s daughter were an exceptional case, unique for his high social position and her demand for marriage. The more usual situation in Goiás was that of “passing unions” between white men and black, *parda*, or indigenous women, especially with the women of their own households. In household lists from the census of 1783, black and indigenous women appear in the households of single white men as *agregadas*, slaves, or obligated persons, sometimes with one or more *pardo* children. This pattern was especially common with single men with military titles.⁶⁷ These consensual unions between military officers and women of color can also be documented through letters of legitimization in which the father recognized his natural children as legitimate heirs. In 1805, for example, Fernando José Leal, single, Sergeant Major of the Second Cavalry Regiment of Militias of Vila Boa, requested

a letter of legitimization for the six children he had had with an unnamed “free, single woman.”⁶⁸ The number of his children suggests that he had had a long-term consensual union with the children’s mother. Also appearing in the wills of military officers was the declaration of children by different women. In 1819, for example, the Furriel of Dragoons, José de Aguirra do Amaral, declared that he had two “natural daughters.” One named Maria de Aguirra was the daughter of Luiza Barboza, a single, freed black; and the other was Umbelina Maria Regina do Amaral, who was the daughter of Suzana, a black of Guiné. Both women were already deceased.⁶⁹

Additional documentation of concubinage also comes from church records, since some priests were concerned about those who lived together without being married in the church. The “Book of Denunciations” from the archive of the Curia records the statements of men who admitted to concubinage and sought to amend their lives. Since priests denied the sacraments to those they believed were “living in sin” with a concubine, the motivation for a person to sign a *termo* (declaration) was to be able to receive the sacraments. In 1794, a married white man named José Rodriguez Xavier acknowledged his “public concubinage” with Maria Jozefa, a freed cabra of Vila Boa, while his white wife, Anna Ferreira de Queirós, resided in Meia Ponte. He had been living together with Maria Jozefa on his sugar plantation for about two years. As the sign of his promise to amend his life, he was to “throw” Maria Jozefa out of his house within two months and to reunite with his wife and keep her company.⁷⁰ A single white man who also signed a declaration to amend his life was João Forquim, a resident of the district of Anta in 1784. He lived in public concubinage with Catherina, a crioula, a slave of Dona Elena Cordeiro.⁷¹ While church records and foreigners both point to the common pattern of one white man living in concubinage with one or more women of color, conversely, one woman of color was often coerced into having sexual relations with more than one man. In the mining towns of Goiás, prostitution was ubiquitous, and it usually involved women of color. We rarely learn the identities of the anonymous women who engaged in prostitution, except in the case of those who repented and agreed to leave the life of a prostitute. In 1783, two black women went to the Vicar’s residence and promised “to leave and abandon, and repudiate the bad life” in which she was living as a “public *meretriz*.” A pardo freedman signed the document on their behalf. Also repenting and giving up their former way of life were two freedwomen, Antonia Teixeira, a Mina, and Domingas Gomes da Silva, a crioula.⁷²

Conclusion

Intimate relations between white men and women of color helped shape social relations on the frontier of Goiás in the late colonial period. Although women of color lived in concubinage with men of quality, the Portuguese refused to marry them even after long-term consensual unions and several children; thus prejudice was especially centered around marriage. Black and indigenous men were usually confined to the occupations the Portuguese defined as lacking in quality, although they often earned some status in the militia forces of the captaincy based on their service in the wars against the hostile indigenous nations. Although the rhetoric of Portuguese bureaucrats and priests stressed Christianization, and some indigenous nations responded with settlement in missions, the vast majority of the nations continued to attack the Portuguese and their allies or disappeared into more remote areas. Those who lost to the Luso-Brazilian forces, however, were enslaved, while mission Indians were subjected to forced labor.

In brief, by the 1820s, this hierarchical society constructed out of mining wealth, slavery, and warfare included only a few men of quality, who had used various forms of alliance to weld together Christian allies against hostile nations. In the midst of war, however, yet another process had emerged, i.e., the formation of the *ingênuos*, the freeborn of color, who far outnumbered the men of quality and their descendants. By 1832, free *pardos*, *crioulos*, and *cabras* formed almost two-thirds of the population, and legal slavery had declined. However, this frontier had not evolved in the direction of equality for all, but rather toward one of social hierarchy and exclusion as whites protected their privileged position, and *pardos* protested their lack of access to citizenship, even though they were property owners.⁷³ As the Portuguese left the captaincy in the 1820s, local white elites led by powerful *coroneis* took over the government and enlarged their great cattle ranches that left them in command of Goiás in the nineteenth century. Family membership, the political power of a coronel, and ownership of large ranches with great herds of cattle would henceforth determine high status, while the freeborn of color would confront poverty and discrimination due to the taint of their slave ancestry or nation.⁷⁴ Many would become impoverished farm or ranch workers. Perhaps what best captures the social realities of early nineteenth-century Goiás is an observation made by Saint Hilaire in 1819, when he observed a dance held on a fazenda named Mandinga on St. John's eve. Only the men, who were mostly white, were dancing the African-style *batuques*. Those who had taught the white men how to dance could not do so, however; they had to fetch the firewood for the bonfire and bring the water.⁷⁵

NOTES

I would like to thank the two anonymous reviewers for their helpful suggestions and Silvia Lara and Hebe Mattos for copies of their publications cited below. One author that first led me to conceptualize this article was Lucy Eldersveld Murphy, in her “To Live among Us: Accommodation, Gender, and Conflict in the Western Great Lakes Region, 1760-1832,” in *Contact Points: American Frontiers from the Mohawk Valley to the Mississippi, 1750-1830*, eds. Andrew R. L. Cayton and Fredrika J. Teute (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998), 274. Also helpful on colonial Brazil were Hal Langfur, *The Forbidden Lands: Colonial Identity, Frontier Violence, and the Persistence of Brazil’s Eastern Indians, 1750-1830*, Stanford, Stanford University Press, 2006; John Hemming, *Amazon Frontier: The Defeat of the Brazilian Indians*, Cambridge, Harvard University Press, 1987; Alida C. Metcalf, *Family and Frontier in Colonial Brazil: Santana de Parnaíba, 1580-1822*, Berkeley, University of California Press, 1992, and her *Go-betweens and the Colonization of Brazil, 1500-1600*, Austin, University of Texas Press, 2005; John Manuel Monteiro, *Negros da Terra: Índios e Bandeirantes nas Origens de São Paulo*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1994; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil*, New York, St. Martin’s Press, 1982; and Stuart B. Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550-1835*, Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1985.

1. Gold: Mary Karasch, “The Periphery of the Periphery? Vila Boa de Goiás, 1780-1835,” in *Negotiated Empires: Centers and Peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*, eds. Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy (New York and London: Routledge, 2002), 153; and Luis Palacín, *Goiás, 1772-1822: Estrutura e Conjuntura numa Capitania de Minas*, 2nd. ed., Goiânia, Oriente, 1976.
2. Another author that did not find a common use of “race” in the documents he consulted is Carl H. Nightingale, “Before Race Mattered: Geographies of the Color Line in Early Colonial Madras and New York,” *American Historical Review* 113: 1 (February 2008): 51, 67, and note 44. Instead, his sources preferred nation, people, or color. He also argues that color categories utilized in Madras and Manhattan were “not at all connected to a notion of race,” but “were selected and deployed within urban politics to help build key institutions of Western domination: segregation and slavery.” On the talented few, see Russell-Wood, *Black Man*, 198-203.
3. My first introduction to indigenous usage of “Christians” for Luso-Brazilians was in Porto Nacional, Tocantins, in the 1990s. Since then, I have looked for and found a similar construction of identity in late colonial sources. See also Nightingale, “Before Race,” 62-64.
4. Juciene Ricarte Apolinário, *Os Akroá e outros povos indígenas [Xakriabá] nas Fronteiras do Sertão: Políticas indígena e indigenista no norte da capitania de Goiás, atual Estado do Tocantins, Século XVIII* (Goiânia: Kelps, 2006) and Table 6, 220.
5. Rita Heloísa de Almeida, *O Diretório dos Índios: Um projeto de “civilização no Brasil do século XVIII*, Brasília, UnB, 1997; Mary Karasch, “Índios Aldeados: Um Perfil Demográfico da Capitania de Goiás,” forthcoming in *População e Família*, ed. Horacio Gutiérrez, 2008; and Apolinário, *Akroá*, Table 6, 220.

6. Rita Heloísa de Almeida, *O Diretório dos Índios: Um projeto de “civilização no Brasil do século XVIII*, Brasília, UnB, 1997; Mary Karasch, “Índios Aldeados: Um Perfil Demográfico da Capitania de Goiás,” forthcoming in *População e Família*, ed. Horacio Gutiérrez, 2008; and Apolinário, *Akroá*, Table 6, 220.
7. Xavante and Kayapó: Karasch, “Índios Aldeados,” forthcoming; and Johann E. Pohl, *Viagem no Interior do Brasil*, trans. Milton Amado e Eugênio Amado (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1976), 151-156.
8. Mary Karasch, “Catequese e Cativo: Política indigenista em Goiás, 1780-1889,” trans. Beatriz Perrone-Moisés, in *História dos índios no Brasil*, ed. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1992), 398.
9. Pohl, *Viagem*, 298-299; Niomar de Souza Pereira, *Cavalcadas no Brasil: De cortejo a cavalo a lutas de Mouros e Cristãos*, São Paulo: Escola de Folclore, 1983; and Carlos Rodrigues Brandão, *Cavalcadas de Pirenópolis*, Goiânia: Oriente, 1974.
10. Luiz Mott, “Inquisição em Goiás—Fontes e Pistas,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico de Goiás* 13 (1993): 33-76.
11. Churches: Mary Karasch, “Frontier Life in Central Brazil,” chapter 8, table 1 (book manuscript now in draft). José Luiz de Castro, “A Organização da Igreja Católica na Capitania de Goiás, 1726-1824,” (Master’s thesis, Federal University of Goiás, 1998), also refers to the captaincy’s “quantity” of churches on p. 183. I would like to thank Waldinice M. Nascimento for a copy of this thesis.
12. The single best study on the brotherhoods of Goiás is the dissertation by Cristina de Cássia Pereira Moraes, “Do Corpo Místico de Cristo: Irmandades e Confrarias na capitania de Goiás, 1736-1808.” Since it is not continuously paginated, citations below are to chapters. See also Mary Karasch and David McCreery, “Community Building and Identity Formation: A Comparative Analysis of Lay Brotherhoods in Mesoamerica (*Cofradías*) and Brazil (*Irmandades*),” a paper presented at the Jubilee Conference of the Historical Society of South Africa, University of Pretoria, Pretoria, South Africa, 26-28 June 2006. On white patrons of black brotherhoods, see Russell-Wood, *Black Man*, 144-145.
13. Language of exclusion: Castro, “Igreja Católica,” 209; and Goiânia, Archive of the Curia, located at the Sociedade Goiana de Cultura, Instituto de Pesquisas e Estudos Históricos do Brasil Central (SGC), Irmandade das Santas Almas na Santa Anna, 1736 (or 1743?). On the language of exclusion of “Jew, Moor, Black or Mulato, or from any other infected nation” in an irmandade in Rio de Janeiro (1757), see Beatriz Catão Cruz Santos, “Manuel Trades in the Feast of Corpus Christi,” forthcoming in *The Americas* in 2008. Discrimination in Portugal and its Empire was, therefore, she argues, “between those who were of pure and those of ‘infected blood.’” Those with purity of blood were the old Christians, whose families had been Catholic for four generations.
14. São Miguel: Ana Maria Borges and Luiz Palacín, *Patrimônio Histórico de Goiás* (Brasília: SPHAN/próMemória, 1987), 21, 71.
15. Santo Antônio das Tropas Militares: Lisbon, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (hereafter AHU), caixa 4, 16 June 1806; and military officers on the board of Rosário: City of Goiás, Biblioteca da Fundação Educacional da Cidade de Goiás (henceforth BFEG), Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos pretos, Livro dos Termos de Meza, 1826-1861. See also Moraes, “Corpo Místico,” chapter 4.

16. Blessed Sacrament: Castro, "Igreja Católica," 208-211; and Moraes, "Corpo Místico," chapter 4.4.
17. Black women, Pontal: Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (henceforth ANTT), maço 598, attached letter to Reverend Dr. Pedro Barboza Canaes, Vigário Geral, from José dos Santos Pereira, São Félix, 5 October 1761.
18. Blessed Sacrament: SGC, Registro dos Papeis, 1800-1803.
19. Pardo brotherhoods: Moraes, "Corpo Místico," chapter 6; Castro, "Igreja Católica," 177. Nossa Senhora da Conceição dos homens pardos, Jaraguá, 1820-1828: Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional (henceforth RJAN), caixa 293, pacote 2, doc. 47, 17 December 1821. The church of Boa Morte: Borges and Palacín, *Patrimônio Histórico*, 16.
20. Karasch and McCreery, "'Community Building,'" 1-31; Pohl, *Viagem*, 271; Elizabeth W. Kiddy, *Blacks of the Rosary: Memory and History in Minas Gerais, Brazil*, University Park, Pa, Pennsylvania State University Press, 2005; and Caio César Boschi, *Os Leigos e o Poder (Irmandades Leigas e Política Colonizadora em Minas Gerais)*, São Paulo, Ática, 1986.
21. St. Benedict: BFEG, Cartório do Primeiro Ofício, 1792-1794, fol. 41; and Borges and Palacín, *Patrimônio Histórico*, 58.
22. Santa Efigênia: Moraes, "Corpo Místico," chapter 7; Paulo Bertran, *Memória de Niquelândia* (Brasília: Fundação Nacional Pró-Memória, 1985), 41-43.
23. SGC, Archive of the Curia, Compromisso de Nossa Senhora das Mercês dos Captivos do Arrayal de São Joaquim do Cocal, anno de 1772; and 1788. See also Mary C. Karasch, "Guiné, Mina, Angola, and Benguela: African and Crioulo Nations in Central Brazil, 1780-1835, in *Enslaving Connections: Changing Cultures of Africa and Brazil during the Era of Slavery*, eds. José C. Curto and Paul E. Lovejoy (New York: Humanity Books, 2004), 180-182.
24. Richard Boyer, "Negotiating *Calidad*: The Everyday Struggle for Status in Mexico," *Historical Archaeology*, vol. 31, no. 1 (1997), 64-73. Occupations lacking in quality are in ANTT, Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Ordens Militares, Papeis Diversos, maços 4-6, 1750-1819. See also Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva, *Ser Nobre na Colônia*, São Paulo, UNESP, 2005; Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations*, 246; and Silvia Hunold Lara, *Fragmentos Setecentistas: Escravidão, cultura e poder na América portuguesa* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), 143-144, on white color signifying distinction and liberty.
25. The term *alvo* was also used for priests and the white women residents in their households. AHG, Documentação Diversa, no. 68, Correspondência Dirigida ao Comandante das Armas, Raimundo José da Cunha Matos, Mappa da População do Destrito do Pontal, Pontal, 16 December 1793.
26. Order of Christ: Nizza da Silva, *Ser Nobre*, 108-113, 201; and Karasch, "The Periphery of the Periphery?," 162-164. Francisco José Barretto, Combóeiro de Fazendas Secas e Escravos da Bahia: AHU 1003, Goiás, caixa 11, 1750-1807.
27. Auguste de Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem à Província de Goiás*, trans. Regina Regis Junqueira (Belo Horizonte: Ed. Itatiaia, 1975), 53.
28. "Provizão para se casarem" (marriages by color and legal status): SGC, Archive of the Curia, Século XVIII, and Registro dos papeis, Meyaponte, 1797-1812.

29. Jarbas Jayme, *Famílias Pirenopolinas (Ensaio genealógico)*, vol. 5 (Pirenópolis: Rio Bonito, 1973), documentação fotográfica, after page 450; and Saint-Hilaire, *Viagem*, 44.
30. The word *nação* in Portuguese comes from Latin, and the Latin noun *nationem* connotes breed or race. Students in medieval universities were known by their *nationem*, but by the seventeenth century, nation was often equated with the people of a country. Another medieval usage is that of *gentes*, *nationes*, or *populi*, which “were actually thought of as units of biological descent (that is, races in the more exact modern sense of the word) as well as of common culture.” In colonial Brazil, the Portuguese applied the term *nação* to Jewish merchants and to enslaved Africans, while they used *gente* or *gentio* (gentile) as well as *nação* with indigenous ethnic groups. See Walker Connor, “A Nation is a Nation, is a State, is an Ethnic Group . . .,” in *Nationalism*, eds., John Hutchinson and Anthony D. Smith (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 36-38; Frédéric Mauro, “Merchant Communities, 1350-1750,” in *The Rise of Merchant Empires: Long Distance Trade in the Early Modern World, 1350-1750*, ed. James D. Tracy (Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 1990), 262-264, 266-267; and Nicholas Hudson, “From ‘Nation’ to ‘Race’: The Origin of Racial Classification in Eighteenth-Century Thought,” *Eighteenth-Century Studies* 29:3 (1996): 247-264.
31. Mary Karasch, “Minha Nação: Identidades Escravas no Fim do Brasil Colonial,” trans. Ângela Domingues, in *Brasil: Colonização e Escravidão*, ed. Maria Beatriz Nizza da Silva (Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 1999), 127-141; and “Severino, inn.e Índio de Nação Caráô”: BFEG, Livro de Obitos, Natividade, 6 May 1836.
32. For an ethno-history of the Kayapó in Goiás, see Odair Giralдин, *Cayapó e Panará: Luta e sobrevivência de um povo Jê no Brasil Central*, Campinas: UNICAMP, 1997.
33. Canoeiro: André Amaral do Toral, “Os índios negros ou os Carijó de Goiás: A história dos Avá-Canoeiro,” *Revista de Antropologia*, 27/28 (1984-1985): 287-290. As he documents, a small ethnic group, the Avá-Canoeiro, survived into the twentieth century. Possibly some of their ancestors were termed Canoeiros in the eighteenth century. See also Dulce Madalena Rios Pedroso, “Avá-Canoeiro: A história do povo invisível—séculos XVIII e XIX,” Goiânia, Master’s Thesis, Universidade Federal de Goiás, 1992.
34. Nations of Goiás: Karasch, “Frontier Life in Central Brazil,” chapters 1 and 8.
35. Tax Records: City of Goiás, Arquivo do Museu das Bandeiras (henceforth AMB), Goiás, no. 169, Crixá, 1810-1821, fols. 1-6; *Ibid.*, no. 173, Porto Real, 1813-1822, fols. 1-3; and *Ibid.*, no. 175, Tráiras, 1810-1822, fols. 1-7.
36. Karasch, “Guiné,” 163-184.
37. Mary Karasch, “Central Africans in Central Brazil, 1780-1835,” in *Central Africans and Cultural Transformations in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002), 117-151. One reason for the lack of Mozambiques in the early tax registries is due to the general patterns of the slave trade of the nineteenth century, when most peoples from East Africa were imported into Brazil after 1830. See Mary Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 21-25, on the Mozambique nation.
38. Matthias Röhrig Assunção, *A Guerra dos Bem-te-vis: A Balaiada na Memória Oral* (São Luis, MA: SIOGE, 1988), 163.

39. Crioulo nation was used with Raymundo, in AMB, Goiás, no. 173, Porto Real, 1820, fol. 2; and Benedito, *Ibid.*, no. 175, Traíras, 1813, fol. 1.
40. Census of 1779: Karasch, "Guiné," 165.
41. Kathleen J. Higgins also documents what appears to have been the temporary slavery of obligated persons in Sabará in 1721. See her "*Licentious Liberty*" in *A Brazilian Gold-Mining Region: Slavery, Gender, and Social Control in Eighteenth-Century Sabará, Minas Gerais* (University Park, Pa: Pennsylvania State University Press, 1999), 209.
42. Censuses of the 1780s: Appendix C of my "Frontier Life in Central Brazil"; and Rio de Janeiro, Biblioteca Nacional (henceforth RJBN), Cod. 16,3,2, Notícia Geral da Capitania de Goiás, 1783.
43. Census of 1804: RJBN, Cod. 9,4,2, doc. 164, Estado da População de Goiás no anno de 1804.
44. In 1825, one census official turned to ancient usage for identity and termed the freeborn of color *ingênuos de cor*. See *The Digest of Justinian* [529] for freeborn (*ingenui*) as opposed to freedmen. Cited in *Slavery: Oxford Readers*, eds. Stanley Engerman, Seymour Drescher, and Robert Paquette (Oxford and New York: Oxford University Press, 2001), 98-99.
45. Census of 1825: Karasch, "Guiné," 168. The proportion of free/freed persons of color to whites is similar to that of Sabará, Minas Gerais. See Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery and the Economy of São Paulo, 1750-1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), Table 7.1, p. 161.
46. Census of 1832: Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional (henceforth RJAN), Cod. 808, vol. 1, Censo da População da Provincia de Goyaz, 30 May 1832, fol. 96.
47. Dragoons: Palacín, *Goiás*, 156-158; and Karasch, "Periphery," 154.
48. Pedestres: Palacín, *Goiás*, 158; and Karasch, "Periphery," 154-155; and AHU, Mappa da Companhia de Pedestres que guarnece a Capitania de Goyaz . . . , Vila Boa, 14 January 1784. Projeto Resgate, Goiás, CD Rom, no. 4, accessed at the Library of Congress, 12 September 2005. Luis Bras is in AHG, Ofícios of Fernando Delgado Freire de Castilho, no. 16 and no. 41, Vila Boa, 6 June 1811 and 17 October 1811.
49. Ordenanças: Palacín, *Goiás*, 159-161; and Karasch, "Periphery," 163.
50. *Bengala*: Palacín, *Goiás*, 160; and Karasch, "Periphery," 163.
51. Mary Karasch, "Damiana da Cunha: Catechist and *Sertanista*," in *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*, eds. David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), 102-120.
52. "Os homens pardos nacionais e habitantes da Capitania de Villa boa de Goyaz, . . ." Lisbon, AHU, caixa 41, 5 February 1803 and 7 January 1804. See also Lisbon, AHU, caixa 25, letter of the Câmara of Vila Boa, 31 September 1785; letter of Governor Tristão da Cunha, 20 May 1789; and his note of 5 July 1790 that *mulatos* who had the patent of a colonel did not have any right to be interim governor. See also Karasch, "Periphery," 155.
53. Meia Ponte marriages: SGC, Registro dos Papeis, 20 February 1798-6 February 1805, fols. 13-40.
54. Coronel Miguel Alvarez da Ora: AHU, Goiás, Caixa 41, 5 February 1803; and AHG, Ofício of Fernando Delgado Freire de Castilho, Vila Boa, 14 November 1814.

55. Pardo regiments, 1811-1814: Ibid; and AHG, Livro de Ofícios, no. 15, Fernando Delgado Friere de Castilho to the Conde de Linhares, Vila Boa, 11 May 1811, fols. 67-70.
56. Earlier Henriques: Hebe Mattos, "Black Troops and Hierarchies of Color in the Portuguese Atlantic World: The Case of Henrique Dias and his Black Regiment," forthcoming in 2008.
57. Henriques: Karasch, "Guiné," 176-182; AHU, Mappa em que Tristão da Cunha Menezes . . . apresenta das Tropas . . ., 1789; and AHG, Documentação Diversa, no. 68, Correspondência [of 1823-1824] Dirigida do Comandante das Armas — Raymundo José da Cunha Mattos, Relação da População do Arraial de São José do Tocantins, fols. 123-142.
58. Occupations: Karasch, "Frontier Life," chapter 10.
59. Separate Mass: Pohl, *Viagem*, 141-142.
60. Mestizos and bastardos: AMB, 444, Praça dos Militares, Pedestres, 1760-1783. On bastardo soldiers in São Paulo, see Muriel Nazzari, "Vanishing Indians: The Social Construction of Race in Colonial São Paulo," *The Americas* 57:4 (2001): 505-506.
61. Raids for women: Mary Karasch, "Rethinking the Conquest of Goiás, 1775-1819," *The Americas* 61:3 (January 2005): 473-474, 478; and Rio de Janeiro, Instituto Histórico e Geographico Brasileiro, Archive, lata 281, pasta 4, doc. 3, Diário, Thomaz de Souza Villa Real, 8 February 1793.
62. Vengeance as motive: Odair Giraladin as cited in Apolinário, *Akroá*, 49. Similar patterns of violence against women are in Langfur's *Forbidden Lands*, chapters 7-8, and illustration, 245.
63. Female occupations: AHG, Documentação Diversa, no. 68, Correspondência Dirigida ao Comandante das Armas, Raimundo José da Cunha Matos, Mappa da População do Destricto do Pontal, Pontal, 16 December 1824.
64. Mary Karasch, "Slave Women on the Brazilian Frontier in the Nineteenth Century," in *More than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas*, eds. David Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1996), 85-89.
65. Saint Hilaire, *Viagem*, 53, 125. One of the most famous cases of concubinage between a woman of color and a Portuguese official is narrated in *Chica da Silva e o contratador dos diamantes: O outro lado do mito*, São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2003.
66. Governor's affair: Ibid., 55-56.
67. Census of 1783: note 42 above.
68. Legitimization: AHU, caixa 42, Goiás, 11 March 1805.
69. José de Aguirra do Amaral: BFEG, Livro 2, Registro de Provisões, Dezemboque, Testamento, 5 July 1819.
70. SGC, Archive of the Curia, Livro de Registro dos Denuncias (1753-1794), Termo que faz o assigna José Rodriguez Xavier, homem branco, cazado de emenda de vida do publico concubinato . . ., Vila Boa, 22 January 1794, fol. 93.
71. Ibid., Termo que faz, e assigna João Forquim, homem solteiro . . ., Vila Boa, 5 October 1784, fol. 89.
72. Former prostitutes: SGC, Livro de Registro de denuncias (1753-1794), fol. 88. On prostitution in another mining region, see Luciano Figueiredo, *O Averso da Memória: Cotidiano e Trabalho da Mulher em Minas Gerais no Século XVIII* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1993), 75-110.

73. My thanks to Gerardo da Silva Gomes of Araguaina, Tocantins, for a copy of Luis Palacín's "Os Homens Pardos de Goiás à Procura da Cidadania." In 1785, the oldest military patent belonged to the Mulato Coronel of the Regiment of Mulatos, but the Senado da Camara of Vila Boa de Goiás refused to consider him for the position of interim governor. AHU, Goiás, caixa 25, 31 December 1785; and Goiás, caixa 41, 5 February 1803.
74. For the nineteenth century, see David McCreery, *Frontier Goiás, 1822-1889*, Stanford, California, Stanford University Press, 2006.
75. Batuques: Saint Hilaire, *Viagem*, 47.