



INDIANA UNIVERSITY PRESS

The Jews in the Sugar Industry of Colonial Brazil

Author(s): Arnold Wiznitzer

Source: *Jewish Social Studies*, Jul., 1956, Vol. 18, No. 3 (Jul., 1956), pp. 189-198

Published by: Indiana University Press

Stable URL: <https://www.jstor.org/stable/4465456>

REFERENCES

Linked references are available on JSTOR for this article:

https://www.jstor.org/stable/4465456?seq=1&cid=pdf-reference#references_tab_contents

You may need to log in to JSTOR to access the linked references.

JSTOR is a not-for-profit service that helps scholars, researchers, and students discover, use, and build upon a wide range of content in a trusted digital archive. We use information technology and tools to increase productivity and facilitate new forms of scholarship. For more information about JSTOR, please contact support@jstor.org.

Your use of the JSTOR archive indicates your acceptance of the Terms & Conditions of Use, available at <https://about.jstor.org/terms>



JSTOR

Indiana University Press is collaborating with JSTOR to digitize, preserve and extend access to *Jewish Social Studies*

THE JEWS IN THE SUGAR INDUSTRY OF COLONIAL BRAZIL*

By ARNOLD WIZNITZER

SUGAR was first produced in Asia and the European crusaders became acquainted with it through the Arabs. But as late as the beginning of the fifteenth century, sugar was so expensive in Europe that it was sold only in pharmacies for medicinal purposes.¹

In 1420 Portugal transplanted sugar cane from Sicily to Madeira, discovered in 1400. That island's sugar industry was so successful, that by the end of the fifteenth century, 150 sugar factories had been established.²

In 1493, possibly even earlier, the Portuguese transplanted sugar cane from Madeira to the Island of São Thomé in the Gulf of Guinea off the West Coast of Africa. They also began the manufacture of sugar on that island. São Thomé harbored convicts and exiled Jews who had refused to recant their Judaism. These Jews planted sugar cane there on a large scale, established many sugar mills, employing at times as many as 3,000 Negro slaves.³

By 1522, São Thomé had sixty sugar factories. Production by the 210 factories in Madeira and São Thomé enabled Portugal to dominate the world sugar trade. This resulted in a decline of the sugar industry in the Mediterranean area as well as a slump in the price of sugar everywhere. Within a century, it fell by approximately 85 per cent. It was at this point that Brazilian sugar entered the world market.⁴

In 1516 the Portuguese King Dom Manoel I decreed that persons emigrating to Brazil be given, at the expense of the Crown, all the necessary equipment to build a sugar mill there. He also gave an order that an expert be sent to aid in that project. The decree reads in part: "Axes, mattocks and other tools should be given to the persons who go to populate Brazil, and an experienced and capable man should be sent to Brazil to start a sugar mill; he should receive assistance and all the materials and implements necessary for the building of the mill."⁵

* For background, cf. the author's *The Records of the Earliest Jewish Community in the New World* (New York 1954); "The Number of Jews in Dutch Brazil," *JEWISH SOCIAL STUDIES*, XVI (1954), pp. 107-14; and "The Exodus from Brazil and Arrival in New Amsterdam of the Jewish Pilgrim Fathers, 1654," *Publications of the American Jewish Historical Society* [= *Publications*], XLIV (1954), pp. 80-97.

¹ Simonsen, Roberto C., *História Econômica do Brasil 1500-1820*, I (São Paulo 1944), p. 145; Lippmann, Edmund O. von, *História de Açúcar*, II (Rio de Janeiro 1942), p. 13.

² Lippmann, *op. cit.*, p. 12.

³ *Ibid.*, p. 14.

⁴ Simonsen, *op. cit.*, p. 145; Deerr, Noel, *The History of Sugar* (London 1949), pp. 101-04.

⁵ Carli, Gileno De, "O Açúcar na Formação Econômica do Brasil," *Anuário Açucareiro para 1936* (Rio de Janeiro 1936), p. 7.

It is an historical fact, supported by documentary evidence, that a consortium of Jews,⁶ headed by Fernnão de Noronha, had obtained in 1502 a three year lease from the Portuguese Crown for the exploration and settlement of the newly-discovered Brazil. The lease, constituting in reality a monopoly, was extended for an additional ten years in 1505. This consortium sent six ships each year to Brazil with materials, goods and colonists. Under its auspices, new lands were discovered and settled, and fortifications erected and maintained. The consortium pioneered in the dye wood industry and it was the first colonizer, exporter and importer of commodities. In a spirit of enterprise, the men composing the consortium invested their capital and took risks in the new land from which the Portuguese Crown profited without taking the slightest risk.⁷

It is obvious that the Noronha group brought sugar cane to Brazil from Madeira and São Thomé, where their ships landed en route. It is equally clear that it made successful attempts at planting sugar in Brazil, so that by 1516 the construction of a sugar mill had become necessary. By that time the Portuguese Crown had become aware that the colonization of Brazil was a profitable venture. The lease of the consortium had expired and was not extended for reasons unknown. In any event, in 1516, after the expiration of the lease, the Portuguese Crown took the initiative in establishing the first sugar mill in Brazil.⁸

The oldest printed source concerning the transplantation of sugar cane by Jews to Brazil dates to 1779. Don Antonio de Capmany de Montpalau, a member of the Royal Academy of History and Letters of Seville, Spain, wrote: "This last commodity is a product derived from Asia and was only used in medicine until the era of its introduction and cultivation in America, where it was brought from the island of Madeira in 1549 by some Jews banned from Portugal."⁹

⁶ The reference is to baptized Jews before the Dutch period, *i. e.*, before 1630–1654 and after it beginning with 1654. Jews baptized in Portugal in 1497 or before were called New Christians, Persons of the Nation. However, whenever they were suspected of secretly following Jewish rites and customs, they were called Judaizers or Marranos.

⁷ Cf. "Piero Rondinelli, Lettera, Siviglia, 3 Ottobre, 1502," in Coelho, José Ramas, ed., *Raccolta di Documenti e Studi Pubblicati dalla R. Commissione Colombiana Pel Quarto Centenario della Scoperta Dell America*, II, part 2 (Rome 1893), pp. 120–21; *Algums Documentos do Archivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo acerca das Navegações e Conquistas Portuguezas*, (Lisboa 1892), pp. 459–60; "Relazione de Lunardo Cha Masser," *Centenario do descobrimento da America. Memorias da Comissão Portuguesa* (Lisboa 1892), pp. 83–84.

⁸ Cf. Note 5.

⁹ Cf. his *Memorias Historicas sobre la marina comercio y artes de la antiga ciudad de Barcelona*, I, part 2 (Madrid 1779), p. 43; Rev. Dr. Fischell, gives the date 1548 instead of 1549, in "Chronological notes of the history of the Jews in America," *Historical Magazine*, series 1, IV (Boston 1860), p. 53; The 1548 date is also given by Max J. Kohler, "Phases of Jewish Life in New York before 1800," *Publications*, II (1894), pp. 99–100; and by George Alexander Kohut, "Early Jewish Literature in America," *ibid.*, III (1895), p. 135; also by L. Huhner, in "Brazil," *The Jewish Encyclopedia*, III, p. 359.

The date — 1549 — is not correct. As we have shown, sugar cane was transplanted to Brazil even before 1516. The first known engenho (sugar plantation and mill) in Pernambuco belonged to Christovão Jaques. Documents of 1526 refer to the first customs payment in Lisbon for sugar imported from Brazil. The second known sugar mill, called engenho do Senhor Governador, was established by the Donatario (concessionaire) Martin Affonso de Sousa in São Vicente (seven miles from the present day harbor of Santos in São Paulo), in 1532–33.¹⁰

Duarte Coelho, appointed Donatario of the Captaincy of Pernambuco by a Portuguese Royal Decree of March 10, 1534, was first to engage in the systematic and intensive cultivation of sugar cane and in the development of the sugar industry. His letter to the King of Portugal, April 27, 1542, reveals that he was instrumental in establishing large sugar plantations in Brazil, and that he had issued orders for the building of sugar mills by contractors whom he had brought from Portugal.¹¹ “I gave orders,” he wrote, “to establish sugar mills by contractors and I did everything requested by them . . . We have planted large quantities of sugar cane.” His brother-in-law, Jeronimo de Albuquerque, established the third known Brazilian sugar mill, called Nossa Senhora de Ajuda, in the Captaincy of Pernambuco.¹²

The historian, Oliveira Lima, writes, without indicating the source, that the foremen and workingmen brought by Duarte Coelho from Madeira and São Thomé to Brazil were “mostly Jews who were the best economic element of that time, and who gained advantages by escaping from the religious fury that raged on the Peninsula.”¹³ The Brazilian sociologist, Gilberto Freyre, states that “Jewish mechanics for the sugar factories had to be imported to Brazil.”¹⁴ He fails completely to mention that many Jews were “Senhores de engenho” (owners of sugar cane plantations and sugar mills).¹⁵

In 1550 Brazil had five and by 1600, a total of 120 sugar mills.¹⁶ At least one of the five mills belonged to Jews. Diogo Fernandes, a Jew, and his associates who were also Jewish, owned the De Santiago sugar mill, which was situated on a large and good tract of land and had excellent water and much timber. The mill and plantation were ultimately destroyed by the local Indian tribes. Fernandes is mentioned in an August 1556 letter, to the

¹⁰ Carli, *op. cit.*, p. 7.

¹¹ Lima, Oliveira, Manuel de, “A Nova Lusitania,” *Historia da Colonização Portuguesa do Brasil*, III (Porto 1924), p. 199.

¹² Duarte Coelho was the son of the Portuguese cosmographer and navigator, Gonçalo Coelho. He married Dona Brites de Albuquerque and founded the Brazilian family de Coelho de Albuquerque.

¹³ Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–95.

¹⁴ Freyre, Gilberto, *The Masters and the Slaves* (New York 1956), p. 25.

¹⁵ Such an admission would nullify Freyre’s statement (*ibid.*, p. 231) that Jews have “a horror for agriculture.” He refers to the notoriously racist author Houston Stewart Chamberlain’s *The Foundations of the Nineteenth Century* (London 1911).

¹⁶ Lima, *op. cit.*, pp. 294–95.

King of Portugal, Dom João III, written by Jeronimo de Albuquerque, the Governor of Pernambuco. This letter contains a report of the Indians' attack on the plantation and mill, states that no one in Brazil could equal Fernandes in skill and knowledge in the management of the engenhos, and suggests that a royal favor be granted to Diogo Fernandes to compensate for his losses. The Governor notes that Fernandes had become poor, and that he had to support a wife, six or seven daughters, and two sons. He writes: "One will not find a more capable man than Fernandes in the entire country."¹⁷ There can be no question that Fernandes was the most important technician brought by Duarte Coelho in 1535 to Brazil, or summoned by the latter to Brazil in 1542.

From the records of the Lisbon Inquisition reporting the visitations of the Holy Office in Pernambuco from 1593–95, we learn that Diogo Fernandes and his wife, Branca Dias, had come from Portugal to Brazil and that they and their family were Marranos. After the destruction of their plantation and sugar mill, they moved to Olinda where, later, Diogo became the administrator of the sugar plantation and mill of Bento Dias Santiago, a prosperous Jewish relative of his wife, in Camaragibe, Captaincy of Pernambuco. They were instrumental in establishing there a Marrano center with a synagogue and a Torah ("Toura" in the Portuguese text of the records).¹⁸ When the Visitador of the Lisbon Inquisition held his hearings in Pernambuco, Diogo Fernandes and Branca Dias had been dead for at least ten years, and their children were persecuted as Marranos.

Diogo Dias Fernandes is the first Brazilian Jew, and also the first Jewish specialist of the sugar industry, that is known to us. However, the records of the visitation mention other Jews connected with the sugar industry, including Bento Dias Santiago, owner of the engenho in Camaragibe; the sons of Diogo Fernandes, administrators of Camaragibe in the service of Bento Dias Santiago.¹⁹ Diogo Nunes is mentioned as a "Senhor de engenho" in Parahyba. All were denounced as Judaizers.²⁰

It is a fact, then, that Jews were not only technicians and administrators of engenhos, but also proprietors in Brazil during the latter half of the sixteenth century. If we take into consideration that not all New Christian proprietors were denounced before the Visitador of the Inquisition, and consequently were not mentioned in the records of the visitation, we can form

¹⁷ *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, XLIX, Part 1a (Rio de Janeiro 1886), pp. 584–86.

¹⁸ *Primeira Visitação de Santo Officio ás Partes do Brasil. Denúncias de Pernambuco 1593–1595*, edited by Rodolfo Garcia, (São Paulo 1929), pp. 30–33, 44–47, 50–51, 54–58, 75–77, 149–52, 181–83, 191–92, 251–52, 281–82.

¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 251–52.

²⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 189–91.

the conclusion that by 1600 a considerable percentage of the 120 engenhos in Brazil were owned by Jews.²¹

From September 11, 1618, to January 26, 1619, Bahia, the capital of Brazil, received the attentions of a Visitador of the Lisbon Inquisition, who organized there an inquisitorial commission. Ninety Marranos were denounced before this commission, among them, Diniz Bravo, "Senhor de engenho"; Luis Lopes Paredes, "Lavrador de Cannas" (sugar cane tenant farmer); Manuel Rodrigues Sanches, "Senhor de engenho;" Manuel Mendes Mesa, the "Senhor" of the large sugar mill of Piraja; Pero Garcia, whose father was Jewish and who was "Senhor" of four engenhos; Simão Nunes de Mattos, "Senhor de engenho."²² Again we must take into consideration that many Marranos, "Senhores de engenho," escaped denunciation and are therefore unknown to us.

The records of the visitation of 1618–19 in Bahia reveal that for about 25 years, the Marranos of Brazil and the professing Jews of Flanders were in constant communication. The Marranos were the most active in the export of sugar from Brazil. They enjoyed family and business connections in Portugal and with the former Portuguese Marranos who had escaped to Amsterdam and lived there as professing Jews.

In 1630, the Dutch conquered the Captaincy of Pernambuco and shortly after, all the northern provinces of Brazil. They were expelled by a Brazilian-Portuguese liberation army in 1654. Thousands of Jews emigrated in those twenty-four years from Europe to Dutch Brazil, and many Brazilian Marranos, ceasing to feign loyalty to Catholicism, became circumsised and openly embraced Judaism.

At the outset of the Dutch invasion, many farmers as well as owners of engenhos fled their estates for the unconquered parts of Brazil. Consequently, most of the sugar mills were deserted and the industry paralyzed. The Dutch government confiscated the abandoned sugar mills. The Dutch Governor of Dutch Brazil, Johan Maurits van Nassau, who arrived in Brazil in January 1637, ordered that the deserted plantations and mills be auctioned off, the proceeds to go to the state treasury. The sales in 1637 and 1638 brought in 1,816,027 florins, payable in installments of sugar in lieu of money. The engenhos were reconstructed by the new buyers, and the manufacture of sugar, the industry most important to Brazil, again began to flourish. Documents from the years 1637–39 and 1663, fortunately preserved, contain the

²¹ Anita Libman Lebeson's statement that "toward the end of the sixteenth century, some two hundred sugar mills were owned by Jews of Brazil" is not correct. Cf. her *Pilgrim People* (New York 1950), p. 39.

²² "Livro das Denúncias que se fizeram na Visitação do Santo Officio a Cidade do Salvador da Bahia de Todos os Santos de Estado de Brasil, no anno de 1618," in *Annaes da Bibliotheca Nacional do Rio de Janeiro*, XLIX (1927) (Rio de Janeiro 1936), pp. 86, 91–94.

names of the “Senhores de engenho” who had escaped upon the arrival of the Dutch, of those who had returned after 1630 and had taken renewed possession of their property, of those who had not escaped, and finally the names of the persons who bought the confiscated factories at auction.²³

The hypothesis that those who did not desert their property in 1630 and were not afraid of the Dutch were mostly Marranos appears logical, but is actually incorrect. It is true that we find among those who fled the names of Pereira, Oliveira, Carneiro, Mendes, Pinto, names very often borne by Marrano families. But it is wrong to consider Portuguese or Brazilians and others who have those names to be necessarily descendants of Jews. We should not overlook the fact that Jews forcibly converted to Catholicism were given the names of their Catholic godfathers, which means that the names assigned to New Christians were originally and also afterwards borne by Old Christians.

The assumption that all Portuguese Brazilian “Senhores de engenho” who lived in Dutch Brazil, were Jews, had mislead the historian, Hermann Waetjen, into making the following incorrect statement: “The entries show that at that time the Portuguese Jewry acquired about 2/3 of the objects at auction, but that also Dutch military officers, who had served their time, government officials, businessmen, real estate speculators and adventurers who had been affected by the general sugar fever acquired mills.”²⁴ Waetjen asserts, in another connection, that Jorge Homen Pinto, the most important “Senhor de engenho” in Dutch Brazil, the largest debtor of the West India Company (who was obliged to give the West India Company in 1645, a mortgage on six sugar mills, 370 slaves and 1,000 oxen) was a wealthy Jew.²⁵ Since Waetjen’s statement in his 1921 book there has hardly been a treatise on the Jews in Dutch Brazil, which does not mention the wealthy Jew, Jorge Homen Pinto, his “nine” sugar mills, 370 slaves and 1,000 oxen.^{25a} But the fact is that Waetjen’s sources do not substantiate the claim that

²³ Cf. report, “Somier Discours over den Staet van de vier geconquesteerde capitánias Pernambuco, Itamarica, Paraíba, ende Rio Grande inde Noorder deelen van Brasil,” dated 1638 in *Bijdragen en Mededeelingen van het Historisch Genootschap te Utrecht* (1879). We used the Portuguese translation published under the title: “Breve discurso sobre e estado das quatro Capitánias conquistadas, de Pernambuco, Itamaraca, Parahyba e Rio Grande, situadas na parte septentrional de Brasil,” in *Revista do Instituto Arquelógico e Geográfico Pernambucano*, edited by José Higinio Duarte Pereira, no. 34 (Recife 1887), pp. 139–94 and appendices with the lists without page-numbers. Cf. also Dussen, Adriaen van der, *Relatório sobre as capitánias conquistadas no Brasil pelos holandeses (1639). Suas condições econômicas e sociais*, translated from the original Dutch text by José Antonio Gonsalves de Mello, neto, (Rio de Janeiro 1947), pp. 33–57; cf. also Bloom, Herbert I., “A Study of Brazilian Jewish History 1623–1654,” *Publications*, XXXIII (1934), appendix C., pp. 121–24.

²⁴ Waetjen, Hermann, *Das hollaendische Kolonialreich in Brasil* (Gotha 1921), p. 267.

²⁵ Waetjen, Hermann, *O Dominio Colonial no Brasil Hollandes* (São Paulo 1938), pp. 334–35.

^{25a} Cf. Bloom, *op. cit.*, p. 58; “We know, however, that Jorge Homen Pinto . . . was unquestionably a Jew . . .,” *ibid.*, p. 76. This is repeated by Deerr, Noel, *The History of Sugar*, I (London 1949), p. 107; Libman, *op. cit.*, p. 44; Friedman, Lee M., “Some References to Jews in Sugar Trade,” *Publications*, XLII (1953), p. 308.

Pinto was a Jew. Indeed, the evidence reveals the contrary — that he was not a Jew.

In 1637, Pinto was nominated to serve in the Council of Jurymen (*Conselho de Escabinos*) in Paraiba.²⁶ The councils, established by Johan Maurits, were composed entirely of Dutch and Brazilian Christians. Persons of Jewish descent were ineligible. In 1637, Jacob Stachower challenged the credentials of a number of men on the list of nominees for jurors. Specifically, he charged that Pedro Lopes de Vera, Fernão de Vale, Gaspar Dias Ferreira — all important Dutch businessmen and sugar mill proprietors — were of Jewish descent and hence ineligible to serve. In a full session of the Council of Jurymen, Fernão de Vale admitted he was a professing Jew and withdrew his name from consideration. Pedro Lopes de Vera was not present; however, we do not find his name among those of the jurors confirmed in office. Gaspar Dias Ferreira, on the other hand, emphatically denied his Jewish origin, and proved that he was a descendant of Old Christians. When the persons present declared Ferreira eligible, Jacob Stachower and Nicolaes de Ridder refused to be convinced, left the meeting in protest, and declined to take their oath of office.²⁷ Jorge Homen Pinto, who was a member of the Council of Jurors in Paraiba, could therefore not have been a Jew.

There is additional evidence for this assertion. Jorge Homen Pinto, the son of Lourenço Homen Pinto from Rio Grande (Brazil), was awarded by a Royal Decree of September 13, 1644, the “Ordem do Christo” (Order of Christ). To cite this order: “Grace to Jorge Homen Pinto, son of Lourenço Homen Pinto, from the captaincy of the fortress of Rio Grande, with the promise of 15,000 (fifteen thousand) Reis pension, and one of the commanderies of the Order of Christ, for his services in Cascaes, Parahiba, fortress of Cabedello; for the services of his uncle Artur Homen Pinto; and for those of his step-father Dr. Antão de Mesquita.”²⁸ It suffices to state that “Ordem do Christo” was an honor accorded only to Catholics of Old Christian descent.

In 1639, there existed in Dutch Brazil, 166 engenhos and 120 of them were in operation, the others were in the process of restoration.²⁹ Of the 166 engenhos, about 60 percent were owned by Portuguese Brazilians, about 34 percent by Dutchmen, and about six percent by Jews. It is probable that a number of the Portuguese Brazilian “Senhores de engenho” were of Jewish origin. However, since they did not avow the fact, and since they had the opportunity to do so because the Dutch had granted religious freedom, there would seem to be no basis for designating them Jews.

²⁶ Cf. Ms. *Dagelijksche Notulen der Heoge Raden in Brasilie*, August 7, 1637 — in the Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague, Holland.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, September 21, 1637; Cf. also De Mello, José Antonio Gonsalves, neto, *Tempo dos Flamengos* (Rio de Janeiro 1947), pp. 303–04.

²⁸ Real Archivo da Torre do Tombo, *Inventario dos Livros das Portarias do Reino. 1639–1653*, I (Lisboa 1909), p. 113; Dussen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

²⁹ Dussen, *op. cit.*, p. 80.

The Jews who owned sugar plantations and mills in 1639 were: Duarte Saraiva, who owned four “engenhos” in the Captaincy of Pernambuco; Moyses Navarro, who owned the Jurissaca sugar plantation and mill in the Captaincy of Pernambuco, which he had purchased at the auction in 1637 from Luiz de Souza for 45,000 florins; Fernão de Vale, the owner of the São Bartolomeu engenho in the parish of Muribeca (Pernambuco); and Pedro Lopes de Vera, the owner of four engenhos.³⁰

It cannot be asserted that the Jews played a dominant role as “Senhores de engenho” in Dutch Brazil. They unquestionably played a most important part as financiers of the sugar industry, as brokers and exporters of sugar, as suppliers of Negro slaves on credit, accepting payment of capital and interest in sugar.³¹

During the war of liberation, which lasted from 1645 to 1654 and ended with the victory of the Portuguese Brazilian army of liberation and the expulsion of the Dutch from Brazil, most of the engenhos were destroyed. The Jews left Dutch Brazil during the three months following the acceptance of terms of capitulation imposed by the victorious Portuguese on the Dutch January 26, 1654.

In the second half of the seventeenth century, the Marranos in Brazil were not greatly molested by the agents of the Portuguese Inquisition. In the beginning of the eighteenth century, however, they were extradited for trial to Lisbon. Most of the denounced and arrested Marranos were living in Rio de Janeiro and its environs. The sugar industry had spread from the northern Provinces and especially flourished in the region of Rio de Janeiro.

One of the first Marranos denounced was Manuel de Paredes, a “Senhor de engenho.” When, in 1698, he married Catarina Marques, the daughter of the wealthy Marrano José Gomes da Silva, a tobacco-tax farmer, living in Rio de Janeiro, all fifty-five wedding guests were Marranos. A denouncer, Catherina Soares Brandoa, an Old Christian girl from Lisbon on a visit to Rio, declared that after the banquet one of the women guests proposed the following toast: “Todas bebessem o sangue de Christo” (Let all present drink the blood of Christ). In response, a guest, referring to the old Christian girl who later denounced them, replied: “Todos aqui somos da nação e so aquela perra perdigueira não è”³² (All of us present belong to the [Jewish] Nation, except that female patridge.)

Among the thirteen Brazilian Marranos sentenced in Lisbon in 1709 were two “Senhores de engenho.”³³ At the Auto-da-Fè of 1711 in Lisbon, fifty

³⁰ *Ibid.*, pp. 33–57.

³¹ Mello, *op. cit.*, pp. 306–08; Bloom, *op. cit.*, pp. 63–65.

³² D’Azevedo, J. Lucio, “Notas sobre o Judaismo e a Inquisição no Brasil,” in *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, tomo XCI, vol. CXLV (1922) (Rio de Janeiro 1926), p. 683; and D’Azevedo, J. Lucio, *Novas Espanáforas, Estudo de Historia e Literatura* (Lisboa 1932), pp. 142–43.

³³ D’Azevedo, “Notas,” *op. cit.*, p. 688. Auto-da-Fè of June 30, 1709. They were: Manoel Lopes Henriques and Alexander Soares Pereira.

Brazilian Marranos were present, among them, four “Senhores de engenho” and ten lavradores (sugar cane tenant farmers).³⁴ Among the 78 Brazilian Marranos sentenced in Lisbon in 1713 were four “Senhores de engenho” and five “Lavradores de Canna.”³⁵ Of the twenty-six Brazilian Marranos sentenced in Lisbon in 1714 we find a “Senhor de engenho” and three sugar cane tenant farmers.³⁶ In 1720, five Brazilian Marranos were sentenced. One of them, a Lieutenant Colonel, was a “Senhor de engenho.”³⁷

The persecution, arrests, extraditions to Lisbon and confiscations of property during the first two decades of the eighteenth century in the Rio de Janeiro district led to a standstill in the growing and manufacture of sugar; at that time, sugar was still Brazil’s principal item of export and the disruption in that industry led to a serious drop in the trade between Portugal and her colony.

From 1720 on, until the Royal Decrees of May 3, 1773 and September 1, 1774 abolished the laws discriminating against New Christians and provided new procedures for the Inquisition courts, we find that some sugar cane farmers but no longer any Brazilian “Senhores de engenho” had been accused in Lisbon Auto-da-Fè as Judaizers. They had been ruined by the Inquisition during the first two decades of the eighteenth century. Don Luiz da Cunha, member of the Royal Council of Portuguese Kings, Don Pedro II and Don João V., at various times Portuguese Ambassador to Vienna, the Hague and Paris (where he died in 1749), wrote thus: “Finally, after the Inquisition had discovered the Jews as a “mine” (source of riches), and confiscated their property which had been mainly sugar plantations and mills, and ruined them, His Majesty had to stop the confiscation of the engenhos in view of the great damage caused to this important commodity.”³⁸

Neither da Cunha nor any other historian has reported how the Brazilian Marrano “Senhores de engenho,” and their families sentenced in Lisbon could continue to manage their engenhos without being sent home to Brazil. Only one “Senhor de engenho” from Brazil, a Sebastião de Fonesca Cou-

³⁴ Varnhagen, F. A. de, “De varias listas de condenados pela Inquisição de Lisboa, desde o anno de 1711 ao de 1767, comprehendendo so os Brasileiros, ou colonos, estabelecidos no Brasil,” *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, VIII (1845), ed. 3 (Rio 1931), pp. 52–57; cf. *ibid.*, Auto-da-Fè of July 26, 1711. The names of the Senhores de Engenho were: Manoel Do Valle da Silveira, José Ramires do Valle, João Rodrigues do Valle, Pedro Mendes Henriques.

³⁵ In the Auto da Fè of July 9, 1713 the names of the Senhores de Engenho were: Pedro Mendes Henriques, João Correia Ximenes, José Correia Ximenes, João Rodrigues Calassa. There appeared at the same Auto da Fè, members of the families of the following Senhores de Engenho: Balthazar Ridrigues Coutinho, Diogo de Monte Arroyo de Lucena, João Dique de Sousa, Manoel de Paredes. Cf. D’Azevedo, as in note 32, pp. 689–95.

³⁶ Auto-da-Fè of October 19, 1714. His name was João Dique de Sousa. He was condemned to capital punishment. *Ibid.*, pp. 695–97.

³⁷ Auto-da-Fè of June 16, 1720. His name was: Sebastião da Fonseca Coutinho. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo*, Lisbon, Dossier no. 2225.

³⁸ Cunha, D. Luiz da, *Testamento Politico ou Carta escrita pelo Grande D. Luiz da Cunha ao Senhor Rei D. José I* (Lisboa 1820), p. 54.

tinho, partly of Jewish descent, a Lieutenant Colonel, who was imprisoned on October 29, 1715, received the tribunal's permission (January 23, 1720) to return to Brazil.³⁹ We have not been able to discover any other case.

From 1773 on, after 200 years of persecuting or harassing the Marranos the Inquisition left them in peace. But apart from the records of the Inquisition, there are no other documents of the eighteenth century which indicate the extent of participation of the Jews in the sugar industry of Brazil. The important role they had played in this industry for two centuries had been destroyed by the persecutions of the Inquisition in the first decades of the eighteenth century.

³⁹ Cf. *Archivo da Torre do Tombo, Dossier no. 2225*.