

The First of All Sacraments: Compadrazgo and Slavery in an Exporting Village (Castro, Captaincy of São Paulo, c.1789-1836)

Vinicius Augusto Andrade de Assis*

Abstract: Parish baptism records allow for an in-depth analysis of questions about demographic variables, political geography by preferential godparents, the legal status or social quality of registered subjects, strategies, and choices in the godparent relationship, in order to recognize the hierarchies in a slave society molded in the values of the Ancien Régime. Starting from the nominative crossing of sources, I propose to discuss slavery and cronyism in the São Paulo village of Castro, varying the observation scales between the parish and two specific farms. In dialogue with historiography and understanding that general patterns are products of specific combinations of cronyism, I consider the conciliation between quantitative data and microanalysis as an important tool, since it allows the visualization of social complexity in a non-exporting locality.

Keywords: Compadrio; slavery; social hierarchy; Sao Paulo.

On November 23, 1806, a hitherto unexpected event took place in the life of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, potentate of the village of Castro. Together with Luiza Angélica de Sá, wife of Ignácio Xavier dos Reis, he became the godfather of Jesuíno, son of Luzia and “incognito father”, enslaved by Doctor Manoel Lopes Branco e Silva. It was not the first time that Carneiro Lobo sponsored a child in captivity, since he was already the godfather of Matheus, the illegitimate son of another slave named Luzia, belonging to Lieutenant José Sutil de Oliveira (19/5/1799)¹.

Exempted from an impediment of consanguinity in the fourth degree, the blacks Luzia and Manoel, the latter also owned by Doctor Manoel Lopes Branco e Silva, got married on February 25, 1807. A year later (14/8/1808), they took their son Generous to be baptized and, again, Luciano Carneiro Lobo was godfather (alongside his daughter Dona Ana

* Master in Social History – State University of Londrina.

¹ In the nominative lists of inhabitants for the years 1798 and 1804, both the wife of Doctor Manoel Lopes and Lieutenant José Sutil (coincidentally) have a slave named Luzia. Therefore, I disregard the possibility of being the same person.

Carneira). The said couple established a relationship with Carneiro Lobo for the last time, together with godmother Flora Maria, when they took their daughter Maria to be baptized (8/6/1813).

It is intriguing the fact that an enslaved woman established a relationship with the same individual at three different moments in her life, more interesting is the fact that Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo married Dona Izabel Branca e Silva, daughter of Doctor Manoel Lopes, two years after Generoso's baptism. Would this be a typical paternalistic practice of Carneiro Lobo towards an enslaved woman of her future father-in-law? Or a strategy by Luzia, who realized his affinity with her lord's family years before her nuptials with Dona Izabel Branca? Or both possibilities? Although the search for definitive answers is not my objective here, if the relationship of godfather established a spiritual kinship between individuals not necessarily related by blood or of the same legal and social status, it is understandable that being godfather and godmother of the son-in-law of their respective masters would have been advantageous for the couple Manoel and Luzia in the face of the uncertainties of captivity.

Since the 1980s, a range of historians has sought to understand the experiences of the enslaved population from their perspective. At first, the discussion took place in criticism of the views of passivity among the captive population. Research has brought to light the enslaved as protagonists in a society that treated them as “semovables”, even though there were those who understood this perspective as an attempt to soften the violent nature of slavery. It was noted that one day's submissive enslaved could be the next day's subversive, depending on strategies, manipulations, negotiations, and conflicts beyond an absolute lord's will.²

Among these studies, I highlight those dedicated to crony relationships. In Portuguese America and, later, in the imperial period, religion was inseparable from everyday life; it was a society molded under the values of the Ancien Régime, whose populations would fear God or, in the same way, whose social discipline passed through the sacraments of the Catholic Church. According to the *First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia*,³ baptism was the “first the Sacraments, the door through which one entered the Catholic Church”, in which the person being baptized would absolve himself of sins – “[both]

² For a deeper analysis of the Brazilian historiography of slavery, see: GUEDES (2008, p.127-179). MOTTA (1999, p.67-108; 179-225). PETIZ (2009, p.142-161). ROCHA (2007, p.22-66). SCHWARTZ, (2001, p.21-88). SLENES, (2011, p.15-76).

³ Theological ordinances of the Council of Trent (1545-1563), adapted to the Portuguese American slave society and promulgated in a Diocesan Synod celebrated in Salvador by the then archbishop Dom Sebastião Monteiro da Vide, in 1707. They were first published in 1719, in Lisbon.

the original and [the] current ones, even if they are many, and very serious” –, would be recognized as a child of God and “heir of the Glory and of the Kingdom of Heaven”. Free and enslaved children were baptized in local parishes, or in private oratories on farms and mills. To the newly arrived blacks from Africa – “brutes and idiots, and of unknown language, as are those who come from Mina, and many also from Angola” – the sacrament would take place with the help of an interpreter and confirmation of five questions: “Do you want wash your soul with holy water? Do you want to eat the salt of God? Do you boot out of your soul all your sins? Do you want to be children of God? boots off the your soul the devil?” (VIDE, 1853, Title XIV, p.15).

Thus, a relationship of godparents was constituted, with godparents being responsible for the exercise of “guarantors to God for the perseverance of the baptized in the Faith, and as they are their spiritual parents, they are obliged to teach them the Christian Doctrine and good customs” (VIDE, 1853, Title II, p.2-3; Title X, p.12-13; Title XVIII, p.26). Following the corporate and clientele logics of the Ancien Régime, cronyism established hierarchies and reciprocity that “cemented the nature of social relations and based on these, of political relations themselves”⁴.

Among the parish records, those referring to baptism were essential for historiography, because if this was the most “democratic” sacrament of the slave society, its records were also. In such a society, every document that provided a nominal registration was essentially excluding – the lists of confessed members excluded children under seven years of age; marriage records excluded couples not legitimized by the Church; death records excluded those who died suddenly and alone, miles away from a parish; *post-mortem* inventories excluded those who had no assets to declare, and so on. However, baptism records, despite letting part of the births “escape”, included in them the sectors of society regardless of legal status, social quality and (i)legitimacy of the child, since, without this sacrament, the individual would not enter the Kingdom of Heaven.

I do not intend here to review all the historiography that took the compadrio of enslaved people as an object of research, which would be a separate article. However, it is worth emphasizing some basic assumptions. In a pioneering article, Stephen Gudeman and Stuart Schwartz stated that cronyism in slave societies would reveal the bonds between

⁴ Based on the sociology of Marcel Mauss, Ângela Barreto Xavier and António Manuel Hespanha understood political actions in the Portuguese Ancien Régime through the logic of *the gift economy*, in which “the activity of giving (liberality, grace) was part of a triad of obligations: give, receive and give back [...]. In this way, the gift could end up becoming a principle of the epiphany of Power”. See: MAUSS (2003, p.183-314). XAVIER; SPAIN (1998, p.339-349).

master and slave. Based on baptismal records from the Recôncavo Baiano of the 1780s, they did not detect the presence of lords as godparents; according to the authors, there was an ideological ambiguity between spiritual kinship and slave ownership, and it was necessary to keep them separate. Therefore, they relativize the existence of paternalistic relationships between masters and their slaves. (GUDEMAN; SCHWARTZ, 1988).

Although they did not find lords as godparents, Gudeman and Schwartz indicated an “indirect paternalism”, since four of the 264 baptismal records had the lords' relatives as godparents. The minority presence of such cases would legitimize the ideal of ambivalence between slavery and baptism. However, it is necessary to consider the godparents whose degree of kinship (son, uncle, cousin) was often not registered by the priests, which would make their identification a more arduous task, requiring the nominative crossing to obtain more information.

Furthermore, the relationships varied according to the size of the squads and the hierarchies established in them. Following the example of the large slave companies, José Roberto Góes detected that the percentage of slaves who sponsored slaves was higher in the parish of Inhaúma (term for the city of Rio de Janeiro) in the first half of the 19th century, thus suggesting a way to incorporate the “gentos de Guinéa” acquired via trafficking, providing their sociability in the slave quarters (GÓES, 1993, p.78). Regarding the hierarchies of slave quarters, Robert Slenes pointed out that domestic captives and those with professional qualifications patronized more than their fellow farmers in 19th century Campinas (SLENES, 1997, p.270), detecting what João Fragozo defined as the “elite of the slave quarters” in his analysis of the clientele networks in eighteenth-century Rio de Janeiro (FRAGOSO, 2010, p.77). When focusing on the cronyism of newly arrived Africans, Moacir Maia understood sponsorship as a fundamental practice in their lives, because, by reinforcing identity ties, it became “a way used by many to also establish ethnic unions, with individuals from the same land”. of origin” (MAIA, 2016, p.51).

By the massive and reiterative pattern, the baptism records allow the historian to recover the evolution of certain populations, their conjunctures and demographic variables, the strategies/choices of compadres, the political geography by the preferred godparents, the legal status or social quality of the registered subjects. and relational complexity, to recognize the dynamics of reproduction and interaction in a slave society shaped by the values of the Ancien Régime. In other words, in this source, individuals were registered as protagonists in the act of baptism. However, although the *First Constitutions of the Archbishopric of Bahia* established that “the godparents shall be appointed by the father, or mother, or whose

position the child has” and prevented “the parish priests from taking other godfathers than those that the aforementioned ones appoint and choose” (VIDE, 1853, Title XVIII, p. 26), it is necessary to consider the manorial role in such choices, especially in relation to the African gentile.

The collective baptism of enslaved Africans was common, of the 293 baptismal records of “Gentiles of Guinea”, 178 (61%) occurred in this way. On November 1, 1814, Colonel Francisco de Paula Ribas took four newly acquired gentiles to the baptismal font: Miguel and Jacinta, “from the Benguela nation”; and Josefa and Angelica, “from the Congo nation”. The captives had the same godfather: José Borges de Macedo, single son of Captain Cerino Borges de Macedo, while the godmothers ranged from Francisca Borges, Dona Maria da Trindade, Floriana do Espírito Santo and Ana do Espírito Santo.⁵ Something similar happened in the baptism of ten Africans by Dona Onistarda Maria do Rosário. The “Gentiles of Guinea” Raimundo and Camilo had Antônio Joaquim de Leiria as their godfather, Passidônio, Pacífico and Prudêncio were sponsored by Francisco Ferreira de Miranda, and Barnabé by Domingos Ignácio. Furthermore, the gentiles Benedita, Benta, Joana and Caetana were sponsored by women: “Dona Mecia Maria do Rosário, single daughter of Dona Ana Luiza” (that is, granddaughter of Dona Onistarda) and Matildes Maria do Rosário, whose surname may indicate the kinship with said lady (2/1/1825).⁶ It is to be understood that the “dumb” enslaved (that is, those not yet socially inserted) would not have autonomy in the choice of their godparents, leaving the lordship influence for the constitution of such ties.

The maintenance of hierarchies in the Portuguese Ancien Régime led Renato Pinto Venâncio to understand cronyism as an “unequal friendship that subordinated reciprocity to respect for the social hierarchy, became the legitimizing element of internal or external power relations to social groups” (VENÂNCIO, 2006, p.274). Such bonds would be more intense in the case of spiritual kinship, since parents, children and godparents would become kin for the rest of their lives. In any case, according to Solange Pereira da Rocha's inquiries, the relationships established by cronyism would have a rationality that aimed at benefit, breach, and survival between the enslaved and freed population, recreating their social places in the slave order (ROCHA, 2007, p.259).

Perhaps the enslaved Theodosia was not aware of the customary hierarchies in her own slave quarters when she baptized her son Jeremias. Enslaved by the same Doctor Manoel Lopes Branco e Silva, Teodósia became the godmother of the aforementioned Luzia,

⁵ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Three.

⁶ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

being the first time, I found her as godmother in Castro's baptismal records, precisely years after establishing the godfather relationship with her lord's future son-in-law, Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo (5/11/1809). In the same way, it is possible to think of the cronies of Joaquim and his wife Ana, slaves of the said Colonel. His daughters Bárbara (8/7/1827) and Ana (8/9/1831) were sponsored by the pardos forros Cláudio Furquim de Camargo and his wife Maria do Carmo, a couple who were friends with Carneiro Lobo and Dona Izabel Branca after the baptism of their son Firmino, brown lining (11/30/1826). Such indications demonstrate how the choice of godfathers and godmothers were articulated in a network of complex relationships. Furthermore, the presence of compadres who were compadres of the respective lords, would indicate indirect ways to the lordly paternalism – although the baptism records do not make clear the lordship influence in such ceremonies.

In addition to religious and social aspects, the baptismal records make explicit the conflicts and violence of slavery. On September 20, 1803, the vicar José Loureiro de Almeida baptized the slave Maria, daughter of Emerenciana parda forra single, and João mulatto, a single slave of Sergeant-M or José Felix da Silva, “who had been running away through the woods for seven years. The so-called innocent says the Emerenciana mother of Jesus had been baptized in the same woods for five to six years”.⁷ Similarly, on October 11, 1817, Vigário Joaquim de Almeida Leite baptized the brothers José and Manoela, children of “an incognito father and Maria Joaquina forra single”. José was baptized “sub condition for having been captured in the quilombo where he was born”, as was his sister Manoela, “born and baptized in the quilombo”⁸. It was not known to whom the said children belonged.

As a document of possession, from time to time it was at baptism that manumission was granted, as well as the donation by manorial will. The manumissions in the baptismal font do not they were a customary practice among Castro's landowners; of the 1,824 baptismal records of children of enslaved mothers, 30 (2%) were manumitted in the baptismal font. The first such case was that of Manoel, baptized on December 14, 1796, son of Maria and of an incognito father, slave of “Maria da Rocha, who declared that she covered the said innocent in the Baptismal Font in the presence of the witnesses, the Captain Cerino Borges de Macedo, Ensign José Ribeiro da Fonseca and Jose Rodrigues Pereira”⁹; Perhaps a paternalistic relationship existed between Maria da Rocha and her captives, since, in addition to manumitting Manoel, she was also his godmother. A second case to be

⁷ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Two.

⁸ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Three.

⁹ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book One.

highlighted occurred in the baptism of the mulatto Ana (27/7/1800), daughter of “Inácia, single slave of Josefa Maria de Jesus widow”, in which she was “freed in the Baptismal Font by her mistress [...] for the price, which, on the same occasion, he received 20\$000”.¹⁰

Regarding the donation in the baptismal font, I highlight the episodes that occurred in the slave quarters of Reverendo José Loureiro da Silva. On January 20, 1828, the couple Elesbão and Jacinta took their son Leopoldino to receive the “holy oils”, and in that record, the priest himself declared that “of the said Leopoldino I donated free of charge in the Baptismal Font to my goddaughter Onistarda Maria, daughter of Luzia Angélica without contradiction”¹¹. A year later, the slave Francisca, Ana's illegitimate daughter, was “baptized at home out of necessity” (4/10/1829). As in Leopoldino's baptismal record, it appears that:

[...] the same Reverend José Loureiro, on the twenty days of January of the last year of the year of one thousand eight hundred and twenty-eight, made a donation of a Creole of his, in the Baptismal Font named Leopoldino, son of the Elesbão slaves and Jacinta and her goddaughter Onistarda Maria, they both exchanged today, of their own free will, with the said Reverendo with the said Creole named Leopoldino, and the said her goddaughter Onistarda, with the said Creole named Francisca.¹²

Apparently, the “donation” of enslaved children to godchildren was a customary practice in the life of Reverend José Loureiro da Silva. On August 24, 1833, Elesbão and Jacinta took their son Fidencio to receive the baptismal sacrament, “of which the same Reverend Lord made an innocent donation at the Baptismal Font of his free will to his godson Alberto, son of Henrique Bertir and his wife Celidônia Maria da Conceição”.¹³ These were the only such cases found.

In general terms, the analyzes referring to the compadrio of enslaved people aimed at choosing compadres by legal status and according to the size of the slave quarters, having as a discovery the finding of slave quarters as heterogeneous systems, since the captives maintained effective and multiple relationships, introducing a complexity in slaves that forces the historian to never understand them in a homogeneous way. However, the crossing of data from baptismal records with other sources allows for a deeper understanding of the

¹⁰ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Two.

¹¹ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

¹² *Ibid.*

¹³ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms six.

problems mentioned so far. In the case of the Captaincy of São Paulo, the existence of nominative lists of inhabitants allows an attempt to be made, since such sources were produced between the middle of the 18th century and the first decades of the 19th.¹⁴

In this article, I propose to discuss slavery and cronyism in the village of Castro. For that, I start from the quantitative analysis of 2,117 records of baptisms of slaves, together with the crossing with the nominative lists of that locality, as well as *post-mortem inventories* and wills. In addition to the structural analysis of understanding the preference of compadres by legal status and by the size of the slave quarters, I will focus the microscope on the Jaguariaíva and Caxambu farms, belonging to Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo and the drover Francisco Xavier da Silva. In dialogue with historiography and understanding that general patterns are products of specific combinations of cronyism, I consider the conciliation between quantitative data and microanalysis as an important methodological tool, since it allows the visualization of social complexity in a village like Castro, a locality not exporter, whose economy was always back to the internal supply and the percentage of the captive population was small, although the baptism of children in captivity never declined.

Slavery and population

Until 1853, the current state of Paraná was called Fifth District of the Captaincy of São Paulo. In such a conjuncture, the village of Castro was linked to the cattle trade between Rio Grande do Sul and the annual animal fair, in Sorocaba, maintaining domiciles and farms that guaranteed the wintering and supply of the troops that passed there. Linked to the policies of Morgado de Mateus after the restoration of the said captaincy, the then parish of Yapó was elevated to the status of Vila Nova de Castro in 1789, with 2,472 inhabitants in that year, of which 26.9% (666) were captives. In 1836, it was composed of 6,190 souls, of which 27.2% (1,687) lived in captivity.

Between 1789 and 1836, the population remained at an average of 76% for free people and 24% for enslaved people, in opposition to the demography of agro-exporting towns in

¹⁴ Census surveys produced by government determination and carried out after the restoration of the Captaincy of São Paulo, between 1765 and 1836, the lists clarify the socioeconomic structure of São Paulo's towns and parishes, and the quality of information may vary according to location and year of their production. Annually, each resident was censused with all the components of their households. The originals are in the Public Archives of the State of São Paulo. I had access to copies of Castro's name lists for the years 1789, 1798, 1801, 1804, 1810, 1811, 1816, 1820, 1822, 1828 and 1830.

São Paulo. In Campinas, there were 156 captives in 1779, a population that increased to 4,773 in 1829, reaching a total of 14,028 in 1872 – the largest slave population among the municipalities of São Paulo and 45% of Campinas inhabitants (SLENES, 2011, p.78- 79; 263-267). In Bananal, there was an increase from 401 to 2,281 slaves between 1801 and 1829 – totals corresponding to 41 and 57% of the inhabitants respectively (MOTTA, 1999, p.130). The parishes of the west of Rio Grande were like Castro, varying from 28.4 to 20% between 1780 and 1846 (PETIZ, 2009, p.91); Similar demography was found in parishes in the area of the forest of Paraíba, with 22.3% of enslaved people in 1798 and 16.3% in 1823 (ROCHA, 2007, p.129). In addition to the similarities in the low percentage of enslaved people, Paraíba, Paraná and Rio Grande do Sul also witnessed a drop in the population of captives in the second half of the 19th century, a period in which the internal traffic of the coffee *plantations* in the Southeast prevailed.

Castro was an old community. Reports contained in the first Livro Tombo da Matriz de Curitiba testify to the population expansion and the creation of the first farms in the Castro region. The document informs that, in 1747, this region had “fifty-six dwellings, or couples; but it also seems to me that they cannot erect a chapel and support a chaplain; because most or almost all the owners of said farms” were residents of the villages of Santos, Paranaguá, Itu and the city of São Paulo, a reason that prevented the support of a chapel. In the same period, Curitiba already had “three hundred and forty-eight dwellings, or couples, although some years are more, and others much less, as they move to other Parishes”.¹⁵

Regarding the economy, the “Map of productions in the village of Sant’Ana de Castro in the year 1801”, attached to the nominative list of that year, allowed me to calculate that the creation of vacuns corresponded to 40% of the amount (13 :006\$080), followed by horses (21%) and bushel of corn (17%). Still for 1801, the list of effective imports indicated expenses totaling 10:369\$440, used in the purchase of wine, vinegar and salt, products from the Kingdom imported by the port of Rio Janeiro, as well as cotton and sugar from ports “of this Captaincy”, in a possible cabotage trade along the coast of São Paulo.¹⁶

Taking Daniel Pedro Muller’s statistics for the year 1836, I calculated that the production of cattle in Castro constituted 34% of the 35,573 head raised in the entire Captaincy of São Paulo that year. In his description of the village of Castro, Muller reports that “the inhabitants in general apply themselves to raising cattle of all kinds, planting corn,

¹⁵ ARCHIVED ARCHIVE OF CURITIBA. *Cathedral Basilica Minor Nossa Senhora da Luz dos Pinhais*. Tumble book one.

¹⁶ PUBLIC FILE OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO. *Castro’s nominative list* (1801).

beans, and some sugar cane, preparing yerba mate” (MULLER, 1978, p. 73). In other words, at the dawn of the 19th century, Castro consolidated itself as an agricultural economy focused on domestic supply, with the highest value for products among the villages of the Quinta Comarca in 1836: 247:550\$812, as well as the highest production of cattle.¹⁷

In 1789, Castro was already constituted as a highly hierarchical society, since of the 355 dwellings recorded, 72% (255) did not have slaves, a rate that increased to 76% (450 of 592) in 1798, remaining at the same level. percentage thirty years later (745 out of 978). According to **Table 1**, small slave quarters were predominant. However, together with the average slaves (5 to 9), these concentrated less than half of the local captive population in the three selected years.

On the other hand, the slave quarters with more than ten captives remained in the minority in the three selected years (with an increase in 1828), although concentrated more than half of the contingent. From this group, it would be expected that a captive concentration in the herds with more than 50; on the contrary, the squads from 10 to 19 concentrated 29.9%, 29.6% and 24.5% in the respective years. However, if villages such as Campinas and Bananal witnessed a significant increase in these plantations as a result of coffee development between 1801 and 1829, the same did not occur in Castro (MOTTA, 1999; SLENES, 2011). In an interval of 39 years, I detected a percentage stability in dwellings with small or large herds, numbers that relate to the dynamics of slavery in a non-exporting economy.

Table 1:

FTP slave ownership structure in 1789, 1798 and 1828*												
FTP	1789				1798				1828			
	F	%	A	%	F	%	AN	%	F	%	AND	%
1 to 4	56	56	122	18.2	98	69	193	25.8	137	58.8	271	17.9
5 to 9	25	25	169	25.3	23	16.2	151	20.1	58	24.8	376	24.9
Subtotal 1	81	81	291	43.5	121	85.2	344	45.9	195	83.6	647	42.9
10 to 19	14	14	200	29.9	16	11.2	221	29.5	27	11.5	345	22.8
20 to 49	3	3	66	9.8	3	2.1	70	9.3	8	3.4	132	8.7
50 or +	tw	two	111	16.6	tw	1.4	113	15.1	3	1.2	384	25.4
Subtotal 2	19	19	377	56.4	21	14.7	404	54	38	16.3	861	57.1
TOTAL	100	100	668	100	142	100	748	100	233	100	1,508	100

* FTP: squad size range; F: fires; E: enslaved.

Source : Named lists of inhabitants.

¹⁷ In the same period, Curitiba raised 176:824\$000 and Lapa 63:983\$900. In the port village of Paranaguá, the collection was also low: 69:714\$240. In Sorocaba, the village where the famous annual cattle fair took place, only 46:978\$070 was calculated. See: MULLER (1978, p.127-128).

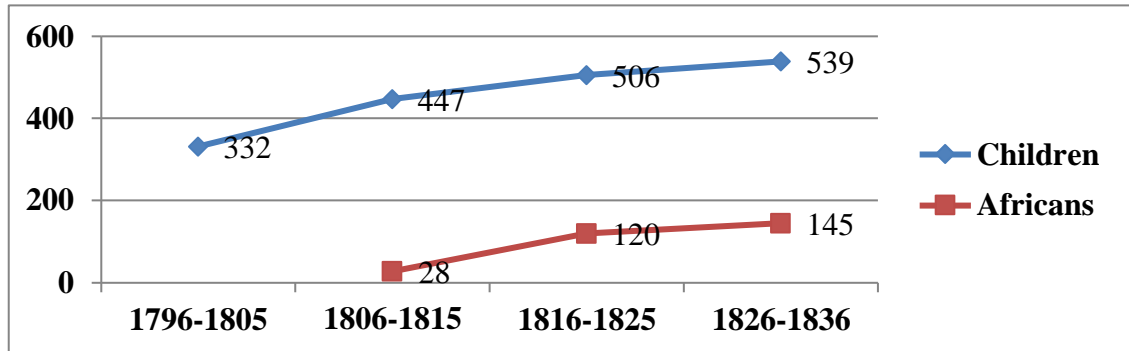
Slave ownership in Castro coincides with data from Silmei Petiz for the West of Rio Grande do Sul – a region that, like the villages on the plateau of the Quinta Comarca of São Paulo, was mostly dedicated to agriculture. Between 1764 and 1809, 44.1% of the inventoried owners were masters of one to three slaves, followed by 36.8% of masters of four to nine, a group that concentrated 42.4% of ownership. Between 1810 and 1835, the author detected a decrease in the number of herds between one and nine captives together with the absolute and percentage increase in ten or more herds, the latter concentrating 63.3% of the ownership. Although it confirms the considerable position of the small slave quarters, such data are relativized in the average, which “leads us to think that, in the face of new conjunctures, the average plantations could be more evident, in addition to the appearance of large plantations, as a non-negligible part of the slave scenario” (PETIZ, 2009, p.83-86).

The natives of Castro predominated among the enslaved population at the beginning of the 19th century, varying between 70.4 and 81%.¹⁸ Among the “Gentiles of Guinea”, a percentage increase can be seen between 1822 (13.3%) and 1830 (15.5%), although they did not exceed 16% of the captives. Exceptional was the year 1836, in which of the 1,593 enslaved people registered, 46% (727) were declared as “Black Africans”.¹⁹ The massive presence of natural slaves in the village indicates that the vegetative reproduction and perhaps that the creole trade surpassed the purchase of Africans as a strategy to maintain the herds. Furthermore, although there is an increase in the baptisms of Africans (Graph 1), the predominance was the increase in the baptisms of children of enslaved mothers.

¹⁸ According to the nominative lists of inhabitants, those born in Castro corresponded to 70.4% in 1801, 78.3% in 1811, and 81% in 1822 and 1830. Based on these numbers, I calculated an average of 77.6% among the native creoles of that village.

¹⁹ According to Daniel Muller's statistics, this was the highest rate of Africans among the villages of the Paraná plateau in 1836. Altogether, there were 249 out of 1,941 (13%) in Curitiba and 303 out of 1,393 (22%) in Lapa. However, the village with the highest concentration of African captives was Paranaguá, with 794 of 1,639 (48%). See: MULLER (1978, p.164-166).

Graphic 1
Growth in Slave Baptisms (1796-1836)



Source: Baptism Books.

Baptismal records also indicated that the presence of enslaved Indians in such a locality was not uncommon. In an innovative analysis, John Monteiro brought the indigenous as a primordial element to the understanding of slavery and the demographic expansion of São Paulo. The author took as a starting point the observation that the frequent entries to the interior, instead of supplying a captive market on the coast, fed a growing workforce of the same in the plateau, articulating the region of the so-called “Serra Acima to other parts of the country”. from the Portuguese colony to and even to the mercantile circuit of the southern Atlantic” (MONTEIRO, 1994, p.9).

According to Monteiro, indigenous slavery in São Paulo was not limited to mere commercial logic, as aspects of São Paulo's socioeconomic formation, at least between the 16th and 17th centuries, are confused with the processes of integration, conversion and exploitation of the original land. An example of this period is the Carta-Régia of 1696, in which the right of the conquerors to the private “administration” of the indigenous was recognized, a “merely formal distinction” (MONTEIRO, 1994, p.152 -153) to hide the slave relations that lasted until the mid-eighteenth century, when the prohibition of indigenous slavery was enacted.

Analyzing cronyism in the village of Curitiba, Stuart Schwartz detected a low demographic percentage of blacks in relation to the “blacks of the land” baptized between 1685 and 1709, and it was only after 1740 that Africans and Creoles exceeded them in baptisms (SCHWARTZ, 2001, p. 277). Such results testify to the transition from indigenous to African slavery in the captaincy of São Paulo.

In contrast to the prohibition of indigenous slavery, this was maintained on the Paraná plateau. In a Royal Letter sent to the Governor and Captain-General of São Paulo in 1808, the Prince Regent Dom João XVI was concerned about the almost abandonment of the Guarapuava fields, “infested by the Indians called bugres”, who “cruelly killed all the farmers and owners”. The prince recommended that “every militia member, or any resident who holds some Indians can consider them for fifteen years as prisoners of war, assigning them to the services that suit them best”. A year later, another Royal Charter authorized indigenous captivity for “fifteen years from the day they were baptized” (IANNI, 1962, p.54; 152).

The reiteration of this practice was found in Castro's baptismal books even before the two Royal Letters. On August 19, 1800, the christening of “João Índio de Nação Coroadá, caught in the hinterland of the Caminho das Lages by Antonio Manoel, an old cattleman married on top of the Viamão mountain range, aged about six years”²⁰. Perhaps the importance of converting a small gentile and saving his soul from hell were the reasons why Antonio Manoel himself patronized João, along with the Francisco Xavier da Silva; or, perhaps with the baptismal record he came to have a proof of John as his property.

The “carijós do mato” Escolástica, Maria and Rita were baptized as slaves of Captain-Mor Luciano Carneiro Lobo and his wife Dona Izabel Branca da Silva (21/9/1814). Crossing with the nominative list from 1820, I located Escolástica (30) as an “aggregate”, mixed race and single on the Jaguariaíva farm. A single parda named Maria (40) was also listed among the households of the said farm, however, given the predominance of that name among slaves and households (six in total), it is difficult to ask whether it was the aforementioned “carijó do mato”.²¹ However, the fact that they are not listed together with the enslaved indicates the peculiarity of indigenous slavery in the early 1900s. In the eyes of the census taker, would they be enslaved in a superior legal/social status in relation to the other captives? Or perhaps there was a desire to omit the enslavement of “bugres” from the name lists?

The “forest people” Thereza, “about four years old”, was baptized as a slave of Lieutenant Colonel José Felix da Silva and his wife Dona Onistarda Maria do Rosário (18/4/1819). Three months later, the “bugres” Felicia, Felicianá and Emília were “caught” by the said Lieutenant, the first was “aged three years or so”, the second “aged seven years” and the third was not as old as informed by the priest (10/07/1819) . On May 22, 1820, it was the

²⁰ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Two.

²¹ PUBLIC FILE OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO. *Castro's nominative list* (1820).

turn of the “adult bugre” Joaquina. On July 12, 1821, the Lieutenant took for the last time a “country native” to the baptismal font, he was Anacleto, aged “about three years old”. Unlike the baptisms of the natives enslaved by Carneiro Lobo, I did not find Thereza, Felícia, Feliciano, Joaquina and Anacleto in the nominative lists of inhabitants.

Until 1830, 43 indigenous people were taken to the baptismal font, representing 1.9% of the enslaved baptized in a period of four decades. Therefore, although small, slavery in Castro was more African than indigenous in the first half of the 19th century, representing a slow economic development in the region and the ability of some lords to acquire the contingent “from Guinea”. Gentlemen such as Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo himself, who, between 1818 and 1833, baptized 17 Africans; the drover Francisco Xavier da Silva who, between 1812 and 1829, baptized 23 Africans; as well as Dona Onistarda Maria do Rosário, who baptized 14 Africans acquired between 1824 and 1826 – from 1825 to 1830, her daughter Dona Ana Luiza acquired four more, totaling 18 “gentios de Guiné” incorporated into the family’s slave quarters in an interval of six years.

Although Africans accounted for 14% (293) of baptisms between 1796 and 1836, I believe that this percentage does not indicate that the local slave elite was not keeping pace with the Atlantic slave trade in the first half of the 19th century, a period of massive entry of Africans by the Rio de Janeiro.²² Considering the population maps attached to the nominative lists of inhabitants, the “gentios de Guiné” varied from 14.4 to 46% between 1801 and 1836. In contrast to the percentage of Africans baptized in the Castro Matrix, their demographic growth leads me to the hypothesis that a significant portion of Africans arrived already baptized.

Slavery and cronyism

The studies of cronyism for the Fifth District of São Paulo and, later, the Province of Paraná, were also inaugurated by Stuart Schwartz from the baptismal records of Curitiba, between 1685 and 1888. The data reaffirmed the patterns that he detected in his analysis with

²² According to Manolo Florentino and José Roberto Góes, the demand for African labor in this period was not only fueled by economic expansion: [...] “To this was added, during the second half of the 1820s, the impact of British pressure for the abolition of the Atlantic trade. Prohibited north of the Equator since 1815, by virtue of an anti-trafficking treaty signed in 1826, the slave trade to Brazil was officially abolished in 1830. In practice, however, the last Africans would disembark in the 1850s”. Furthermore, the arrival of almost 700,000 Africans, between 1790 and 1830, “was achieved through an average annual growth of the traffic of such a degree that, if it were not for the devastating effects of mortality, the population of new Africans would double every fifteen years”. See: FLORENTINO; GÓES (2017, p. 39).

Stephen Gudeman, indicating the preference for free godparents, both of whom were not owners or relatives of the owner, followed by the choice of slave godparents. When the godfather's social status differed, the preference was always free godfather and slave godmother, a pattern also observed in Bahia. The author argues that there would be a social recognition of the free godfather, who could act as protector and intercessor in the future; another parallel strategy was to take into account the possibility that, in the event of the mother's death, the slave godmother would assume responsibility for the godson, with combinations between slave godfather and free godmother being rare (SCHWARTZ, 2001).

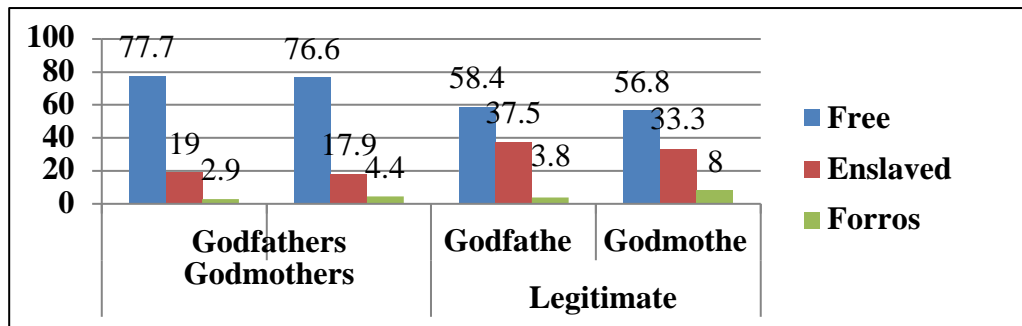
Even with similarities between the patterns of cronyism in Curitiba and Bahia, they still contrasted. In the case of Curitiba, for example, between 1685 and 1709 the number of blacks baptized in relation to indigenous people was irrelevant and it was only after 1740 that Africans and Creoles exceeded in baptisms, results that testify to the transition from indigenous to African slavery, which accompanied the development of the region's economy and its links with the expanding market.

For the parish of São José dos Pinhais (term of the town of Curitiba), Cacilda Machado delved into the networks that cronyism promoted between captives and freedmen. According to the author, even if godparenting with people of superior legal status sought social protection, this practice ended up reinforcing the domination/submission component in the relationship and weakened the egalitarian character that spiritual kinship presupposed (MACHADO, 2008, p.199). It would be possible to assume that in non-exporting slave societies, marked by a slave minority in the total population, a beautiful low contingency of Africans and a majority presence of small herds, the social relations established by cronyism would be more hierarchical.

I handled a total of 2,117 records of enslaved people baptized between 1796 and 1836, 86% (1,824) of children of mothers in captivity - of which 41.7% or 761 were from couples legitimized by the Church - and 14% (293) of Africans who arrived via traffic. In dialogue with the historiography, **Graph 2** indicates the predominance of free godfathers and godmothers in the baptisms of both children and Africans. The data also indicate a preference for enslaved people in relation to those qualified as *forros*, however, I believe in the possibility of under-reporting by local vicars when qualifying the godfathers and godmothers egressed from captivity at certain times, which would include them (occasionally) among those qualified as free.

Graphic 2

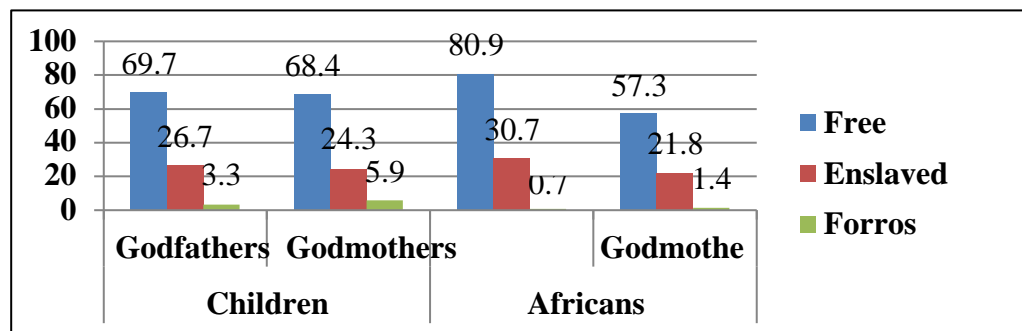
Legal status of godfathers and godmothers (1796-1836)



Source: Baptism book.

Graphic 3

Legal status of children godfathers and godmothers (1796-1836)



Source: Baptism book.

The data explained here dialogue with the social reality of other parishes in Portuguese America and, later, in the Empire of Brazil. For the Bahian Recôncavo in the late 1800s, Schwartz and Gudeman detected that 70% of captive children were sponsored by free individuals (GUDEMAN; SCHWARTZ, 1988, p.48). For three parishes in 19th century Paraíba, Solange Pereira da Rocha also detected such a preference, reaching 90% only among godparents (ROCHA, 2007, p.232-290). For the west of Rio Grande do Sul, Silmei Petiz calculated that 40.2% of children had free godparents, while Africans had a predominance of other enslaved people as godfathers or godmothers, totaling 64.7% (PETIZ, 2009, p.208). For the parish of Inhaúma, José Roberto Góes indicated that enslaved godfathers and godmothers remained in 65% of baptisms between 1816 and 1843 (GÓES, 1993).

If Rio de Janeiro remained the main port of entry and distribution of enslaved people, it is understandable that the captive population preferred to strengthen parental ties among themselves, even in a rural parish. In the same way, locations with a non-exporting profile,

with a low enslaved population and small predominant slave quarters, would tend to occur with individuals with a higher legal status in the social hierarchy.

While it is possible to accept the preference of mothers enslaved by *compadres* in superior legal status, especially for illegitimate children (Graph 3), the same cannot be said in relation to the “Gentiles of Guinea”. I do not rule out the ideal of autonomy and importance in the *cronyism* of Africans in parishes where they predominated from a demographic perspective, but it is necessary to consider that the percentage of enslaved Africans was minimal in the locality analyzed here. Therefore, I understand that godparents between enslaved “dumb people”, that is, Africans not yet inserted in that new imposed reality, would not have autonomy in choosing their godparents, falling mostly to their owners or perhaps to their new captive companions.

The possibility of crossing baptismal records with the size ranges of squads (FTP) led me to a methodological impasse, since the size of the slave quarters varied over the course of manorial life, changing in the nominative lists of inhabitants. Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo's fire had only one captive in the 1789 list, increasing to 18 in 1798 and 45 in 1828. until 1828. Likewise, the small and medium-sized slave quarters also varied: the brown *forro* Jerônimo Xavier de Lima owned four slaves in 1804, a slave quarters that doubled in number until 1828; the fire of the widow Elena Dias de Freitas had eight enslaved in 1804, after seven years, she owned only two.

Considering that a fire could be classified as a small squad in a given period and as medium or large later, I took the nominative lists of 1804, 1811, 1816, 1820 and 1828 to carry out a methodological exercise in the constitution of size ranges of squads; if the name of the lord or lady was not found, I proceeded to cross-reference the squad size ranges from the baptismal records at quinquennial intervals. In short, the crossing of the names of the masters allowed me to analyze the *cronyism* in view of the size of the slaves in three decades. Of the 2,117 baptisms registered between 1796 and 1836 that make up the database, in 1,532 it was possible to cross-reference the lists; that is, the following data constitute a sample of 72% of the total between 1800 and 1830.

As already demonstrated, Africans constituted a minority in the village of Castro, making up 14% of baptisms in the first decades of the 19th century, with the largest flocks tending to baptize them in greater numbers; however, there was no increasing linear variation according to the size of the slaves: following the herds of 10 or more were the small ones, with 72 baptisms, and the medium ones in the last, with only 36 (Table 2). Among the children of enslaved mothers, these made up 86.2% of baptisms performed in the period,

50.8% of which were illegitimate children, a percentage that is in line with the 58% of baptisms of children of solitary slave mothers, recorded between 1796 and 1836. and minority in small and medium.

Table 2:

Baptisms of Children and Enslaved Africans by FTP (1800-1830)								
	1 to 4		5 to 9		10 or more		TOTAL	
	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%	No.	%
illegitimate	308	20.1	203	13.2	268	17.4	779	50.8
legitimate	68	4.4	77	5.0	397	25.9	542	35.3
Africans	72	4.7	36	2.3	103	6.7	211	13.7
TOTAL	448	29	316	21	768	50	1,532	100

Source: Baptism Books; Name lists of inhabitants.

Focusing on the baptisms of enslaved children, the daughters of couples legitimized by the Church had higher percentages of godparents in captivity. Crossing data from baptismal records with name lists of inhabitants, I found that between 1800 and 1830, 73% (397 of 542) of legitimate children were born into squads of ten or more captives. In these same slave quarters, the endogenous percentage of enslaved godfathers and godmothers exceeded 50%, making it clear that large squads held greater possibilities for sociability among enslaved people. In the same way, small and medium herds held the predominance in the exogenous percentage of captive godfathers and godmothers.²³

It is recurrent in the historiography the pretension of the captive population (of the mothers, mainly), to resort to the spiritual kinship for the establishment of bonds with individuals better situated in the social hierarchy. In addition to the legal status, it was sought that such ties also extrapolate the limits of the domicile, either with free godparents of the most varied quality, or with enslaved of other masters: between 1800 and 1830, 224 (54%) of the 413 enslaved godparents were from other slave quarters, in the same way, I detected 203 (60%) of the 341 godmothers. However, the expansion of cronyism beyond the slave quarters themselves varied according to the socioeconomic composition of the parishes. In the parish of Inhaúma (term of Rio de Janeiro), where 60% of the population were enslaved and 30% of the baptized were Africans in the first half of the 19th century, José Roberto Góes calculated that 78.7% of godfathers and 83.7% of captive godmothers belonged to the same their godchildren's squads (GÓES, 1993, p.78-85). In a village like Castro, where small herds

²³ In the small squads (1 to 4) there were 96.5% of the godfathers and 98% of the godmothers, being 86.5% and 73.5% in the medium squads (5 to 9) respectively and in crossing the FTP data from from the nominative lists for the years 1804, 1811, 1816, 1820 and 1828.

predominated and the average enslaved population was 24%, it is understandable that mothers and fathers in captivity would have some difficulty in establishing horizontal relationships in the slave quarters themselves.

The pattern found in Castro remained with the foundation of the Province of Paraná, starting in 1853. From the baptismal records of the parish and, later, Vila de Guarapuava, between 1810 and 1888, Fernando Franco Netto detected not only the preference for free godmothers and godparents, as well as captives from different squads: 55% for godmothers and 54% for godfathers (FRANCO NETTO, 2005, p.302). According to Daniele Weigert, 94% of the godfathers and 78% of the godmothers of captives were free in the village of Palmas, between 1843 and 1888. Although the author does not explain it, the social and economic similarities of Palmas with Castro or Guarapuava lead me to to inquire that a minority of enslaved godmothers and godfathers had lived with their godchildren in the same slave quarters (WEIGERT, 2010, p.92).

Regarding lordship sponsorship, I detected 31 cases in which at least one godfather/godmother was lord or son of the lord between 1800 and 1830, corresponding to 2% of baptisms recorded in that period. It is likely that these numbers will increase when including non-consanguineous members of manorial families, however, carrying out nominative cross-referencing in more than a thousand baptismal records (in a short period of time) in the search for such relatives has become unfeasible. However, when crossing these records with the structure of slave ownership (from the nominative lists of inhabitants), I found that the possibilities of having godparenthood with the manorial family occurred mostly in the large herds, which concentrated 15 of the 28 records in which crossing was possible. It is to be considered that consanguineous relatives would be linked to strategies of paternalistic domination (from the manorial perspective), as well as access to relational capital with the plantation house (from the point of view of the enslaved). between members of the manorial family and slave children, which is an indication that the slaves already established in the slave quarters had greater chances of approaching you, even if by indirect means.

The quantification of parish baptism records allowed me to detect the preference for spiritual kinship with the free contingent, both among enslaved mothers and the “Gentiles of Guinea” who arrived via trafficking. Furthermore, it was in the large squads (with 10 or more enslaved) that there would be greater possibilities of social differentiation through spiritual kinship with members of the lordly kin, as well as the expansion of parental ties between captives of the slave quarters themselves, thus dialoguing with data related to 18th

century parishes. and 19th century already analyzed by historiography.

Nevertheless, the microscopic analysis, focused on a single slave quarters and with a varied range of sources, allows to demystify these structural data “on the ground”, that is, to understand them as a result of choices made in the face of the uncertainties of a normative system (LEVI, 2000, p.46); approaching the contexts and effects of such choices: the maintenance of family ties, customary hierarchies and social mobility. Therefore, I propose that the reduction in observation scales occur from the Jaguariaíva farm, belonging to Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, since its presence in the sources allowed a detailed survey of the social relations established by the crony. Likewise, this analysis led me to focus on the Caxambu farm, owned by the drover Francisco Xavier da Silva.

To this end, I make use of the nominative cross-referencing of sources, a methodology derived from *Italian micro-history*²⁴, in which I propose the creation of individual files (gathering information contained in the documentary series) that allow the reconstitution of compadrio relationships, having as a guide the “Ariadne thread that guides the researcher in the documentary labyrinth [and that] distinguishes one individual from another in all known societies: the name” (GINZBURG, 1991, p.174). Therefore, each piece of information would consist of a social relationship, making it possible to reconstruct family trajectories and, “by some happy coincidence of the sources, sufficiently rich individual stories – typical or exceptional –, being still possible to put in continuous inter-individual relationships, that is, structured” (GRENDI, 2009, p. 23).

The compadres of the Jaguariaíva farm

Between 1796 and 1836, Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo was godfather in 53 baptisms. The data indicate the maintenance of blood ties by godfather, since he was godfather of Lieutenant José Carneiro Lobo and his wife Dona Gertrudes Maria do Espírito Santo (son-in-law and daughter), José Antonio de Melo and his wife Dona Ana Carneira (son-in-law and daughter), Miguel Rodrigues de Araújo and his wife Dona Escolástica Carneira (son-in-law and daughter) and João Carneiro Lobo and his wife Dona Ana Carneira” (son and daughter-

²⁴ According to Giovanni Levi, microhistory “has always been centered on the search for a more realistic description of human behavior, employing a model of action and conflict of man’s behavior in the world that recognizes his – relative – freedom beyond, but not outside,, the limitations of prescriptive and oppressive normative systems. Thus, all social action is seen as the result of constant negotiation, manipulation, choices and decisions of the individual, in the face of a normative reality that, although diffuse, nevertheless offers many possibilities for interpretations and personal freedoms”. See: LEVI (1992, p. 135).

in-law), totaling nine ceremonies. As I mentioned earlier, on three occasions the Colonel was compadre of Manoel and his wife Luiza, enslaved by Doctor Manoel Lopes Branco e Silva, reiterating relations in his father-in-law's slave quarters.

In three baptisms, he was also a friend to the pardo couple Cláudio Furquim de Camargo and his wife Maria do Carmo. The nominative lists of inhabitants show that the relationships established between Furquim de Camargo and the Coronel went beyond cronyism. In 1798, Camargo lived as a “farmer” residing in the “Fazenda dos Pinheiros do Capitão José Joaquim da Costa Xavier” together with his wife and children, property registered as fire 101 of the second company of ordinances of the village of Castro. The fire 100 was the so-called “Jaguariaíva Farm of [then] Sergeant Major Luciano Carneiro Lobo”.²⁵ Thirty years later, I found the first as head of fire five of the Fifth Company of Ordinances, while the second was head of fire one.²⁶ What I detected here was a relationship between neighbors in three decades.

I also highlight the baptism of the enslaved “carijó do mato” Escolástica, baptized in the “oratory of Jaguariaíva”, owned by the then Captain-Mor Luciano Carneiro Lobo and his wife Dona Izabel Branca da Silva, and whose godparents were “the owners” (21) . /9/1814). In summary, 16 (29%) of the 53 baptisms involved the relatives of the Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, a number that would tend to increase in a future deepening of the nominative crossing of sources. In addition to the presence of the Colonel, 22 (42%) of the 53 baptisms were attended by his wife, Dona Izabel Branca e Silva, as godmother, demonstrating the importance of the manor couple among their compadres.

Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo's baptismal records of enslaved persons total 82 seats, 62 of which are children of captive mothers, 17 are Africans and three are administered by indigenous people. **Graph 4** indicates that the enslaved mothers mostly wove godparents with other enslaved people, not following the general pattern in the choice of free godparents. It was to be expected that, given the size of the slaveholding, the mothers would opt for spiritual kinship in the slave quarters, however, 17 of the 39 (44%) enslaved godfathers or godmothers lived on the Jaguariaíva farm.

Of the 22 godfathers or godmothers from other squads, at least 13 were property of masters who had relations with Carneiro Lobo, totaling (coincidentally) 22 of the 31 baptisms where exogenous godparents were established between slaves, namely: Flávio and his wife Claudiana, Gabriel and his wife Narciza and Florêncio, enslaved by José Antonio de Melo

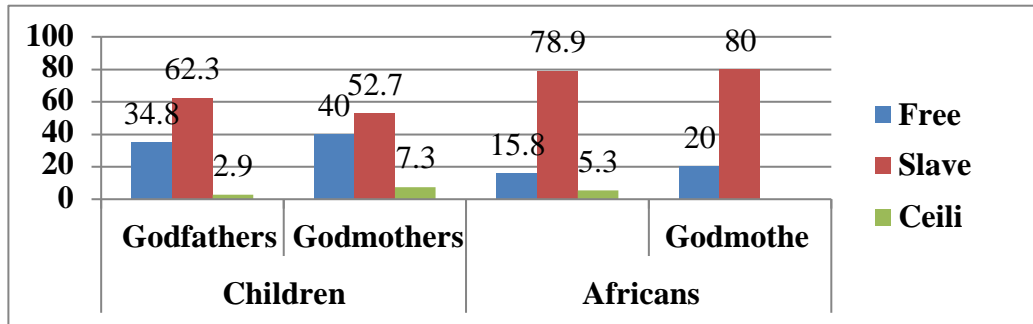
²⁵ PUBLIC FILE OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO. *Castro's nominative list* (1798).

²⁶ PUBLIC FILE OF THE STATE OF SÃO PAULO. *Castro's nominative list* (1828).

and his wife Dona Ana Carneira (son-in-law and daughter); Ana, by Dona Maria Lucia de Menezes (mother-in-law); Sebastião, of Lieutenant Jose Carneiro Lobo (son); and Luiza, by João Carneiro Lobo (son), who together were godparents in four baptisms.

Graphic 4

Legal status of children godfathers and godmothers in the Jaguariaíva farm (1796-1836)



Source: Baptism book.

Two captives of the drover Francisco Xavier da Silva, Joaquim and Josefa, established a spiritual kinship with captives of Carneiro Lobo. As stated in the *post-mortem* inventory, the Caxambu farm was on the border with Jaguariaíva, but the relationships between the captives of these lords were not only based on the neighborhood.²⁷ From parish records, I also discovered that Xavier da Silva was godfather to two children and five grandchildren of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, as I will demonstrate later.

As in the cronies established by Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, the bonds extended by the enslaved mothers also indicate an approximation to the lordly kin. For the free godparents, I detected a set of 18 godmothers and 20 godparents, of which only seven (18%) were consanguineous or spiritually related to the Colonel. It is known that it is not impossible for the other free godparents to belong to the lord's kin, which would certainly increase the percentage calculated here. However, it is necessary to consider the possibility of enslaved mothers seeking godparenting regardless of lordship influence.

Regarding the “gentios de Guiné”, the data also contrasts with the general pattern, indicating a preference for enslaved godfathers and godmothers, with ten of the total of 34 (29%) being captives of the Colonel. Furthermore, 15 belonged to his relatives, namely: Luzia and Joaquim, enslaved by João Carneiro Lobo (son); Manoel and his wife Luzia, Manoel and his wife Domingas e Maria, by Dona Maria Lucia de Menezes (mother-in-law); Flavio and

²⁷ CIVIL COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF CASTRO. *Francisco Xavier da Silva inventory* (1829).

his wife Claudiana, by José Antonio de Melo (son-in-law); Fermiana, by Captain-General José Carneiro Lobo (son); and Flávio, by Maria Carneira (daughter), totaling nine baptisms. Therefore, from the group of 34 godfathers or godmothers of the 17 baptized Africans, 25 (74%) were captives of the kin and only nine (26%) who were probably not relatives of Carneiro Lobo, all of whom were free.

It would be wrong to consider such cronies in the antagonism between master and slave. According to Hebe Mattos, if the “patriarchal family” of Gilberto Freyre, or the “family clans” of Oliveira Viana, present some operating logics for the rural aristocracy, such complexes do not bring together family relations between the subaltern layers, being necessary “to look into the cultural meanings of family associations (and here the plural is imperative) in the slave society and its central role in the establishment of hierarchies and social relations” (MATTOS, 2013, p.66). What seems to have happened were antagonistic kinship logics, however interconnected by those who lived between the main house and the slave quarters.

A more detailed analysis of the *compadres* of the slaves of Jaguariaíva allows us to recognize the set of agents intertwined by the baptismal sacrament. Considering parents who had at least two baptized children, I detected 12 couples and three single slave mothers, totaling 57 baptisms. Of these 15 fathers/mothers, six (40%) established spiritual kinship with relatives of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo at least once, a number that increases to 11 (73%) among *compadrios* with slaves from the same squad. Although baptisms indicate a preference for free godmothers and godparents for illegitimate children (Graph 2), the enslaved Joana, Elena and Máxima preferred to strengthen their spiritual ties in the slave quarters itself, since of the eight baptisms of their children, seven had godparents. and captive godmothers of the Colonel, the exception being the crony that Joana established with Delfino and Maria, enslaved by Manoel Falcão de Magalhães.

Even though the presence of the Colonel's slaves was the majority (at least once) of the fathers/mothers analyzed here, I was struck by the fact that the couples José and his wife Quitéria, Agostinho and his wife Maria, and José Joaquim de Godoy and his wife Narcissa were not related to their fellow captives, but to the lord's relatives. It is unnecessary to argue that personal relationships were not limited to the font, and that such couples would have a series of opportunities, strategies and openings for a “social exogamy”, even if limited to the legal status of enslaved. However, José Joaquim de Godoy proved to be an exceptional subject in the life trajectory of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo and in the slave experience in Castro, being literate and the only enslaved man freed in his will. He himself wrote the

following note:

I say, the undersigned, that giving me my late love Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo in his life Letter of freedom without any condition, more than teaching to read his last daughter D. Maria Eufrásia, and having fulfilled this condition, I think since 1835 in full freedom; And for the record, submit a statement by me made and signed. Jaguariaíva Farm, June 14, 1846. José Joaquim de Godoy.²⁸

The nominative crossing allowed me to discover that, after the transfer of the Colonel's will (in 1831), Joaquim de Godoy remained attached to the Jaguariaíva farm and established godparent relations with his former master's compadres. Along with the Crown of Sant'Ana, he sponsored Paula (8/6/1836), the fourth daughter of the pardo couple Cláudio Furquim de Camargo and Maria do Carmo, the other children of which were sponsored by the Colonel and his wife. Dona Izabel Branca (Firmino, 11/30/1826) by her children Francisco Carneiro Lobo and Dona Maria Jesuína Carneira (Francisco, 8/9/1831), and again by the Colonel together with the Resplendor of Nossa Senhora da Conceição (Francisco, 4/13/1834). Paula's baptism was not the only time that Joaquim de Godoy maintained ties of solidarity with Furquim de Camargo. The baptismal record of "Joaquim son of an incognito father and Sebastiana slave of Cláudio Furquim de Camargo" states that the said child was baptized "at home in danger of his life by José Joaquim de Godoy", a ceremony legitimized by Reverend Miguel Barboza de Castro (4/7/1833).²⁹

It can be seen that José Joaquim de Godoy would have taken advantage of the close relationship between Cláudio Furquim de Camargo and Colonel Carneiro Lobo over the years, a strategy possibly adopted by other slaves on the Jaguariaíva farm. On August 7, 1827, Joaquim and his wife Ana sponsored "Cândido son of Sebastiana, single slave of Cláudio Furquim de Camargo". On the same day, Joaquim and Ana became compadres of Furquim de Camargo and his wife Maria do Carmo, through the baptism of their daughter Bárbara, a kinship established again with the baptism of their daughter Ana (8/9/1831).

Between 1819 and 1828, José Joaquim de Godoy and his wife Narcisa took four daughters to be baptized, establishing godparents with four free couples, the first being João Alves Pereira and his wife Dona Delfina Carneira (son-in-law and daughter of the lord); the

²⁸ CIVIL COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF CASTRO. *Will of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo* (1831).

²⁹ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms six.

others did not belong to Carneiro Lobo's kin. This may explain the fact that the couple was the one who most sponsored children of enslaved mothers on the farm Jaguariaíva, having attended the baptismal font a total of eleven and eight times, respectively. Furthermore, “Serafim, slave do Gentio de Guiné” (2/4/1829), and “Mariano, slave do Gentio de Guiné” (30/4/1832) were also sponsored by the said couple, totaling twenty godchildren residing in the same slave quarters and indicating a social hierarchy among the captives who lived there.

Baptismal records make it clear that the importance of José Joaquim de Godoy e Narcisa went beyond the borders of the Jaguariaíva farm. On December 26, 1825, the couple sponsored “Salvador, Índio”, the legitimate son of Bernardo and his wife Maria, associates of the then Ensign João Alves Pereira, with whom the said couple already maintained ties of spiritual kinship.³⁰ On December 30, 1828, it was the turn of Maria, the legitimate daughter of Cesário and his wife Eva, enslaved by Dona Ana do Rosário Carneira.³¹ On January 13, 1831, they were godfathers of Francisco, the legitimate son of Sebastião and his wife Justina, slaves of the then Captain-General José Carneiro Lobo.³² The last baptism in which the couple sponsored together (at least until 1836) was on February 22, 1835, at the ceremony of Rafael, the legitimate son of José and his wife Ana, slaves of João Carneiro Lobo, in which Joaquim de Godoy appeared registered as lining.³³

José Joaquim de Godoy was a slave with resources. The fact of having been literate, having a relevant number of compadres and being manumitted by his master, indicates the possibility of certain subaltern individuals to appropriate social relations as a resource for survival in the slave order (FRAGOSO, 2010; ROCHA, 2007; SLENES, 1997). In other words, the fact that he became a compadre in his own slave quarters, in the slave quarters of members of the lord's kinship and of the lord's own compadres, reinforced his social place in that hierarchy.³⁴

When he died, he inventoried “a Creole named Alexandrina with ten years old”, eight tame horses, eight mares, ten cows, 57 octaves of silver and 1:585\$000 in active debts, with his wife Narcisa as the inventor (that is, the same It would have been alforriada) and Joaquim Carneiro Lobo (grandson of the gentleman) as evaluator.³⁵ It is worth mentioning

³⁰ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

³¹ *Ibid.*

³² DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms six.

³³ *Ibid.*

³⁴ On hierarchy and social mobility between free pardos and blacks in slave-holding Brazil, see: GUEDES (2008, p.181-313). MACHADO (2008, p.174-223). MATTOS (2013, p.39-114). ROCHA (2007, p.291-351). SCHWARTZ (2001, p.171-218). SLENES (1997, p.233-290).

³⁵ CIVIL COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF CASTRO. *Inventory of José Joaquim de Godoy* (1847).

here that the analysis of baptism records did not include the death date of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo and José Joaquim de Godoy, and the godparent relations explained here could be reiterated until their death.

The compadres of the Caxambu farm

The crony relations established between Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo and Francisco Xavier da Silva served me as a question for an analysis of the cronies of the Caxambu farm. Between 1800 and 1829, Xavier da Silva was godfather in 26 baptisms. The data allow me to explore hypotheses regarding the strategies of the lord of the Caxambu farm for spiritual kinship. Portuguese born in Caparica, it is likely that Xavier da Silva arrived in Castro at the beginning of the 19th century, as I found him registered for the first time in the nominative list of 1804. A year before, he was already godfather of “Maria, Branca” (9/10/1803), legitimate daughter of “Lieutenant José Carneiro Lobo born in this village and his wife Gertrudes Maria do Espírito Santo”, that is, granddaughter of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo. Apparently, this spiritual kinship relationship remained lasting, since he was also the godfather of another “Maria, white” (26/10/1809), Cecília (25/9/1814) and Francisca (10/11/1809). 1819), daughters of José Carneiro Lobo.

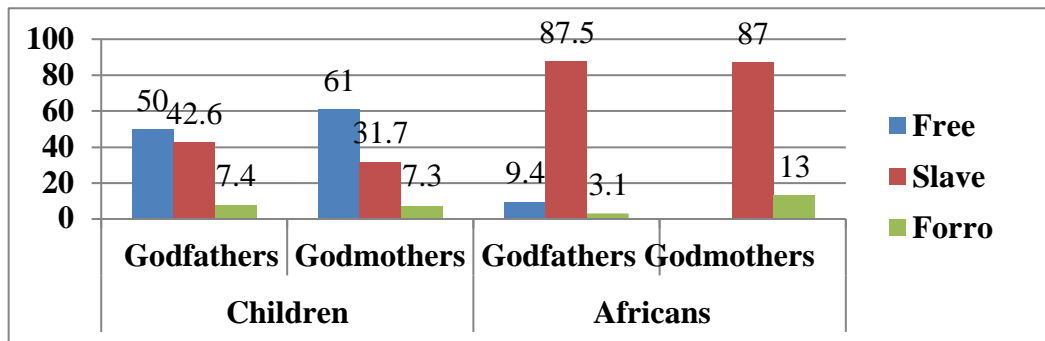
During this time, he also became the friend of the patriarch of the Carneiro Lobo family, as well as sharing the baptismal font with Dona Izabel Branca e Silva in two ceremonies (whose parents had no parental ties to the family). In all, there were ten baptisms (38%) in which Xavier da Silva was a friend of a member of the Carneiro Lobo family. Furthermore, he was godfather to the children of men who had military ranks: two Ensigns and two Captains. Considering the limitations of the source itself and knowing that this hypothesis can be improved in future nominative crossings, such baptisms may indicate that Francisco Xavier da Silva sought prestige and social insertion in the village of Castro through crony relationships with local potentates., which was to be expected in an Old Regime society.

The baptismal records of slaves on the Caxambu farm total 79 seats, 51 of which are children of enslaved mothers and 28 are Africans. The fact of the 32 children and 23 Africans baptized until the year of Xavier da Silva's death (1829) being enumerated in the list in 1828, as well as in his *post-mortem inventory*, indicates the impossibility of sub-registration in such a slave quarters. All the children of enslaved mothers were legitimate, and it was only after the master's death that I found an alleged record of an illegitimate child on the Caxambu

farm. It is assumed that the said child, Marcos, was baptized in the “oratory of Caxambu” (24/4/1836) as “son of an incognito father”, even though the mother, Catarina, was registered as married.³⁶

Graphic 5

Legal status of children godfathers and godmothers in the Caxambu farm (1811-1836)



Source: Baptism Record.

The data in **Graph 5** indicate the predominance of compadrios with free among the 79 baptisms of children in Caxambu; however, the percentage of free godfathers and godmothers was 70.5% and 77.7% until the year 1829, decreasing to 50% and 61% until 1836. As indicated by Sidney Chalhoub, if “the death of Mr. it was for slaves the beginning of a period of uncertainty, perhaps similar in some respects to the experience of being bought or sold” (CHALHOUB, 2011, p.137), perhaps this was a moment when enslaved mothers chose to expand bonds in captivity. During the manorial life cycle, endogamy was predominant in the baptism of captive children, totaling 11 of the 15 godfathers and godmothers enslaved, increasing to 20 of the 36 by the year 1836.

Regarding the cronyism with slaves from other slave quarters, I was struck by the fact that there were no relations with slaves of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, indicating that, unlike the cronies established between the two masters, the clientele networks in their slave quarters were not reciprocal. In view of what I have shown above, it is to be considered that the cronies that Joaquim and Josefa established with captives from Jaguariaíva was mostly a strategy of his lord, Francisco Xavier da Silva, in his approach to the Carneiro Lobo family.

However, some cronies that Xavier da Silva's enslaved mothers established with free individuals could indicate a lordly approach. Among the 32 baptisms recorded, in seven I

³⁶ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms six.

detected Manoel Antonio da Silva as godfather, and six had “his wife Brígida Maria” as godmother. In the baptismal record of Madalena (12/1/1822), daughter of João and his wife Felizarda, godparents Manoel Antonio da Silva and Fermiana Maria were recorded as “aggregates of the same Xavier da Silva”.³⁷ Subsequently, Fermiana Maria was godmother of Faustino (28/12/1825), son of José and his wife Catarina, being registered as “the single daughter of Manoel Antonio da Silva”.³⁸ Although I did not find such individuals in the nominative lists of inhabitants, the baptismal records allow me to inquire that this was a family that, at a given moment in their lives, was attached to the Caxambu farm and would have lived daily with their captives. I did not find them after the death of Francisco Xavier da Silva.

In relation to Africans, the data also contrast with the general pattern of the village of Castro, indicating that more than 80% of the godfathers and godmothers were enslaved and belonged to the Caxambu farm, thus indicating a policy of insertion of the so-called “brutes and boçais, and of unknown language” to the reality of captivity. Furthermore, the “gentias de Guiné” Mariana and Catarina had as godparents the forra Francisca Beatriz and David Antonio Xavier, Francisco Xavier da Silva’s firstborn son, these being the only two cases of lordly cronies.

Only one couple of enslaved established ties of spiritual kinship with members of the manorial family. I did not find the marriage record of José and his wife Bárbara in the marriage books of the Matriz de Castro; however, this couple had David Antonio Xavier as godfather to their children Balduino (29/10/1820) and Delfina (5/3/1826).³⁹ In the same way as José Joaquim de Godoy and his wife Narcisa, the constitution of an “elite” in the slave quarters of Caxambu – in the words of João Frágoso – is to be considered here, since, together with “Antonio Mul act Jose de Nação Monjolo, Bernardo de Nation”, “Joaquim Crioulo and his wife Josefa de Nation” and “Clara Mulata”, “Jose Mulato and his wife Barbara” were freed “with letters of freedom passed by my hand and recognized and released in Notaries”, as Xavier da Silva reiterated in his will.⁴⁰

Like José Joaquim de Godoy and Narcisa, José and Bárbara also became compadres de compadres of their lord since their son Felisberto was sponsored by Francisco José de Matos (12/8/1816).⁴¹ The José de Matos had Francisco Xavier da Silva as godfather of his

³⁷ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant’Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

³⁸ *Ibid.*

³⁹ *Ibid.*

⁴⁰ CIVIL COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF CASTRO. *Francisco Xavier da Silva inventory* (1829).

⁴¹ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant’Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Three.

children Carlota (24/8/1817)⁴² and Francisco (30/8/1818)⁴³, as well as his wife was godmother in two joint baptisms with Mr. Caxambu. In addition, José de Matos was also Xavier da Silva's executor, indicating the reiteration of their relationships until his death.

José and Bárbara were the enslaved people who sponsored the most on the Caxambu farm. Among her godchildren were Francisca (10/19/1817), an African enslaved by Francisca de Jesus; João and Francisco, “Gentios de Guiné” acquired by Xavier da Silva (25/12/1819); Doroteia, daughter of Maria and “incognito father”, enslaved by Clara Maria; João (28/12/1825), son of Antonio and his wife Mariana, enslaved by Xavier da Silva; and Ivo, “Gentio de Guiné” by Francisco Ignácio de Castro (25/4/1825)⁴⁴. It is quite possible that José and Bárbara sponsored much more, however, the presence of homonyms prevents the search for them as godmother and godfather separately.

Of the other freedmen in their wills, I found only Joaquim and his wife Josefa as godparents of Benedito, son of Salvador and his wife Izabel (8/10/1831) – at the time the couple were registered as freed blacks and “aggregates of the Caxambu farm”⁴⁵. However, the condition of manumission would not have been easy, since Xavier da Silva himself changed his mind, declaring in his will that Joaquim would have “disregarded a lot for the various sorrows he has given me and my last wish is to treat this said in my will. letter”⁴⁶. Previously, they became friends of Agostinho and Maria, captives of Colonel Luciano Carneiro Lobo, by the baptism of Esméria (8/12/1812)⁴⁷; as well as Antonio, the son of Claudina and an incognito father, enslaved by José Antonio de Melo, son-in-law of the said Colonel (8/10/1815)⁴⁸. Furthermore, Joaquim and Agostinho were godfathers of Amaro, son of Elena and an incognito father, also enslaved by Carneiro Lobo (3/4/1825)⁴⁹. In a way, Joaquim and Josefa extended their networks of spiritual kinship to the slave quarters of the Jaguariaíva farm, leading me to question whether such relationships had been their strategy or Francisco Xavier da Silva's.

Final Considerations

⁴² DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms four.

⁴³ *Ibid.*

⁴⁴ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

⁴⁵ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms six.

⁴⁶ CIVIL COURT OF THE DISTRICT OF CASTRO. *Francisco Xavier da Silva inventory* (1829).

⁴⁷ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Baptism Book Three.

⁴⁸ *Ibid.*

⁴⁹ DIOCESE OF PONTA GROSSA. *Sant'Ana de Castro Parish*. Book of baptisms five.

In this article, I dedicated myself to some questions about slavery and cronyism from the crossing of sources located for the village of Castro. The data presented here advance issues related to historiography beyond the general patterns of cronyism by legal status and tenure structure of slave quarters. General patterns and percentage variations are products of specific combinations of cronyism between enslaved, free, freed and masters. It was noted that, even though it was not an area dedicated to agro-export or with a large captive population, the enslaved residing there were inserted into the local hierarchy through the baptismal sacrament, establishing strategies and choices in the face of the uncertainties of captivity.

Therefore, I consider that the analysis of cronyism from farms with large slaves is a good starting point for understanding the experience in captivity in non-exporting economies, since there would be greater possibilities of finding the protagonists who lived and lived in such properties. In the most varied documents, reconstituting patterns of sociability and kinship networks hitherto inaccessible to the historian. In the same way, it is extremely necessary to analyze the cronyism of enslaved Africans in places where the percentage of them was low, preferably highlighting the small and medium plantations, making it possible to question the social meanings of spiritual kinship in such a reality.

Finally, perhaps the problems presented so far indicate the perspicacity of the article *Microanalysis and social history* (1977), in which Edoardo Grendi defends the fundamental principle of social history as a “history of relationships between people and groups” (GRENDI, 2009, p.36); as well as the book *The immaterial inheritance* (1985), when Giovanni Levi states that “in the interstices of stable or forming normative systems, groups and people play a significant strategy of their own, capable of marking political reality in a lasting way, not preventing forms of domination, but of conditioning and modifying them” (LEVI, 2000, p.45).

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