

## Governors and general captains of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1702 to 1780): comparative careers

Governadores e capitães-generais do Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará e do Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1702 a 1780): trajetórias comparadas

Fabiano Vilaça dos Santos<sup>\*</sup>

*Traduzido por Gabriela Edel Mei*

**Abstract:** This article presents a synthesis of research notes on the careers of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (1702-1751) and of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1780), in a comparative perspective. The origin and social quality of 12 agents, their formation, experiences in the service to the monarchy, as well as the governmental circuits that they have covered in the governance of the Empire are characterized. It is intended to demonstrate the existence of similarities and differences in the social profiles, career and circulation of the colonial administrators of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, from the beginning to the second half of the eighteenth century, and in a subsequent phase corresponding roughly to the Pombaline period. Although focused on the study of government careers, this work seeks to contribute to a review of the administrative history of the captaincies of Pará and Maranhão at different moments of their political configuration, with emphasis on government and governors.

**Keywords:** Governors and general captains; State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará/State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão; Careers

---

\* Assistant Teacher of Modern and Contemporary History, Department of History and Post-graduate Program in History, State University of Rio de Janeiro. PhD in Social History from the University of São Paulo (2008).

**Resumo:** Este artigo apresenta uma síntese de apontamentos de pesquisa sobre as trajetórias dos governadores e capitães-generais do Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará (1702-1751) e do Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1751-1780), em perspectiva comparada. São caracterizadas a origem e a qualidade social de 12 agentes, sua formação, experiências no serviço à monarquia, bem como os circuitos governativos que percorreram na governação do Império. Pretende-se, com isso, demonstrar a existência de semelhanças e diferenças nos perfis sociais, na carreira e na circulação dos administradores coloniais do Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará e do Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão, do início até a segunda metade do século XVIII, e em uma fase seguinte que corresponde, grosso modo, ao período pombalino. Ainda que voltado para o estudo de trajetórias governativas, este trabalho busca contribuir para uma revisão da história administrativa das capitanias do Pará e do Maranhão em diferentes momentos de sua configuração política, com ênfase no governo e nos governantes.

**Palavras-chave:** Governadores e capitães-generais; Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará/Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão; Trajetórias

## Introduction

The results presented in this article are the result of an investigation into the social and administrative trajectories of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, from 1751 to 1780. Continuing the study of the subject, the research began to cover the social profiles and careers of the colonial administrators of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará in the first half of the 18th century. The characterization of the constituent elements of the social and administrative trajectory of the agents that exercised the government in the two periods considered propitiated the accomplishment of this comparative analysis, in order to establish similarities of profile and social quality and differences in relation to the careers in the overseas government.

By approaching the theoretical-methodological assumptions of biographical writing, this trajectory study dialogues with authors such as François Dosse, for whom the biographer establishes "a kind of contract" with his readers in explaining objectives, sources and methods, indicating intentions and choices of according to their researches (DOSSE, 2009, pp. 95-96). For the purposes of analysis, the eight governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará, from 1702 to 1751, and four from the State

of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, from 1751 to 1780, remained longer in office than most of their predecessors in the first half of the eighteenth century. Through this sampling, it is expected to delineate the contours of government trajectories in the State of Maranhão and its subdivisions in much of the eighteenth century.

In order to characterize the social profiles and careers of the 12 governors and captains-generals, records of the royal chancelleries, of granting of favors, of enrollments in the University of Coimbra, as well as fragments found in official documentation were used. Initially scattered, these data were selected and systematized in tables, whose fields translate the frequency of the individual information, while allowing the identification of groups and comparative analysis. The assembly of the paintings was also based on parameters of the prosopographic method, indicated by Lawrence Stone, as: birth, family, social origins, education, occupation and craft experience (STONE, 1981, p. 45). As it is not possible to determine for all cases who was the first-born or second-born, this reference was not used in the construction of the social profile of the agents. In addition, in the frames were registered only the positions, experiences and distinctions verified in the occasion of the recruitment to the overseas government. The rewards and unfolding of trajectories are mentioned, whenever possible, in the text.

The first part of the work is dedicated to the characterization of the origin and the social quality of the governors and captains-generals; the second, their training and the most relevant experiences; the third, to the paths in the colonial administration and in the Kingdom. A comparative analysis of the social and administrative trajectories of the rulers closes the article.

### **Origin and social quality**

As to the place of birth, four governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará, created in 1621 with head in São Luís, were born in Lisbon (**Table 1**). The other half of the group came from towns or cities located in the provinces of Alentejo (Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro), Beira (João da Maia da Gama), Trás-os-Montes (João de Abreu Castelo Branco) and Estremadura (Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão). Although Lisbon and its district belonged to this province, it was chosen to distinguish the city from the other localities as the seat of the Court.

In general, the governors and captains-generals from 1702 to 1751 belonged to elite families based in the capital of the Kingdom or in the provinces, which were denied military service by successive generations. Those born outside Lisbon can still be included

in the category of nobility or provincial nobility (MONTEIRO, 2003: p. 51-81), such as the Alentejo's Bernardo Pereira de Berredo and Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão, from Estremadura. In spite of the few biographical information, the same can be said of João de Abreu Castelo Branco, named as "being of the main families" transmontanans in the charter by which he was named chief captain of Paraíba.<sup>1</sup>

Other governors and captains-generals descended from old houses of the elite, such as D. Manuel Rolim de Moura, bastard son of the 16th lord of Vila de Azambuja (COSTA, 1868, t. 3, p. 191), Cristóvão da Costa Freire, 8th Lord of Pancas and Atalaia (COSTA, 1868, t. 2, p. 393), and Alexandre de Sousa Freire, second son of the 5th Lord of Mira (GUARDA, 2012, pp. 7-23).<sup>2</sup> The members of these Houses had a service sheet to the monarchy, but were distinguished within the nobility by the powers and jurisdictional privileges of landlords or villages, obtained by regal donation (HESPANHA, 1994, p. 388-401).

**Table 1: Origin of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão Pará (1702-1751)<sup>3</sup>**

Governor	Birthplace	Home
D. Manuel Rolim de Moura	Lisboa	Senhores de Azambuja
Cristóvão da Costa Freire	Lisboa	Senhores de Pancas
Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro	Moura	
João da Maia da Gama	Aveiro	
Alexandre de Sousa Freire	Lisboa	Senhores de Mira
José da Serra	Lisboa	
João de Abreu Castelo Branco	Gondosende	
Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão	Bombarral	

The birth of most of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (Table 2), created in 1751 and based in Belém, follows the trend of half of its predecessors, a characteristic that is therefore proportionally more pronounced in the period of Pombal. It is also a peculiar trait of the rulers of this group the family tradition of

<sup>1</sup> Torre do Tombo National Archive (ANTT). Chancellery of D. João V. Book 60, fl. 3-4v.

<sup>2</sup> The first principle established by the Mental Law for succession in landlords consecrated primogeniture and the masculine line, excluding the second-born and women (HESPANHA, 1994, pp. 403-406). This legal prerogative distinguished, therefore, Alexandre de Sousa Freire de Cristóvão da Costa Freire.

<sup>3</sup> ANTT. Chancellery of D. João V. Book 6, fl. 102; General Mercês Registry. D. Pedro II. Book 16, fl. 299; RGM. D. Pedro II. Book 11, fl. 235-235v; RGM. D. João V. Book 2, fls. 159-159v; RGM. D. João V. Book 7, fl. 285. Court of the Holy Office. General Council. Qualification of the relative of the Holy Office of Cristóvão da Costa Freire. Pack 5, nº 86; (HENRIQUES; GORJÃO-HENRIQUES, 2006, v. I, pp. 47-54).

making of arms and, in some cases, the performance of ecclesiastical offices. Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado and Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro illustrate this typology. Mendonça Furtado was the second son of a horse captain and naval officer and nephew on the paternal side of an archpriest of the Lisbon Cathedral, who benefited the Brother's House with legacies of goods and services (SANTOS, 2011, 52). Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro was also the son of a military man and grandson of the 4th Count of Galveias, André de Melo e Castro, who left the ecclesiastical life and was governor of Minas Gerais and viceroy of the State of Brazil (SANTOS, 2011, p. 77). Among the governors from 1751 to 1780, the best social extraction was Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive, 14th lord of Baião, great-grandson on the maternal side of the 3rd Count of Aveiras and the 1st Count of Soure, two Greats of the Portuguese aristocracy (SANTOS, 2011, pp. 97 and 110). In the group there was also a well-finished type of provincial nobleman, the minhoto João Pereira Caldas (SANTOS, 2011, p. 129-131 and p. 193-194).

Regarding the place of birth and the family origin of the governors and captains-generals of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, more similarities were observed than differences. Many were native to Lisbon and belonged to families of the elite, which was even more evident in the case of governors from provinces more or less distant from the Kingdom capital, such João de Abreu Castelo Branco, Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão and João Pereira Caldas.

Regarding source and family origin, the lack of insignia that could provide genealogical information (through habilitation processes) and biographical inconsistencies<sup>4</sup> continues to hamper the safe definition of João da Maia da Gama's social quality. Until recently, he seemed to fit into the category of "soldiers of fortune" - men of no birth quality, but with acknowledged military training (MONTEIRO, 2001, p. 257) - but recent data indicate that his father, Pedro Ribeiro de Oliveira Barreto, a law graduate, enjoyed nobility and personal distinction, having been a relative of the Holy Office (Oudinot, 2000, p. 377-378), as well as his firstborn and successor in the House.<sup>5</sup> João da Maia da Gama sought to distinguish himself by means of various services rendered to the Crown, in the Atlantic and especially in the East, before arriving at the colonial administration (MARTINS, 1944, v. I, p. 19-42). When he was appointed to the government of the State of Maranhão, counselor João Teles da Silva raised doubt whether Maia da

<sup>4</sup> The few biographical data of João da Maia da Gama, specifically about its origin, indicate that it belonged to a distinct Aveiro family (OUDINOT, 2000, p. 133-136). The works that approached the trajectory of the character have some gaps and reproduce equivocations, as the one of Oliveira Martins (1944), that served as reference for Charles R. Boxer in *A idade de ouro do Brasil* (2000, p. 302 e p. 400-402).

<sup>5</sup> ANTT. Court of the Holy Office. General Council. Qualification of the relative of the Holy Office of Pedro Ribeiro de Oliveira. Pack 7, nº 204.

Gama should receive the rank of governor and captain-general, since he did not have a forum of a gentleman from the Royal Household and had not been a master of field. It seemed to other advisers that the soldier was entitled to the title of captain-general for having served as chief captain of Paraíba, who "is not only similar in graduation to that of field-master, but far exceeds it." It seemed to other advisers that the soldier was entitled to the title of captain-general for having served as chief captain of Paraíba, who "is not only similar in graduation to that of field-master, but far exceeds it."<sup>6</sup> Therefore, it seems more accurate to consider him as a man of good origin because he is the son of someone endowed with personal nobility and prestige, like others who have assumed positions in the governance of the Empire. (CUNHA, 2005, p. 75-77).

**Table 2: Origin of governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1780)<sup>7</sup>**

Governor	Birthplace	Home
Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado	Lisbon	
Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro	Lisbon	Condes das Galveias
Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive	Lisbon	Senhores de Baião/Condes de Aveiras/Condes de Soure
João Pereira Caldas	Monção	

Except for granting the title of His Majesty's Council, which ordinarily followed the appointment to the colonial government, in terms of social quality the governors and captains-generals bore insignia that publicly dignified their holders, such as the aristocracy forums, the habits of military orders and, in one-third of cases (4), the family letter of the Holy Office (Table 3 and Table 4). The forums given to 2/3 of the agents (8) were in the first class of the Royal House, thus hierarchical: Nobleman Knight (2); Nobleman Squire (1) and Nobleman boy (5) (OLIVEIRA, 1806, p. 228-230; SOARES, 1997, p. 420-421; RAMINELLI, 2015, p. 33).

<sup>6</sup> AHU. Mixed Inquiries. Codex 21, fls. 456-457. Consultation of February 6, 1722. I am immensely grateful to Marcos Arthur Viana da Fonseca, Master's degree in History at the Federal University of Rio Grande do Norte, who kindly indicated this document to me. This consultation of the Overseas Council not only provided clarification on João da Maia da Gama, but also provided elements for an analysis of the relationship between the social quality of colonial administrators and the granting of patents for overseas governance, especially governor and captain-general of the State of Maranhão.

<sup>7</sup> SANTOS, 2011, p. 52-56; p. 77-80; p. 95-100; p. 193-196.

Almost all the governors and captains-generals (10) had a knightly habit, predominantly for that of the Order of Christ (**Table 3 and Table 4**). This was the most sought after by the value of the tences that accompanied it and by the high number of commendations that the Order possessed, which the skilled ones could attain at the mercy of the king. The habit of Santiago was normally dispensed to individuals who served in the sea (OLIVAL, 2001, p. 42-71 and 174). Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive had no such actions, but he became knight of the Order of Santiago because his grandfather, graced with the habit of rewards for armed participation in the East and the Atlantic, and his father, passed away before enjoying the mercy (SANTOS, 2011, pp. 96-97). In addition to the income of tences and commendations that accompanied the habits, according to Fernanda Olival, "the military orders also represented an honorific capital and a deep symbolic legacy" (OLIVAL, 2001, p. 52), since, although the incomes of most of the commendations of the Order of Christ, for example, were not very high, in the "genealogical culture" of the Old Regime, in the absence of another honorific title, that of commander was not devoid of symbolic value (OLIVAL, 2001, p. 46).

Four governors and captains-generals, that is, 1/3 of the total from 1702 to 1780, obtained the family letter of the Holy Office, thus a more common distinction between the rulers of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (**Table 3 and Table 4**). In order to serve the Court in this prestigious role, in addition to financial resources, the suitor should gather qualities such as blood-cleansing, physical ability, literacy, and "good living and customs" (RODRIGUES, 2011, p. 125-135). Alexandre de Sousa Freire could have been the fifth relative of the group if he did not lack some requirements. In indeterminate terms, the father of bastards who had been single and married in Bahia and in the Kingdom, and with an illegitimate daughter condemned by the Holy Office for witchcraft, he saw his habilitation process drag on and not come to fruition (SANTOS, 2016, 40).

Only Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro appeared as beneficiary of the income and the honorific title of warden-received the mayor of Sortelha at the age of seven (**Table 4**). According to an eighteenth-century source, major-general was the governor of a castle or fortress, and he was to provide them with the necessary equipment for his defense and to enjoy the incomes of estates situated on their lands. The office emphasized the condition of its holder, who, from the fifteenth century onwards, had to be "a nobleman of father and mother", that is, of lineage (BLUTEAU, 1712, v. 1, p. 216-218). The other distinctions, including the mayor general of Sernancelhe, the landlord of the village and the title of viscount of Lourinhã, were granted to Manuel Bernardo after the government of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão and not in remuneration of his services, at the request of

Martinho de Melo and Casto, then secretary of state for the affairs of the Navy and Ultramarine Domains, who, as second son, single and without succession, bequeathed to his older brother his services actions (SANTOS, 2011, p. 77 and p. 92-93).

**Table 3: Social distinctions of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (1702-1751)<sup>8</sup>**

Governor	Fidalgo Forum	Habit	Other distinctions
D. Manuel Rolim de Moura		Ordem de Cristo	
Cristóvão da Costa Freire	Fidalgo Escudeiro		1. Familiar do Santo Ofício 2. Senhor de Pancas e Atalaia
Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro	Moço Fidalgo	Ordem de Cristo	
João da Maia da Gama			
Alexandre de Sousa Freire	Moço Fidalgo	Ordem de Cristo	
José da Serra	Fidalgo Cavaleiro	Ordem de Cristo	
João de Abreu Castelo Branco		Ordem de Cristo	
Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão	Fidalgo Cavaleiro	Ordem de Cristo	

**Table 4: Social distinctions of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1780)<sup>9</sup>**

<sup>8</sup> ANTT. General Mercês Registry. D. João V. Book 2, fls. 159-159v (D. Manuel Rolim de Moura); RGM. D. João V. Book 7, fl. 285 (Bernardo Pereira de Berredo); Chancery of D. João V. Book 62, fl. 102 (Alexandre de Sousa Freire); RGM. D. Pedro II. Book 16, fl. 299 (José da Serra); RGM. D. Pedro II. Book 11, fl. 235-235v (Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão). ANTT. Court of the Holy Office. General Council. Qualification of the relative of the Holy Office of Cristovão da Costa Freire. Pack 5, nº 86. ANTT. Bureau of Consciousness and Orders. Qualifications of the Order of Christ. Letter M, pack 46, no. 39 (D. Manuel Rolim de Moura); Letter B, pack 12, no. 135 (Bernardo Pereira de Berredo); Letter M, pack 46, no. 39 (the case covers Alexandre de Sousa Freire and his older brother, Manuel de Sousa Tavares de Távora); Letter J, pack 99, no. 37 (José da Serra); Chancellery of the Order of Christ. Book 101, fls. 106v-107v; Chancellery of the Order of Christ. Book 196, fl. 277v-279 (the processes of habilitation of João de Abreu Castelo Branco and Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão were not found).

<sup>9</sup> SANTOS, 2011, p. 52-56; p. 77-80; p. 95-100; p. 193-196.



Governor	Fidalgo Forum	Habit	Other distinctions
Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado	Moço Fidalgo	Ordem de Cristo	1. Familiar do Santo Ofício 2. Commander of Santa Marinha de Mata de Lobos (Order of Christ)
Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro		Ordem de Cristo	1. Familiar do Santo Ofício 2. Comendador de São Pedro das Alhadas (Ordem de Cristo) 3. Alcaide-mor de Sortelha 4. Alcaide-mor de Sernancelhe 5. Visconde da Lourinhã 6. Senhor da Vila da Lourinhã
Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive	Moço Fidalgo	Ordem de Santiago da Espada	1. Familiar do Santo Ofício 2. Senhor de Baião
João Pereira Caldas	Moço Fidalgo	Ordem de Cristo	1. Comendador de São Mamede de Troviscoso (Ordem de Cristo)

### Training and services

A trait of differentiation between the governors and captains-generals of the two periods considered was the passage through the University of Coimbra. Half of those who ruled in the first half of the eighteenth century (Table 5) had some academic training, although only Manuel Rolim de Moura and Alexandre de Sousa Freire had completed the courses; in the case of Sousa Freire, only the Arts. Among the successors of the Pombal period, none enrolled in the University (Table 6). However, since all have opted for the military career, including those who have graduated, it is possible to question the extent to which this aspect could influence the choice of colonial administrators. At first glance,

experience in troop and war seemed more useful to the goals of governance. But if intellectual preparation was not observed in the selection of agents, in practice it was not altogether contemptible: it allowed Berredo to articulate libels against the Society of Jesus and to write the Historical Annals of the State of Maranhão (1749), gave Alexandre de Sousa Freire had the opportunity to use his knowledge of classical literature and theology to illustrate, with several quotations in Latin, two writings that he used to defend himself from the intrigues of his enemies in the administration<sup>10</sup>, and enabled João de Abreu Castelo Branco to translate a book military man who intended to give the king a gift.<sup>11</sup>

**Table 5: Training and services of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (1702-1751)<sup>12</sup>**

Governor	Academic education	Military training	Main services
D. Manuel Rolim de Moura	Canons	Infantry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Infantry Colonel (Border)</li> <li>2. Armed (coast of Portugal, Ceuta and India)</li> <li>3. War of Spanish Succession</li> </ol>
Cristóvão da Costa Freire		Cavalry Infantry	<ol style="list-style-type: none"> <li>1. Captain of the Ordaining Horses (Lisbon)</li> <li>2. Field Master of Auxiliary Infantry</li> </ol>

<sup>10</sup> REIS, Arthur César Ferreira (introduction and notes). Accountability of a colonial ruler of the former State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará, *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, v. 345, 1986, p. 85-99. General Library of the University of Coimbra. Reserved, Ms. 76. "Truths manifest and restored in the erudition of facts and successes the innocence of the guilty and performance of the complainants. Offered to the August and Most Precious King John 5<sup>o</sup> Our Lord, by Alexandre de Sousa Freire, his Council, Governor and Captain-General who was from the State of Maranhão (1720). "The date must have been attributed after the writing of the writing because in 1720 Alexandre de Sousa Freire was not governor of the State of Maranhão. The title and events narrated also suggest that the memorial was written at the end of Sousa Freire's administration, that is, around 1728.

<sup>11</sup> Overseas Historical Archive (AHU). AHU\_CU\_Reino. Box 347, folder 12.

<sup>12</sup> Archive of the University of Coimbra. D. Manuel Rolim de Moura: Book of Matrículas - Canons - 1682 (AUC-IV-1<sup>a</sup> D-1-3-28, fl. 122); Book of Acts and Degrees - Canons (1687-1689) (AUC-IV-1st D-1-1-46, fl. 53 and fl. 94v); Bernardo Pereira de Berredo: Matriculation Books - Canons - 1701, 1702, 1703 and 1704 (AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-39, fl. 50v), Book 29, fl. 49v; AUC-IV-1<sup>a</sup> D-1-3-37, fl. 213; Alexandre de Sousa Freire: Book of Acts and Degrees - Arts (1689-1692). AUC-IV-1<sup>a</sup> D-1-1-47, fls. 156v-157v; Book of Enrollments - Theology - 1691 (AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-32, fl. 1v) Matriculation Books - Theology - 1692 (AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-33, fl. 2v) Matriculation Books - Theology - 1696 (AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-35, fl. 2v); João de Abreu Castelo Branco: Matriculation Books - Laws - 1697 (AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-35, fl. 159). ANTT. General Mercês Registry. D. João V. Book 2, fls. 159-159v (D. Manuel Rolim de Moura); RGM. D. João V. Book 15, fl. 274 (Cristóvão da Costa Freire); Chancery of D. João V. Book 49, fl. 261v-263 (Bernardo Pereira de Berredo); Chancery of D. Pedro II. Book 26, fl. 17-17v (João da Maia da Gama); RGM. D. Pedro II. Book 2, fl. 308v (Alexandre de Sousa Freire); Chancery of D. João V. Book 79, fl. 229v-230 and fl. 246 (José da Serra); Chancery of D. João V. Book 129, fls. 78-78v (João de Abreu Castelo Branco); RGM. D. João V. Book 20, fls. 133-134 (Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão).

			(Lisbon) 3. War of Spanish Succession
Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro	Canons (n/c)	Cavalry	1. Captain of Horses (Moura) 2. War of Spanish Succession
João da Maia da Gama <sup>13</sup>	(?)	Infantry Armed Real	1. Captain of Infantry 2. Captain of Sea and war 3. Armed (Portugal, Bahia and India) 4. Combat to corsairs (Surrate and Rajapur) 5. War of Spanish Succession
Alexandre de Sousa Freire	Arts Teology (n/c)	Infantry Cavalry	1. Captain of Cavalry and Infantry (Mazagão) 2. Colonel of the Ordinance (Lisbon) 3. Master of Field of Auxiliary (Bahia) 4. Provider of the Customs of Bahia 5. Provider of Santa Casa da Misericórdia (Bahia)
José da Serra		Infantry Armed Real	1. Ensign of the Infantry of the Court 2. Sea Captain and Crown Frigate War 3. Field Master 4. Armadas (Mazagão, coast of Portugal, Pernambuco and Bahia) 5. Combat to corsairs (Strait of Gibraltar and coast of Portugal)
João de Abreu Castelo Branco	Laws (n/c)	Cavalry	1. Captain of Horses 2. War of Spanish Succession

<sup>13</sup> There is a lot of inconsistent information about the formation of João da Maia da Gama. In the file of the Archive of the University of Coimbra there is the registration of a namesake in Laws, in the year 1653, a record that can not be attributed to the character, who would have been baptized on December 19, 1671 (OUDINOT 2000, p. 134), although his biography points to the year 1673 as that of his birth (MARTINS, 1944, v. I, p. 11). There is the registration of another namesake in Canons and Institute between the years 1704 and 1707, during which time João da Maia da Gama was active in the East, in Bahia and in the War of Spanish Succession (AUC. Book of Enrollments - Laws - AUC-IV-1ª D-1-3-19; Book of Enrollments - Laws - AUC-IV-1st D-1-3-39). Another inconsistency concerns the information of Oliveira Martins (1944, v. I, p.11), followed by Boxer (2000, p.400), of which Maia da Gama attended Philosophy in Coimbra. The creation of this faculty, replacing the course of Arts, dates from the reform of the statutes of the University, in 1772. In this case, the authors may not have attacked the necessary contextualisation of this important and significant data (MARCOS, 2006, pp. 43-47).

Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão		Cavalry	1. Captain of Horses (Peniche) 2. War of Spanish Succession
------------------------------------	--	---------	--

Legend: n/c = not completed; (?) = unconfirmed information

**Table 6: Origin of governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1780)<sup>14</sup>**

Governor	Academic education	Military training	Main services
Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado		Armed Real	1. Captain of Sea and war 2. Armed (Sacramento Colony, Pernambuco) 3. Expeditions Bodyguards (Azores and Tenerife, among others)
Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro		Infantry	1. Captain of Infantry (Lisbon) 2. Infantry Colonel (Cascais)
Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive		Infantry	1. Infantry Colonel (Almeida) 2. 1762 Peninsular Campaign
João Pereira Caldas		Infantry	1. Sergeant Major of Infantry 2. Auxiliary of orders of Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado 3. Demarcation of the Treaty of Madrid

For the execution of one of the most relevant objectives of the Amazonian colonization plans in the Pombal period, the demarcation of the boundaries between Portuguese and Castilian dominions, it was more important to focus on military formation, and especially on the experience of men who served in conflict areas, still latent in the middle of the eighteenth century. As Mendonça Furtado, a member of relief expeditions to Colonia del Sacramento in the 1730s (SANTOS, 2011, p. 52-53), or even Ataíde Teive, who defended the village of Almeida, on the border with Spain, invaded during the Peninsular Campaign of 1762 (SANTOS, 2011, p.95).

<sup>14</sup> SANTOS, 2011, p. 52-56; p. 77-80; p. 95-100; p. 193-196.

The recruitment of the governors and captains general of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão was also guided by a specific criterion, observed by Ângela Domingues: the existence of personal affinities and kinship with prestigious figures in the Court (DOMINGUES, 2000, p. 126-132). Mendonça Furtado was the brother of Sebastião José de Carvalho and Melo, then Secretary of Foreign Affairs and War; Manuel Bernardo was the brother of Martinho de Melo e Castro, ambassador to London, and had three natural daughters with the widow D. Juliana de Noronha, mother of Ataíde Teive (SANTOS, 2011, p. 79, and 97).. And an uncle of João Pereira Caldas, Frei Luís Pereira, was the procurator of Mendonça Furtado in Lisbon (SANTOS, 2011, p. 132). Interpersonal relations were also observed in the first half of the eighteenth century between the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. As happened in the trajectories of Cristóvão da Costa Freire and D. Manuel Rolim de Moura, respectively, brother-in-law and son-in-law of André Lopes de Lavre, secretary of the Overseas Council (SOUSA, 1946, t. XII, part I, p. 29-31; GAYO, 1989, v. I, p. 76 and 177; v. IV, p. 140 and 633; v. VI, p. 239-240; BICALHO, 2011, p. 283-315). Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro was a nephew on the paternal side of Cardinal José Pereira de Lacerda<sup>15</sup>, who was deputy of the Inquisition and inquisitor in Évora, bishop of the Algarve from 1716 to 1738 (PAIVA, 2006, p. 501-502) and have favored the nephew in his nominations for overseas governance.

Services were certainly relevant in the selection of the governors studied, as usually occurred in the choice of colonial administrators. It is possible to notice in the Overseas Council consultations that the time, quantity and value of the shares were observed in the votes of the directors. Most of the governors of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (Table 5) were part of a generation of fighters in the War of Spanish Succession (except for Alexandre de Sousa Freire and José da Serra), appointed to government posts in different parts of the Portuguese Empire. Some fought in the same battles, according to their charters, making the scene of war a place of sharing experiences. The variety of military deeds, especially on the coast of Africa, America, and the East, as well as fighting corsairs, differentiated the two groups and disappeared in the Pombal period (Table 6), as if this showed a distancing of glories and presence in some territories, mainly in the Indian Ocean.

### Displacements in the colonial administration

---

<sup>15</sup> ANTT. Court of the Holy Office. General Council. Qualification of the relative of the Holy Office of Dr. José Pereira de Lacerda. Pack 8, nº 150.

The State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará was a platform for ascending to more prestigious government posts, such as Pernambuco, Rio de Janeiro and Mazagão, in the trajectories of D. Manuel Rolim de Moura; of Mr. of Pancas, who did not go to Rio de Janeiro because he died months after the appointment<sup>16</sup>, and Berredo (Table 7).

**Table 7: Routes of governors and captains-generals before and after the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará (1702-1751)**

Governor	Previous Government(s)		Posterior Government(s)	
D. Manuel Rolim de Moura			Mazagão	Pernambuco
Cristóvão da Costa Freire			Rio de Janeiro	
Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro			Mazagão	
João da Maia da Gama		Paraíba		
Alexandre de Sousa Freire				
José da Serra				
João de Abreu Castelo Branco	Paraíba	Madeira		
Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão	Paraíba	Madeira		

For Maia da Gama, Castelo Branco and Mendonça Gorjão, the State of Maranhão was a promotion in colonial administration. The last two described a circuit involving, in that order, Paraíba, Madeira and the State of Maranhão, succeeding in the three governments (Maia da Gama was not in Madeira). Alexandre de Sousa Freire and José da

<sup>16</sup> Cristóvão da Costa Freire was named governor and captain-general of the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro by letter of December 19, 1723. ANTT. General Mercês Registry. D. João V. Book 15, fl. 274.

Serra arrived in São Luís near the age of 60, in the chance of their trajectories, without ever having exercised the governmental function.

The possessions of North Africa, like Mazagão, were destined to individuals of high social extraction. They were "noble governments" because they still remembered the heroism of the Portuguese conquests (MONTEIRO, 2005, p.103). But how did the Moroccan square connect to the State of Maranhão? One answer may be that both were military governments. The person sent by "governor to the square of Mazagão, besides the military government, who will be in charge, will understand in the matters touching the good administration of my Real Estate," says the first chapter of the Regiment of that square, of 1692.<sup>17</sup> In the nineteenth century, the author of the *Memórias para a história da praça de Mazagão* made the suggestive record that "on January 21, 1734, he took possession of the government ... Captain-General Bernardo Pereira de Berredo, patent governed the Maranhão "(CUNHA, 1864, p.127).

Pernambuco was in some way present on the horizon of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. His government materialized in the trajectory of D. Manuel Rolim de Moura.<sup>18</sup> Many years before arriving in Maranhão, Alexandre de Sousa Freire presented his papers to the Overseas Council to run for the government of Pernambuco, but lost the place to Sebastião de Castro and Caldas (SANTOS, 2016, p. 38). Francisco Pedro de Mendonça Gorjão would have refused, perhaps by old age, the government of the captaincy, although there is no record of a charter in the chancellery or in the register of the favors of Dom João V or D. José I (HENRIQUES, GORJÃO-HENRIQUES, 2006, v. I, p.50). In the second half of the eighteenth century, when the Crown ruled the division of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão into two divisions, Joaquim de Melo and Póvoas saw the possibility of going to Pernambuco, but was replaced by Jose César de Meneses, of better social extraction and with more services, leaving Melo and Póvoas content to remain in São Luís, added by the patent of governor and captain-general of the State of Maranhão and Piauí (SANTOS, 2011, pp. 164-166).

Mr. de Pancas, Cristóvão da Costa Freire, had the social quality to achieve the government of Rio de Janeiro, even though his list of services was not one of the longest. His services were restricted to the Spanish War of Succession. He also occupied military posts in keeping with his social position, such as that of field master of the Auxiliary Infantry and that of captain of the Ordinance of Lisbon. In his vote, the main equerry chief

---

<sup>17</sup> Ajuda Library (BA). 44-XIII-60, no. 13, fls. 187-202v - Regiment of the square of Mazagam, which His Majesty, whom God keeps, again commanded to do, to keep, & observe, as it is contained therein. Lisbon: In the Office of Miguel Deslandes, 1692, fl. 189.

<sup>18</sup> ANTT. General Mercês Registry. D. João V. Book 2, fls. 160 and 339v.

pondered on the lord of Pancas, placed in second place: "(...) although he has no services, he has the capacity and the good procedures, for which reason he will give a good account of what he is charged with: and these two circumstances are very necessary for those who are to govern a conquest."<sup>19</sup> This suggests that networks of power and kinship may have acted in favor of Costa Freire, since, besides André Lopes de Lavre's brother-in-law, he was the son-in-law of Francisco Correia de Lacerda (deceased at the time of Costa Freire's appointment), Secretary of State and preceptor of D. Afonso VI and D. Pedro II (LOURENÇO, 2010, page 48ff), and father-in-law of D. Pedro Álvares da Cunha, 18th Lord of Tábua, brother of the ambassador D. Luís da Cunha.<sup>20</sup>

From the point of view of conquest and defense of the territory against invaders and clashes with indigenous peoples, Paraíba has a similar history to that of Maranhão and Pará. Between 1618 and 1619, when the state did not exist, Antônio de Albuquerque, "employed in the conquest" of Maranhão, ruled the captaincy. Later, in reward for the expulsion of the French, it received the rank of chief captain of Paraíba.<sup>21</sup> Francisco Coelho de Carvalho, the first governor and captain-general of the State of Maranhão, was former captain of Paraíba. Inácio Coelho da Silva ascended from Paraíba to Maranhão in 1678. These examples showed that this connection existed before the eighteenth century and that the experiences in Paraíba may have served as a parameter for the government of Maranhão (SANTOS, 2009, pp. 73-75).

The passage by the administration of Madeira suggests that this post represented a way of promotion for the State of Maranhão. The instruction passed to D. Antônio Jorge de Melo, around 1698, thus recorded: "This island is a very authorized government, consulted by the Council of State with the rank of governor and captain-general and of the Council of Our Lord King, and supposing that the patent is soldier, the government is more political than military."<sup>22</sup> In addition to the coincidence of patents, as well as the Madeira Island, the State of Maranhão was also formed (until the mid-eighteenth century) by private captaincies, handed over to grantees with jurisdiction to conduct issues such as settlement, economic exploitation, etc. Thus, regarding the political-administrative structure and the

---

<sup>19</sup> BA. 54-XIII-4, nº 48. Votes from the earl mayor-squire [D. José de Meneses, count of Viana] to fill several positions and opinions on various petitions. Year 1705-1707. Fl. 16v.

<sup>20</sup> ANTT. Court of the Holy Office. General Council. Qualification of the relative of the Holy Office of D. Luís da Cunha. Pack 39, nº 660. The qualified was the son of D. Pedro Álvares da Cunha and D. Inês Maria de Melo. On the maternal side, he was the grandson of Cristóvão da Costa Freire, brother of D. Antônio Álvares da Cunha (1st Count of Cunha) and nephew of the ambassador of Luís da Cunha.

<sup>21</sup> BA. 54-XI-27, nº 17. Memory of the people who from the beginning of the conquest governed the two captaincies, of Maranhão and Grão-Pará. 1783, fl. 2.

<sup>22</sup> National Library of Portugal (BNP). Reserved. PBA 526 - Instruction or information given to D. Antônio Jorge de Melo [1698-1701] when he was to govern the Island of Madeira, fl. 275.



distribution of powers, there is a trace of approximation between the two governments that needs to be deepened. Otherwise, there is no evidence of commercial relations to justify this circuit; only the transit of ammunition and soldiers from Madeira were sent to Maranhão in the early eighteenth century (CHAMBOULEYRON, 2008, p. 194-198).<sup>23</sup>

It was concluded that in the first half of the eighteenth century, the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará, roughly, occupied an intermediate position between main captaincies of America (Pernambuco and Rio de Janeiro) and old African conquests (Mazagão), on the one hand, and subaltern captaincies (Paraíba) or formed by private donations (Madeira), where the action of the governor and captain-general had restrictions, on the other.

The displacements were not repeated in the Pombal period, evidencing another rupture between the group that ruled from 1702 to 1751 and the one that assumed this year until the 1780 (Table 8), besides that verified in the formation and the main services. The only one who was in a previous government (Piauí) was João Pereira Caldas<sup>24</sup> and, even so, in a captaincy belonging to the jurisdiction of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão. He was appointed to the government of Mato Grosso<sup>25</sup>, previously rejected by Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro (SANTOS, 2011, p.89), but was reassigned to one of the demarcation commissions of the Santo Ildefonso Treaty (SANTOS, 2011, p. 211-212). Created in 1748, the captaincy of Mato Grosso belonged to the jurisdiction of the State of Brazil, but the viceroy's authority did not accompany the interiorization of Portuguese colonization, becoming more symbolic than effective (BICALHO, 2009, 372) in places more and more remote from Salvador or Rio de Janeiro. On the other hand, Mato Grosso and Pará maintained strong commercial relations, through the fluvial connections that allowed the communication between the two captaincies (SANTOS, 2008, pp. 16-25).

**Table 8: Routes of governors and captains-generals before and after the state of Grão-Pará and Maranhão in colonial administration (1751-1780)**

Governor	Posterior		Posterior	
	Government(s)		Government(s)	
Francisco Xavier de Mendonça Furtado				
Manuel Bernardo de				

<sup>23</sup> AHU. Codex 274, fls. 157v-159 and fls. 175-176.

<sup>24</sup> ANTT. General Mercês Registry. D. José I. Book 6, fl. 378v.

<sup>25</sup> ANTT. Chancellery of D. Maria I. Book 15, fls. 191v-192.

Melo e Castro				
Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive				
João Pereira Caldas	Piauí		Mato Grosso	

### Comparative trajectories - final considerations

In this final part it is intended to return to some aspects already mentioned and clarify or develop others that have not yet been treated. The comparison of the trajectories of the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão (1751-1780) is certainly not exhausted in the selected elements. Others could have been chosen, such as civil status, to characterize the social profiles of agents and to deepen the analysis of their kinship networks. In this case, the very concept of a network would have to be mobilized to aid in understanding, and in cases where research has encountered more gaps than precise information in the fabric of personal relationships that may have influenced the nominations and promotions of the agents considered. In any case, nine or two-thirds of the governors and captains-generals were unmarried when they were recruited, and of these, only three changed their marital status, marrying during office, such as Bernardo Pereira de Berredo e Castro (MARQUES, 1870, p.268), or after his return to Portugal, in the cases of Manuel Bernardo de Melo e Castro and Fernando da Costa de Ataíde Teive (SANTOS, 2011, p.81 and p.III).

As for the symbols of social distinction, they were also taken only those carried by the characters when they were recruited for the government of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão. However, other indicators by which the social position and the patrimony of the governors and captains-generals, such as the administration of morgados and the usufruct of tences that accompanied the granting of habits and commendations, were left aside. This would require knowledge of the income earned by the governors, which in the case of tenses could easily be obtained in the standard letters by which mercy was granted. The omission of these indicators (morgados and tenses), however, resulted from a methodological option supported by the words of François Dosse: "The biographer knows that he will never complete his work, no matter how many sources he exhales. Before him new clues open up, where he runs the risk of getting entangled at every step" (DOSSE, 2009, pp. 13-14). Likewise, this study did not

contemplate the returns of the governors and captains-generals to Portugal. Their trajectories after overseas governance, as well as the rewards for services rendered, were also part of their trajectories.

Within the possibilities of building the profiles and careers of the privileged characters here, comparatively, in terms of social profile, it was concluded that there were no substantial differences between the individuals who ruled in the first half of the eighteenth century and those of the Pombal period. The trace of belonging to families of the elite manor and the provincial nobility remained in the two cuts considered. Thus, in terms of social quality, the governors and captains-generals of the State of Maranhão and Grão-Pará and the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão differed from the governors-general and vice-kings of the State of Brazil from families of better extraction, as the works of Francisco Cosentino (2009, 2012, pp. 725-753), directed towards the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries. In the next century, this pattern of social quality increased even further, increasing the distance between the viceroys of the State of Brazil and the governors and captains-generals based in Maranhão and Pará.

The display of insignia also proved to be a reasonably constant indicator, especially the forums of nobility and the habits of military orders, mostly of the Order of Christ. The same can not be said of the familiatura, more frequent among the governors and captains-generals of the State of Grão-Pará and Maranhão. Even so, in absolute terms, 1/3 of the sampling components (1702 to 1780) bore this public signal of prestige and personal distinction.

The passage through the university is perceptible in the trajectories of several colonial administrators, although they have often not completed the courses in Coimbra. In Pará and Maranhão, the difference occurred between the two groups analyzed, since the governors and captains-generals of the Pombal period did not attend any faculty, unlike 1/3 of their predecessors in the first half of the eighteenth century. This is also a peculiarity of the trajectory of some post-1780 rulers. Given this, it is necessary to expand the study of the training of colonial administrators in order to cover their experiences at the University of Coimbra. This background needs to be valued, as it is believed, the men of Empire rule put more of it into the routine of administration than their military expertise. It is not a matter of questioning the selection criteria, as in the consultations of the Overseas Council for the filling of the government posts, which emphasized the services sheet and the weapons made by opponents of the positions, but of looking at fragments found in documents on borders, indigenous slavery, for example, in which the governors' discourse may have been instrumented by their academic knowledge.

A significant difference might be perceived in the circulation and quality of the agents' services. While military careers and the colonial administration of the group from 1702 to 1751 had a greater diversity of experience in the Kingdom and in the overseas domains, the trajectories of the rulers of the Pombal period indicated a smaller variety of displacements, since they were in smaller numbers, of course; but mainly because this trait can be related to a more specific profile of colonial administrators recruited in the Pombal period, at least with respect to Pará and Maranhão. They would be men with recognized military training (something commensurate with a region with a large border), but not necessarily administrative. For this reason, they would not have acquired vices in governance. In addition, they had ties of kinship and personal affinities with Sebastião José de Carvalho and Melo, Marquis of Pombal, as Ângela Domingues pointed out (2000, pp. 126-132). In this sense, they formed a cohesive and oriented group to carry out some projects considered by the metropolis as essential for the economic recovery of the so-called colonial Amazon, such as the demarcation of the Treaty of Madrid, the promotion of freedom of the Indians and the founding of the General Company of Commerce of Grão-Pará and Maranhão, all of them put into practice still in the 1750s.

These findings lead to the conclusion that there was a definite profile of ruler for the conquests of the North, typical of the Pombaline period, which distinguished him from the previous and also the later phase. After 1780, during the reign of D. Maria I, the social and administrative trajectories of the rulers of the region returned to present traits that brought them closer to their predecessors in the first half of the eighteenth century, especially regarding the diversity of the displacements in the administration colonial period, in which posts in Africa and other parts of America reconnected with the state of Grão-Pará and Rio Negro and the state of Maranhão and Piauí (which appeared in 1772-74). The passage through the university could also be noticed in some cases in the Marian period. On the other hand, an element that distinguishes the governors and captains-generals at that moment is the existence of Great and of relatives of these Houses of the aristocracy in the governments of Pará and Maranhão, in spite of the maintenance of a social profile linked to the manorial elites. This question, however, will be handled with in another article.

### **Bibliographic References**

BICALHO, Maria Fernanda. Ascensão e queda dos Lopes de Lavre: secretários do Conselho Ultramarino. In: MONTEIRO, Rodrigo B.; FEITLER, Bruno; CALAINHO,

Daniela; FLORES, Jorge (orgs.). *Raízes do privilégio: mobilidade social no mundo ibérico do Antigo Regime*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011.

BICALHO, Maria Fernanda Baptista. Cultura política, governo e jurisdição no Antigo Regime e na América portuguesa: uma releitura do ofício de vice-rei do Estado do Brasil. In: AZEVEDO, Cecília; ROLLEMBERG, Denise; KNAUSS, Paulo; BICALHO, Maria Fernanda B.; QUADRAT, Samantha Viz (orgs.). *Cultura política, memória e historiografia*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV, 2009.

BLUTEAU, D. Raphael. *Vocabulario portuguez & latino: aulico, anatomico, architectonico...* Coimbra: Collegio das Artes da Companhia de Jesus, 1712, v. I.

BOXER, Charles R. *A idade de ouro do Brasil: dores de crescimento de uma sociedade colonial*. Translation. Nair de Lacerda. 3ª ed., Rio de Janeiro: Nova Fronteira, 2000.

CHAMBOULEYRON, Rafael. O “Regimento para Gomes Freire, governador do Maranhão”. *R.IHGB*, a.169 (439), abr./jul. 2008.

COSENTINO, Francisco Carlos. *Governadores Gerais do Estado do Brasil (séculos XVI-XVII): ofício, regimentos, governação e trajetórias*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2009.

COSENTINO, Francisco Carlos. Governadores gerais do Estado do Brasil pós Restauração: guerra e carreira militar. *Varia História*, v. 28, n.º 48, 2012.

COSTA, Antônio Carvalho da. *Corografia portuguesa e descrição topográfica do famoso reino de Portugal*. 2ª ed., Braga: Tipografia de Domingos Gonçalves Gouvêa, 1868, t. 2 e t. 3.

CUNHA, Luís Maria do Couto de Albuquerque da. *Memórias para a história da praça de Mazação*. Lisbon: Tipografia da Academia, 1864.

CUNHA, Mafalda Soares da. Governo e governantes do império português do Atlântico (século XVII). In: BICALHO, Maria Fernanda; FERLINI, Vera Lúcia Amaral (orgs.). *Modos de governar: ideias e práticas políticas no império português, séculos XVI a XIX*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2005.

DOMINGUES, Ângela. *Quando os índios eram vassalos. Colonização e relações de poder no norte do Brasil na segunda metade do século XVIII*. Lisbon: Comissão Nacional para as Comemorações dos Descobrimentos Portugueses, 2000.

DOSSE, François. *O desafio biográfico: escrever uma vida*. Translation. Gilson César Cardoso de Souza São Paulo: EDUSP, 2009.

GAYO, Felgueiras. *Nobiliário das famílias de Portugal*. 2ª ed., Braga: Edições Carvalhos de Basto, 1989.

GUARDA, Maria Inês Godinho. *O governo de Bernardino de Távora de Sousa Tavares (1701-1702) em Angola: o tráfico de escravos através das tramas portuguesas, africanas e luso-africanas*. Dissertação (Mestrado em História), Universidade Nova de Lisboa. Lisboa, 2012.

- HENRIQUES, Nuno Gorjão; GORJÃO-HENRIQUES, Miguel. *Gorjão Henriques*. Lisbon: Dislivro Histórica, 2006, v. I.
- HESPANHA, António Manuel. *As vésperas do Leviathan. Instituições e poder político, Portugal – séc. XVII*. Coimbra: Livraria Almedina, 1994.
- LOURENÇO, Maria Paula Marçal. *D. Pedro II, O Pacífico (1648-1706)*. Lisbon: Círculo de Leitores; Temas & Debates, 2010.
- MARCOS, Rui Manuel de Figueiredo. *A legislação pombalina: alguns aspectos fundamentais*. Coimbra: Almedina, 2006.
- MARQUES, Cezar Augusto. *Diccionario histórico-geographico da provincia do Maranhão*. São Luiz: Typ. do Frias, 1870.
- MARTINS, F. A. Oliveira. *Um herói esquecido (João da Maia da Gama)*. Lisbon: Agência Geral das Colônias, 1944, 2v.
- MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. *Elites e poder: entre o Antigo Regime e o Liberalismo*. Lisbon: Imprensa de Ciências Sociais; Instituto de Ciências Sociais da Universidade de Lisboa, 2003.
- MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. Governadores e capitães-mores do império atlântico português no século XVIII. In: BICALHO, Maria Fernanda; FERLINI, Vera Lúcia Amaral (orgs.). *Modos de governar: ideias e práticas políticas no império português (séculos XVI-XIX)*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2005.
- MONTEIRO, Nuno Gonçalo. Trajetórias sociais e governo das conquistas. Notas preliminares sobre os vice-reis e governadores-gerais do Brasil e da Índia nos séculos XVII e XVIII. In: FRAGOSO, João Luís Ribeiro; BICALHO, Maria Fernanda Baptista; GOUVÊA, Maria de Fátima Silva (orgs.). *O Antigo Regime nos trópicos: a dinâmica imperial portuguesa (séculos XVI-XVIII)*. Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2001.
- OLIVAL, Fernanda. *As ordens militares e o Estado Moderno: honra, mercê e venalidade em Portugal (1641-1789)*. Lisbon: Estar, 2001.
- OLIVEIRA, Luiz da Silva Pereira. *Privilégios da nobreza e fidalguia de Portugal*. Lisbon: Na Nova Oficina de João Rodrigues Neves, 1806.
- LOUDINOT, José Reinaldo Rangel de Quadros. *Aveirenses notáveis*. Aveiro: Câmara Municipal de Aveiro, 2000.
- PAIVA, José Pedro. *Os bispos de Portugal e do império, 1495-1777*. Coimbra: Imprensa da Universidade, 2006.
- RAMINELLI, Ronald. *Nobrezas do Novo Mundo: Brasil e ultramar hispânico, séculos XVII e XVIII*. Rio de Janeiro: Ed. FGV/FAPERJ, 2015.

REIS, Arthur César Ferreira (introdução e notas). Prestação de contas de um governante colonial do antigo Estado do Maranhão e Grão-Pará. *Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro*, v. 345, 1986.

RODRIGUES, Aldair Carlos. *Limpos de sangue: familiares do Santo Ofício, Inquisição e sociedade em Minas colonial*. São Paulo: Alameda, 2011.

SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. *O governo das conquistas do Norte: trajetórias administrativas no Estado do Grão-Pará e Maranhão (1751-1780)*. São Paulo: Annablume, 2011.

SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. Do Pará a Mato Grosso: relações comerciais e percursos na administração colonial (c. 1748-1780). *Cabanos – Revista de História*, v. 1, n.º 5, 2008.

SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. Da Paraíba ao Estado do Maranhão: trajetórias de governo na América portuguesa (séculos XVII e XVIII). *Revista de História*, nº 161, 2009.

SANTOS, Fabiano Vilaça dos. Redes de poder e governo das conquistas: as estratégias de promoção social de Alexandre de Sousa Freire (c.1670-1740). *Tempo*, v. 22, n.º 39, 2016.

SOARES, Sérgio Cunha. Nobreza e arquétipo fidalgo. A propósito de um Livro de Matrículas de Filhamentos (1641-1724). *Revista de História das Ideias*, v. 19, 1997.

SOUSA, D. António Caetano de. *História genealógica da Casa Real portuguesa*. 2ª ed., Coimbra: Atlântida-Livraria Editora, 1946.

STONE, Lawrence. Prosopography. *The Past and Present*. Boston/Londres, 1981.

