

³¹See Perón: *El Hombre del Destino*, No. 25, Buenos Aires: Ed. Abril, 1974; *Latin American Research Report*, 12:25 (June 30, 1978), pp. 196-197.

³²Júlio Mazzei, quoted by Alex Yannis, *New York Times*, Nov. 26, 1978, V, p. 3.

³³Figueiredo, cited in *Istoé* (São Paulo), 97, Oct. 31, 1978, p. 85.

Black Brothers and Sisters: Membership in the Black Lay Brotherhoods of Colonial Brazil

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Black lay brotherhoods were fraternal organizations of free blacks, African slaves and mulattoes dedicated to religious education and social benevolence in the Iberian peninsula, Spanish America, Portuguese Africa and Brazil. Medieval in origin, modeled on white brotherhoods, these religious organizations provided a wide variety of social welfare services and mutual aid activities not normally performed by the state authorities. Like their white counterparts in the Iberian peninsula, these black sodalities offered certain privileges to their members. They promised their members a decent Christian burial, aid to dependents in times of death, help in time of sickness, the saying of masses and rosaries for the souls of dead brothers, the ransoming of slave members from the bonds of slavery and the right to take parts in the religious festivals in honor of the patron saint of the confraternity. These societies of African slaves and free blacks were important institutions providing socially acceptable outlets for the leisure time of their black members. They also were vehicles for the social and religious control of blacks by the ecclesiastical and civil authorities. Membership in a brotherhood and election as an officer or King or Queen of the religious festivals carried great social prestige in the black community. In a slavocratic society where the white masters had almost complete control over their slaves, the black confraternities provided some protection for the slaves and offered an opportunity for newly arrived slaves to fraternize with members of their own tribal nations. Through the mechanism of slave confraternities the religious orders were able to provide some measure of religious education and indoctrination for slaves just nominally baptized without any religious instruction in Africa or on the slave ships.

Colonial Brazilian society was divided by class, color and ethnic background. Social progress and mobility for blacks and mulattoes was severely limited. "Free blacks did not rise above the middle level of society in civilian, ecclesiastical and

military institutions."¹ Access to the upper levels of society was blocked by the white elite. Afro-Brazilians were able to gain social ascendancy and prestige in only two colonial institutions: the black and mulatto military regiments; and the lay confraternities. Through the mechanism of a lay religious brotherhood a slave or free person could exert a leadership role in the black community. As members and officers of a black confraternity, Afro-Brazilians had a legal way to fight against injustice in the church and the slavocratic society of colonial Brazil, since the lay brothers and sisters built churches and organized festivals, helped slaves to buy their freedom papers by advancing loans to enterprising slaves and provided legal counsel for slaves in their time of need. Through their disputes with the local parish priests over the use of churches and burial privileges, the black lay brothers asserted the power of the laity within the church which was recently recognized by Vatican Council II.

Black lay confraternities were vehicles of Christianization for an African population which was insufficiently tutored in Catholic religious principles. The growth and proliferation of these lay religious associations in eighteenth-century Brazil was a testimony to the extreme religiosity of the black population in this Portuguese colony who dazzled colonial times with the splendor of their baroque churches, their festivals, processions and funerals. Membership in a black confraternity provided slaves and free blacks with opportunities for cultural self-expression and an outlet for recreational and self-help activities.

From medieval to early modern times lay confraternities were voluntary associations in which lay persons were grouped for mutual aid, material as well as spiritual. Whereas in the middle ages people of the same profession or trade were grouped together in the same confraternity, in colonial Brazil lay sodalities were divided by color and social class. While the Brazilian white associations were elitist and discriminatory against non-whites, women and the poor, black confraternities were open to both rich and poor, men and women, free and slave. They were the only fully integrated colonial social associations open to all races, classes and sexes.²

The earliest slave confraternities were founded by Dominican missionaries in fifteenth-century Spain and Portugal to serve the needs of the growing slave population in Lisbon and Cadiz who had been only nominally baptized on the slave ships. The first Jesuit missionaries in Pernambuco started the earliest confraternities in Brazil for the newly arrived African slaves from Guinea as early as 1552. Pope Gregory XIII permitted the organization of lay brotherhoods in the late sixteenth century to indoctrinate the newly converted slaves in the customs and dogmas of the Catholic religion. In 1589 two Jesuit priests who worked in missions on the sugar plantations in Northeastern Brazil created additional brotherhoods for the African slaves of the *engenho* (sugar mills). The Portuguese kings encouraged missionary work among the slaves, since Christianization of the African people was one justification for the slave trade. The institution of lay brotherhoods was

viewed by the king as another important step in the evangelization of slaves. The Catholic Church encouraged the organization of slave confraternities to facilitate their religious conversion and instruction.³

The members of the slave confraternities were a representative cross section of the black urban population. Slaves constituted the most important social category among the members and were the majority of the black brothers and sisters. No matter how destitute, many of the blacks and mulattoes who lived in the cities of colonial Brazil aspired to become members and officers of the black confraternities. By joining a brotherhood a slave gained enormous prestige, social status and respectability. The black brotherhoods provided a means of social ascent and mobility for enterprising slaves and freedmen.⁴ The confraternities allowed for the emergence of a black elite within the Afro-Brazilian community. The officers of the black brotherhoods were the cream of black society who were willing to use their meager savings and small wages to contribute to church building, to sponsor lavish festivals and funerals and to contribute to the various works of mercy required by their *compromissos* (statutes of incorporation).

The practice of having separate confraternities for the people of different races and classes in Brazil provided the Afro-Brazilian population with their own ethnic and cultural identity. Blacks were prohibited from joining white confraternities such as the Santa Casa da Misericórdia, which was the leading white confraternity in colonial Brazil. It was exclusive in its membership excluding New Christians, blacks, mulattoes, Jews, Indians, slaves, persons of mixed blood and poor whites. All other types of self-help associations were forbidden. Black brotherhoods were the only legitimate associations permitted in colonial times for the non-white population.

African kings, chiefs, warriors had all been enslaved and reduced to one level without any consideration for the different social classes within African society. In the rigid class stratification of colonial Brazil black slaves occupied the lowest level of the social pyramid, but not all the people of African descent were subject peasants toiling on the plantations without any relief from the burdens of slavery. With the help of their confraternities slaves could save enough money to buy their freedom papers or gain legal assistance in lawsuits over their freedom. Since Brazilian slaves lived in an alien and hostile environment, they needed black brotherhoods as a source of protection against the cruelty and excesses of their white masters. Through their confraternities the blacks gained a form of religious equality and social insurance. The vigilant officers of the confraternities saw that indigent members and their families were cared for in times of sickness or death. No matter how poor the members, the lay brotherhoods provided their members with a decent Christian funeral and masses for the dead. Confraternities insured that slaves were given a decent burial and thereby protected from the indifference of white masters who preferred to dump a slave's body in the jungles or beaches to avoid paying the required burial

fees. Since the Catholic population of Brazil had to pay both church tithes and stipends to the priests for the reception of sacraments, the officers of the black brotherhoods initiated lawsuits against the parish priests protesting against the inflation of priestly fees, which caused a terrible burden on poor slaves and made it very expensive to be religious. Forming their own brotherhoods and building their own churches insured the black members of a meeting place apart from the watchful eyes of their white masters.

The black population of colonial Brazil was not a unified or cohesive social class. There were many divisions within the Afro-Brazilian community which prevented them from presenting a united front against white society. Linguistic and tribal differences divided the black community. There were hostilities between the Brazilian-born creoles and African-born blacks which prevented them from organizing a successful slave uprising. Creole informers notified the police of any planned rebellions before they had begun. There were also antagonisms between mulattoes and blacks which often caused the *pardos* to form their own associations. Within the divisiveness of black society, the confraternities provided a place where all members of the African nations might be united with the Brazilian-born creoles. Ethnic differences were often forgotten in the confraternities in light of the common problems of racial and social discrimination suffered by the non-white population during colonial times. Black brotherhoods, unlike their white counterparts, were not discriminatory, allowing all people to join without regard for race, class, social condition or sex. The only requirements for membership were baptism and a knowledge of Christian doctrine. Some confraternities required that their prospective members be capable of receiving communion so they could enjoy all the indulgences of membership. Lay brotherhoods were products of collective religious sentiment which united their members through common needs and goals. Membership in a confraternity was a vehicle of social assimilation and integration for the alien African population.⁵

The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary of black men and women was the oldest and most exclusive black confraternity in colonial Brazil. It was the most popular and numerous confraternity in the cities of Brazil. Out of the 165 confraternities studied eighty-six were dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Rosário.⁶ At least fifty percent of all the brotherhoods founded in colonial Brazil were dedicated to the patronage of Our Lady of the Rosary. The attachment of Afro-Brazilians to Our Lady of the Rosary might be explained by the fact that the slaves worshipped her as Yemanjá, the African goddess of the sea. In the Xangôs of Recife Yemanjá was called "Sereia do Mar" (Mermaid of the Sea) or Nossa Senhora do Rosário.⁷ Devotion to Our Lady of the Rosary was spread by Dominican missionaries in Portuguese Africa in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. Belief in the cult of the Rosary was popular among the African slaves of Brazil who wore the rosary beads around their neck using the rosary as an amulet.

The members of the rosary confraternities were the elite of

black society who were financially able and willing to pay the entrance fees and annual dues required of the brothers and sisters of the lay brotherhoods. It was the richest of all the black confraternities in Brazil. The Portuguese kings had given it the most privileges. Under royal protection it grew and prospered until it had the largest number of branches throughout the cities of colonial Brazil. Membership in any one of the branches of the Rosary confraternity conveyed the most prestige and social status within the black community. Membership could be transferred from one city and province to another allowing the lay brothers and sisters to enjoy the same privileges and concessions no matter where they lived in Brazil as long as there was a branch of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary of black men and women in the town to which they moved.

This particular brotherhood took the leadership in challenging the funeral privileges of the white confraternity of the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in Rio de Janeiro and Salvador da Bahia. Two branches of the Rosary brotherhood in Salvador in the churches of Portas do Carmo and Conceição da Praia fought adamantly with the pastors over the high taxes that the priests charged for the administration of the sacraments which were known as *conhecenças*. The Catholics in Brazil were doubly taxed by the Church. All Christians paid a Church tithe plus priestly stipends for the reception of the sacraments. The officers of the Rosary confraternity played an important leadership role in challenging the pastors for jurisdiction over the brotherhood churches and attacking the high costs of the taxes for the reception of the sacraments. The black officers of the Rosary brotherhood were independent-minded laypersons who struggled for greater rights for blacks within the church. The majority of the officers were freemen and women who enjoyed greater mobility and freedom for confraternity activities, although slaves were a majority of the membership.

Although non-whites made up the majority of the lay membership, some branches permitted white and mulatto brothers. Other branches were restrictive in their membership, permitting only people of African descent. Many lay confraternities were like the Rosary branch in Igarassú, Pernambuco which permitted only blacks to enter the sodality with the sole exception of the one rich white man who held the office of treasurer. Mulattoes generally had their own confraternities dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Livramento, N.Sr^a do Amparo, N.Sr^a do Conceição or N.Sr^a do Guadalupe, which were usually closed to pure Africans and creoles but were open to whites.⁸ Out of the 165 confraternities studied, only twenty were mulatto associations. It is quite probable that mulatto confraternities were a minority of brotherhood associations established for the Afro-Brazilian population.⁹

From earliest times in Brazil separate brotherhoods existed for whites, blacks, and Indians. With the growth of miscegenation in Brazil confraternities were created for the fourth racial category of mulattoes or *pardos*. This was an example of the racial segregation and social exclusivism of the brotherhoods in Brazil. The earliest brotherhoods dedicated to Our Lady of the Rosary in Bahia

were divided into two branches, one for whites and another for blacks. A separate confraternity was later established for pardos in Salvador dedicated to Our Lady of Guadalupe.¹⁰ Many mulattoes were freemen and they might not have felt comfortable in an association of slaves by the end of the colonial period. In the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries the lay brotherhoods of Brazil were divided by racial classification. By the eighteenth century many of the black brotherhoods admitted whites as members although whites usually paid higher entrance fees and annual dues and were barred from positions on the governing board of the brotherhoods. It was customary in Brazil to reserve the position of scribe and treasurer for whites. The poverty and illiteracy of the African population were the basis for this rule. However, by the end of the eighteenth century there were enough literate blacks and mulattoes to demand an end to this requirement.

All of the blacks in Brazil were eligible for membership in a confraternity. Slaves, free blacks, tribal Africans, mulattoes and creoles, all could find a confraternity which would meet their needs provided they paid their entry fee, annual dues and contributed to the festivals.¹¹ Members were also required to attend religious services together on special feast days. Many confraternities had weekly or monthly religious duties such as saying the rosary, going to communion and confession and attending mass together. The most important religious duty of the black brothers and sisters was attending the funeral processions of dead members. Constant absence from the religious observances and funerals of the confraternity would result in expulsion from the membership rolls.

Women were permitted to join the black sodalities although they were barred from the white confraternities. They were usually wives, sisters or friends of members. Black sisters were not a majority of the slave confraternities. They probably made up no more than ten percent of the membership of most black confraternities. However, there were some exceptions: the Mineiro confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Sabará had eleven women out of a total membership of twenty-four members. Approximately forty-two percent of this confraternity were female. However, most other confraternities had fewer black sisters. In the Pernambucan confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Igarassú there were only nine women out of a total membership of eighty. The Rosary branch in Recife, Pernambuco had sixteen sisters out of seventy-three members.¹²

A few positions on the governing board of the confraternities were customarily reserved for women of African descent. They usually held the positions of judge (*juiza*), queen (*rainha*), procurator (*procuradora*), and stewardess (*mordoma*). They played an important role in the organization of festivals. The pardo brotherhood of Our Lady of Conception in Vallença, Bahia, required that poor girls and orphan members be dressed in white and take vows of chastity on the feast day of their patroness. These vows were annually renewed on the festival of Our Lady of Conception.¹³ Perhaps this custom was imitating the vows of white nuns in the

Brazilian convents, which excluded women of African descent. The lay sisters of the black sodalities were also used in nursing sick members.¹⁴ It was an unusual practice in colonial Brazilian society to allow women to enter lay confraternities but this custom of the black brotherhoods reflected the important role that African women traditionally played in tribal society. Exclusion of Afro-Brazilian women from convents in colonial times might explain their enthusiastic participation in lay confraternities.

Each black confraternity in Brazil shared certain common characteristics irrespective of the different ethnic origins of its members. Within each brotherhood there was an unusually large number of officers and an elected chaplain. The four principal officers were the judge (*juiz*), scribe (*escrivão*), treasurer (*tesoureiro*), and procurator (*procurador*). It was not uncommon practice in the larger sodalities to have two *juizes* and *juizas* (judges), two *mordomos* and *mordomas* (stewards and stewardesses), and two *procuradores* and *procuradoras* (procurators) to be in charge of the myriad duties of collecting alms, rendering social services, running festivals, arranging for masses for the dead and keeping the church in good order. The Rosary brotherhoods always elected a king and queen for the annual *reynados*. Most brotherhoods had additional officers such as *mordomos* (stewards), *andadores* (funeral notifiers), *zelladores* (sextons or caretakers), *definidores* and *consultores* (counsellors) who acted as stewards and advisors aiding in the collection of alms to pay for the social services of the sodalities. In addition to these officers each brotherhood had a *mesa*, a committee or board which was composed of twelve to twenty-four members annually elected who helped run brotherhood affairs. In choosing the members of the *mesa*, the Rosary brotherhoods were conscious of the ethnic divisions within the black community. Therefore it was stipulated that half of the *mesa* membership would be creoles and the other half would be Angolans. Election to an office in a black brotherhood was a great honor but it carried with it further financial responsibilities beyond the entrance fee and the annual dues. Officers were required to subsidize the religious festivals and the funerals of indigent members. The officers paid a higher fee when they were elected since this money was badly needed by the poor sodalities for their charitable works.

Slaves were permitted to be officers and members of the majority of the black brotherhoods. Some confraternities allowed slaves to be elected to office with the written permission of their masters. The Rio Brotherhood of Our Lady of Mercy of the Redemption of Captives had eight slaves as officers when its *compromisso* was approved in 1782. They held the positions of judge, scribe and six were members of the *mesa*. This sodality was not a typical confraternity. According to its *compromisso* it was quite selective in whom it admitted to membership. Chapter 2 described the people who ought to be admitted to the sodality:

The brotherhood is open to all men and women [who live lives] without scandal or infamy. Of the persons who must be ad-

mitted. We admit into this Archconfraternity all types of Christian people, men as well as women, making first a petition with their names, countries and where they are residents in order that informing us of their conduct and [how] they will serve . . . [so that we can ascertain whether or not] they will serve with the scandal or infamy of thievery, of being a fugitive slave, sorcerers, usurers, vagabonds, and of rebellious spirit or drunkards, and those who they will find with good information . . . will be admitted as a brother and every brother who through time in the future incurred the said faults (which the Mother of God does not permit) [their names] will be erased being first admonished, and his body will be carried to sepulture without pomp.¹⁵

Criminals, rebels, fugitive slaves, believers in the African cults, and public sinners were excluded from membership or expelled if they were found committing certain sins.

The black confraternities could afford to be selective about the people whom they admitted into their midst since many Afro-Brazilians wanted to enter a brotherhood. Henry Koster, the English merchant who resided in the Northeast of Brazil for many years, noted in his traveler's account the popularity and importance of lay brotherhoods among the slaves of Recife:

The ambition of the slave very generally aims at being admitted into one of these *Irmandades* and at being made one of the officers and directors of the concerns of the brotherhood. Even some of the money which the industrious slave is collecting for the purpose of purchasing his freedom will often times be brought out of its concealment for the decoration of a saint, that the donor may become of importance in the society to which he belongs.¹⁶

The slaves' willingness to use part of their limited savings, which they could have used to buy their freedom, to contribute to the brotherhoods' religious activities, indicates the enormous prestige and respect which membership in a confraternity carried in the Afro-Brazilian community.

Black brotherhoods were less exclusive than the white brotherhoods in their membership rules. Most of the black confraternities were open to all baptized Christians without distinction of class, race, sex or servile condition. Minors of at least twelve years of age were also eligible for membership in a sodality. However, prospective members were expected to be free of such vices as excessive drinking or practicing witchcraft. *Feiticeiras* (sorcerers) were to be expelled from the brotherhoods without any pardon. Those members who practiced the African cults in secret escaped public expulsion in a society where belief in the African cults was pervasive among whites as well as blacks.¹⁷

The fear of heresy, the threat of the revival of African paganism and the question of religious syncretism were particularly troublesome issues faced by the black brothers and the religious

authorities. Black mutual aid societies such as the lay brotherhoods were often suspected of being hotbeds of heresy and conspiracy. The Count of Pavolide, Martinho de Mello e Castro wrote a letter in 1780 to the royal court in Lisbon complaining about this problem. He was outraged at the religious syncretism displayed in the African dances performed on the festival of Our Lady of the Rosary by the black brotherhoods of Recife. He had received instructions from the Inquisition and the governor of Pernambuco to make a *visita* or official inspection investigating the religious activities of the blacks in Recife. Voicing a typical complaint of the white elite, he condemned the African dances for being too superstitious and sensual for religious occasions. The festival dances of the different African tribes in Recife had not been Europeanized and were considered too profane for holy days. The count felt these dances were not innocent dances like the *fandangos* of Castile, the *fofas* of Portugal, and the *lunduns* of the whites and *pardos* of Brazil. The tribe he singled out for special condemnation were the African people from the Costa da Mina who performed dances of "total reprobation" and secretly maintained their African cults in special houses or on the plantations. Black priestesses maintained the purity of the cults and presided over the cult houses. The Portuguese count was shocked to see their altars of clay idols and live goats, the priestesses' anointing of their bodies with oils and the blood of a rooster, and the offerings of corn cakes to statues among a black population that was supposedly Christianized. He criticized their "various superstitious blessings which made unsophisticated peasants believe that these . . . anointings would bring good luck in love and . . . even influenced those who are not so rustic and unsophisticated as monks and clergymen." To remedy this situation he recommended that the leading practitioners of the cults be rounded up, imprisoned and their houses closed, and the black worshippers be punished by whipping and confessing their sins and schemes to the priests. He even suggested that the masters sell such slaves abroad or away from the plantations so they would not corrupt others. He ordered that the officials of the Holy Office on their current visitation should observe African dances for superstitious practices. Such recommendations and decrees were easy to issue but difficult and impractical to enforce in a society chronically short of both priests and slave labor.¹⁸

There was always a degree of religious syncretism in the religious festivals of the confraternities. Religious fetishes were often exhibited at the processions although these practices were condemned by the church and frowned on by the creole brotherhoods and orthodox blacks. A number of the *compromissos* of the black brotherhoods expelled members for exhibiting fetishes at religious ceremonies.¹⁹ As Roger Bastide and Pierre Verger have pointed out in their books, the West African cults thrived in the shadows of the brotherhood churches. For example the Bahian brotherhood of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte was composed of Nagô-Yoruba Africans of the Ketou nation. The cults of the African gods of this West African tribe were held outside of the church of the Barroquinha

where the confraternity held its meetings.²⁰ In Pernambuco the members of the cult houses were the same individuals who joined the black sodalities. Roger Bastide concluded that the black brotherhoods created a form of Catholicism which had special characteristics and showed evidence of religious syncretism.²¹ For this reason the brotherhoods of tribal Africans were always suspected of heresy. When the Gégé confraternity of Senhor Bom Jesus dos Martyrios of Bahia sent its compromisso to Lisbon in 1765 requesting approval of its statutes by the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, the local authorities warned the Portuguese authorities not to confirm the brotherhood because it was the opinion of the Crown's attorney on the High Court that

These Gégé blacks are derived from the paganism of Africa and there always remains in them a propensity for superstitious things and it is fitting to declare that they be made subject to the discipline of the bishop in their functions and processions as well as in the obligation of giving accounts to the Provedor of Lisbon.²²

Notwithstanding these reservations of the colonial authorities, most of the compromissos were approved by the Mesa da Consciência e Ordens in Lisbon, which tended to be more lenient than the Brazilian officials in approving the statutes of the black brotherhoods.

Although a majority of the black sodalities were open to white members, whites' roles within the brotherhood were restricted to the religious and charitable duties of ordinary membership. Most of the brotherhoods banned whites from participating in elections or holding office except for the positions of scribe and treasurer. In 1788 and 1804 the brotherhoods of St. Benedict in Bahia sought to rescind the rule which stipulated that whites should hold these positions. In its demand for black self-government, the brotherhood reasoned that by the end of the eighteenth century there were sufficient numbers of literate blacks eligible to hold these offices. In 1804 the Brotherhood of St. Benedict in the Convent of São Francisco gave as the reason for its request for a black scribe and treasurer "the despotic power of the whites" in their exercise of the functions of these offices. Here the whites acted as a trojan horse within the sodality, trying to control the affairs of the sodality. In 1788 the white treasurer and scribe of the Brotherhood of St. Benedict voiced their opposition to the blacks' request for a black scribe and treasurer on the grounds that most blacks were slaves, only a minority were literate, the majority were unemployed, lacked financial means and were incapable of efficient administration of the affairs of the brotherhood. Finally they argued that white officers were a stabilizing influence on the black sodalities. In 1789 the governor allowed blacks to hold the position of scribe and treasurer provided they were freedmen with sufficient financial resources.²³

In the beginning of the colonial period the black brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary in Bahia were exclusive in their

membership, allowing only Angolans to enter the sodality; later, creoles were admitted. This practice encouraged the establishment of other black sodalities among the Afro-Brazilian population. Some of the tribal brotherhoods were restrictive in their membership. The Gégé Brotherhood of Bom Jesus in the Carmelite Convent in Cachoeira, Bahia excluded creoles from membership due to controversies between the African-born and Brazilian-born blacks.

The pardo brotherhoods were choosy about their membership as well. The Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Livramento in Recife permitted whites and mulattoes to become brothers but excluded black freedmen and slaves from membership in order to prevent discord within the sodality. It was felt that the blacks had the Rosary brotherhoods. However, not all of the mulatto confraternities were so exclusive. The pardo Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Amparo in Jaguaripe, Bahia admitted all baptized Christians and helped slave members to buy their freedom. Another pardo brotherhood dedicated to Nossa Senhora do Livramento in Recife prohibited whites from serving as officers of the governing board in order to prevent dissensions.²⁴

Slaves were eligible for membership in the vast majority of the black brotherhoods. In fact slaves made up the majority of the membership. There were some restrictions on the slaves' right to be elected officers. Some sodalities allowed slaves to be elected to the governing board of the brotherhood only with the permission of their masters. The branches of the brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary in Rio Grande do Sul and Paraíba only permitted slaves to be elected to offices in the brotherhood with the written permission of their masters who were required to pay the annual dues for their slaves. Another branch of the brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Minas Gerais obliged slave masters to pay for the masses for the souls of their dead slaves. The Irmandade of Nossa Senhora do Rozário of the black men of the town of Santo Antonio in Recife did not admit slave brothers to the board of governors or the mesa "because the slaves were many times impeded from fulfilling their obligations to the brotherhood by their masters' need for their services." Slaves were excluded from the office of procurador in the Brotherhood of São Benedicto in Minas Gerais due to their servile condition. However slaves could be elected Juiz or Juiza with a letter of permission from their masters.²⁵

Masses for the dead and funeral expenses for dead slaves were to be paid by their masters except in cases where the slave had been troublesome. The procuradores of the brotherhoods often sought alms from slave owners for masses and funeral expenses. Black brotherhoods often buried dead slaves at brotherhood expense because unfeeling, uncaring slave owners felt no obligation to their dead slaves. Some white slave owners were too poor to pay these expenses. Most of the brotherhoods sought to elect free men and women to office in the brotherhood. The Brotherhood of São Vicente Ferreira in Marianna stated in its compromisso that officers could be free or slave without distinction. The old Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in Portas do Carmo in Bahia would not permit slaves or persons of illegitimate birth to be elected

to the mesa. The only exceptions were the mordomos of the festivals who could be slaves as long as they fulfilled all their obligations during the year and satisfied the customary debts and alms required of their office and the expenses of the festival.²⁶

How did slaves, poor free blacks and mulattoes amass sufficient wealth to join a confraternity? In some cases the white owners of slaves paid their entrance fees and annual dues to the confraternity. In the mining regions of Brazil slaves were able to secrete diamonds and gold in their hair and clothing in order to amass some savings from contraband sales and illegal activities. Slaves were allowed to work on Sundays and holy days. Many slaves undoubtedly contributed to their brotherhoods some of the money they were saving for their freedom papers.

Who were the members of the brotherhoods? What were their occupations? These are crucial questions which must be answered about confraternity membership. The soldiers of the black regiments made up a sizeable proportion of the free black members in Salvador da Bahia. Despite the fact that the black regiments had lower pay scales than the soldiers of the white regiments, freedmen gained social status and respectability by joining the black or pardo regiments which helped them to escape the social stigma of slavery. Ethnic rivalries and jealousies were present in the black regiments as well as the black brotherhoods. The creoles hated and distrusted the African people from the Costa da Mina, a West African people of the Yoruba linguistic group, being Gégés or Nâgos; the African people from the Costa da Mina were active in preserving the African religious cults in Brazil. These African people possessed mining skills and were considered the strongest of the slave population, most resistant to diseases and with the magical skill of finding gold. They were numerous in Minas Gerais, particularly Diamantina.²⁷

In 1756 the creole captains and officers of the Henriques Dias regiment of the musketeers of the Plaza of the city of Bahia sent a petition to the King protesting that an African regiment was established in Pernambuco composed of men from the Costa da Mina. The creoles felt that the Africans of the Costa da Mina were people of an "infected nation . . . lacking faith in God and the King, enemies of the whites against whom each day they plot uprisings and easily could with the use of their arms make some insurrection among the people, accompanied by the black slaves and fugitives." Therefore the creole regiments wanted the king to appoint only creoles born in Brazil to the regiments and not blacks of any other nation. The creole soldiers resented the appointment of an African from the Costa da Mina as a "Mestre do Campo" (Colonel of the Infantry) of a black regiment in Pernambuco. This was another example of the antagonism existing between creoles and tribal Africans.²⁸

The black brotherhoods had a small minority of whites in their membership. Why did whites join the black confraternities? Slave owners, priests, soldiers, and rich whites joined the black brotherhoods for pious religious reasons, to have a big funeral when they died, and to try to control and dominate the activities

of the black members. The offices of treasurer and scribe were usually held by rich white men due to illiteracy and poverty of the black members. Black confraternities were not discriminatory, opening their membership to all races, classes and sexes, although the white confraternities were closed to the non-white population. In most Brazilian cities whites and blacks established separate confraternities but in the Rosary branch in Diamantina white brothers were present in the last quarter of the eighteenth century. They were relatively few in number from 1700 to 1775. Most whites joined the confraternities in the nineteenth century out of a desire to integrate the membership. Most of the white brothers were priests and soldiers of the Dragoons and Infantry. The majority of the white brothers were people of distinction within the district. Rarely did the white brothers become officers of the mesa. Their priests were chaplains who tried to defend the confraternity against the interference of the pastors. Rich whites often willed money and property to the confraternity. In the brotherhoods whites were always a distinct minority. Out of 510 members of the Rosary brotherhood in Tijuco between 1779 and 1800 only seventy-nine were whites.²⁹

Free blacks and mulattoes were not the majority of the membership of most black confraternities since membership was predominantly slave, but they played an important leadership role in the confraternities. The free black and mulatto lived in precarious economic circumstances in colonial Brazil. The white population confused the freedmen with slaves. The social and racial discrimination suffered by the freedmen was equal to that suffered by the slaves. In difficult economic times when it was unprofitable to support a slave, many were freed in large numbers by their owners. Few freedmen had a skill which would command a decent wage. Some of the branches of the Rosary brotherhood were dedicated to helping the freed man with food and charity in cases of extreme poverty. In the beginning of the eighteenth century freedmen, slaves and mulattoes were all united in one black confraternity. Later in the century the mulattoes created their own confraternities dedicated to Our Lady of Mercy or Amparo or Santa Efigenia.

The freed blacks and pardos were an unruly and rebellious part of the population who resisted subjugation by the whites. Since they were essentially a marginal element in the population, the brotherhoods helped to integrate and assimilate them into the general population. The mulattoes were famous for their cultural achievements. They gained professional competency in the arts and music which gave them social status. They were also artisans as well as musicians and artists. Pardos constructed the majority of the churches in Minas Gerais. As Ouro Preto excelled in art and church construction, Diamantina excelled in musical compositions. Francisco Curt Lange, the German musicologist, has described the achievements of these mulatto masters of Baroque music. Brotherhoods were clients of the arts subsidizing church construction, sculptures and musical works enriching the cultural style and development of the captaincy of Minas Gerais. The demand for church construction made the Mineiro confraternities the center of

artistic and musical activities.³⁰

The leading black figures of Brazil joined black brotherhoods as a testimony to their popularity. Antônio Francisco Lisboa, the most famous colonial sculptor, was a member of two mulatto confraternities. He was buried in the parish church of Antonio Dias in the *cova* (grave) of the confraternity of Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte dos Pardos. He was also a member of the mulatto confraternity of Nossa Senhora das Mercês.³¹ Henriques Dias and the members of the black regiments were active in the black confraternities.

Archangelo Benedicto de São Francisco was a typical member of the Rosary brotherhood. He was a leading officer of the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Portas do Carmo in Salvador da Bahia. He was a captain major in the Henriques Dias regiment of the plaza of Bahia. In the dispute between Pastor Father Francis Xavier Marques de Rocha and the Rosary brotherhood, Archangelo Benedicto took the leadership in challenging the pastor over the high cost of funerals. In his letters to Lisbon the pastor singled Archangelo Benedicto out as a rebellious brother who spoke harshly to the priest entering the sacristy of the church protesting against the actions of the priest. He was described as rebellious and a supporter of demands and discords. He probably originated the lawsuit against the pastor. His actions prove that the black brothers were not docile in face of oppression or mistreatment by the Church hierarchy.³²

Although the confraternities were mainly composed of black lay men and women, there was a small minority of priests on the membership rolls. What percentage of these priests were mulattoes and blacks is an intriguing question which cannot be answered conclusively. Most of the clergy in the Brazilian church in colonial times were whites. The archbishopric of Bahia laid down specific rules for candidates for ordination in the early 1700s which required "purity of blood" (*limpeza da sangue*) of the parents and grandparents of all seminarians. Slaves, illegitimate sons, physically deformed persons, Jews, Moors, *moriscos*, mulattoes, heretics and persons of any other "contaminated race" were excluded from the priesthood.

There were of course exceptions to this rule. The Crown or local bishop could grant dispensations allowing aspiring novices to enter the clergy without satisfying all these rules for ordination. The most famous exception to the purity of blood of the white clergy was Antonio Vieira, a prominent member of the Jesuit order whose maternal grandmother was a mulatto servant. Blacks in the Portuguese possessions were ordained from the mid-fifteenth century onwards. They were never very numerous but they did constitute a majority of the clergy in São Tomé for centuries and a sizeable portion of the priests in Cabo Verde, Angola and the old kingdom of the Congo. Individual non-whites may have become priests in Brazil from the sixteenth century onwards but they were never very numerous until the end of the colonial period when the Jesuits were expelled and the shortage of clergymen caused the church to lift the ban against blacks and mulattoes entering the

clergy. It is safe to conclude that most of the priests who were chaplains or members of the black brotherhoods were whites with a few individual exceptions.³³

The festivals of the black brotherhoods were colorful extravaganzas which fascinated the painters of nineteenth-century Brazil. Johan Moritz Rugendas, a nineteenth-century German artist whose visit to Brazil in 1821 provided inspiration for his book *Pictorial Voyage to Brazil*, was intrigued by the brotherhood festival of the crowning of the African kings and the funeral processions of the blacks. The military artist, Carlos Julião, a captain of an artillery division attached to the Portuguese court in Rio de Janeiro, was also fascinated by the confraternity festivals of the black slaves in Rio de Janeiro. His colorful pictures of the Rosary festivals give a beautiful picture of the rich costumes used by the black slaves in their confraternity activities. The dresses of the African women who took part in the festivals of Our Lady of the Rosary and the crowning of the king and queen of the African nations are magnificent examples of nineteenth-century costumes. These rich costumes were either donated by the whites to their slaves or were purchased at great price. It is conceivable that slaves spent on their festivals all their savings and meager wages which could have been used to buy their freedom papers. The confraternity's festivals were so colorful and splendid that foreign travelers described them in their books and paintings. Extravagant processions and baroque festivals gave the confraternity members opportunities for displaying their African dances and music, thereby preserving a portion of their African culture. During the processions, ceremonies and banquets that were staged on the days of the festivals, the brothers and sisters of the confraternities had an opportunity to forget the dreadful burden of their servitude and to act like other human beings. Participation of black slaves in public processions and religious festivals was a sign of social acceptance and carried great prestige. It was also a sign of the assimilation of the black population within Brazilian society.³⁴

How large was the membership of the various black confraternities? Brotherhood memberships varied from region to region depending on the wealth of the black population and their interest and dedication to confraternity activities. Undoubtedly the largest confraternities were found in Minas Gerais, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco where the black population was large and had sufficient opportunities to amass ample savings to invest in lay religious associations. The average brotherhood was small, composed of twenty to thirty members. The largest and most popular confraternities had from eighty to one hundred members and were well endowed. The Brotherhood of Our Lady of the Rosary in the Church of Santos Cosme and Damião in the town of Igaressú, Pernambuco had eighty members, six of whom were priests, seven were women, two were widows of former members. Another Rosary branch in Recife had seventy-two members, four of whom were priests and sixteen were women. One of the largest confraternities were the Rosary branches in Diamantina. From 1779 until 1800 the

Confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary in Diamantina had 453 members, of whom 314 were slaves and 139 were freedmen. In the same years the Rosary branch in Tijuco had 510 members made up of 297 slaves, 134 freedmen and seventy-nine whites.³⁵

How did slaves amass enough money to support such large confraternities with a wide variety of social services? Mainly the members contributed from their own scanty resources with some aid from generous whites who gained social prestige by contributing money to their slaves' confraternities. It was also possible for the slaves to save money by working on their holidays: Sundays, holy days and moonlit nights. Annual dues and entrance fees were only part of the revenue of the confraternities. The greatest source of revenue were the collections made in the church or at annual meetings where the officers accepted voluntary contributions from the faithful. The black confraternities also owned property which brought in needed revenue in the form of rent. The Rosary confraternities in Diamantina were richer than the mulatto confraternity of Nossa Senhora das Mercês whose members helped to support their treasury by accompanying funeral cortèges of non-members. The Rosary brotherhood in Diamantina owned many houses which they rented as a lucrative source of income for their treasury.³⁶

There were regional differences among the confraternities. Some brotherhoods had a majority slave membership while others were predominantly free. The Rosary brotherhood in Tijuco in the diamond mining district of Minas Gerais had a majority slave membership and they owned slaves; free members used slaves and their labor to pay their debts to the confraternity. But this practice was not typical of other urban brotherhoods of blacks elsewhere. The Rosary brothers in Tijuco also leased slaves to the mines to raise needed revenue; however they only hired out a few of their slaves and they never used slave members. The white confraternity of Santissimo Sacramento also followed this same practice in Diamantina. This was not a common practice of lay confraternities throughout Brazil and was a response to the heavy labor demands of the mining districts. White confraternities like the Santas Casas da Misericórdia in Bahia and Rio de Janeiro owned slaves. This practice was not typical of black confraternities with majority slave membership.³⁷

African slaves of Sudanese origin organized African cult houses in Recife, Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Some of the confraternity members were undoubtedly *feiticeiras* in those cities. Since the Rosary brotherhood in Diamantina united Africans of different tribal nations together into one confraternity, this practice prevented the emergence of religious syncretism. In general this mixing of the different African tribes caused a lack of African cults in Minas Gerais as a whole.³⁸

The membership of the Rosary Brotherhood in the Pelourinho was more typical of the majority of black confraternities of urban Brazil. Most of the members were creoles or Africans from the Congo and Angola. From 1703 until 1726 they constructed their own church by working on moonlit nights, Sundays and holy days. A

white master carpenter helped the black brothers of the Rosary plan and construct their church. Since they had many slave members they used the labor of their slave brothers to perform the necessary work on construction of the church, dispensing with the need to pay laborers. The majority of the Rosary brothers in the Pelourinho were of Bantu origin; therefore they did not dabble in the African cults or plot rebellions—or preserve their African culture. The newly arrived African brothers looked upon their church and confraternity as an African association where they came to listen to their African chiefs while they preserved the outer form of a Catholic Church.³⁹

Membership in a black confraternity allowed slaves and newly arrived Africans to be thoroughly Christianized and assimilated into Luso-Brazilian society. The communal life of the brotherhoods duplicated the tribal solidarity and ties of their African culture. The officers of the confraternity protected their members from the extreme abuses of a slavocratic society offering their slave members some protection from the arbitrary will of their white masters and some relief from the cruelties of the slave system. Through the festivals the slaves had an opportunity to forget the hardships of life and act like any other human being. Lay confraternities were so common in the urban areas of colonial Brazil that slaves, freedmen or women, Africans, creoles or mulattoes could find a brotherhood which would cater to their special needs. Black brotherhoods were true societies of nations uniting different African tribes under one social organization. Membership in a black confraternity was a means of Christianization since the African slaves tended to abandon their ancestral beliefs under the scrutiny of the parish priests and the orthodox eyes of the black officers. The organization of a majority of the African peoples in the Brazilian cities into confraternities was a testimony to the extreme religiosity of the Afro-Brazilian population. The members of the confraternities engaged in many non-religious activities such as ransoming slave members from the bonds of slavery, bringing food to prisoners on the galleys, ministering to the sick, owning slaves, building roads and bridges. Membership in a black confraternity was a vehicle of social mobility and integration. The members of the black brotherhoods were capable of common actions which were able to surmount the ethnic and tribal rivalries ever present in the Afro-Brazilian community. The members of the black brotherhoods were the elite of black society who provided badly needed leadership in the black community.⁴⁰

The majority of the members of the black confraternities were adult male slaves of Creole or Bantu background. Freedmen, women, mulattoes, whites and West Africans were a minority of the membership. Most of the slave brothers belonged to the confraternity of Our Lady of the Rosary. The confraternities of St. Benedict, Our Lady of Mercy and Bom Jesus were the next most popular patrons. The majority of the membership lived in urban areas in Minas Gerais, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco.

Confraternities were a source of spiritual comfort and material aid to slaves and free blacks living in a caste-ridden and hostile

colonial society. Sodalities were forms of religious kinship in the parishes of Latin American cities but they also served as social clubs which provided mutual aid, social welfare and charity programs.⁴¹ They provided in addition a rich and personal ritual life for blacks which allowed them to preserve certain aspects of their African culture. The religious festivals of the sodalities offered a ceremonial expression for religious syncretism in their worship of Catholic saints and their own African gods and goddesses. Black brotherhoods allowed the excluded black population to actively participate in the religious life of the Church and the cultural life of colonial Brazil.

Lay confraternities were the dominant colonial institution which joined the church with the urban society of the coastal cities. These voluntary associations played an important role in advancing religion and social welfare services in Portuguese America, a colony with a weak institutional Church, chronic shortage of clergy and neglect of the colonial population by the Portuguese crown. Although the membership of the black brotherhoods was necessarily small due to the financial demands of membership, these associations performed vital services especially in a capitancy like Minas Gerais. In the rough-and-ready mining boom towns the lay confraternities built churches and filled the cultural void felt by the absence of the regular clergy. The main hospitals in the colony were run by the white Santas Casas de Misericórdia. Colonial Brazil would have been a poorer place culturally without the work of the lay brotherhoods. Most of the black brotherhoods were open in their membership to the whole population and were not exclusive in their racial composition. They played a vital function in integrating and assimilating the African people to Portuguese American life. Only a tiny fraction of the 165 brotherhoods studied were exclusive in their membership. Twenty-nine confraternities restricted their membership to tribal Africans of non-Bantu origin or mulattoes.⁴²

Through membership in a religious brotherhood and participation in religious processions the Afro-Brazilian population found a vehicle for social expression and community development. No other forms of association were legally permitted for the blacks except their *irmandades*. These socio-religious clubs founded on religious piety grew out of the common social needs of the black urban population.

Lay confraternities offered the slave some consolation during an often "nasty, brutish and short" life. Through the mechanism of a lay brotherhood, white society allowed slaves to retain some part of their African cultural heritage. Confraternities played an important role in ameliorating the conditions of a slave's life.

NOTES

¹F. W. O. Morton, "The Military and Society in Bahia, 1800-1824," *Journal of Latin American Studies*, Vol. 7, part 2, November 1975, p. 255.

²I believe that women were a minority of the membership perhaps due to their shortage in the general population but I have no statistics to prove this. It is quite possible that Afro-Brazilian women had many more options to gain emancipation through other avenues in the society than through a confraternity.

³Serafim Leite, *Monumenta Brasiliae*, Vol. I, Roma: 1956, p. 325.

Leite, *História da Companhia de Jesus no Brasil*, Tomo III, Rio de Janeiro: 1938, pp. 323, 324.

⁴Julia Maria Leonor Scarano, "Devoção e Escravidão: A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos no Districto Diamantina do Século XVIII," Ph.D. Thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, São Paulo: 1969, p. 88.

Scarano, *Devoção e Escravidão: A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos no Districto Diamantino no Século XVIII*, São Paulo: 1976.

⁵*Ibid.*, p. 153.

⁶See Appendix B for a breakdown of the black confraternities according to province and racial composition.

⁷Gonçalves Fernandes, *Xangôs do Nordeste, Investigações sobre os cultos Negro-Fetichistas do Recife*, Rio de Janeiro: 1937, p. 128.

⁸Francisco Augusto Pereira da Costa, "Folklore Pernambuco," *Revista Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileira*, Vol. LXX, parte II, 1908, p. 230.

⁹See Appendix B, which cites only twenty mulatto confraternities out of a total of 165 brotherhoods studied.

¹⁰Serafim Leite, *Artes e Ofícios dos Jesuitas no Brasil*, Rio de Janeiro: 1953, p. 30.

¹¹A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil," Chapter 3 in Cohen and Greens (eds.), *Neither Slave nor Free* (Baltimore: 1972), p. 122.

¹²See Appendix A for a breakdown of confraternity membership. This list was compiled from the names of the members who signed the end of the compromissos. Out of 165 compromissos consulted only twenty-five listed the size of membership.

¹³Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Maço #101, Bahia, 3rd series, 1805. Compromisso da Pardo Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Conceição da Villa de Vallença, Comarca dos Ilheos, Bahia, 3rd Chapter.

¹⁴Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário de Bahia de Igreja de S. Pedro Velho, Arquivo Nacional de Torre do Tombo, Lisbon, Chancellaria Ordem de Christo, Livro 297, folhas 168-178, chapter 29.

¹⁵Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora da Mercês da Redempção dos cativos erecta na Capella de Nossa Senhora do Rosário do Arrayal de São Gonçalo do Ryo abaixo, filial da Matris de Santo Antonio Ribeira, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo de Dona Maria I, compartimento 1, Livro 15, folha 78, Chapter 2.

¹⁶Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, Vol. I (Philadelphia: 1817), pp. 199-200.

¹⁷Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e S. Benedicto no bispado do Rio de Janeiro sita na capella da Santa Trindade do Macacu, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 297-154.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos de Desterro de Tambe da Capitania do Paraíba do Norte, 1806, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1536.

¹⁸Robert C. Smith, "Decadas do Rosário dos Pretos Documentos da Irmandade," Recife, Brazil: Documentação e Cultura Diretoria, Arquivos 4/10, 1945-51, p. 148. Letter found in Biblioteca de Estado De Pernambuco, dated 10 June 1780 from Conde de Pavolide, Martinho de Mello e Castro to the royal court in Lisbon.

¹⁹Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos homens pretos erecta na freguesia de Nossa Senhora da Conceição, Villa do Principe da Serra do Frio, Rio de Janeiro, 1767, Lisbon: Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 283-146, Chapter 21.

²⁰Pierre Verger, *Flux et Reflux de la Traite des Negres entre Le Golfe de Benin et Bahia de Todos os Santos du XVII^e siecle*, Paris: 1968, p. 528.

²¹Roger Bastide, *Les Religions Africaines au Bresil: vers une sociologie des interpenetrations de civilisations*, Paris: 1960, pp. 166, 176, 479.

²²Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus com o soberano titulo de Senhor dos Martirios erecta pelos homens pretos de Nasção Gégé neste convento de Nossa Senhora do Monte do Carmo da Villa de Nossa Senhora do Rozario da Cachoeira este anno de 1765, Bahia, Lisbon: Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Codice #1666.

"Não encontro a confirmação ainda q. estou pela opinião q. o Procurador de Coroa da ROS da B^a declara no seo officio, q. esta no fim dos Estatutos: Estes pretos gégés são tirados do paganissimo de Africa e sempre lhe fica huma propenção para coisas supersticiozas e convinha declarar q. ficão sugeitos a disciplina do ordinario nos funcoens e procissoins assim como na obrigação de dar contas ao Provedor das L^a p^{as}."

²³A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Colonial Brazil" (see Note 11, above), pp. 124-125.

Arquivo Nacional Ultramarino, Lisbon, Document #29.154, Bahia, 1st series, 1804. Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Benedicto cita no convento de São Francisco, Bahia.

²⁴Compromisso da Irmandade do Senhor Bom Jesus erecta pelos homens pretos de Nasção Gégé neste convento de N.Sr^a do Monte do Carmo da Villa de N.Sr^a do Rozario da Cachoeira este anno de 1765, Bahia, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1666.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento cita na Villa de Serimhaem, Recife, Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1664, Chapter III.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Amparo, Jaguaripe, Bahia, Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 297-228.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Livramento cita en S. Antonio de Recife, Pernambuco, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1665.

²⁵Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário da freguesia da Barra do Rio Grande do Sul, 1735, Coimbra: Biblioteca Geral da Universidade de Coimbra, Codice #2613.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Desterro de Tambe, Paraíba do Norte, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1536.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Pinheiro do Somidouro, Minas Gerais, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1530, Chapter 7.

Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Benedicto, Capella de N.Sr^a do Rosário, Arrayal de Minas Gerais, Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1677, Chapter 2.

²⁶Compromisso da Irmandade de S. Vicente Ferreira, Passagem, Marianna, Minas Gerais, n.d. Lisbon: AHU, Codice #1305, Chapter 4.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Igreja de Olinda, Pernambuco, n.d. Lisbon: ANTT, Chancellaria de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 6, folhas 170-178, Chapter 9.

Compromisso da Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário, Portas do Carmo, Bahia, Chapter 16.

²⁷Scarano (Note 4), p. 113.

²⁸Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon, Bahia, Caixa #66, 2nd series, December 8, 1756.

²⁹Scarano, pp. 140-145.

³⁰*Ibid.*, pp. 147-149, 104.

³¹Fernando Jorge, *O Aleijadinho: sua vida, sua obra, seu genio*. Rio de Janeiro: 1967, p. 210.

³²Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon. Bahia, Caixa #64, 2nd series, 1753. Letter from Padre Francisco Xavier Marques de Rocha to the King, Bahia, March 28, 1751.

". . . E ainda mais se fiserão pobres e miseraveis, quando alias he a sua confraria rica, e faze eles todos as funçoens della ainda com mayor pompa, q. os brancos, aos quaes procurão exceder em tudo como se llega no Item 18 desse tal documento. De se justifica pellas suas test^{as} tanta he a ouzadia delles Supp^{es} crescendo esta cada dia mais com as sugestoens de hum delles chamado Archangelo Benedito motor de todos estes pleitos como se contem no Item 21 final, tratandome elles muito mal de palavras, e açoes quanto podem ser indecorosas, e ao meo sachristão dentro da propria Igreja, quando foi astirar das dita vellas, não só antes de haver a Sn^{ca} do dito documento C, q. ma julgou, máis tambe depois e me foi necessario alcançar disp^o do mesmo Des^{or} Ouvidor g^l do civil q. adeo para serem pleitos os Supp^{es} quando outra ves quizesse impedir."

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon. Bahia, Caixa #56, 2nd series, 18 November 1749.

"Diz Archangelo Benedicto de S. Francisco que o Conde das Galveas V. Rey, E Capp^{am} General do Estado do Brazil à provao pella Patente junta no posto de Capp^{am} de hua das Comp^{es} de Terço dos homens pretos da Praca da Cidade da Bahia que vagou por falescimento de Ignacio Xavier Socorro, E por q. necessita de confirmar por V. Mag^{de} act^o Patente.

P.A.V. Mag^{de} lhe faca merce mandar selhe passe Patente de confirmação do dito posto."

Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, Lisbon. Bahia, Caixa #41 (1739-1778), 2nd series, February 9, 1759.

Letter of request for the office of Sargento-Mor (chief sergeant) for Archangelo Benedicto.

³³C. R. Boxer, *Race Relations in the Portuguese Colonial Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: 1963), pp. 117-120, and *The Portuguese Seaborne Empire 1415-1825* (Oxford: 1969), pp. 260-261, and "The Problem of the Indigenous Clergy in Portuguese West Africa, 16th-18th Centuries," unpublished paper delivered at Johns Hopkins University, April 1976.

³⁴João Mauricio Rugendas, *Viagem Pictoresca através do Brasil*, São Paulo: 1940, pp. 4/20, 4/19.

Carlos Julião, *Riscos Iluminados de figurinhos de brancos e negros dos usos do Rio de Janeiro e Serro do Frio, Aquarellas por Carlos Julião*, Rio de Janeiro: 1960, plates XXXV, XXXVI, XXXVII, XXXVIII, XXXIX.

³⁵See Appendix A for the exact figures on the number of brothers and sisters in the black confraternities.

Compromisso de Irm^{de} de N.Sr^a do Rozario cita na Igreja Matris de S^{tos} Cosme e Damiao, Igaressu, Pernambuco, Lisbon, ANTT, Chancellaria, de Ordem de Cristo, Livro 293, folho 259.

Scarano (Note 4), p. 123.

³⁶Scarano, pp. 71-72, 75, 97, 104.

³⁷Scarano, pp. 75-78.

³⁸Scarano, p. 118.

³⁹Carlos Ott, "A Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos Pretos do Pelourinho." *Afro-Asia*, 1968, Nos. 6-7, pp. 120-123.

⁴⁰Scarano, pp. 114, 157-158, 53-54.

⁴¹Guillermo Céspedes, *Latin America: The Early Years*, New York: 1974, p. 59.

⁴²Thomas C. Bruneau, *The Political Transformation of the Brazilian Catholic Church* (Cambridge University Press, 1974), pp. 17-18.



BURIAL OF A NEGRO (19th century)

APPENDIX A

Confraternity Membership and Size

Dates	Irmandades	Members	Sisters		Officers	
			Priests	Widows	Slaves	
1770	Nossa Senhora do Rosário Matris de Santos Cosme e Damião, Igaressu, Pernambuco	80	6	7	2	
1735	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Freguesia da Barra Rio Grande do Sul	8				
1786	N.Sr ^a do Rosário na Capela de Nossa Senhora da Guia, Espinharas Paraíba	27				
n.d.	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Recife, Pernambuco	73	4	16		
n.d.	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Villa de Recife, Pernambuco	18	1			
1763	N.Sr ^a do Rosário do Arrayal de Santa Rita freguesia de Santo Antonio do Rio Assima, Sabará	24		11		
1767	N.Sr ^a do Rosário freguesia de N.Sr ^a da Conceição, Príncipe, Serro do Frio, Minas Gerais	8				
1767	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Villa de Santo Antonio Recife, Pernambuco	28				
1783	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Villa de Goyanna Paraíba de Norte	16				
1820	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Cathedral de Sé, Bahia	27	1			
1806	N.Sr ^a do Rosário Desterro de Tambe Paraíba de Norte	16				
1767	São Benedicto Igreja de N.Sr ^a da Conceição da Praia, Bahia	40				
1804	São Benedicto Goyazes	23				
n.d.	São Benedicto Minas Gerais	15	1			
n.d.	N.Sr ^a da Conceição Goyanna	27				17
n.d.	N.Sr ^a da Conceição Villa da Vallenca Ilheos, Bahia	17				

(continued)

APPENDIX A (continued)

Confraternity Membership and Size

Dates	Irmandades	Members	Officers		
			Priests	Sisters Widows	Slaves
1788	N.Sr ^a do Remedio dos Pretos, Nasção de Minas, Rio de Janeiro	12			
n.d.	N.Sr ^a da Boa Morte Villa de São Joao del Rei, Minas Gerais	5			
1767	N.Sr ^a do Livramento Pernambuco	7			
n.d.	N.Sr ^a da Mercês da Redempcao, Rio de Janeiro	22	1		8
1783	Senhor Bom Jesus da Ressurreição, Barra, Bahia, Jesuit Collegio	11		1	
n.d.	N.Sr ^a Mãe dos Homens Pardos, Paraíba	16			
n.d.	São Francisco de Paula, Bahia	22		1	
1699	Santo Antonio de Catagero, Salvador da Bahia	14			



PROCESSION OF THE BLACK QUEEN
(Watercolor by Carlos Juliao)

Appendix B
BLACK CONFRATERNITIES IN BRAZIL ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

Confrarias	Racial Composition																
	Unknown	Bahia	Minas Gerais	Pernambuco	Paraíba	Rio de Janeiro	São Paulo	Rio Grande do Sul	Goias	Maranhão	Sergipe	Totals	Mixed	Black	Creoles	Mulattoes	Tribal Africans
1. Nossa Senhora do Rosário	1	15	35	12	4	8	2					81	1	24			5
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e São Benedicto												2					
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e das Mercês			1									1					
N.Sr ^a do Rosário e S.S. Trindade												1					
N. Sr ^a do Rosário e Santo Amaro da Purificação	1	6	1	1		2			1			11		4			
2. São Benedicto												1					
S. Benedicto e St ^a Efigênia												1					
3. Santo Rei Balthazar												2					
4. Santo Antônio												1					
5. São Gonçalo												3					
6. Nossa Senhora do Guadalupe				1								8		4			
7. Nossa Senhora das Mercês				6								5					
8. Nossa Senhora da Boa Morte				1								7		2			
9. Bom Jesus				1								1					
10. Nossa Senhora do Terço				5								1					

BLACK CONFRATERNITIES IN BRAZIL ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

Confrarias	Racial Composition																
	Unknown	Bahia	Minas Gerais	Pernambuco	Paraiiba	Rio de Janeiro	São Paulo	Rio Grande do Sul	Goiás	Maranhão	Sergipe	Totals	Mixed	Black	Creoles	Mulattoes	Tribal Africans
11. Cordão do São Francisco			2									2				2	
12. Nossa Senhora do Livramento				3								3				2	
13. Nossa Senhora do Amparo		4	1	1								6				2	
14. São Francisco de Paula		1	1									2		1		1	
15. Senhor dos Martirios		1										1		1			
16. Nossa Senhora dos Passos		1										1					
17. São Jose dos Bem-Casados			1									1				1	
18. São Vicente Ferrer			1									1				4	
19. Nossa Senhora da Conceição		2				1						4					
20. São Domingos				1		1						2					
21. Nossa Senhora dos Remedios						1						1					1
22. Santa Efigênia		1				1						2		2			
23. Nossa Senhora da Assumpção						1						1					
24. Nossa Senhora da Lampadoza						1						1					

Appendix B (continued)

BLACK CONFRATERNITIES IN BRAZIL ACCORDING TO PROVINCE AND RACIAL COMPOSITION

Confrarias	Racial Composition																
	Unknown	Bahia	Minas Gerais	Pernambuco	Paraiiba	Rio de Janeiro	São Paulo	Rio Grande do Sul	Goiás	Maranhão	Sergipe	Totals	Mixed	Black	Creoles	Mulattoes	Tribal Africans
25. Mãe de Deos					1							1				1	
26. Irm ^{de} dos Pretos em em Engenho		1										1					
27. Irm ^{de} dos Pardos e Mulatos						1						1				1	
28. Nossa Senhora da Soledade		1										1		1			
29. Nossa Senhora de Bellem						1						1					
30. Senhor Jesus do Calix						1						1					
31. São Fillippe						1						1					
32. São Tiago						1						1					
33. Menino Jesus						1						1					
34. São Elisabão						1						1					
35. São Matheus						1						1					
TOTALS BY PROVINCE	3	44	52	20	5	30	3	1	5	1	1	165	1	39	20		9