

# Portuguese Freemasonry between Slavery and Antislavery: Transoceanic Masonic Networks in the Portuguese Empire

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“[...] these and others sold, in Rio de Janeiro, large quantities of tisu-sus to the African coast, drugs, paints, etc., eventually making their fortune in slave smuggling. You see, Your Lordship, that it is not the carts nor the hoe that make fortunes in Brazil to supply capital to Portugal” (Moreira, 1862: 42).

With the vanguard of Junot’s army (1771–1813) at the gates of Lisbon on November 30, 1807, the Prince Regent Dom João (1767–1826) embarked for Brazil on the 29<sup>th</sup> under English naval escort, taking with him the treasury, the aristocracy and high civilian and military officials, all kinds of goods, and about 10,000 people. He arrives in Brazil on the 22<sup>nd</sup> of January 1808. On the 28<sup>th</sup> he signs the accord to open Brazil’s ports to international trade, read British. Portugal and its Empire will change radically. With the king and the court settled in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil becomes central to the Empire and continental Portugal becomes, as was bitterly said at the time, a colony of the colony. In 1815, already in the context of the Congress of Vienna (09.1914–06.1815), the country changed its name to United Kingdom of Portugal, Brazil, and the Algarve on the 16<sup>th</sup> of December

1815, changing Brazil from colony to kingdom, an alteration that indicated the change from a European project to an American project grounded in Brazil. In Portugal, four French invasions<sup>1</sup> and a scorched earth defensive military strategy leave the economy in ruins, the army under the command of English military forces, a commercial class impoverished by the opening of Brazil’s ports, and the country handed over to a regency council without governing autonomy, depending on decisions from Rio de Janeiro that only in travel took almost six months outside the time of dispatch. It was in this context that the Liberal Revolution broke out on the 24<sup>th</sup> of August 1820. Elections were called and a constitution was drawn up, which limited the king’s powers to almost nothing, and the “commercial class” nurtured the illusory hope of regaining part of the commercial privileges lost with the opening of Brazil’s

1 Junot 1807; Soult 1809; Massena 1810; Marmont 1812.

ports. D. João VI, already king, left his first-born son in Rio de Janeiro and returned, against his will, to Lisbon on the 3rd of July 1821, accompanied by his remaining family, namely his wife Carlota Joaquina (1775–1830), who refused to swear to the Constitution, and his son Miguel, who together with his mother would become the face of the counter-revolution. The liberals split into antagonistic groups during the liberal triennium. Between 1823 and 1826, the counter-revolution consolidates positions. D. João VI dies in 1826, but D. Pedro, the firstborn, is now Emperor of Brazil, independent since the 7<sup>th</sup> of September 1822. He granted Portugal a Constitutional Charter and arranged for his brother's marriage to his daughter D. Maria, on whom he renounced the throne. Miguel, after various vicissitudes, proclaimed himself absolute king in 1828. Exiled in London and Paris, the liberals, divided but converging in the purpose of overthrowing D. Miguel, lean on D. Pedro, who renounces the Empire of Brazil, and install a regency in the Azores. On the 8<sup>th</sup> of August 1832 they land in continental Portugal and win the civil war in 1834. They returned divided into two large factions. The supporters of the Constitution of 1822, more radical, heirs to the politics of the liberal triennium, and the supporters of the Constitutional Charter that gave the king a "fourth power," the moderating power, which sought a conciliation of interests among more conservative groups, including some former supporters of D. Miguel. In September

1838 a revolution brings to power the group of defenders of the 1822 Constitution, which will become known as the "setembrists" opposing the policy of the charter's defenders: the "chartists." These two groups fought each other until 1850 in successive military coups and a civil war in 1846–47. It is in this political context that the slavery and masonic issues have to be analyzed.

### **Masonic Conjecture**

**P**ortuguese Freemasonry develops mainly after 1797, with the creation of the Loja Regeneração Maçónica Lusitana (Lodge Lusitanian Masonic Regeneration) aboard a ship from the United Kingdom. The presence of the Duke of Sussex in Portugal (1773–1843) between 1801–05 will allow the development of Freemasonry with the contradictory condescension of the Intendence of the Police that was powerless before the symbolic power of the son of the King of England. In those years, military men, priests and some nobility in robes joined it, but rarely members of the aristocracy. The French invasions subverted this state of affairs by creating a violent national anti-French, anti-Jacobin and anti-masonic<sup>2</sup> climate. The Grande Oriente Lusitano (Lusitanian Grand Orient), weakened and undermined by police spies, interrupted work in 1815 and resumed activity in late 1816. He elected Gomes Freire de Andrade (1757–1817), a prestigious military officer who had belonged to the Portuguese Legion in

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2 In Portugal, Bonapartist lodges were never formed, unlike what happened in Spain, for example.

Napoleon's army. In 1817, Gomes Freire was involved in an unprepared and childish conspiracy against British rule in the army and was hanged on October 19<sup>th</sup>. The Grande Oriente Lusitano (Lusitanian Grand Orient) reaches the date of the 1820 Revolution with only two functioning lodges and suffers a split in 1821. However, in the absence of a party system, the various groups into which the liberal movement had been divided appropriated the masonic sociability model as a way to organize their political factions, with each of their leaders running their own masonic lodges (Costa, 2018). Freemasonry will suffer the same vicissitudes as the liberals. She will leave for exile and return irredeemably divided into the factions into which the liberals have been split. In 1834 there are three main groups: the Grande Oriente Lusitano (Lusitanian Grand Orient), headed by chartists, mainly by its leader António Bernardo da Costa Cabral (1803–89), who became Grand Master in 1839; the North Freemasonry, said to be the Oriente de Passos Manuel (Orient of Passos Manuel) (1801–62), setembrist, and Grand Master between 1834 and 1850; and, the South Freemasonry, called Oriente de Saldanha (Orient of Saldanha) (1790–1876), of which the great military, Duke of Saldanha, will be the Grand Master, known as the man of 100 faces, for having been in the first half of the century with everyone and against everyone. During the troubled period from 1834 to 1850 it will continue to play its role as an organizer of political factions with

the setembrist and chartist movements controlling the main groups, extending its influence not only to the political elites but also to the military bodies on which their power rested. Setembrism had its armed arm in the National Guard controlled by the freemasons and patriotic societies, which mobilized up to 12,000 troops.

It is among these masonic groups divided into factions that the question of the slave trade will arise. This pulverization of Portuguese Freemasonry between 1834 and 1869<sup>3</sup> makes it difficult to identify the organizations involved for two reasons; first, because the records from the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century are very rare and, second, because this diversity confused at the time those who had to refer to the masonic reality. For this reason, we find expressions such as “secret societies,” “secret clubs,” “lodges,” “orients,” etc. Even when quoting the name of an organization, it is usually not correct. Essentially, they always refer to an autonomous lodge or dependency of an organization based outside the territory, in the case of the colonies. Perhaps the exception is the use of the phrase “secret clubs,” where from reading the documentation of the time that uses it, two realities can be deduced: masonic lodges; but also slavers' clubs, sociabilities created exclusively to repair anti-abolitionist positions and formed by Portuguese, Brazilians, and Goeses.

For reasons that are not yet well studied, the presence of masonic orga-

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3 The Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido (United Lusitanian Grand Orient) is created, where almost all masonic organizations and the existing Supreme Councils merge.

nizations in Angola is almost non-existent, unlike what happens in the Indian Ocean, where, in what corresponds to the current territory of Mozambique, that presence has been recorded since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is mainly on this territory and in its transoceanic relations that we will focus.

## Slavery

This text is not about slavery, but about the relations between the slave trade and Freemasonry, especially between Portugal, Brazil and Mozambique. The word “slavery” is translated in Portuguese, as in French, as “*escravismo*” (esclavagisme) or “*escravidão*” (esclavage) and the difference between these two concepts is well marked in both Portuguese and Brazilian bibliography. The concept of “*esclavagisme*” (Gorender 1978) is associated with slavery as a form of production and was developed by Marxist historiography with particular emphasis on Jacob Gorender (1923–2013).<sup>4</sup> The concept of “*esclavage*,” on the other hand, is associated with the analysis of the conditions of slavery as an institution, studying its forms and the way in which slaves suffered this condition. In this text we will adopt the concept “*esclavagisme*” not because of adherence to this school of thought, but because what this brief essay is about are the relations between the actors of this method of production that almost exclusively dominated the economic life of Mozambique for

decades and Freemasonry in the resistance to the anti-slavery movement.

Even before the departure of the court to Brazil there was no significant slave trade from the port of Lisbon (Alexandre: 1991, 300). This point is important and marks a difference from what was happening in other countries in the relationship between metropolis and colonies. For a long time and until Brazil’s independence (1822), the Portuguese Empire was Brazil, the other colonies in Africa or the Indian Ocean were complementary to the Brazilian economy, namely in the slave trade. If it is true that there were merchants who armed ships from Lisbon for this purpose, their number is reduced. Masonic activity in Portugal involving Portuguese was also reduced. The few existing lodges were, generally speaking, of foreigners (Costa, 2018: 65-79), which makes the development between networks of merchants and masons happen later than was the rule in the rest of Europe. When it develops it follows the network of commercial relations between Brazil and the Atlantic coasts of Africa and the ports of the Indian Ocean. In this aspect the Portuguese (and later Luso-Brazilian) networks differ from what we will find in other European ports. The cases studied, for example by Harrison for the relations between Freemasonry and the slave trade in Liverpool, where he underlines the significant capital accumulation generated by the slave trade in that

4 Gorender was a Marxist researcher and member of the Communist Party of Brazil. Imprisoned and brutally tortured during the military dictatorship, he shared the prison and the harsh mistreatment with Dilma Russef, former president of Brazil who recounts in an introductory text to the latest edition those dark years they lived through (Gorender 2016: 9-13).

city (Harrison, 2011: 97-120), have no parallel in ports of mainland Portugal. The same happens with the studies on slave trade relations in French ports such as the works by Delobette (2005) and Saunier (2007) on Le Havre or Saugera (1995), on Bordeaux, for example, among others that could be cited. The studies that focus on the colonial reality, and that focus mainly on the 18th century, rich in their approach, analyze one of trafficking and public sociabilities, that is, both operating freely in the geographical space studied. Now, for known reasons, Freemasonry is a repressed social group in the Portuguese Empire, as it will be in the beginning of the Brazilian Empire.<sup>5</sup> Therefore, the reality of the relations between slave trade and Freemasonry will only become more notorious after the Liberal revolution of 1820 and the independence of Brazil in 1822. Even then, the existence of formal lodges (of which documentation has survived) is rare, which does not allow to make, for example, a comparative study with that of Smith-Burch (2017) that covers the same chronological period. Reichert's (2017) work on Freemasonry in Mauritius<sup>6</sup> is extremely useful since, as we will see, it is from these French lodges ("clubs" in Portuguese documentary language) that the masonic influence for the Portuguese colony of Mozambique will come.

The relations between Brazil and the west coast of Africa were the central axis

of the traffic. In the case of Mozambique, there were no direct communications with Portugal. Navigation passed through Rio de Janeiro and, in this sense, Mozambique was more a colony of Brazil than of Portugal (Capela, 1979: 153-154).

Admittedly, many conceived of slavery as wrong, but continued to speak out for tolerantism. As the deputy Ramiro Coutinho pointed out "a state of tolerance existed in Portugal and slaves were tolerated in the overseas provinces out of necessity"<sup>7</sup> (Marques, 2008:87).

This is partly why in Portugal there was no debate on the question of slavery. Few authors refer to it and when they do it is to deal either with its conditions or its indispensability for the functioning of the colonial economy, not to suggest its end. The relocation of the court to Brazil (1808) made the continental European territory even more peripheral in relation to this traffic. It will be English pressure that will put the slavery issue on the political agenda, where it will always encounter resistance. The Portuguese strategy has always been to delay impositions, even after Sá da Bandeira (1795–1876) made the first proposal to abolish trafficking on December 10, 1836. The strategy of the slavers was always to organize successive stratagems to circumvent the legislation and avoid arrest by the warships of the United Kingdom.

Without much internal debate, the anti-abolitionist pressure came from the colonies where the economic consequenc-

5 Not that it was illegal, since papal bulls never passed into the internal legal order, nor was there any law forbidding it until 1818.

6 Almost always referred to in Portuguese documentation as "Iha de França."

7 Câmara dos Deputados, session of February 23, 1861, in *Diário de Lisboa*, February 26, 1861. Apud, (Marques 2008: 87).

es were directly felt (Alexandre, 1991: 300). But the debate had little echo in Portugal. The successive slave dealer strategies to maintain trafficking, which not only continued but increased in the first half of the 19th century, meant that abolitionism was not perceived for decades as irreversible, either for the economy of Brazil (already independent) or for the Portuguese colonies, thus not giving rise in Portugal to an internal debate that, in terms of ideas, also did not mobilize political actors. It is only at the end of the 1830s that some public interventions manifest themselves in a more expressive way, and it is in this context that Sá da Bandeira's policy gets some support in the Chamber of Peers. However, this limited support will generate a wave of resistance from the big slavers that drags the abolitionists into a permanent policy of compromise (Marques, 2008: 55).

The absence of a national abolitionist sentiment is also due to the fact that great figures of national political life such as the Dukes of Saldanha (1790–1876) and Terceira (1792–1860), for example, had made a career in Brazil where they had contact and established relations with the slave trade. As much as the great politicians verbalized ideas common to the Europe of their time, and negatively adjectivized trafficking, they never felt morally bound to fight it (Alexandre, 1991: 302) and they did not. Thus, only the permanent pressure from the United Kingdom will give life to abolitionist measures in Portugal, and not the culmination of any public opinion campaign or abolitionist movement that truly never existed (Capela, 1979: 31).

The pressure from the United Kingdom to put an end to trafficking has been

evident since the arrival of the Court in Brazil and was established in Article X of the *Tratado de Aliança e Amizade* (Treaty of Alliance and Friendship) signed in Rio de Janeiro on February 19, 1810, and later revised in 1815.

The presence of the court in Brazil represented, in every respect, a development that the territory had never known before, and the shortage of slave labor was growing. With Rio de Janeiro now the center of the transoceanic trade (Atlantic and Indian) Brazil will extend its slave trade beyond the geographically closer Atlantic coasts of Africa to the Indian Ocean to make up for the shortage of manpower. Despite the increased costs of the voyage and the preference for slaves from the Atlantic coasts, the slave trade grew, changing the traditional trans-Indian routes, namely with Mauritius, and even with the Arabs who until then dominated this trade. In a short period of time, trafficking became the main economic activity and the only source of income for the colony, limited mainly to the islands of Ibo and Mozambique and to the vast Zambezi, expanding from the rivers of Sena to Zumbo and Tete. Colonial slavery reaches proportions that alter the functioning of Mozambican society, involving in its commerce all the cadres of the administration, including practically all the governors, as well as the military. It is, therefore, on Mozambique that this study will focus, because it is in this territory that Freemasonry will develop around the slave trade and extend its ramifications to the masonic organizations in Lisbon, Havana, and even Montevideo, where the trade gains a new dimension in the 1930s. "The British ambassador in Rio de Janeiro in late 1834 informs Lord Palm-

erson about the scale the trade was taking in Montevideo stating that the creation of the colony of free Africans was nothing more than a pretext to import slaves and re-export them to Brazil” (Capela 2012: 149). This is one of the reasons for the reference to the links of secret societies in Mozambique, Brazil, Havana, and Montevideo in a transoceanic network based on the slave economy.

The overseas dimension of Portugal is ignored, or only slightly mentioned, in the histories of Freemasonry. The case of Brazil is significant. Even the pioneering works of Silva Dias (1916–1994) and Oliveira Marques (1933–2007) barely deal with the reality of Freemasonry in Brazil until its independence (Dias 1980; Marques 1990). The Brazilian historiography (Castelanni 2009; Morel 2008), for example, also hardly integrates the Portuguese reality in its works. This national — perhaps even nationalistic—perspective has historiographical consequences that have not yet been overcome.

When Freemasonry is studied from a strictly institutional point of view this fact has little relevance. However, when one wants to analyze the network of sociabilities and masonic solidarities in the first half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, the Empire space has to be studied in an articulated way, especially in the relationship between continental Portugal, Brazil, Mozambique, and Angola.

This text is made with the intention of trying to identify the networks of slave and masonic sociabilities and solidarities without national concerns, thus including the Portuguese Empire, until the independence of Brazil, but also, afterwards, the relations between the kingdom of Portugal,

the empire of Brazil and the Portuguese colonies of Africa and the Indian Ocean, because the networks formed around the slave issue focus on the specific interests of colonial slavery at the margin of the various national interests, either ignoring them or fighting them in an articulated manner between these territories of various nations. Likewise, we will not make the difference between “reinóis”—that is, inhabitants of Brazil from Portugal—and natives of Brazil, involved in slavery—not because it is not of the utmost importance for the history of Brazil, but because it is not relevant for this text.

Although the great movement of slave trade was for decades between Brazil and the west coast of Africa, the truth is that there is no data so far that allows us to identify a significant masonic activity in those colonies, especially in Angola. The reasons for this are not yet well studied. One reason might be the fact that French influence in the Angolan ports was almost non-existent. But the truth is that for this period the main testimony is a communication sent to the Governor of Angola on the 26th of March 1821 about the arrest in Benguela of Elias Vieira de Andrade, arrested for having some masonic catechisms and sent to Brazil from where he manages to escape thanks to a set of supports that included a major-captain, an ombudsman and a bishop (Rodrigues, 1961: 133).

The United Kingdom’s naval pressure on the slave trade is greatest on the west coast of Africa which therefore suffered a greater impact from restrictive measures, giving a boost to colonial slavery in the Indian Ocean. For this reason, it was also in Mozambique that the great anti-abolitionist resistance movement would be concen-

trated. It was the repression of the traffic in Angola that gave rise to the golden period of the slave trade between Brazil and Mozambique (Lopes, s/d: 168), which we will focus on in its relations with Freemasonry.

### **A thread of the meshes that the empire weaves: a study's case**

**F**rancisco Álvaro Silva Freire (1763–?) was an unrepentant freemason. A merchant, born in Porto, living in Lisbon, he was initiated in July 1791, in the Lisbon lodge<sup>8</sup> known as André de Morais Sarmiento's (1761–1821?), by invitation of two French merchants, together with João Luís do Couto (1763–?), Jerónimo José Nogueira, José Joaquim Aranha, Manuel dos Santos Rocha (1761–?) and Vicente de Oliveira Sampaio. He was arrested on September 7<sup>th</sup> of the same year by the Police Prefecture and sent, in March, to the prison of the Inquisition, which sentenced him to one month of private instruction (on catechism)<sup>9</sup> at the Convent of S. Pedro de Alcântara (Barata, 2006: 66-67). He did not repent, nor did the months of imprisonment and the month of forced prayers in the convent discourage him from continuing to belong to Freemasonry. In March 1799, he was arrested again. In April, he is ordered to be de-

ported to Goa and embarks on the ship “Nossa Senhora da Conceição e Santo António,” with 243 other prisoners, also sent to India. Silva Freire arrives in Rio de Janeiro in July 1799, and is imprisoned in the island fortress of Ilha das Cobras (Island of Snakes), while awaiting transport to the East (Barata, 2006: 66-67). He leaves a detailed account of his trip in a letter he sends to Lisbon to the freemason Modesto António Mayer, appointed ombudsman of Vila Rica,<sup>10</sup> in Minas Gerais, on 19.05.1798, but still in Lisbon (Appendix 2).

Not everything went according to plan. Well installed thanks to his network of masonic contacts, he decides to write to friends in Lisbon. In his letter to Modesto, he explains that he sends his correspondence through the Chancellor of the Rio de Janeiro Court, Luís Beltrão de Gouveia de Almeida (c. 1750–1814), member of the Overseas Council (01.09.1798–22.06.1805). It is not clear whether he knew Gouveia de Almeida personally, or only knew of his relationship with Modesto. The truth is that he asks for his protection and he intervenes on his behalf, but ends up denouncing him. Gouveia was afraid of attracting new suspicions about himself, after having seen his name involved in the *Inconfidência Mineira*<sup>11</sup> (1789). Gouveia was also a great friend of Tomás António

8 The Lodge is said to have lasted from 1780 to 1792 (Marques 1990: Vol. I 132-134).

9 José Liberato Freire de Carvalho, in his memoirs, comments on this type of sentences: “The hypocritical, and stupid Inquisition always supposed that the individuals, whom it arrested, did not know the catechism” (Carvalho, 1982).

10 See note below.

11 *Inconfidência Mineira*, was a conspiracy of a separatist nature that took place in the captaincy of Minas Gerais, in Vila Rica, in February 1789, against taxes and against Portuguese rule. It was subdued in 1789. Its leader Joaquim José da Silva Xavier, known as “Tiradentes,” was executed on April 21, 1792.



Gonzaga (1744–1810), a judge and also a freemason, sent to be deported to the Island of Mozambique for his involvement in the same conspiracy, where he receives the protection of a group of freemason slave traders, who support him since his arrival (Gonçalves 1999: 399-400).

Beltrão Gouveia, in view of Freire's correspondence, which he considers "not very innocent," decides to communicate its contents to the vice-king José Luís de Castro (1744–1819), Count of Resende, appealing to the need to avoid "correspondence and communications with a dangerous lunatic, at the present time, as to political opinions; for the religious ones, neither I understand them for lack of theology, nor does the Great and Incomprehensible Entity need a small insect to defend it." Once the correspondence was seized, a new investigation was opened against him. In addition to Modesto, the letters were addressed to António Mendes Bordalo (1750–1806), freemason and lawyer at the Casa da Suplicação (House of Supplication) in Lisbon, Lúcio José Bolonha and Simão Pires Sardinha, and contained associated with the expression "honorable men" the sign ∴ used as a masonic abbreviation. From the letter to Modesto, it is

clear that the group met at Mendes Bordalo's house in Lisbon and that a nucleus of Portuguese and "Brazilians" connected to the trade with Brazil was structured there, some of them relatives of the slavers.

The Count of Resende considers "[...] by the enclosed letters, and especially by the one he addresses to his partial and intimate friend Modesto, quite patent the poison that covers his malevolent heart, for he not only wishes, but actually expects, to see his country involved in the same confusion, disorder and ruin in which France is submerged by the upheaval of its monarchy."<sup>12</sup>

During the investigation, information was requested from the government of Lisbon, to which the Police Intendant Pina Manique (1733–1805) replied in May 1801 in an official letter to Minister Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho (1755–1812).<sup>13</sup> This new investigation will allow us to discover important elements of this masonic relationship in the Empire. The letter he writes to his friend Modesto Mayer reveals the network of contacts that allows him, despite being a prisoner, to be "very well received by the commander, officers, and passengers" during the trip and that they let him walk "armed with sword and pis-

12 Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Vice-Reinado, box 491, parcel 1, 02.08.1799, apud (Gonçalves 1999: 400).

13 [...] His Majesty was served to approve all the procedures I had ordered against the said Francisco Álvaro da Silva Freire, for being a refined Jacobin and framing [Mason] with a master's degree. In the Inquisition to which I referred his guilt, he was punished, but the amendment he had after he abjured was none because he continued in the infamous society of those of his sect, and the records show that he is firm in his old feelings and that the two imprisonments he has suffered for correction were not able to make him change his mind, being a fearful and dangerous lunatic to society. This is the third time that he appears in court clinging to the abominable doctrines that he wants to persuade, and, for this very reason, makes one believe that he will never cease to be tenacious in his depraved sentiments. It is certain, Your Honor, that many of those who are implicated in these proceedings as advocates of these Jacobin opinions are not unknown to me. I have put all my strength into combating them, for there are five stores of free masons and enlightened Irishmen that I have already discovered in this kingdom, with people entering this infamous society, many people of all ranks. Apud, (Leite, 1995: 193-200).

tols, serving as an orderly for one of the passengers, a frigate captain,” when there was a threat of danger from a French ship. Once in Brazil, this network continues to exert its influence: “The captain of the ship recommended me to the governor, which caused him to give me a good headquarters, and, beginning to have conversation with me, he has become my friend to such an extent that his house is mine.”

During the trip from Portugal to Brazil he lived with two masons on board. A frigate captain, “a man of 24 years old, well educated, a close friend [...] of most of our friends, came up to me to comment on so many gallantries, and with him and another passenger, a son of Mozambique.” This “son of Mozambique” was the freemason Vicente Guedes da Silva e Sousa, who had studied eight years in Portugal, son of João da Silva Guedes, a known slave trader. He stayed at merchants’ houses in Portugal and is believed to have interacted with the great shipowner José Nunes da Silveira, who was represented in Mozambique by his father. José Nunes da Silveira was a well-known liberal who was part of the Junta Provisional after the Revolution (Leite 1992). João da Silva Guedes, on the other hand, was a great friend of Tomás António Gonzaga (1744–1810) during his banishment to Mozambique, where he arrived on July 31, 1792. Gonzaga was a judge, and although he did not participate in the traffic, he became from his arrival an important legal supporter of the slavers’ business, thanks to the masonic network that protected him.

Freire is clear about the masonic quality of his new friends. In Vicente Guedes da Silva’s luggage several books by Rousseau, Voltaire, Helvetius, Condillac, etc.<sup>14</sup> were seized. Also seized were six handwritten notebooks, in French, of which one was a masonic catechism, another the ritual of the reception of a master narrating the stories of Hiram and Adoniram (Gonçalves, 1999: 401).

Realizing he was going to be arrested, Vicente Guedes manages to board a ship to Mozambique, where Silva Freire will meet him, when he is finally sent to his banishment in Goa, with a stop in Mozambique, in 1802. His contacts with the freemasons in Mozambique, and of course with Vicente Guedes da Silva e Sousa, Tomás António Gonzaga and others, prevented him from going to India.

Adelto Gonçalves confirms that Silva Freire begins by working for Vicente Guedes’ family until the governor gives him a “sinecure” as “clerk of the treasury of the Junta da Real Fazenda, probably under the protection of the masonic lodge that secretly operated on the island. He is then appointed secretary of the government of Mozambique in 1802 and governor Isidro de Sousa e Sá (08.1801–18.1805), despite instructions to watch his movements, responds by stating that Vicente Guedes was not a Jacobin (Gonçalves, 1999:403; Capela, 2005: 246).<sup>15</sup> The masonic solidarities will have continued to function, exercising their protective action, influencing and acting with colonial authorities that did not belong to Freemasonry, but

14 The complete list of seized works was published in (Leite, 1991: 18-23). Mansur Barata states that the original list is in Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro, Vice-Reinado, box 491, parcel I.

15 AHU - Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, Box 88, Doc., 33, Letter from the Governor General to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, 22.08.1801.

that had their own autonomy, or acted as if they had it, accepting the influence of this group of important masons and slavers, to ignore the directives of Minister Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, in the name of their commercial interests in the traffic.<sup>16</sup> The slave trade relations, to which all the governors were associated, will have facilitated the influence of the powerful slave trader João da Silva Guedes in defense of his son Vicente Guedes and his friend Silva Freire, both masons. The governor ignores the orders received from Lisbon.

### **Transoceanic networks and actors**

About half of the masons were merchants in the late eighteenth century. One mason in two is a merchant or ship captain in Saint-Malo, two-thirds in Rouen, and four-fifths in Nantes (Saugera, 1995: 110-111). It is not strange, therefore, that many of the French who were frequenting the ports of Mozambique also had this profile. Thus, the diffusion of Freemasonry to Brazil followed the path of the French slavers: Mauritius, Reunion, Mozambique (Capela 2016: 205).

From early on, the Ibo Island was used by Arab and Bourbon French who were mainly dedicated to slavery (Botelho 1835: 398). But also since the eighteenth

century, French shipowners began to frequent the port of Mozambique Island. It was by this route that the first influences of “pernicious doctrines” arrived in the Portuguese Indian Ocean colony and the government soon realized that the danger was contagion from French ships and “clubs” in the French Indian Ocean islands. “The external defense of the country offers likewise an object that should occupy the attention of governors, especially in that the French, common enemies, making war on all nations, even less with arms than with pernicious maxims, lose no occasion to invade and infest the states by other means.”<sup>17</sup> What the Portuguese government feared from the French was the dangerousness of the ideas, the “propagation of the abominable and destructive principles of Liberty and Equality.”<sup>18</sup>

“In 1793 is received on the island of Mozambique communication that France is moving war to Portugal. From Lisbon they wanted to know if in Mozambique, there had been any communication with Mauritius and if there were any individuals of the “pernicious doctrines.”<sup>19</sup> The French, whether coming from the Indian colonies or from the ports of Nantes, Bordeaux, and Marseille, had long been frequenting the east coast of Africa in search of slaves for Santo Domingo.

The government’s concern was with Freemasonry that was expanding through

16 The rest of Freire’s biography is equally adventurous. François-Timoléon Bègue-Clavel, in his *Histoire Pittoresque de la Franc-Maçonnerie* refers to Freire stating that in 1805 he was admitted to the Order of the Temple and that he was a spy of King John VI, having become intimate with Fabre Palaprat (1773–1838). (Clavel 1853: 217).

17 Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal - BNP, Coleção tarouca, no. 53, instructions from the prince regent to the captain-general of Mozambique Isidro Sá, October 16, 1800.

18 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino - AHU Mç Xx, box 65, no. 11, of September 1st, 1793.

19 BNP, Tarouca Collection, no. 53 Instructions to the Governor-General of Mozambique Isidoro Sá of October 16, 1800.

the French Indian colonies, or directly from France or Brazil, through ship-owners and captains, political deportees, and returning students. By some or all of these means Freemasonry arrived early in Mozambique, still in the 18<sup>th</sup> century, constituting either lodges or networks of masonic solidarity.

It was also in the eighteenth century that the *Inconfidentes* from Minas deported to Mozambique, including the poet Tomás António Gonzaga and people like Eleutério José Delfim, originally from Rio de Janeiro, a student in Montpellier, who went from Goa to Mozambique as an army officer, and then as a slaver. The masonic associations have arrived in Brazil exactly through the students who attended the European universities, namely those of Coimbra, Montpellier and Perpignan, where there were two Brazilian student lodges (Barata, 1999: 59).

The network of relations established between these spaces not only served commercial slavery objectives, but also favored the dissemination in Mozambique of French “pernicious maxims,” that worried the Portuguese government so much, coming mainly from the Island of France (Mauritius), where some Mozambicans also went to study and came from there “with very French customs” and where they would have lived with the existing masonic lodges.<sup>20</sup> It is thus particularly relevant the generation of sons of slavers who studied in Lisbon, Coimbra, Rio de Janeiro, in the Mascarenhas, Goa, and Montevideo. António da Cruz e Almeida, for

example, one of the richest slavers sends his sons “José and Vitorino to Mauritius to study” (Capela, 2016: 152, 302). Others, like Francisco Álvaro da Silva Freire, also studied in England, Paris, and Holland (Leite, 1992). The influence that some of the sons of the merchant and slave bourgeoisie exercised when they returned to those territories after years of studies in Portugal or other countries was determinant in the networks they would establish.

Three vectors of articulation have thus special relevance: the universities, where some children of the slave-owning elites from Brazil, Angola, and Mozambique go to study; the mercantile relations associated with the slave trade, and the assistance solidarity among masons who circulate among these territories, of their own free will or as convicts.

It is in this context that we see the coincidence of Freemasonry with the slaveholding clubs when conflicts arose caused by the abolition of the slave trade. This connection is always referred to in the recriminations of the few who tried to apply abolitionist measures against slavers and who denounce their compromises with the secret societies, and the articulation of these clubs and societies in the axis Brazil, Mozambique, Mauritius (Capela, 1993: 197). The expressions of these interoceanic networks are of diverse nature and go beyond the chronology of Brazilian independence (1822), especially with regard to the articulation of slave trafficking networks. In the case of Mozambique, these networks and their masonic articulations<sup>21</sup>

20 Instructions from the Prince Regent to the Governor of Mozambique on October 16, 1800, quoted from Capela, *O Escravismo...*, 196. On Freemasonry in Mauritius see Allan Michael, “Mauritius a Multicultural Fraternity,” in John S. Wade, *Reflections on 300 Years of Freemasonry* (London: Lewis Masonic, 2017), 107-118.

21 One must, however, be careful with some statements from secondary sources. The “Anais maçõn-

only lost relevance in the 1850s and intensified until then as a form of resistance to the anti-slavery measures.<sup>22</sup>

The constitution of lodges is associated with the negotiable commercial articulation between these spaces. The confluence of these factors, where the defense of economic interests was prevalent, meant that Freemasonry developed around those same interests and that it was in the name of them, more than in the name of ideals, that resistance movements to the instituted powers developed, especially when the anti-slavery movement began to develop.

The elements known today reveal the existence of well-placed and influential masons in trade and in the Mozambican colonial administration, acting cohesively, which allows us to assume the existence of a lodge since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. It is likely that lodges existed in Mozambique throughout the first half of the nineteenth century, perhaps without discontinuities. An Inquisition process reveals the existence of masonic lodges operating in that territory before 1812 and involving personalities already known to us, which reinforces the conviction of a continued activity since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century. (Appendix 3)

The denunciation is from 1812 and refers especially to José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha, in whose house the freemasons used to meet. Araújo Aranha was initiated in July 1791, on the same day and in the same lodge where Silva Freire was initiated, as we saw above. The network of relations of these men articulated itself throughout the Empire space and their activity was supported, either by masons, individually, or by organized lodges of a Freemasonry that operated clandestinely, but, apparently, with the condescension, or even complicity, of some governors (Costa, 2018). Great colonial officials had connections to Freemasonry or would even be freemasons such as the captain-general (1793–97) Diogo de Sousa Coutinho (Gonçalves 1999: 361), later count of Rio Pardo, and the ombudsman Tavares de Sequeira (Capela 2016: 304-305). The denunciation of 1812 hints that Freemasonry was a relatively well-known society, that it was known who were its main members, its “majoral,” and where they met. The presence of freemasons was not limited to the capital, at the time located in the Mozambique Island. Vicente Francisco Rangel is said to have taken possession of “a catechism of the sect of the freemasons,” which had come

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icos fluminenses” of 1832 states that: “The first regular lodge of the Brazilian Freemasonry had the title of “Reunião” (Reunion) and was installed in Niteroi in 1801. It affiliated with the Orient of Mauritius. With a rite inexistent in Portugal, a rite exported from the French colonies in the last decades of the seventeen hundreds, this and another (1803) Brazilian lodge and one from the Cape of Good Hope (1824) were the only ones to adopt such a rite outside French territory” Anais Maçônicos Fluminenses, Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Imp. E Const. de Seignot-Plancher e C<sup>a</sup>, 1832. But this statement still lacks confirmation. More consistent seems to be the existing formation in the manuscript of a travel journal which states that there was a lodge in Mozambique with the name “União Fidelidade” (Fidelity Union) of the Scottish Rite which functioned since 1828, being nowadays believable that it existed much earlier. See Biblioteca Municipal do Porto (BMP) codex 1.317, Travel Diary from Lisbon to Tete (1859–1860).

22 Only the articulation between teams of researchers from Portugal and Brazil will allow us to study in detail the dimension and functioning of these overseas masonic and slave traders’ relation networks that have been in place since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century.

from Sofala during the apprehension of Araújo Aranha's property. There were thus freemasons spread throughout Sofala, perhaps a store in operation. The denunciation mentions the registration of "new members" in 1812, revealing an expanding organization.<sup>23</sup>

### **The slave trade and the establishment and consolidation of Liberalism**

João Batista Moreira, Baron of Moreira (1798–1868) was involved in liberal circles in Porto before the Revolution of 1820 and when the liberal troops arrived in Lisbon he was seen at the public solemnities in the building of the old Inquisition Palace. He maintained close ties with great figures of liberalism. Moreira was initiated in the Porto Amor da Razão<sup>24</sup> (Love of Reason) lodge and later in the Eremia<sup>25</sup> and was a friend of Ferreira Borges (1786–1838), one of the great figures of the 1820 Revolution (Noronha, 1862).

The future Baron of Moreira always remained liberal, and it was he who made the connection of the support of the slavers to the Regency of D. Pedro in the Azores, during the preparation of the invasion of Portugal. As consul he ensured the landing

of slaves in Brazil as long as the slavers contributed to the regency on Terceira Island. Three major contributors stand out (coming from Mozambique to Brazil in 1829) João Bonifácio Alves da Silva, one of the richest Portuguese slavers financiers of the regency of Terceira Island, António José Pedrosa and João Manuel da Silva Sumatra Campeão. Between them they supplied four ships that were the first core of the constitutional fleet. The Brazilian newspaper "Imparcial" (Impartial) reported that these three merchants had offered the lugger Santo António, "sailboat, lined with copper, armed and equipped, loaded with rice, brandy, sugar and tobacco." Brazil recognized the regency and granted the Portuguese slavers the necessary facilities to land the slaves on Brazilian shores. "And so the slavers of Mozambique were financiers of the liberals against the absolutists in the Portuguese civil war" (Capela, 1979: 157).

In the controversy over his removal as consul in Rio de Janeiro for providing cover for the slave trade João Batista Moreira was protected in the Portuguese government by the viscount of Sá da Bandeira (abolitionist), Mendes Leal and Gaspar Pereira, as was widely commented in the newspapers when the pressure of opinion for his replacement for colluding with the slave traders increased.<sup>26</sup>

23 The closure, in that year, of the Inquisition court of Goa, which had jurisdiction over Mozambique, the absence of a law forbidding Freemasonry until 1818, and the condescension of the authorities, more concerned with assuring their share of the slave traffic, during the short periods in which they exercised those functions, than in pursuing secret societies to which some of their partners in this traffic belonged, makes one accept that masonic lodges existed without interruption, at least until the outbreak of Miguelism, which was also felt in the territory, imposing the application of the new law on secret societies of 1823.

24 Oliveira Marques refers to this lodge as the first in the 1821 list of lodges created after the 1820 Revolution (Marques 1996: vol. I 405.)

25 Although mentioned by his biographer, no data about this lodge is known.

26 Newspaper Comércio do Porto April 3, 1862.

During the difficult period of the *miguelismo*, of persecutions of liberals and freemasons, the Loja União e Fidelidade (Union and Fidelity Lodge), of the Scottish Rite supported the liberals degraded in Mozambique.<sup>27</sup> There is no doubt that the capital accumulated in Brazil and the African colonies from the slave trade financed Portuguese liberalism, both in the military action that consolidated it after 1832 and in the capitalist development that followed (Capela 2012: 7). Some of the great slavers joined Freemasonry at two key moments: during the resistance to abolitionist measures and, later, upon their return to Portugal as wealthy merchants, as we will see at the end. Their adherence should not be understood as principled, but merely the fruit of their status as wealthy merchants and the enjoyment of the transoceanic network from which they benefited (Capela, 2012: 175-176).

“The additional convention of 1817, agreed upon with the British, limiting trafficking on the west coast to the regions south of the equator and in the east between Lourenço Marques Bay and Cabo Delgado gave rise to the fact that from 1821 onwards slavery with the condescension of liberalism increased significantly. Brazil’s independence contributed to this increase, since England’s recognition of the new country was always conditional on the abolition of the slave trade, in conflict with Brazilian interests that depended on slave labor. The realization that English pressure was increasing encouraged an accelerated run for African slaves, particularly from the Indian Ocean. With the Mozambican economy converted to colonial

slavery soon Brazilians and Mozambicans created movements that favored a separation from Portugal, such as, for example, the attempt to subordinate the Captancy of Rios de Sena directly to Brazil in 1821, as a condition for maintaining their slavery benefits whenever they felt their interests were threatened. (Capela, 1979: 152; 1993: 184-185) and used masonic organizations to fight the anti-slavery movement. The secessionist movements in Mozambique did not refer to the independence of the colony, due to the total absence of a national feeling in its elites, composed of Portuguese, Goan, and Brazilian, but to its connection with Brazil to maintain the slave trade.

If liberals, slavers and freemasons coincided in the maintenance of this traffic for various opportunistic reasons, it is also true that the boundary is not between liberals and supporters of the old regime. Vasconcelos e Cirne, for example, governor of Quelimane and a slaver, remained a firm absolutist, opponent of the “freemasons” (Capela, 1979: 157). Liberals and absolutists coincided in the defense and practice of this trade. Both absolutist and liberal governors were among the main promoters of the transatlantic traffic from the ports of Mozambique.

The Liberal Revolution only came to Mozambique through a military coup on June 25, 1821, promoted by Domingos Correia Arouca (1790–1861). Arouca had been a militia captain in Portugal, then an army officer in Mozambique, and a member of the government of this colony. He was a well-known slaver and freemason, which we will cover later.

27 BPMP, codex 1317, Oliveira Travel Diary ..., fl 112.

António Júlio de Castro Pinto de Magalhães, secretary of the government of Mozambique between 1841 and 1843, states, in 1842, that a secret society with connections to lodges in Lisbon, Cuba, and Brazil had been formed since 1835 (Capela 1993: 199). The opposition to the anti-slave trader policies has long been based on the links between what the official reports from the governors to Lisbon call “secret societies from Havana, Rio de Janeiro, and Pernambuco” to which must be added the links between Mozambican and Portuguese lodges. There are, besides masons, lodges organized in Mozambique since the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, namely the Loja União e Fidelidade (Union and Fidelity Lodge), which in 1828 practiced the Scottish Rite in Mozambique Island.<sup>28</sup> The lodge must have been in operation since an earlier date. In 1843, the following members of the lodge belonged to it: José Inácio Andrade Néri, military, venerable of the lodge; Joaquim de Santa Ana Garcia Miranda, magistrate and slaver, 1<sup>st</sup> warden; Cândido José Bernardes, 2<sup>nd</sup> warden; Joaquim Faustino da Costa, orator and treasurer; Tito Augusto de Araújo Sicard, secretary. Joaquim de Santa Ana Garcia Miranda was mayor and member of the Government Council, between 1838 and 1840, a known slaver and one of the authors of what was called the “leading club of the slavers faction,” which sought to oppose the abolitionist policy, involved in the project of subordination of Mozambique to Brazil.<sup>29</sup>

## **Marquis Sá da Bandeira and abolitionism**

**B**ernardo de Sá Nogueira de Figueiredo, marquis Sá da Bandeira, took two abolitionist initiatives in 1836. The first, still as Minister of the Navy, at the beginning of the year, which he presents to the Chamber of Peers. It was not favorably received “and, in the brief appreciations that were made in the Chamber about it, voices were soon raised contesting the timeliness and feasibility of the proposed measures” (Marques, 2008: 38) and another, already as prime minister of a setembrist government, the decree of December 10. This decree was made “in dictatorship,” that is, without convening the Parliament, which in itself is significant as to the confidence in the support to pass the law. The decree is signed, in addition to Sá da Bandeira, by Passos Manuel (1801–62) and António Manuel Lopes Vieira de Castro (1796–1842). All were masons. Nothing is known about Vieira de Castro’s masonic activity. Passos Manuel (1801–62) was initiated in 1820 (?) and was Grão-Mestre da Maçonaria do Norte (Grand Master of the Masonry of the North) between 1834–52. Sá da Bandeira was initiated in 1820, but leaves Freemasonry the same year, like so many others initiated in the euphoria of the 1820 Revolution.<sup>30</sup>

The setembrist policy is strongly anti-British and the issue of slavery is at the origin of numerous conflicts with the United

28 Oliveira Marques only references this lodge for the 1940s (Marques 1996: Vol. II, T. I, 340-41).

29 Diary of the Trip from Lisbon to Tete (1859-1860). BMP - Codex 1.317.

30 Oliveira Marques indicates him as a probable member of a Lisbon lodge, about which nothing is known and that would have existed between 1820 and 1823 (Marques 1996: Vol. II, 173).



Kingdom. However, this initiative should be read in a different light: beyond the personal anti-slavery convictions of its authors, Sá da Bandeira had the intention of restoring a colonial empire in Africa, once Brazil was lost. For that it was necessary to have an economic development in the colonies that did not depend on the slave trade which, due to the easy wealth it generated, practically put a stop to any other economic activity. In support of Sá da Bandeira on this issue, there was always the Duke of Palmela (1781–1850), who was never a freemason, but was a convinced abolitionist, although for opposite reasons. His vision of foreign policy was European, favoring, above all, the strategic relationship with the United Kingdom. The pressure from the slave traders led Portugal to a permanent tension with the British. The persistence of slavers in the traffic until the end of the 1840s impeded the colonial project and brought relations between the two countries “to the brink of armed conflict,” a tension that ended with the approval of the Palmerson Bill of August 24, 1839, which in practice corresponds to an English Ultimatum over Portugal (Alexandre, 1991: 317, 333) that, after lengthy negotiations, would give rise to an amicable solution in the Treaty of July 3, 1842. Once this question was closed “the few abolitionists that existed in Portugal began to raise the issue of slavery again. However, they did it foot by foot and, instead of going straight to the heart of the problem, they moved in a peripheral way, opting for various forms

of approach” (Marques, 2008: 39).

Those who most opposed Sá da Bandeira’s abolitionist policy were the Mozambican representatives in the liberal parliaments, integrated into the freemasons, using this as a means of pressure in favor of the continuation of trafficking after its outlawing (Capela, 1993: 202). Sá da Bandeira himself attributes the failure of his abolitionist measures to the opposition of the slavers, but the setembrist policy (nor the setembrists) was clearly abolitionist, nor are some of its executors beyond suspicion of connivance with the traffic (Capela, 1979: 179). If the 1836 law was received without much enthusiasm in Portugal, yet in the colonies and in Brazil the reaction is significant.

We will find Masons on opposite sides—abolitionists and slavers—no less than two Grand Masters, Passos Manuel, signer of the 1836 law, and Domingos Correia Arouca (1790–1861).

Domingos Correia Arouca was initiated into Freemasonry on an unknown date and in an unknown Lodge. We only know that Domingos Correia Arouca, “[...] deputy to the first liberal Parliament also for Mozambique, taking advantage of his stay in Lisbon to affiliate the Mozambican lodge to the Grand Orient of Lisbon.”<sup>31</sup> He had a long colonial career. He attained Grade 33 of the Ancient and Accepted Scottish Rite, and was a member of the Supreme Council. He was the third Sovereign Grand Commander of the Supreme Council attached to the Grand Orient of the Scottish Rite<sup>32</sup> the said José

31 It refers to the Grande Oriente Lusitano. AHU, Mozambique, cx 161, n° 17; cx 164, n° 23.

32 The Grand Orient of the Scottish Rite was known as the Oriente of José da Silva Carvalho (1782–1856) who founded it in 1840. This organization lasted until 1885, but practically without activity since 1861.

da Silva Carvalho (1782–1856) and cumulatively its third Grand Master, from 1858 until his death on January 24, 1861 (Marques, 1986: 98-99). Later, in 1840, Arouca affiliated another Mozambique lodge in the Orient said Silva Carvalho (Capela, 193: 199, 207) of which he was Grand Master, when he was in Lisbon as the first senator for Mozambique, together with deputy Teodorico José Abranches, both well-known slavers, with strong political connections, particularly to the ministers of the navy and overseas, many of whom were also masons. The coincidence of these Freemasonry affiliations with office-holding in the colonies and commercial activity is important for understanding the involvement of Freemasonry factions in colonial slavery.

Marquis Fronteira e Alorna (1802–1881), a chartist, ironizes in his memoirs about the political ingenuity of the setembrist Sá da Bandeira, stating that the latter, «a capital enemy of slavery and, without knowing it, surrounded by slavers, who were his close friends, gave them important commissions in our colonies, in order to put an end to the traffic they were about to carry out” (Andrade, 1929: 161). The indications of this are clear, as the consequences of the appointment of some governors illustrate.

João Carlos Augusto de Oyenhausen Gravenburg (1776–1838), marquis of Aracaty, friend of Dom Pedro I of Brazil and also a freemason, was governor in Brazil of Pará, Ceará, Mato Grosso and S. Paulo, and Minister of Foreign Affairs (1827–1829). Because of political disagreements, he renounces his Brazilian nationality and is appointed governor of Mozambique

(October 1837 to March 1838), where he dies. He is nominated by the setembrists to apply Sá Bandeira’s law and put an end to trafficking. Once in Mozambique he refuses to do so because he considers it inapplicable in the face of generalized resistance from the entire commercial body of the colony, and no actions of any nature are known to him to combat it.

He was succeeded by António Ramalho de Sá, governor from March 1838 to March 1840, and nothing changed, with the slavers continuing their activity despite the intensification of patrols of the Indian Ocean by ships from the United Kingdom. Ramalho de Sá complained in 1839 about the “societies” that were organized to fight abolitionism:

“[...] This society is organized masonically, and the masonic lodges that are in these works are not all conformed either in rites or in orient, but they are conformed and united for this purpose [the resistance to the antislavery current]. In Lisbon itself there is a lodge whose worshipful master is a certain Menezes, who was clerk of the junta here, and did a lot of thieving, and perversities, and later clerk of the Junta of Angola where he had the same behavior, who works in this way, and whose main goal is to obtain the independence of the African colonies. I don’t know this Menezes, but I have lots of ideas of him for this cause, and lots of ideas of his works. Here there is a lodge that is thought to be a chartist lodge, that persistently works in this same end, and that under different pretexts some partners have put in Lisbon in the hands of a João Gomes da Costa money to get certain things that will facilitate their work.”<sup>33</sup>

33 Governor-General’s reply to José Maria Marcelino da Rocha Cabral. AHM codice 11-2396, pages

This was the political climate in Mozambique where colonial slavery was organized in various forms, including masonic lodges linked to Portugal, to resist and combat abolitionist measures both in the colony and in Portugal, involving without much difficulty some governors in this traffic.

Ramalho de Sá was succeeded by Pereira Marinho in the government of Mozambique, from March 1841 to February 1843. He was the only governor who tried to stand up to colonial slavery, collaborating with the United Kingdom in the seizure of ships. His stay was conflictive and his official correspondence, as well as the work he dedicated to his government, allow us to understand many aspects of the slave trade already in the 40s, and to understand the involvement in it of major interests in Lisbon, which he claimed reached the court itself, and the coincidence of slave clubs with masonic lodges” (Marinho, 1842; Capela, 2016: 94). Marinho, claims there was in Mozambique a “leading club of the slavers faction” that had been installed by the Asian Joaquim de Santa Ana Garcia de Miranda “of combinations of some slavers to promote the separation of Mozambique from Portugal” (Marinho, 1842: 77). He was eventually removed from office, and chose to come out publicly to denounce the connection between secret societies and slavery, just as his predecessor had already done privately to the government yet not acting to combat it as Marinho did.

The violent campaign against Marinho had two opponents: the representatives of the slavers in Portugal and the coming to

power of the chartists who used their press to attack the governor who was a known setembrist, and through him the colonial policy of the setembrists (Alexandre 1991: 329).

António Júlio de Castro Pinto de Magalhães who was secretary of the government of the Province of Mozambique during the government of Pereira Marinho would say that “the African-Canarins to carry out all their plans [...] and to be able to traffic in slaves have long formed a secret society, which has aggregated to itself some mestizos and some degenerate Europeans; and although it is composed of few members, and all of them with very little fortune, and no education, nevertheless it has a gigantic strength which results from the union of intimate relations with other secret societies in Havana, Rio de Janeiro and Pernambuco.”<sup>34</sup> Insisting again on this aspect of the organized network of slavers between the Indian Ocean and the Atlantic. The statements of these various colonial interlocutors allow us to understand that there had to be a differentiation of organizational forms. While Freemasonry is linked to political and commercial elites with influence both in the colony and in the government of Portugal, Pinto de Magalhaes’ reference seems to point to “slave clubs” involving not merchant shipowners but local agents of lower social status, in both cases, however, establishing transoceanic networks.

Whenever conflicts arise as a result of attempts to abolish trafficking, those who tried to implement abolitionist measures and restrict the action of slave ships and

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13. October 14, 1839.

34 AHU room 12 folder 8, nº 1 from António Júlio de Castro Pinto de Magalhães to the minister. Lisbon January 5, 1842.

denounce the action of secret societies and their articulation between Portugal, Brazil, Montevideo, Havana, Mozambique, and, for an earlier period, Mauritius. The solidarity among members of secret societies contributed to the organization of slavers who, through them, sought to structure a defense to maintain their activity between the coasts of India and the Americas.

In the 1840s, the chartists consolidated their power and, around the same time, many Portuguese with huge fortunes made in the slave trade began to arrive in Portugal. One of the most notorious is Joaquim Ferreira dos Santos, Count of Ferreira, a close friend and great financier of António Bernardo da Costa Cabral, a freemason and Grand Master, as we have seen. The connection between the Count of Tomar and the slavers (Capela 2012: 7, 151) is notorious. With the coup of January 1842 that brought him to power, the Count of Ferreira became an active financier of the chartist policy that rewarded him with the elevation in Pair of the Kingdom. The bulk of these returning slavers have their roots in the north of the country and it is in Porto that they settle. Proud of the fortune they have accumulated, they are politically conservative and, as a rule, chartists. Rocha Martins in 1849 characterizes these “Brazilians,” as they were known in Portugal, this way: “The lords of the Oporto square [mostly slavers] were homogeneous in temperament and opinions: cautious, reserved; in chartist politics [...]” (Martins, s.d: 5).

With the Regeneration<sup>35</sup> (1850) the return of Brazilians increases and it will be their great fortunes that allow the economic development of the country. The accumulated capital will be invested in banking and insurance houses, railroads, churches, hospitals, industry, and commercial companies of all kinds. “The British consul in Lisbon estimated 300 to 400 the number of Portuguese involved in the slave trade, in Brazil, who voluntarily returned to Portugal between March 1850 and March 1851, entering the amount he estimated to be as high as 400,000 pounds” (Capela, 1979: 220).

His connections to Freemasonry are discrete, but they do not go unnoticed by the more catholic press. Joaquim Pinto da Fonseca died in Porto on October 23, 1897. “As early as November 3, a note in “A Palavra” [a Catholic daily] under the title “A Maçonaria no Porto” [Freemasonry in Porto], quoting *Comércio do Porto*, mentions a donation of \$100,000 by Mr. Joaquim and Mr. Manuel Pinto da Fonseca to the Asilo de S. João, as a suffrage for the soul of his father,” to which they add a commentary: “readers may already know that the Asilo de S. João (Asylum of S. John) is a robust child that Freemasonry gave birth to in the invicta city of Porto, I don’t know exactly how many years ago” (Capela, 2012: 175).

When the Grande Oriente Lusitano Unido (United Lusitanian Grand Orient) was created in 1869 the debate was no longer about slavery. That issue was closed,

35 The Regeneration movement had as its agenda the renewal of the political system and the creation of the infrastructure necessary for the development of the country. The Regeneration sought to put into practice a set of administrative, economic and social reforms, in order to promote economic growth, remove the political and institutional constraints that were attributed to bad governance and to the time wasted in the permanent political-ideological struggles, unable to overcome the economic and social backwardness of the country.

but about forced labor that will remain on the masonic and political agenda for a few decades. But that is another topic.

There is no doubt that circumstances meant that in Mozambique trafficking relied on the protection of organizations such as the freemasons and slavers clubs to

maintain slavery, and that the Portuguese liberal revolution not only did not reject the financial support it received from the slave traders, but even regretted not having benefited from it more widely (Andrade, 1932: vol. I, 311).

**APPENDIX 1**

***Mozambique Governors 1797-1847***

- Francisco Guedes de Carvalho Meneses da Costa (1797-09.1801)  
Isidro de Sousa e Sá (09.1801-08.1805)  
Francisco de Paula de Albuquerque do Amaral Cardoso (08.1805-12.1807)  
Junta administrativa provisória (12.1807-08.1809)  
António Manuel de Melo e Castro de Mendonça (08.1809-08.1812)  
Marcos Caetano de Abreu e Meneses (08.1812-02.1817)  
José Francisco de Paula Cavalcanti de Albuquerque (02.1817-09.1818)  
Junta administrativa provisória (09.1818-11.1819)  
João da Costa M. Brito-Sanches (11.1819-06.1821)  
Junta administrativa provisória (06.1821-06.1925)  
João Manuel da Silva (06.1925-03.1825)  
Sebastião Xavier Botelho (03.1825-08.1829)  
Paulo José Miguel de Brito (08.1829-03.1832)  
Junta administrativa provisória (08.1829-03.1832)  
José Gregório Pagado (03.1832-03.1836)  
Junta administrativa provisória (03.1836-03.1837)  
António José de Melo (03.1837-10.1837)  
João Carlos Augusto de Oeynhausien Gravenburg (10.1837-03.1838)  
A. de Ramalho de Sá (03.1838-03.1840)  
Joaquim Pereira Marinho (03.1840-05.1841)  
João da Costa Xavier (05.1841-02.1843)  
Rodrigo Luciano de Abreu e Lima (02.1843-05.1847)

## APPENDIX 2

Rio de Janeiro, July 22, 1799.

My dear friend of the heart. There is no need to tell you what happened to me up to the day of my departure from Lisbon, because, as you were there you would come to know everything, and I was careful to instruct whoever gave the information. It is of my journey that I must inform you, and I will do so, so that, knowing the good treatment I received, you may lessen the sorrow that friendship would force you to feel about me.

As soon as I boarded the ship, I found a welcome among all her officers and those of the House of India. They recommended me to those to whom I was already highly recommended by good friends in Lisbon, and among them I am very grateful to Cunha and Bordalo.<sup>36</sup> The latter and his family not only recommended me, but their friendship forced them to do even more. I was soon approached by an ensign who is going to Goa with me, a friend of John Debeux, who gave me news of you that terrified me. In truth, the insolent Bazá or Vizir's insults went too far, and, although he partly remedied them, they still deserved, well ..., time, time.

Throughout the trip I did not feel a headache, and throughout I was very well received by the commander, officers and passengers, and, except for the small inconveniences of some rebates when we saw some ships that were supposed to be French, and for this reason they made us spend the nights standing, because of the beds going into the trenches, and this was practiced four times, fruitlessly, and nothing came of it, because the ships took another course. On these occasions I observed things that made me laugh, to see the commander—a lieutenant-captain by rank—running to the batteries with sword in hand, and encouraging with strong words the crew and the convicts to fight bravely against the wicked French, that His Majesty would reward them, and that the same God would fill them with blessings for the cause also being his, the chaplain and three benevolent “Rilhafolistres”<sup>37</sup> going to the mission of China wanting to confess all [illegible] confessing none, barely able to say a word for the fright that frightened them, the faces pale, the stench they exuded from the filth that fear deposited in the lining of their shorts put them in a despicable state, the officials in their places giving orders contrary to each other and causing much disorder, the artillerymen soldiers, divided by pieces—36 in all—and to each of them seven gentlemen degraded, and the others of this class, I entered, and although I was also wearing the mask of crime, I was ordered, armed with sword and pistol, to serve as assistant to one of the passengers, a frigate captain, who by reason of his rank commanded the starboard battery. This man of the age of 24, well educated, a close friend of Stokler<sup>38</sup> and most of our friends, came up to me to

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36 António Mendes Bordalo.

37 It refers to the Convent of Rilhafoles (Miguel Bombarda Hospital in 1911), which belonged to the Congregation of the Mission of Saint Vincent of Paul and was founded in 1717.

38 This must be Francisco de Borja Garção Sockler (1759–1829), 1st baron of Vila da Praia, accused of collaborating with the French during the 1st invasion, denounced as a member of the Loja Amizade (Friendship Lodge) in 1809, he joined the Miguel movement in 1828. Marques, *História da*

comment on so many gallantries, and with him and another passenger, a son of Mozambique, who carried lots of good books, we always lived in good union, spending the days and nights together, talking and reading, to relieve the sadness that is regularly felt on a long journey. These two, that besides thinking the same thing, there was still another reason that connected us, and a lot—remember that inquiry you made to me at Borda-lo's house, and you will soon judge what I am talking about. With 47 days of travel, we arrived in this city on the 9th of this month, and on the following day we disembarked at the fortress of Ilha das Cobras where I am located. The captain of the ship recommended me to the governor, which caused the governor to give me good headquarters, and, after conversing with me, he became such a friend that his house is mine. He sent a clergyman, who is supposedly his son, to walk with me. Every day he presents me with a gift and allows me to be visited by those who seek me out, which is not a small number, and for which the naval officers who are here are enough, who, as soon as they heard that a prisoner was being held here by Jac[obino] and P[edreiro] L[ivre] came to see me and offer whatever was in their power. I hear that in these 12 days we will leave this port to continue our journey to India, where I know I will find friends, and many, and in this certainty I tell you now that I will not stay in that country for many months. From Goa to Bombay is close and from there to England there are many ships in one of which I will return to Europe at the expense of the Holy Brotherhood, which has obligations to do so. What I will feel is that I will receive benefits from the English, being a nation that I hate so much. From England I shall go to Holland, or stay there, or be transported to France, to live there while my beloved country has monsters in it. And as soon as I finish her [illegible] I will return to her [illegible] to sacrifice even my life, if necessary. In these terms only [illegible] you will receive news from me, and if I live and don't get the calculations wrong for the whole of August 1800 I will drink beer in London to your health, where I will stay a short time, because Pit's<sup>39</sup> agents hate them, as well as those of the decanted Manique. Whatever my destiny may be, and whatever country I live in, you can be sure that I will be the same in everything, because Freire will not change.

Earn good money, my good friend, so that you will not enter the class of suitors again when misfortune wants evil to still [?]

I will leave this one to your good friend Mr. Beltrão<sup>40</sup> to give it to you as soon as you arrive, to whom you will tell my story and tell him that I am your friend, so that he will more willingly excuse the confidence I have in taking charge of it and of others that are for the Kingdom and that I took as soon as I arrived here, asking for his protection so that on this island I will be well treated. I know that he has spoken to the Governor. I thank him and beg you to kiss his hand for me.

Farewell my dear M[odesto]. We will see each other again whenever it is. Let us

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Maçonaria..., Vol. I, 358.

39 William Pitt (1759–1806), English Prime Minister from 1783 until 1801 and then from 1804 until his death.

40 Luís Beltrão Gouveia de Almeida, Chancellor of the Relation of Rio de Janeiro. Note by Gomes Leite in the transcription of the document.



always be friends, no matter how far apart we are. Remember me always, I will always remember you, and receive a hug from me, with the greatest tenderness from my heart, full of longing.

Health and Friendship

(a) Freire

P.S. You can write to me so that the letter will be in Lisbon in August next year and be sent to me as soon as you know where I will be there. Don't deprive me of your news too long.<sup>41</sup>

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41 (Leite, 1995, 193-200).

### **APPENDIX 3**

#### **Denunciation**

On the twelfth day of March of this present year of one thousand eight hundred and twelve, in this residence of the cathedral of the capital of Mozambique, in this, I mean, being present the Most Illustrious Father José Nicolau de Jesus Maria Pegado, Commissioner of the Inquisition, with me Father Matos Inácio da Fonseca, curate of the said cathedral, elected as interim notary by the said Most Illustrious and ?? commissioner appeared the R. Fr. Salvador de S. Domingos Peres, religious of the Order of Preachers of the Congregation of India, and currently parochial vicar of the Church of Our Lady of the Conception of Mossuril; which, for saying that he came to denounce things pertaining to the holy office, gave the said Ilmo. and ? commissioner oath of the Holy Gospels; on which putting he denouncer his right hand, promised to tell the truth and keep secret.

And asked what he had to say, he replied that on the twenty-seventh of last month José Antonio Caldas Portuguese sergeant-at-arms of the Regiment of Militia of this capital, and married and living there, going to visit the complainant in the Convent of S. Domingos where he was in those days and Nicolau Caetano Almeida was present. In those days Nicolau Caetano de Almeida was there, born in the lands of the north, widower, Captain of the Ordnance, and resident in this same capital, and told him that in those days there had been nightly gatherings of members of the said sect of freemasons in the house of José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha, known as freemason, and reputed to be the leader of that sect; to whose house, or masonic lodge, the members went one by one, from ten o'clock onwards: But the said Caldas did not tell the complainant, neither who the members were, nor how he knew it.

He said more:

On the tenth of this month, being the complainant in the house of Vicente Francisco Rangel, natural of the city of Goa, and lawyer in this capital, being present in the same house the said José António Caldas and Benjamim Antunes de Melo, natural of the city of Goa, married, resident in this capital, the said lawyer Vicente Francisco Rangel had told him that in the nocturnal gatherings that had taken place of the members of the sect of freemasons in the same house of the said José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha new members had been enrolled, without however telling him who they were.

He said more: the complainant, that the said Vicente Francisco Rangel, had told him, before the said José António Caldas, that he had in his hand a catechism of the sect of the free masons of the handwriting of the said José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha, on which was written his name, that is, the name of the said Aranha; and that this catechism was found in the inventory that was made upon the death of Francisco António de Andrade, and that it was the same one that had come from Sofala taken from the estate of the said José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha; when it was apprehended and sent to His Excellency and [?] Bishop [?].

Asked, if he had more to say, he replied that he had nothing more to say.

And when this report was read to him, and heard and understood by him, he said

that it was in conformity with what he had said, and that he said and ratified it again, and signed herewith the said Illustrious and [??] Commissioner, and I the said priest and Mateus Inácio da Fonseca, acting notary, wrote.

(signatures of the commissioner of the Holy Office and the complainant)<sup>42</sup>

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42 On the back of the last sheet is written: “Denunciation against José Joaquim de Araújo Aranha, whose witnesses referred to could not be questioned last year, and were not questioned this year because the court was extinct.” In a different handwriting is written: “Pedreiros Livres em Moçambique” (Free masons in Mozambique). The complaint was not followed up, because the Goa Inquisition was extinguished in 1812. Salvador de São Domingos Perez, *Denuncia Contra José Joaquim de Araujo Aranha por Pedreiro Livre*, manuscript, 12.03.1812. BN of Rio de Janeiro: [http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo\\_digital/div\\_manuscritos/mss1458899/mss1458899.pdf](http://objdigital.bn.br/objdigital2/acervo_digital/div_manuscritos/mss1458899/mss1458899.pdf).

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