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**Dislocating a Trade Network: New Christian and
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and the British Empires (1700-1730)**

Carla Vieira

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Direzione e Segreteria | Management and Editorial Offices: via G.B. Tuveri, 128- 09129 Cagliari (I).

Telefono | Telephone: +39 070403635 / 070403670.

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Special Issue

Crossing Borders: The Social and Economic Impact of the Portuguese Maritime Empire in the early Modern Age

Edited by

Nunziatella Alessandrini and João Teles e Cunha

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Dislocating a Trade Network: New Christian and Jewish Merchants Between the Portuguese and the British Empires (1700-1730)*

Carla Vieira

(CHAM, Faculdade de Ciências Sociais e Humanas, FCSH, Universidade NOVA de Lisboa 1069-061 Lisboa / Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste, FLUL)

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Abstract

This article correlates the transformations of the Lisbon's commercial elite during the first half of the 18th century, the Inquisition repression against New Christians, and the Sephardic influx to London in the 1720s-1730s. These intertwined events are considered under the framework of the Anglo-Portuguese relations. Our analysis focuses on the crisscrossed trajectories of three New Christian merchants, which illustrate how changes in the profile of the mercantile group of Lisbon and the migratory flows to London are key points to understand the dynamics of the Anglo-Portuguese trade in the 18th century.

Keywords

Inquisition; Migrations; Sephardim; London; Lisbon.

Resumo

Este artigo inter-relaciona as transformações da elite mercantil de Lisboa na 1.ª metade do século XVIII, a repressão inquisitorial contra os cristãos-novos e o fluxo migratório sefardita para Londres nas décadas de 20 e 30. Estes acontecimentos são analisados à luz das relações luso-britânicas. A nossa análise foca-se das trajetórias de três homens de negócio cristãos-novos, as quais ilustram como as circunstâncias da progressiva mudança do perfil da elite mercantil lisboeta e os fluxos migratórios para Londres são pontos-chave para a compreensão das dinâmicas do comércio luso-britânico em Setecentos.

Palavras-chave

Inquisição; migrações; Sefarditas; Londres; Lisboa.

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Introduction

In the 1970s, while tracing a prosopographic picture of the “mercantile class” in seventeenth-century Lisbon, David Grant Smith found a group deeply marked by the distinction between New and Old Christians¹. Without an official census of the mercantile group in Lisbon for this chronology, Grant Smith based his analysis on a sample of 364 merchants active in the city between 1620 and 1690, mentioned in a selected set of sources, such as Inquisitorial trials, *habilitações* (processes of qualification for officers), and notarial documentation. The New Christian element is dominant. Among the individuals whose quality of blood is fully identified (257 of the total sample), 78% were New Christians (Smith, 1975, pp. 11-53)².

Little over a half century later, something had, however, changed. After analysing the profile of businessmen and contractors residing in Lisbon during the period from 1755 to 1822, Jorge Pedreira discovered a group in expansion, but still below the number recorded in other large European port cities. Focusing on a period that encompasses the official abolition of the distinction between New Christians and Old Christians (1773), Pedreira concludes that the individuals of New Christian background had become a minority in the Lisbon merchant elite. However, some New Christians still appeared among “the first figures of the mercantile body”, such as António Soares de Mendonça, Manuel Caetano de Mello, or Gaspar Pessoa Tavares (Pedreira, 1995, pp. 222-226; 1992, pp. 431-433).

Historiography has been less insightful in the study of the mercantile group from Lisbon in the period covered by the chronologies of the two studies carried out by Pedreira and Smith respectively. In his doctoral thesis, William Donovan broaches the subject of this group in the context of commerce with Brazil, based on one particular case study: the mercantile house of Francisco

¹ “New Christian” is a term used to designate both Jews who converted to Christianity, as well as their descendants, after the edict of expulsion and forced conversion at the end of the 15th century. The distinction between New Christians and Old Christians was officially abolished in Portugal in 1773.

² Apart from limitations resulting from the typology of the sources (with a strong presence of Inquisitorial documentation), Smith also calls attention to the fact that a considerable part of the 107 merchants whose blood quality does not appear to be identified may have been, at least functionally, Old Christians (Smith, 1975, p. 18).

Pinheiro. Focusing on the trajectory of this businessman of Old Christian origins, Donovan addresses only secondarily the New Christian element and its role in the mercantile framework of the Lisbon market in the first half of the 18th century. He holds that when Francisco Pinheiro and his family began operating in Lisbon at the turn of the century, most businessmen were by then Old Christians,

a point borne out by the decreased number of merchants tried and sentenced in Inquisition *Autos-da-fé*. The eighteenth-century merchants whom the Inquisition arrested were, in the main, provincial merchants with Spanish origins (Donovan, 1990, p. 61)³.

The absence of any systematic records of the mercantile group active in Lisbon during this period does not allow for a categorical refutation of Donovan's assertion. However, documentary evidence reveals that the argument presented in his work is not completely accurate. With the Inquisitorial repression still vigorous during the first three decades of the 18th century, New Christian merchants continued to be a prime target. Triggered by the relentless arrests, the climate of fear encouraged migration to safer territories, and Inquisitorial files, as well as diplomatic records, unveil one particular destination of choice for these New Christian exiles: London. In this article, I will explore the way in which the recurring repression exercised by the Inquisition in the early decades of the 18th century impacted on the mercantile group of Lisbon, and how this contributed to a change in its profile. By following the path of one particular group of New Christian merchants directly affected by these waves of repression, I will argue that the Inquisitorial activity during this period provoked a migratory movement which, rather than lead to an actual collapse of their trade networks, instead prompted them to dislocate their epicentres to another space, while retaining their actual trading activities. We therefore start our investigation from the destination point of this migratory movement: London. There, among a group of merchants involved in the Brazilian gold trade in the early 1720s, we will find some Iberian Jews who had left Lisbon only a few years earlier: Diogo de Aguilar, Fernando Dias Fernandes, and Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro. I will then analyse the very circumstances that had caused their departure from Portugal in the first place. Returning, therefore, my gaze to Lisbon, a city haunted by the Inquisition, I will follow their paths towards London. By crossing a broad typology of documentary sources (Inquisitorial files, diplomatic correspondence, the fonds

³ David Francis advocates a similar point of view in Francis, 1985, p. 40.

of the Junta da Administração do Tabaco, as well as the records held by the Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation in London), I will shed light on the trajectory and networks of these merchants within a particular framework that combined what was to be the last breath of the Inquisition's assault on New Christians in Portugal on the one hand, with the strengthening of the Anglo-Portuguese economic relations in the first half of the 18th century on the other.

1. London, February 1723

In order to understand the transformations that occurred in Lisbon during the first half of the 18th century, it is necessary to look towards London. In February 1723, 56 merchants and commercial partnerships based in the British capital authorized the shipmasters, captains, and masters of any vessel bound for England and laden with gold (either consigned or at their own expense) to deliver it to the merchant John Goodall or any other person named by him⁴.

Most of the gold that entered the English market was originally from Brazil and arrived via Lisbon. Since the end of the 1600s, shipments of Brazilian gold had repositioned Lisbon in international commerce. Its port became a commercial trading centre that connected English commerce with the Mediterranean markets and the American colonies (Costa - Rocha, 2011, p. 148; see also Costa - Rocha - Sousa, 2013). Charles Boxer – albeit lacking thorough data to verify the weight of this gold flow out of the kingdom – estimated that between half and three quarters of the Brazilian gold that entered Portugal was promptly dispatched to England (Boxer, 1962, p. 157). Aboard merchant ships, war ships, and packet boats that sailed the regular route between Lisbon and Falmouth, the precious metal entered the English market as payment of commercial transactions with Portugal, but also by way of legal commerce (through Portuguese agents), as well as illegal commerce in the form of contraband, both of which carried out by the English mercantile partnerships in Brazil (see Costa - Rocha, 2007; Pijning, 1997).

Therefore, the above-mentioned 56 signatories represented a mercantile group operating in Anglo-Portuguese commerce. Among them, we find 13 Jewish merchants and partnerships: Pereira & Lima, Fernando da Costa & son, Jacob da Costa, Anthony Mendes, Jacob Mendes da Costa, Miguel Viana, Francis Salvador Júnior, Isaac Salvador, Moses de Medina, Abraham & Jacob

⁴ Kew, The National Archives (TNA), SP 100/39, unnumbered folio. See also Yogev, 1978, p. 39.

Franco, Joseph Mendes da Costa Júnior, Joseph & Daniel Viana, and Solomon de Medina⁵.

Their surnames reveal their Iberian background. The Costa/Mendes da Costa and the Salvadores were two of the most prominent Sephardic families in London, whose ancestors had arrived in the city in the 1650s and 1660s from Portugal and Amsterdam, respectively (Perry, 1981; Wolf, 1962-1967, pp. 104-105; Vanneste, 2011, pp. 126-139, 154-174). The Medinas also arrived from Amsterdam around the same time: Solomon de Medina, involved in East Indian trade and in contracts with the Crown, was the nephew and son-in-law of Moses de Medina (Rabinowicz, 1974; Marly, 1978-80, p. 155; Yogev, 1978, p. 279). The brothers Abraham and Jacob Franco from Livorno were agents of their father Moses Franco Albuquerque's commercial house, and constituted one of the vertices of a family network that connected Tuscany to India (another brother, Samuel Franco, was in Bombay), and also to London, in the coral and diamond trade (Trivellato, 2009, pp. 60-61; Roth, 1971).

The other Jewish merchants who signed the document of authorization had arrived in England more recently, coming from Portugal. Pereira & Lima was the partnership of Diogo de Aguiar (*alias* Diogo Lopes Pereira), a merchant from Porto, and of his brother-in-law, Luís/Jacob Álvares Pereira (*alias* Gabriel de Lima). In February 1723, Aguiar was in Vienna, after a brief passage through London, his first destination after leaving Lisbon. His brother-in-law represented the partnership in London, where he had settled at the end of the previous decade (Yogev, 1978, pp. 39-40)⁶.

Miguel Viana and Daniel Viana were the pseudonyms used by the merchants Fernando Dias Fernandes (*alias* Abraham Dias Fernandes) and Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro (*alias* Moses Lopes Pinheiro) in their businesses in Portugal, where they continued to operate through agents, especially English mercantile houses established in Lisbon (Barnett, 1973-75, pp. 217-221; Yogev, 1978, p. 278; Vieira, 2015, pp. 114-132). It was not only the fictitious surname that united them, but also family ties. On 3 September 1721, a few months after arriving in England, Lopes Pinheiro married his niece, Isabel Pinheiro (*alias* Rebecca Lopes Dias), daughter of his sister Maria Gabriel Pinheiro and Fernando Dias Fernandes⁷.

⁵ TNA, SP 100/39, unnumbered folio.

⁶ The first piece of information of Jacob Álvares Pereira in London is a record of his *ketubah* (marriage contract) with Rahel de Aguiar, sister of Diogo Lopes Pereira, on 29 August 1718. London Metropolitan Archives (LMA), Spanish and Portuguese Jews' Congregation (S&P), *Book of Ketubot 5471 to 5482*, LMA/4521/A/02/03/003, f. 66 (by permission of the Board of the S&P Sephardi Community of London; the same for other documents from this collection).

⁷ LMA, S&P, *Book of Ketubot 5471 to 5482*, LMA/4521/A/02/03/003, f. 107. Fernando Dias Fernandes was married to Maria Gabriel Pinheiro, sister of Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro. These

His father-in-law had settled in London several years before. After having been imprisoned by the Inquisition between 1703 and 1705, Dias Fernandes boarded a ship to England⁸. By the end of 1707, he was already part of the Jewish community in London⁹ (Fig. 1).

3. Lisbon, 6 November 1707

In the same year that Dias Fernandes arrived in London, an *auto-da-fé* took place in Rossio (Lisbon). The list of sentenced people was divulged to English readers by the polemicist Michael Geddes (c. 1630-1713). Between 1678 and 1688, Geddes had served as chaplain of the English *feitoria* (trading post) in Lisbon. During the years he lived in the “Papist” kingdom of Portugal, he collected a substantial portion of the arguments that fed the prolific anti-Catholic polemical work which he developed after his return to England. He experienced first-hand the iniquity of the tribunal when, in September 1686, he was called before the Lisbon court to respond to a denunciation: he stood accused of holding liturgical services in the English Consul’s house. According to the inquisitors, he only had authorization to do so in the official residence of the envoy of the British Crown. Despite invoking Article 14 of the Treaty of Peace and Alliance between Portugal and England, signed in 1654, which safeguarded the right of English residents in Portugal to freely profess their religion, the inquisitors remained unconvinced, and the case dragged on until Geddes abandoned his mission in Lisbon (Shaw, 1998, pp. 171-174)¹⁰.

The second edition of Geddes’ work *Miscellaneous Tracts* includes a list of those sentenced in the *auto-da-fé* which took place on 6 November 1707. The list

two families were intimately connected through marital ties from the days when they lived in Portugal. Two other sisters of Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro, Luisa and Beatriz Pinheiro, married two brothers of Fernando Dias Fernandes, Gaspar and Antonio Dias Fernandes, respectively. See the genealogies on the website *Nation Between Empires*, <<https://nationbetweenempires.wordpress.com/genealogies>>.

⁸ Lisbon, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (ANTT), Tribunal do Santo Ofício (TSO), Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2014.

⁹ On 11 December 1707, Fernando Dias Fernandes was mentioned by his Jewish name, Abraham Dias Fernandes, in the records of the *Mahamad* (administrative body) of the Jewish congregation of London as payer of the *finta* (duty), a contribution paid by the *Yehidim* (privileged members) and calculated according to a person’s income. LMA, S&P, *Orders and Resolutions of Mahamad, Nisan 5438 to 28 Elul 5484*, LMA/4521/A/01/02/001, f. 66. On the subject of the *finta*, see Samuel, 2004, p. 359.

¹⁰ This episode is described in the publisher’s note at the beginning of Geddes’ posthumous work, *Several Tracts against Popery* (London: Bernard Lintott, 1715), pp. xiii-xvi.

is accompanied by a series of comments that show how Geddes, years after his return to England, continued diligently to seek out news about the activity of the Inquisition in Portugal. One of his observations focused on its impact on the economic structures of the Portuguese kingdom:

By this List we see what a terrible Havock is made by the Inquisition in Portugal, and especially among the trading People, to the great Diminution both of its Stock in Trade, and of the Number of its current and expert Merchants (Geddes, 1709, p. 517).

Careful analysis of the list verifies that the number of defendants linked to commercial activities was dominant. Businessmen (22%), merchants, store owners (*tendeiros*), and sellers (*caixeiros*) constituted approximately half of the male New Christians sentenced in that particular *auto-da-fé*¹¹. Among them, the contractor Francisco da Costa Pessoa can be found, a “prosperous and creditworthy person” (“*pessoa abonada e de crédito*”), who was not in Portugal at the time the trial took place. After the imprisonment of his wife, Inês Mendes de Campos, he had fled to Bayonne¹². His son António Tavares da Costa remained in Portugal and, in that same *auto*, he ended up being *relaxado* (handed over) to the secular justice, which means that he was sentenced to death¹³. At the time of his imprisonment in Lisbon, António Tavares was a businessman who had started his career working for his father as intermediary in European ports like London, Seville, Cadiz, and Bilbao¹⁴.

However, the *auto* of 1707 was not the most representative of the sweeping wave of repression that assailed Lisbon at the beginning of the century. The peak had occurred the previous year. On 12 September 1706, 108 New Christians were sentenced out of a total of 111 defendants. Two years earlier, the list of the *auto-da-fé* of 19 October 1704 totalled 99 defendants, of which only three were Old Christians¹⁵. Between 1704 and 1706, around 650 sentences were

¹¹ In these calculations, as in the following ones, we do not include the category of “living from their estate” in the context of mercantile activities.

¹² ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 5386, f. 31v.

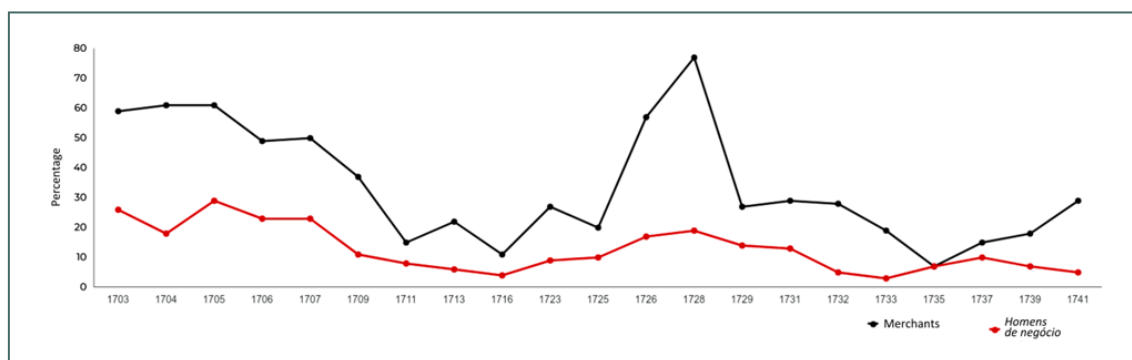
¹³ Canon law barred the inquisitors, who were clergymen, of sentencing people to death. Therefore, at the end of the trial, when the inquisitors considered that the defendant was impenitent and should not be reconciled, they handed him/her over to the secular justice in order for the final sentence to be imposed. Therefore, being “*relaxado*” did indeed mean that the defendant was burnt at the stake.

¹⁴ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 9112.

¹⁵ Lisbon, Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (BNP), Cod. 863: *Collecção de Listas impressas e manuscriptas dos Autos de fé publicos e particulares da Inquisição de Lisboa corrigida e anotada por António Joaquim Moreira*, ff. 358-367v.

issued by the three courts of the Holy Office in Portugal (Évora, Lisbon, and Coimbra)¹⁶.

The profile of individuals sentenced by the Inquisition of Lisbon throughout the first decade of the 1700s remained unchanged.



Graph 1: Proportion of New Christian merchants and businessmen penanced by the Inquisition in Lisbon during the first half of the 18th century¹⁷.

As the graph above indicates, until the *auto* of 1707, the proportion of individuals associated with commercial and financial activities that were sentenced in the *autos-da-fé* in Lisbon was close to, or above, 50%. It was those same five public *autos* between 1703 and 1707 that showed the highest incidence of Inquisitorial repression of the elite of businessmen and contractors, surpassing one quarter of all sentenced individuals. Later, the number of sentenced merchants decreased, with a brief but significant revival in the second half of the 1720s. The *auto* of 25 July 1728 registered the record percentage of 77% of defendants linked to mercantile activities. However, the proportion of businessmen and contractors (*contratadores*, i.e., merchants who had contracts specifically with the Crown) never again reached 20%.

The impact of the Inquisition's repression on the New Christian mercantile elite during the first decade of the 18th century was also reflected in the accounts of the tribunal of the Holy Office of Lisbon. According to Bruno Lopes, revenue obtained from the prisoners showed a predominantly positive balance during

¹⁶ 291 defendants were sentenced in public and private *autos* in Lisbon, 165 in Evora, and 185 in Coimbra (Mendonça - Moreira, 1980). See also Torres, 1978, p. 66.

¹⁷ In this calculation, we only considered New Christian males sentenced in public *autos-da-fé*. The number of penitents that conformed to these criteria amounted to over 20. The category of "businessmen" includes not only the individuals referred to with this designation, but also merchant financiers and *asientistas* (on these categorizations see Donovan, 1990, pp. 89-91). The "merchants" category, in turn, comprises the total number of individuals engaged in commercial and financial activities.

this period, contrasting with the tendency throughout the rest of the century. This revenue refers to the payment of prison costs by the prisoners themselves. While poor prisoners (*presos pobres*) were provided for by the *Fisco* (exchequer), rich prisoners (*presos ricos*) were obliged to pay all their expenses. In fact, the revenue obtained from prisoners reached its peak between 1703 and 1706 (Lopes, 2016, pp. 195, 201-203). These same years evince the largest concentration of businessmen and contractors in the Inquisition of Lisbon's prison.

The list of the *auto* of 1707 reflected another characteristic of this wave of repression to which Donovan alludes in the above excerpt, i.e., the significant number of "Castilian" defendants. Geddes comments on this fact, and searches for an explanation:

The Portuguese Inquisitors, to be reveng'd on the Castilians, for calling their Countrymen Jews, among other opprobrious Names, where ever they can have the least Colour for it, do never fail in their printed Lists of Acts of Faith, to put down their Jewish Prisoners, Castilians; as this Prisoner is here said to have been originally, who was born, and had lived all his Days in the City of Lisbon (Geddes, 1709, 484).

The prisoner was Miguel Lopes Montezinhos, referred to as "born and resident in this City [Lisbon], originating from the Kingdom of Castile" ("natural, & morador nesta Cidade, originario do Reyno de Castela")¹⁸. Contrary to what Geddes affirms, this indication is not far from the truth. Although he alleged in his trial that he had always resided in Portugal, Montezinhos' father was Spanish¹⁹. The two other defendants who figure in the list as "Castilians", Álvaro Nicolau Nogueira and Gabriel Luís de Medina, were actually born in Madrid, albeit into families of Portuguese origin²⁰.

This tendency is repeated in other *autos*. The high number of defendants of allegedly Spanish origin and sentenced by the Portuguese courts during the first decades of the 18th century should be interpreted in the light of two circumstances: i) a better chance of escaping to England via Lisbon; ii) considerable mobility between both sides of the Spanish-Portuguese border, determined by commercial interests and Inquisitorial repression.

¹⁸ BNP, *Collecção de Listas impressas*, f. 369.

¹⁹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2260, ff. 14, 23, 27, 45v, passim.

²⁰ The father of Álvaro Nicolau Nogueira, Manuel Rodrigues Nogueira, was a businessman from Lisbon. The paternal family of Gabriel Luis de Medina had roots in Vila Real, and his father had also lived in Lisbon before settling in Madrid. See ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, procs. 9103 e 5381.

Lisbon had become the principal point of departure for the flight to England. The two treaties signed between Portugal and Great Britain in 1703, in particular the so-called Methuen Treaty, had already cemented the political, diplomatic, as well as economic relations between both kingdoms²¹. British mercantile communities in Lisbon, Porto, and other cities grew, as did maritime traffic between the ports of the Portuguese and British kingdoms. The diplomatic immunity enjoyed by the English packet boats and war ships that regularly anchored in Portuguese ports made them the preferred vehicles for escape. Individually and in groups, Spanish New Christians crossed the border and headed to the Portuguese capital with the intention of clandestinely embarking on English ships. Some were successful, but others were arrested and tried, thus increasing the number of Spanish defendants in the lists of the *autos-da-fé* carried out by the Portuguese Inquisition²².

The flow of New Christians between Portugal and Spain was not only fuelled by hope of a successful escape. Most of the “Castilians” put on trial during this period were not newcomers, but rather individuals who had lived in Portugal for years, and some of them, such as Nogueira and Medina, had strong family ties to Portugal. Apart from persecution by the Inquisition, economic motives spurred the mobility between both kingdoms.

A particularly illustrative case is that of the Madrilenian João Dias Pereira, who was arrested in 1702, following accusations of Judaism accumulated by Inquisition tribunals from both sides of the border. The geographical trajectory of the denunciations against Pereira, as well as his subsequent confession, included several Spanish and Portuguese locations: Benavente, Ocaña, Galicia, Soutelo Verde, Salamanca, Porto, Lebução. When the Inquisition of Lisbon arrested him, he was selling cloth in the Praça da Palha (a Lisbon's square). Pereira's high mobility was motivated mainly by his participation in the tobacco trade, as he explained in his trial: “in all these locations, he had the

²¹ In 1703, Portugal and England signed two treaties: a defensive treaty on 16 May, and also a commercial treaty (known as the Methuen Treaty) on 27 December. These treaties strengthened an alliance that had already been boosted following the Restoration in 1640, and also by the peace treaty of 1654. See, among others, Cardoso et al., 2003; Fisher, 1971; Shaw, 1998.

²² For example, at the beginning of 1723, the tribunals of the Inquisition of Seville and Toledo alerted the tribunal of Lisbon regarding a group of fugitives who had left Spain in the direction of Portugal with the intention of sailing to England. In June 1727, 22 New Christians had been imprisoned, while four more had voluntarily gone before the Inquisition of Lisbon. Most of them were Spanish, and all were suspected of planning an escape aboard English ships. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, liv. 155, fls. 111-117v; proc. 1435 (Afonso Fernandes Rombo).

tobacco *estanco*” (“em todas estas partes teve estanco do tabaco”)²³. This activity remained in the family through his son, Manuel Dias Pereira – an *estaqueiro* (a holder of a tobacco *estanco*) in Torres Novas – who was imprisoned by the Inquisition about a week after his father’s detention²⁴.

3. Troubles with tobacco

To recapitulate: During the first years of the 1700s, as well as throughout the 1720s, the Portuguese Inquisition intensified its repressive action, and the New Christian mercantile group in Lisbon was one of its main targets. We saw how a significant proportion of the defendants fit into the category of businessmen and contractors. After analysing inventories of goods – as well as the progression of denunciations, confessions, and defence articles of the trials – the tobacco trade appears to be almost transversely present. It builds fortunes and generates debts, cements relationships, and provokes disagreements.

After the second half of the 17th century, tobacco gained increasing importance in colonial commerce at a time when the sugar economy was revealing signs of decline (Hanson, 1986, pp. 263-267). At that time, New Christians played a prevalent role in the transatlantic networks that arose around the tobacco trade, linking the centres of production in America to Iberian and North-European markets (Figueiroa-Rego, 2013, pp. 177-199; 2014, pp. 15-39). Some examples include Pedro Furtado, a businessman from Cabaços (a village near Moimenta da Beira, in the northern interior of Portugal), who had lived part of his life in Castile and had returned to Portugal in the late 1680s. He administered the tobacco *estanco* in the *comarca* (district) of Pinhel from 1687 to 1689, and in the city of Lisbon between 1696 and 1698. Diogo Mendes Sola, a cavalry captain (“capitão de cavalos”) living in Lisbon at the time he was arrested in 1703, had held the *estanco* in the *comarca* of Lamego and in the province of Trás-os-Montes between 1696 and 1698. This was a profitable business, since shortly afterwards he bought, as sole buyer, the soap contract of the province of Beira for 1,810,000 *réis*. Both Gabriel Pereira Mendes – who subsequently obtained the contract for the *comarca* of Santarém between 1684

²³ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 530, ff. 104v-118. Tobacco *estanco*: a monopoly over sales of tobacco in a given territory.

²⁴ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 150. Manuel Dias Pereira was imprisoned on 5 December 1702. His father was sent to the prison of the Inquisition of Lisbon on 30 November. See also Figueiroa-Rego, 2014, p. 30.

and 1695 – and Manuel Mendes Henriques, owner of the tobacco *estanco* of Estremoz from 1687 to 1698, were imprisoned in 1703 and 1704, respectively²⁵.

Created in 1674 and with regiment since 1702, the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* (Tobacco Administration Board) began to lease the management of the revenue resulting from tobacco trade in the 23 Portuguese *comarcas* and stores in Lisbon to private individuals. After a period of instability, the tobacco monopoly was leased to a single contractor, D. Pedro Gomez, in 1700. The contractor general was obliged to acquire all the tobacco necessary to supply continental Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira, in order to undertake its processing in the *Fábrica Real* (Royal Factory), and to administer the wholesale transaction of this commodity (Gonçalves, 2003, pp. 123-125, 131-133). The sub-leasing of the *estanco* to third parties delineated a continuity vis-à-vis the management system initiated in 1674 by allocating the distribution of tobacco in territorial units to other merchants. The partners who held the general contract tended to combine the leasing and direct administration of these units on the one hand with a distribution guarantee by local agents, the *estanqueiros*, on the other (Costa - Salvado, 2018).

During the first half of the 18th century, two of the 13 businessmen who took on the general contract of tobacco were New Christians (Salvado, 2014, pp. 152-153): Manuel de Aguilar (1710-1712) and António Ribeiro (1719-1721)²⁶. Aguilar is often referred to as Spanish, although he was from Mogadouro (in the northeast of Portugal)²⁷. He did, in fact, spend a large part of his life in Spain. He had abandoned Portugal with his family as a child, after his father, Francisco Lopes Pereira, had been imprisoned in 1652 by the Inquisition of Coimbra²⁸. The first destination of the family was Andalucía, where Aguilar's father took on the administration of the tobacco monopoly in Granada, and shortly thereafter, the salt contract in Malaga. Francisco Lopes Pereira's businesses were flourishing in the south of Spain when he was again arrested in

²⁵ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, procs. 2006 (Pedro Furtado), 5384 (Diogo Mendes Sola), 2349 (Gabriel Pereira Mendes) e 6784 (Manuel Mendes Henriques). See Gonçalves, 2003, attachment.

²⁶ Antonio Ribeiro had been imprisoned by the Inquisition in 1703, accused of practicing Judaism. At the time, he was a tobacco contractor for the district of Santarém. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 525; ANTT, Junta da Administração do Tabaco (JAT), mç. 127A, cx. 177.

²⁷ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2708 (Francisco de Medina), f. 27v; proc. 4690 (Joana Pereira de Medina), f. 29.

²⁸ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 6790. See also Andrade and Guimarães, 2005, pp. 253-297; Figueiroa-Rego, 2014, p. 25.

1658, this time by the Inquisition of Granada²⁹. Released in 1664, he managed to recover his businesses along with his sons. In the meantime, Manuel de Aguilar settled in Madrid as a contractor. He was there when the spectre of the Inquisition once again assailed the family. In 1675, his brother Gaspar Lopes Pereira was detained. His trial lasted over seven years and culminated in the death penalty imposed in the *auto da fé* on 10 May 1682 (Fig. 2)³⁰.

Again, at the end of the 1680s, Manuel de Aguilar returned to Portugal and settled in Porto. Between 1696 and 1698, he contracted the tobacco *estanco* in the *comarcas* of Guimarães, Porto, and Viana (in northern Portugal), and also in the city of Lisbon (Gonçalves, 2003, attachment). He continued to diversify his investments in the following years. In 1704, together with Pedro Furtado, he participated in a company that bought the cod contract for 13,605,000 *réis*³¹. Both men had been partners in the contract of the *consulado da alfândega* (consulate of the customs) of Lisbon between 1701 and 1704, together with Fernando Dias Fernandes and his uncle Luis Francisco. The four merchants paid the Royal Treasury 203,946,000 *réis* for the contract³².

Unlike his partners Pedro Furtado and Fernando Dias Fernandes, Aguilar managed to escape the wave of imprisonments in the early 1700s unscathed. A number of his relatives had been arrested, such as his sister Beatriz Pereira del Angel, his brother-in-law Pedro de Medina, his two nephews Francisco and Gaspar de Medina, and his niece Joana de Medina³³. Aguilar, for his part, remained at liberty, and his reputation as a thriving merchant in Porto stayed intact. In 1709, he realized that the conditions were right to launch a proposal for the general contract of tobacco during 1710-1712, for which he offered 1,550,000 *cruzados* per year³⁴. In a letter addressed to the Secretary of State, Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real, the Marquis of Minas, president of the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* recommended Aguilar, affirmed that

this man, from the information I have, is of great means and very creditworthy; I have heard that all the men of the market of Porto and those with greater means in this court will go in with him when he becomes the Contractor of Tobacco. If this business were mine, I would lease it to none other than him, not only because of his wealth and his great credit, but for the great satisfaction of the

²⁹ Madrid, Archivo Histórico Nacional, Inquisición, 1616, Exp. 6.

³⁰ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2744 (Gaspar Lopes Pereira), f. 76v.

³¹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2006 (Pedro Furtado), f. 36.

³² ANTT, Chancelaria de D. João V, liv. 28, ff. 166v-167.

³³ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, procs. 8338, 8340, 2708 e 4690.

³⁴ ANTT, JAT, mç. 7, unnumbered doc. (Manuel de Aguilar's contract. 5 December 1709).

businessmen when he buys their tobacco and pays punctually as he does with all his business ventures³⁵.

Therefore, the Marquis of Minas emphasized the need for a group to support the future contractor general, and especially guarantors who would be responsible for the sound execution of payments. Aguilar appeared to meet these conditions with more reliability than did his competitors. The Marquis of Minas' concern shows the risks inherent in this type of contract. The large amounts of money offered for the acquisition of the *estanco* obliged the contractor to avail himself of a group of partners with whom to share both the expenses and potential profits. João Paulo Salvado notes how, in the first half of the 18th century, the general contract of tobacco was recurrently in the hands of partnerships composed by a large number of partners, reaching, at one point, as many as 37 partners. The dimension of the partnerships, together with the short duration of the contract (three years), would have been two of the factors that contributed to the high failure rates during this period: only a quarter of the contracts ended with their accounts paid off on time, and almost half of the general contractors were imprisoned because of debts, or forced to flee Portugal (Salvado, 2014, 145-147).

Manuel de Aguilar encountered problems from the very beginning of his contract. Right after he signed it, he found himself involved in legal disputes with merchants in Lisbon. In January 1710, these merchants presented a petition to the King to order the contractor general to buy all the tobacco for the *estanco* immediately, and pay in cash, or simply authorize them to send tobacco out of Portugal. Aguilar committed to buying all the tobacco, albeit gradually and throughout the year, and according to demand. This condition was not acceptable to the merchants, and the dispute dragged on for many months³⁶. In April 1710, the president of the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* lamented the discord between Aguilar and the Lisbon merchants, and stated that these had

³⁵ “[E]ste homem, pelas notícias que tenho, é de muito cabedal e de maior crédito; consta-me que todos os homens da praça do Porto e os de maior cabedal de esta corte entrarão com ele, quando seja ele o Contratador do Tabaco. Se este negócio fora meu, a nenhum outro o arrendara senão a ele, não só pelos cabedais que tem e pelo seu grande crédito, mas pela grande satisfação que haverá entre os homens de negócio de que ele seja quem lhes compre os tabacos e que lhos pague com a pontualidade com que o faz com todos os seus negócios”. ANTT, JAT, mç. 7, unnumbered doc. (Letter by Marquis of Minas to Diogo de Mendonça Corte Real. 30 October 1709).

³⁶ ANTT, JAT, mç. 8, unnumbered doc. (From JAT on the petition of João Rodrigues de Moura and several other businessmen in which they ask that the general contractor of tobacco buy all their tobacco for the *estanco*, paying in cash, or let them be removed from Portugal. 27 January 1710).

“turned into turbulent complaints and hard headedness”³⁷. The feud concealed another problem: lack of liquidity on the part of Aguilar and his partners, preventing them from complying with the directives of the contract. In September, Aguilar revealed that he had trouble paying the monthly allowance of 30 *contos de réis* that was needed to sustain the *gente de guerra* (war costs), a provision that he had committed to spontaneously in the contract. He complained of non-payment on the part of lessors in the districts, and of a lack of debt enforcement by local authorities³⁸.

His troubles continued during the contract. Tobacco became scarce, and Aguilar was forced to request extraordinary measures to meet the demands of the *estancos*³⁹. The number of suppliers was increasing – between 1710 and 1712, a total of 75 merchants supplied tobacco to the factory in Lisbon – and the price of the raw material became excessively high. In the three-year period of Aguilar’s contract, the average price of tobacco was 131.7 *réis* per pound, about one *real* above the average recorded between 1716 and 1720 (Salvado, 2018, table 6)⁴⁰.

These, as well as other factors led Aguilar to ruin. In a petition directed to the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco*, his son Diogo de Aguilar said: “being the son of a father who solely to serve Your Majesty came from Oporto where he lived with an abundance of means, all of which he consumed in this contract, proceeding in it with the truth which is notorious”⁴¹.

His words need a little contextualizing. Manuel de Aguilar had died in June 1712, before the end of the contract, and the young Diogo, as *herdeiro a benefício do inventário* (legal heir of the inventory), took on the administration of the tobacco *estanco*, i.e., he had to ensure that the estate he had inherited along with his mother and two sisters would serve to pay the contract’s debts before its

³⁷ “[J]á passado a tumultuosas queixas e obstinadas teimas”. ANTT, JAT, mç. 8, unnumbered doc. (From JAT on the petition of the general contractor in which he exposes the damage that ensued after the contract by allowing the businessmen to ship the tobacco in the *alfândega* (customs house) out of Portugal, a result of the role of these same men. 2 April 1710).

³⁸ ANTT, JAT, mç. 7, unnumbered doc. (Contract of Manuel de Aguilar. 5 December 1709); mç. 8, unnumbered doc. (From JAT to the general contractor Manuel de Aguilar to nominate a general conservator to collect the debts from the *comarqueiros* of the Alentejo, Algarve, and districts of Estremadura, Coimbra, and Esgueira, 6 September 1710).

³⁹ ANTT, JAT, mç. 79, unnumbered doc. (From the *provedor* [manager] of customs: information for the contractor to take tobacco freely, 7 July 1711).

⁴⁰ The ledger for the period of Manuel de Aguilar’s contract is in ANTT, JAT, liv. 19.

⁴¹ “[S]er filho de um pai que só por servir a Vossa Majestade veio do Porto aonde vivia mui abundante de cabedais, que todos consumiu neste contrato, procedendo nele com a verdade que é notória”. ANTT, JAT, mç. 9, unnumbered doc. (Petition by Diogo de Aguilar, 24 September 1716).

end⁴². However, by then, the debts had spiralled to 1,860 *contos de réis*, a sum the inheritance did not cover. On 22 May 1713, Diogo was arrested and sent to the Limoeiro prison in Lisbon⁴³.

Given this situation, Diogo de Aguiar asked the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* to grant him the opportunity to settle the accounts of the contract “since, in prison, he neither pays, nor collects means to be able to do it and is unable to continue to take action and meet the many demands that are of great interest to the contract”⁴⁴. He obtained authorization to leave prison for four months in order to settle these accounts, although his freedom was conditional and consigned to the oversight of “fiéis carcereiros” (“trustworthy warders”). Together with his partner Tomás Ferreira Pinto, Diogo took the necessary measures with regards to the *comarqueiros* and other debtors, and thus managed to reduce the debt to little over 533 *contos de réis*. Even so, the inheritance left by his father was not enough to liquidate this sum. As a result, the case dragged on, and Diogo de Aguiar was still in prison in September 1716. It was only on the 24th of that month that the *Junta* decided to set him free.

Diogo de Aguiar’s turbulent early career contrasts with the fact that, nine years later, Emperor Charles VI entrusted him with the imperial tobacco monopoly for more than two decades⁴⁵. Between the Limoeiro prison and the imperial court in Viena, the son of Manuel de Aguiar had managed to build a promising career based on an influential commercial network. During the first decades of the 18th century, the epicentre of this network moved from Lisbon and Porto to London, a move that was propelled by the Inquisition’s persecution.

⁴² ANTT, Mesa da Consciência e Ordens, Habilitações para a Ordem de Cristo, Letra T, mç. 6, n.º 34. “On 30 August of 1712, I declare Diogo de Aguiar recipient, as heir of his father, the contractor general Manuel de Aguiar, and Tomas Ferreira Pinto, as procurator of the guarantors of the contractor general [...]” (“Em 30 de Agosto de 1712, carrego em receita ao dito Diogo de Aguiar, como herdeiro de seu pai, o contratador geral Manuel de Aguiar, e a Tomás Ferreira Pinto, como procurador dos fiadores do contratador geral [...]). ANTT, JAT, liv. 19, f. 103v.

⁴³ The documents regarding the imprisonment of Diogo Lopes Pereira are dispersed and unnumbered in *Junta da Administração do Tabaco*, mç. 9.

⁴⁴ “[P]ois preso, nem paga, nem cobra para o poder fazer e fica impossibilitado para continuar as diligências e muitas demandas que há de grande interesse do contrato”. ANTT, JAT, mç. 9, unnumbered doc. (Petition by Diogo de Aguiar, 24 September of 1716).

⁴⁵ About Diogo de Aguiar, see Studemund-Halévy and Collin, 2013, pp. 239-294; Stechauner, 2014, pp. 49-91.

4. *The Dias Fernandes brothers*

The family Dias Fernandes, from Muxagata in the bishopric of Lamego (in the northern interior of Portugal), was part of Aguilar's trade network. The family's trajectory also vacillated between both sides of the border. The patriarch, Diogo Dias Fernandes, lived in Pastrana and Madrid until returning to Portugal around 1679⁴⁶. In the following generation, the family became dispersed around Freixo de Numão, Lisbon, and Oporto, creating a commercial network that linked the border region of Beira with the two main Portuguese trade centres (Sideri, 1970, p. 46). Diogo's oldest son, Fernando Dias Fernandes, was Manuel de Aguilar's partner in the contract of the *consulado da alfândega* in Lisbon. In 1703, the Inquisition found him living in Lisbon, from where he operated in the Brazilian trade through agents in Pernambuco (António Rodrigues Campelo), Rio de Janeiro (José Gomes da Silva), and Bahia (Luís Mendes de Morais), all of whom sent him sugar in exchange for English cloth⁴⁷.

Fernando had been in prison barely two months when his brother Gaspar Dias Fernandes and his sister-in-law Luísa Pinheira, both residents in Porto, were also imprisoned. A slave of Gaspar Dias Fernandes' household testified as to overhearing him confide that he planned to flee to Holland. Rumours circulated in the city after people saw him selling merchandise at low prices and heard that he was sending money to "the North" by means of letters of exchange. The accusations against the Dias Fernandes brothers had been accumulating in the courts of Lisbon and Coimbra over the years. Their regular visits to Manuel Aguilar's home, where other New Christians used to meet, aroused suspicion. In his defence, Gaspar justified his attendance at Aguilar's home citing his dual capacity as both physician and trader: As a physician, Gaspar was treating Aguilar's wife "who was very sickly and suffered mysterious ailments"; as a trader, he frequented Aguilar's house for business reasons since "it was a house of conversation and *estanco*, located on top of the walls, with windows giving on to the river"⁴⁸.

Gaspar Dias Fernandes was able to present a solid defence and, on 3 March 1704, all charges against him were dismissed, and the confiscation of his estate lifted⁴⁹. His brother, however, remained imprisoned, and in the *auto-da-fé* of 12

⁴⁶ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1437 (António Dias Fernandes), f. 179v, 182v.

⁴⁷ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2014, fls. 49v-50.

⁴⁸ "[M]uito achacada e de achaques ocultos"; "era casa de conversação e de estanco e ficava sobre o muro e com janelas para o rio". ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 6378, fls. 10-19v, 42 [Charges], 104v [Defence]. The pagination of the trial of Gaspar Dias Fernandes is irregular, with some parts numbered separately.

⁴⁹ Gaspar's sentence determined that "according to what was demonstrated throughout the

September 1706, he was sentenced to “cárcere e hábito penitencial perpétuo” (“perpetual imprisonment and penitential habit”, i.e., up to three years in prison). In the meantime, two of his sons, Diogo Dias Fernandes and António Lopes Dias, had tried to escape on board a Dutch vessel. However, the plan was discovered. The *corregedor* (judicial official) of the neighbourhood of São Paulo, Lisbon, found them hiding in the hatch of the ship⁵⁰. Several years later, the two brothers struck luckier in their second attempt at escaping, this time accompanied by their father, and by December 1707, Fernando and his sons were safely ensconced in London.

This swoop by the Inquisition did not cause lasting damage to the Dias Fernandes family businesses. The ledger of Gaspar Dias Fernandes, with records dating back to 1697 and apprehended by the Inquisition of Coimbra in 1725, reflected the vitality of his business ventures and how he developed these through a network rooted in the family core, particularly with his brothers Fernando and António Dias Fernandes. The earliest records show that Gaspar was already active in the Atlantic trade: through his agents in London, he commercialized English cloth and other goods coming from the northern markets of e.g. Amsterdam and Hamburg (butter, game, herrings, arms), and goods originating in India (spices, incense, textiles); some of these goods he sold in Portugal, and some he dispatched to Brazil in exchange for Brazilian sugar. This cargo of sugar, in turn – along with Portuguese products such as olive oil, wine, chick peas, and silk – he then sent to the very same northern markets of Rotterdam, Amsterdam, Hamburg, and especially also London on board the returning Brazil fleets. Those returning goods were then exchanged for local ones, and the same cycle continued. This flow of goods was made possible by a widespread network of agents and correspondents which was consolidated with the settlement of Fernando in London⁵¹.

process, and since the evidences were not enough for a harsher condemnation, and considering what the defendant alleged and proved in his defence, the tribunal absolves him from all charges and commands that the defendant must hear his sentence at the Holy Office board, before the inquisitors and officers of the Inquisition, and that the sequestration of his assets must be lifted, and that he must pay the expenses of his trial” (“O que tudo visto e o mais que dos autos consta, havendo respeito à prova da justiça não ser bastante pera maior condenação, e ao que o Réu alegou e provou em suas contraditas, absolvem ao Réu da instância do juízo, e mandam que ele ouça sua sentença na mesa do Santo Ofício perante os inquisidores e oficiais da Inquisição, e que seja levantado o sequestro que lhe estava feito em seus bens, e pague as custas”). ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 6378, unnumbered folio.

⁵⁰ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, liv. 274, ff. 534v-535v.

⁵¹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, liv. 770.

About 20 years later, the Inquisition, once again, pursued the family. On 5 January 1725, another brother of Fernando, António Dias Fernandes, was detained by the court of Lisbon. He was then a tobacco contractor in Lisbon. With his son Gaspar Lopes Pinheiro (not to be confused with his homonym, also known as Daniel Viana), he had bought the tobacco contract for the Minho province in 1719-1720, and for the Beira province in the following three years. Another son, António Dias Correia, worked for the family in Brazil. The long inventory of goods in the António Dias Fernandes' trial revealed the dynamism of his business ventures, as well as the scale of his commercial contacts. After he was imprisoned, fear set in among those who were closest to him⁵².

Anticipating that the Inquisition was again hounding his family, Gaspar Dias Fernandes was quick to take measures. With the help of a *familiar* of the Holy Office, and a prison guard in Lisbon, he continued to correspond illicitly with his imprisoned brother. António Dias Fernandes eventually revealed the name of the guard, José Moreira⁵³, to the inquisitors. Years later, in London, Moreira appears once again: In a petition addressed to the *Mahamad* (governing body) of the Jewish congregation, Moreira, newcomer to London, pleaded for financial assistance for himself and his family. He claimed that during the approximately 20 years that he worked as a guard for the Inquisition of Lisbon, he had always tried to “help and alleviate the prisoners, both the poor and the rich, without any interest other than using the good inclination that he had always had towards this *nação*”⁵⁴.

On 7 May 1725, the inevitable occurred, and Gaspar was sent back to the dungeons of the Inquisition of Coimbra. He employed a strategy similar to that of the first trial: he resorted to every possible means to defend himself, i.e., a network of connections that he did not hesitate to set in motion as soon as he felt the Inquisition on his heels⁵⁵. But this time, Gaspar gave in and confessed to having carried out Jewish practices in the past. This occurred on 16 October 1726, exactly five days after his brother Antonio had begun admitting his alleged guilt before the inquisitors of Lisbon. It is likely that Gaspar had been informed of his brother's confession through his “mole” in the Lisbon tribunal. Acting prudently, Gaspar claimed that he had stopped believing in the Law of Moses six or seven years before. By then, he claimed, he had not only stopped

⁵² ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1437, ff. 85v-87v, 111, 122-123.

⁵³ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1437, f. 728.

⁵⁴ “[F]avorecer e aliviar os presos, tanto pobres como ricos, sem mais interesse que usar da sua boa inclinação que sempre teve a esta nação”. LMA, S&P, *Mahamad and Treasurer's correspondence*, LMA/4521/A/01/16/002, doc. 70, undated document.

⁵⁵ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 6378-1, ff. 38v-43, 70v-71 [Charges].

interacting with other New Christians, but also started “composing a little book for print” (“compôr para imprimir um livrozinho”) that he believed would help enlighten “all the New Christians who live in blindness” (“todos os cristãos-novos que vivem cegamente”)⁵⁶. The text, entitled “Catholica Synderesis, e Hebreo convencido” and written in his own handwriting, was attached to his case⁵⁷. This “little book” (“livrinho”) provided what Gaspar believed was compelling evidence for his defence.

The fact that certain inconsistencies in his confession were not pursued by the inquisitors reveals Gaspar’s success in manoeuvring his contacts inside the Holy Office. For example, although his brother Antonio had alluded to a trial in the Inquisition of Llerena against their father, Gaspar firmly reiterated that “neither his parents, grandparents, great-grandparents or great-great-grandparents had ever been apprehended, punished, or detained for crimes against the Holy Office of the Inquisition”⁵⁸. Surprisingly, another issue that was not raised during his inquiry was the contact he maintained with his brother Fernando Dias Fernandes. Gaspar alleged that they had not spoken to each other for 25 years, and that he had lost contact as soon as Fernando was absolved by the Holy Office and left Portugal for an unknown destination. His ledger, however, records debts, bills of exchange, and shipments of sugar sent to a trader called Miguel Viana in London⁵⁹. How could the inquisitors ignore that Miguel Viana and Fernando Dias Fernandes were the same person? Around that time, one of Gaspar’s son, Francisco Dias Fernandes, was also

⁵⁶ *Ibidem*, fls. 276-277 [Examination].

⁵⁷ *Ibidem*, [Catholic Synderesis and the convinced Hebrew. Orthodox discourse that demonstrates convincingly, and with the most authentic passages of the Prophets, as well as with the Authority of the most famous Rabbis of the Synagogue, that the only true Messiah was Jesus Christ Our Lord, God, and Man. With reverent spirit, [the author] offers, dedicates and consecrates it to the ever immaculate and most holy virgin Mary, Mother of God and our Lady. Doctor Gaspar Dias Fernandez, Doctor of the City of Porto, etc. (“Catholica Synderesis e Hebreo convencido. Discurso orthodoxo, em que se manifesta com demonstrativas razões, e com os mais authenticos lugares dos Profetas, como tambem com as Authoridades dos mais celebres Rabinos da Synagoga, aver sido o unico e verdadeyro Messias Jesus Christo Senhor Nosso, Deos, e Homem, o qual com reverente animo offerece, dedica e consagra, a sempre immaculada sacratissima virgem Maria, Mãy de Deos e Senhora nossa. O Doutor Gaspar Dias Fernandez, Medico da Cidade do Porto, &.a”). This treatise is incorporated at the beginning of Gaspar Dias Fernandes’ trial with a separate numeration.

⁵⁸ “[N]em seus pais, avós, e bisavós e terceiros avós imemoriavelmente nunca foram compreendidos, nem castigados, nem presos por crime contra o Santo Ofício da Inquisição”. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1437, f. 183; ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 6378-1, f. 140v [Defence].

⁵⁹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, liv. 770, fls. 94v-97v.

imprisoned. During his confession, he said he had found a strange book in his father's office containing verses in Spanish and Portuguese and with an annotation on the Jewish fast days. The young man added that the sheet with that annotation had come from Holland, "sent by his uncle Fernando Dias Fernandes, whom he thought had changed his name to Miguel Viana"⁶⁰. It should be noted that this denunciation was part of Gaspar's case.

The unusual outcome of this trial was the final proof as to just how favoured Gaspar was by higher bodies of the Holy Office. In March 1728, he was notified by the Inquisition of Coimbra that he would be *relaxado* to the secular justice. Three months later, he can be found confessing before the Inquisition of Lisbon. Shortly afterwards, in the *auto-da-fé* on 25 June 1728, he was sentenced to "cárcere e hábito penitencial perpétuo, sem remissão, com insignias de fogo"⁶¹ and exiled to the galleys for five years. As such, he had managed to escape the death penalty for which he was indicted in Coimbra. The transference of the process to another tribunal is not explained in any part of the document. What he confessed to the inquisitors in Lisbon was less than adequate to satisfy the substance of the accusation against him. His confession, therefore, should have been considered "diminuta" (insufficient), and the trial, according to the Inquisition's by-laws, would ordinarily have culminated in the maximum penalty. This, however, was not what happened.

5. Diogo de Aguilar and Gaspar Lopes Pinheiro leave Lisbon

When the brothers Dias Fernandes were arrested, Diogo de Aguilar was no longer in Portugal. His departure must have occurred between the second semester of 1720 and the beginning of 1721. Indeed, the last evidence of Aguilar in Lisbon indicates that, in April 1720, he was living in the "downstairs room of the Count of São Lourenço's house, next to the church of Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai" ("no quarto baixo do Conde de S. Lourenço, junto a Santa Catarina do Monte Sinai") and was set to marry the daughter of Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro, the brother-in-law and also future son-in-law of Fernando Dias Fernandes⁶². Aguilar and Pinheiro ended up leaving Portugal on board an

⁶⁰ "[E] lhe mandara o seu tio Fernando Dias Fernandes que lhe parece mudou agora o nome para Miguel Viana". ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, proc. 6378-1, f. 63v [Charges].

⁶¹ "Perpetual imprisonment and penitential habit with fire symbols, without remission" meant up to five years in prison. In the *auto-da-fé*, the defendant had to use a habit (*sambenito*) with flames pointing downwards, signifying that he had narrowly escaped being *relaxado*.

⁶² ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1647 (Diogo José Ramos), fls. 620-621.

English ship some time later⁶³, and by the spring of 1721, Pinheiro was already in London⁶⁴.

When they left Lisbon, both Pinheiro and Aguilar were reputable businessmen. They can be seen to be financing the government of the captaincies of Brazil, and of advancing the salaries of the governors of Espírito Santo (Aguilar in 1716) and of Maranhão (Pinheiro in 1718)⁶⁵. A ledger seized from Salvador Mendes Furtado, a businessman from Porto, during his Inquisitorial process in 1725, is prolix in references to Aguilar and Pinheiro. In 1712, when Aguilar took on his father's general contract, he owed Furtado 553,600 *réis* for sugar ordered from Pernambuco. At the same time, he was due to receive some money from freight costs that Furtado had collected in his name. Pinheiro appears in Furtado's accounts since 1709. Most of the debts and credits recorded ensued from cloth trade, probably dispatched with fleets destined for Brazil⁶⁶.

Therefore, Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro was able to successfully rebuild his career after having been arrested by the Inquisition of Lisbon between 1702 to 1704⁶⁷. The personal humiliation and the confiscation of his assets were not enough to bring down this merchant at the beginning of his career. Apart from the cloth trade, Pinheiro focused his investments on the tobacco business. In 1713, he presented a proposal to take on the general contract that the *Junta da Administração do Tabaco* had withdrawn from a consortium headed by Domingos Cordeiro Mascarenhas. He asserted that during the previous months, he had supplied 150,000 *cruzados* in tobacco to the *estanco* and lent 35,000 *cruzados* to that consortium. He offered 1,400,000 *cruzados* a year for the acquisition of the general contract, guaranteeing to find trustworthy guarantors, and promising that he would maintain all the local *estancos*⁶⁸. His proposal was

⁶³ "Dom Pedro Alvares da Cunha says that his English servant told him that in England he heard from Diogo de Aguilar, Luís Gomes da Costa, and Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro that the master, an Englishman living in Corpo Santo, were the one who encouraged them to embark" ("Dom Pedro Álvares da Cunha diz que o inglês seu criado lhe disse que ouvira em Inglaterra a Diogo de Aguilar, Luís Gomes da Costa e Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro, que o mestre, inglês de nação, morador ao Corpo Santo, foram o que os conduzira para se embarcarem"). ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, liv. 155, f. 495.

⁶⁴ In a letter dated 15 April 1721, the Portuguese envoy extraordinary to the English Court, António Galvão de Castelo Branco, mentioned that Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro was already residing in London. Lisbon, Academia das Ciências de Lisboa, Série Azul, cod. 600, f. 8v.

⁶⁵ ANTT, Conselho Ultramarino, Registo de contratos e de termos de fianças, liv. 2, fls. 128v, 155-155v.

⁶⁶ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Coimbra, liv. 795, fls. 22v-23, 37v-39, 56v-57, 59v-61.

⁶⁷ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 2348.

⁶⁸ ANTT, JAT, mç. 9, unnumbered doc. (Petition by Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro to JAT, proposing to

not favoured by the *Junta*, who preferred to give the contract to D. Pedro Gomez. However, the figures reveal that, in the period between 1710 and 1737, Pinheiro was one of the main suppliers of the *estanco real*: 276,139 pounds of tobacco in only five years⁶⁹. Apart from the tobacco business, Pinheiro also invested in other contracts. Between 1714 and 1716, he was *assentista* in the province of the Alentejo, in partnership with the English businessman Tempestre Milner. Four years later, he was managing the *assento* of Trás-os-Montes⁷⁰.

It is safe to contend that the main motivation for Pinheiro's and Aguilar's departure was not directly related with a plan to expand their commercial activity by relocating the centre of their sphere of action to London. Instead, this rerouting of the core of their business network can be seen as a consequence, rather than a cause. The driving motive for their relocation to England was, it can be argued, a result of the persecution suffered at the hands of the Inquisition, although their departure had preceded the beginning of the new wave of detentions that affected the Dias Fernandes family, as well as several other New Christian merchants in the mid-1720s.

The key to this enigma may lie in an arrest carried out in Beja in the autumn of 1720. Around this time, almost one hundred New Christians, mostly from the Alentejo province, were denounced by the physician Francisco de Sá e Mesquita. On 9 September 1720, Mesquita presented himself before the Inquisition of Lisbon to testify regarding alleged meetings to practice Jewish rituals in Beja. Under disguise and using a fake name, he repeated the same denunciation a month later before the tribunal of Évora. After all, he must have reasoned, any prison sentence handed down by the Inquisition should be supported by at least two accusations by different witnesses. Two years later, however, Mesquita's deception was discovered, and he was sentenced to death (i.e., "relaxado" to the secular justice) in the *auto* of 10 October 1723⁷¹.

Mesquita had alleged before the Inquisition that he was taken to the purported Jewish ritual meetings by Diogo José Ramos, a merchant from Osuna (in southern Spain), who administered the tobacco contract of the districts of

take on the general contract. Undated document).

⁶⁹ Calculations made by João Paulo Salvado based on the tobacco entries in the *Fábrica Real* in Lisbon (Salvado, 2018, table 7).

⁷⁰ Lisbon, Arquivo Municipal de Lisboa, Chancelaria Régia, Livro 4.º de registo de cartas do Senado Oriental, doc. 94, f. 27v, doc. 96, f. 28, doc. 456, f. 118v, doc. 457, f. 118v; Livro 6.º de Consultas e Decretos de D. João V do Senado Oriental, f. 192; Livro 8.º de Consultas e Decretos de D. João V do Senado Oriental, ff. 105, 115.

⁷¹ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, procs. 11300, 11300-1 e 11300-2. See also Carvalho, 1930, pp. 15-20.

Beja and Campo de Ourique, in Alentejo. On 20 October 1720, as a consequence, Ramos was arrested by the Inquisition of Évora⁷².

At first sight, this case seems entirely unrelated to Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro and Diogo de Aguilar. However, a closer look reveals a direct connection in that Ramos was both a first cousin of Aguilar, as well as his procurator in several business ventures⁷³. The news of Diogo José Ramos' arrest must have greatly alarmed Pinheiro and Aguilar. They were, indeed, justifiably afraid. After almost three years of imprisonment and several statements of defence, Ramos began his confession on 27 September 1723. Among the first denunciations he made, he recalled a journey to Lisbon where he stayed in Aguilar's home. On that occasion, Pinheiro was also present. Ramos alleged that they disclosed their inner belief in the Law of Moses at that point. He told below that, a few days later, he went to an estate in Campo Grande where he observed the fast of Queen Esther, together with Aguilar, Pinheiro, and several other people⁷⁴.

In the *auto-da-fé* of 10 October 1723, Ramos was sentenced to “cárcere e hábito penitencial perpétuo, sem remissão, com insignias de fogo” and sentenced to forced labour on the royal galleys. Little is known about his life after that, apart from some denunciations against him for non-fulfilment of the penitence, and for falsifications in the tobacco business during the time that he had the *estanco* of the *comarcas* of Beja and Campo de Ourique. Another report located him in southern Portugal in 1725, where he was administering the tobacco contract of the kingdom of the Algarve⁷⁵. His son, Duarte Lopes, became more renowned. In 1752, Lopes settled in Newport, Rhode Island, where he adhered to Judaism and adopted the name Aaron Lopez. He became an outstanding merchant of colonial America, operating in the whaling business, as well as in the triangular trade between the Caribbean, North American ports, and Western Africa (see Chyet, 1970; Pereira, 2005).

⁷² Ramos was transferred to the Inquisition in Lisbon in November 1720. ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, proc. 1647.

⁷³ Diogo José Ramos was the son of Ana Maria de Carvajal, sister of Branca Teresa (Manuel de Aguilar's wife). Ramos arrived in Portugal around 1697, settling in Vila de Frades, where he lived until 1719. He then moved to Beja. *Ibid.*, ff. 178v-179, 229v-230.

⁷⁴ *Ibidem*, ff. 230, 620-621, 663-663v.

⁷⁵ ANTT, TSO, Inquisição de Lisboa, liv. 155, f. 484.

6. London-Lisbon

Once more returning to the authorisation signed by the merchants of London in February 1723, there feature Diogo de Aguiar, Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro, and Fernando Dias Fernandes, side by side with the Jewish trade elite of London. Their departure from Portugal and exile in England did not imply a complete break in the structures of their mercantile practice. The authorisation of 1723, signed approximately two years after Aguiar's and Pinheiro's arrival in the British capital, demonstrated continuity in their trade with Portugal. Two episodes that occurred during the year of 1731 corroborate this assertion.

In May 1723, a shipment of goods arriving on board the Brazil fleet and belonging to Miguel Viana (*alias* Fernando Dias Fernandes) was confiscated in the port of Lisbon because Viana allegedly owed money to the Royal Treasury. Viana's agents were required to pay the amount due: 1,400,000 *reis* were demanded for payment to the house of Buller and Bear. William Buller then presented a petition signed by Viana to the Secretary of State, Diogo de Mendonça Corte-Real, in which he declared the seizure to be unlawful. Viana claimed that he was not a Portuguese, but born in Pastrana, and that the confiscated goods were legal. Furthermore, Viana affirmed that he had never owed money to the Portuguese Crown. He even suggested that it was nothing but a misunderstanding since the Portuguese authorities had confused him with another merchant of the same surname: Daniel Viana, the commercial pseudonym of Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro (Barnett, 1973-75, p. 217-221).

In 1731, the name of Lopes Pinheiro again reached the ears of the Portuguese authorities in the aftermath of the bankruptcy of Woodward & Co. One of the main reasons for the fall of this English bank was a ruinous loan of £56,000 made to Pinheiro and his partner Diogo de Aguiar⁷⁶. At that very time in Lisbon, William Buller managed the business of a merchant who appears under the name of Pedro Forte. The outbreak of the scandal of the Woodward bankruptcy and enquiries into the partnership's debts revealed that Pedro Forte was another pseudonym used by Lopes Pinheiro in his business ventures with Portugal⁷⁷. An anonymous record regarding this case stated that supposedly "Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro had in this kingdom, in the hand of Guilherme (William) Buller, enough means to cover what he owed the banker"⁷⁸. However,

⁷⁶ BNP, Coleção Pombalina, cód. 738, ff. 294-294v.

⁷⁷ TNA, SP 89/37/33 (Letter from Lord Tyrawly to the Duke of Newcastle. Lisbon, 18 May 1731).

⁷⁸ "Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro tinha neste reino, na mão de Guilherme Buller, suficiente porção de efeitos para cobrir a sua dívida que devia ao banqueiro". BNP, Coleção Pombalina, cód. 738,

the resolution of this case was not so simple. Instead, it generated tension in the diplomatic relations between Portugal and Great Britain. The Portuguese authorities claimed that Pinheiro had fled Portugal with a debt to the Royal Treasury, so his goods should be confiscated. When the real identity of Pedro Forte was discovered, all the money that he had placed in Buller's hands was confiscated by the Portuguese justice. Consequently, his debt to Woodward went unpaid, and the bank was ruined. In the face of so many false names and subterfuges engendered to escape obligations, Lord Tyrawly, envoy extraordinary to Lisbon at the time, wrote in a letter to the Duke of Newcastle: "[T]he present affair, My Lord (pardon the expression), is a very dirty one, and is a confused jumble of people under fictitious names"⁷⁹.

Buller's connection to the two "Vianas" must have dated back to the time when they all lived in Portugal. After Pinheiro's and Dias Fernandes' departure to England, Buller took over the management of the businesses which they, in their absence from the country, continued to carry out in Portugal, taking advantage of the opportunities created by the Methuen Treaty, in particular the relief of tax duties on English woollen cloth. The gold that arrived in England in February 1723 in the name of Pinheiro & Lima, Miguel Viana, and Daniel Viana was surely, at least in part, a result of the sale of English cloth on the Portuguese market. After all, ever since the beginning of the century, the participation of Jews resident in London in the Anglo-Portuguese trade was prevalent (Yogev, 1978, p. 278).

In 1732, Tyrawly acknowledged this situation: "I believe it is without contradiction, that the greatest dealers to Portugal in our woollen goods, are the Jews in London"⁸⁰. These words of the English envoy were echoed by D. Luís de Cunha, who, in his *Instruções Políticas* to Marco António de Azevedo Coutinho, identified the departure of businessmen persecuted by the Inquisition as a "sangria" (bloodletting) that urgently needed to be stopped. He wrote that these businessmen were "leaving every day from Portugal with their possessions to go enrich foreign countries", thus provoking the ruin of the Kingdom, in particular the provinces of Beira and Trás-os-Montes, where manufacturing and commerce flourished in the past⁸¹.

Silk from Bragança and cloth from Guarda and Fundão gradually vanished, being replaced by English textiles that inundated the Portuguese market after

f. 294v.

⁷⁹ TNA, SP 89/37/77 (Lisbon, 27 June 1732).

⁸⁰ TNA, SP 89/37/73 (Lisbon, 23 May 1732). See also Barnett, 1973-75, p. 218.

⁸¹ "[T]odos os dias saindo de Portugal com os seus cabedais, para irem enriquecer os países estrangeiros" (Cunha, 2001, pp. 235, 244-245).

the signing of the Methuen Treaty. Some protagonists remained the same. The Inquisitorial persecution, as well as their exile in London, led to a shift in their textile investments of the Beiras and Trás-os-Montes regions over to English ones. The axis of the trade network and the direction of transactions changed, yet the trading area remained the same, at least in part. Other cases reveal other continuities. For example, Diogo de Aguiar's experience with the unfortunate contract that he inherited from his father was undoubtedly decisive in his success when, years later, he acquired the Austrian tobacco monopoly.

7. Conclusion

Diogo de Aguiar, Gabriel Lopes Pinheiro, and Fernando Dias Fernandes are examples of a New Christian mercantile elite who, persecuted by the Inquisition, relocated their network's core to the newly emerging commercial and financial hub of Europe, particularly London. They brought with them capital, contacts, and know-how. This move to another epicentre was not the result of a planned decision to expand their trade network by settling the core of their businesses in London, but, rather, a response to ever-increasing, repressive activities against New Christians on the part of the Inquisition in Portugal. Their choice of London over other European centres with vibrant Jewish communities, such as Amsterdam, arose from the particular context of the Anglo-Portuguese relations in the first half of the 18th century. The growing maritime traffic between Lisbon and British ports facilitated their escape. In addition, these New Christian merchants who had escaped to England (in particular Aguiar, Pinheiro, and Fernandes) had, while still living in Lisbon, forged long-standing contacts and connections with the increasing number of British mercantile houses with agents in the Portuguese city. This allowed these New Christian/New Jewish merchants – while now being physically located elsewhere – to retain their businesses in Portugal and continue to participate in the Portuguese Atlantic trade. Furthermore, their move to England did not lead to a dismantling of their trade networks, nor did it mean a radical change of their business profiles. Leaving Portugal for England, therefore, did not mean severing their ties with the past, nor with their business activities. They continued to operate on the Portuguese markets through agents, but profits were now re-directed to their place of exile. In the words of Cunha, they helped “bleed” (“sangrar”) Portugal of Brazilian gold, which flowed in a torrent towards the English coast.

The examples of Aguiar, Lopes Pinheiro, and Dias Fernandes show us that the migration from Portugal to England of part of the New Christian mercantile

elite, and their eventual settlement in London, should be interpreted under the lense of continuity, rather than of rupture. When we analyse the particular connections which the emigrant merchants kept with Portugal even after their departure, and also the specific framework that shaped these links, we arrive at a more comprehensive and nuanced understanding as to the real impact of the Inquisition's repression and of the ensuing migratory waves towards London in the 1720s and 1730s. Both are deeply interconnected. They are essential elements that shed light onto the transformed profile of the Lisbon mercantile group. They also illuminate the unique dynamics of Anglo-Portuguese commerce in the first half of the 18th century.

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9. Figures

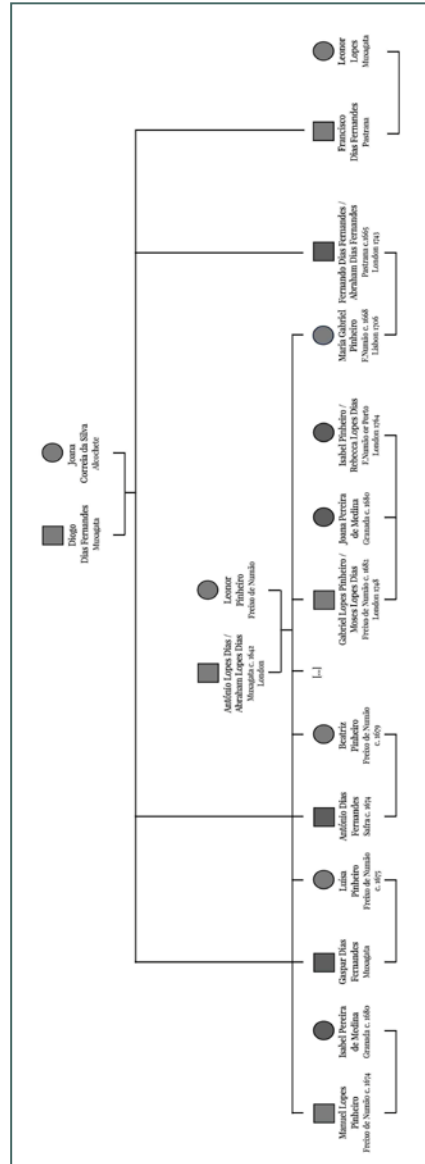


Fig. 1: Genealogy of the Lopes Pereira / Dias Fernandes families

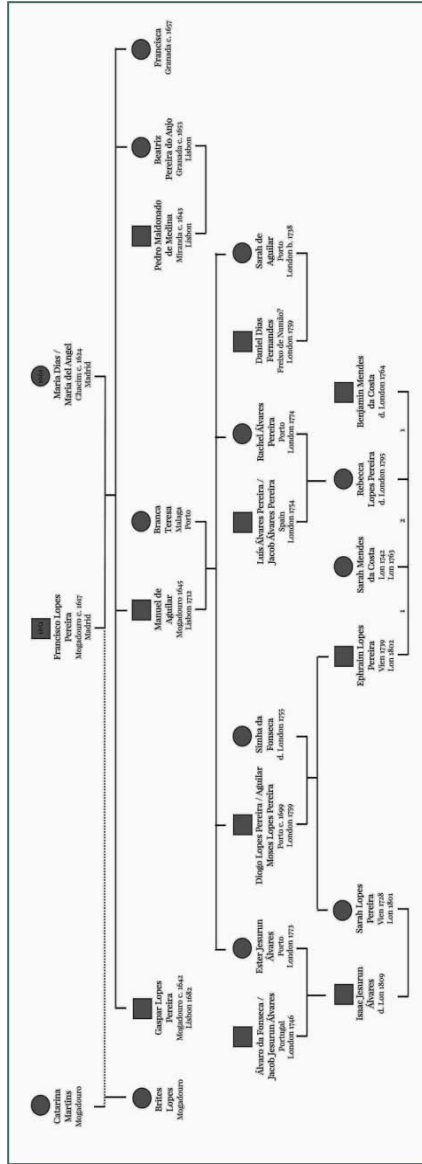


Fig. 2: Genealogy of the Lopes Pereira family

10. Curriculum vitae

Carla Vieira is a post-doctoral researcher at the CHAM (NOVA FCSH/ Uaç), with the project “Nation between Empires: New Christians and Portuguese Jews in Anglo-Portuguese Relations (first half of the 18th century)”, funded by the FCT (SFRH/BPD/109606/2015), website: <<https://nationbetweenempires.wordpress.com>>. She is the principal investigator of the project Western Sephardic Diaspora Roadmap, developed by the CHAM and the Digital Humanities Lab and supported by international funding. She is editor of the journal *Cadernos de Estudos Sefarditas*, published by the Cátedra de Estudos Sefarditas Alberto Benveniste.

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CNR - Istituto di Storia dell'Europa Mediterranea
Via Giovanni Battista Tuveri, 128 - 09129 Cagliari (Italy).
Telefono | Telephone: +39 070403635 / 070403670.
Sito web | Website: www.isem.cnr.it

