

The population and household structure of a provincial capital: São Paulo, 1804 to 1829

A população e a estrutura domiciliar de uma capital provincial: São Paulo, 1804 a 1829

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Abstract: We examine the structure of the population of the city of São Paulo in the early nineteenth century using digitalized household census records from 1804, 1817 and 1829. We examine the major socio-economic groups within the population, as well as the color, age, sex, marital status and occupations of the heads of households. The size of households, encompassing free individuals, slaves, and agregados is also studied. Our findings reveal a community dominated by a minority white elite with a majority non-white population. Its economy included a major textile artisanal industry with a significant participation of free persons of color, and contained a slave labor system typical of contemporary urban centers in Brazil.

Keywords: Population, Household Structure, Slavery, São Paulo.

Resumo: Examinamos a estrutura da população da cidade de São Paulo no início do século XIX, utilizando registros digitalizados dos censos domiciliares de 1804, 1817 e 1829. Analisamos os principais grupos socioeconômicos da população, bem como a cor, a idade, o sexo, o estado civil e as ocupações dos chefes de família. Também estudamos o tamanho dos domicílios, incluindo indivíduos livres, escravos e agregados. Os nossos resultados revelam uma comunidade dominada por uma elite minoritária branca com uma população majoritariamente não branca. A sua econo-

in the Faculdade de Economia e Administração (FEA) of USP from 1973 to 1997. He has also served as the Secretary of Planning in both the State government of São Paulo, and in the city government of São Paulo and was Secretary of Economics in the Planning Ministry of the Federal Government. He is the author of *Minas Gerais. Escravos e Senhores* (IPE-USP, 1981); *Economia Escravista em Minas Gerais* (coautor Wilson Cano) (UNICAMP, 1983); *Minas Colonial. Economia e Sociedade* (coautor Iraci Del Nero da Costa) (FIPE-Pioneira, 1982); and co-author with Herbert S. Klein on the history of the Brazilian economy and society in several volumes.

mia incluía uma importante indústria têxtil artesanal, com participação significativa de pessoas livres de cor, e continha um sistema de trabalho escravo típico dos centros urbanos contemporâneos no Brasil.

Palavras-chave: População, Estrutura Domiciliar, Escravidão, São Paulo.

The city of São Paulo at the beginning of the 19th century was still a small city with only a slowly growing population. Yet it had a very complex social organization with persons carefully defined by color, legal status, gender and social standing. The majority of the population was non-white, yet whites dominated both the economy, the government, the military and ruled the majority of households. Using contemporary household census our objective is to elucidate this social and class organization of the population residing in the Capital City of São Paulo during the period of transition from colonial rule to the imperial period.

Sources for this study:

This analysis is based on the detailed manuscript household (*fogo*) censuses carried out within the city and its allied villages from 1804 to 1829 by the Governor and his agents. The primary objective of these census was military, to guarantee the number of potential and actual militia members. Aside from providing details on the sex, color, civil and legal status of all members of the household, it also included detailed data on occupations and production. The three manuscript censuses we have chosen to study are those of 1804, 1817 and 1829, which provide a street by street listing of the homes and their residents.³ These are among

3 It should be noted that we have had to combine some years to make a

the best preserved manuscripts of these annually produced censuses for this period which were carried out on the first of January every year from 1775 onward to the middle of the 19th century. After some initial problems, the annual census procedure was reformed in 1800 to provide for a more accurate count.⁴ For the principal urban district of the capital in 1804 we coded not only the usual characteristics for all members of the household, but their relationship to the head of household. We use these three censuses and samples to define and frame the structure of the city population in this period in terms of occupation and class and legal status. The

complete census. Thus the 1817 includes data for the 2nd Companhia found in the 1816 census. Digital copies of these censuses are in pdf files and come from the Arquivo Público do Estado de São Paulo [APESP], and will be found at https://www.arquivoestado.sp.gov.br/web/digitalizado/textual/macros_populacao.

- 4 These systematic censuses began in 1775 with the re-establishment of the autonomous provincial government under the new Captain General of the province Luis Antonio Botelho de Souza Mourão, known as Morgado de Mateus. They were primarily created for military reasons, and were to list all the potential free males eligible for military service (those from 16 to 60 years of age). The first census of 1775 just listed the free population, but starting in 1776 slaves were also counted. Each town had a Capitão Maior and for each district of the town, considered a Campanhia de ordenança, there was a militia captain who signed off on the local census, though he apparently did not himself take the census. In 1797 the census takers were ordered to prepare summary lists of all of the marriages, births and deaths by age in the previous year, as well the population by sex, color, legal status by the same age categories. These summary tables included 7 demographic ones as well as 5 summarizes of local economic production. By the end of the century there were complaints about the quality of these censuses, with some suggestions that they were often copied from previous years. Thus the annual census were reformed in 1800 by the new governor Antonio Mello Castro e Mendonça who demanded that the household information on births and deaths be checked against the parish registers kept by the church, and that each household be numbered and a detailed listing be given of all persons in the residence by age, sex, legal status as well as the occupation of the head of household (Marcílio, 1968; Marcílio, 2004).

city included both free, slave and dependent persons. These dependents included children and a group of persons known as *agregados*. These *agregados* were free persons of either sex, of any age and color, who resided in the household of a person with whom they had no family connection and often provided some service to the head of this household. Along with analyzing the urban and rural parishes, we examine the households themselves in terms of their size, structure and the number of members along with the characteristics of the heads of these households.

The censuses of the 18th century and up to that of 1829 divided the city into *Companhias*, or militia districts, which in turn overlapped with the traditional urban parishes. It also included the three rural parishes of Penha, Santa Ana and Nossa Senhora do Ó. Because of the quality of the surviving records, the following tables and graphs often have a number of missing variables for given households, thus the totals will not be the same for each variable examined. Although the rural boundaries of the capital city changed over time, the core urban districts remained the same throughout this period. This core area, the so called the Triangular zone (see map 1), was defined by the convents of São Bento, São Francisco and Carmo (Morse, 1974). This core zone represented about half of the population in any given period, and in 1809 it contained some 22% of the houses registered in the capital (Kato, 2007). To this central urban area we include the three rural parishes, which were mostly farmlands supplying the urban centers with food, animals and cotton.

Since its inception, the urban core of the capital of São Paulo has remained concentrated in a relatively limited area, where the Jesuits first settled to evangelize the Indian populations in the 1540s. As the city expanded and evolved into the capital of the Captaincy, and then as capital of the prov-

ince, the functions related to services, commerce and trades developed in this central nucleus. It then gradually formed an agricultural belt of ranches and farms dedicated to rudimentary, small-scale agriculture producing basic foodstuffs for the urban center of such products as corn, beans, rice, manioc and cotton, the latter used by the numerous women who made their living spinning cotton in the capital. Areas such as Penha, Santa Ana and Nossa Senhora do Ó, now neighborhoods in the city, were already consolidated areas dedicated to this type of agriculture by the early nineteenth century. The region around the city had relatively poor lands, and the local farms never became export agricultural centers for coffee or sugar, which were grown elsewhere in the state. Nevertheless they supplied the city adequately and also had exports to interior markets in both the North and Southern regions. This central area and these close peripheral rural parishes contained between 1,400 and 1,700 independent households in this period.⁵

Although we have complete listings of the households for most districts in the censuses of 1804, 1817 and 1829, we have only partial lists of the summary tables prepared by the census takers. To give an approximate idea of the breakdowns in 1804 and 1829 we provide the partial summaries available for the censuses of 1803 and 1827, which are closest to the 1804 and 1829 censuses (see table 1). To give

5 The three censuses divide the city into three urban districts and several rural or peripheral parishes. The three urban districts were the parishes of Sé (the central district and also called the 1^a Companhia), Santa Efigênia and Bras (which were included the 2nd and 3rd Companhias). The rural parishes which varied over time were in this first decade of the 19th century Santa Ana, Nossa Senhora do Ó, Santo Amaro, São Bernardo, Penha, São Miguel e Conceição de Guarulhos. (Araújo, 2006). Guarulhos was not included in all three census, so it is not considered here, nor were Cotia or Santo Amaro. All of these districts became independent centers in later censuses.

some idea of the missing persons, there is an 1804 reprinted summary table which includes the four Companhias of the capital and the three rural districts and gives a population total of 26,857 persons with an overall sex ratio of 84 males per 100 females. It also lists some of 9,855 slaves. Thus the summary table for 1803 which we use is probably missing two to three thousand persons.⁶

Table 1: Population of the Capital, São Paulo in 1803, 1817 and 1827			
1803			
Color	Free	Slave	Total
White	11,013		11,013
Black	801	4,423	5,224
Brown	5,912	2,239	8,151
Total	17,726	6,662	24,388
1817			
White	12,983		12,983
Black	1,064	4,421	5,485
Brown	5,523	1,491	7,014
Total	20,098	5,973	26,071
1827			
White	12,166		12,166
Black	803	4,829	5,632
Brown	6,278	1,390	7,668
Total	19,247	6,219	25,466
Note: These numbers come from the Summary tables provided by the census takers in each census year. Each is missing one or more of the smaller districts.			

6 This same table gives another total population of 27,488 when broken down

Capital Economy Late 18th and early 19th Century

There is some debate in the literature about the vitality and importance of the province of São Paulo and its capital in this period. The slow growth of the population of the capital city led to the view that the capital was isolated and stagnant especially in the late colonial period. The exploration of the backlands by the local population, the capture of indigenous people and the incessant search for minerals from the late 16th through the 17th century created a constant outflow of population from this urban settlement. The late 17th and early 18th century discovery of the gold and diamonds in Minas Gerais, Goiás and Mato Grosso by paulista explorers created an even larger outflow of migrants from the local population. Although the first impact of the mining boom was negative for the São Paulo population, São Paulo's strategic position on the route to the extractive regions, had a positive impact on the local economy. It stimulated the formation of supply centers along the routes and gradually the production of subsistence goods for the mines, creating a much larger consumer market for São Paulo's production. An important nucleus of mule producing ranches was also soon formed in the south of the colony, whose route crossed São Paulo territory in the direction of the mining areas (Suprinyak, et al, 2007; Klein, 1990; Petrone, 1976). Although a new road from the gold mines of Minas Gerais to Rio de Janeiro bypassed the city in the first decade of the 18th century, the local economy recovered its dynamism by mid-century (Bellotto,

by color. It lists 15,592 whites in the capital and 16,956 when the capital and the three rural districts are included. These figures suggest that the white population was a majority in the capital, and for all three districts. This does not agree with all the summary tables, including the one for 1825 which finds whites a minority of the capital population in all its districts (see *Repartição* 1895).

1983). Recent studies of the colonial capital and its economy from the late 17th century onward show that the capital was the center of a dynamic mercantile economy. Studies on the origin of the wealth of the residents in this period show a society getting its primary wealth from commerce and urban properties (Borrego, 2007; Blaj, Arraujo, 2006). Also a study of urban housing shows a steady increase in local urban land prices in the 18th and early 19th centuries. All recent demographic studies of the city also show a slow but positive increase in population (Marcílio, 1968 ; Kuznesof, 1986). From these studies it is evident that the late 18th and early 19th century the city was already a major entrepôt well connected to all the regions of the country, as well as to the Rio de la Plata Spanish colonies and to Portugal. Thus by our census period the capital was dominated by a merchant elite involved in both local and intracontinental and international connections (Kato, 2007; Bueno, 2005).

There were also fundamental changes in the local agricultural production in this period. The agricultural sector, which previously focused primarily on producing goods for the local and regional markets, began to develop export products for the international market. The third quarter of the 18th century witnessed the emergence of a notable sugar industry in São Paulo. Although not attaining the scale of the northeast or Rio de Janeiro, this industry marked São Paulo's entry into the export market. This new wealth permitted the local elite to replace Indian slave labor with high cost African slaves. This shift is evident by the first census of 1765/1767, which recorded 6,113 slaves of African origin among a total population of 20,873 (Marcílio, Ville).⁷ This African originated

7 An estimate of wealth in the period 1765/77 suggests that capital region had 40% of the declared wealth of the province, with the city of São Paulo alone accounting for a quarter. The average wealth in the capital was the

labor force had been non-existent in the preceding century. This trend gained momentum in the early 19th century with the establishment of coffee plantations in the Paraíba valley.⁸ Much credit for this development goes to the dynamic capital's merchant community, which exerted pressure on the government to enhance communication networks by building roads and bridges and opening the paved road to the port of Santos to promote trade (Kuznesof, 1980). The construction of this road by royal engineers from 1789 to 1792 opened the highland Capital to easy access to regional and international markets through the port of Santos (Luna, et al, 1979). In 1810 the English mineralogist John Mawe took this new road from Santos to the capital city of São Paulo and arrived with just two days of travel (Mawe, 1822). This new road could easily accommodate mules, horses and sedan chairs and thus opened the port to systematic large scale exports of sugar, and a few decades later to coffee (Momsen Jr.1963).

The Demographic Characteristics of the Free Population 1804-1829:

By the beginning of the 19th century, the capital city of the province of São Paulo was a town of some 24,000 persons out of a provincial population of some 188,000 persons (Marcílio, 1968). It was a town that was rapidly changing its color composition, with whites declining to 44% of the

highest in the province and was almost three times the average wealth for the province (Canabrava, 1972:101).

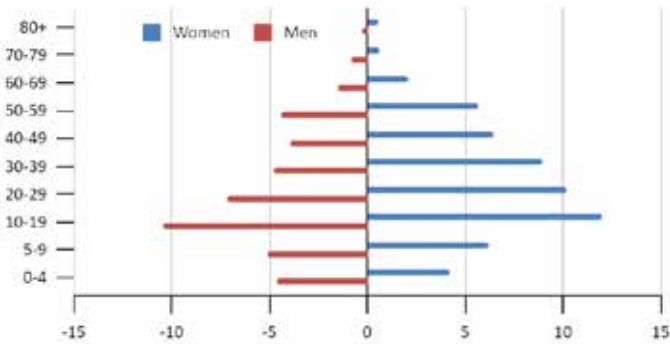
- 8 By 1807 the province was exporting some 184 thousand arrobas of sugar, a third of which was exported directly to Portugal and the rest to Rio de Janeiro. By 1818 exports from Santos alone reached 294 thousand arrobas (Petrone, 1968).

population by 1804, and with a thriving free African born and Afro-American population now larger than the slave population. Although this population experienced slow yet steady growth, the constant reconfiguration of rural districts attached to the city, originally defined as rural parishes, later transformed into independent towns and then cities and then separated from the capital, altered the total number of individuals classified as residents of the capital in different census years. The official numbers suggest that the capital grew from some 21,000 in 1765 to this still moderate size a half century later. This meant that São Paulo was a modest size provincial capital compared to the capital port cities of Salvador and Rio de Janeiro. Salvador had an estimated 42,000 persons in 1804 (Nascimento, 2007), and Rio de Janeiro reached over 100,000 by the 1820s (Marcílio, 1993). Thus in 1809 Rio de Janeiro listed 7,548 individual homes, compared to 1,651 houses listed in the same year in São Paulo (Kato, 2007).

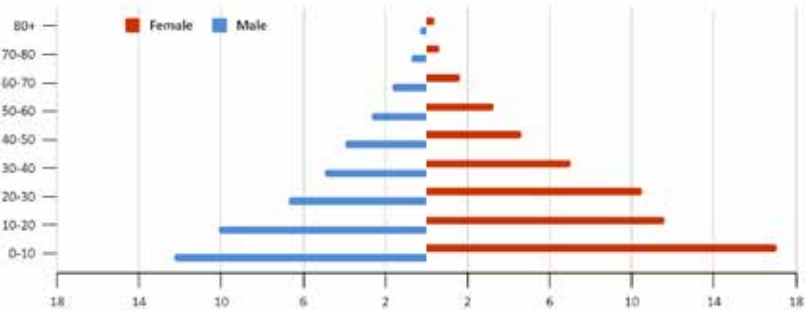
The city as a whole had more free women than free men. This included both whites and free persons of color. This dominance is found in all three censuses of 1804, 1817 and 1829 which show that free women predominated among the free persons living in the city. This prevailing pattern is also discernible in earlier census records. Thus the sex ratio for the total population of the capital in the 1798 census was estimated at 84 males to 100 females (Marcílio, *La Ville*).⁹ In the summary census of 1803 it is evident that the white population had even fewer males than even the free colored population having a sex ratio of just 73 males per 100 females (see graphs 1a-1c).

9 Kuznesof in her reconstruction of the free population of the city in 1765 found a sex ratio of 84 males per 100 females and 75 males per 100 females in her analysis of the 1802 census (Kuznesof, 1986).

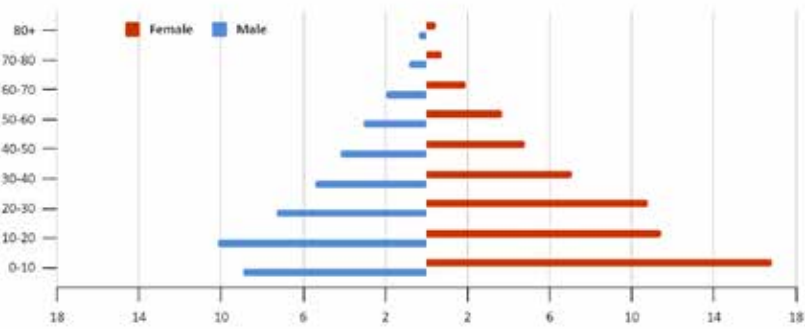
Graph 1: Age Pyramid of Free Population of 1ª Compañia of the Capital in 1804 (n=1,845)



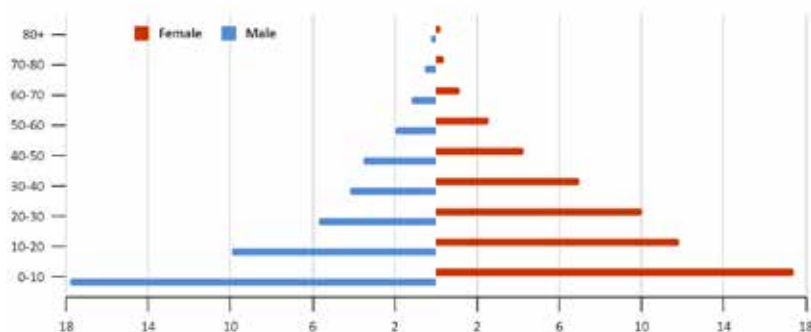
Graph 1a: Age Pyramid of the Total Free Population in 1803 (n=17,724)



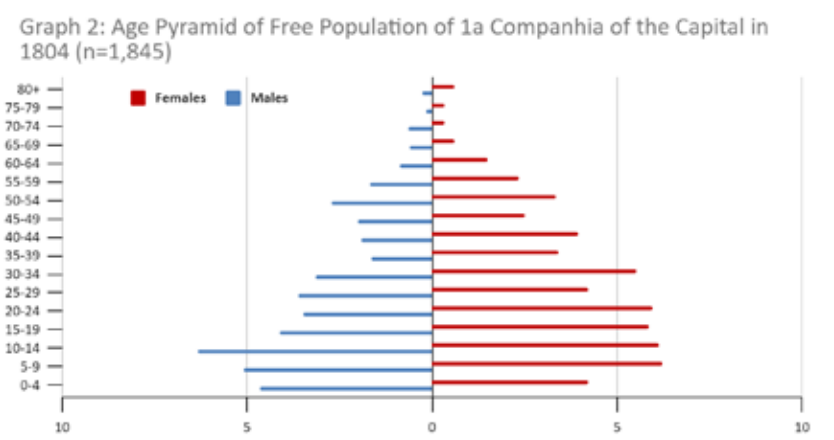
Graph 1b: Age Pyramid of the White Population in 1803 (n=11,011)



Graph 1c: Age Pyramid of the Free Colored Population in 1803 (n=7,713)



This dominance of women also is apparent in our reconstruction of the ages of the free persons in the core 1^a Companhia district in 1804, using the 18th and 19th century age breakdowns for all free persons. Here to the overall sex ratio is 75 men per 100 women. It shows that there were only 57% of the free men in the working age category of 15-59, compared to 65% of the women in this category (see graph 2). It has been suggested that this lack of adult males is the result of consistent out migration of local males. In the late 18th and early 19th century there occurred the first settlements of new lands on the frontier in the province of São Paulo itself with these easily settlements showing high ratios of males to females (Marcílio, 1968; Kuznesof, 1986). It is also apparent that men often traveled for work as itinerant merchants or laborers, and sometimes for militia activities. But even as late as the census of 1940 and 1950 the population of the city had more women than men which suggests that overall there was a constant migration of women from rural to urban residence for most of this period as well as outmigration of males (IBGE, Censo Demográfico 1940, Série regional parte XVII, tomo 2; IBGE, Censo Demográfico 1950, Série regional vol xxv, tomo 1).



The Demographic Characteristics of the Slave Population 1804-1829:

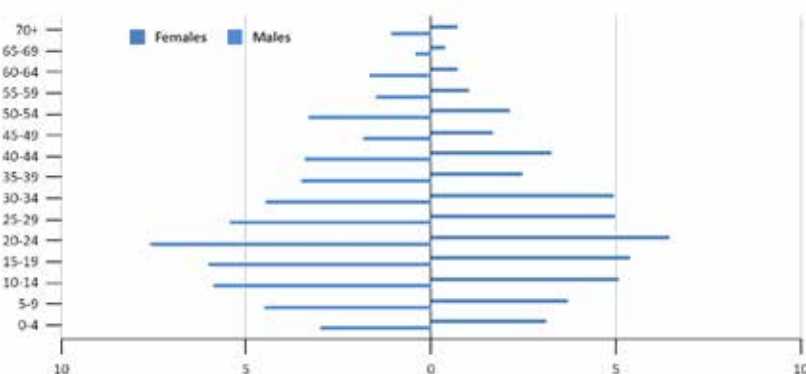
In contrast to the free population, the slave population had more males than females and a larger share of immigrants than the free population. By the 1804 census Blacks were the majority of slaves in the city and tended to have more males than females, for a sex ratio of 117 males per 100 females. This is the expected ratio of a population still influenced by arrivals of slaves from Africa, in which males predominated in this period (Klein, 2010). It is this dominance of the Blacks among the slaves, many of whom were African born, which led to an overall sex ratio of 107 males per 100 females for the total slave population.¹⁰

In contrast the smaller Brown or native born slave population was more heavily female than male, with 84 males per hundred females. While not a full explanation for this predominance of women among the native born Brown

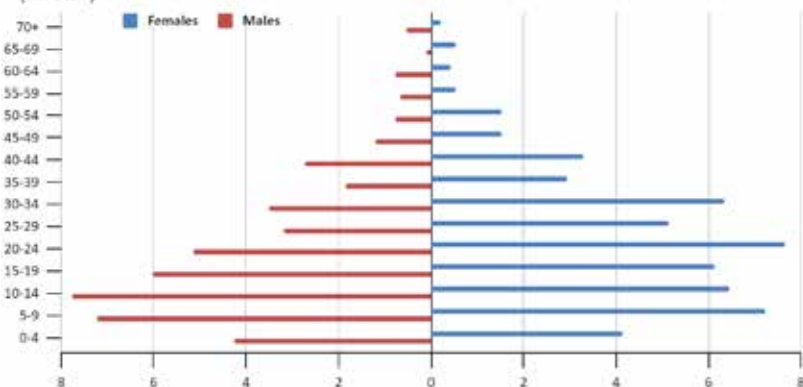
10 We estimate that in São Paulo in 1804, three quarters of the Africans aged up to 40 years of age were born in Africa. These African born slaves reached as high as 89% of the same age group by 1829 (Klein, et.al, 2022).

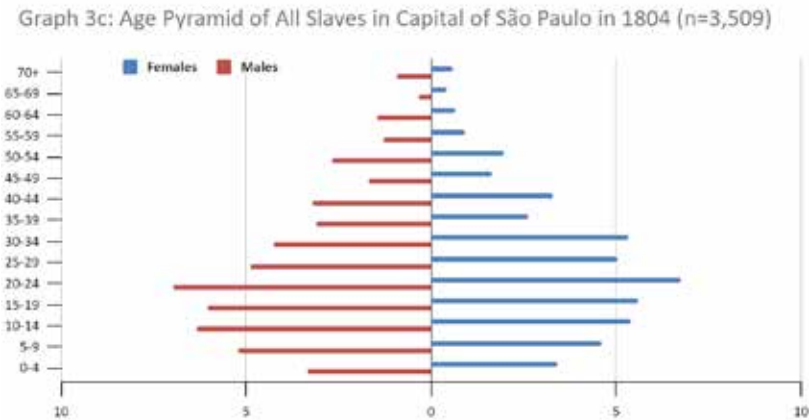
slaves, one key factor is that emancipation patterns in Brazil tended to favor native born women and children over men and native born over African born slaves. This pattern was the norm in most regions of Brazil (Luna and Klein, 2010). In all cases, the age pyramids of these two groups is biased toward working age adults and shows an unusually low number of children under ten years of age for a pre-modern population (see graphs 3a to 3c). This clearly was a population influenced by both national and international migrations which were dominated by working age men and women.

Graph 3a: Age Pyramid Black Slaves in Capital of São Paulo in 1804 (n=2,583)



Graph 3b: Age Pyramid of Brown Slaves in Capital of São Paulo in 1804 (n=913)





Finally it is worth noting that a small share of the slave population was legally married, Thus 17% of the 1,390 Black male slaves and 18% of the 1,193 Black female slaves were ever married (married or widowed) in 1804. Brown slaves had lower rates ever married, or 13% of the 418 Brown male slaves and only 12% of the 195 female Brown slaves were ever married. One would have expected that native born slaves would more likely obtain legal marriage than Black slaves given their longer experience in Brazil and better control over language and the cultural norms, but this was not the case.

Occupational and Class Structure:

The core urban center of the capital was essentially an administrative, commercial and craft city. As could be expected the households headed by an administrative or liberal professional elite individual were almost completely dominated by white males. This was the case in 1804 and remained the situation in 1829 when the total number of such elite households reached 216. Also this elite was heavily into slave ownership. In both census 65% of the elite households owned slaves. (see table 2).

Table 2: Distribution of Elite Heads of Households by Slave Ownership and Number of Slaves Owned, 1804 and 1829

1804	Slave Owners	None Slave Owners	Total Slaves
military	43	48	213
Clergy	27	2	154
Officials	22	7	105
Law officers	7	1	26
Medical Workers	4		22
Teachers	4		10
Total	107	58	530
1829			
military	61	44	318
Clergy	25	7	101
Officials	22	11	109
Law officers	2	1	4
Medical Workers	8	2	24
Teachers	8	2	32
Total	126	67	588

The elite were dominated by government officials, clergy and the merchant class. Often these military and administrative elite could be found among the merchant elite as well. Thus in both the 1804 and 1817 census Don Manoel Lopes Guimaraes, Sargento Mor das Ordenanças of the Capital ran a dry goods store. His next door neighbor in 1817 was Captain Amaro José de Moraes de Miranda, the Commander of this same professional Army Company and also lived off his dry goods store., The next two houses had the Alfarez of this military organization, one who ran a dry goods store and the other who was listed as simply lived off his business activity (APESP, 1817). José Pedro Galvão was a Coronel and member of the Estado Mayor of the Army, he

had 5 children all with the title of Don or Doña and owned 12 slaves (APESP, 1817). Don Antonio Maria Quartim who was born in Gibraltar was a Lt. Coronel of the militia and also headed the Royal Treasury warehouse. He had 6 slaves and all his daughters were Donas (APESP, 1817). In 1817 the priest Bartholome Pereira who lived in this same district, had 10 slaves living in his house (APESP, 1817). Captain Salvador Nardes de Vasconcelos, the administrator of the Royal Mail Service (Correio) had just died when the 1817 census was being carried out. He left a wife Dona Maria, and a household that contained 7 agregados and 13 slaves. Even Dr. Berardo José de Souza, the Cirurgião Mor of the Royal Military Hospital had a son living with him who was a priest plus four slaves (APESP, 1817). One who combined several occupations was André da Silva Gomes, who was a Lt. Cornel in the Milicias and a Professor of Latin Grammar. In his home he has 3 agregados and 7 slaves (APESP, 1817). While many of these military and civilian officials had side occupations, almost all of them were substantial slave owners, often having many more slaves than needed to run a household.,

The other elite group residing in the capital was the merchants who dominated the economy of the capital and seemed to be well connected to all the political and military elite. The largest of these merchants had international contacts and traded throughout the colony. They dominated the municipal council, purchased the rights to collect all the government taxes and to sell government monopoly products, such as salt. They also imported all the goods consumed in the city, as well as exporting locally produced goods. Merchant records reveal direct relations with Portuguese merchant houses and loans granted to individuals throughout the colony. By the early 19th century the port

of Santos was receiving shipping directly from Lisbon and Porto.¹¹ The wealth of this male dominated merchant class was such that the relative importance of the wives dowry had declined dramatically and was no longer of significance in their combined wealth (Nazarri, 1990; Nazarri,, 1991). While this category included a significant group of wealthy merchants, it also included local greengrocers and dry goods store owners, and even itinerant traders. Here too white householders predominated, accounting for 82% of such merchant households in 1804 and 80% in 1829, and in both censuses these white merchants owned over 90% of the slaves found working in this sector (see table 3).

Table 3: Distribution of Merchant Heads of Households by Major Occupations, Sex, Color and Slave Ownership in the Capital in 1804 and 1829									
1804	Males			Females			Slave Owners	No of Slaves	Slaves Owned by Whites
	White	Black	Brown	White	Black	Brown			
General Traders	37		3	2	9	30	32	285	280
Commercial Houses	89	3	19	36			115	475	431
Sub Total	3528	84	616	38	252	840	147	760	711
1829									
General Traders	84		12	7	1	4	53	273	265
Commercial Houses	60	2	6	4		14	53	255	219
Sub Total	144	2	18	11	1	18	106	528	484

An example of a leading merchant in the capital was José Vaz de Carvalho from Curitiba who aside from all his commercial activities, which included being a contractor and rancher, was also a tax farmer. Vaz de Carvalho had arrived in Brazil in 1774, with the degree from Coimbra, and married Escolástica Joaquina de Macedo , who came from a wealthy commercial family Thus unlike most of the wealthy merchants of this century he did not begin as a clerk or employee of other merchants. He purchased the right to collect the tax on animals arriving from the Southern prov-

11 Between 1808 and 1821 16 ships left Santos directly to Lisbon, and 26 went to Porto (Moura, (2013).

inces, which he bought from the Crown for 35 contos in the years 1802 and 1804 (Medicci, 2010). He also formed groups of other merchants to collect the tax on salt and on lumber at various times over his long career. By the census of 1817 he was 78 years of age and was living in no. 30 Rua Direita in the 1^a Campanhia district with his 35 year old daughter Dona Maria, and 1 agregada. As in the census of 1804 he still had 48 slaves and was also engaged in running mule trains, the primary form of moving goods overland and clearly his primary source of wealth (APESP, 1817). But his complex negotiations left him owing large sums to the royal treasury and when he died in 1825 he was listed as having 5 children and only 10 slaves, with an estate now worth some 10 contos (Medicci, 2010, Araújo, 2006).

Typical of the group of shop owners was Francisco Garcia Ferreira a single white male aged 30 from Cuiabá who had 5 Black slaves from 15 to 20 years of age, plus two agregados Jose Felipe, 24 years of age white male also from Cuiaba and Francisco, 18 years of age who was a clerk (caixeiro) and had been born in the city (APESP, 1829). This combination of slaves and agregados was typical of store owners. Thus Manoel Alves Alvim a 66 year old married white male lived with his wife, 9 children, 2 agregados and 8 slaves and ran a drygoods store in the 1817 census (APESP, 1817). A typical itinerant merchant (negociante volante) was the locally born Joaquim Donunzio Pinto Ferraz, a 25 year old who was white and married to a 30 year old wife from Rio Grande do Sul. They had 3 young children ages 1 to 9 years, one married Brown agregada 40 years of age (with no husband listed) along with 5 young Black slaves aged 5 to 26 years of age (APESP, 1829). All three of these merchants were also listed as officers in the local militia.

There was also among the elite a rentier class. These

were persons who had no defined occupation, but who owned slaves and rented them out for work in the capital as either independent sellers, apprentices to artisans, construction workers, day laborers or even as washerwomen. The slaves were called *escravos de ganho* and could be found in all the urban centers of Brazil (Soares, 2007). These persons lived off the labor of their slaves who worked outside their master's home, and could be rented out to provide unskilled and skilled labor for other persons needing laborers. For those slaves working in fixed stalls and shops and/or as ambulatory sellers, their owners were required to provide the municipal government with a financial guarantee of their conduct (Borrego, 2007). They also could be found in construction everywhere and sometimes gangs of rented slaves were owned by several different owners.

Many of the slaves owned were listed as craftsmen, even though these occupations were officially closed to them. But any attempt at formal examinations for master craftsmen were mostly neglected in São Paulo by the late colonial period and eliminated altogether after independence (Borrego, 2007, Flexor, 1986; Guedes, 2006). There are detailed lists of the stonemasons using rented slaves for the construction of the bridges, buildings fountains (chafariz) and roadways of the city from the 1790s to the first decade of the new century. On the construction of one bridge in 1799 the Master stonemason received 320 reis per day, stonemasons 100 reis per day, and the slaves received 120 reis per day (their rental price). In the construction of the city jail (cadeia) from 1789 to 1791 there were 5 free master artisans and 4 slaves listed as master craftsmen (one being a stonemason), along with 44 free workers and 47 slave construction workers.. In the jail construction payments for the year 1789 it is evident that the rented slaves were each owned by a different master (Santos, 2013). Also women slaves were more common than male

slaves among the artisans, due to the high number of slaves working in the clothing and textile sectors.

The *rentista* class was dominated by women, almost all of whom were white. Thus women were 81% of the 218 *rentistas* listed in the census of 1804, and they owned 77% of the 1,760 slaves controlled by this group, with an average holding of 8 slaves. The majority of these *rentistas* were white women with the high status title of Dona. In 1804, for example, Dona Maria Francisca Pereira, a 55 year old white widow who was born in the capital and had 9 children resident in the house, made her living from the service of her 7 slaves (*vive dos serviços de seus escravos*) four of whom were Blacks and all were single and aged from 4 to 42 years of age (AESP, 1804). Another white widow who lived off the services of her slaves, was Dona Efigênia Eufrazia, who was a 51 years old and also born in the capital, who had no children residing with her, but owned 13 slaves aged 2 to 46, all of whom were single and Brown (AESP, 1804). In the 1817 census of the capital in the 1ª Companhia district can be found Dona Maria Joaquina, a 56 year old white widow who lived with her three children, all in their 20s, and one grandchild, along with 22 of her slaves of both sexes and was listed as living off the daily labor of her slaves (*jornal de seus escravos*) (AESP, 1817). One of the largest of such *rentistas* in 1817, was Dona Pulqueria de Toledo, a 65 year old single white woman who lived with her 4 sisters (all Donas) aged 30 to 70, plus three female *agregadas*, and who lived off the daily labor of her 27 slaves aged 16 to 72, of whom 11 were single women both Blacks and Browns (APESP, 1817). In the 1829 census could be found Dona Francisca de Paula a 52 year old white widow who lived off the “*jornal de seus [9] escravos* (APESP, 1829). One extraordinarily rich widow was 39 year old Dona Maria Lucia who lived with her 10 children aged 2 to 23 years on Rua do Principe and

gained her income from her 16 slaves (APESP, 1829). But there were some exceptions of persons in this category who did not have elite social status. One was Maria Francisca do Rosario, a 55 year old white single woman not listed with Dona title, who lived off the “jornal” of her 9 slaves (APESP, 1817). There was even a 49 year old single Brown woman who lived with her two children, her 5 female *agregadas* and owned 9 slaves from whose labor she earned her living (APESP, 1817).

Another merchant/capitalist group were the landlords. As is obvious a great deal of the wealth of the residents of São Paulo came from slave ownership. But this was just one source of such wealth. Another source came from the homes in which they lived. Given the high costs of home ownership, and the fairly intense patterns of in and out migration, it is not surprising that a large percentage of the homes were rented out in the Triangular district. Given the city’s administrative status it was no accident that some officials, who were not permanent residents, rented their homes. But so did a lot of the poorer persons as well. Thus a municipal tax on homes (the *décimas urbanas* or *imposto predial*) in the parishes of Sé and Santa Ifigênia in 1809, listed 2,281 houses in the district. Of these only 462 were owned by their residents, whereas 638 were rented. The others were either being transferred to new owners, were in construction and 68 were closed. Of the total of homes, 233 were owned by religious orders, 192 by secular clergy and 41 belonged to religious brotherhoods. Only 1,041 were privately owned. Some 1,051 of the houses registered were residential, 26 were commercial establishments, and 136 were of mixed usage. Of these homes some 1,047 were just one story (*térrea*), and 161 were the mostly two storied *sobrados*. The largest property owner was the São Bento Monastery which owned 61 houses whose rental was worth 721\$600 reis per month.

The Carmelite convent was next with 22 properties worth half that amount. The largest private owner was Coronel José Arouche de Toledo who rented out the eighteen homes for more than 200\$000 reis per month. The average rental value for the city was 12\$000 reis per month (Bueno, 2005).

There was a hierarchy of rental values based on the street of the rented property. In 1809, for example, the Rua Direita had the highest rent (25\$898 average for 41 rentals) with the Rua da Luz having the lowest rental homes (5\$298 average for 11 homes). Between 1809 and 1829 the value of almost all rentals doubled or more. Thus those rented on the Rua Direita now averaged 117\$867 (for 49 rentals) and those on Rua da Luz averaging 21\$602 for 27 homes (Kato, 2007). This hierarchy can also be seen in the occupations of the residences of the Rua Direita. In 1817, there were 25 dwellings listed on the street, of which 6 heads of households lived from their businesses, 4 from the dry goods store, 3 from sales and 3 from renting out their slaves. In the same street lived Sargento Mor João Gonçalves Bastos, the First Notary Public, a lecturer, a surgeon, an embroiderer, a seamstress, a shoemaker and a priest. Among the residents who made a living from their businesses, we find the same José Vaz de Carvalho, with his 42 slaves, and 61 year old Joaquim José dos Santos, a coronel of Militia who lived with his wife, five children and 17 slaves (APESP, 1817). When Joaquim José dos Santos died in 1828 his estate was worth 51 contos (51,419\$610) (Araujo, 2006). The estate of Roque Soares de Campos, a white 72 year old priest who lived in the 1^a Companhia in 1817 with 3 Black slaves, was evaluated on 1828 at a 10 contos (APESP, 1817; Araujo, 2006).

In their visit to the city in this period, the travelers Spix and Martius reported that the houses of the capital were mostly built with wood and clay, with few houses using

bricks or stonework in their construction, and with most of the two story homes having a balcony (Spix and Martius, 2017). There were of course, a few Churches, Monasteries and government buildings which were made with stone and bricks. Ownership of these homes was a major part of the wealth of the local urban elite. A study of wills and testaments of the paulista elite from 1800 to 1824 found that houses were the single most valuable type of property owned in these wills, and accounted for 51% of all property owned (Araújo, 2006). Equally the richest group by occupation were the merchants, followed by the liberal professionals and then by the agriculturalists. The growing wealth was also reflected in the increasing value of the slaves listed in these wills. The average value of a slave was 91\$910 milreis (242 slaves) in wills from 1800-1809 and increased to 170\$349 milreis (958 slaves) in wills from 1810-1819, and 255\$059 reis (648 slaves) in 1820-1829 (Araújo, 2006).

The most numerous households in the capital were led by crafts persons. Even as late as 1836 the capital contained the majority of the artisans resident in the entire province. It had 24% of the merchants in the state, half of the apothecaries and the most blacksmiths, carpenters, goldsmiths, shoemakers, saddlers and tailors in the state (NEPO, 1998). Thus in 1804 some 505 homes were headed by an artisan, and the figure in 1829 was 417 homes. In both cases women artisans made up roughly three quarters of these heads of households. But artisans as a group were not major slave owners, and just under a quarter of them owned slaves in both these censuses, with the average of 2 slaves per household. For men there was a more even distribution of occupations, while for women the major occupations were primarily in textiles, and especially spinning/weaving and seamstresses (costureiras). In contrast to the elite and mer-

chant households, the artisans were far more likely to be non-white, with just under half of these households being Brown or Black. But it was the white artisans in both 1804 and 1829 who owned most of the slaves held this class of workers (see table 4).

Table 4 Distribution of Artisan Heads of Households by Sex and Slave Ownership, Total Slaves Owned and by White Artisans in the Capital in 1804 & 1829					
1804					
Occupation	Males	Females	Slave Owners	Total Slaves	Slaves Owned by Whites
Construction	9	1	2	6	4
Ceramics	18	16	0	0	0
Metal Workers	25	1	13	27	22
Carpinters & Furniture Makers	39	1	8	23	14
Spinners & Weavers	13	97	14	37	36
Footwear	10	0	5	15	15
Leaher & Fur workers	23	0	6	13	6
Seamstresses & Tailors	29	207	74	158	127
Food/Drinks	1	0	0	0	0
Jewelers	6	1	4	11	11
Musical Instruments & Toys	3	0	0	0	0
Artisans undefined	4	1	2	5	5
Total	180	325	128	295	240
1829					
Construction	9	0	0	0	0
Ceramics	5	21	0	0	0
Metal Workers	21	1	5	15	15
Carpinters & Furniture Makers	31	0	8	19	17
Spinners & Weavers	2	60	9	25	25
Footwear	6	0	2	3	3
Leaher & Fur workers	24	0	1	2	2
Seamstresses & Tailors	19	186	50	113	103
Food/Drinks	2	5	6	27	27
Jewelers	9	0	6	20	7
Musical Instruments & Toys	7	0	2	2	2
Artisans undefined	5	4	1	2	2
Total	140	277	90	228	203

Women crafts persons who were heads of households tended to be primarily concentrated in two key occupations, the spinning of cotton and as seamstresses (or *costureiras*). In terms of marital status, single woman were the majority of heads of households for all color groups among the spinners and for white and Brown women among the seamstresses, usually defined as “vive de suas costuras” or “vive de cos-turas” (see table 5).

Table 5: Women Spinners and Seamstresses Heads of Households by Marital Status and Color, and by Number Owning Slaves and Total Owned, 1804							
	Total Hshlds			Slave Owners		Slaves Owned	
	White	Black	Brown	White	Brown	White	Brown
Spinners							
widow	15	5	9	5	1	16	1
married	4	2	5				
single	17	7	22	3		6	
	36	14	36	8	1	22	1
Seamstresses							
widow	42	0	12	14	1	37	3
married	13	0	3	4		10	
single	82	0	55	35	11	78	16
	137	0	70	53	12	125	19

Single women households predominated in these two principal crafts, and whites were the dominant group of producers and slave owners. Just as in 1804, the non-white spinners in 1829 tended to equal whites among the spinners, whereas among the seamstresses white heads were in the majority, though that had been reduced from two thirds of all women seamstresses in 1804 to just over half in 1829. Given the type of work that they were engaged in, it was not uncommon for these seamstresses to live with other women who were practicing this trade, and in effect their households were workshops as well as homes. An example of this comes from the 2nd Campanhia district in 1816. Maria de Jesus was

a single 49 year old white woman seamstress born in the city who lived with 6 women listed as *agregadas*, two of them white, one of whom was a 63 year old widow and the other a 47 year old white single woman. Aside from the widow, all the other *agregadas* were single and four of them were Brown running in age from 12 to 53 years of age. Three of her 8 slaves were also women (APESP, 1816).

More common were women seamstresses living alone, with other seamstresses or with their own children but without *agregados* or slaves. In 1804 in the 3rd Companhia lived Ana Filisberta a 37 year old single Brown seamstress with her five children aged 1 to 14 years of age (AESP, 1804). On the same street in 1817 living in adjacent houses were the single Brown Florencia Maria who was a 42 year old seamstress and lived with two other single Brown women aged 47 and 23. Next door lived the white seamstress Maria Borgas, 42 years, single and with three small children resident, though not listed as her children or *agregados*. The next house contained Gertrudes Maria, white, single and 63 years of age, with two single white women 16 and 42, and a 5 year old white child. None of whom were identified as her children or *agregados* (AESP, 1817).

Finally the census listed a few heads of households who were poor day laborers (*jornaleiros*) - some 17 of them in 1804 of whom 5 were whites and 21 of them in the 1829 census of whom 2 were white. It also listed 28 heads of households in 1804 who depended on alms, of whom 14 were whites and 22 such heads of households in 1829 living off alms (*vivem de esmolas*) of whom 7 were white. But most of the free poor persons lived in the homes of others and were absorbed into the *agregado* class.

Households:

While the legal status, occupation, color and sex help to define the population of the capital, the basic unit of production and family organization was the household. Moreover the head of household was considered the principal person in the family. As could be expected, men made up 58% of heads of households at the beginning of this period and 62% at the end. Some 65% of the homes were headed by a white householder, 30% by a Brown person (or pardo) and only 5% headed by a Black. Nor did this color distribution change over time. Among whites, female headed households were a distinct minority, but among free Browns, female headed households made up over half the total of the householders and about half of those headed by the small number of free Black heads (see table 6).

Table 6: Color and Sex of the Heads of Households in 1804			
1817 and 1829			
1804			
Color	Males	Females	Total
White	620	371	991
Black	40	40	80
Brown	199	203	402
Total	859	614	1473
1817			
White	631	400	1031
Black	53	59	112
Brown	262	253	515
Total	946	712	1658
1829			
Color	Males	Females	Total
White	721	328	1049
Black	39	37	76
Brown	243	250	493
Total	1003	615	1618

The social distinctions become even more pronounced when we examine these household heads by civil status.¹² Male heads were far more likely to be ever married (widowed and married) than women, in all the censuses of the period. Around a quarter of white male householders were single, while the figure for white women was between 43% and 50% of women headed households. While the small number of Black households differed little from the whites, the Browns showed an even higher percentage of female headed households who were single in 1804 (69%) and this stood at 59% in 1829. The largest category for all women of all colors was single heads of household, followed by widows. Finally a higher ratio of women were widows than were men which indicated there was less possibility of remarriage for women compared to men, probably due to the unbalanced sex ratio of the resident population (see table 7). In each census around a quarter of the male heads of household were single whereas half or more of the female headed householders were never married. Overall the rate of all single person heads of household was 37% in 1804 and 35% in both 1817 and 1829.¹³

12 The census qualified the population in four categories of civil status: widow, married, single and ecclesiastics. Even if a single person has a possible partner living in the house, he or she is defined as single. In some cases there is evidence of a consensual union with children, with the woman being the head of household.

13 These rates of heads of household are similar to those found by Kuzensof for the total population in some 18th and early 19th century censuses for the city (Kuznesof, 1986)

Table 7: Civil Stats by Sex and Color of Heads of Households, 1804, 1817 and 1829				
1804				
Males				
Civil Status	White	Black	Brown	Total
Married	416	33	151	600
Widowed	39	1	13	53
Single	161	6	35	202
Females				
Married	38	6	17	61
Widowed	147	10	45	202
Single	184	24	141	349
1817				
Males				
Civil Status	White	Black	Brown	Total
Married	399	29	179	607
Widowed	60	6	18	84
Single	133	17	61	211
Females				
Married	80	9	37	126
Widowed	145	11	89	245
Single	170	39	126	335
1829				
Males				
Civil Status	White	Black	Brown	Total
Married	469	24	183	676
Widowed	54	5	16	75
Single	200	10	44	254
Females				
Married	20	3	15	38
Widowed	156	17	88	261
Single	152	17	148	317

As could be expected, widowers tended to be the oldest group in all three census years, averaging 50 years. But what is surprising, especially for women, is that there is no difference between the age of married women and single woman

heads of households. Given these average ages for single women heads of households, it can be assumed that they probably remained never married throughout their lifetimes. These average ages are good indicators of the population considered, since the coefficient of variation for all of them is quite low.¹⁴ Moreover a check on the peak years listed for the ages of both men and women heads of household do not end in either 0 or 5, indicating that this subsample of the capital population had a good idea of their age and were probably more literate than the rest of the population. Finally there is little difference in average ages by color and status (see table 8).

Table 8: Mean Age of Heads of Households by Sex and Marital Status, 1804, 1817 and 1829				
1804	Average Age		Total Heads	
	Men	Women	Men	Women
Widows	58	51	52	202
Married	44	38	598	62
Single	43	40	198	349
1817				
Widows	56	54	71	92
Married	45	41	640	365
Single	41	41	191	265
1829				
Widows	58	52	75	261
Married	44	40	677	38
Single	39	40	252	316

The wealth of the households was clearly evident in their ability to own slaves. Given the urban nature of the capital, the majority of the slaves were employed in almost

14 For all years and both sexes the coefficient of variation is under the 20s and 30s.

all the unskilled, semi-skilled and skilled occupations. Of course the slaves in the rural districts were mostly agricultural laborers, but in the city slaves were a major economic advantage for a given urban household. A very significant number of households owned slaves (46% in 1804, 45% in 1817 and 39% in 1829).¹⁵ Two thirds of the owners were male householders, and they owned from 67% to 71% of all slaves in the three censuses. Color differences were of course dramatic. Some 89% to 90% of the slave-owning households were led by a white, and they owned from 93% to 95% of all slaves in the three censuses. Although white women owned fewer slaves than their male counterparts, their average slave holding was quite comparable to white male slave owners. Thus in 1804 the average holding of white males was 6 slaves and 5 for white women, in 1817 the ratio was 5 slaves for white men compared to an average of 6 slaves for white women, and in 1827 the differences were 5 to 4 slaves average for white women. The smallest share were owned by Blacks and the average holdings for Brown owners, the largest non-white slave owners was usually half those for those owned by white men and women except in the special case of 1817 when the 14 Brown slave owners averaged 6 slaves (see table 9).

15 Registered in the 1ª Companhia were three fazendas with slaves owned by the monastery of San Bento, and one by the Church of Carmo – holding 84, 15, 39 and 30 slaves respectively. Otherwise all the other slaves in this district were listed as pertaining to a household.

Table 9: Distribution of Slave and Non Slave Owning Households and Number of Slaves by Sex and Color of Heads of Households: 1804, 1817 and 1829						
	Males			Females		
1804						
Color	Non Slave Owner	Slave Owner	Total Slaves	Non Slave Owner	Slave Owner	Total Slaves
White	221	399	2,299	173	197	923
Black	38	2	2	37	3	6
Brown	151	48	106	168	35	71
Total	410	449	2,407	378	235	1000
1817						
White	262	390	1,979	151	150	924
Black	52	2	4	53	1	1
Brown	2	14	92	214	34	105
Total	316	406	2,075	418	185	1030
1829						
White	324	400	2,042	162	169	733
Black	37	2	15	36	1	1
Brown	208	35	137	229	22	40
Total	569	437	2,194	427	192	774

Male heads of households owned more of the slave population than did the female headed households in the census of 1817. They also tended to own more slaves. Thus 17% of the male slave owners owned 20 or more slaves, compared to only 4% of the woman slave owners who held this many slaves. In turn 39% of the male owners held 5 or fewer slaves, compared to 43% of the women owners holding this number of slaves (see table 10).

Table 10: Distrubtion of Slaves by Sex of Household Heads				
Owning Slaves in 1817				
Number of Slaves	Male	Female	Slaves Owned by Males	Slaves Owned by Females
1-5	330	198	808	462
6-10	61	37	451	285
11-20	34	20	453	280
20-40	8	2	216	46
41+	3		139	0
Total Hshlds	436	257	2,067	1,073
Notes: The 168 slaves owned by the São Bento Monastery have been excluded as well as the 19 slaves of the Religious Retreat the Recolhimento Santa Tereza				

Another important group in these households was the agregados. These were by definition persons without a home of their own and without family ties to the heads of households. They could be skilled or unskilled workers and of any age or color, but all were free. In a study of the paulista town of Itu in this period, the male agregados tended to be more skilled than the female ones and were sometimes even militia members. The children listed as agregados were often in service and learning a skill. They were to be found in homes which also had slaves, so there was no incompatibility between these two forms of labor. But their key function in most cases was to supplement the resources of the household (Samara, 1981). In homes in which children appeared as agregados, they were usually accompanied by their mothers and only in a few cases were they listed without a parent. But the majority of agregados were adults and unattached teenagers.

Altogether there were 738 agregados listed in the census of 1817 and obviously they were far less important in the labor force than the 3,327 slaves listed in the census. The household with of the largest number of agregados was led by a 74 year old white widow by the name of Elena Pedroza de Moraes who originally came from Guarulhos and now had a farm in N.S. do Ó producing corn, beans and cotton.. She had two Brown slaves, Anna and her son Pedro, as well as 13 Brown agregados from 2 to 60 years of age, one of whom came from Mogi Mirim, 6 from the capital and the rest from the local parish (AESP, 1817). Overall, only 21% of the households had agregados, as compared to 40% of the households which held slaves in 1817. In this case female headed households did extremely well, having 46 % of the households which had agregados, and had 46% of all the agregados who were counted in the census of 1817. This significant representation, especially compared to slave owning female headed households, appears to be related to the fact that more of the female households with agregados were primarily in the service sector and tended to use them as apprentices or skilled assistants (see table 11)

Table 11: Distributionn of Agregados by Sex of Heads of Households, 1817			
Agregados per Household	<i>Heads of Households</i>		Total Agregados
	Male	Female	
1	113	85	198
2	44	41	170
3	26	24	150
4	10	5	60
5	6	5	55
6	1	3	24
7	2	0	14
8	1	1	16
9	1	1	18
10	1	1	20
13	0	1	13
Total	205	167	738
Mean	1.9	2.0	
Std.deviation	1.9	2.1	

The final group of persons residing in the city is the children. Though not a major factor in the labor force, they were a major presence in the households of the city. In fact more households had children than had slaves or agregados. Some 53% of the 1,749 households registered in the census of 1817 had children present. The average household had less than 2 children with the average number being 1 child. It should be noted as we have discussed in some cases previously cited, that some of these children were already adults, and even in few cases are listed with their independent occupations. In the census of 1803 the children under 10 years of age were only 27% of the total population, and 24% in the census of 1817. Also slave and agregado children were to be found in these households, sometimes listed with a parent and often without one. Since we have coded as

children only those who were identified as related to the head of household, a small share of the children who were either slaves or agregados are missing from the total count of children, though they are included in the total count of slaves and agregados (see table 12).¹⁶

Table 12: Distribution of Children of Head of Household by Sex of Household Head , 1817			
Children per Hshld	Heads of Households		Total Children
	Male	Female	
1	125	121	246
2	106	93	398
3	99	68	501
4	78	46	496
5	64	36	500
6	26	12	228
7	22	5	189
8	11	3	112
9	4	1	45
10	1	2	30
11	1	0	11
12	2	0	24
14	1	0	14
Total Households	540	387	927
Total Children	1,759	1,035	2,794
Mean	1.8	1.4	
Stddev	2.2	1.8	
Median	1.0	1.0	

Though marriage was the dominant institution in the urbanized part of the capital, the relative high number of single heads indicates that this was clearly a society far less rigid in marital terms than was the norm in Portugal in the same period.¹⁷ As could be expected in a society with high

16 This figure is close to what Kuzesof found for her analysis of the 1836 census. It does not agree with her numbers for 1765 and 1802, since she used only the rural parishes for these two censuses (Kuznesof, 1986).

17 In a study of an Azorian town the definitive rate of single persons was

levels of illegitimate births and consensual union household arrangements there were a significant number of female houses headed by a never married woman who had children. Of all the children listed in this 1817 census who were family members of the heads of households, some 37% lived in a female headed household. Among the children living in female headed households, 50% lived in a home headed by a widow, 28% in a home headed by a single woman and 22% in a household headed by a married woman (see table 13). This meant that 6% of the 2,794 households with children were headed by a single woman with children. To give some comparison, some 18% of all households in the greater metropolitan area of São Paulo in 1999 were led by single woman with children.¹⁸

6% for men and 13% for women between 1729 and 1809 for those over 50 years of age (Amorim, 1993). The massive migrations of the Portuguese in the 19th century meant that this celibate rate of persons over 50 years of age would rise to 15% for men and 22% for woman by the first Portuguese census of 1864 (Bacci, 1971).

- 18 In 1999 in the metropolitan district of São Paulo 55% of the households were married couples with children, 14% had married couples without children and 17% were female headed households with children. Widows, multifamily and unipersonal households made up the rest (IBGE, 2001)

Table 13: Female Headed Households by Civil Status and Number of Children, 1817		
Number per Hshld	Number of Hshlds	Total Children
<i>Single</i>		
1	56	56
2	42	84
3	21	63
4	13	52
5	6	30
	138	285
<i>Widowed</i>		
1	41	41
2	29	58
3	34	102
4	22	88
5	22	110
6	7	42
7	3	21
8	3	24
9	1	9
10	2	20
	164	515
<i>Married</i>		
1	24	24
2	22	44
3	13	39
4	9	36
5	8	40
6	4	24
7	2	14
	82	221
Total	384	1,021

Notes: There were 3 female headed households with 14 children whose legal status was unknown

Some households had an abundance of members including children, agregados and slaves and were obviously among the elite. This was especially the case with those living in the 1ª Companhia district, which housed 2,927 persons in 1817, of which 40% were slaves. Some 56 merchants lived here (or close to half of the 114 merchants living in the capital), along with 55 artisans just 5 farmers and none of the 49 day laborers found in the rest of the capital in 1817.¹⁹ Thus João Lopes Franca, a Captain of Militia who was 61 years old white, lived with his 59 year old wife Anna Joaquim, two daughters, 4 agregados and 25 slaves and was listed as “living from his businesses.” In the same district Captain Salvador Nardes de Vasconcelos a 65 year old white married male had just died, leaving his widow Dona Theresa of 67 years with 1 daughter, 7 agregados and 13 slaves. Another wealthy white widow in this district was Dona Ana who was originally from Rio de Janeiro who lived with her daughter, 2 female agregadas and 8 slaves and like Dona Maria Joaquina, also “lived off the daily labor of her slaves”. Wealthy merchants also had rather large households in this district. In contrast, the majority of single female households with children were relatively poor. This can be seen in the estimates of households with agregados and slaves in the 1817 census (see table 14).

19 There were 1,073 whites, and 1,854 Brown and Blacks in this first campanha, of whom 1,170 were slaves. This excludes the Church plantations.

Table 14: Number of Households led by Free Persons in 1817						
by color and sex, and slave and agregados residing in them.						
Color	Male	Female	Total	Male	Female	Total
			Those who Owned Slaves	Number of Slaves Owned		
Brown	34	43	77	92	105	197
Black	2	1	3	4	1	5
White	390	201	591	1,979	946	2,925
			Households with Agregados	Number of Agregados		
Brown	45	50	95	67	98	165
Black	6	10	16	7	16	23
White	149	103	252	316	220	536
			Total Number of Households			
Brown	248	269	517			
Black	54	58	112			
White	652	382	1,034			

To more fully examine household size, we have taken a sample from the 1804 census and coded the relationships of all residents to the heads of households. Excluding Church properties, the 1ª companhia district in 1804 contained 514 households, or 35 % of the total of 1,485 households listed in the census of 1804. Of this sample of households 286, or 44% owned slaves, which is close to the 47% of households that owned slaves in the total census. But the sample had more households with agregados (26%) than the 18% of the households with agregados found in the entire 1804 census. This was probably due to the large number of artisans in this sample district. Examining just the free population in this district of São Paulo shows that the size of the average household in terms of free persons, including married partners, children and relatives and agregados was 3.6 persons per household, and half the households held three or less persons (see table 15). It should be stressed that multiple families residing in one house were few in number. Thus only 10 of the 514 households held more than one family unit.

Some 10 households even contained foundlings (*expostos*). As could be expected, all but one of the foundlings was in a white household. Since most illegitimate children were usually incorporated into the houses of Brown and Black families, it was usually elite white families which left their children in churches to be “adopted”, and they were often adopted by the same elite families at a later time.²⁰ Only 56 households, or 10% of the total households, had an extended family member in the home such as a mother, brother, etc. This was clearly a society where the nuclear family was dominant and this was the norm in most of the districts of the province (Luna and Klein, 2005).

Table 15: Total Number of Free Persons per Household in 1a Cia in 1804					
Persons/ households	TOTAL		Persons		
	Households	Persons	Mean	Std. Deviation	Median
1-5	295	657	2.2	1.2	3
6-10	149	735	4.9	2.3	7
11-15	44	270	6.1	3.4	12
16-20	10	70	7.0	2.8	17
21-25	9	71	7.9	3.5	24
26-30	4	31	7.8	4.9	26
31+	3	21	7.0	3.0	53
Total	514	1,855	3.6	2.6	5
Note: The São Bento Monastery with its 5 white priests and 58 slaves has been excluded, along with the fazenda of the Carmo Church with its 63 slaves					

20 It is estimated that 17% to 25% of births in this period were *espostos*. In 1824 the Santa Casa da Misericórdia in São Paulo set up its Roda (or special entrance called the turning wheel), which permitted mothers to deposit their abandoned children with this Hospital (Mesgravis, 1975). In the case of Bahia it was also seen that most orphans were white and that non-whites tended to incorporate illegitimate children into their households (Russell-Wood, 1968). The same occurred in a colonial weaving town in Northern Argentina in the 18th century (Hermitte and Klein, 1972),

When slaves and agregados are added to the other members of the household, the total household size in the district of the 1ª Companhia increased to an average of 6.1 persons per household. But there was a major difference by the sex of the householder.²¹ Thus the average size of the male households had over 1 person more than the female heads of households. This was due to the fact that male heads of households had double the number of slaves (864 to 421) than did female households, and even more agregados: 131 agregados were living in male households and 122 in female households (see table 16). The largest households were made up primarily of a core free family and a large number of slaves. The three largest of these households were those of Dona Ursula Maria Luisa, a 75 year old single woman who lived with her 5 nieces and nephews aged 36 to 48, along with an 85 year old agregada and 50 slaves who mostly worked on her farm in another district (AESP, 1804). The second largest household was that of the same Don José Vaz de Carvalho a 49 year old white male Coronel whose lived with his 57 year old wife and 2 children in their 20s who had 49 slaves and as previously noted, was a leading merchant in the city (AESP, 1804).

21 While many of our findings in 1804 agree with Kusnesof's results for 1802, our average size is higher than she found for the rural districts (5.6 persons per household) and urban ones (4.2 person) in the 1802 census (Kuznesof, 1986).

Table 16: Total Number of All Persons by Sex of Head of Household in 1a Cia in 1804						
	Males		Females		TOTAL	
Persons/ households	Heads Households	Total Persons	Heads Households	Total Persons	Heads Households	Total Persons
1-5	156	446	139	393	295	839
6-10	88	678	61	439	149	1,117
11-15	32	403	12	148	44	551
16-20	6	100	4	74	10	174
21-25	8	187	1	21	9	208
26-30	3	80	1	26	4	106
31+	2	88	1	57	3	145
Total	295	1,982	219	1,158	514	3,140
Mean		6.7		5.3		6.1
St.dev.		6.1		5.3		5.8

The last of these three large households was that of Don Joaquim José dos Santos, 54 years a Coronel of Militia who lived with his wife Dona Antonia was 40. They had 8 children aged 11 to 13 years of age and 35 slaves and he was listed as living from his businesses “vive de seus negócios.” (AESP, 1804).

As was to be expected, this was a society in which males were far more mobile than females. Thus male heads of household, at least for whites, tended to be more likely born outside of São Paulo province, than were white women. Thus in 1804 over two thirds of the white males came from outside the capital, and 72% in 1829. In the case of white women, over 90% were locally born in both censuses.²² For the free Browns and Blacks, the rates differed little for males and females and both were even higher in terms of having been born in the capital (see table 17).

22 In her analysis of the 1802 Kuznesof found 32% of the heads of households were born outside the capital (Kuznesof, 1986). In 1804 we found the same ratio of 32% of all the heads of household were born elsewhere and the figure for 1829 was 34% born outside the capital.

Table 17: Origin of Heads of Household by Sex and Color 1804 & 1829				
1804				
Origin	White	Black	Brown	Total
Male				
São Paulo	391	24	175	590
Minas Gerais	26	1	6	33
Other Provinces	45		12	57
Portugal+Europe	122			122
Female				
São Paulo	332	30	190	552
Minas Gerais	8	1	1	10
Other Provinces	22	1	8	31
Portugal+Europe				0
Total M & F	946	57	392	1395
1829				
Male				
São Paulo	413	18	185	617
Minas Gerais	16		5	21
Other Provinces	33	1	4	38
Portugal+Europe	108	1	1	110
Female				
São Paulo	206	21	167	394
Minas Gerais			1	1
Other Provinces	9			9
Portugal+Europe	4			4
Total M & F	789	41	363	1194

Rural Districts:

Along with its urban concerns and occupations, the capital also included outlying rural parishes which supplied the food, meat and cotton consumed in the city. The crucial agricultural parishes were of Nossa Senhora do Ó, Penha and Santa Ana. Most of the farmers in the censuses were to

be found in these regions. Of the total of 1,485 homes in the 1804 census, some 254 were farmers, and in the census of 1817 there were listed 249 farmers, not including the Church *fazendas*, this out of a total of 1,748 households. But this was still a primarily white and male occupation and one where households headed by a white person represented over 90% of the slave owning farm households in the censuses of 1804 and 1829.

These farms produced a series of crops that were primarily consumed in the capital. In 1817 for the three rural parishes of Nossa Senhora do Ó, Penha and Santa Ana, the largest crop grown by far was corn, produced on 222 farms, with bean production a close second on 216 farm units.²³ Cotton was the third most significant crop absorbing 84 farms in these three districts. Aguardiente (or brandy) was on the other hand highly concentrated among just 16 producers in this same year since one had to own a still (*alambique*) to process the sugar (see table 18).

Table 18: Number of Farms and Production Output for the three rural parishes of N.S.do Ó, Penha and Santa Ana in 1817							
Crops	Total Production				Hshlds in Production		
	N.S. do Ó	Penha	Santa Ana	Unit	N.S. do Ó	Penha	Santa Ana
Corn	2,138	815	1,398	Alqueires	92	66	64
Manioc Flour	61	31	124	Alqueires	24	9	30
Rice	89	28	81	Alqueires	24	9	23
Beans	301	240	251	Alqueires	86	63	67
Cotton	193	73	78	Arrobas	54	14	16
Aguardente (brandy)	236	78	78	Canadas	12	2	2

23 This same pattern was described by Saint Hilaire in his visit to Penha in the 1830s. He noted that although “the district of São Paulo is considered one of the least fertile in the province, it does, however, produce with greater or lesser abundance, rice, beans, corn and manioc flour...a small amount of cotton and tobacco, many vegetables and fruits [along with] sugar cane brandy (cachaça)... cattle, pigs, mules, sheep and, above all, horses” (Saint-Hilaire,1940).

The slave owning farms in these predominantly rural parishes were the producers all the major crops. Also it should be noted that the larger farms produced almost all these products together. Thus Maria Antunes Barbara a white widow with an estate in N.S.de Ó lived with her three children and 4 grandchildren, as well 4 Brown agregadas and 18 slaves and produced 120 alqueires of corn, 20 alqueires of beans, and 20 of rice (AESP, 1816). A nearby farm owned by Bernadino José Leite Penteado also registered in 1829, was listed with 7 Black slaves and produced 200 alqueires of corn, 24 of beans, 4 alqueires of rice and 4 arrobas of cotton annually along with numerous animals (AESP, 1816). Francisco de Paula Barboza, a 63 year old white married man lived in the district of Santa Ana in 1829 with his wife, 5 children 1 Brown agregada and 6 slaves produced per annum 150 alqueires of corn, 120 alqueires of beans, 30 alqueires of rice 18 alqueires of manioc flour and 2 arrobas of cotton (AESP, 1829).

As was to be expected, corn and bean production used the most slaves since they were the largest crops. But slaves were found producing all crops. The non-slave owning farms averaged the same output as slave owning farms in in all but two of these crops. It was in the production of corn (milho) and aguardente that slave owning farms produced almost double what was produced on the non-slave owning farm units (see table 19). Although the largest category of slaves were in agriculture, agricultural slaves accounted for just over a third of all slaves listed in 1804, and just over a quarter of households in 1817 and some 40% in 1829.

Table 19: Slave and Non Slave Owning Households in Crop Production and their Production in 1816/1817				
Crop	No of Households		Production in Alqueires	
	Not Slave Owner	Slave Owner	Not Slave Owner	Slave Owner
Corn	117	105	1,712	2,639
Beans	106	110	401	391
Manioc Flour	25	38	119	97
Rice	21	35	80	118
Cotton	29	55	88	256
Aguardente	3	11	36	278
Total	301	354	2,436	3,779

Conclusion

São Paulo in the late colonial and early imperial period was a town of growing wealth as seen by the data from the rise in value of urban homes, the increasing merchant wealth and the broad distribution of slaves among households. It was a city dominated by the civil, clerical and military government leaders, and a powerful merchant class with extensive ties throughout Brazil and Portugal, and the largest group of artisans in the province. At this time it had a major cotton spinning and weaving industry tied to local regional production of cotton, as well as being a major producer of clothing. It was a city whose population was dominated by a white elite, even as the city itself was majority non-white, and contained as well a significant free colored class a few of whose members owned slaves as well. Although still not a competitor to Rio de Janeiro, which explains the establishment of an independent Brazilian government in that port city in 1822, nevertheless the capital city of São Paulo was already one of the most dynamic urban centers in the country at the time of independence and had established the

basic foundations upon which it would grow in the coming decades.

Along with its increasing wealth, the capital city had become a majority non-white population from the middle of the 18th century until the early decades of the 19th century and held more women than men. It was a city whose essential organization was the nuclear family. Few houses contained more than one family and the large households still had at their core a single nuclear family, with large numbers of dependents, be they slaves or agregados. This was also a society with a significant minority of heads of households who were single. It was also a place where women heads of households accounted for a very significant minority of all heads of households among all persons of color. In this urban center Blacks were more important in the slave class than Browns, and because of the dominance of African born slaves in the slave population, the sex ratio tended to be more heavily male among slaves in contrast to the free population.

While the city would slowly grow in the next several decades, reaching 36,409 persons in the first national census of 1872, the explosive growth of the capital would not occur until the third quarter of the 19th century, with the arrival of the railroads and with the expansion of coffee production into the West Paulista plains.²⁴ It was the Capital elite that helped fund the railroads, provided the credit for agricultural expansion and were the leaders of the planter class throughout the state. Given the extraordinary growth of the coffee economy, the city became the key link from the interior to the port of Santos for all the new regions being incorporated

24 This excludes Cotia which was part of the capital in the census of 1836 and earlier censuses, they separated in 1872. Also in 1872, as in all the previous censuses, the parish of Sé which was part of the 1^a Companhia always was the largest parish of any urban or rural district of the city. (NEPO, 2000).

into the commercial agricultural economy and a key entry port for European immigration.

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