Introduction

As from the second half of the 18th century, the Portuguese imperial administration began demanding increasingly detailed and systematic information on its various dominions as well as on their respective annual movements. This trend fell within the framework of the Political Arithmetic that would take effect in Portugal over the course of the 18th century. As with other European imperial powers, strengthening the role of the state involved an increasingly systematised control over populations, finances and military capabilities.

In the period under study, the Portuguese empire extended across a huge geographic range. Around the Atlantic, there was Brazil, Angola, Guinea-Bissau and the archipelagos of São Tomé e Príncipe, Cape Verde, Madeira and the Azores. In Asia, the Estado Português da Índia (Portuguese State of India) incorporated Goa (its capital), Daman, Diu, Macau and Timor. The territory of Mozambique fell out of Goa’s sphere of control in 1752 when an authority answering directly to Lisbon was put into place.

Contrary to other European empires, in particular the Spanish, Portuguese imperial holdings were utterly discontinuous from a geographical perspective and also extended over enormous social diversity. Furthermore, different models of occupation prevailed and resulting from the changing nature of Portuguese expansion: military conquest, colonisation, as well as the trading model. This heterogeneity posed countless administrative and political difficulties that naturally

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1 The Azores and Madeira were deemed integral parts of the Portuguese kingdom as from the 16th century.
bore repercussions for the intended census categories in addition to the respective processes of statistical collection.

On the Atlantic archipelagos and in Goa – small in geographic scale – it was relatively easy to count the population even if the ethnic and religious diversity proved fairly complex in the case of Portuguese India. The situation differed starkly in the cases of Brazil, Angola and Mozambique. In addition to the ethnic differences and the constant trafficking in slaves, these territories covered huge unknown regions in which effective rule over the populations was fairly tenuous.

Despite all these contingencies, the documentation lost and the varying degree of reliability, we are in possession of a significant set of 'population charts' produced on orders of the crown. As Dauril Alden states "despite their shortcomings, they furnish a good deal of useful information which cannot be gleaned from any other type of sources" (1963: 201).

This article represents an exploratory study and falls within the scope of a research project aiming to generate coherent demographic data out of the statistics ordered by the Portuguese crown between 1750 and 1820. In general terms, this theme has attracted very little attention from historians and demographers that may partially be explained by the following factors: i) the significant dispersion of statistical information across national and international archives and their gradual deterioration and loss over the course of time, ii) the scarcity of printed legislative collections able to facilitate swift access to royal commands and instructions on statistical affairs, iii) the administrative evolution of the empire and the multiplicity of the contributors participating in the production and reporting of information, iv) options taken favouring demographic analysis based upon parish records and nominative population lists (case studies), to the detriment of the "population charts".

The central objective of this article is to highlight certain guidelines underpinning the production of statistics in effect in the respective dominions. Based upon samples of these 'charts', orders issued by the central administration and the literature, we seek to define the main typologies of statistical charts and
their respective specific features. Whenever feasible, this analysis also seeks to establish the main phases to the production of information.

**Population surveys of the Portuguese empire: from the dispersion to the systematization attempts**

The first census in Portugal was carried out in 1801 marking the beginning of the 'pre-modern statistics'\(^2\) period. Despite this information being collected by the Catholic Church, its implementation was determined and structured by the State around a nominative basis (*boletins de família* – family bulletins). The structure and reliability of the data is in line with the realities encountered in other European countries. It should be remembered that identical census-taking operations occurred in Spain (1787), France (1800) and Great Britain (1801) (ALDEN: 1963, 175; ALTERMAN: 1969, 163-207). However, and in spite of the various ‘*numeramentos*’ (counts) held across all districts of Portugal since 1835, only as from 1864 was a regular census system enacted.

The advent of pre-modern statistics in Portugal has since overshadowed the range of data collected on peoples, particularly in the form of «numeramentos» (counts), «cômputos» (computations) or «levantamentos» (surveys), which took place over the course of the 18th century. While the majority of such efforts coincide with the Pombaline (1750-1777) period of rule, a series of steps forward were taken in generating statistics on the Portuguese population during the reign of King D. João V (1700-1750).

As the 18th century advanced, the progressive construction of a modern state structure was founded upon increasingly effective fiscal and military structures. Such operations inherently depended upon the prior generation of knowledge on the respective population totals and their regional distribution. Correspondingly, it was during the reign of King D. João V that more abundant

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\(^2\) As a rule, Portuguese historians-demographers designate as censuses those statistics deriving from the ‘state of the population' based upon the *boletins de família* (1801 and 1864-2001). Hence, the 'population charts' covered within the scope of this article are made up of the *levantamentos*, *cômputos* or *numeramentos* of the population.
details on the national reality were produced (SOUZA: 1995, 82-84). Effective knowledge on the imperial reality had correspondingly already begun to be an ever greater priority to the central authorities.

In 1720-1721, the Crown, through the mediation of the Real Academia de História (Royal History Academy) (1720), decided to gather information on the Kingdom and its overseas possessions. These details (households and neighbours), due to make up an «Ecclesiastic History of this Kingdom and its conquests», were requested, on behalf of the monarch, from bishops, cathedral chapters, religious orders, municipal councils and judicial entities (SOUZA: 1995, 83). Despite knowing this work took place in 1721, we are unfortunately yet to discover the whereabouts of most of its statistical output.

The existence of global counts carried out in 1700, 1721 and 1732 clearly demonstrates the trend towards greater state centralisation driven by bureaucratisation processes. This approach, although taking place at a later phase, would spread out to include the imperial territories. Their rule required up-to-date and accurate knowledge on population totals particularly for military, economic and state administrative purposes but also even for religious missions. In the opinion of Patrice Bourdelais, the implementation of population surveys in some imperial possessions may also be related to symbolic needs, reinforcing sovereignty and bringing about better control of the peoples under the rule of European powers (BOURDELAIS: 2004, 99).

As we shall return to, the implementation of a regular system for surveying the empire’s population was launched by a decree issued on 21.5.1776. However, a series of earlier efforts, generally territory specific, took place throughout the 18th century, for example, Cape Verde (1731), the Azores (1747, 1766-1775), Madeira (1722, 1732, 1745, 1750, 1767), São Tomé (1758), Mozambique (1722, 1766) and Goa (1718, 1720, 1722, 1749, 1750, 1753), with the majority on the orders of the crown (CARREIRA: 1987, 33-76; LOPES and MATOS: 2006, 15-70; MADEIRA: 1999; NEWITT: 1995, 227; NORONHA: 1996; MATOS: 2008, 241-324; NEVES: 1989: 227; SANTOS: s/d, 1212-1255; WAGNER: 2006).
These statistics are relatively sparse and in their majority seem to reflect sporadic requests issued by the Crown. With the exception of Mozambique and Brazil, analysis of the information contained reveals important characteristics. On the one hand, the census coverage extended throughout all of the respective territories\(^3\) and on the other hand, these surveys featured an exceptional level of information details. The best examples are those of Cape Verde (1731) and, in particular, Goa (1720), both already subject to academic study (CARREIRA: 1987; MATOS: 2008).

Brazil was, by the mid-18th century, the most populous dominion and in itself concentrated by and large 55% of the imperial population. Its definitive borders would only be stipulated in 1750 by the Treaty of Madrid following heated military and diplomatic conflict with Spain. However, actual knowledge of the reality on the ground remained very limited. Not only did the region of Amazonia remain practically unknown but the territory lying to the south of Rio de Janeiro and Sacramento also represented a demographic desert (KUHN: 2008, 103-108; MATOS and SOUSA: 2008, 540-541).

The interest generated by the riches of Brazil naturally drove a desire to better understand the environment so as to better exploit it. Within this framework, the scientific expeditions and consequent cartographic production were stepped up very often accompanied by population charts (TARCÍSIO et al.: 2008, 60-74). Correspondingly, we know of various surveys carried out in different administrative units of Brazil prior to 1770. This is the case, for example, with Santa Catarina (1753, 1767), Bahia (1759), Pernambuco (1762-1763) and São Paulo (1765) (ALDEN: 1963; MARCÍLIO: 2000, 33-35; TARCÍSIO et al: 2008, 59-77; SMITH: 1995: 5-7).

With the mercantilist doctrine prevailing, states began to perceive their populations as one of their main sources of wealth. This position was clearly expressed in the words of the Marquis of Pombal: 'the strength and wealth of all

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\(^3\) On various occasions, these are broken down by level of *freguesia* (village) or *paróquia* (parishes). In the case of Brazil, the data was collected for the majority of the capitanias (captaincies, administrative areas) even while indigenous populations, beyond the control of the administration, are clearly left out. Furthermore, slaves were not always included.
states consists primarily of the number and multiplication of the people who inhabit it\textsuperscript{4}. Within the context of the Treaty of Madrid, it is hardly surprising that detailed knowledge on the population was grounded in practical reality. The regulation of migratory flows and military enlistment involved specifically ascertaining the number of inhabitants. As from the mid 18th century, both Iberian kingdoms organised large-scale movements of couples to their American colonies so as to settle and consolidate their borders. In 1747, Portugal sponsored the transport to Santa Catarina of around 6,000 residents of the Azores and Madeira, some of whom would later move onto Rio de Janeiro and Rio Grande do Sul. Although the magnitude of these levas de casais (waves of couples) dropped off significantly after 1770, they remained within the scope of royal thinking through to the independence of Brazil in 1822.

Beyond these displacements of subjects, there are also the various campaigns encouraging movement to Brazil and Angola. The abundant documentation produced by the Overseas Bureau sets out how during the second half of the 18th century various governors insistently requested the sending out of conscripts to their dominions. These population movements could only be subject to analysis in Lisbon following careful calculation of the totals of people in the overseas provinces.

Both the greater frequency of censuses ordered by the crown and the significant movements of peoples that the crown encouraged demonstrate the royal determination to control population flows, channelling such human resources towards their strategic objectives (MATOS and SOUSA: 2008). This approach takes on particular importance in the 1760s when the Marquis of Pombal was consolidating his reputation with King D. José I. This is the period when profound reforms of the kingdom and its overseas dominions were launched 'by those seeking to recover the time lost by Portugal' (BOTELHO et al.: 2008, 61). Within this context, the Political Arithmetic as a mechanism in support of state decisions takes on particular relevance.

\textsuperscript{4} Letter dated 21.09.1751 sent to Gomes Freire de Andrade.
Analysis of the census documentation on Portuguese dominions reveals that the regular production of statistics was begun, in the majority of the colonies, as from 1766. Through to the new orders of 1776, whether in series or by isolated charts, we do already know of earlier data on the Azores, Madeira, Brazil, Angola, Cape Verde and São Tomé e Príncipe with structures that in many cases approximate that applied in 1776. For Goa, we only have a series for after 1776 (see appendix IV)\(^5\).

Without ignoring detailed analysis of each territory, a global reading of the population tables available points to a first effort at statistical harmonisation ongoing between 1766 and 1776. In this first phase, royal orders are handed down either through diplomas or through instructions issued to recently encharged governors. The results are highly variable in terms of the information actually produced. Nevertheless, one key theme to this period comes with the regularity that these charts began reaching Lisbon.

The territory that we know most about in terms of census production is the archipelago of the Azores. The implementation of regular statistics production system was established in 1766 with the creation of the post of *Capitania- General* (General Captaincy). In the *Secret Instructions* given to the first incumbent was the recommendation to stimulate an increase in the population "*by the particular and appropriate means by which this has been moved forward in the colonies of France, England and Holland*" (MADEIRA: 1999, 30). As a means of gauging the scale of this increase, the monarch ruled that by the end of January of each year, an *exact report* divided up into three sections: people taking their first communion, baptism and death certificates issued in the civil year ending\(^6\). These reports were prepared by the clergy and the reason for which a royal letter dated 2.8.1766 was dispatched to the Bishop of Angra with the same instructions (MADEIRA: 1999, 31).

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\(^5\) However, the orders sent out do make references to earlier diplomas, certainly never implemented by the authorities. Cf. AHU, *Monções do Reino* (*Monsoon collection*), no. 157, fls 157 and 167.

\(^6\) This communion group corresponded to the population range over the age of 12 for females and over 14 for males, that is, those individuals eligible to receive communion. The death certificates were to be grouped into the following age groups: 0-10, 11-40, 41-70 and the over 80s.
Available to our analysis are the charts from 1766-1769 produced for each island, many of which were accompanied by the original reports and comments from the local parish priest\(^7\). However, nothing is known as to global tables, certainly due to a lack of information as regards some of the islands. It is perhaps for this reason that new orders were issued on 1.07.1771. This now requested a report based on the street layout of all cities, towns and settlements, differentiating between gender and inhabitant age. The age classification covered men between the ages of 0-7, 15-50, 50+ with women categorised by 0-7, 7-15, 15-40 and 40+. The crown also requested the number of those married up to the age of 40, while population behaviours (baptisms and deaths) were to be discriminated by gender\(^8\). This standard would remain in effect in the archipelago through to 1776 (see appendix I).

As with other dominions, especially Brazil, the 1771 instruction also attributed responsibility for data collection to corregedores (ministers of justice). It is no easy task to trace the process of census systematisation in this colony given the quantity of captaincies, countless administrative, judicial and ecclesiastic participants. Studies by Dauril Alden and Maria Luíza Marcílio conclude that attempts by the crown to establish a standardised statistics system can confidently be dated to the late 1760s\(^9\). (see appendix III)

The S. Paulo captaincy represented an exception within the Brazilian panorama. Here, the nominative census surveys were carried out, town by town, since 1765. Contrary to the majority of other jurisdictions, we may safely affirm that both civil and military entities undertook the preponderance of these duties. Hence

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\(^7\) Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (AHU). A part of this documentation was recently discovered in the Torre do Tombo National Archive, Ministério do Reino, maço 312. The same happened as regards the 1794 census (ANTT/MR, maço 614) (MATOS and SOUSA: 2008, 551-577). This document dispersion – and not to mention the shortcomings of the documental description in many archives – shows that the historical characterisation of censuses and their respective demographic study is always susceptible to revision.

\(^8\) Charts structured in accordance with this typology are known for the island of S. Miguel (1770-1775), and already published by Artur Madeira (1997).

\(^9\) A list of Brazilian sources produced between 1750 and 1820 and their respective characteristics may be found in (ALDEN: 1963, 184). This should be complemented by other summaries, specifically Russell-Wood (1997, 287-288) and the diverse monographs published in the meanwhile.
and for example, a list was prepared by the military entities encharged with enrolling the population under their jurisdiction every year\textsuperscript{10}. However, the chart-summaries on S. Paulo do not always incorporate all the information contained in the lists, specifically gender, race and age (ALDEN: 1963, 184; MARCÍLIO: 2000, 29-43).

In Angola, similar to the Azores, the royal orders stipulating the production of population charts were conveyed to the new governor by means of Instructions. Thus, António de Lencastre, appointed to rule the kingdom of Angola in 1772, had already drafted a chart of city of Luanda inhabitants by the end of the following year representing the first existing survey of the colony (CURTO: 2001, 16). This approach included 'information on white, mulatto free and slave, and black free and slaves capable of bearing arms ... white, free mulatto, and free black women; and government troops by color ... and civilian males under fifteen and over fifty years' (CURTO: 2001, 16). The second census – already extending across the kingdom – came in 1781 and was already in accordance with the model set down by the Crown in 1776. However, only as from 1796 do we find a practically unbroken series for each presídio of Angola (see appendix II for Luanda).

In São Tomé, the panorama was not particularly different. In 1770, there was a summary of inhabitants with information about ecclesiastical members, those locally born and those arriving from elsewhere (both white), whites, pardos (mixed race) and blacks (these broken down by free or slave). This also included the population under the age of 7 (menores de confissão – too young to attend confession), without ever actually specifying ethnic origin and position\textsuperscript{11}. This operation – also based on the confessional roles – was repeated in 1771 with an identical approach.

\textsuperscript{10} Much of this information is held by the Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo and Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon) and was studied in detail by Maria Luiza Marcílio.

\textsuperscript{11} 'Sumário dos habitantes desta ilha e cidade de S. Tomé tirado pelos róis das confissões...', published by (NEVES: 1996, 268-269).
On standardisation: the diplomas of 1776, 1796 and 1797

The regular reporting of population statistics (status and annual movements) is to a large extent the result of the royal order of 21.05.1776, dispatched to various governors across the Portuguese Empire\(^\text{12}\). The diploma represented a new paradigm in imperial statistical production and bringing consequences across three levels. Firstly, data presentation was standardised – in particular in terms of age groups – thus enabling their comparability. Secondly, the collecting of information tends, in the majority of cases, to cover the full extent of the territories. Finally, and perhaps more importantly, the order demanded the regular sending of population data in the annual reporting made to the Overseas Bureau.

The information required by the Minister for the Colonies divided the population into 10 classes:

- **I** male children (*crianças*) under age seven
- **II** boys (*rapazes*) between seven and fifteen
- **III** adult males (*homens*) between fifteen and sixty\(^\text{13}\)
- **IV** men over sixty (*homens velhos*)
- **V** female children (*crianças*) under seven
- **VI** girls (*raparigas*) between seven and fourteen
- **VII** adult women (mulheres) between fourteen and forty
- **VIII** women over forty (*adultas e velhas*)\(^\text{14}\)
- **IX** number of births during the year
- **X** number of deaths during the year

The age classification adopted was practically identical to that in the order dated 1.07.1771 dispatched to the Capitania-Geral of the Azores due both to the continued clerical role in data collection, and hence category one, and the overall military prerogative determining the need for category three. The 0-7 group corresponded to minors and not normally included by the clergy in their records. The grouping of women into the 14-40 age group relates to their being of child bearing age, and perhaps designed to be used for population projections. Finally, the

\(^{12}\) [ALDEN: 1963, 177-180], [WAGNER: 2006, 1-3].

\(^{13}\) The majority of charts also detailed men over the age of 90 (velhos).

\(^{14}\) As in the case of men, there was frequently a separate category of women (*velhas*) aged over 90.
existence of the large interval of 15 to 60 years for men corresponds exactly to the ages prescribed in militia regulations as eligible for military enlistment.

Despite the standardisation by age group, the orders were vague in terms of the groups to be included, a situation that would only change across almost all the empire in 1797. This question does not raise problems in the Azores and Madeira given the overwhelming preponderance of the white population. In Brazil, however, various governors opted to include information on ethnicity and status (free or slaves) and 'domesticated indians'. In these cases, distinctions were made between whites, *pardos* (mixed race)\(^{15}\), slaves as well as Christianised Indians (ALDEN: 1963, 196-199; RUSSELL-WOOD, 284-295). In Angola, the censuses of 1777 and 1778 only differentiated between free and slaves (THORNTON: 1980, 421), while the 1781 survey of Luanda included whites, *pardos* and blacks (in both cases detailing as to whether free or slave)\(^{16}\). In Portuguese India, and especially in Goa, these distinctions were religiously based, systematically discriminating only between Christians and *gentiles* (Hindus and Moors).

In all statistical operations, it was the Catholic Church that took on the main role in collecting the primary data. Thus, generally the circulars sent out to imperial governors was replicated and dispatched to bishops and archbishops requesting their assistance in the smooth execution of the surveys. However, various other entities (far too many as Dauril Alden justly points out) participated in the process: the capitães de ordenança (garrison captains), juízes de fora (appointed judges), *corregedores* and employees in the service of *capitanias*, *presídios*, *tanadorias*, dependent on the respective territory\(^{17}\).

In general terms, through to 1910, statistical data collection remained dependent on the Church, particularly in terms of annual movements of births, marriages and deaths. To this end, the parishes made recourse to the confessionary lists and the parish baptism, matrimonial and death records. These sources, given

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\(^{15}\) A descendent of African and non-African parentage.

\(^{16}\) AHU, Angola, cx. 64, doc. 63.

\(^{17}\) The processes of gathering data and the chain of production are subject to thorough discussion in (ALDEN: 1963, 179-183 and 196-201; CURTO: 2001, 6-26; MADEIRA: 1999, 28-49), and especially by (MARCÍLIO: 1968, 98-103).
they reflected an ecclesiastical reality, tended to overlook minors under the age of 7 (too young for communion)\textsuperscript{18} and to under-record deaths given that some children dying at young ages would not be recorded\textsuperscript{19}. Studies of some statistical charts demonstrate that these shortcomings were recurrent but over the course of time they tended to decline across most dominions. The actual governors also provided a range of comments about the quality level achieved by the clergy’s commitment to properly implementing the tasks.

In Spanish America, a systematic census also took place in 1776. The Iberian monarchies 'acted almost simultaneously to secure even more detailed information concerning the inhabitants in their colonies' (ALDEN: 1963, 177). The Spanish Gálvez order of November 1776 was sent out to all regions of the Indias 'with proper distinction of classes, [marital] status, and castes of all persons of both sexes, without omitting the infants' (ALDEN: 1963, 177; SANCHÉZ-ALBORNOZ: 1974, 14-15). Once again, the efforts to put a homogenous population statistic system into practice date back to the late 1760s (SANCHÉZ-ALBORNOZ: 1974, 14-15). However, contrary to the Portuguese reality, the data collected in Spanish America distinguished more systematically between castes and slaves.

In the French and British empires, the counting of peoples in their respective American dominions was no less heterogeneous. In Quebec, 16 surveys were carried out between 1665 and 1754 but efforts to produce global censuses were only undertaken in the second half of the 18th century (ALDEN: 1963, 175-176; BOURDELAIS: 2004, 102-103; HIGGS: 2005, 3). Britain was the first colonial power to introduce standardised censuses into their American colonies. In 1761, the Board of Trade called on governors to submit periodical data 'concerning the number of whites, blacks and Indias and the reasons for their decrease during the previous biennium' (ALDEN: 1963, 177). Census production depended greatly on the respective colony. Many did not extend beyond the simple counting of inhabitants.

\textsuperscript{18} As late as 1837, a priest on Terceira island (Azores) highlighted on his chart: '«the number of minors under the age of seven […] is made by an approximate calculation [...]that the parish clergy only do out of curiosity».'

\textsuperscript{19} For example, a priest on Flores island (Azores) in 1766 stated 'relative to those having passed on, it is not common practice to list those aged under ten' Cf. AHU, Açores, cx. 6, doc. 15.
The first extensive census of the United States took place in 1790 containing information on whites by gender and age (adults and minors aged under 16), 'other free individuals' and slaves (ALTERMAN: 1969: 201).

Towards the end of the 18th century, the main population census statistic restructurings for the Portuguese empire date to 1796 and 1797. On 14.09.1796, an order issued to the governor of Angola required an annual survey of the population of all presídios. The information went into significant details, including ecclesiastical, men and women (white, blacks and mixed race), status (free or slave), civil status and age (0-7, 7-14, 14-25 and +25 for both genders). The charts were also to contain data on professions, arrivals and departures of inhabitants during the civil year along with births and deaths. As a result of these undertakings, we are in possession of hundreds of charts covering the diverse presídios of Angola practically continuously as from 1798.

Another document typology emerges out of the various imperial surveys as from 1798, specifically in the Azores, Brazil and Benguela (Angola). This results from the royal diploma dated 6.12.1797 that ordered governors to deliver a total of eight charts, three of which related to the population\textsuperscript{20}. The first related to the prevailing state of the population. The information was identical to the diploma of 1796 but with one important innovation: the age groups became regularly distributed, 0-5, 5-10, 10-20, ... 100+. Questionnaire 2 required details on the distribution of males by professions and the respective daily wages of artisans and labourers. Movements were subject to significant improvements (map 3). They requested births by child gender, whether living, stillborn or twins. Deaths were also broken down by gender and now discriminated by age (0-1, 1-5, 5-10, ... 100+), with the same case for weddings. Finally, reporting was also requested on the cause of deaths (both for natural and accidental cases). Each cause of death was to be recorded by age (grouped into categories of five years) and gender.

\textsuperscript{20} AHU, Conselho Ultramarino, códice 579, fl. 193v. (order issued by the governor of Benguela). This order mentions 'settled indians', and is certainly a copy of orders issued to many captaincies across Brazil.
The order dated 6.12.1797 ushered in a new paradigm for Portuguese imperial statistics. The detailed information actually enabled the calculation of life tables, infant mortality and total fertility rates, something that would only prove possible in Portugal itself in the early 20th century. Unfortunately, the statistics formulated in accordance with this directive relate only to the Azores (MATOS and SOUSA: 2008, 551-577), Benguela\(^{21}\) and some of Brazil’s capitania\(^{s}\), especially Maranhão\(^{22}\). It may be the case that some others still do survive across the various archives containing empire documentation.

Despite the limited direct impact of the 1796 and 1797 orders, they did generate a general trend towards change in statistical outputs in global terms. As from 1797, the Goa charts retain the age group divisions set out in 1776 but do now systematically include whites, pardos (mixed race), gentiles and Muslims, blacks and slaves (MATOS and LOPES: 2006: 35-36). Furthermore, the information on Diu, Daman and even Macau (BAUSS: 1997: 199-216) already tends to extend out to the diverse ethnic-religious groups distributed by regular age group classifications. Through to the independence of Brazil, in 1822, the same trends are ongoing in the colony. Even with major variations between the captaincies, the charts tend to list the indigenous population and classify the various groups into regular age classifications.

**Conclusions**

Continuing trends first encountered during the reign of King D. João V, the Portuguese imperial authorities produced an extensive body of orders designed to bring together systematic and standardised information on the respective populations in the second half of the 18th century. To a large extent, this process took place during the 1760s when the Marquis of Pombal launched wide reaching reforms of both Portugal and its dominions. Furthermore, the new challenges deriving from the Treaty of Madrid (1750), the gradual loss of gold revenues from

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\(^{21}\) AHU, Angola, cx.89, doc.88 (Benguela, 1798).

\(^{22}\) National Archive of Rio de Janeiro, 03.03.17 (Maranhão 1798-1800).
Brazil and the reorientation of flows to and from the colonies, including military recruits, began to demand ever more specialised knowledge on inhabitants.

The geographic dispersion of the colonies, their social heterogeneity and administrative decentralisation hindered the implementation of systematic and particularly standardised censuses. However, central administration did prove able to impose an increasingly demanding statistical culture and to a greater or lesser extent regular in nature.

Irrespective of the timeframes inherent to each local territory, there is a first period (1766-1775) during which the majority of colonies embarked upon the production of population charts even if with highly variable regularities and levels of information. The 1776 order would simultaneously guarantee greater uniformity in the charts and their regular dispatch to the Overseas Bureau. The 1796 diploma guaranteed the collection of data from inland regions of Angola, while that of 1797 significantly expanded the level of information detail to be reported.

Although the statistical series are highly uneven between the various dominions and contain variable levels of reliability, they do show that the advances in Portuguese imperial statistical production was in keeping with other European imperial powers and, in some cases, displaying relevant innovation in terms of the information collected. Hence, the thorough demographic study of much of the Portuguese empire, particularly for the period post-1776, is a feasible research objective.
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