

The quality of demographic data in 1804 comparing Paraíba do Norte (Brazil), Angola and Goa*

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Resumo

O estudo da população do Império Português conta com um vasto corpus de dados estatísticos, desde meados do século XVIII. No entanto, estas fontes revelam uma grande diversidade de conteúdos, devido à organização de dados e a realidades sociais diferentes. Esta circunstância pressupõe a necessidade de se proceder a uma análise muito cuidadosa da qualidade das fontes, antes de identificar e reconstruir os principais indicadores demográficos da população colonial. É nosso objetivo proceder, de forma exploratória, a uma crítica interna das fontes e analisar, sempre que possível, a qualidade dos dados através de métodos testados, em mapas de 1804 de Goa, Angola e Paraíba do Norte (Brasil).

Palavras-chave: população do Império Português; qualidade das fontes; Goa; Angola; Paraíba do Norte; demografia.

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Abstract

The study of the Portuguese empire population has a vast corpus of statistical data since middle eighteenth century. However, these sources reveal a great diversity in contents, due to the data organization and different social realities. This circumstance presupposes the need to proceed to a very careful analysis of sources quality, before identifying and rebuild the main demographic indicators of the colonial population. It is our goal to proceed in an exploratory manner, and to do an internal critique analysis of the sources, and analyze always as possible the quality of data by tested methods, in 1804 charts of Goa, Angola and Paraíba do Norte (Brazil).

Keywords: Portuguese empire population; sources quality; Goa; Angola; Paraíba do Norte; demography.

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Over the last few decades, the research on the Portuguese empire has raised a significant number of studies that have primarily addressed its political, social, economic and cultural dimensions. Demography regarding the populations of the different possessions has been unevenly studied. In fact, there are a significant number of monographs and partial studies on some territories, such as Madeira, São Tomé and Príncipe, Cape Verde, Angola, and the Portuguese State of India.¹ The Azores is perhaps the most studied region, while Brazil has been analysed in various researches, allowing an understanding of facts concerning the population of some geographic areas, usually analysed according to the old administrative models of captaincies, “comarcas” and parishes.

However, a comprehensive and systematic overview of the empire’s population as a whole is inexistent, not allowing a broader knowledge of the general growth trends, social composition and basic demographic indicators of the dynamics of its population. These are some of the goals of the project Counting Colonial Populations: Demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, 1776–1875² and this paper partakes in it.

¹ See, for example: Rudy BAUSS, “A demographic study of Portuguese India and Macau as well as comments on Mozambique and Timor, 1750–1850,” *Indian Economic & Social History Review*, 34 (June 1997), pp. 199–216; Paulo Teodoro de MATOS and Paulo Silveira SOUSA, “População e movimentos migratórios. A atracção pelo Brasil” in Artur Teodoro de Matos, Avelino Meneses e José Guilherme Reis Leite, *História dos Açores*, vol. I, Angra do Heroísmo, Instituto Açoriana da Cultura, 2008; Paulo Teodoro de MATOS, “The Population of the Portuguese Estado da Índia, 1750–1820: Sources and Demographic Trends” in *Portuguese and Luso-Asian Legacies in Southeast Asia, 1511–2011*, vol. 1 (“The Making of the Luso-Asian World: Intricacies of Engagement”), Singapore, Institute of Southeast Asian Studies, 2011, pp. 163–78; Carlos Agostinho NEVES, *São Tomé e Príncipe na segunda metade do século XVIII*, Lisboa/Funchal, CEHA/Instituto de História de Além-Mar, 1989; Artur Boavida MADEIRA, *População e emigração nos Açores (1776–1820)*, Cascais, Património Histórica, 1999; André Pinto de Sousa Dias TEIXEIRA, *A Ilha de S. Nicolau de Cabo Verde nos séculos XV a XVIII*, Lisboa, CEPCEP, 2004; José Carlos VENÂNCIO, *A economia de Luanda e o Hinterland no século XVIII. Um estudo de sociologia histórica*, Lisboa, Editorial Estampa, 1996.

² Counting Colonial Populations. Demography and the use of statistics in the Portuguese Empire, application submitted to the Fundação para a Ciência e Tecnologia (PTDC/EPH-HIS/3697/2012), 2012, pp. 2–3.

The study of the Portuguese empire's population has a significant *corpus* of statistics since the mid-eighteenth century, generally organised in large tables, called “mapas da população.”³ In fact, the crown administration increasingly began to require from the colonial authorities systematically detailed information on the volume of the population, as well as its natural dynamics (births, marriages and deaths). However, these sources are very diverse in terms of content and scope, not only due to the organisation of data, but also because they reflect different social realities, forms of organization and levels of efficiency of the fiscal, military and religious colonial administrative networks.⁴ This diversity stems from the fact that the Portuguese empire was geographically dispersed across the continents. Territorial occupation and economic importance had various levels of intensity; moreover, institutions were structured according to different power combinations, that resulted from the uneven development of the phases of the Portuguese expansion: military conquest, colonisation, and a trade related model. This particular contexts implied political and administrative constraints that had repercussions on how surveys were organised, specially regarding the process and context of collecting and compiling data, or as to the categories used to characterise the population (citizenship, race, class and religion), as Paulo Matos has already stated.⁵ Therefore, before moving to the identification and reconstruction of the main indicators of the colonial populations demography, it is necessary to undertake a thorough analysis of the sources.

This article will analyse statistical information that is part of a wider set of statistical tables that began to emerge in the overseas territories in the mid-eighteenth century. Governors of different territories were responsible for the theoretical annual production of these “statistical maps” which should be remitted to the *Conselho Ultramarino* (Overseas Council) in Lisbon.⁶ The first mandatory preparation of these annual tables for all overseas territories is enshrined in the Royal Order of 21 May 1776.⁷ Like all civil authorities (and if needed even the military and local militia chiefs) the Catholic Church hierarchy was responsible for gathering primary information, especially the priests. Hence, each bishop was requested to promote

³ That can be freely translated as “population maps” or “population tables.”

⁴ Paulo Teodoro de MATOS, “Population Censuses in the Portuguese Empire, 1750–1820: research notes,” *Romanian Journal of Population Studies*, vol. VII, 1 (2013), pp. 5–26.

⁵ P. T. MATOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 11–7.

⁶ *Idem, ibidem*, pp. 10–1; Paulo Teodoro de MATOS and Jelmer Vos, “Demografia e relações laborais em Angola c. 1800: um ensaio metodológico,” *Diálogos* (Maringá Online), vol. 17, 3 (2013), pp. 807–34.

⁷ P. T. MATOS, *op. cit.*, pp. 13–4; P. T. MATOS and J. Vos, *op. cit.*

the necessary measures “to meet the goal as stated in the letter attached to this copy.”⁸ In this regard, an earlier document from 1774 called the attention to the fact that parish priests and curates did not

deal with more than Baptisms, Burials and Communion people because they can only benefit from these and those. They always leave out of their lists children from the First and Fourth classes that are not born in the year these lists are done and whose Communion records cannot be found: and for these reasons Parish Priests and curates should be warned to be particularly careful to include in the same lists children between the ages of one and seven.⁹

The official letter of 1774 is very interesting because it reveals a technical concern, but also the perception that there was systematically an under-record of minors. Indeed, this letter with bureaucratic instructions already refers the *classes* (that is, the age groups) in which the population should be divided, following a pattern similar to the one produced by the subsequent royal decree of 1776. Both documents indicate that the number of inhabitants should be grouped into eight “*classes*,” though with some differences. In 1774, the groups correspond to 0–7, 7–15, 15–60 and 60 and over for men and 0–7, 7–14, 14–50 and 50 and over for women. In 1776, there were the same groups for men, while there was a difference for women in the last two age groups, that are now 14–40 and 40 and over. These changes in the female age groups suggest an increase of natalist concerns by the colonial administration. Both documents also call for a particular care in specifying those individuals that exceeded the age of 90, a remark probably due to time’s perceptions on health and salubrity. Besides age groups, both orders required the accounting of births and deaths that occurred in the year under analysis.¹⁰ According to Dauril Alden, in the case of Brazil, these “statistical procedures” followed the experiences of population countings (*numeramentos*) undertaken in Pará, Goiás and São Paulo in 1768.¹¹ The author states

⁸ In the original: “ao dito fim como consta da carta que ajuntarei a esta cópia.” This can be read in the letter to José Cezar de Menezes (Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino [AHU], *Conselho Ultramarino*, Ordens e Avisos para Pernambuco, Cód. 583, fls. 171–172), dated from 1776.

⁹ In the original: “cuidam mais que nos Baptismos, Enterros e pessoas de Communhão porque só daqueles e destas tirão proveito omitem sempre nas suas listas as crianças comprehendidas na Primeira e Quarta classes que não nascerão no Anno em que tiram as ditas listas nem ainda achão nos seus Registos de Communhão: e por estes motivos será preciso advertir os ditos Parrocos e curas que tenham particular cuidado de incluir nas mesmas listas as crianças de Idade de hum ate sete anos,” in AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Ordens e Avisos para Pernambuco, Cód. 583, fls. 163–165.

¹⁰ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Ordens e Avisos para Pernambuco, Cód. 583, fls. 163–165 and 171–172.

¹¹ Dauril ALDEN, “The population of Brazil in the Late Eighteenth Century: A preliminary study,” *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, Vol. 43, no. 2 (May 1963), pp. 173–205.

that this classification followed another, carried out in the Spanish empire. The work of Katherine J. Curtis and Francisco Scarano also makes reference to the order issued by the Spanish Crown, from 1776, requesting from its Caribbean possessions information using the same categories found in the Portuguese royal decree from the same year.¹² This evolution on age groups and specific official guidelines suggests a slow growth on the importance of quantification and information control in colonial governance. However, the colonial administration demands continued to collide with practical problems, such as the uneven response of priests and other authorities, or the lack of local officials and relatively organized and widespread bureaucratic networks. The process of standardization of these pre-modern statistical procedures and the regularity of the population countings were not accomplished in all Portuguese possessions.¹³ Nevertheless, the demographic information that was produced is remarkable, still partially inedited, covering regions and historical time frames with scarce or no previous data available. It deserves, thus, a more systematic analysis and critical approach.

This paper aim is to present an exploratory analysis of the quality of statistical information in the year 1804 from a demographic point of view. In fact, demographic knowledge in a pre-statistical context requires an internal criticism of the sources, a still more important question when considering populations from areas with quite different characteristics, albeit under the same administrative sovereignty. While, as mentioned before, there are regulations of the Overseas Council (*Conselho Ultramarino*) seeking to standardize the type of information to be collected, we cannot fail to consider the different socio-political and cultural contexts of the colonial territories or the greater or lesser zeal of local authorities, not only of Portuguese origin, as indigenous.¹⁴ From a demographic perspective, the knowledge of a population requires information about its overall demographic dynamic, i.e. the status of the population as to the volume, structure and evolution of its members, but also its micro-demographic dynamic, based on indicators

¹² Katherine J. CURTIS and Francisco SCARANO, "Puerto Rico's Population 'Padrones,' 1779–1802," *Latin American Research Review*, Vol. 46, no. 2 (2011), pp. 200–13.

¹³ Paulo Teodoro de MATOS, Paulo Silveira e SOUSA, "A Estatística da População na América Portuguesa, 1750–1820," *Memórias, Revista Digital de História y Arqueología desde el Caribe*, vol. 25, no. 1 (2015), pp.73–103.

¹⁴ On demographic data for non-European populations and the need to undertake a critical approach see Rudy BAUSS, art. cit.; Jean STENGERS, "Sur la critique des données démographiques en Afrique," *Revue Belge de Philologie et d'Histoire*. Tome 82, fasc. 1–2, 2004, pp. 229–44; John THORNTON, "The Slave Trade in Eighteenth Century Angola: Effects on Demographic Structures," *Canadian Journal of African Studies/Revue Canadienne des Études Africaines*, Vol. 14, no. 3 (1980), pp. 417–27.

which reflect trends in birth rate, mortality and migration. That is why, and taking into account the underlined constraints, it is necessary to analyze the nature and consistency of the data presented by the sources produced by the Portuguese Colonial Empire of the time. The discussed data do not include the military, or the clergy (except in the total numbers for Angola). Since the information (when there is one) does not reveal the age or marital status, we assume that the ones accounted are all male.

As for the year chosen for this exploratory analysis of the sources, we choose 1804, regarding the royal decree of 1776. After a quarter of century we considered that all territories already had time to address those requirements. While regulations were issued for the whole empire, their implementation could have been different depending on the authorities of each territory.

These three areas (Paraíba do Norte, Angola and Goa, Bardez and Salcete) were chosen considering the access to information, for data concerning these areas at this stage of the project was already collected (so far within the project is now almost complete till 1820). Since this is a critical exploratory study, we felt that it was important to analyse three realities of the empire in the same year, in order to verify similarities and differences in the type of information and its consistency from a demographic point of view.

Actually, the first finding is that all territories display information on the inhabitants, by gender and age group, and even on births, marriages and deaths, subdivided into different categories. As for classification by age group we found that for the territories under analysis, only the set corresponding to Goa, Bardez and Salcete presents data as requested by the Order of 1776. That is, for men 0–7, 7–15, 15–60 and 60–90 and for women 0–7, 7–14, 15–40 and 40–90. In the case of Angola, and only considering the *presídios* and districts, the age groups are the same for men and women and correspond to younger than 7 years, 7–14, 14–25 and over 25 years. Finally, in Paraíba do Norte, age groups are very different (and more balanced for demographic treatment), but the same for both gender: 0–5, 5–10, 10–20, 20–30, 30–40, 40–50, 50–60, 60–70, 70–80, 80–90 and 90–100.

The effort of accounting minors was made in all these territories, even for those younger than seven years. Moreover, the fact that there is data on births will allow an analysis of its quality. However, we have realised that in each of these areas, civil and ecclesiastical authorities only partially followed what was requested by the 1776 royal decree.

We will now attempt an analysis that will reveal some of the problems found in the information for each of the territories. Thus, these figures have

to be treated very carefully regarding conclusions on population totals and their characteristics in each territory. For example several original sums are not properly calculated in the originals. Concerning population traits, the 1776 decree says nothing about the collection of information on marital status, race or social standing. However many of these characteristics are considered in the analyzed areas.

We'll begin the analysis by Paraíba do Norte, since this is the most complete data set we have so far and also because the respective age groups give us a more consistent critical reading.

Paraíba

For Brazil, we worked with two of captaincy population maps (*Mapas da Capitania*), one concerning the inhabitants and their features and the other regarding marriages, births and deaths (Appendices 1 and 2). That is, the data collected by Amaro Joaquim Rapozo d'Albuquerque at the time.¹⁵ There are also two general population maps, one with causes of death and the other with occupations. From a strictly demographic critical perspective, both are less relevant, as the total of deaths and the total of the occupations do not match with the results found in the first two maps. However, it should be noted that the map of occupations (*Mapa das Ocupações*) includes the "military" (*corpo militar*), the "secular clergy" (*clero secular*) and "regular clergy" (*clero regular*), in addition the other usual occupations. Alden¹⁶ did not find in the consulted data (that goes until the end of the eighteenth century) any record of the military or the ecclesiastical, and stated that only the settled natives (*índios*) were accounted in the population maps studied by him.

The sources available for 1804 show that different models were used throughout the empire. Captaincies did not follow the same model of gathering information. Some comply with the classification of the decree, but nearly all the ones consulted express the social status of the inhabitants. At the same time, we find captaincies (on dates prior to 1804) that had already population maps per age identical to those analyzed for Paraíba do Norte, such as Paraíba do Norte itself in 1798, or Rio Grande do Norte in

¹⁵ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, ACL.B. Paraíba 014, Cx. 46.

¹⁶ Dauril Alden, op. cit.

1801. The many works that address the population of colonial Brazil¹⁷ in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries are unanimous in describing the difficulty of finding information series allowing an integral vision of Brazil or its regions. The development of historical demography in Brazil made somewhat predictable some of the earlier findings. Hopefully, this exploratory study, and the project to which it belongs, will help to draw a more complex view of Brazil's population and its demographic characteristics.

As mentioned above, the map of the inhabitants of the Captaincy of Paraíba in 1804 (Appendix 1) gives the population by five-year age groups (for the first two cohorts) and then by ten-year age groups. The marital status is also present, but the statistical map presents married people regardless of gender. Thus it is not possible to establish the total figures of males and females. From the analysis of absolute values and some preliminary calculations of the marital status we concluded that we were working with figures that included both spouses. In this case we have the firm conviction that these numbers are not very accurate. Indeed, we do not know of any case (in the past or in the present) in which both spouses were all present, at the same time and in the same administrative area. Moreover, only very rarely all pairs of spouses were within the same ten-year age group, which is not impossible but not quite believable. Regarding the marital status, only the indians group lacks the information. All this data is presented with the distinction between whites (*brancos*), free blacks (*pretos livres*) and black slaves (*pretos cativos*), free mulattos (*mulatos livres*) and mulattos slaves (*mulatos cativos*). As said above, the indians are presented by sex and age, but not by marital status.

In *Mapa dos Casamentos, Nascimentos e Mortes*, regarding the births of whites and indians we had to resort to the information by parish, given that in the captaincy chart (Appendix 2) the numbers for these two categories of individuals were exactly the same. We came to the conclusion that the figures registered in the Chart were correct for whites. Thus, the calculations of births corresponding to the indians resulted from the sums we have done according to the numbers provided by parish, whose maps are also available.

¹⁷ See D. ALDEN, art. cit. and "Late Colonial Brazil, 1750–1808, Demography" in Leslie Bethell (ed.), *The Cambridge History of Latin America*, vol. II — Part Three, ("Economic and Social Structures: Brazil"), Cambridge University Press, 1984, pp. 602–12; Maria Luiza MARCÍLIO, "A população do Brasil Colonial" in Leslie Bethell (org.), *História da América Latina*, vol. II ("América Latina Colonial"), São Paulo, Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1999, pp. 39–56 and "A Demografia Histórica brasileira nesse final de milênio," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População*, vol. 14, jan./dez. (1997), p. 125–43; Carlos A. P. BACELLAR, Ana Sílvia V. SCOTT, Maria Sílvia Beozzo BASSANEZI, "Quarenta anos de demografia histórica," *Revista Brasileira de Estudos de População*, São Paulo, vol. 22, no. 2, 2005, pp. 339–50.

The analysis of parishes allowed us to realise that data for indians, designated as *indians* in the captaincy population maps (but always designated as *domestic indians* in the charts of the parishes), always appear on separate charts drawn for *whites*, *blacks* and *mulattos* (on some charts called *pardos*¹⁸). These last two categories are subdivided into *free* and *captive*. There are parishes where there is no chart for *domestic indians* (Nossa Senhora das Neves from the city of Paraíba do Norte, Nossa Senhora da Guia dos Patos, Nossa Senhora da Rainha dos Anjos do Taipú, Vila do Pombal, Santo António do Piancó e Vila Nova da Rainha).

Each chart of domestic indians includes marriages, births and deaths that took place in 1804, as well as the “villages,” where they inhabited. This observation highlights that, in 1804, indians had a different treatment from the rest of the population. For these in every parish there are a chart for the white, black and mulattos population and a separate chart for marriages, births and deaths of the same kinds of population.

In the case of the parish of Nossa Senhora da Guia dos Patos, only totals are legible in the chart of marriages, births and deaths. So, deaths are not accounted for by age, which introduces an error in the calculations we performed. Nevertheless, we only considered those values for the total and white birth rates. As the values of this parish are small, we do not believe that we introduced a statistically significant error.

The analysis carried out from the charts elaborated, highlights many flaws and gaps. These flaws and gaps are the norm for data from this period. However, while developing the project, we tried to figure out, with the possible detail, the reasons for some of these gaps. Firstly, we can state that globally the inhabitants are underreported. The figures calculated for mortality and mostly for birth rates (Table 1) clearly indicate this fact. The birth and mortality rates we found can only be justified by a far exiguous denominator (inhabitants) for the registered births and deaths. This leads us to infer that there was a huge effort in the recording of births and deaths, but that the total of inhabitants was under-recorded. That is, the effort of Christianisation was still ongoing at the beginning of the nineteenth century and was particularly felt in baptisms and also, although less intensely, in the sacraments and subsequent registration of deaths.

¹⁸ *Pardos* refers to those of “mixed” race.

	Mortality rate ‰	Birth rate ‰
Total	42.4	75.1
Whites	46.7	85.0
Indians	103.8	83.1
Free blacks	38.7	74.7
Captive blacks	45.0	61.1
Free mulattos	24.9	66.5
Captive mulattos	48.5	87.6

1 Total mortality and birth rates, Paraíba, 1804

The analysis of Table 1 allows us to acknowledge that especially the figures obtained for crude birth rates are too high. These birth rates are justified by the fact that the population used in the denominator is undervalued for all of the categories of people conveyed in the documentation. All the values of the birth rate are unlikely.

And yet, the sex ratio at birth for total births and for births in the different categories of population (Table 2) have levels that are all within the respective ranges of confidence of 95%, when controlled through the confidence interval test of sex ratio of births.¹⁹ The figures presented may seem unexpected (sex ratio at birth should lie around 105 men per 100 women). However, by working with a reduced number of births, all the calculated levels are within the expected interval. An interesting observation is that apparently that there was no discrimination between the baptism of boys and girls, so common in those times.

	SR %
Total	101.0
Whites	98.3
Indians	85.6
Free blacks	111.8
Captive blacks	127.5
Free mulattos	98.4
Captive mulattos	83.1

2 Sex ratio at birth, Paraíba, 1804

As far as crude mortality rates are concerned (Table 1) their fluctuations between population categories also makes them not credible. Even though the total crude mortality rate may result in a more acceptable figure, although high for the time, it will be the result of compensations from partial data. The numbers of deaths and the population itself are calculated at the time and those are our sources. The two less credible figures correspond to the mortality of indians and free mulattos: the first for being extraordinarily high

¹⁹ Massimo LIVI-BACI, *Introducción a la demografía*, Barcelona, Ariel Historia, 1993, pp. 29–30.

and the second for being too low. Although mortality rates corresponding to whites, free blacks, captive blacks and captive mulattos may be considered high for the time, they reveal a greater balance.

The analysis of Table 3 in which we calculated mortality rates by age groups reveals inconsistencies. This would be expected when taking into account what we have pointed already, regarding global crude mortality rates and birth rates, but also the quality of the information about deaths per age group.

Ages	0-5	5-10	10-20	20-30	30-40	40-50	50-60	60-70	70+
Total	117.3	31.7	26.9	27.4	21.8	29.1	32.1	35.6	66.1
Whites	129.5	25.7	23.1	42.1	18.0	18.9	35.8	37.3	109.6
Indians	277.9	131.7	77.5	45.9	71.4	61.3	76.9	93.0	58.8
Free blacks	151.0	52.5	26.3	14.2	12.0	15.1	36.8	36.6	69.4
Captive blacks	128.7	25.1	35.5	30.8	28.2	45.0	41.3	47.2	30.9
Free mulattos	73.3	16.9	13.4	12.6	11.6	24.9	17.5	20.3	30.8
Captive mulattos	64.2	26.5	42.5	33.3	44.0	43.1	24.0	45.5	305.6

3 Mortality rates by age groups in the “Capitania” of Paraíba do Norte, 1804 (%)

If we look at mortality for the age group of 0 to 4 completed years, it becomes evident that the figures corresponding to mulattos are absolutely impossible just by looking simultaneously to the levels of the mortality of whites in the same age. However, the levels of mortality in this age group for other categories can also be considered low. The original data gives us figures for the deaths of children under the age of 1 and for the age group 1–4 years. Although, very crudely, we estimated the infant mortality rate (deaths -1 year/births*1000), we’ve come to values that have no chance of being close to reality, ranging from zero for indians and 118 ‰ for free blacks. Not even the latter is likely for this period. For example, and for the same period (1800), Del Panta²⁰ calculates the mortality of children under 1 year old around 250 ‰, in Italy and Perrenoud²¹ estimates it above 250 ‰ in francophone Europe. This means that the majority of deaths in the age group (0–4 years) will be classified between the ages 1–4 and even then there are very significant record gaps. The most probable figure corresponds

²⁰ Lorenzo DEL PANTA, “Infant and Child Mortality in Italy, Eighteenth to Twentieth Century: Long-Term Trends and Territorial Differences” in Alain Bideau, Bertrand Desjardins, Héctor Pérez Brignoli (eds.), *Infant and Child Mortality in the Past*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 7–21.

²¹ Alfred PERRENOUD, “Child Mortality in Francophone Europe: State of Knowledge” in Alain Bideau, Bertrand Desjardins and Héctor Pérez Brignoli (eds.), *Infant and Child Mortality in the Past*, Oxford, Clarendon Press, 1997, pp. 22–37.

to indians. It is as if there was some effort in christening the new-born but not in recording deaths, since we are dealing with children who were not yet at the age of confession. Again, comparing the children mortality in the 1–4 years of age group with those found by Del Panta²² to Italy and by Perrenoud²³ to francophone Europe we find values above the 200 ‰ in the first case and above 100 ‰ in the second. In the 90s of the twentieth century there were still a number of countries in the world whose mortality rate for children under 5 years old stood above 100 ‰ with some reaching as high as 135 ‰.²⁴ These examples make it clear that the values that we were able to gather for Paraíba do Norte in 1804, for children under 5 years old, are downright improbable.

If we analyse the rates for subsequent decennial groups for either total or different categories of individuals, it becomes clear that mortality records are far from coherent in the respective age groups, even by the registered fluctuations.

It would be difficult for either mortality or birth rates to present the same order of magnitude for both *free* and *captives*. Thus, the respective rates were calculated (Table 4). As can be seen, the figures lack consistency. On the one hand, the mortality rate of free blacks and mulattos is too low, while the respective birth rate is too high. Once again, this indicates a greater care in baptising and subsequently registering these categories of population. In the case of captives, the levels are probably more in line with reality. As it would be expected there is relatively high mortality rate and a low birth rate.

	Pop.	Deaths	Mortality rate ‰	Births	Birth rate ‰
Free blacks and mulattos	17,302	487	28.1	1,184	68.4
Captive blacks and mulattos	7,562	346	45.8	237	31.3

4 Mortality and birth rates of free and captives, Paraíba, 1804

Only with further research undertaken in this project it will be conceivable to draw further conclusions. Nevertheless, we might already state that both the record of births and deaths is clearly poor. The fact that in this case we have data on deaths by age groups allows us to draw this conclusion more safely. In fact, when we only have the total deaths many inconsistencies arise covered by an aggregation effect, since there are errors that offset each other.

²² L. DEL PANTA, *op. cit.*

²³ A. PERRENOUD, *op. cit.*

²⁴ See 2014 *World Population Data Sheet*, Washington DC, Population Reference Bureau, 2014.

We started this analysis by birth and mortality given that through the figures obtained it was already possible to draw some conclusions on the quality of the figures for the total population of Paraíba and also disaggregated by their different categories. Table 5 contains the total figures of residents and the respective structure by category. What immediately stands out is the small number of indians. And yet, the charts produced for the indians by parishes are autonomous from the charts of the remaining population for the same parishes. This clearly indicates the recognition of a differentiated status before the Portuguese crown. In these individual charts they are considered *domestic indians*, to approach them to the Portuguese civil or ecclesiastic authorities. However, the global captaincy population map of Paraíba do Norte of 1804 designates them simply as *indians* and not as *domestic indians*, as in the charts by parish.

	Inhabitants	%	
Whites	11,617	29.6	
Indians	2,793	7.1	
Free blacks	4,084	10.4	
Captive blacks	5,953	15.2	
Free mulattos	13,218	33.7	
Captive mulattos	1,609	4.1	
Total	39,274	100.0	5 Total population and population structure by category, Paraíba, 1804

We can only assess the consistency of these figures and their structure, which also corresponds to a total of 44.1 % of free blacks and mulattos and 19.3 % of captive ones and around 7 % of indians, by integrating this exploratory study in a multidisciplinary research that other team members are developing. We should also highlight the percentage of free mulattos, which represent more than a third of the population accounted. Thus revealing the creation of a *mixed-blood* society.

The data available for Paraíba in 1804 still allow us to calculate population structure, by five-year age groups up to 10 years and ten-year age groups after that age, which we present in Table 6. As mentioned before, at the beginning of Paraíba do Norte analysis (and can be found in Appendix 1), the number of married people is given without sex distinction, preventing the calculation of a population structure by sex and age, as would be usual. The sex distinction would also be useful for the different categories, but only the indians, whose marital status is not revealed, could be displayed by sex [Cf. Appendix 1]. It would be possible to divide the married contingent of each age group and category, since half of them were

male and half female. However, since this study aims to assess the consistency of the information collected for 1804, by doing so we would introduce another bias. This position is supported by the fact that from the division by two of the married people of the population map, the result is not always a whole number. Thus, we consider this calculation device inadequate in the context of this article aims.

Ages	%
From 0 to 5	14.9
5 to 10	13.7
10 to 20	15.3
20 to 30	17.8
30 to 40	15.1
40 to 50	9.5
50 to 60	6.8
60 to 70	3.9
70 to 80	2.1
80 to 90	0.8
90 to 100	0.1
Total	100.0

6 Structure by ages, Paraíba, 1804

This structure by age makes some sense. Nevertheless, for the period under analysis and within a colonial society, the mere fact that up to the age of 20 not even 45 % of the population is accounted for and around 7 % of the population is aged 60 and over, seems to indicate that the underlying levels of these percentages are underestimated on the first case, as well as for the group 20–59 years (48.2 %). In the case of the elderly, the original figures cannot be overestimated. However, the fact that the age groups up to the age of 60 have fewer individuals than those that actually existed makes this group appear with a percentage of the population that is not consistent with the early nineteenth century.

Angola

For a better knowledge of the population of Angola and its characteristics we used data from the 1804 charts corresponding to the *presídios* of Ambaca, Caconda, Cambambe, Encoge, Massangano, Muxima, Novo Redondo and Pedras de Pungo-Andongo, the districts of Dande, Golungo, Icólo and Bengo and the city of Benguela.²⁵ However, in this first approach

²⁵ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, Angola, Cx. 112 and 113.

data pertaining to Luanda was not considered because the charts for this location are different, which would not allow a joint analysis.

The information contained in these charts might correspond to a small portion of the population of this territory of West Africa. That is, only to individuals residing in the area under the rule of the Portuguese administration, which according to Matos and Vos would be “less than 10 % of the total population in the space demarcated by the current borders of Angola.”²⁶ We accounted 121,355 or 135,466 individuals depending on the methodology used, excluding Luanda (which would count, as indicated by the chart editor of that city, for 6,895 souls), as previously stated.

The characteristics that can be determined correspond to the volume of the population, age structure (albeit with very broad groups), gender, birthplace (European, American and African), condition (free, captive) and quality (whites, blacks and mulattos) for civilians and women. For vassals, ecclesiastics and military we only have information on quality and total. The charts also have a section that provides quantitative data on those who came, those who left, and those who were born and who died, but only disaggregated by quality.

We also found gaps and omissions in the charts of Angola. Their impact on population quantitative figures will have to be evaluated, although necessarily in a process where they are collated with the figures of charts of other years. For instance, in the case of the district of Dande the whites, the ecclesiastics or the military have not been accounted for. There is no reference to civil servants and in the mechanical professions only black individuals are included. In Golungo, almost all figures of blacks end in zero, which is not so visible within the whites, which were few. Nevertheless, there are some exceptions in the mulattos and black *sobas*, either vassals or rebels. In Benguela, Caconda, Cambambe, Dande, Ícolo, Muxima, Novo Redondo and Punga-Andongo the condition of free whites is not filled. In Dande and Novo Redondo there is no reference to white inhabitants. In Cambambe there is also no indication of white women and mulattos according to condition and in Muxima the only white woman registered is a child, under 7 years old.²⁷

²⁶ P. T. MATOS and J. VOS, art. cit., p. 821. Regarding the 1777 and 1778 censuses, J. THORTON (art. cit., p. 420) also questions the representativeness of the information since it is confined to a portion of today's Angola.

²⁷ In the early nineteenth century, the poor accounting of inhabitants of *presídios* and districts was already a commonplace fact in its governors and captains reports (P. T. MATOS and J. VOS, art. cit., pp. 811–4).

	Births	Birth rate ‰	Deaths	Mortality rate ‰
Whites	13	40.2	29	89.8
Blacks	4,782	40.2	4,840	40.7
Mulattos	134	61.2	65	29.7
Total	4,929	40.6	4,934	40.7

7 Total mortality and birth rate, Angola, 1804
Note: Total population considered: 121,355.

The analysis of crude birth rates shows relatively credible figures for that time, with the exception of the mulattos rate which is too high. As for mortality, we find a greater variety of situations. Take for example the high rate for whites, which may be related to an underestimation of the population (and do not forget the gaps listed in the case of the white population in some territories). By contrast, the levels of mulattos mortality are relatively low for the same period.

Another evidence that shows possible gaps and difficulties in accounting Angola's inhabitants in 1804 is the fact that depending on the parcels that we add, we might have a totally different amount, as shown in tables 8 and 9.

	Inhabitants	%
Whites	323	0.3
Blacks	118,842	97.9
Mulattos	2,19	1.8
Total	121,355	100.0

8 Total population and structure by quality of population

In Table 8 we accounted the different groups based on the sum of the figures by age, to which we added ecclesiastics, military and orphans. However, because it was our aim to know the weight of free and slaves in each quality, in Table 9 we made another exercise in which we considered figures in the status (free/slave) column, assuming that the ecclesiastics and military are free and not including orphans, since there was no indication on their condition.²⁸ As can be seen, there is a differential of 13,788 individuals. Nevertheless, regarding whites, we should take into consideration that there are charts where there is no record of free whites; they are only recorded by ages. Indeed, this difference highlights the difficulty in accounting some groups, especially when looking for more disaggregated information, namely age distribution.²⁹

²⁸ The orphans are 284: 121 men and 163 females.

²⁹ Similar problems have been identified for Angolan population maps of the late eighteenth century and early nineteenth century used by P. T. MATOS and J. Vos, art. cit., p. 818.

	Inhabitants	%
Whites	152	0.1
Free blacks	110,195	81.5
Slave blacks	23,177	17.1
Free mulattos	1,509	1.2
Slave mulattos	110	0.1
Total	135,143	100.0

9 Total population and structure by quality and condition of population

However, regardless of how different groups were accounted for, we can see that the white population was a minority. On the contrary, as expected, the black population is the majority, especially free blacks.

As for the structure by age (Table 10), it suggests a colonial society with different realities according to the different groups. However, the fact that the age structure is not unbundled according to the condition (free/slave), prevent us from analyzing more systematically the slave population characteristics.

The majority of the white populations are men, over 25 years, although this latter group is very wide. Moreover, more than half of the blacks and mulattos are older than 14 years old, 66% and 65% respectively. In these two groups, individuals under the age of 14 have relatively low levels (mulattos 35% and blacks 33.8%) for a society that would have a high birth rate, but also with a high mortality. Within blacks and mulattos there are a lower number of female children than males under the age of 7. This may be due to the under-record of the first, which would be normal for the time. This circumstance may explain the levels of children under the age of 14, which predictably should be higher.

		M%	F%	MF%
Whites	Up to 7	2.7	2.7	5.4
	7 to 14	3.6	2.3	5.9
	14 to 25	7.2	3.2	10.4
	Older than 25	72.5	5.9	78.4
	Total			100.0
Blacks	Up to 7	7.7	4.1	11.8
	7 to 14	9.2	12.7	22.0
	14 to 25	9.2	13.2	22.3
	Older than 25	20.6	23.2	43.9
	Total			100.0
Mulattos	Up to 7	13.2	7.8	21.0
	7 to 14	7.6	6.4	14.0
	14 to 25	11.5	9.4	20.9
	Older than 25	24.0	20.1	44.1
	Total			100.0
Total Pop.	Up to 7	7.8	4.2	12.0
	7 to 14	9.2	12.6	21.8
	14 to 25	9.2	13.1	22.3
	Older than 25	20.8	23.2	43.9
	Total			100.0

10 Structure by age, Angola, 1804

Note: Total population considered: 121,355.

Sex ratio by age groups confirms that we are also in the presence of a colonial society, with a strong predominance of white men, mostly adults. The levels of this indicator for the mulattos may suggest the under-record of women, or that this group also had specific military and labour functions.

		SR %
Whites	Up to 7	100.0
	7 to 14	160.0
	14 to 25	228.6
	Older than 25	1238.5
	Total	773.0
Blacks	Up to 7	186.8
	7 to 14	72.7
	14 to 25	69.6
	Older than 25	88.8
	Total	88.6
Mulattos	Up to 7	169.8
	7 to 14	118.9
	14 to 25	122.2
	Older than 25	119.2
	Total	135.2
Total Pop.	Up to 7	186.2
	7 to 14	73.1
	14 to 25	70.3
	Older than 25	89.7
	Total	89.7

11 Sex ratio by age, Angola, 1804

In the case of the black population, there is an under record of women by ages: they account for 75,180 free women and slaves, but 63,014 when we consider those listed by age group. This indicates a difficulty in knowing the ages of these groups, although in the sex ratio by age women are in greater number. This can be explained by the fact that women are closer to the white or mulatto population. The underreport of women, particularly in the first age group, is also observed by other authors.³⁰ On the other hand, the fact that women played an important role in agricultural work in Angola might explain the higher numbers.³¹ The same is not true for age, which may be connected to how age is perceived in these territories, where phases of life (puberty, motherhood) are more important than the exact age.³²

In respect white men, and even mulattos, more men than women are counted at all ages. However, more reliable explanation of these values can

³⁰ P. T. MATOS and J. Vos, art. cit., p. 820.

³¹ J. THORNTON, art. cit., p. 424.

³² J. STENGERS, art. cit., p. 235.

only be found when confronting these data with information from other years, but also with other documentation, giving us a deeper understanding of the Angolan society of the time.

Goa

The organisation of data in Goa (Goa Islands, Bardez and Salcete) follows closely the directions of the Royal Order of 1776—regarding age groups, by gender, as well as the annual number, deaths and births. Moreover, it distinguishes the inhabitants by religious and ethnic composition.³³ We are, therefore, dealing with a complex society, different from other colonial territories, particularly regarding the coexistence of various religious faiths.³⁴

The figures obtained for the crude birth and mortality rates in Table 12 deserve some reservations. The fact that we are working with very small figures, in the case of white, *pardo* (“mixed” race) and black Christians must be taken into account in the analysis of the results. The mortality rate for local Christians can be considered acceptable, but the birth rate is low for that time. Only the birth rate of Gentiles and Moors has a value that is closer to the expected, although still lower. As for births the results are unreliable.

	Births	Birth rate %	Deaths	Mortality rate %	
White Christians	25	22.8	17	14.4	
Local Christians	4,163	26.1	4,858	30.4	
Pardos ('mixed' race')	12	8.5	14	9.9	
Blacks	6	17.6	10	29.3	
Gentiles and Moors	677	34.7	345	17.7	
Total	4,885	26.8	5,244	28.8	12 Total mortality and birth rates, Goa, 1804

The population of the overseas territories were mainly Christians (about 88 %). There was a clear predominance of Christianised locals, with a lower weight of the Gentiles (Hindus) and Moors and with residual levels in the other categories. Slavery probably explains the small contingent of black population.³⁵

³³ AHU, *Conselho Ultramarino*, India, Cx. 413. It is to be stated that information on marriages is given only since 1797.

³⁴ P. T. MATOS, op. cit., 2011, p. 168–91; Maria de Jesus dos Mártires LOPES, Paulo Teodoro de MATOS, “Naturais, reinóis e luso-descendentes: a socialização conseguida” in Joel Serrão e A. H. de Oliveira Marques (dir.), *Nova História da Expansão Portuguesa*, Vol. V (“O Império Oriental (1660–1820)”), tomo II, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires Lopes (coord.), Lisboa, Editorial Estampa 2006, pp. 15–70.

³⁵ R. BAUSS, art. cit., p. 209; M. J. M. LOPES, P. T. MATOS, op. cit., pp. 15–70.

	Inhabitants	%
White Christians	1,182	0.6
Local Christians	159,604	87.7
Total Christians	160,786	88.3
Pardos ('mixed' race')	1,417	0.8
Blacks	341	0.2
Gentiles and Moors	19,509	10.7
Total	182,053	

13 Total population and structure by religious composition

		White Christians	Local Christians	Pardos ('mixed' race')	Blacks	Gentiles and Moors	Total pop.
Men	0-7	27.2	9.0	2.0	14.7	9.5	9.1
	7-15	15.9	11.1	9.2	19.6	9.8	11.0
	15-60	20.6	26.2	39.1	15.8	25.8	26.2
	60+	2.7	4.1	2.8	1.2	8.5	4.5
Women	0-7	13.3	1.7	1.7	11.7	8.4	8.6
	7-14	5.1	6.7	6.7	12.6	9.3	8.5
	14-40	11.8	34.7	34.7	19.6	19.8	23.1
	40+	3.6	3.8	3.8	4.7	8.7	8.9

14 Structure by ages, Goa, 1804 (%)

The structure by age, sex and religious group does not allow a straight comparison between the sexes, because age groups are not equal, particularly those of older ages. It should be noted that white Christian men up to the age of 15 have a significant weight when compared to adults (43.1% and 23% respectively), suggesting a somewhat incorrect accounting. In the case of local Christians there seems to be an underreport of minors. Although the figures of crude birth rate were low, it is not credible that in both genders young people stand around 17%–20%. Indeed, this is a situation common to other groups, although young blacks have higher levels, especially men.

Regarding the older ones there are almost 9% of the Gentile and Moor men over 60 years, similarly to women. While the last age group in the female map includes women over 40 years, this assumes a different meaning.

As expected for this society, the sex ratio shows a relatively balanced society between genders, with higher levels for men, but not sharply, except for white Christians and Gentiles and Moors (Table 15).

	SR %
White Christians	197.0
Local Christians	101.5
Total Christians	102.0
Pardos ('mixed' race)	113.4
Blacks	105.4
Gentiles and Moors	115.6
Total	103.4

15 Sex ratio, Goa, 1804

Since age groups are different by gender from the age of 15 onward, we cannot calculate this indicator for all age groups. Nevertheless, it is possible to assess that men outnumber women in the younger age groups (Table 16). Again, this may indicate an under-record of girls. This supremacy of males is very pronounced in the case of young white Christians, but also in other population groups. It is interesting to see that in these two age sets Gentiles and Moors are more balanced, which later leads us to a more careful analysis of possible explanations for this fact.

	Sex ratio %					
	White Christians	Local Christians	Pardos ('mixed' race')	Blacks	Gentiles and Moors	Total population
0-7	204.5	104.9	120.8	125.0	112.3	106.7
7-15*	313.3	131.4	137.9	155.8	104.6	129.0

16 Sex ratio, by some age groups, Goa, 1804

*For women the age group is 7-14 years.

From the analysis of the figures in these tables we realise that we have to consider the structure by gender and ages and the type of population with great caution, since these figures are not credible.

Final remarks

Despite the limitations and gaps that were listed and analysed, which are inherent to the statistical production developed within the colonial context, the available sources are of extreme interest to the knowledge of the reality of the people who lived under the Portuguese administration. However, we believe that from the demographic standpoint, either the sources for the study of 1804, either the majority of the sources we consulted for the three territories (late eighteenth century and early twentieth century), should be considered with caution and applying the specific methodologies of historical demography. Only with a meticulous work of historical demography, based on a constant analysis of the quality of the original population

information, we can move forward in the history of colonial populations and insert it in the colonial history of these regions.

However, this was a first exploratory study that aimed to examine the internal consistency of the figures provided by the charts of these territories at the time. From the above, it is clear that it will be necessary to extend the analysis to the data series for each region, so that we can introduce a more complex analysis appropriate for incomplete data. The introduction of these methodologies may allow some corrections of the original data, allowing a better approximation to the reality of the population living in the regional areas administered by the Portuguese crown. As noted, the analysis and understanding of the characteristics of colonial societies, whose diversity in terms of categories, conditions, religion, was great, will necessarily involve an interconnected work with other elements of the project team. This will allow a frame and a better analysis of the population dynamics within the social and political context of the early nineteenth century Portuguese overseas.

Appendix 1

Mapa dos Habitantes que existem na Capitania da Paraíba do Norte no Anno de 1804																														
Idades	Branco					Povoação		Pretos								Mulatos														
	Cazados	Solteiros		Viuvos		Homens	Mulheres	Livres				Captivos				Livres					Captivos									
		Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres			total	Cazados	Solteiros		Viuvos		Cazados	Solteiros		Viuvos		Cazados	Solteiros		Viuvos		Cazados	Solteiros		Viuvos			
										Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres		Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres		Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres		Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres
De 0 a 5		982	925			1907	188	197		229	228				373	334					1111	907				199	175			
5 a 10		918	869			1787	191	181		217	164				353	285					978	970				119	145			
10 a 20	319	747	813	15	14	1908	221	205	77	189	217	5	7	120	461	355	14	8	304	760	854	19	9	85	86	80	5	3		
20 a 30	921	468	489	47	46	1971	225	276	398	212	198	14	21	358	523	315	21	15	941	564	588	75	55	90	54	49	7	10		
30 a 40	865	299	321	55	68	1608	222	254	431	192	158	19	36	392	318	191	31	24	981	368	324	90	130	78	26	30	12	13		
40 a 50	597	148	164	41	57	1007	160	150	287	61	66	24	27	161	238	198	21	26	687	139	232	69	78	58	16	19	7	16		
50 a 60	387	86	82	53	91	699	83	86	175	24	51	30	19	74	140	137	32	29	514	118	151	75	115	58	26	15	8	18		
60 a 70	189	74	77	36	53	429	37	49	74	19	30	28	13	59	56	66	17	14	323	52	86	51	78	43	5	7	3	8		
70 a 80	77	32	53	26	49	237	31	14	25	26	23	9	7	19	44	43	12	5	154	36	39	30	47	18	5	1	1	7		
80 a 90	20	5	10	11	14	60	9	10	22	12	10	5	5	16	16	20	4	5	33	21	33	8	8	1				3		
90 a 100				2	2	4	1	3						1	1		3	5	3	1		3	6							
										Resumo																				
										Branco					11617															
										Indios					2793															
										Pretos					10037															
										Mollatos					14827															
										Total					39274															
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Appendix 2

Mapa dos Casamentos anuaes, Nascimentos, e Mortes na Capitania da Paraíba do Norte no Anno de 1804																																	
Casamentos anuaes										Nascimentos																Mortes							
Idades	Branços		Índios		Pretos				Mulatos				Branços		Índios		Pretos				Mulatos				Idades	Branços		Índios		Pretos		Mulatos	
	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres		Homens	Mulheres	Homens	Mulheres				
																														Lívrēs			
	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos		Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos	Vivos	Mortos	Gemeos		
De 0 a 1																																	
1 a 5																																	
5 a 10																																	
10 a 20	24	54	26	53	35	35	22	27	102	106	6	8																					
20 a 30	105	89	27	16	30	26	32	41	81	102	27	29																					
30 a 40	44	47	21	13	21	27	33	21	44	38	6	11																					
40 a 50	34	21	5	1	11	10	11	12	22	9	2																						
50 a 60	23	20			11	6			3	9	1																						
60 a 70	3	6	1						1																								
70 a 80																																	
80 a 90																																	
90 a 100																																	
	Resumo				Resumo				Resumo				Resumo				Resumo				Resumo												
	Branços				Índios				Pretos				Mulatos				Branços				Índios				Pretos				Mulatos				
	470				163				413				607				470				290				426				407				
	Total				Total				Total				Total				Total				Total				Total								
	470				163				413				607				470				290				426				407				
	1653				1088				1088				835				1145				1665												

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Manuscripted Sources

ARQUIVO HISTÓRICO ULTRAMARINO [AHU]

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