

## **THE CRIME OF HIGH TREASON LESE-MAJESTY (*PRIMEIRA CABEÇA*) IN CONJURAÇÃO BAIANA (BAHIA'S CONSPIRACY) OF 1798: CONTINUITY IN LEGAL MODERNITY**

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She obtained her Ph.D. in Economic History from the University of São Paulo (USP), in 2013. She conducted two research internships at post-doctoral level in 2014 and 2019 at the Federal University of Bahia (UFBA) and at the Federal University of the State of São Paulo (UNIFESP), respectively. Since 2015, she has been an associate professor at the Department of History and at the Graduate Programme in History of UFBA (Brazil). Since August 2021, she has been a member of the Department of History and of the Graduate Programme in History at the Federal University of Ouro Preto (UFOP) under a technical cooperation regime. In 2018, she published the book by EDUFBA "Corporação dos enteados: tensão, contestação e negociação política na Conjuração Baiana de 1798", first degree crime of lese majesty. Since then, she has published articles on the Court of Appeal of Bahia and the criminal legal culture in the investigations of the disputes that preceded the struggles for political independence in Brazil, which took place in 1822.

### **Abstract**

From the analysis of the information contained in the Records of the *Devassas da Conjuração Baiana* (judicial proceeding filed by the Portuguese crown) of 1798, in the punitive logic of local power and metropolitan authorities, it is clear that the circumscription of the social bases of the event resulted from a social cleavage intended to maintain the order in Portugal and overseas at the end of the 18th century. On the one hand, four free men, poor and *pardos*, were exemplarily punished, reinforcing the strength and intrinsic superiority of Portuguese absolutism when questioned. On the other hand, to continue governing, the Portuguese crown needed to negotiate with broad sectors of that society, recognizing the legitimacy of the political exercise and the struggle for the rights of those men. However, the transition from legal pluralism to legal modernity in the Portuguese Ancien Régime was only possible because the hierarchy inherent to slavery was not questioned.

### **Keywords**

*Boa Razão* (Good Reason) Law, Criminal Legal Culture, Lese-Majesty, Bahia's Conspiracy

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## **THE CRIME OF HIGH TREASON LESE-MAJESTY (*PRIMEIRA CABEÇA*) IN *CONJURAÇÃO BAIANA* (BAHIA'S CONSPIRACY) OF 1798: CONTINUITY IN LEGAL MODERNITY<sup>1</sup>**

**PATRÍCIA VALIM**

In an article on the political role of the high magistracy of the Court of Appeal of Bahia in the second half of the 18th century, published in *Journal Tempo* in 2018, I demonstrated the changes and continuity in the criminal legal culture triggered by Pombal's reforms in the legal system of the Portuguese Empire. One of the main changes is the ethical-religious reference that dominated criminal law over the internal and external forums of the subjects of the Portuguese crown, replaced by the prevalence of rights, secularism and reason, utility and proportion, order, certainty and guarantees, inspiring secularization and the legality of offenses and sentences. From the so-called *Lei da Boa Razão*, the new guidelines established by the "modern natural law" (Valim, 2018) were the culmination of the process of affirmation of secular political authorities. At the end of the 18th century, several jurists separated the ideas of offense, penalty and crime of lese-majesty, in order to make them operational within a more rational and systematized legal system, differentiating them from the notions of sin and vice that guided law until then.

This occurred because from the second half of the 18th century onwards, one of the pillars of the Ancien Régime and of Hereditary Divine Law was questioned: the essential link between justice and monarchic power, so that the king's power was identified with his will to punish. Thus, in the process of transition from legal pluralism to legal modernity, what was at stake for jurists about the need, or not, of a Penal Code was the establishment of a new political economy of punitive power, eliminating punishment as an act of the king's revenge. This represents the creation of the normative and disciplinary modern State in which the act of punishing is now considered as something technical, detailed, effective, pedagogical and carried out within specific institutions (Foucault, 2013; Valim, 2015).

For Wolkmer (2004), subjectivity is the centre of the process of constitution of legal modernity. By expressing values such as freedom and equality, it establishes the parameters that enable the ideal origin of all political formation, thus basing the link between the subjective rights originated in the individual and the possibility of political legitimacy based on their implementation and protection. In this sense, legal subjectivity

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<sup>1</sup> Article translated by Carolina Peralta.



would be the recognition of natural rights, understood as powers or freedoms that express conditions for the full development of each one and the whole of society.

However, although the legal literature of the late eighteenth century proposed the systematization, rationalization of the legal order and judicial impartiality, pointing to a rational and ordering intervention on the social reality of crimes, the analysis of the allegations of malpractice of the judges responsible for the proceedings of the 1798 Bahia's Conspiracy demonstrated the contradiction between the premises of modern natural law and the permanence of royal intervention in the transition from legal pluralism to legal modernity. This becomes more evident when analysing the event itself, its agents, its requirements, the investigation, the witnesses, the defence and the final ruling that qualified it as a crime of High Treason Lese Majesty Crime (Valim, 2018).

According to one of the leading experts on the subject, Mario Sbriccoli, the crime of lese-majesty defined in Book V of the Philippine Ordinances foresaw "treason against the King or his Royal State, which is such a serious and abominable crime. The ancient experts found it so strange that they compared it to the leprosy that fills the whole body, without ever being able to cure itself" (Sbriccoli, 1974: 250). This crime was divided into divine lese-majesty and human lese-majesty: the first dealt with affronts related to faith or religion, crimes of sacrilege, blasphemy, and heresy, for example. The human lese-majesty dealt with offenses directly linked to the physical person of the king or the Royal State, in the form of political crime and expressed in revolts, revolutions, riots, betrayals, insurrections, seditions and conspiracies.

Mario Sbriccoli is not the only specialist in lese-majesty crime, but he was the first to demonstrate the scope for political discretion in distinguishing human lese-majesty crimes between first-degree or *primeira cabeça* ("prima caput") and second-degree crimes or *segunda cabeça* ("secunda caput"). For the author, the hierarchy of crimes strengthened the interpretation of magistrates, who could concentrate all possible political crimes in the definition of "first-degree" while allocating other crimes to the category of "second-degree", opening up multiple interpretative possibilities and political opportunities to the States (Sbriccoli, 1974; Pinillos, 2020; Dalri Junior, 2005). This is precisely the subject of this article: the construction of the so-called Bahia's Conspiracy of 1798 as a crime of first-degree lese-majesty by the magistrates involved in unlawful situations and activities. This was either due to the relations between the power and the notables, or to the deviation of behaviour in the daily life of a society ruled by slavery and by a State whose positions were divided for the benefit of a group that guaranteed social cohesion in the face of conflicts inherent to the colonizing process (Valim, 2018).

In her master degree's thesis on the legal system procedures in the captaincy of Bahia at the end of the 18th century, Pinillos (2020) analysed the crime of resistance to justice Lieutenant Antônio Manuel da Mata was accused of in 1783, also considered a First Degree Lese-Majesty crime<sup>2</sup>. The author demonstrates the multiplication of verifiable possibilities of the crime of lese-majesty in the daily practice of justice. This was a result of the paradox of the criminal legal culture shaped by the Portuguese Catholic matrix which, in the end, strengthened even more the power of the king: despite the Law of

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<sup>2</sup> For the Brazilian colonial period, the two episodes that took place in Bahia and the *Inconfidência Mineira* (Minas' Conspiracy) of 1789 were the only cases of crimes of lese-majesty that have been reported.



Good Reason's intent to bring about the end of legal pluralism and the casuistry of legislation as the will of the monarch, there was a resurgence of penal legislation in the period, especially when the king and his representatives were targets.

The growth of the variables that defined the crime of high political treason and the expansion in the number of conducts and punishable behaviours resulted in a kind of "operative hierarchy" reflected in the seriousness of the crime: "attempting on the life of the king and attacking the life of a bailiff, even though both personified power with different qualities and intensities, were not on the same level" (Pinillos, 2020: 120). This debate is not of little relevance since some Portuguese authors tend to consider legal pluralism as the absence of royal control of the justice system. Accordingly, they analyse the struggles for political independence in Brazil as a consequence of the "late centralization" of Portuguese absolutism overseas by increasing the use of capital punishment for political purposes (Monteiro, 2006: 124).

This article points to another direction: the arbitration of justice for the crime of first degree lese-majesty worked as an effective mechanism for political rearrangement of the Portuguese crown with broad sectors of Salvador's society in the conflicting transition from the 18th to the 19th century, despite one of the last death events of the Portuguese Ancien Régime in Brazil: the torture of hanging followed by the dismemberment of the bodies of four poor and *pardo* free men considered the heads of the 1798 Bahia' Conspiracy.

This paper aims to analyse the judicial proceeding and punishment of a political movement/lese-majesty crime as redefinitions of exclusion procedures and an unavoidable part of the construction of the subject of law, modern subjectivity and Law itself as an agent and normalization vector.

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During 1797-1798, several denunciations, mostly apocryphal, were sent to the Kingdom reporting the excesses committed by the judges of the Court of Appeal of Bahia. The Portuguese crown was not investigating the denunciations. Of the various reasons that explain this attitude, the most obvious is that there was no body in the colony higher than the Court of Appeal of Bahia and Rio de Janeiro, whose judges were the nobles of the colonial administration, the most respected and privileged among the royal civil servants.

In a seminal work on the subject, Stuart Schwarz demonstrates that the Portuguese crown saw the Court of Appeal as the main guardian of its interests because it occupied a central position within a contradictory bureaucratic system, with jurisdictional overlaps and multiple objectives. Precisely for this reason, in cases of conflicts of jurisdiction, conflicts between judges or denunciations of wrongdoing, such situations were eventually referred to the Overseas Council so that the crown could give its final opinion. This was not the case at the end of the century in Bahia, as, according to Schwarz's thesis (1979: 287), the malpractice of magistrates was compensated for by the political functions they



ended up performing. In fact, this happened with the magistrates who conducted the investigations of the 1798 Bahia Conspiracy.

The Bahia Conspiracy of 1798 was a protest movement triggered in the streets of Salvador on the morning of 12 August through handwritten bulletins posted in public buildings. Their content had extremely delicate points for governance on both sides of the Atlantic. Examples include: "The Republican People from Bahia order, and want its most dignified Revolution to be carried out in this city". This was followed by the call to the population to participate in the uprising organised by the Freedom Party, a heterogeneous group that called itself Anonymous Republicans, which made public the objective of the "Bahia Republic": "Cheer up, people from Bahia, the happy time of freedom is coming. The time when we will all be Brothers and equal".

In another bulletin, the *Entes da Liberdade* (Freedom Supporters) directly attacked Prince Regent John VI: "People who live plagued with the full power of the crowned Unworthy [...]". They had been questioning the legitimacy of the Prince's regency since 1792, when the senility of his mother Queen Maria I was diagnosed. They also took sides in the alliance between Castile and France, choosing revolutionary France for free trade with the future "Bahia's Republic".

In addition to the opening of the port of Salvador, the group also demanded the increase in militia pay to 200 réis a day, the end of taxes and fees charged by the Portuguese Crown, the liberation of the trade in sugar, tobacco, brazilwood and all other business types, equality before the law and merit in the criteria for advancement in the military career and in local administration and for the choice of clerics who would lead the local religion. Due to the publicly announced demands, the local authorities immediately suspected, and rightly so, that the group was made up of people of different social status.

The Portuguese Crown and local authorities, headed by the governor of the captaincy of Bahia (1788-1801), Fernando José de Portugal e Castro, acted quickly. The investigation was initiated at once, with the collaboration of some judges of the Court of Appeal of Bahia and a group of powerful and rich men, called the *corporação dos enteados* (corporation of stepchildren) by chronicler Luís dos Santos Vilhena (1969), due to complaints of "lack of transparency" in public administration posts and participation in the movement. Two members of this group of powerful people were summoned by the judges to make denunciations. They told about the episode "prompt delivery of slaves", in which José Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque, the third richest man in the captaincy and Secretary of State of Brazil, personally took eleven slaves of this group to justice. These episodes ended up interfering in the course of the investigation and in the social restraint of the uprising.

On 7 September 1798, Francisco Vicente Viana, a white man, Judge in Bahia, Judge of Orphans and Absentees, owner of the Madrugada, Paramirim and Monte *Engenhos* (sugar cane mills), all located in the district of Vila de São Francisco do Sergipe do Conde, formally charged Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens for participating in the "planned revolution". On the same day, another slave master, Manoel José Villela de Carvalho, a white man, single, Treasurer of the Royal Treasury, wholesale dealer and owner of the Marapé *Engenho*, in São Francisco da Barra de Sergipe do Conde, was summoned to formally present an accusation. Following the pattern of Francisco Vicente Viana's accusation,



Manoel José Vilela de Carvalho told Judge Costa Pinto that he knew and had heard repeatedly:

*that an uprising was planned in this city with looting and assassins in order to establish a free and independent Democratic Government, and that the authors of this enterprise were a few mulattoes, among whom Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens, [...] who was said to have distributed some seditious and libertine papers earlier, in Public and more Sacred Places". He ended his accusation by stating that he reported everything he knew to the "Illustrious and Honourable Governor, making prompt delivery of the slaves"<sup>3</sup>.*

For this reason, just over two months after the first arrests resulting from the distribution of the "revolting" pamphlets on the morning of 12 August 1798, Fernando José de Portugal e Castro, then governor-general of Bahia, sent a long letter to Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, Minister of Maria I<sup>4</sup>, explaining the procedures adopted in the enquiries to discover, respectively, the author(s) of the pamphlets and the participants in the movement.

Justifying the measures immediately taken, "which were required in such a delicate and sensitive matter", the governor said that in order to discover the authors of the "papers" he would use "all the other procedures he deemed necessary". And he did. After the arrests and the information obtained from the first confrontations, the governor pondered with Rodrigo on the most suitable means to discover the accused

*During the enquiry, I reflected that, in this case, the most compliant with the Law is not regularly the most effective [means] to discover the Accused of this crime, who try to use all disguise, secrecy and caution when they commit it so that there is a lack of eyewitnesses to prove it. So, all inquiries should be made, even if uncertain and doubtful<sup>5</sup>.*

The doubtful path chosen by Fernando was examining several old petitions kept at the State and Government of Brazil Bureau commanded by José Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque. The objective was to compare the letters of the official documents with the letters of the "seditious rags". It must be pointed out that the documents sent to the governor referred to urban militia troops, circumscribing the defendant(s) in advance to a certain group of the society, the militiamen.

The examination resulted in the discovery of two petitions that indicated that they were authored by Domingos da Silva Lisboa, a *pardo* man. The arrest was decreed "although this evidence was remote and fallible", as the governor "heard" that Domingos was said

<sup>3</sup> Cf. "Testemunhas da devassa...". Read, especially the testimony of witness no. 6, Francisco Vicente Viana. In: Autos da Devassa da Conspiração dos Alfaiates. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, 1998, vol. 2, pp. 923-924. Henceforth ADCA.

<sup>4</sup> Biblioteca Nacional of Rio Janeiro, Henceforth BNRJ, Sessão de Manuscritos, I-28, 26, 1, no. 13. Letter of 20 October 1798.

<sup>5</sup> Ibid.



to have “a loose tongue”<sup>6</sup>. In addition to the accused's verbal laxity, his profession weighed heavily against him.

It was customary for the investigation of crimes, whatever they were, to draw up the term of imprisonment, compulsory attire and hair cut (*termo de prisão, hábito e tonsura*) on the same day or the day after the accused's arrest, to ensure their physical integrity, based on the description of their characteristics (Wehling, 1986: 151). In the case of Domingos da Silva Lisboa, it is noteworthy that the exact date of his arrest is not included in the records. However, the “finding and seizure report”, done on 17 August 1798, indicates that the accused, if was not arrested on the same day, was arrested a day later. However, his term of arrest was drawn up eight months later, on 2 March 1799. This strange procedure also occurred with the next accused person.

The suspicion of the governor of Bahia in relation to Domingos da Silva Lisboa was not confirmed. Ten days after his arrest, two notes were sent to the Head of the Discalced Carmelites, proving that Domingos da Silva Lisboa was not the author of the papers, and that the means used to investigate the “leaders” of the movement were very doubtful. However, the governor again looked for evidence in the petitions from the State Bureau and found three documents that “attested” that the papers had been written by Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga, an equally *pardos* man and soldier of the First Line Regiment from Salvador Garrison and the Fourth Company of Grenadiers<sup>7</sup>. It so happens that this time a “daring request” weighed on the defendant, once sent by the accused, so that Fernando

*would appoint him Adjutant of the fourth Regiment of Militias of this City, composed of pardo men, claiming that they should be equally attended to as the whites, which I did not grant, and I kept in my power due to its extravagance*<sup>8</sup>.

By analogy to the content of the letter, the governor made a conclusion regarding the content of the subversive pamphlets, since the papers also “referred to that same equality between *pardos*, blacks and whites”. That said, “he is persuaded that he [Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga], and not someone else, is the author of the Seditious Papers”<sup>9</sup>.

Despite having been arrested on 23 August 1798, his term of arrest was drawn up on 24 February 1799, a week before the term of imprisonment of the first accused, Domingos

<sup>6</sup> “Auto de exame, e combinação das Letras dos pesquins [sic], e mais papeis sedicciозos [sic], que apparecerão nas esquinas, ruas, e Igrejas desta Cidade que se achão incorporados na Devassa, que esta debaixo do N. 1 e do papel que elles estão escritos, com as letras de Domingos da Silva Lisboa nas peticoens, que forão achadas em sua caza, e com o papel limpo, que ahi tambem se achou, e tudo se acha junto ao auto da achada, e apreensão constante do appenso N. 9”. In: Autos da Devassa da Conspiração dos Alfaiates. Salvador: Imprensa Oficial do Estado, 1998, vol. 1, pp. 86-89.

<sup>7</sup> “Auto de combinação de letra dos pesquins [sic], e papeis sedicciозos, que apparecerão nas esquinas, ruas e Igrejas desta Cidade, incorporados na Devassa debaixo do n. 1 com a letra de Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens nas peticoens que estão no appenso n. 4 e papeis juntos por linha ao appenso n. 5, e com a letra de Domingos da Silva Lisboa nas peticoens...”. In: ADCA, vol. 1, pp. 123-124.

<sup>8</sup> Biblioteca Nacional of Rio de Janeiro, Sessão de Manuscritos, I-28-26, 1, n. 13. Letter from Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens from 1797.

<sup>9</sup> “Cópia do termo de prizão habito e tonçura feita ao Reo Luis Gonzaga das Virgens”. In: ADCA, vol. 1, pp. 142-143.



da Silva Lisboa. The governor of the captaincy of Bahia believed that he had solved the crime involving the seditious papers promptly. However, that was not what happened.

Soldier Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens was arrested on 23 August 1798 on the accusation that he, and not Domingos da Silva Lisboa, was the author of the seditious papers. Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens was well known to the local authorities. At the age of twenty, he became a soldier and was assigned to the grenadier company of the 1st troop regiment of the frontline, sworn in on 30 August 1781, and was discharged as a deserter on 30 October of the same year. He swore in by the flag and deserted twice more, and after 1791, he wandered through the hinterlands until being arrested, answering a verbal case in the Council of War, established on 9 April 1793<sup>10</sup>.

It was in the documentation on Luiz Gonzaga, at the Council of War, kept in the State Bureau, that the governor had compared the handwriting in the papers with some petitions that the accused had once written. The petition that contributed to his conviction indicated that

*Pardo men are recruited and assigned to the Military guild of the Paid Troops [...]. The so-called pardo men are of the same substance and sensitivity of other individuals of the Military and Civil Society, with no greater difference than that colour, a dissimilar accident with which nature distinguished them [...] remaining, however, equivalent to whites, both regarding the Material, and the core, the spiritual substance. [however, they are treated] as objects of slavery, of contempt [eroded] and finally as exterminated, or spurious with minimal access, and graduation of posts [...], and without a premium, which is all that makes past works enjoyable<sup>11</sup>.*

Luiz Gonzaga ended the petition requesting equality in rising to the highest ranked posts in the military career, claiming that as “an individual from the class of the aforementioned unfortunates [*pardo*], he has the pain, the inconsolable pain of seeing the colour white ascending to the ranks [...], with no other relevant reasons than [not] different merits, and noble ascent”<sup>12</sup>. Before the publication of the seditious papers, on the morning of 12 August 1798, Luiz Gonzaga requested “one year's leave without loss of pay, bread, and consequence, due to his poverty”<sup>13</sup>. It which was denied to him, before being arrested and taken to Court. During the testimonies, Luiz Gonzaga provided important information about what he had done during his stay in the hinterlands. He said he had met João da Silva Norbonha, in the city of Natal dos Reis Magos, in Rio Grande do Norte. He informed that João was a Portuguese born in Porto, a businessman who lived in Salvador, but who often went to the interior lands on business. He was asked about the names of the people with whom the said João had had conversations, to which Luiz Gonzaga replied that “he

<sup>10</sup> ADCA...vol. 1, p.127 – Council of War on Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia, Bundle 581, attachment no. 5, L – Comparison of Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens' signature on the document of the Council of War with the petitions and requests he would have written. This document was incorporated into the second edition of the *Autos das Devassas*, from 1998, when Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga was asked questions. Cf. ADCA, vol. 1, pp. 116-117.

<sup>12</sup> Idem, p. 117.

<sup>13</sup> AHU\_CU\_Baía\_Box 96, doc. 18920: Request by Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga, in which he asks for a year's leave to deal with his interests in the Kingdom. It is annotated by José Luiz de Magalhães e Menezes on 4 May 1798.



[João] was friends of Priest Padre Francisco Agostinho Gomes and Jacinto Dias Damasio, and many other men from Praia, and that he did business in their homes”<sup>14</sup>.

Asked what they used to talk about, Luiz Gonzaga said that João da Silva Norbonha was a very educated man and well-informed about events in Europe, from what he read in the newspapers, and about the situation in France and England. He often spoke about the equality of men and humanity with whom they were to be treated, “especially the injustice of *pardo* people not being admitted to higher positions, without however, acting against the Church or the State”<sup>15</sup>. The authorities asked no more, resuming the statement on another date and adopting the same pattern as the testimonies of the slaves and Domingos da Silva Lisboa.

The content of the petitions, testimonies and confrontations demonstrate that Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens' libertarian ideas and “French inclination” meant, above all, improved position in the military hierarchy, where he had the lowest position. His understanding from the conversations he had with João da Silva Noronha about revolutionary events in France and the reading of texts by d'Anglas, Carra, Volney and the Notice of Saint Petersburg found in his house suggest that such readings potentiated the claims of those militiamen and they became tools they believed could change their lives in some way.

Captives and militiamen who knew how to read and write believed that they were able to claim their rights, since this political sociability made them more sensitive to the hierarchization they were victims of. Indeed, reporting to the local authorities the participation of men “placed among the peoples” in the “planned revolution” was not just a strategy of the captives.

On 25 August 1798, two days after Luiz Gonzaga's arrest, the governor was surprised by three accusations, whose content revealed that another *pardo*, João de Deus do Nascimento, had invited some people from the Artillery Regiment to a meeting that would be held that night, in the Campo do Dique do Desterro, whose objective was

*to organize a rebellion, and revolution, which hinder other people he had so well called to his side, begging them to go to his house the following night, and to go from there with him [João de Deus] and others to the Campo do Dique, in order to adjust the mode, means, and occasion when the planned revolution would to take place*<sup>16</sup>.

The meeting at Campo do Dique was aborted. One of the reasons was that among the participants there were those who recognized the whistleblowers and distrusted their presence. After this episode on 26 August of the same year, another enquiry was conducted to investigate the crime of conspiracy, led by judge Francisco Sabino da Costa

<sup>14</sup> ADCA, vol. 1, p. 101 – Questions made to Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga, soldier of the Grenadiers Company of the First Regiment of this Garrison.

<sup>15</sup> ADCA, vol.1, pp. 104-105.

<sup>16</sup> “Denúncia publica jurada e necessária que dá Joaquim Joze da Veiga, homem pardo, forro, cazado e official de ferrador [...]”; “Denúncia publica [...] que dá o Capitão do Regimento Auxiliar dos homens pretos Joaquim Joze de Santa Anna [...]”; “Denuncia publica [...] Joze Joaquim de Serqueira, homem branco e Soldado Garnadeiro do primeiro Regimento pago desta Praça [...]”. In: ADCA, vol. II, pp. 910-920.



Pinto. Several people were arrested over the course of six months. Among them, some only provided clarifications, others were considered guilty *a priori*. The social cleavage meant differentiation between the accused. According to what Fernando José de Portugal e Castro explained to Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho

*the context of the seditious Papers, so poorly organized, since they are extremely bold and brazen; the character and quality of the author, and of the main heads who dealt with the rebellion such as Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens, João de Deos Alfaiate, Lucas Dantas, and Luiz Pires, all four pardo men, of terrible conduct, and lacking in religion, made me realise that these attacks contained no people of consideration, nor understanding. They had no knowledge or enlightenment, as shown in the confessions of these Defendants<sup>17</sup>.*

According to the information in the records, the situation was not exactly the one described in the letter by D. Fernando. Parallel to the arrests, judges Manoel Magalhães Pinto e Avellar de Barbedo and Francisco Sabino Álvares da Costa Pinto collected, since 17 August 1798, the detainees' testimonies and coordinated the "Assentadas", testimonies of witnesses who, in this case, were sugar cane planters, merchants, thirteen women and some free men who had some relationship with the accused. It was increasingly clear that political sociability among the participants of the event was not limited to the middle and lower strata of that society, D. Fernando insisted on affirming to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, because, on the occasion of the report of the arrest of the first accused, Domingos da Silva Lisboa had been "[...] enticing and inviting to this end [revolt] several Slaves of different Masters, and some soldiers, and other individuals who were successively arrested [...]"<sup>18</sup>.

Over five months of depositions to confirm the author of the "revolting and nervous papers", the witnesses stated that they "heard" about the content of the said papers, but that they were not sure of their author. The testimony of Francisco Pereira Rabello, a white man, Lieutenant of the Auxiliary Branch of *Ordenanças* and a resident in Itapagipe, near Salvador, is quite significant. He affirmed

*To have publicly heard that certain daring papers will appear in the streets, however he [...] doesn't know who wrote them or who helped with their making. And [...] while he was in the location of Bomfim and the news of the arrest of Domingos da Sylva Lisboa was made public, the witness said that the said Lisboa had not been the Author of the papers but his superiors were, and all they needed was to have the support of the troops<sup>19</sup>.*

Judge Manoel Magalhães Pinto de Avelar e Barbedo did not check the deponent's information, preferring to report it to the governor<sup>20</sup>. Aware of the possibility of urban

<sup>17</sup> Letter from D. Fernando José de Portugal e Castro to D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho dated 20 October 1798. Biblioteca Nacional of Rio de Janeiro, Sessão de Manuscritos, doc. cit.

<sup>18</sup> Idem.

<sup>19</sup> ADCA, vol. 1, p. 61.

<sup>20</sup> Idem.



troop commanders being among the “leaders” of the movement and commanding a large number of men to carry out the uprising, D. Fernando did not comment on these denouncements in his letter to D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho, preferring to gain time in the investigation, relying on an accomplice mechanism for silencing some information operated by the judges.

This was because during the inquest, the local authorities could no longer hide from Lisbon that the uprising was planned by people of different social status and that their demands made explicit in the streets of Salvador questioned order through a "Republic". In addition to forming a government for the common good, this plan could also lead to a republican ethics experienced by all members of a given community (Mattos, 1998: 71). The testimonies of the defendants also highlighted the involvement of these gentlemen in meetings that discussed “French ideas”, a term often associated with the republican system of government and the ideas of liberty, equality and fraternity that led to the end of the French Ancien Régime. The main complaint was about the attempted reform of Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho, Minister of the Navy and Overseas Dominions, which compromised the group’s privileges due to the end of monopolies and fair taxation, among other “vexations”. The readiness to incarcerate the enslaved would prevent information from being revealed, dispel the suspicions raised in the process and reaffirm loyalty to the Portuguese Crown. Although from the beginning of the investigation the social composition of the defendants was limited to the militia, removing powerful men from the inquiry and minimizing the participation of slaves in the revolt, the processes were formalized and all the procedural acts were preserved. On 12 March 1799, seven months after the revolt broke out, the lawyer of *Santa Casa da Misericórdia*, “graduate” José Barbosa de Oliveira was appointed defender and guardian of the defendants, also allowing other lawyers to make other claims in their defence. The prisoners had the right of defence for five days, and although the lawyer's appointment took place on 12 March, the defence began on 12 June 1799. José Barbosa de Oliveira began his defence resorting to modern natural law:

*Because, by the Ordinance of Book 5, title 6, the death penalty is naturally cruelly established against the one who is convinced of having committed the horrific crime of Lese-Majesty, and by the aforementioned Respectable judgment it is ordered that the Appellants state In fact, and in law, the foundations of their defences, it is certain that in exposing them, the Appellants only seek to show their innocence of the crime of which they are accused, without their guilt becoming more aggravated in this action, after the defence of any defendant being Natural, Divine and Positive Law<sup>21</sup>.*

Three important questions guided the central argument of José Barbosa de Oliveira's defence. The first and the most important was the absence of evidence for the crime of first-degree lese-majesty (political crime against the Crown of Portugal): the absence of Corpus Delicti in the prisoners would be enough to ask for suspension of any penalty against the appellants "even though, by the way, they were fully convinced of the crime, since Corpus Delicti is the total foundation of the Criminal Court, according to the Rule".

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<sup>21</sup> ADCA, p. 947-949.



For the lawyer, the second fundamental issue for the defendants' defence was the magnitude of the crime "a Confederation against His Majesty and his State", so that the judges would have to consider that "without weapons or dispositions, one could not commit the horrific delict of Uprising in such a populous City, and the Capital of America". According to José Barbosa de Oliveira, the lack of evidence for the prosecution is closely related to the second issue of the central argument of his defence, the way how the accusations were formalized by "less legal witnesses": planters and members of the local administration who did "prompt delivery" of their slaves to justice to get rid of rumours about "absence of transparency" and "sedition crime".

The lawyer concluded the central argument of the defence, stating:

*Because the Defendants could never have any intention of promoting an Uprising, and Sedition against the State, in order to establish a Democratic Government; for if the {p.48} the Defendants are tailors; others masons; others are common Soldiers; slaves; and of minor age, all people of low status, they lacked the necessary education, and wisdom, or knowledge, to be able to establish a Government of that quality, which requires special Laws, and whose establishment could not reach the inferior quality, and abject condition of the Defendants<sup>22</sup>.*

The defence's final decision reiterates the need for the evidence to "conclude with the greatest possible accuracy, disregarding this view that the opinion of less legal witnesses is sufficient, in view of the seriousness of the crime. For the same reason, it is necessary to have higher Solemnity to know the true delinquents"<sup>23</sup>. After suggesting that the accused took the blame through physical punishment and the absence of an examination of the corpus delicti, for the defence lawyer, the conduct of the inquiries failed to prove the accused's guilt for the crime of first-degree lese-majesty. On the contrary: "only the testimonies of notoriety and publicity are discovered, which lead to nothing but slander, or a Remote indication, which by itself is not enough for the imposition of the ultimate penalty, nor even of torture" (Valim, 2018: 135).

With the defence's final decision demonstrating the lack of proof of the crime of lese-majesty by the accused and given the evidence of the participation of powerful men in the crime of sedition, which could compromise the career of the governor of the captaincy of Bahia, Fernando José de Portugal e Castro began to participate more effectively in conducting the investigation, stating to D. Rodrigo de Sousa Coutinho:

*what has always been feared in the colonies is slavery [...] it is not natural that well-employed and established men, who have goods and properties, want to participate in a conspiracy or attack, which would have terrible consequences<sup>24</sup>.*

<sup>22</sup> ADCA, p. 952.

<sup>23</sup> Idem.

<sup>24</sup> Ibidem.



The governor's effort to circumscribe free, poor and *pardo* men as the only possible defendants for the crime of lese-majesty led the Portuguese crown to order the imperious exemplary punishment of the participants of the planned revolution:

*These Defendants are to be sentenced in Court for the merit of the case, and they must be tried with greater promptness, and with the publicity that the Laws allow [...] receiving the deserved punishment for their crimes, using with them the full severity of the Laws, both concerning the Leaders, and those who accepted the invitation; and those who did I do not denounce such a huge Crime. In future, it must be known to all that in such a great attack on the public good, there is no moderation of the penalty ordered by the Law<sup>25</sup>.*

In view of the orders of the Crown and the statements obtained throughout the investigation, D. Fernando pondered the necessary distinction in the application of the penalty, since

*there seems to be several classes of Defendants, perhaps four or six reputed as the main leaders of this sedition, others who, although they were not the authors, have given their consent, and invited several people, others who accepted the invitation and attended the meetings alternately, others who were invited and will not denounce it as they are obliged to, and some, finally, who did not accept the invitation and were disgusted by it, or who were merely aware of this disorder, and remained silent and kept it a secret, either or thinking that such revolutionary projects would not have any effect, or through ignorance, if they can allege they lack the first and most essential obligation of a subject. As a consequence, some will receive ordinary and capital punishment, and others will be sentenced to exile, more, or less severe, for a greater or lesser number of years, according to the various degrees of accusation against them<sup>26</sup>.*

Thus, on the eighteenth of October 1799, the criteria for the sentences and the conclusion of the investigation on the "planned revolution" were defined. It was concluded that some inhabitants of the city of Salvador tried to carry out an uprising to take away the government from Portugal. In order to attain the uprising, the authorities stated that the participants elected leaders who were

*individuals of the lowest [...] class of pardo men, a quality that was hateful to them, intending therefore to extinguish it by means of the indistinct equality to which they aspired [...] to disseminate Free ideas and anti-political feelings among those who they believed to be the most capable and willing to follow them [...] and have the imaginary advantages and prosperity of a Democratic Republic, where all will be Common without difference of colour*

<sup>25</sup> Copy of the Royal Letter of Her Majesty, D. Maria I to D. Fernando José de Portugal e Castro. ADCA, vol. 1, pp. 71-72.

<sup>26</sup> Letter of D. Fernando José de Portugal to D. Rodrigo de Souza Coutinho. BN, Sessão de manuscritos.



*or condition, where they will occupy the most important Ministries, living under general abundance, and contentment*<sup>27</sup>.

The detailed account of the conclusion document demonstrates that by "inculcating at the same time knowledgeable and interested persons in its execution [they invited] people of such pre-eminence, authority, and honour, that these same qualities exclude them from the slightest thought of infidelity". After a year when "the hidden conspiracy was planned", several of the most impious, darting and seditious papers were found in the streets, and churches, which could abort their heated and devoid of fire idea of Religion, and due respect to the Supreme Ruler", which resulted in the capture of a "monster of evil". After the first arrest, the judges concluded that the meeting on 25 August at the Campo do Duque do Desterro had taken place because after the statements of the then accused, the participants

*fear of being discovered in the Confessions, and declarations of their Partner and Friend [Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens] and considering themselves to be in a risky situation, they chose not to go ahead with their projects, and reduce their effective execution*<sup>28</sup>.

It was concluded that those guilty of the first-degree lese-majesty crime, conspiring against the Portuguese Crown, and planning an uprising in Campo do Duque do Desterro, were

*the unfortunate, and disgraced [defendants] Lucas Dantas de Amorim, João de Deos do Nascimento, Manoel Faustino dos Santos Lira, Romão Pinheiro and the absent Luis Pires Condemned to death by the Respectable Judgment [blank], as well as the Lieutenant of 2nd Regiment of this Garrison Hermógenes Francisco de Aguillar Condemned to one year imprisonment, and the [defendants] Manoel Jose da Vera Crus and Ignácio Pires condemned to 500 whiplashes and sold out of the Captaincy*<sup>29</sup>.

Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens, in turn, was the only one convicted of being the author of the seditious pamphlets posted in the streets of Salvador on the morning of 12 August 1798, as it was concluded that Domingos da Silva Lisboa could not be the author of the papers. On 7 November 1799, the conclusion of the investigation read as follows:

*Justice that the Queen Our Lady orders to be enforced on this execrable defendant Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens, a pardo man, born in this City [Salvador], to be taken publicly with shame and sound to the gallows erected for this torture, and in it die natural death forever. And after death, his hands and head are to be cut-off, which will remain in the said place of execution, until time consumes them. And his property is to be confiscated for the tax*

<sup>27</sup> ADCA, vol. II, pp. 1122-1123.

<sup>28</sup> Idem, p. 1124.

<sup>29</sup> Idem, p. 1144.



*authorities, and Royal Chamber, and at the expense of the Court of Appeal, which also declared his children and grandchildren infamous, and ordered that the house of his dwelling be demolished, spread with salt, never to be built again*<sup>30</sup>.

As for the slaves handed over to justice by their owners, José Felix da Costa and Luís Leal, who were accused in the charge against Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens and then indicted in the investigation of the "planned revolution", one was deported to regions in Africa outside Portugal's domains, and another was acquitted for being "absolutely free of any guilt". The slaves of the Secretary of State of Brazil, José Pires de Carvalho e Albuquerque, in turn, had their sentences alleviated, as they were found guilty "for the lack of denunciation of the planned crime being slaves. they could not know of the obligation to report"<sup>31</sup>.

Regarding the "abominable French principles" that so worried agents in Portugal, the judges of the Court of Appeal concluded that only *pardo* men were sectarians of "pernicious principles", since, after the investigation, the accusations that some important people also approved the doctrine, did not stand. They were "intellectual raptures of young people that were impossible to fight, because the pamphlets on which they were based were difficult to control and circulated freely"<sup>32</sup>. The authorities did not take this information forward because it was not in the interest of the Portuguese Crown to break the partnership with a sector that provided support for colonial exploitation in the main captaincy of Portuguese America. This is why the royal authorities were very interested in circumscribing the social composition of the event to the middle and lower sectors of that society with the objective of socially delegitimizing any project of a republican nation.

Thus, on the hot early morning of 8 November 1799, according to the friar, the troops occupied Praça da Liberdade, a large square located in the centre of Salvador. The people kept coming. An isolation perimeter was established between the troops and the public scaffold built especially for the occasion. At eleven o'clock, the procession began. In front, there was a band of horns and drums, followed by the brotherhoods covered with their capes and covers, holding a cross and their respective vicars. Soon after, those condemned to exile walked with their hands tied behind their backs, preceded by the porter of the Council, with the insignia of his office, followed by the four defendants sentenced to capital punishment for the crime of first-degree lese-majesty, accompanied by two Franciscan friars, in addition to all the clerks, bailiffs and the porter of the Court of Appeal of Bahia.

The Senate of the City Council, the councillors, the senior mayors, the junior staff, and the attorney of the Council followed, holding Portugal's flag. Further back, there was the brotherhood of Mercy and the executioner, bearing the insignia of their office. People were crowding the windows of the houses to see the procession of the condemned. The

<sup>30</sup> "Conclusion document, Notification of the Sentence regarding defendant Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens. ADCA, vol. 1, pp. 175-176.

<sup>31</sup> ADCA, vol.2, pp. 1161 and 1191.

<sup>32</sup> In: Accioli, op. cit., vol. III, p. 133



procession went through the streets of the Cathedral, from Terreiro de Jesus to the top of the Tira Preguiça slope, arriving in Piedade. After the drumming, the chief bailiff read for the last time the royal orders that announced the severity according to which the accused would be punished for being considered by the royal authorities the heads of the “planned revolution” that aimed to create a democratic government in Brazil. Faced with the three paid regiments of that garrison, holding arms to prevent any accident that might result in favour of the defendants, the condemned went up to the scaffold<sup>33</sup>.

The first to be hanged was Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga. Before, according to the barefoot Carmelite, the defendant had an “act of protest”, regretting his actions, especially for having disrespected the Church. The “admiration that all felt with what Gonzaga said was astonishing”. He said that Luiz Gonzaga told everyone “I confess that this pious Father [...] shed his blood not only for them, but also for many to save me; in it I wait for my pardon [...]”. He continued his public confession by complaining of the harm done to him by bad friends, advising people to stay away from their influence, and he asked forgiveness for not having followed the virtuous advice his godmother had given him.

He ended up making the most “tender supplications to God to save him”. After confession, he was hanged, amid the commotion of people at his words. Crying a lot after witnessing the hanging of Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens and Veiga, João de Deus do Nascimento asked Friar José to come closer for “a sincere act of contrition”. According to the barefoot Carmelite, minutes before being hanged, João de Deus said goodbye to life telling the “innumerable people who were in that square” that

*Follow the law [of] the true God, the Catholic Religion is the only true one, and everything else is deceit; when I followed it without a doubt I lived and even if quite poor, perhaps independent, but after I read some texts by Voltaire, Calvino, Rousseau, I departed from what I should not, which is why I ended up here. Gentlemen, whoever wants to be bad, be only for himself, and don't summon other people. [...] Freedom and equality is this, he said pointing to the gallows.*

Still, according to the friar

*At the last moment of his life, João de Deus said to all who heard him, asked God for mercy, and asked the Priests for help; He also asked the executioner to give him a good death. So before he fell off the scaffold, shaking to death, and screaming for Jesus Mary, he fell from the scaffold, ending his life with the words in life: mercy, mercy<sup>34</sup>.*

<sup>33</sup> Other report by Priest Joze D'Monte Carmelo, barefoot Carmelite. Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, Notícia da Bahia, tomo IV, Lata 402, manuscript 69. Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, inventário Castro e Almeida, Bahia, documentos avulsos, boxes: 41- 82. The document “Outra relação...” is fully transcribed in the work of Luís Henrique Dias Tavares. História da Sedição intentada na Bahia em 1798 (A Conspiração dos Alfaiates). São Paulo/Brasília: Pioneira/INL, 1975, pp. 123-137, passim.

<sup>34</sup> Idem.



The execution of the other two defendants was followed by the dismemberment of their bodies. Lucas Dantas' head was cut off, as were those of the other three, and then skewered on a pole in Dique do Desterro. The other pieces were exposed on the way to Largo de São Francisco, where Lucas Dantas resided. In front of the same place, the head of Manuel Faustino dos Santos Lira was placed, as he was a frequent visitor and because he did not have a fixed address. The head of João de Deus was exhibited in Rua Direita do Palácio, now called Rua Chile; his legs, arms and torso were scattered through the Comércio streets, a busy trading area downtown. The head and hands of Luiz Gonzaga were stuck on the scaffold, as he was considered by the royal authorities to be responsible for the pamphlets that announced the "planned revolution" to the population.

The day after the morbid event, the bodies exposed to the heat showed signs of rapid decomposition and attracted a flock of vultures that filled the city with pestilential fumes. On 11 November 1799, the city's air was unbreathable; rot had invaded every house and the population feared for its health. Faced with the precarious state of health in the city, some authorities and *Misericórdia* brothers asked governor Fernando José de Portugal e Castro to remove the dead and exposed bodies at the behest of justice for the example of the peoples. The request was granted at dawn on the 15th. The remains were collected by the authorities and buried in a place that is still unknown (Valim, 2009: 14).

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The danger of deviating from human nature, passion, and reason, such as the possibility of corrupting man and the social fabric, seems to be one of the faces of the laudatory report the friar made. By allowing himself to be swept away by the normative content of Bahia's society from the end of the 18th century, he converted the miracle of divine mercy, after the repentance of the condemned, into a part of the political dimension of exemplary punishment. The political dimension given to the miracle of divine mercy is one of the consequences of the logic of exemplary punishment. In addition to the defendants' repentance in public having meant their conversion, it also meant a public confession. It is worth remembering that in Friar José's narrative the condemned people's repentance occurred during their torment. In this sense, the final words of João de Deus do Nascimento were significant. In "tears", he said just before hanging "Follow the law [of] God, the Catholic Religion is the only true one, and everything else is deceit; when I followed it without a doubt, I lived well even if quite poor.] Freedom and equality is this, he said pointing to the gallows".

Exemplary punishments in Absolutism had in common the fact that they involved some type of physical suffering and, therefore, targeted the body (Foucault, 2009). Even in the most recurrent forms of punishment, such as banishment, one can find some dimension of "suffering", whether through exposure, fines, whipping or branding. Far from being a savage procedure, the author draws our attention to the fact that torture is a form of calculated suffering, in which the political power seeks to publicly establish causal relationships between crime and punishment, according to the political uses that can be had in this procedure.



As one of the last punitive examples of Portuguese absolutism in Brazil, the punishment of the defendants in the 1798 Bahia Conspiracy corresponds not only to corporal punishment, but also, above all, to a ritual organized in order to reinforce the power of the Portuguese monarchy in Brazil<sup>35</sup>. The ritual of torture expresses, therefore, the sumptuousness of sovereignty, the strength of the monarch in his exercise of power and rights. The death of the defendants in the public gallows of Salvador was a spectacle that aimed to reaffirm the cleavage between the forces of the sovereign and the subjects, since the torture of the defendants narrated by Friar José can be considered as a very effective way of showing the asymmetry between the subjects who dared to violate the law and the absolutist power that asserts its strength.

However, on 25 October 1799, ten days before the hanging followed by the dismemberment of the bodies of the men considered defendants in the 1798 Bahia Conspiracy, the Portuguese crown sent a Licence to the Bishop of Olinda, José Joaquim da Cunha Azeredo Coutinho, about the creation of a new Regiment based in Recife to operate in a vast region, including the Captaincy of Bahia. The new regiment would be composed of 1600 men, similar to the Royal Army Arsenal, starting to function by means of "clear public" resolutions. In addition to meeting the main demand of the militia members who participated in the Bahia Conspiracy, establishing the payment of 200 réis in daily wages, the New Regiment provided for a date to receive wages, one-month training for the troops and a public examination for purposes of rising in the military career, with five-stage tests and a panel composed of three examiners: Lieutenant Colonel, Major and Captain<sup>36</sup>.

A significant fact in the conflicting transition from the 18th to the 19th century, the analysis of the documentation of the New Regiment indicates the change from the typical criteria of the Old Regime to the principle of isonomy in the public sphere and the compromise solution that the Portuguese crown established with the militia members who participated in the movement. It met their main demands as a way of containing the rebellious. By transforming them into "subjects in their own right", the Portuguese crown recognized the legitimacy of the public claim and struggle of those men. When men of different social status appealed to the population to join the uprising that would lead to a republican government, they broke the circle of making politics restricted to virtuous men of power, in the tradition of Montesquieu. They blurred the cleavage between those who work and those who do politics; between those who command and those who obey; and those who dared to deviate from the original trajectory.

The fracture caused by the radical nature of the discourse in the handwritten texts and the action of those men from the middle and lower sectors made the authorities realize that it was not enough to leave the powerful on the side-lines of investigations to restore order. It was necessary to eliminate this experience in the streets of Salvador from within these sectors. It was also necessary to reaffirm the intrinsic superiority of the Portuguese Crown through the exemplary punishment of men who dared to do politics, questioning order and proposing alternatives for the future.

<sup>35</sup> Idem.

<sup>36</sup> "1799 – Formação do Batalhão e do Estado Maior para conter a Inconfidência Baiana". Private documentation made available for this research.



However, nothing was the same afterwards: after more than a year of inquiries, the Portuguese Crown undertook a series of compromise solutions with the *enteados* corporation to create a political consensus around which these men would increase their funds, privileges and powers, and would continue to constitute, in the captaincy of Bahia, the social base for the maintenance of colonial exploitation. Some of the slaves brought to justice by their owners were sentenced to exile, others tried to escape the 500 lashes in *Pelourinho*, while others had their sentence changed after the “justification notice”, as they did not denounce their masters.

The contradictions in the concepts of freedom and equality are the synthesis of the ideas of the Republic formulated in the 1798 Bahia Conspiracy and of the crisis of the Ancien Régime, where the new and the old coexisted in constant tension, disputing spaces, ideas, hearts and minds. The “Bahia Republic” outlined by those men and politicized in the streets of Salvador represented, above all, the possibility for all sectors to make politics and alternatives to living in a colony, giving their own colours and rhythms to the political language of revolutionary France, which at the time reached several overseas domains. The republican ethics of feeling free announced, at the end of a conflicting century, that man could realize his humanity in and through politics and no longer through religion or just through work.

The greatest weakness of the “Bahia Republic” and of this modernity, however, lied in the conservative critique of slavery explained within the limits of the project of freeing that group of slaves and not ending slavery, according to the testimony of the African Vicente. Slavery as the limit of possible republicanism and the distinction according to capacity as the limit of political coalition between sectors of that society suggest that the ideas of freedom and equality in the colonial universe, in the late 18th century, can stimulate both revolutions and reforms to avoid them, since in this universe any attempt to reduce structural inequalities sounded like Revolution.

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