Today, the slave has lost the iron-chains and the weight of tradition that silenced him. We, just like him, can also declare ourselves free. Free from the compromise of listening in silence to their murmurs, to disclose them afterwards to the interested public. But, not only has the documentation worked as their voice. The paths we treaded and the landscape w

At last, it is important to mention that the monthly evolution of the slaves' marriages in the parochial registers of Las Palmas and Madeira is different. This way, while in Las Palmas there is a strong incidence in spring and autumn; in Madeira they take place in autumn and winter. A fact which might be a sign of the different ways of living in these archipelagos. While in Las Palmas it is evident the repercussion of the agricultural year on the Sacramental Acts of the slaves, in Madeira this only comes up in certain situations.

SLAVES' ACTIVITIES

It used to be common to associate slavery to two types of activities, according to the affirmation in the rural or urban areas. So, in the first case, we would be faced with an agricultural slavery, while in the second it would be domestic. This short sighted view of the facts today has not gained followers, seeing that the research done, in the most

- Slaves' activities
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diverse places; reveal that the economic intervention of the slave was much more complex. All give count of the slave mobility in the most varied activities.

It is current opinion that the perfect symbiosis between slavery and agriculture, with special relevance for the sugar-cane culture, only started showing up in the XV century with the Madeiran experience, as, up until then, the use of the slave in such jobs, was not enough to justify the system. In fact, in the understanding of W. D. Phillips Jr., the connection slave/sugar only takes place in the Atlantic with the Madeiran case, being the situations in the Christian and Islamic Worlds sporadic.

Here, it is necessary a reference to the particular situation in Madeira, that needs some adjustments. First, the presence of the slave during the sugar harvest-time is not as dominant as it might seem at first. It is certain that the slave is linked to the process, but didn't act isolated or was even majority in it. By his side was a large number of free men that worked on wages or were leaseholders. The conditions defined by the island are orographical and the property system was the cause of this peculiar reality.

The slave, in many societies, apart from the economic function, also affirmed itself by the sumptuary value, being, in some of them, a way of social distinction. In Madeira, just like in some European areas, this is evident, as it can be observed in the works of Gaspar Frutuoso. In relation to Machico, he says: "there were many colored females and very well treated and of rich voices, which is a sign of the old nobility of its residents, as in all the big and rich houses there is this multiplication of the servers". However, in the Lombada of Arco da Calheta, lived Dona Isabel de Abreu, the widower of Joao Rodrigues de Noronha, son of Funchal's captain, with two farms "very thick", having at her service a female moor as "her private".

From the sugar cane crisis, the excess of slave labor available might have caused a change in the activity sector and an exemption increase. The slave moves from the country to the city, increasing therefore the number of house servants in the big mansions, and workers in the offices. But, it is necessary to take into account, that, side by side with the slaves, in these houses, there were free workers referenced as waiters. The domestic service, was usually given to the females, seeing that the males would occupy themselves with the agricultural works, as artisans, or, otherwise, as hirelings. The female, still performed other jobs. Many became fruit sellers or washers.

The selling of the lord's farming products in the local market by the slaves, burdened by many regulations, limitative of the fraudulent exercise. They were keen on stealing from the owner or the buyer, saving, sometimes, enough to get the exemption.

The male slaves worked in many jobs of the socio-economic structure. They could be artisans, farmers, mule-drivers or hirelings. It is constant their presence in the income and expense books, as the one of Funchal's Customs. The lords also used them as substitutes in the building of fortifications, a job done by every citizen that would offer one day's working day for it.
These activities weighed little in the initial need for slave labor, once their appearing in the island was connected with farming. The sugar harvest on one hand, the rustic living of the Canarians on the other, made the first slaves in the island stand out as shepherds, farmers and experts in the sugar engines. The documents, as we have seen, are full of references of this multiple intervention of the slaves in the economy of Madeira. Of the rest, apart from the ones that we have referenced in the sugar harvest, only five come up with a craft. Two as mule drivers, one tailor, one courier and a washerwoman.

The freed-men activities might also give a light on the ones performed by the slaves, in case the alteration in the social status did not lead to changes. Here, apart from the group involved in the sugar harvest, a large number without specific activity comes up, living, in its majority as domestics. Here, the females assume a special role. The freedmen with a craft appear more frequently in Funchal, being null in the rural parishes.

For the males, the relationship through Marriage with the men specialized in a craft, might be an indication of the socio-professional situation. In this case the preferred relationship is with the workers, already witnessed and regulated by by-laws: of seventy seven marriages, thirty two were with workers, nine with seamen, seven with mule-drivers, four with roadmenders and shoe repairers, and three with farmers.

Another fact that might, still, point to a possible socio-professional identification of the slave and the occupation of the owner, as according to A. Franco Silva, through him one knows the slave. Here, is evident once more, the sumptuary character of the slave, as the owners are in its majority linked to the services sectors (82%). The slave would be involved in the non-productive services in the homes of the clergymen (24%), ordinance company officials (19%) and of the regal and local institutions officers (16%). The number of farmers is reduced (3%).

It is necessary to pay attention to the fact that the numbers given, come up mainly from mid-XVI-century, at time when the sugar is not important in the agriculture and trade any more. This socio-economic conjuncture of the island would have had a weight on it. From then onwards, the slave alienates himself from the productive sector, moving to the services of the main families, like it is witness by some foreigners that visited us.

European and American historiography insist on the fact that the Madeiran land structure, in XV and XVI-centuries, was a result of that. However this seems to come up from a false presupposition: the sugar-cane culture did not admit anybody else but slaves. With this it was pretended to establish a reduced vision of society and workforce in the island. The idea fascinated some Madeiran historiographers. It was, according to this, that the slavery spot coincided with the one for sugar plantations, even without facts to witness it. We were faced with a false argument that not even the documented facts could refute. This way, the historical reality and the particularities of the island were ignored.

Madeira, due to the geographical configuration, was defined by a specific agricultural landscape, different from the big continental spaces. The excessive number of parcellled agricultural areas (poios) the only way to use arable soil available and its ample
dissemination in the south and north coasts conditioned the trenching and ownership of the grounds. The initial and large concessions of ground were divided according to the progress of the population and the agricultural experiences. The first extensive exploitation gave place to an intensive gain of the soil based on the many "poios" built by owners and leaseholders. This way it is difficult, if not impossible to talk of the big grounds of sugar plantation if we stand on the level of the American world. Only someone that has not been to the island can say the contrary.

In the American case a sugar cane plantation is nearly always linked to an industrial complex - engine - for its transformation, which does not happen in Madeira. Here many are the owners of the plantations but few of the engines. This different structure of the sugar industry conditioned the positioning of the slave.

Still in the Madeiran agricultural exploitation it is necessary to distinguish two groups of proprietors: those who rented the grounds and the ones who exploited them. These two ways of owning land marked in an evident manner the agricultural activity and favoured the appearing and the affirmation of the colonial contract, from the end of the XVI-century. On the other hand the reduced size of the sugar plantations did not oblige the existence of an engine for the transformation of the cane nor a large number of slaves.

In the beginning the sugar cane engines were a privilege of the captain donnees and only much later the private owners come up. This way the position of the slaves in the Madeiran rural structure must be equated according to the structure and evaluative process of the property system in the island. If it is certain that in the direct exploitation or leasehold of the grounds a clear position for the slave is established, the same cannot be said with a colonial contract.

Just as we said, the orographical conditions of the island limited the affirmation of the property system of the sugar culture. Here the plantations are different from number of owners and engines. The possession of this heavy structure only has place with the island's most important owners in it's majority living from quit-rents and leaseholds. Confronted the facts of the production and the plantation owners, in the period from 1509 to 1537, to those of the slaves in this century we observe an asymmetry between the main sugar production areas ("Partes do Fundo = Ribeira Brava, Ponta do Sol and Calheta) and the number of slaves. Funchal, which showed only 32% of the plantation owners and 26% of the sugar production, is the area with greater owner and slave expression. In an analysis of the different judicial districts from Funchal's captaincy (Funchal, Ribeira Brava, Ponta do Sol e Calheta) and of Machico, this asymmetry becomes more evident. The only possible concordance is in the comparison between both captaincies: in Funchal, main sugar production area, with more than two thirds of it, also has the greater number of slaves and families that usufruct from their work.

For the XV-century, slave references are only found in Funchal and Ponta do Sol, when the greater sugar production, according to 1494 numbers, was situated in the area defined by "Partes do Fundo". Still in this century, it is possible to establish a parallel between the four districts in Funchal. The city area and the suburbs are still the main slave area (81%).
It was here that the greater number of engines could be found, labouring 26% of the sugar produced in the island, which might be a indication of a strong link to the slave. Calheta's district was the main sugar producing area (28%), showing in its perimeter a reasonable number of engines (22%). On the other hand, the number of plantation owners was reduced (10%) as well as of slaves (7%).

When we establish a comparison between the number of slave owners and of plantations, we verify that in all areas, the first group is greater than the second. This fact might be considered a secure indication that not all slave owners dedicated themselves to the sugar harvest, and that not all slaves existed for it. The difference between the two groups is more pronounced in Funchal, where the number of slave owners is three times superior to that of plantations. In the "Partes do Fundo" this number does not go past double, in XVI-century, and in the districts of Calheta, Ponta do Sol and Machico's captaincy showed lower numbers.

The facts available by research take us to conclude the following: in the total of 502 sugar producers only 78 (15,5%) own slaves. The comparison of the number of slaves with the number of weights of sugar in the plantations show, once again, different values. We are therefore faced with an evident proof of the interference of free labour: the average goes from 10 and 1329,5 weights per slave. Alike, if we frame the slaves in the owners' grounds, we'll conclude its weak link to the sugar culture: in 104 simultaneous slave and ground owners, only 9 (9%) have plantations. The rest, in its majority, own vineyards and cornfields. Of the plantation owners, only one deserves a reference. Bartolomeu Machado, in Funchal, with ten slaves.

In reference to the capital invested by the Madeiran owners in slave labour, there is also a disparity from the situation in the American continent. In Madeira, the number was between 2 and 5%, while on the other side of the Atlantic this percentage could reach 28%.

Along with the connection of the slave to the culture and tilling of the sugar plantations, his presence can also be verified in the different jobs involving the functioning of the engine. The regiment of the customs officials of 1501 refers the specialised duties, and there it says that the masters and officials that made broken sugar would be subjected to heavy fines and, in a clear reference of their presence, it is commanded, in case they were captive, the owner would be responsible for the penalty.

The slaves' duties could assume two distinct situations: sugar harvest official's helper, or specialised workers themselves. In 1482, in a lawsuit about the quality of "seasoned" sugar, two sugar masters testify before Funchal's town council. Vaz and Andre Afonso: the first referred that, while he was absent in the Canary islands one of his men seasoned the sugar, while the second one, also away from the island had given the same job to a boy that worked for him on a wage.

The possible conclusion is that in Madeira, like in the Canary islands, the workforce used in the engines was mixed. Slaves, free and freedmen executed different jobs, being the
services paid in money or sugar. In this group of slaves we include the ones belonging to
the engine owner and the ones that worked for a wage. In Brasil we were also faced with
mixed workforce, but the slaves were a majority. They could either be property of the
engine owner or they could belong to someone else that would rent them.

5. LOOKING FOR FREEDOM

For many slaves, the door to freedom kept closed until Death, but others a the luck and
happiness of reaching it before dying, with claiming the possible sources of
enfranchisement. The owner's Death could be a possible way for freedom. It was
precisely from the testimonial disposals that most freedmen came up.

Freedom could also be reached by expressed wish of the slave or his relatives, by means
of paying their value to the owner. The slaves' relatives, namely the free parents, could
pay the "just value" for the release of the sons. When this didn't happen, they would
depend on the good services given for a owners' decision. The Brotherhood of Nossa
Senhora do Rosário could interfere in this matter.

At last, escape was the most violent way, although not the most efficient for freedom. But
escape was never the most desired, and it only happened in extreme cases and when the
environmental conditions were favourable. In Madeira, just like in the Canary islands,
there's talk of fugitive guanches in the XV and XVI-centuries, considered a permanent
danger for people and goods. To these, some others were associated: Moors and Negroes,
which converted the circulation through the interior of the island in a real battle field.

In the case of the release from slavery by the owner's initiative, it is important of find out
the real reason for such an attitude. It is usual to define it as a generosity act, however,
reality seems to be totally different, when we consider the situation in which freedom was
given. The liberation in Madeira was always given only in specific conditions. And it
never comes up alone, as it was always associated to many compensations in return.

For the archipelago of Madeira the majority of liberated slaves result from testimonial
disposals. From the 642, that we were able to gather for the three centuries, only thirteen
assumed the free condition by means of enfranchisement while the owner still lived and
183 (29%) by testament. These are in its majority from Funchal (72%) where, the
majority of the testaments come from (79%).

For the slave, the testimonial disposition was the hope for freedom. In the group of
liberated men by testament the majority come up with charges competitiveness. To note
that from 103 (56%) of the slaves that reached freedom after the owner's death, 80 must
satisfy certain charges related to religious festivities and charity duties as well as services
for the owner's relatives.
The liberation of the slave did not determine necessarily, the end of the link to the owner, as after the many conditions established, he kept himself tied to the old condition: first, were the charges that had to be satisfied, and then the necessity for protection to guarantee subsistence and work. For a long time he will be seen as released from slavery, sometimes, synonymous of danger, which put him in a difficult situation. Society refused to ascribe him to a real social status.

The slave newly-liberated did not lose his bondage to the owner, that even after death carried on controlling him through the charges. Considering this we may affirm that this method of liberation is far from being the absolute expression of generosity of the owner towards the slave. Otherwise, he would not link the slave to such heavy charges, sometimes heavier than the price that he was worth. In a certain way the majority of releases by testimonial disposal were a poisoned gift. At last, we must take into account the moment at which the liberation takes place: first, as we will see, the presence of the freedmen occurs more frequently during the period of the sugar crisis, then, the majority reach freedom at an advanced age, releasing the owner from the maintenance costs. The case of Dona Branca is an example of it. She owned, in 1615, at the time she made the testament, ten slaves, and only managed the liberation of two of them: Damiao e Maria. The justification for this attitude is given by the testamentary: the first "for being old and having served me well" and the second "for being old and having served me very well and satisfying me totally". The others, in its majority young, did not deserve the same consideration and carried on their slave condition at the service of the relatives.

If we consider the numbers mentioned above and the age of the liberated, we will have 73% of adults, females in its majority: the males, adults or children, did not deserve the same generosity from the owners close to Death. On the other hand, the men were more relieved from charges (58%) than the women (22%), maybe because of their advanced age. But on the contrary, the females received more gifts (61%) with legates of money, clothing, houses and land.

One of the ways to explain these facts is to take into account the reasons presented by the owners to give or deny the liberation of the slaves. In general, freedom was given as a reward for the good services given during his life time. But to this recognition it was added, sometimes, depending on the religious fervour of the owner, the need for emolument for his soul.

The situation of the conditioned freedmen was not far for that of the slave. The bondage resulting from the established conditions for liberation, dragged for longer this subordination. For some, it lasted until Death, as society did not render favourable a total detachment from the slave status. Many carried on as tenants, workers or servants for the old owners, which is the same as saying slaves, with another name.

In the documents that we consulted it is evident the distinction between the coloured freedmen (synonymous of the previous condition as slaves) and the emancipated. This is demonstrative of a different social status and that the freedman found himself in a position between the free and the slave. While the first are distinguished by the colour of
the skin, and certainly the remote slavish condition, to the second this characteristic was associated the new social status. In the case of the emancipated one can add, with assiduity, the name of the ex-owner, giving it this way a mark of the previous condition. In all the documents only 365 freedmen (5,4%) are referred, and 270 free coloureds (4%). In both cases, the majority are Negroes.

The slaves were always a matter of concern for the free men. Manuel Damil is positive in relation to the liberation of the slaves: "it is misadventure because as he has no support of the lord he will get lost". To confirm this idea, Manuel Damil refers that "all the liberated in this land will be done...from the tavern or the chain will not escape". And he was not mistaken! since the seventies of the XVI-century restrictive measures were taken in relation to the liberated in Madeira, which resulted certainly from the difficulties they caused in society.

The solidarity bondage that linked this group to the slaves, the easy social contact with criminals and malefactors drove the established society to consider them a risk group. Their presence was always a reason for concern, and the houses they lived in were, in the understanding of the by-laws of 1546, "dens of thieves".

It was also common for the emancipated and even the slaves to associate themselves to the workers that came from the kingdom, who lived on wages. As a result, many female slaves who had social contact with them robbed their lords as a way to collect money for liberation fee. Others still, robbed the owners on products that would then be sold in the market, as a way of saving enough money to reach freedom.

In accordance with this we might come to the conclusion that life for the freedmen was difficult, and that society and laws, together with a fragile economic situation, contributed for a tormented daily living. This way, the position of the freedmen was not easier than the one of the slave. The slave had to work and be subjected to the owner, but, as a compensation he would give him lodging, food and protection; after liberation, all depended on himself and on the intervention capacity of society. He would still have to take into account the segregation imposed by it and the obligations of the charges imposed by the ex-owner.

The number of freedmen in Madeiran society developed according to the economic conjuncture and specific conditions of slavery. Here, it seems necessary to establish a distinction between the ones that are labelled by the quality of the emancipated, and the others only free, but due to their race it seems to us that they were also slaves. For the period between 1471 and 1700 we are faced with 590 freedmen and 164 free, defined as coloureds, Negroes or Moors. The freedmen are in its majority adults (87%) and female (55%).

The geographical expression meets the slavery spot of the archipelago, having the Se parish as dominant, with 68% of the total of freedmen. If we add the other parishes in the urban area, the number will go up to 72%. Out of this space, we have the parishes of
Canico (6%), Camara de Lobos (3%), Santa Cruz (2%) and Nossa Senhora da Graca in Porto Santo (2%).

EMPLOYMENT FOR FREEDMEN

The activities or jobs developed by the freedmen were not very different from those they did or executed as slaves: in the rural areas the eternal bondage to the land and, in the city, the involvement in the office works or in the domestic services, carried on being a mark in their daily living.

The majority of freedmen lived from their daily work for someone else. This, favoured the existence of strong solidarity ties amongst them and other free workers, a situation that never pleased the local authorities. Many liberation charges express the obligation for the wage earned by the emancipated to be used in it. Of the many referenced cases, one deserves our attention: Pedro had been a slave belonging to Isabel Diniz, saleswoman, and will have to pay five years wage "to whom pays more for him", being the money used for the ransom of captive Moors.

Another way of finding out the occupations of the slaves, and then freedmen, is to find track of the owners' activities. It is to point out that they are situated mainly in the services sector (82%), for they would only be servicemen for the clergymen (24%), of the military ordinances (19%) and of the officers (16%) of the different local and regal institutions. In reality, the majority of slaves was more linked to the house than to the country.

From the established legates by testamentary disposition and by the testaments left by some freedmen, we are able to reconstruct certain aspects of the material and social life of freedmen. Like we have referenced already, some owners, in determining the slave liberation provided means considered necessary for his survival, that varied from amounts in money to houses or cellars for living in, clothing or domestic utensils. Some owners also had the preoccupation in not abandoning the slaves leaving them without means for survival, as it could happen to the children or the sick. So, they tried to give them a possibility with legates in money, the necessary skills for a specific job or the custody from relatives.

It should be pointed out, still, that this group of freedmen, supported by the owners at the beginning of their new life, is reduced. The majority conceded freedom without any means for survival, which caused an adherence to the group of criminals and delinquents of Madeiran society at the time.

In accordance to the legates we can conclude that three were the essential goods and most valued for the start of a new life: the house, the implements for it, and clothing for bedding and wearing. The conditions for survival established for them varied depending on the availability and goodwill of the owner, as well on the quality of the services given.
In extreme cases it could happen that they had assured all the means to start a new life, that is, housing, clothing, bed, implements and farm produce, such as cereal and wine. But, the proprietor would never open hand of a piece of land that could be cultivated, obliging the emancipated to work for a wage or as leaseholders. This situation was untrue only two times, when the owners did not have legitimate successors.

With or without legates from the owner, the slaves, once freed, should organise their life: first, lodging (clothing and bedding), then, work. The scarce possibilities of doing well in a society such as the Madeiran, profoundly hierarchic, made them a social group with few resources, as it can be observed either on the hospital testimonies that receive them, or on the disposition of the Death registers. In the last case we have thirteen declared as poor, and therefore were buried in the factory's ditch. To note that only sixty nine had the privilege of church services, which define well their financial possibilities.

For all this, it is confirmed that the condition of the freedman in Madeiran society was not easy and that they came to enlarge the large amount of power labour and the fearful group of outlaws. The miserable conditions were made worse with freedom, as the protection of the lord was lost. They lacked enough means to survive in security. This way, at death's door, devastated by illness, they find rescue in the Funchal Charity Hospice, declaring misery, many times without anything to support the funeral expenses.

Few are the freedmen that owned movables or immovables. When this happens, the origin is always a donation from the old proprietor. The short inventory of the goods, the reduced or null mess legates or burial obligations, also reveal the poverty state. The ones received by Funchal Charity Hospice did not forget to pay back by offering any goods that they might have.

6. THE SLAVE, ALWAYS DEFENDANT AND NEVER VICTIM

The presence of slaves in Madeira conditioned in an evident manner the regulating mechanisms of society at the political, institutional and religious levels. They, because strangers to the European society ramified in the island, implied the establishment of defining norms for their social contacts. It is necessary to refer that in Madeira, in opposition to what succeeds in slavish societies on the other side of the Atlantic, there is an intercourse and movement causing a peculiar social contact.

In Madeira, the slave is part of the lord's daily life as to him he should maintain a bondage: there was no separation between the world of the slave and that of the free man. This way, with the norms in the form of by-laws, it was tried to perpetuate a situation, once anything contrary to it might endanger the established order. The fugitives or the slaves found isolated or in group constituted a problem for society. They were nearly always, a source for social conflict. The by-laws fought these situations, in forbidding the slave to have space for social contact. For this reason, the sociability of the slave was very reduced and was subject to many limitations. In accordance to a 1473 by-law he could not live alone or be received by freedmen. All these measures may be the mirror
and testimony of the fear that the free men had towards any insurrection attitude from the slaves.

The slave lacked, still, juridical identity. The laws and justice only admitted him in the position of defendant, never as a victim or as a witness. This way, he did not possess ecclesiastical immunity, did not have the right to do a testament, be a witness in the making of any written act or be a tutor. Society only granted him the right to witness in the Sacraments of Baptism and Marriage, as inside the church he was a Christian with the same status as the free. His presence was restricted in activities such as the exercise of justice, not even as helpers to the ones involved in them.

The ordinances of the kingdom also established a different attitude for justice towards the slave and the free. The penalties applied varied in accordance to the social status of the defendant. For example, in the case of a man sleeping with a concubine, the penalty only took place if such happened with a free woman or a white female slave. In the first case, the penalty would meet the social condition of the defendant. Whoever slept with a free woman was given a Death Penalty, while with a white female slave would, only, be exiled to the galleys. In case of arson the slave would be subject to whipping in the pillory, and the damage payments would be the responsibility of the owner. In relation to the other social groups the penalties were varied and severe or not depending on the social status.

In all the legislation referring slaves, apart from the social differentiation, it is latent the fear of the free men towards a possible slave revolt. This way, the intention of the legislator was always to maintain protection measures able to repress such a possibility: first, by restricting the social mobility of the slave, then through a severe justice system for the prevaricators. However, the greater danger was not with the slave, but with the fugitives. They formed a high risk group, that caused profound social instability, and deserved nearly all the attention of the laws.

Society tried to repress violence of the slaves by forbidding the use of arms and limiting the time and space for social intervention and contact. On the other hand, the penalties were much heavier than those applied to any other citizen. The mountains of Madeira, it was said, were filled with fugitives that would steal, frequently the passers-by. The most famous case involves a coloured impassioned by Marcos de Braga, in the place called today Terreiro da Luta (Fight Terrace), after the incident. As a penalty, he was made "to plough the land like a bull in a yoke".

In the understanding of the Madeiran Joao Fernandes Vieira, himself of slavish ascendancy, once he was coloured, liberator of Pernambuco (1645-54) and Governor of Angola (1658-61), it was a "old and approved habit" never to permit the Negro to lift his hand against a white man, as the "preservation of the kingdom depended from that obedience and fear". It was in accordance with this idea that in the ordinance and by-laws of the kingdom were established the norms for the slave's social behaviour.
Theft was one of the aspects associated to the condition of slave. Slave is many times synonymous of thief and criminal. But the first was more associated to his quotidian. This practice would have been so generalised in the XVI-century, that the Count of Linhares did not hesitate in affirming that, he would never punish a slave for theft, as "while he was captive, nothing else did he wish, but to steal". To combat this appetency of the slave to steal, a by-law was established in 1546, to forbid concubinage with the free, namely the worker, as it was said, they would steal from their lords to give to their partners, or to get liberation. In Madeira, the thefts referenced fell upon objects or goods of little value, like clothes, fowls, cattle and some farm produce (wine, sugar cane and fruits).

The greater danger for society resided in the criminality, more accentuated among the fugitives. Giulio Landi, who was in Madeira during the first half of the XVI-century, establishes a differentiation between the Moors and the Negroes, while the first are referenced as criminals and given to escape, the second ones are "good and loyal". In relation to the characteristics that define the first group he refers: "and it is not strange that they hardly support slavery, as they were free at first, but when they are made war prisoners, they are reduced to slavery and are chained". The chains were then inseparable companions only for the Moors, as for the Negroes they would only be in the case of crime. In 1687 Hans Sloane is peremptory: only a gold coin in the hands of a Negro was "sufficient to buy anybody's life".

The ordinances and by-laws, by the restrictive measures they established to the social life of the slaves, suggest that: the limitations of use or transport of any weapon, the curfew after the sound of the alarm and the prohibition of isolated circulation without an order from the owner, give account of the fear.

One of the forms of justice exercised by the owners was the denying of the possibility of liberation or the export. Good behaviour was synonymous many times, of later emancipation by Death of the proprietor, but bad behaviour meant an unpleasant future for the slave.

In the application of the penalties, to the violations committed by the slaves, it is necessary to take into account the position assumed by the owners, once some infractions could be ruinous to them. The owner was responsible for all the damages caused and the payment of the pecuniary penalties. On the other hand, the banishment or Death became equally prejudicial for the owner, as it meant a double loss. The lord would loose the value paid in the purchasing of the slave, and would also loose its services. That is why we do not understand the attitude of Joao Rodrigues Castelhano, in approving the penalty by hanging of five of his slaves that had killed the steward. Different was the attitude of Diogo Leitao that preferred to pay five thousand reis for regal forgiveness when he saw himself deprived of his slave, Diogo, exiled to Cabo Verde for having wounded a man, as he refers "nothing would have served the fact that I brought him up since small and had spent much of his fazm".

7. THE CHURCH OF THE SLAVES AND OF THE FREEDMEN
The position of the Church facing the phenomenon is clear: accepts slavery and uses it, recognising in the slave, equality with the free men only at a religious level. So, it might be said that, generally, the preoccupation of the clergymen towards the slave resumed itself to the condition of Christian and not of Human as a social "animal". This way, the church interferes more in the claiming for the education of the doctrine and assiduity of the novices in the Sacraments, than in any other domain.

One of the domains that has worried more the studious of the ideological aspects of slavery is the posture adopted by Church: its conduct faced with the existence of slavery is questioned, and one hints at the double position assumed towards the phenomenon in the American continent. There, the attitude of the Church is ruled in defence of the slavish condition of the Negro as a form of fighting against Indian slavery. In this matter Friar Bartolome de Las Casas and Father Antonio Vieira stood out. The positions manifested by the catholic church in the Portuguese and Castilian colonies in South America witness that diversity of options, namely among the Society of Jesus: it was contested and prohibited Indian slavery, but, on the other hand, the submission of the African Negroes was favoured, in spite of the these being, in the understanding of Pierre Cubert, more apt in embracing Christianity. However, among the Society of Jesus in Brasil some voices, such as the ones of Miguel Garcia and Goncalo Leite, opposed Negro slavery.

Pontifical documentation also gives us account of an identical attitude assumed by the papacy in relation to slavery. The condemning attitude of the Popes Pio II, Paul III and Urbano VIII, contrasts with the attitudes of Niculau V, Calisto III, Sixto IV, Leao X and Alexandre VI, expressed in bulls defensive of the legitimacy of slavery. In this case some bulls deserve a reference: "Dum Diversas" and "Divino Amore Comoniti" which guaranteed the Portuguese the right to conquer and make slaves the Saracen.

Church, generally, did not combat slavery but its attitude towards the slave was not passive, as it did all possible to bring slaves among them through the teaching of the doctrine and practice of the catholic precepts. In spite of the prohibition by papal bull of the slavishness of Christians, it happened that this measure only reached those that were before, and not the novices. The baptised slave and married was necessarily a Christian, but socially he carried on being a slave. Only in India freedmen were given to the converted ones.

An opinion contrary to this had the owners that saw in this measure a loss of the total domination of the slave, and, for that same reason, placed many obstacles in the indoctrination and cultural practices. Thence resulted the censure of the English slave owners towards Baptism, as they considered it a risk for the maintenance of a slavish society.

The ecclesiastic constitutions of the diocese of the Atlantic world express the preoccupation of the church priests in the teaching of the doctrine to the slaves and the
practising of their Sacraments, with special relevance for Baptism and Marriage. In Funchal, in Las Palmas or Baia, the worry was the same, in spite of the different dimension assumed by slavery. In Madeira, the first recommendation this way was expressed in 1592 by bishop D. Luís Figueiredo de Lemos, when he visited the parish of Faja da Ovelha. The bishop refers the presence in the parish of many pagan slaves, that, in his understanding, should deserve the attention of the local vicars. The fact that, according to him, some of them manifested the wish of taking religious vows was an indication of the cares to be taken with the indoctrination. This way, it was recommended to the vicars and priests the attention needed in this domain, making the slaves know that "the Christian doctrine and at least the Pater Noster prayer and Ave Maria, the points of faith and the commandments of the Law of God(...)". To the parishioners were also given respectability in this sphere, ordering that the slaves more than seven years old "must be done with much diligence the teaching of the doctrine". On the other hand the vicars were advised to inform themselves about the number of slaves in the parish "and, observing that they don't know the Pater Noster and Ave Maria, the points of faith and commandments of the law of God, act against their lords, who must teach the said doctrine, and send them to church to learn at the same time they teach(...)".

This insistence of the Church on the indoctrination and religious practice faced many obstacles. They could come from either the owners or the slaves themselves, that were still linked to their African rituals or Islamism. In Madeira, it was reduced the number of these defaulters towards Catholicism, just like the few denunciations testify, at the time of the Holy Office's visits to Madeira, in 1591 and 1618. The only sign might be revealed by the great number of illegitimate relationships. But here, the main cause might be the fact that the lords insisted in maintaining the female slaves free from marriage, as they use them often as concubines.

The Church itself did not worry too much in following strictly the constitutions, managing equally the Baptism of the slaves born in the island through an illegitimate relationship. The only known exception happened in 1541, in the parish of Santa Cruz, where the vicar refused to baptise a child "for being the daughter of a Negro female slave captive of Antonio Correia". This is an punctual situation that shows the segregative attitude of the clergymen, as in the documentation we do not find any other similar reference. On the contrary, we noted the interest that the Church had in protecting them.

In Madeira, opposed to what happened in the American continent, was not established in the parochial registers any separation between slaves and free men. The slave comes up in all of them, next to the free citizen. Even the court of the Holly Office gave them identical treatment, in processing terms, to slaves and free, in quality of defendants or victims. This valorisation of the testimony or denunciation done by the slave, that sometimes involves his own proprietor, reveals the consideration that court attributed to the slave. In Madeira, in 1618, five women and one men were referred as denouncers, all free, but ethnical origins indicated their previous condition as slaves.

Another fact confirming complete religious integration of the slaves in the community is presented by the admission in convents or of collation of lesser orders. Here, just like in
the kingdom, we have slaves and freedmen: in 1538 Manuel, freed from Francisco Narde, received its first tonsure, while in 1563 Alvaro Goncalves, coloured, is referred in the Death register as a clergyman. Sometimes, this resulted from the wish expressed by the owner, as succeeded with Agostinho, slave belonging to Guiomar de Couto and Maria dos Reis, slave owned by D. Luis de Figueiredo Lemos, bishop of Funchal. We also found some cases on admission in convents, mainly of females, as we referred in the explicitness of the obligations referring to the liberation of the slaves. So it happened with Antonia, slave owned by captain Domingos de Figueiredo Calheiros, Teresa of Father Manuel Dias Pinheiro, Paulina of Apelonia Tavora and Isabel of Maria Camara. Strangely enough the canon Henrique Calaca, founder of the Convent of Encarnacao in Funchal, opposed the wish of one of his sisters in admitting in the convent a slave that he had given. This attitude is justified in the testament the following way: "it seems to me she did not want to be emancipated, and so I say to stay liberated and as she has her daughter in the convent, will not stop being loss".

On the other hand, it matters to know what was the importance assumed by the cultural aspects in the life of the slave and freedmen. We have already given account of the difficulties with which the church was faced in the teaching of the Christian doctrine, resulting not only from the presence of the rituals from origin and the contrary attitude of the owners. Thence, resulted the tolerance of the Church towards the slaves.

The administration of any Sacrament implied a minimum knowledge of the doctrine, but in the case of the slaves this recommendation was nearly always forgotten. In the Ecclesiastical Constitutions of 1597 the bishop D. Luis de Figueiredo de Lemos refers the slave as an ignorant person in the knowledge of the religion and the need to educate and teach the doctrine before Baptism. For the other Sacraments (Chrism, Marriage and Extreme Unction), in spite of the knowledge obligation the norms were not as rigid as it might be estimated by the same constitutions.

One of the best ways to measure the Christianity of the slaves and freedmen might be the presence or not of Baptism, Chrism, Marriage and Extreme Unction. While the first three acts are purely liturgical, the last one proves a diverse intention, for it was there that the Church controlled the execution of the testamentary charges. The slave and the freedmen did not occupy a relevant place in this last case, seeing that his precarious economic conditions, as we have seen, did not permit to pay for the charges or legates. Thence, maybe, the reason for the little assiduity in these registers, in contrast with the ones for Baptism.

On the other hand, and we have already said it here, the presence of the slaves in marriages is reduced or null, when compared to the number of baptisms. In accordance with an assiduity chart of the number of registers in question, we observe some cases where the marriage comes after the Baptism of the child. This, happened with Margarida from Canico, Catarina of Madalena, Isabel and Gracia, both from Funchal. In other cases such as Ana de Braga from the parish of Se (1596), Catarina of Sao Pedro (1513), the interval between the Marriage and the Baptism of the child is very small, which confirms the existence of sexual relationships before the union was authorised by Church.
At this level, Church is faced with a dilemma: in its doctrine condemned concubinage of the slaves and free men, but in reality, confronted with the presence of one child to be baptised, ignored it, without acting against the parents, as prescribed in the Ecclesiastical Constitutions. The ones of 1585 established that sexual intercourse before marriage was condemned with the excommunication penalty. Alike, the religiousness of the slaves and freedmen, should be referred, still had other guaranteeing indicators of that: the religious charges established, by testament or mere schedule.

The position assumed by slaves and freedmen towards death is, without any doubt, another sign of the religiousness of this group. The assimilation or not of the vision that Church then , disclosed of Death stays obvious through the schedules or testaments. The recourse to these documents, transcribed in the Death register or tumbled in some institution that received legates, allows such a conclusion. However, in the case of the slaves, without the necessary means to assure a celestial intercession through the mess's charges, his presence is almost null. Only on the death registers we find eight of them that established such duties, six females and two males. In any case, a testament was not done, being the last wish expressed in an outcry, while the Extreme Unction was being given.

The limited number of slaves soliciting divine intercession through services cannot, by any means, be an indication of the little adhesion to the religious death ritual, but on the other hand, it is a sign of their slender means. The testaments or schedules dropped at the Hospices, "Julgado de ResÝduos" ,Churches and rarely on the Death registers, only have place when the dead slave established donations or charges of interest to these institutions. At last, the Negroes attitudes towards Death should be ruled by the traditions of the place of origin, which never coincided with the Christian ones in any way. Here, we only have freedmen and the last declarations are made by means of a schedule to the Father of Funchal's Hospice, at the time of the administration of the Sacraments. Of these, we only found nine cases, 4 females and 5 males. With those of the parochial registers the number goes up to sixty, being the majority done by females (72%). Their expression is more evident in the XVI century (64%) than in the following, which might be an indication of a greater impoverishment in this century.

It should be pointed out, also, that during this period the charges are less, as only 24% of the slaves established the ones for services and 34% for the duties. In both cases, the number of slaves with messes or duties reaches 45%, being that for church services only 3 slaves make up 85% of the total. On the other hand, it is evident the predominance of the females in any of the situations, having Maria das Neves standing out. From Funchal, coloured, free, with 30 services prayed. From Estreito da Calheta, there was Maria, black, with 28 church services.

In all of them it is obvious the recourse to the protection of Funchal Charity Hospice and the recognition of its charitable work. The duties and charges are established in greater part, for the institution. Apart from that it should be referenced the fact that many of them claimed for the merits of the institution in wanting to be buried in the chapel and have the right to a church service.
One of the aspects of special significance during the burial service of the slaves and freedmen is the place for the funeral. It is evident the preference for certain temples, and in them, for certain chapels. In Funchal, apart from the Hospice Chapel, we have the Church of SÚ and of Nossa Senhora do Calhau. In this last temple there was a Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos, whose origins must have been on the preference for this temple.

Together with the burial ritual, there was the choice of where the dead would "rest". According with the information gathered in the death registers, only the freedmen could be buried inside the church. The slaves were, usually, buried in the ditch belonging to the church's factory, a place where the ones that could not afford a grave would go. But, for some, those to whom the lord would be grateful for, the is a place in his ditch. So it happened to Leanor, black, freed by Gaspar Nunes, with Lourenço other liberated slaves from Tabã.

In 1580 the chapter of Funchal's SÚ went against the friars of the Convent of S. Francisco because of the fact that they allowed a greater number of burials in the chapel, alluring the consequent legates. The conclusion of the dispute only happened in 1615 with the Ecclesiastical Constitutions of Friar Lourenço de Tôvora: in them it was established that the vicars would not allow the burial of "under age boy or girls and slaves out of their churches and cemeteries or hermitages, specially in the Convent of S. Francisco". This determination shows that many slaves preferred the graves in the chapels of the convents and that they were buried out of them.

Another aspect of particular interest in slave devotion was the appearing of religious brotherhoods. These institutions were created to give assistance in life and in death, and it's affirmation was a result of the influence of the Franciscans and Dominicans. The worship of Nossa Senhora do Rosário is linked to the Dominican tradition, having emerged in Portugal during the second half of the XV century, from the Church of S. Domingos in Lisbon. However, the assimilation of this cult by the Negroes from the capital, through the brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário, would have begun at an uncertain time.

The cult to Nossa Senhora do Rosário was expanded to the whole of the Atlantic space, having expression in the islands and America. In Madeira, in spite of the absence of Dominicans, the worship of Rosário had a strong implantation, with existing brotherhoods in the parishes of SÚ, Nossa Senhora do Calhau, Estreito da Calheta, Ribeira Brava, Santo António, Sao Martinho, Tabua, Porto Santo, Machico and Sao Vicente. Apart from this fact, we are faced with some private chapels where the patron saint is Nossa Senhora do Rosário. They existed in Sao Vicente, Machico, S. Roque, Santa Cruz, Sao Jorge and Campanário.

Of this cult it only is known the existence, through documentation, of one Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos in the parish of Nossa Senhora do Calhau and SÚ. Of the remainder, we can only point out Ribeira Brava and Estreito da Calheta as also having links with cultural practices of slaves and freedmen.
On the other hand it should be pointed out that slave and freedmen devotion did not resume itself to the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário. The proof could be found in the parish of SÚ, with Maria Afonso, black, and Isabel Dias, coloured, whom established duties in here and in other brotherhoods such as in Santiago Maior, Reis Magos, Chagas, Nossa Senhora do Populo, Candelaria, Sao Bartolomeu, Sao Josú e Sao Diogo. But it is clear the preference for Nossa Senhora do Rosário. Maria Afonso, in establishing the legates to the Brotherhoods privileges Rosário, to which she gives 300 reis and a house, while Isabel Dias donated one cellar and paid a duty through two church services in the altar of SÚ with the same invocation.

The altar of Nossa Senhora do Rosário of Funchal's SÚ was object for a special devotion on the part of slaves and freedmen. In 1608, Maria das Neves, liberated coloured, was buried, at her request, in front of the referred altar. On the other hand, it should be mentioned that in the three situations where legates for the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos are mentioned, from the parish of Nossa Senhora do Calhau, the referenced people do not declare any ethnical detail, which might be a sign that in the above mentioned brotherhoods there was place for free, freedmen and slaves.

Strangely, during our search in the available documentation for the Brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário of SÚ, created in 1583, we did not find any signs that would show the participation of Negroes, neither slaves nor free. The only reference that might be considered to clarify the situation is carved on the list of the Brotherhood's goods, where it is referred the existence of an altar cloth in the house of Maria Gonçalves, black, belonging to the Brotherhood.

The Brotherhood did not limit itself to religious functioning, as to it were associated other interests of social impact. In the case of the Negroes the brotherhood of Nossa Senhora do Rosário still provided the necessary social support to the brothers and the means required for liberation. In Madeira we don't know of a case of liberation achieved this way, but we know that in 1622 Catarina Gonçalves handed over the brotherhood 15.000 reis with this objective.

The worship of Nossa Senhora das Neves, common for slaves, did not find great acceptance in Madeira, once that the existence of only one chapel dedicated to this patron saint is documented. In Sao Gonçalo, it was built during the XVI century on the orders of Joao Afonso Mealheiro and his wife Catarina de Sú. None of them is referenced as a slave owner, neither did we find any allusion of this cult on the part of slaves.

8. THE SLAVES TODAY

The presence in Madeira of a significant number of Canarian, North African and Guinea slaves might have made propitious, social and economic wise, multiple alterations in Madeiran daily-life. It is common to point out the various influences in the traditions,
namely the folklore and Madeiran diet. This idea, although generalised today, does not result from a scientific study, but from mere empirical observations and suppositions. The ethnography is full of remarks of this type: in the regional folklore, the songs and dances that do not fit the Portuguese vein are immediately associated to this group. For this reason, some dances and songs, typical of the Madeiran folklore are a result of the presence of the slaves. The "charamba" the heavy dance (baile pesado), the Moorish (mourisca), the rocking song (canção de embalar) and the half-turn dance (baile da meia-volta) are accepted by the Madeiran folklore specialists as a result of the culture legated by the slaves.

The greater part of authors that defend the idea of the influences by the many ethnical groups that made up the slave nuclei in the Madeiran folklore, have in sight the slavery situation in Brasil. However, in that country, it assumed very different proportions. The domination and social system allowed for the maintenance of the slaves' traditions in their own settlements.

For Madeira, slavery was somewhat different. The geographic conditions and the space that divided the lands, the reduced number of slaves per proprietor and the social space limitations, did not favour the same type of socialising. Still in Madeira, having in mind the restrictions imposed by the by-laws to the circulation of the slaves after curfew, it seems to us difficult, if not impossible, to find a moment where they would be in each other's company and enjoy themselves with songs and dances. This way, they only had left the amusement periods established by the owner, that certainly they could not ignore: cane games, bullfights and wrestling.

The signs more in evidence, that might be in the origin of the presence of slaves of the various ethnical groups, come up on the toponymy. Here, it is possible to find different places associated to their presence:

1. Canarians : Pico dos Canários (Santana)


3. Negroes : Cova do Negro(a) - Ponta do Pargo, Serra de Agua, Porto Moniz. Furnas do Negro (Penha de Aguaia and Santa Cruz), Ilhúu do Negro (Boaventura e Porto Moniz), Poço do Negro (Porto Moniz), Quebradas do Negro (Achadas da Cruz), Serras do Negro (Serra de Agua).

4. Coloureds : Ribeira da Mulata (Campanário)

In the case of the Guanches (Canarians) other signs of their presence come up, putting in evidence the importance assumed by this group at the beginning of slavery in Madeira. In Faial, Serra de Agua e Tabâa we have some constructions dug on the rocks, associated by tradition to the Moorish, but these must be linked to the Guanches. To them it is usually given the use of a religious temple, and it was, in one of them, in fact, that in 1680 Antonio Teixeira Dória built a chapel with the name of Nossa Senhora de Penha de França. Still, in Porto Santo persisted the "gofe" (toasted barley), an essential component
for the Guanches. As well as some words, considered by the linguistics as "Guanchismos".

Of the possible reminiscences of the presence of slaves in the island we can still question the evolution of slavery in the XVIII and XIX centuries in Madeira. From the publishing of the law of 19 September 1761, applied in the island by the corrector Francisco Moreira de Matos in 1767, it was prohibited to enter in the island a British ship with slaves. This was an order given to Francisco Xavier Furtado de Mendonça, and in 1768 this law was publicised by a proclamation. That is why since then no more registers of slaves entering Funchal's customs come up. This, was the first step to slavery abolition in Madeira.

From here onwards it could only carry on through the slaves born on the island, which by the law of 16 January 1773 would become free. Slaves were only those born up to that date and the adults. The abolition is negotiated from the Treaty of Vienna (1815), but only in 1858 it reaches its plenitude. In the meantime, in Madeira, from the beginning of the XIX century it is difficult, if not impossible, to find the word slave on the documents, in definition of the social status of an individual. To note that from 1809 in the register of the entries in Funchal's Charity Hospice slave, is a word unknown to the scribe. The political convulsion created by the liberal revolution associated to the serious economic crisis felt on the island hurried its extinction.

In the beginning of the XX century we had on the island again, the presence of Africans from Cabo Verde, who emerged as part of a campaign against starvation in their archipelago. One of those groups came to port in Ribeira Brava to work in public building in Pa·l da Serra, as an initiative of the Viscount of Ribeira Brava. The fact of this situation in more evidence is the expression of racist feelings in the columns of the newspaper from Ponta do Sol "A poca". This fact is faced as an insult to the islanders, who did not want the island to turn into an African settlement. At that same time another group of Africans worked on the road of connection of the Curral dos Romeiros that would be come known as Caminho dos Pretos (The Blacks' way).