


## FROM FELIPE TO DIOGO CAMARÃO: THE CREATION AND INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE POSITION OF GOVERNOR OF THE INDIANS IN THE STATE OF BRAZIL

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### ABSTRACT

This article examines the process of institutionalization of the position of Governor of the Indians in the State of Brazil. Created in 1636, during the Portuguese-Dutch wars, this post was initially granted to Felipe Camarão and, after his death, to his cousin Diogo Camarão. The main objective is to understand the performance of Diogo Pinheiro Camarão, who led the government of the Indians between 1648 and 1677. Through a historiographical review and the analysis of unpublished sources, the thesis is defended that the administration of Diogo Camarão represented a milestone in the relationship between the indigenous leaders and the agents of the Portuguese crown, consolidating the role of the governors of the Indians as intermediaries between the settlements and the royal authorities. In addition, it seeks to understand the political-administrative and military actions of these indigenous leaders, which materialized definitively at the end of the administration of the first two governors.

**Keywords:** Colonial Pernambuco. Governors of the Indians. Camarão Family. Diogo Camarão. Indigenous History.

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## INTRODUCTION<sup>2</sup>

The decisive participation of the Indians in the wars that culminated in the expulsion of the Dutch from the captaincies of the North made it possible to build new spaces of alliance and negotiation between the "main" Indians, the colonial administrators and the Portuguese crown. Armed with various "roles of service", the allied indigenous leaders went through a true process of mobility, ascending socially and economically and occupying spaces of power and prestige in the American colony.

In particular, members of the Camarão and Arcoverde families took turns in power for many decades, consolidating themselves as the local indigenous elites. In addition, these agents received various honors and favors, held positions, earned salaries and continued to act in war contexts, reaffirming, in each generation, the alliances established in this colonial world.

For about 100 years, between 1636 and 1733, these indigenous lineages held the position of governor of the Indians in their respective areas of domain, playing an essential role for the colonial government and administration in those hinterlands. The governors of the Indians were true intermediaries between the Portuguese and the indigenous world and, as royal administrators, they were responsible for various functions, such as: recruitment for the troops, distribution for work, bringing the Indians back to their villages and missions, defending the towns and camps, carrying out diligences, resolving conflicts, among others.

The position of governor of the Indians was created in 1636 and had as its initial purpose to decorate the most important indigenous leader who was acting in the wars against the Dutch. For this reason, the first "principal" to occupy the position of governor of the Indians was Antônio Felipe Camarão, still at the beginning of that conflict. In the royal charter that made official the appointment of Felipe Camarão, the king informed that "the position of captain-general and governor of the Indians should be offered as soon as possible to the said principal<sup>3</sup>" and he should also be decorated with a habit of the Order of Christ. This strategy aimed to keep the Indians active on the battlefields; With this, the Lusitanian authorities used all possible means to favor them.

It can be said that this first moment marked the process of ascension of the "main" Indians as governors, with Felipe Camarão (1636-1648) and his cousin and successor Diogo Pinheiro Camarão (1648-1677) as representatives. Both were chiefs of the third of the Indians, notable for the management of the troops in guerrilla and ambush activities, especially during the well-known Battle of Guararapes. Then, around 1677, with the

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<sup>2</sup> Text based on the author's doctoral thesis defended at the Federal University of Minas Gerais (UFMG) in 2022.

<sup>3</sup> Record of a letter from His Majesty written to Mathias de Albuquerque about the Indians and Camarão, *May 14, 1633*. In: *Historical Documents 1631-1637*. vol. XVI, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Monroe, 1930, p. 466 - 467.



appointment of Antônio João Camarão, the process of consolidation of these leaderships began more clearly, gaining greater prominence with governors Antônio Pessoa Arcoverde and Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão. And, finally, between 1728-1733, with the ascension of the sixth governor Antônio Domingos Camarão Arcoverde, a process of overthrow of these leaders began, culminating in their dismissal and the extinction of the position of governor of the Indians. Thus, three distinct phases can be clearly perceived over these hundred years that characterize the position of governor of the Indians: the rise during the Dutch wars, which lasted until 1677; consolidation, in which new demands arise and new agreements are established, a period circumscribed between 1677 and 1727; and, finally, decadence, represented by the management of Antônio Domingos Camarão.

Table 1: List of governors of the Indians of Pernambuco

<b>Governor of the Indians</b>	<b>Government period</b>
Antônio Felipe Camarão	1636 - 1648
Diogo Pinheiro Camarão	1648 - 1677
Antônio João Camarão	1677 - 1682
Antônio Pessoa Arcoverde	1683 - 1692
Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão	1694 - 1722
Antônio Domingos Camarão Arcoverde	1722 - 1733

Source: Prepared by the authors.

Each of these phases was marked by situations and demands that caused a constant updating of the pacts, agreements and alliances signed, representing both the new interests of the Indians and those of the Lusitanians in this context. Thus, analyzing the performance of each of the "principals" in the position of governor of the Indians involves understanding the demands, interests and all the changes caused by the historical context and the deepening of the colonization process in American lands. For this reason, the attributions that these governors had were in practice, little by little, generation by generation, shaping themselves over these hundred years in which the post existed, and only with a joint investigation of these trajectories will it be possible to delimit more precisely the real meaning of this position and its functions.

This article analyzes the first four decades of the existence of the position of governor of the Indians, a period that corresponds to the administration of Felipe and Diogo Camarão, with emphasis on the process of institutionalization of the position. In this sense, it seeks to understand the changes that occurred in the pacts and negotiations that, in the end, provided the establishment of a political-administrative and military action by the governors of the Indians.

The negotiations brought by the Indians are analyzed within the scope of this article as a historical assumption, based on sociocultural, political and conjunctural relations, being



understood from the indigenous perspective. For this reason, they are not seen from the perspective of submission/imposition, as traditionally established by historiography. To say this does not mean to deny the existence of an unequal relationship between the parties, but to take into account that each relational context of negotiation builds possibilities that put the actors on the scene in positions to bargain for better agreements and conditions.

### THE POSITION OF GOVERNOR OF THE INDIANS AND THE PERFORMANCE OF FELIPE CAMARÃO: BRIEF HISTORIOGRAPHICAL COMMENTS

The participation of indigenous leaders as governors of the Indians and their role as colonial administrators has been little addressed by Brazilian historiography. Most of the studies that touch on the subject have Antônio Felipe Camarão as their object of research and are focused on analyzing his performance during the wars against the Dutch<sup>4</sup>. Local and more traditional historiography gave little importance to the indigenous presence *lato sensu* in the formation of the colonial world, rarely appearing any information in broader analyses of the colonization process. In these cases, the Indians were seen only as secondary pieces and almost unimportant for the unfolding of historical events and the emphasis fell only on these leaders considered important. For this reason, Antônio Felipe Camarão is, without a doubt, the Brazilian Indian most studied by historiography.

Felipe Camarão's first appearances in historiography date back to the mid-nineteenth century in the journals of regional historical and geographical institutes. There are a series of short articles at the IAHGP (Archaeological, Historical and Geographical Institute of Pernambuco), at the IHGRN (Historical and Geographical Institute of Rio Grande do Norte) in Natal and at the IHGB (Brazilian Historical and Geographical Institute). The interest of these institutes in studying Camarão is consistent with the historiographical movement of the time, in which the indigenous element was romanticized, as well as its presence in the formation of nationality and the Brazilian state. For this reason, Felipe Camarão and his wife Clara Camarão were the subject of some articles for the scientific journals of these institutes. It sought to analyze the components that would form the Brazilian nationality, as well as the intention to create a pantheon of national heroes. However, despite this interest in the "heroes of the homeland", as mentioned, the indigenous presence was not relevant, in the broad sense, neither in the analyses of the Dutch wars nor in historiography in general.

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<sup>4</sup> Cf. MELLO, José Antônio Gonsalves de. Dom Antônio Filipe Camarão. Captain-General of the Indians of the Northeast Coast of Brazil. Recife, Editora da Universidade de Recife, 1954.



The articles that deal with Camarão, for the most part, have the purpose of investigating his birthplace, that is, the place of his birth in order to then link him to a captaincy/province<sup>5</sup>. There were, at the time, three hypotheses of where Camarão would have been born: Pernambuco, Ceará and Rio Grande. The defense of each of these hypotheses intensified the debates among some Brazilian literati in the nineteenth century, which was built following several lines of argument and based on different documents, basically reports and chronicles produced in the colonial period<sup>6</sup>. However, regardless of which hypothesis is correct, it is worth noting here that the debate placed Felipe Camarão at the center of local historical research, enabling the knowledge of a varied set of sources that greatly help in understanding his trajectory.

In addition to these works, there are a few studies that deal with the descendants of Felipe Camarão, but these have the purpose of investigating the participation of the third of the Indians in the colonial war enterprises<sup>7</sup> and/or the receipt of habits from military orders by these leaders<sup>8</sup>. These, for the most part, are serious works based on documentary research and with academic ballast, being important for the reflections of this article. However, these studies did not address the role of these agents when it comes to the colonial government and administration.

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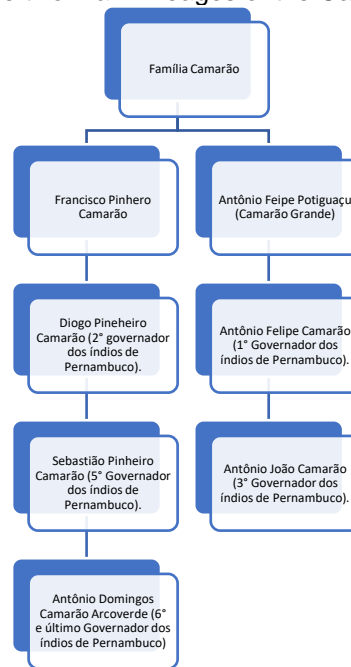
<sup>5</sup> VARNHAGEN, Francisco Adolfo de. *Biographia dos Brasileiros distintos por armas, letras, virtudes, etc. Birthplace of Dom Antonio Filippe Camarão*. In: *Journal of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute*, Rio de Janeiro. Volume XXX, 1867 (Part One); VARNHAGEN, Francisco Adolfo de. *Biographia dos Brasileiros distintos por armas, letras, virtudes, etc. Birthplace of Dom Antonio Filippe Camarão*. *Journal of the Brazilian Historical and Geographic Institute*, Rio de Janeiro. Volume XXX, 1867 (Part Two).

<sup>6</sup> Cf. MELLO, Antonio Joaquim de. *Biographies of some poets, and illustrious men of the province of Pernambuco*. Volume I. Recife: Typographia Universal, 1856; MELLO, Antonio Joaquim de. *Biographies of some poets, and illustrious men of the province of Pernambuco*. Tomo II. Recife: Typographia Universal, 1858.

<sup>7</sup> ELIAS, Juliana Lopes. *Indigenous militarization in the Captaincy of Pernambuco in the seventeenth century: the Camarão case*. Thesis (Doctorate in History) - Federal University of Pernambuco. Recife, 2005.

<sup>8</sup> RAMINELLI, Ronald. *Nobilities of the New World: Brazil and hispanic ultramar, seventeenth and eighteenth centuries*. Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2015.

Figure 1: The two main lineages of the Camarão family.



Source: Prepared by the authors.

In general, the performance of indigenous leaders in the captaincy of Pernambuco has been treated in multiple ways over time. Some works have approached it in terms of "co-optation" and "subjugation", considering the "main" Indians and governors as true "accomplices of the colonial plots", <sup>9</sup>as if they represented only Lusitanian interests. In these cases, it can be said that there was an analysis of the context of alliances, agreements and negotiations between indigenous people and Portuguese, in which only one side of the coin was considered, delegitimizing the indigenous view of these processes and reducing the power of choice and action of these agents.

It is undeniable that colonization caused significant changes in indigenous societies; However, it is essential to consider the role of the Indians in this process, in addition to their actions and interests, which in no context were static and varied from many factors.

The diversity of indigenous peoples and cultures is an important element to consider when dealing with their histories, as this multiplicity can also be seen in the forms of interaction with the colonial world and with Europeans, whether Portuguese, Dutch, French, Spanish, among others. For this reason, when looking at the indigenous actions in the face of contact, it is clear that some chose to ally, others tended to make some concessions, but did not accept the settlement or life away from the forests, and still others rejected any and all forms of interaction and resisted in the most varied ways.

<sup>9</sup> SILVA, Geyza Kelly Alves. Web of alliances, loyalty and dependence: Tabajaras and Potiguaras allies/villages in the captaincy of Pernambuco. CLIO. Revista de Pesquisa Histórico, Recife, n. 25-2, p. 187-214, 2007.



Is it possible to say which of these actions/choices were correct at that point? No. The indigenous choices were based on their own cultural repertoire and on the circumstances that the historical context provided. However, for a long time, those who opted for a more direct and effective resistance were "valued" and other forms of relationship and action were "rejected".

There is today, in historiography, a contrary movement to seek to understand indigenous actions beyond pure and simple resistance. That is, to understand the various forms of indigenous agency or protagonism in history. Does this mean rejecting the concept of resistance altogether? Not either. It is only an attempt to understand the other forms of relationship developed between Indians and non-Indians. In particular, attention has been paid to alliances and adaptations – remembering that adaptation does not mean submission and/or passivity. After all, current research has shown how the indigenous people who settled in villages constantly fought for spaces of freedom and rights.

For now, for the argument in question, it is important to recognize that today's indigenous movements show that speaking Portuguese, participating in political discussions, claiming rights through the judicial system, in short, participating intensely in the "society of the whites" and learning its functioning mechanisms does not mean leaving aside indigenous identity, but on the contrary, as this represents the possibility of acting, survive and defend their rights.

And so did the indigenous people in the past, they sought at all costs to fight for their survival, acting in the most varied ways, including accepting the settlement, learning the general language, Portuguese and many of the mechanisms of colonial society, aiming at the rights that were guaranteed to them by the Lusitanian laws.

The governors of the Indians were intermediaries between the indigenous and the Portuguese world, so much so that the investiture in office required the candidates to fulfill certain prerogatives that met the interests of the Portuguese allies and the Indians themselves. In the first place, it should be noted that the position should be occupied by indigenous leaders ("main" Indians) or mestizos of Indians with other qualities (whites and blacks). In this way, subjects who did not have an indigenous ancestry were not accepted in this position, especially by the Indians themselves.

Secondly, it can be said that power was generally centralized in the hands of the same family, that is, it was hereditary. The heredity related to this position can be considered a significant change from the "traditional" logic of the Indians for the choice of their leaders. That said, it is inferred that this characteristic is closely linked to the function of "principal", established post-conquest and contact.



Thirdly, it can be seen that the governors of the Indians were the "main" allies of the Portuguese who participated, above all, in the various colonial war enterprises. As a result, they had military ranks, titles and/or other royal graces to delimit their position and guarantee their power before their followers and the colonial society in which they were inserted. Finally, the governors of the Indians had authority in broader areas, encompassing various settlements and peoples. Each colonial village had its own chief, the "principal" Indian, and this was hierarchically subordinated to the political and military command of the governors.

The governors of the Indians of Pernambuco, due to their connection with Felipe Camarão and their intense collaboration in the wars against the Dutch, gained more prominence and acquired a greater power of influence, encompassing almost the entire captaincy and its annexes. It is clear from the documentation that the authority of these leaders was circumscribed to "all the Indians of this coast of Brazil from Maranhão to the São Francisco River".<sup>10</sup> The space of power of the governors of the Indians of Bahia, for example, began, soon after, to encompass the entire region of the São Francisco, including the areas that were located in the captaincy of Pernambuco, but did not expand beyond that.

### **DIOGO CAMARÃO AND THE INSTITUTIONALIZATION OF THE POSITION OF GOVERNOR OF THE INDIANS**

The attributions related to the position of governor were delimited over time not only based on the needs imposed by local and regional demands, but also by royal interests. The figure of the governor, initially, represented only war interests, as can be seen from the performance of Antônio Felipe Camarão. However, since the ascension of Diogo Pinheiro Camarão to the post, the incorporation of other functions can be perceived, these being of a more administrative and bureaucratic nature and which indelibly marked the performance of the governors of the Indians.

In 1655, Diogo Pinheiro Camarão received the task of providing the post of captain of the "village of Camarão", a reference to the village where Felipe Camarão resided in the last years of his life, the Indian lieutenant Simão Rodrigues. In this correspondence, there is a strong indication on the part of the Portuguese Crown that this would be a practice adopted from then on to meet the defensive needs of the captaincy of Pernambuco and annexes. Vieira Ravasco stated that "because it is convenient to provide as captain all the Indians of the villages of Camarão, and others [...] to more readily attend to the obligations offered by

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<sup>10</sup> AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 11, D. 1027.





the service of His Majesty".<sup>11</sup> Those appointed to the post should enjoy all the privileges that directly belong to them and the other Indians were decreed to "obey, and fulfill, and keep their [the captains'] orders as punctually and entirely as they should and are obliged".<sup>12</sup>

There are two interesting situations to analyze here; Initially, it is possible to perceive a direction of the action of the Governor of the Indians towards an administrative action, which involved much more than simply the management of the troops of the Third of the Indians. There is an increasing involvement of the governors in the definition of the "main" Indians who would occupy the positions of village captains, in addition to their appointment to this position, consolidating a clear hierarchy. This division accompanied the entire period in which the position of governor of the Indians existed. At the local level, in the village or community, the representative was the "main" Indian, appointed as village captain and at the broader, regional level, encompassing the entire captaincy and annexes, were the governors of the Indians.

Soon after the end of the war against the Dutch, in many villages relatives or people close to Felipe Camarão were appointed to the position of captain. In 1658, Ravasco ceded the rank of captain to the Indian Amaro Correia de Miranda, "a relative who is of the same Dom Antonio Felipe Camarão",<sup>13</sup> to work in the village of Jacuípe. Ravasco ordered that all the Indians who had been soldiers of the third of Camarão and who were dispersed throughout the captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco be returned to the said village under the command of Miranda to assist in diligences when they were requested: "I will appoint (as I do for the present time) captain of the said village of Indians, and I give her power to gather and bring to her [the Indians] from whatever part or farm they are."<sup>14</sup> This ended up becoming a common practice in the post-war context, so that several settlements were established in the hinterlands of the captaincies of Bahia and Pernambuco, with the massive presence of former members of the third of the Indians. Another example that can be cited here is that of the village of Natuba, in Bahia, which was also composed of Indians who fought in these wars, as will be seen in the next chapter.

In addition, from the 1660s onwards, the third of the Indians were redirected to carry out various diligences and act on other war fronts, giving new contours to the actions of the

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<sup>11</sup> Rank of the Indians of the land, I mean captain of the Indians of the land of the Village of Camarão and others who withdraw from the Captaincy of Pernambuco, provided by the Ensign of it Simão Rodrigues. In: Historical Documents 1650-1693. Provisions, Patents and Permits vol. XXXI, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1936, p. 171-172.

<sup>12</sup> Ditto.

<sup>13</sup> Rank of Captain of the Village of Jacuípe, and of all the Indians who are in this captaincy, who were of the Rosary of Dom Antônio Felipe Camarão, filled in the person of Amaro Correia de Miranda. In: Historical Documents 1650-1693. Provisions, Patents and Permits vol. XXXI, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1936, p. 223-224.

<sup>14</sup> Ditto.



governors. The wars against the mocambos and quilombos had an intense participation of the indigenous villagers, and the presence of the governors was decisive in this process. The troops were composed of Indians and mestizos, especially Mamelukes, and the leadership fell on the captains of villages. These troops could be recruited individually, to carry out some activity, or together, to participate in larger conflicts; In this case, the leadership of the group was under the tutelage of the governor of the Indians.

In conflicts against quilombos and/or mocambos, there was usually a rule that determined the redirection of captured slaves to large centers, such as Salvador, Olinda and Recife. For example, in 1664, the Count of Óbidos ordered the Captain of Campo Simão Fernandes Madeira to bring together the Indians of the Torre de Garcia D'ávila and the Indians who had gone from the third of Camarão for a diligence against some mocambos in the region; in the missive it was decreed that all rescued slaves should be redirected to Salvador and that the captain would not allow "any [slave] to go astray, nor to create any".<sup>15</sup>

Another function of the governors was to control the entry and exit of the Indians from the villages. There is a series of letters warning the governors to avoid these departures, especially since many settlers took advantage of it to enslave the indigenous villagers and did not allow them to return to the villages. This was a recurring concern that was repeated in several regions, becoming a crucial element of vigilance and observance by the Indian governorate. Cases such as that of the village of Joacoca are very illustrative of this situation, as there is an express order from the Count of Óbidos to Diogo Camarão to "find strange the excess of wanting to secretly remove the Indians from the village"<sup>16</sup> and determining that the governor should not consent "in any way [...]. that no Indian be taken from it [the village of Jacoaca], and that Sergeant-Major Domingos Tavares be entrusted with the observance of this order".<sup>17</sup>

In addition to military activities, the governor of the Indians, together with the "principals" of the villages and the missionaries, commanded other aspects of the life of their followers, such as, for example, the daily work routine. These leaders were essential in the activities of recruitment and distribution of indigenous labor. Thus, they guaranteed the supply of Indians for royal activities, such as postal services, the construction of fortresses

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<sup>15</sup> Order that was given to the Captain of the Field Simão Fernandes Madeira to go to the mocambos. In: Historical Documents 1670-1678. Ordinance and letters from the Governors General vol. VII, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 185 – 186.

<sup>16</sup> Letter to João do Rego Barros Capitão-mor. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the Viceroy: Count of Óbidos. vol. IX, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 222-223.

<sup>17</sup> Ditto.



and mining activities, as well as for private services to the plantation owners and cattle ranchers, especially in the herding of cattle.

There were also many quarrels involving the governors of the Indians and the settlers, especially in disputes over the use of indigenous labor<sup>18</sup>. On several occasions, the settlers complained to the authorities that the governors moved the Indians from the villages, making it difficult to provide services. The villagers were responsible for the security of the urban centers scattered throughout the hinterlands and worked for the settlers in the fields. In many cases, they served as a protective barrier to the "enemy tapuyas",<sup>19</sup> participating intensely in the seizing and rescue troops. In addition, these attacks into the hinterland served to boost the capture and trafficking of Indian slaves and to supply urban and rural centers that had a certain demand for labor. That is why having control of these workers was such an important element, after all, it guaranteed their controller a certain power, prestige and status in those spaces. However, despite the complaints of the settlers, the governors of the Indians continued to have full powers in the settlements and were responsible for controlling the entry and exit of the Indians.

As the most important indigenous leader, the governors of the Indians could, if summoned, participate in the meetings of the Board of Missions<sup>20</sup>. In this way, they would be responsible for bringing privileged information to the members of the Board and assisting in decision-making on indigenous issues. It is in these contexts that one can perceive the performance of the governors as an active voice of the interests of the Indians. Denunciations of illegal enslavements, requests for freedom, requests for land grabs and/or demarcation, interference in criminal matters – assisting the Indians in cases of arrests, appeals and requests for reduction or mitigation of sentences – are perceptible in the documentation. The prestige that the governors of the Indians enjoyed before the colonial authorities made it possible to have a better outcome in the cases and guaranteed certain rights to the Indians. For example, when Governor Diogo Pinheiro Camarão intervened on behalf of the Indian Fortuoso Moreira, son of a "principal" and an Indian woman from the same nation, who was in the irregular condition of captive. Camarão requested his immediate release and that of all the other indigenous people who were in the same situation, "according to the laws".<sup>21</sup>

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<sup>18</sup> AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 5, D. 404

<sup>19</sup> Letter to the Captain-General Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão about the Indians. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the Viceroy: Count of Óbidos. vol. IX, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 224 – 225.

<sup>20</sup> Book of the accents of the board of missions, ordinary letters, orders and bands that were written in Pernambuco at the time of Governor Felix José Machado. BNP, Codex 115, Pombaline Collection.

<sup>21</sup> AUC\_Coleção Conde dos Arcos, VI-III-1-1-3.



In addition, the governors of the Indians should nominate names to occupy the positions of captain-general of villages, village administrators, among others. Because they were dealing directly with the communities, they were considered the most apt to organize these appointments. However, the names chosen for captain of the villages followed the choice of the Indians who lived in it, and the governor rarely intervened in order to delegitimize the locally established leadership. In the case of these captains, the governor could also be summoned to "swear" them in front of his followers, confirming the rank received<sup>22</sup>. As for the function of village administrator, which encompassed more than one locality, the appointment was usually made by a person trusted by the local authorities, as this was an intermediate position between the governor of the Indians and the villages<sup>23</sup>.

Around 1672, Bernardo Vieira Ravasco addressed a letter to the "governors of the Captaincies of Pernambuco" requesting that priority be given to the appointment of "meritorious persons" from the Tabajara and Potiguara nations to the positions of village administrators or village captains<sup>24</sup>. He stressed the confidence he placed in the performance of Diogo Pinheiro Camarão and determined that Diogo, in the figure of governor of the Indians, would be the main link between the local and regional powers:

By the confidence I have in Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão, I order you to order the Governors of the Squares of the Captaincies of Pernambuco not to propose in the Villages of their official war jurisdictions that they govern them except the meritorious persons of the Tavaxara and Petiguera nations, who are natives of the same Captaincies and who are touched by the Government of the Indians of each of the villages, for which the first information from Dom Diogo Pinheiro will precede, all being subordinate to him as the same Dom Diogo to the Governors of those squares, to whom he will give an account of everything he wants to do, of which he seemed to warn you to dispose of it.<sup>25</sup>

It can be inferred, from this missive by Ravasco, that the governor of the Indians would in fact be the bridge between the governors of the captaincies and the other agents who worked directly with the Indians in the villages. Thus, when thinking about the establishment of the government of the Indians and the spheres of power instituted, it can

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<sup>22</sup> Rank of Captain-General of the Village of Jacoaqua, of the Captaincy of Parayba, filled in Antônio Nunes do Rego. In: Historical Documents 1668-1677. Patents and Provisions. vol. XII, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 300.

<sup>23</sup> Letter from His Highness about Francisco de Almeida Vena, requesting the position of Administrator of the villages of Rio Grande. In: Historical Documents. Royal Letters 1681 – 1690 & Ordinances 1719 – 1720. vol. LXVIII, Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Batista de Souza, 1945, p. 82-83.

<sup>24</sup> Letter that was written to the governor of Pernambuco and to the captain-general of the captaincy of Rio Grande about the people who should propose themselves in the villages of D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 73.

<sup>25</sup> Letter from His Highness that war officers should not be placed in the villages of Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão to govern them. In: Historical Documents. Royal Letters 1667 – 1681. vol. LXVII, Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Batista de Souza, 1945, p. 161-162.



be projected that the hierarchies among these colonial agents were organized as follows: at the top was the General Government based in Bahia, which was ultimately responsible for the indigenous question in the overseas space; just below came the governors of the captaincies of the State of Brazil, who made decisions of a more regional nature; then there were the governors of the Indians, who represented the intermediary power between these agents; then there were the village administrators, a kind of assistant to the governors and trusted figures in the management of the indigenous question; Finally, there were the "main" Indians and village captains, who represented the village and the interests of the Indians who lived in them. Nor can we forget the figure of the missionaries, who have always played a central role in the spiritual and administrative management of the colonial villages; These, despite also representing the local sphere, had direct contact both with the governors of the Indians and with the other spheres of power.

It is also clear from this letter that the relevance of Diogo Camarão in that context was significant and his power and influence in the colonial world can be considered even greater than that of his cousin and predecessor Felipe, after all, he gathered around him not only the military, but also the political and administrative command over the Indians and the villages. To affirm this does not mean to minimize the relevance of Antônio Felipe Camarão, but to reaffirm that, over the years, the position of governor of the Indians has been restructured, gaining new contours.

These attributions given to Diogo Pinheiro Camarão were gradually incorporated into the position of governor of the Indians. Initially, they were nothing more than urgent demands that should be carried out by a competent colonial administrator; however, over time, they have become obligations inherent to the position as a whole and will be observed not only in the governorship of Pernambuco, but also in Bahia and in the other jurisdictions in which the position was exercised.

As governor of the Indians, Diogo was awarded by the Lusitanian Crown with several favors. In addition to the habit of the order of Santiago<sup>26</sup>, obtained during the war against the Dutch, Diogo Camarão received income that exceeded 100,000 réis, of which 60,000 réis for a "mercy of commendation of lot", <sup>27</sup>received at the end of the conflict with the Batavians, and 40,000 réis for the rank of captain-general and governor of the Indians of Pernambuco<sup>28</sup>. Diogo was literate and had a recognized command of the Portuguese language; Throughout his life, he wrote many letters and signed several service papers for his subordinates. In his signature, he presented himself based on the positions he held and

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<sup>26</sup> ANTT, Habilitation of the Order of Santiago – Diogo Pinheiro Camarão – Letter D, Pack 2, N° 26.

<sup>27</sup> ANTT, General Registry of Mercy, Orders, liv. 9, fl. 279v.

<sup>28</sup> ANTT, General Registry of Mercês, D. Afonso VI, liv. 19, fl. 464.



titles he had obtained, representing himself as: "Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão nobleman of the house of His Majesty, professed knight of the order of Santiago, captain-general and governor of all the Indians of the State of Brazil from the Rio de São Francisco to Maranhão".<sup>29</sup>

Diogo Camarão was in charge of the position of governor of the Indians from the death of Antônio Felipe Camarão in 1648 until the year 1677, when he was replaced by Dom Antônio João Camarão, son of Felipe. Gefferson Rodrigues<sup>30</sup>, in a recent article on the trajectory of the sixth governor of the Indians Domingos Camarão, stated that Diogo was promoted to the post only in 1669; however, in the historical documentation, he had already been treated as captain-general and governor of the Indians since 1648, so much so that, in the correspondence referring to the war against the Dutch, he himself had already signed the certificates identifying himself as such.

However, his charter was only registered later in 1672 in the reign of Dom Afonso IV.<sup>31</sup> The document contains a summary of Diogo's trajectory, pointing out the positions he held and briefly describing the main battles he participated in. Thus confirmed the King that he would do the "mercy (among others) of confirming him in the post he occupies as captain-general and governor of the Indians of the captaincies of Pernambuco and the others he had, and governed his predecessor",<sup>32</sup> guaranteeing that he should enjoy "all the honors, privileges, freedoms, exemptions and frankness that by reason of the same post belongs to him"<sup>33</sup>. He also warned that they should honor and esteem Diogo Camarão in the figure of captain major and governor of the Indians, enabling him to "exercise the aforementioned post in the way in which Tégora did, and have the said salary".<sup>34</sup> And to the other captains, officers and soldiers who were his subordinates, he ordered "to obey him in everything and to carry out his orders as they should, and are obliged".<sup>35</sup> Finally, he warned that when it comes to the "conservation, benefit, and increase" of the Indians of the

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<sup>29</sup> AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 11, D. 1027

<sup>30</sup> RODRIGUES, Gefferson. The attempted uprising of the Indian Antônio Domingos Camarão in Pernambuco (1730). *Acervo*, Rio de Janeiro, v. 34, n. 2, p. 1-13, May/Aug, 2021.

<sup>31</sup> ANTT, General Registry of Mercês, D. Afonso VI, liv. 19, fl. 464; Registration of a Patent in which His Highness granted D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão the opportunity to confirm him in the post he occupies as Captain-General and Governor of the Indians. In: *Historical Documents. 1672 – 1675. Provisions, Patents, Permits, Sesmarias, Warrants etc.* vol. XXV, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1934, p. 249-253.

<sup>32</sup> Registration of a Patent in which His Highness granted D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão the opportunity to confirm him in the post he occupies as Captain-General and Governor of the Indians. In: *Historical Documents. 1672 – 1675. Provisions, Patents, Permits, Sesmarias, Writs etc.* vol. XXV, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1934, p. 250.

<sup>33</sup> Ditto.

<sup>34</sup> Ditto.

<sup>35</sup> Registration of a Patent in which His Highness granted D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão the opportunity to confirm him in the post he occupies as Captain-General and Governor of the Indians. *Op. Cit.*, p. 251.



Tabajaras and Potiguara nations "there should be a place to do them mercy very equal to what their zeal and merit<sup>36</sup> will be".

In these 29 years that he was in charge of the position of governor, Diogo was absent only once in 1671, when he went to Lisbon to personally follow the development of his processes of mercy<sup>37</sup>. During this period in which he was absent, the exercise of the position was in the hands of his immediate lieutenant Antônio Pessoa Arcoverde, and Diogo Camarão issued a provisional patent attesting that Arcoverde would fulfill the function "with the same jurisdiction, authority and power"<sup>38</sup> that he enjoyed. This document is very interesting and demonstrates the level of commitment of Diogo Camarão to the position and function he occupied in the colonial world. For this reason, it was decided to transcribe it in full below:

Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão professed knight of the order of Santiago, captain major and governor of all the Indians of this captaincy of Pernambuco and of the most annexed by His Majesty may God keep Your Lordship for the time that on the present occasion of the fleet that is about to depart, I embark for the kingdom, to deal with my requests, and to achieve this Mr. Fernão de Souza Coutinho grants me permission and agrees to the service of His Highness that my lieutenant Antônio Pessoa to govern the Indians of these captaincies with the same jurisdiction, authority and power as the said gentleman, grants me I will for the good and service of His Highness that the said Antônio Pessoa Camarão govern in my place the said Indians, so I order that I entrust a lot on the part of the said gentleman to the said lieutenant to do what is expected of him there and in the way that has always happened in the real service and even so, I order the sergeant major, captain, and soldiers to obey in the service of God, and of His Highness whose [letter I entrust him?] and do much of the mercy to the lord governor so that he will be seen as a person who [illegible] some of the Indians in my absence, and to have in the said lieutenant, the parts, sufficiency and services to exercise it, and if there is any person who disobeys him, which I do not believe, he can punish him, as his faults deserve to be substantiated to the governor, to act as he seems, and for the firmness of the said I ordered the signature of my hand and sealed, the sign of my arms, Recife de Pernambuco August 29, 1671// Dom Diogo Camarão.<sup>39</sup>

It was as a result of this period of absence, in which he was able to be in Lisbon taking care of the forwarding of his favors, that Diogo was able to formalize the positions and salaries he already had. On that same trip, he also secured a captain's rank for his son, Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão in the Pernambuco Infantry Company<sup>40</sup>, with the right to pay and the promise of new positions in the future – a promise that came true a few years later,

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<sup>36</sup> Ditto.

<sup>37</sup> AHU\_CU\_CONSULTAS DE PARTES, Cod. 47, fl. 154.

<sup>38</sup> Rank of Governor of the Indians in the absence of Camarão, when he passed to the kingdom of Portugal. AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 11, D. 1027.

<sup>39</sup> Ditto.

<sup>40</sup> Record of His Highness's provision, because it was provided to provide (sic) confirm to Dom Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão son of Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão in the Infantry Company that he exercises in Pernambuco. In: Historical Documents 1672–1675. Provisions, Patents, Permits, Sesmarias, Warrants, etc. vol. XXV, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1934, p. 253-255.



since Sebastião occupied his father's post, becoming the fifth governor of the Indians of Pernambuco.

Still from this period of absence, there is another rank of infantry captain sent by Diogo to Mathias Fernandes, an Indian from Paraíba, son of Belchior Fernandes who served as a soldier, lieutenant and captain of the third of the Indians between 1642 and 1671<sup>41</sup>. Fernandes received, in addition to the title of captain, a salary of "1200 réis each month paid to the mezasdas in the tithes of Pernambuco".<sup>42</sup> In the registered patents there was always a reference to the decisive participation of these indigenous people in the battle of Guararapes and in the "recovery of the fortresses of Recife",<sup>43</sup> demonstrating how decisive the presence of these agents was during the Dutch wars.

Upon returning from Lisbon, Diogo resumed the post of governor of the Indians of Pernambuco and soon after his return he was requested for new war attacks against the Mocambos. Assistance in the overthrow of quilombos was a determined attribution of the governors of the Indians since the end of the war against the Dutch; however, this call aimed to "listen [Diogo Camarão] about the entry that could be made to the Mocambos dos Palmares".<sup>44</sup> Because he was an experienced military man and had already acted in several similar diligences, Diogo Camarão was considered a necessary figure for the elaboration of strategies and in the leadership of the troops, which, as it turned out, were composed mostly of Indians, blacks and mestizos.

At the time, a large expedition against the quilombo of Palmares was being prepared. The governor of Pernambuco had the intention of giving Diogo Camarão, as captain-general and governor of the Indians, the command of this enterprise. A series of preparations were made for this purpose; Diogo's presence was requested "with some of his captains" in Olinda to discuss details of the expedition and supplies and weapons were released for the troops<sup>45</sup>. There was intense discussion about the need to "give the Indians [of the villages] to the said conquest",<sup>46</sup> especially those who were "capable of taking up arms [...] because

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<sup>41</sup> Registration of a Patent in which His Highness provided as Captain to Mathias Fernandes dos Índios that he is [subordinate to] Captain-General and Governor Dom Diogo Pinheiro Camarão. In: Historical Documents 1672–1675. Provisions, Patents, Permits, Sesmarias, Writs etc. vol. XXV, Rio de Janeiro: Typografia Arch. de Hist. Brasileira, 1934, p. 194-195.

<sup>42</sup> Ditto.

<sup>43</sup> Ditto.

<sup>44</sup> Ordinance that was passed to pay D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão and more Indians passage. In: Historical Documents 1670-1678. Ordinances and Letters of the Governors General. vol. XIII, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 187-188.

<sup>45</sup> Ditto.

<sup>46</sup> Letter from the Governor of Paraíba Manuel Pereira de Lacerda about giving the Indians the said conquest. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 117.





they are very necessary for the conquest of Palmares".<sup>47</sup> It was then ordered that only "the less fit and their wives should remain in the settlements, planting their gardens and preserving the villages for the duration of that war".<sup>48</sup> And, finally, in an attempt to expand the preliminary measures necessary for the expedition, the possession of the position of captain of the Indians was determined to Antônio Nunes do Rego, previously appointed by Diogo Camarão<sup>49</sup>.

Since the expulsion of the Dutch in 1655, colonial war attacks have been directed to other fronts, transforming the so-called "internal enemies" into their privileged targets. It is for this reason that there was a significant increase, from the 1660s onwards, in the number of entries and conflicts against the quilombados blacks and Indians hostile to colonization. In response, it is known that, between 1667 and 1677, there were a series of attacks by the Palmares to the coast of Pernambuco aimed at obtaining weapons, freeing captives and vengeance on their former masters and overseers<sup>50</sup>. Around 1670, the Palmares attacked and destroyed some cattle ranches in the region where Garanhuns is located today, further expanding this resistance movement against colonial society. In addition, the attacks occurred on several fronts, such as in the captaincies of Rio Grande and Alagoas, which in the early 1670s went through a "supreme squeeze", with the "repeated entries made to them [the quilombados], with robberies and deaths".<sup>51</sup>

The reaction of the agents of the Portuguese crown occurred soon after, directing a series of entries to Palmares, among them this expedition organized with the help of Diogo Camarão in 1674. It was believed at that time that the "remedy" to contain the onslaught of the quilombos would come from the massive aid of the Indians living in villages under the tutelage of the third of the Indians. For this reason, in September 1674, an opinion of the Overseas Council on the destruction of Palmares determined the mobilization of the "villages of the Indians who govern Camarão with one hundred white soldiers and put them in seat in opposition to Palmares, with which the said villages would remain in this form, covering those two captaincies [Rio Grande and Alagoas], preventing the blacks from lowering and others from entering them"<sup>52</sup>. This movement would also count on the help of other Indians coming from the region of Rodelas on the São Francisco River, led by the "main" Indian Francisco Dias Mataroã, who would occupy the position of governor of the

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<sup>47</sup> Ditto.

<sup>48</sup> Letter from the Governor of Paraíba Manuel Pereira de Lacerda about giving the Indians the conquest of Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 124.

<sup>49</sup> Ditto.

<sup>50</sup> LARA, Sílvia Hunould. Palmares & Cucaú. The learning of domination. São Paulo, EDUSP, 2021.

<sup>51</sup> AHU\_CU\_CONSULTAS DE PERNAMBUCO, Cod. 265, fls. 3v – 4v.

<sup>52</sup> AHU\_CU\_CONSULTAS DE PERNAMBUCO, Cod. 265, fl. 4.



Indians of the São Francisco a few years later, a jurisdiction linked to the captaincy of Bahia<sup>53</sup>.

These forces would act together in the destruction of the quilombo of Palmares, while waiting for the arrival of the "people of S. Paulo" to assist in the conquest. The strategy was simple: they aimed to "make continuous entries" with the 100 (one hundred) white soldiers and together with the troops of the Indians<sup>54</sup>. In addition, they would make use of Brazilian war tactics to block the entrances and exits of the quilombo. The presence of the indigenous people was justified mainly by their extensive mastery of war tactics and their accurate knowledge of the local geography, which facilitated both displacement and ambushes.

During this period, there was a repeated effort on the part of the General Government in Bahia to activate the captains-majors of the captaincies to send "the Indians [villages] to conquer Palmares".<sup>55</sup> In a movement almost unanimous with the guidelines of the Overseas Council in Lisbon, the captaincies of Pernambuco<sup>56</sup>, Paraíba<sup>57</sup>, Alagoas<sup>58</sup> and Rio Grande<sup>59</sup> mobilized to participate in the great expedition to Palmares under the command of Diogo Camarão<sup>60</sup>. There was also concern about the future of the missions of these captaincies, since most of the villages would remain for a relative period of time with a small population. The guidelines given to the captains-majors followed the same script: gather and send the indigenous people able to participate in the conflict; to keep in the villages women, children, the elderly and other Indians who might not be able to participate in the expedition; to keep the missionary active in these spaces with a view to their conservation; and ensure the maintenance of subsistence activities such as plantations, gardens, among others. In

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<sup>53</sup> AHU\_CU\_CONSULTAS DE PERNAMBUCO, Cod. 265, fl. 4v.

<sup>54</sup> Ditto.

<sup>55</sup> Letter that was written to Fernão de Sousa Coutinho, Governor of Pernambuco, about Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 79-80.

<sup>56</sup> Letter that was written to the Governor of Pernambuco D. Pedro de Almeida about the conquest of Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 113-115.

<sup>57</sup> Cf. Letter to the Governor of Parahiba, Manuel Pereira Lacerda, about giving the Indians to the said conquest. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 117; Letters to the Officers of the City Council of Parahiba about... Villages of the Indians who go to conquer Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 124-125.

<sup>58</sup> Letter that was written to the Governor of Pernambuco D. Pedro de Almeida about the conquest of Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 114.

<sup>59</sup> Letter to the Captain-General of Rio Grande Antônio Vás Gondim to send the Indians to the conquest of Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 116-117.

<sup>60</sup> Letter that was written to D. Diogo Camarão. In: Historical Documents 1670-1678. Ordinances and Letters of the Governors General. vol. XIII, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 364-365.



addition, there was also a concern to "return" the Indians to the settlements as soon as the war ended.

Then, still in 1674, the Count of Barbacena and governor general of Brazil, Afonso Furtado de Castro do Rio de Mendonça, wrote a letter to Pedro de Almeida, governor of Pernambuco, clarifying some questions about the expedition to Palmares<sup>61</sup>. In the letter, he confirmed that the interest of the Portuguese Crown in that context was to take charge of "both the war of the gentile Barbarian, and the destruction of the mocambos of the blacks", and that they should do everything in their power to guarantee this objective<sup>62</sup>. He also reported on the construction of strong houses to store supplies for the troops and suggested the formation of a camp with the planting of gardens to help the soldiers who would act in Palmares.

However, Mendonça advised against keeping Diogo Camarão in the main command post of the expedition, even though he was "a very necessary person to accompany them in the conquest [...] a man of great value and a very brave soldier to carry out what he is ordered."<sup>63</sup> The governor general's distrust stemmed from the large presence of white officers and soldiers who would participate in the entry and that among them Diogo did not have the "authority and respect" necessary to maintain obedience<sup>64</sup>. For this reason, despite the massive presence of the Indians in villages, the command of the expedition left the hands of the governor of the Indians and was delegated to a white officer.

This was a common orientation and one would rarely see a non-white captain directing white officers. Most of the time, the appointment of indigenous leaders to the management of the troops and government of the Indians was privileged, as well as black people for the troops of blacks. What is striking in this case is that, for a long time, the expedition was built under the guidance, advice and experience of Diogo Camarão, being designed to be led by him.

Probably, the opinion of the Overseas Council changed all the planning that had been drawn up by the General Government in partnership with the captains-majors of the captaincies of the North, after all, it was only in this document that the presence of the 100 (one hundred) white officers in the expedition was included. It is possible that the initial plan

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<sup>61</sup> Letter that was written to Dom Pedro de Almeida, governor of Pernambuco, about the conquest of Palmares. In: Historical Documents 1663-1685. Correspondence of the governors general. vol. X, Rio de Janeiro: Augusto Porto & Praça dos Governadores nº 6, 1929, p. 106 – 109; This letter is transcribed in other funds of sources about Palmares. Cf. FREITAS, Décio. Republic of Palmares. Maceió: Edufal, 2004, p. 278-279; GOMES, Flávio (org). Mocambos de Palmares. Histories and sources (sixteenth-nineteenth centuries). Rio de Janeiro: 7 Letras, 2010, p. 205-206.

<sup>62</sup> Ditto.

<sup>63</sup> Ditto.

<sup>64</sup> Ditto.



was being formulated with only the presence of Indian, black and mestizo soldiers in the expedition, which would justify the presence of Diogo Camarão as the maximum leader of the enterprise. Based on the correspondence of the governors of Pernambuco between 1671 and 1674, this is attested, as there is an intense movement on the part of the Pernambuco government to redo the military rosaries and enlist the "men capable of war" in Palmares. And, in a letter dated July 1, 1671, there was a declared intention to include "the Indians of Camarão and the blacks of Henrique Dias with their corporals because they were sertanejos and had disposition and courage"<sup>65</sup> in the expeditions against "the blacks raised from the mocambos and palmares".<sup>66</sup>

Although he was not the general commander of the expedition, Diogo Camarão led the troops of the villages with the help of Francisco Dias Mataroã, who was the "main" Indian of Rodelas<sup>67</sup>. In addition to them, lieutenants Antônio Pessoa Arcoverde and Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão, future governors of the Indians of Pernambuco, also participated in this expedition. These leaders were later recognized and decorated for their presence in this conflict, despite not having obtained the desired intent, after all, the Palmares strongly resisted the onslaughts of colonial society until the 1690s.

The participation of Indians in the conflicts in Palmares has appeared in a very timid way in historiography, usually highlighting the presence of these agents in the expeditions commanded by the Paulistas, acting as soldiers in the troops, guides, among others<sup>68</sup>. However, what draws attention in the case described is the remarkable presence of Diogo Camarão in the organization and management of the expedition, so much so that in the decades that followed the governors of the Indians who succeeded Diogo also had to "take care of the entrances to Palmares".<sup>69</sup>

This expedition also marked the end of Diogo Camarão's administration at the head of the position of governor of the Indians, having been replaced by his nephew Antônio João

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<sup>65</sup> AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 10, D. 917. There is a partial version of this document transcribed in the book: LARA, Sílvia Hunold; FACHIN, Phablo Roberto Marchis (eds.). War against Palmares: the manuscript of 1678. São Paulo: Chão Editora, 2021.

<sup>66</sup> AHU\_CU\_PERNAMBUCO, Cx. 10, D. 917.

<sup>67</sup> Ditto.

<sup>68</sup> About Palmares: ALMEIDA, Luiz Sávio (ed.). Mata and Palmares in Alagoas. Arapiraca: Edeal, 2004; ENNES, Ernesto. The wars in Palmares. Subsidies for its history. São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1938; CARNEIRO, Edison. O Quilombo dos Palmares, 1630-1695. São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1947; FREITAS, Décio. Republic of Palmares. Research and comments on historical documents from the seventeenth century. Maceió: EDUFAL, 2004; DAMASCENO, Felipe Aguiar. The occupation of the lands of Palmares de Pernambuco (seventeenth and eighteenth centuries). Thesis (Doctorate in History). UFRJ: Rio de Janeiro, 2018; GOMES, Flávio. Palmares: slavery and freedom in the South Atlantic. São Paulo: Contexto, 2019; LARA, Sílvia Hunold; FACHIN, Phablo Roberto Marchis (eds.). War against Palmares: the manuscript of 1678. São Paulo: Chão Editora, 2021; LARA, Sílvia Hunold. Palmares & Cucaú. The learning of domination. São Paulo, EDUSP, 2021.

<sup>69</sup> "RELAÇÃO das guerras feito aos Palmares de Pernambuco no tempo do governador dom Pedro de Almeida de 1675 a 1678 (M. S. offered by Exm. Mr. Counselor Drummond)". In: Revista do Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro (RIHGB), v. 22, 1859.



Camarão, son of Antônio Felipe Camarão in 1677. The replacement of Diogo Camarão did not occur due to old age or some other impediment, but because of his death in the same year of 1677. The circumstances of Diogo's death are not known. The last information we have of him in the documentation is from the year 1676, still during the expedition in Palmares. It is known that he died in 1677 because there is a brief reference to his death in a request for royal mercy sent to the king by his son, Sebastião Pinheiro Camarão, in 1688<sup>70</sup>.

In the book "*Desagravos do Brasil e glórias de Pernambuco*", in chapter 9 "Memories of the natural Indians of Pernambuco who after the restoration of the homeland, will become famous for their arms and occupy a position of higher rank<sup>71</sup>" by Domingos do Loureto Couto, there is a brief biography of Diogo Camarão, from which it can be inferred that he had died on the battlefields, probably during some attack against Palmares. According to Loreto Couto:

D. Diogo Pinheiro Camarão, nobleman of the royal *caza*, knight in the order of Christ, succeeded in the post of governor general of all the Indians to his cousin the famous D. Antonio Felipe Camarão, who died after the victory of the Guararapes, shortly before the restoration of Pernambuco, and of whom we have made an illustrious memory in the fourth book. Foy this great captain to his soldiers, example, and to the haunting enemies. His actions will negotiate him with credits of valuableness, and prudent, and will make him worthy of completely filling that place that had been occupied by such an illustrious man. The difficult enterprises in which his valor was committed in the war of the Olandezes do not fit in consideration. In the service of his homeland, he then wandered through various lands with immense work, running over dangers, planting thorns of contradiction with a firm plant, until he ended his life for the benefit of the monarchy.<sup>72</sup>

Loreto Couto's book was written about 80 years after the death of Diogo Camarão and was intended to be a kind of "memory" about the "heroes of Pernambuco's restoration".<sup>73</sup> However, despite the effort to biograph the governors of the Indians and the most "prominent" "principals" in this period between 1630 and 1750, Couto ended up listing in his memoirs a lot of inaccurate information about these subjects, which raises certain uncertainties about the statements made by him. In any case, as for the death of Diogo Camarão, there is no doubt that if he did not die fighting on the battlefields he died as a result of it, either by injury or for any other reason.

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<sup>70</sup> AHU\_CU\_CONSULTAS DE MERCÊS GERAIS, Cod. 86, fl. 05

<sup>71</sup> COUTO, Domingos do Loreto. *Desagravos do Brasil e glórias de Pernambuco*. Rio de Janeiro: Officina Typográfica da Biblioteca Nacional, 1904, p. 449.

<sup>72</sup> COUTO, Domingos do Loreto. *Op. Cit.*, p. 449-450.

<sup>73</sup> COUTO, Domingos do Loreto. *Op. Cit.*, p. 5.



## CONCLUSION

Finally, it is believed that when Diogo Camarão passed away, he was between 62 and 70 years old. It is known that he began his military career in 1630 and that he already held the rank of sergeant-major of the third of the Indians in 1638. For 47 years, Diogo Camarão worked on the battlefields alongside the troops of Indians, whites, blacks and mestizos. His military career was long and recognized by the Portuguese crown, which reserved for him several favors and benefits. In addition, his performance as governor of the Indians was decisive for the construction of new agreements and alliances, causing a reformulation of the attributions related to the position which, at the end of his administration, came to be characterized by a more political-administrative function in the colonial world.

Thus, as we have seen, between the years 1636 and 1677 the "main" Indians rose as governors of the Indians and consolidated themselves as officials of the Portuguese crown in the colonial enterprises. In this context, there was a reorganization of pacts and alliances, formalizing a political-administrative action of these agents, established, especially, after the administration of Diogo Camarão. This does not mean that there was an exclusion from military efforts, but that there was a restructuring of the post, incorporating new functions and establishing other forms of management of the indigenous villages.



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