

Cape Verde: The Construction Project of a Civilization in Mindelo (1803-1838)

Eduardo Adilson Camilo Pereira, PhD

Associate Professor

Departamento de Ciências Social, Políticas e Económicas

Instituto Superior de Ciências Jurídicas e Sociais

Avenida Cidade Lisboa, Fazenda-Cidade da Praia, CP 212

Cape Verde Island

Abstract

This research analyzes the various political speeches produced and reproduced by the political elites in Cape Verde, about what island would host the capital of the archipelago. It also aims to analyze the speeches and projects around the construction of Mindelo, and how the city itself was projected as a symbol of the progress and the future of Cape Verde. It also proposes to analyze and understand the political and economic arguments to justify the government headquarters' transfer to Mindelo, taking into consideration the geographic centrality, the foreign trade and the existence of safe harbor for navigation.

Keywords: Cape Verde, Mindelo, Civilization, Political Elites.

Introduction

The discussion about where should be the headquarters of the general government of Cape Verde is crucial to understanding both the extent of political wrangling and the implications of the sharecroppers' revolts in the interior of Santiago Island (1822-1841). It is also important for the analysis and understanding of the establishment process of the administrative structure of Cape Verde. Although this discussion was dealt with only from the point of view of the climate adversities, other issues such as political, cultural and geographical also interfered in the discussion. For the first half of the 19th century, besides the climate issue, we present and propose to discuss socio-cultural motivations. The proposals recorded between 1803 and 1838 allow us to better understand that, besides the climatic factors highlighted by historiography, the political context and the social tensions in the island of Santiago were indeed the reason that led the elite to make these proposals. On the other hand, there was not only the emergence of the movements of protests against exploitation, but also the first reasoned proposals of the government headquarters' transfer to the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau. In addition, the proposals allow us to understand the several requirements of the political elites of the referred islands. Among the requirements appears the election of a representative to join the provisory council in Vila da Praia.

The time frame of this article is between the years 1803 and 1838. The starting date is justified because 1803 was the year that records the first proposals to transfer the government headquarters' for the islands of São Vicente, São Nicolau and Santo Antão. The final date is justified by the presentation of the first construction project of the new city of Mindelo.

This research was based on primary sources researched in the following archives: File Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino of Lisbon, File Arquivo Histórico Militar of Lisbon, as well as sources of collections at the Arquivo Histórico Nacional, Praia - Cape Verde, such as: letters, reports and correspondence. In addition, we will use a wide bibliography on theoretical, methodological and historical aspects, about the socio-political and cultural constitution of Cape Verde.

What are the reasons that led the political elite to propose the creation of Mindelo? What is the architectural model proposed for the new city? What was the desired profile of the inhabitants of the new city? To address these issues, this article seeks to understand the political and economic arguments to justify the transfer of the government headquarters, with special attention to the geographic centrality, the foreign trade and the existence of good port for shipping.

What speeches were the basis for the creation of this civilization? To this end, it is important to understand the scope of the concept of civilization. The anthropologist Edward B. Tylor used "culture" to refer to primitive societies, while civilization was referring to modern and developed societies - "Culture or Civilization, taken in its wide ethnographic sense, is the complex whole which includes knowledge, belief, art, morals, law, custom, and any other capabilities and habits acquired by man as a member of society" (Tylor, 1920: 1-21). The idea of civilization, of Hobbesian inspiration (Hobbes, 1983), would be present when there was a centralized power, capable enough to impose order and submission to other members of society. Also according to Tylor, civilization would be classified in stages, where the word "wild" represented the early stage of humanity. The barbarity and savagery would be contrary to the stage of civilization, which would be identified by mechanical invention (Tylor, 1920: 7, 15, 32). The difference would lie in the presence or absence of industrialization, and scientific and moral principles - "The main criteria of classification are the absence, or presence (...) of the industrial arts (...) the extent of scientific knowledge (...) moral principles (...)" (Tylor, 1920: 26-64). The transition from the wild stage to the civilized stage occurs through the progress of knowledge, which is the only element of the development of culture (Tylor, 1920: 27). The "wild" man would be a degeneration of civilized man. Moreover, the stage of civilization would imply the domain of intellectual knowledge (Tylor, 1920: 41-45).

According to Norbert Elias (1995), the concept of civilization presupposes a set of several instructions of behaviours found in so-called "civility manuals". It also represented restrictive trends such as behavioral prohibitions, which identified individuals and groups, and it was hoped that these individuals and groups would take on these attitudes through the proper instruction. The concept of civilization meant both industrialization and the existence of infrastructure. The concept of civilization used in Mindelo's creation project emphasized two aspects: the presence or absence of industrialization and presence or absence of schooling. The project of the Governor General of Cape Verde, Joaquim Pereira Marinho (1835, 1837-1839), was intended to create an industrial and commercial "civilization" on the island of Sao Vicente around the Porto Grande, based on the textile industry, salt extraction and the making of bricks. The Marinho civilization idea was presented in the proposal to establish a center of "civilization", which was opposed to subsistence agriculture, mainly practiced in the interior of the island of Santiago. The transfer to São Vicente also aimed to break from a culture of revolts and "anarchy" prevailing within the island of Santiago. Those who were revolting were portrayed as angrily opposed to the "civilized man", those who were able to submit to a central power. Moreover, the notion of civilization was used in defining the profile of the people who have permission to reside in Mindelo.

This transfer of the subject of the government headquarters in Cape Verde, in the nineteenth century, has been little visited by historiography. There are only four studies on this. For the master and scholar Christianno Jose Senna Barcellos (1854-1915), in his book, "Subsídios para a História de Cabo Verde e Guiné", emphasized that unsanitary climate and the precariousness of the Ribeira Grande city harbor were the major problems of this city. Moreover, in a presentation made by the local authority of Praia, in the year 1834, addressed to the Queen, Barcellos proposed the foundation of an agricultural village in the interior of the island of Santiago, and consequently the construction of a road network to facilitate marketing of products (Barcellos, 1904: 215-221). For the geographer and professor at the University of Lisbon, Ilídio do Amaral, "(...) the government went from island to island on the pretext of unsanitary Santiago, with greatly increased costs and heavy losses. (...)" (Amaral, 1964: 185). According to this, the maintenance of the headquarters of the Portuguese general government in the Vila da Praia would entail changing the government members "from island to island," fleeing from the unsanitary climate. In this regard, it highlights the failed attempts of the Portuguese crown to move the headquarters of government for the island of São Vicente in 1844 and 1850. Note that Amaral is limited to examining the findings presented by those governors without questioning the real motivations that led the moderate liberals to propose the transfer of the seat of government for the island of Sao Vicente. This is a more critical analysis in relation to the argument of unhealthiness. However, it is limited to support the claims previously made by Senna Barcellos. As for the latest research, it is worth mentioning the historian Antonio Carreira (1984: 141-149). In his "Cabo Verde (Aspectos Sociais. Secas e fomes do século XX)", noted the fact that the unhealthiness of Ribeira Grande had prevented the full organization of teaching. He also corroborates the arguments concerning the unhealthiness of the island of Santiago, without considering the impact of the sharecropper and slaves revolts in the emergence of new proposals to transfer the seat of government for the island of São Vicente.

Historian António Correia e Silva (1998: 53-83), in his work entitled "Nos Tempos do Porto Grande do Mindelo" highlights the strategic geographical position of the island of São Vicente in relation to the other islands of Cape Verde, as well as the plan for the collective extermination of black people. It also highlights the presence of a significant number of convicts on the island of Santiago and the plan for the settlement of the northern islands with white settlers.

For this, the sharecroppers' revolt was due to "pauperization context of the population", leading to the possibility of "bloody clashes" within the island of Santiago. It further states that the revolts of farmers of the nineteenth century were due to the high rents paid by the sharecroppers to their land owners, precarious contracts and social inequalities. Also according to this researcher, the transfer of the seat of government for the island of São Vicente aimed to "reform the outdated agrarian institutions, create a more dynamic management and connecting the islands to the world". The author of this project would be the Marquês de Sá Bandeira (1795-1876) which, together with the governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho, wanted to find "a new source of economic dynamism that was an alternative to the centuries-old slave trade" around the Porto Grande. According to Correia e Silva, the motivations that led Marinho to propose the transfer of the seat of government "are not all clear".

In my article titled "Reformas Políticas e o regime de prefeitura em Cabo Verde da primeira metade do séc. XIX (1832-1834)", political reforms were analyzed and the new administrative reconfiguration, with the introduction of the prefecture system in Cape Verde (1832-1834). It also sought to understand the reforms as a result of the new requirements of the local political elite, as well as the design of the transfer of the general government to the interior of the island of Santiago (Pereira, 2013: 99-124).

Another article entitled "Cabo Verde: entre uma civilização agrícola e uma civilização industrial e comercial (1822-1841)" aims at describing the various political speeches produced and reproduced by the political elites in Cape Verde, which proposed that the island of Santiago would host the capital of the archipelago, as well as demonstrate the relevance of this discourse in the political mobilization of the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau against the political and administrative centrality of the Vila da Praia (Pereira, 2014: 118-139).

Finally, in the third edition of my book "Politica e cultura: As revoltas dos Engenhos (1822), de Achada Falcão (1841) e de Ribeirão Manuel (1910)", we sought to understand to what extent the interior's sharecroppers revolts of the island of Santiago were instrumental in the creation and transfer of the headquarters of the general government to the island of São Vicente. In addition, we analyzed the proposed seat of government transfer to the interior of the island of Santiago (Pereira, 2015: 306-332). This research about the transfer of the headquarters of the government, both from the Vila da Praia to the interior of the island of Santiago and to the other Windward Islands, did not show that they took into account the cultural landscape of the island of Santiago, the political mobilizations and the revolts of farmers. They also did not analyze the speeches behind the project of the construction of a new center of civilization. These speeches still present in the cultural formation of the islands of São Nicolau, São Vicente and Santo Antão.

However, the two proposals made by the Administrative Board of Cape Verde in 1803 and 1819, respectively, defended the transfer of the seat of the general government, and the choice of other islands to host the administration, including Fogo, Santo Antão, São Nicolau and São Vicente. The proposals made by governor's obedience, in most cases, to the village of Praia. The problem is this: Why didn't the various proposals take into account the social landscape of the island of Santiago? It seems as though, by reason of the resistance and revolts by the inhabitants of the island of Santiago against the Portuguese administration authorities, the authorities feared continuing with the administration there. However, historiography seeks to highlight the adverse weather conditions of the island of Santiago, without inquiring about this and other aspect: the power struggle recorded among members of the local government, in favor of the various islands that make up the archipelago of Cape Verde.

This article is subdivided into two parts. The first relates to the debate over the transfer of the headquarters of Santiago, which mainly focused on weather. The second part deals with the new headquarters construction project in Mindelo, which aimed to justify the construction of a new center of industrial and commercial civilization, based both in navigation and in the textile industry, as well as the creation of a new city for the proper valuation of the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau.

2. The debate on the transfer of the headquarters of Santiago: the murderous climate as argument

In the 19th century, amid political disputes between the moderates and liberals exalted, arose controversial opinions, proposing to transfer the seat of government to the interior of the island of Santiago. On one hand, the moderate liberals demanded small political reforms, without separating the islands of the Portuguese Crown. On the other hand, the exalted, through the party to Brazil (Arquivo Historico Ultramarino, 1823), founded in 1822 on the island of Boa Vista, demanded deep political and social reforms, including the declaration of independence of the archipelago from Portugal, with the support of the Court in Rio de Janeiro. For the naturalist and general of the Portuguese infantry José Conrado Carlos Chelmicki (1814-1890) [1841: 296], the aforementioned climate unhealthiness of Ribeira Grande was baseless and frowned upon in at Court Lisbon, Portugal, and caused great damage to the archipelago's administration, because the Portuguese departed from Portugal with a pre-established idea about the city; due to the city's climate and how many Europeans died upon exposure to it, it was seen as "the grave of Europeans". Unlike the much-vaunted unhealthiness, the city administration of Ribeira Grande was most affected by the ideas circulating in court on the climate, bringing fear to the people there were sent "A Vila da Praia, capital of Santiago island (...) all other parts are surrounded like a moat, where it accumulates a lot of water (...)" (AHU, 1824). For this author, the so spoken "carneiradas" [Malaria] that decimated entire crews on the African coast were phantasmagoric (Chelmicki, 1841: 62-67).

However, Chelmicki (p. 129-130) did not fail to recognize that the withdrawal of the main authorities of the island of Santiago (where the headquarters of the general government was located) in certain months of the year was causing great damage to the public administration of the province of Cape Verde. Because of this, it was argued that the island of Sao Vicente, which not only enjoyed the best atmosphere but also a good harbor, deserved to become the seat of the general government. On the other hand, Chelmicki advocated the formation of agricultural settlements, since the general government in Cape Verde needed a "flourishing agriculture." The formation of settlements propitiated, according to this not only increased production, but also the dissemination of agricultural values that needed to be inculcated in people. It also emphasizes that the coastal character of the first settlements, centered in the town of Praia and Ribeira Grande, greatly delayed the plans of the general government for the creation of agricultural settlements inside. The Vila da Praia was the only existing village on the island of Santiago, and was therefore essential to creating a new village in a place where the weather was nicer. The most suitable place would be the plateau of Santa Catarina (present city of Assomada), where the climate, according to this, was healthier (p. 199-200).

According to Chelmick, unlike the arguments presented by both Theophilo Dias, deputy, and the governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho, the Portuguese Crown should create a government based on the site called "Matto Engenho", which was justified for two reasons. The first referred to the fact that it was depopulated. The second, the facility, unlike the island of São Vicente, could "form a town" without vices or immoral acts. Chelmick did not believe the arguments presented by those moderate liberals, according to which the island of Santiago was unhealthy. He argued that the interior of the island of Santiago had all the right weather conditions to install the seat of the general government and the transfer of the project of São Vicente was not justified. The argument that it was essential that there is a good climate for the creation of a city, were recovered from the discussions held in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries.

Brigadier José Raimundo da Cunha Matos, (1776-1839) [1963: 47-49] argued that the political elite of Ribeira Grande not only wanted to transfer the government headquarters due to weather climate of Ribeira Grande, but also due to the knowledge that "the Cape Verde islands had given as they could give, and were now reduced to a shriveled corpse". The analysis of this author is more critical of the motives that led the successive governors to propose the transfer of the general government to the Vila da Praia. In summary, in the relevant historiography the theme is limited to corroborate the official argument. On the other hand, they did not take into account both the cultural landscape and the resistance movements on the island of Santiago. To what extent were these resistance movements crucial in making the emergency government headquarters transfer proposals to the Vila da Praia and later to the island of São Vicente? What are the arguments used by political elites to propose the construction of a new center of civilization?

3. Construction project of the new headquarter of government in Mindelo (island of São Vicente)

The first half of the nineteenth century is of utmost importance for understanding the state building in Cape Verde.

From 1822, with the independence of Brazil and constitution of the pro-Brazil party, liberals demanded the independence of the archipelago from the Portuguese Crown. The political elites of the islands of Santo Antão, São Vicente and São Nicolau began to demand the right to elect a representative in the governing Board. Otherwise they would not accept any legal determination from that Board, based in the village of Praia. Furthermore, they claimed the transfer of the seat of government and the creation of a new city on the island of São Vicente.

Through a letter on March 13, 1826, several judges, employees of municipalities from Praia Village and Ribeira Grande, especially Marcellino de Rezende Costa (Arquivo Historico Nacional de Cabo Verde, 1837) they argued for elevation of the Praia village to a city, by the Portuguese Crown, taking into consideration the number of inhabitants (AHU, 1826). The claim also included the participation of several residents, army patents, both on the island of Santiago and on the island of Fogo, several captains mores, among which, Nicolau dos Reis Borges. He was Vice-Consul, secretary general of the government and a wealthy scion of Santiago Island.

Among the canons and vicars stood out Dean Antonio da Costa Alves; the city of Ribeira Grande canon Matheus Gonçalves Varella; Father Manoel Antonio da Crus Lopes; Friar Augustine of Martes; Provincial Commissioner and the convent Guardian; Friar Bernardo de Fondella and the vicar of São Lourenço. Besides Nicolau dos Reis Borges, other influential landowner from the interior of the island of Santiago also took part, including: Manoel Antonio Silva Landim, while aggregate colonel; Domingos Ramos Monteiro, retired colonel of cavalry militias; Francisco dos Reis Borges da Fonseca, Lieutenant Colonel. As arguments, the applicants stressed "the moral qualities of which are of the inhabitants, as are the nobility; the significant number of its inhabitants; education, dignities Civil and ecclesiastical and the loyalty character the Portuguese crown" (AHU, 1826).

By order of September 24, 1828, on the advice of the former general governor, Antonio Pusich (1818-1822), the Secretaria do Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Domínios Ultramarinos, rejected the request of its inhabitants (AHU, 1828). It should be noted that this politician was the first governor that, due to the rebel spirit of the inhabitants of the interior of the island of Santiago against the prevailing injustice, proposed the extinction of the local authority of the Praia village, replacing it with a new city, named Santiago (AHU, 1826). According to the governor Pusich, the city administration of Vila da Praia needed to be extinguished and a new city with the name of Santiago should be put in its place. This politician knew the local authority of the Praia village was administered according to the interests of the exalted liberals. It was not by chance that he had a negative opinion of the request to elevate the village of Praia to a city; he also defended his extinction. According to the governor Pusich, the local authority of Ribeira Grande enjoyed all district forums and it gave possession to the governors of the archipelago. He highlighted the fact that the members of the city hall were always the most influential people of the island, calling them the "Citizens of the city of Ribeira Grande". He deserved attention for the fact that so far he had always been faithful to the interests of the Portuguese Crown. It was found that the Praia village Town Hall almost always went beyond the limits of their powers, causing political unrest. Because of its employees being "tendentious" handled by dealers, it allowed even the convicts to enroll in registration books.

It is also worth reiterating that both the proposal to maintain the seat of the general government in the village of Praia to the creation of another city, or even transferring it to the interior of the island of Santiago further strengthened the power of the political elite of the island of Santiago. The archipelago's Declaration of Independence from the Portuguese Crown was also part of the project, since many sharecroppers were unhappy with the Portuguese *morgados* (landowners), whom they saw as usurping their right to have possession of the land. Moreover, the political elites of the island of Santiago, who were afraid to see their economic power reduced, defended both the "centrality" of the island of Santiago in relation to the other islands as the generation of wealth. This discussion contributed greatly to the fear of the local elite of a possible attack by the inhabitants of the island of Santiago. With successive revolts against the general government, mobilized by the exalted liberals, moderates proposed building a civilization center in Cape Verde, which necessarily passed by changing the seat of the general government to the island of São Vicente. The exalted liberals already defended the maintenance of headquarters in the village of Praia.

First Mr. Theophilo Jose Dias (1822-1834), moderate and natural liberal from Lisbon, argued that Cape Verde's welfare could only be achieved with the transfer of the capital to the island of São Vicente. For this, the island of Santiago was not the most opulent island of the archipelago. So it was not the "one who deserves the honor of being the capital of the same province" (AHU, 1836). The island of Santiago and its respective political elite were seen as responsible for the economic decline of the other islands.

Dias believed that the island of São Vicente would be the best geographic location for navigation, in addition to the existence of an excellent port. He also refers to the geographical position, arguing that "the centrality lack the island of Sao Vicente in relation to all archipelago, the island has the necessary centrality respectively to the group of the Windward Islands, also rich, important, and unfortunately finds himself despised" (AHU, 1836). It also emphasizes that both the coast and the interior of the island of Santiago had an unhealthy climate. Secondly, this politician did believe that the "House and signatory Citizens" argued that one of the main political priorities of the archipelago referred to the "final and permanent headquarters of Government administration," in view of the lack of "stability", originating from the exorbitant financial costs resulting from successive periodic transfers of the headquarters of the general government. These expenses meant that employees receive their salaries within six months late, to the detriment of the general government administration services. Dias also argued that it was an "unforgivable selfishness" of Praia city administration to keep the capital of the archipelago on the island of Santiago, only to be transferred to the interior of that island during the rainy season (AHU, 1836).

In summary, the transfer of the seat of government for São Vicente was supported by a good part of the local political elite of the islands of Sao Vicente, São Nicolau and Santo Antão due partly to the fear that inside the black people of the island of Santiago were planning an invasion of Praia village to depose the governor general appointed by the Portuguese Crown. This fear was confirmed by Governor Joaquim Marinho (1839: 105) in his "Memória Official em resposta às acusações dirigidas à Sua Magestade contra o governador geral da província de Cabo Verde", by reiterating that "Manoel Antonio Martins, wanting to seduce Antonio dos Santos Dias, father of Mr. Teophilo Jose Dias, wrote him a letter (...) in which he said to him: "now the people are sovereign, we can and must appoint a governor ".

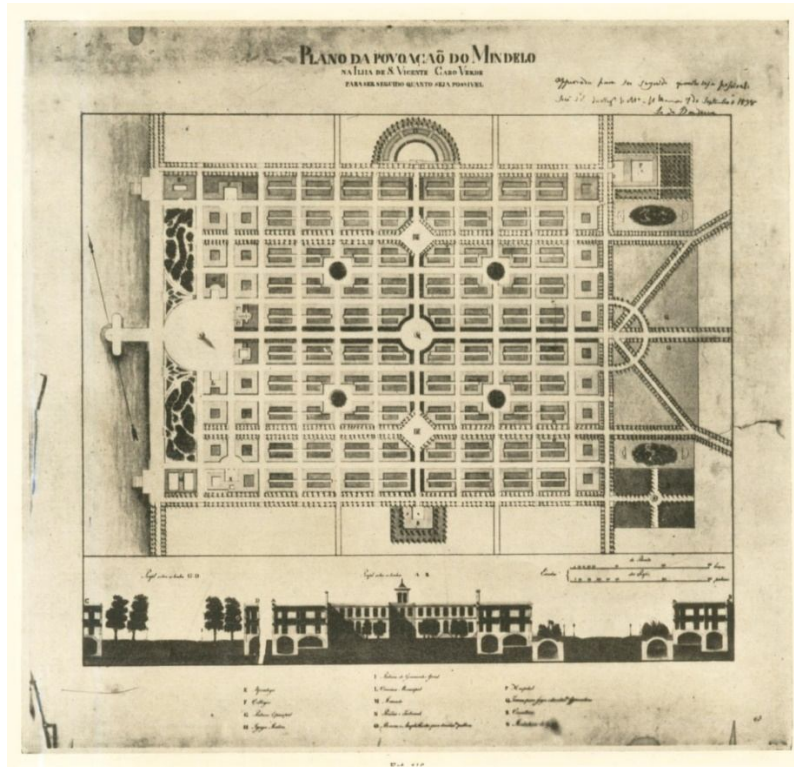
On the other hand, Teophilo Jose Dias voiced the demands of the local political elite for the creation of "a village at its center, and healthy place, and that it had been the necessary and speedy consequence of their being there the seat of government during the sickly month in Praia village" (AHU, 1836), represented by the locations of Picos and Orgãos. The deputy questioned the priority of the creation of a village in the center of the island of Santiago for two reasons. The first referred to the great distance between these locations from the Praia village. The second was referring to the large expenditure on transport services and the lack of access to the interior of the island during the rainy season (June to October), which had always made it difficult to transport the "necessaries" for the Vila da Praia, which would be a "disgrace", decreeing Picos as capital of Cape Verde, because the government could not sue on matters requiring quick decisions.

In relation to access roads, he noted that "well consider (...) the traffic of more than ten leagues, for quite bad ways, subject to the ardent sun when you marched from day-dangerous water hole when they walked by night" (AHU, 1836).

According to this politician, it became "absurd" to fix the government residence within the island of Santiago, in view of the substantial financial resources required for the construction and maintenance of a road that would connect the Praia village. On the other hand he defended the investment of this financial capital in building "housing for the Government, public Bishop and Breakdowns" in another island of the archipelago, São Vicente. It can be seen that the Mindelo foundation was directly linked to the belief that the farmers in the interior of Santiago were not capable of self-government. On one side, Theophilo Dias presented the arguments because it would create a new city in Sao Vicente. On the other, Governor Marinho planned the administrative structure and the architecture of the new city of Mindelo. In his "Memória Official em resposta às acusações dirigidas a Sua Magestade contra o governador geral da província de Cabo Verde", published in 1838, he designed the houses of the new city as follows - "The houses to be built in Sao Vincente should all be low in housetop, as the Spaniards built in Cadiz, or brick vaults because of the animal, which destroys the timber very readily" (AHU, 1836). Regarding floors, conceives it to the Spanish style, emphasizing that. Still, according to the governor, the entire construction process should be supervised by an experienced Spanish potter.

The following map was prepared based on the governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho project in 1838. It has the shape of a chess board, similar to the Italian Renaissance style. Note also that all the buildings of the new city project are enclosed by walls made of plants, as well as the interconnection of buildings. The structure itself denotes the power structure, as well as the organization of local administration.

Figure 1. Map of Mindelo city approved by the Secretaria de Estado dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar of Portugal, 1838.



Source: SILVEIRA, Luís (1956). *Ensaio de iconografia das cidades portuguesas do ultramar*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, v. II, p. 129.

The plan also reflects a structure in checkerboard, baroque style. On the one hand, the buildings of the episcopal palace, the local authority, the courthouse and the governor, represented by the letters G, I, L and N are delimited by splendid gardens and located in the rear of the new city. The fact that the buildings of the three branches are located in the rear of the city translates into greater security for the archipelago's administration, as claimed by Governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho. It is a tripartite structure of power, represented by the secular, administrative and judiciary. The school had a prominent place in the new city, represented by the letter F. In the new city, instruction was placed as the essence of any "civilized" people. It should also be raised that customs activities related to the Porto Grande is represented by customs building (letter E). On the other end, at the entrance of the city may be seen the hospital building and the cemetery of the city, represented by the letters P and R (AHU, 1838).

The plan of the new city was designed based on a structure in the streets of chess, built by "tilers" (Spanish), which guaranteed greater security for the governor, the clergy and military officers. The design of the streets aimed to forge a city with greater discipline, but also a provide a certain regularity to the buildings. This profound rationalization in the construction of Mindelo in "chessboard" form can be seen both in the planning scheme and organization of buildings, as in the provision for the streets itself. It was precisely the justification of military control and security that led the Marine governor to propose the move to São Vicente.

The main concern of moderate liberals, Cape Verde, was to create a grand structure to impress and attract potential residents to this town, built in the shape of the garden. In addition, the Mindelo structure provided greater control of entrance and exit of the city. The concept of civilization that the creators had in mind was shown through the project, in view of the order, regularity, rationality and discipline of planning the streets and buildings.

The planning of the new city of Mindelo aimed to break with the "disorganization" of the Vila da Praia and the city of Ribeira Grande, which, according to Governor Marinho, favored the invasion, amid fears that the inhabitants of the interior of Santiago could assault the seat of political power in the archipelago. The solution reflects the concern for both the organization and safety of the new city. Marinho blamed the island of Santiago for the decay of the archipelago, while São Vicente was linked to the progress and prosperity idea - "I am persuaded that this province, there are duty will island of S. Vincente (São Vicente) and not the other cause, does not go the front in the decay that has fallen a few years ago" (AHU, 1836). There is no doubt that for this ruler, that the "delay" of the archipelago was due to the island of Santiago. Mindelo was associated with the illustration, renewal and progress.

The plan itself of the new city reflects a concern with the search for a certain political renewal through a tripartite structure. It reiterated further that "the delay in which it is this Province, is mainly due to have been and in fact still is, the Capital in S. Thiago (Santiago) Island" (AHU, 1836). For the realization of these works, the Visconti de Sá da Bandeira (1834-1838) should have allowed the departure of workers from Portugal to begin execution of the works of construction of the new city. It is worth noting that other workers should be recruited from the soldiers coming from the kingdom, which reinforces the idea that, for Marine, blacks could not get in São Vicente. To start the construction of the new city, the governor João de Fontes Pereira de Melo, through a letter addressed to the Conde de Bonfim, on March 31, 1840, proposed to the Portuguese Crown the acquisition of a set of building materials (AHU, 1836).

Continuing the application of the general government of Cape Verde, through the office of the Secretaria dos Negócios da Marinha e Ultramar, dated August 26, 1840, the Conde de Bonfim (1838-1844) authorized the general government of Cape Verde the monthly spending amount of one thousand and two hundred thousand reis for the construction of the new city. The Portuguese crown was also convinced that the "delay" of the archipelago was due to the fact that its capital is situated on the island of Santiago. However, it recognized the lack of funds for the construction of the new city of Mindelo (AHU, 1836).

The cultural dimension of the new city was present on the ground for the games, amusements and sports practices, represented by the letter Q. The project creators wanted to make Mindelo a cultural reference center in the archipelago, represented also by an amphitheater for "public entertainment". The homes were to be built in the English style cottages in India, more adapted to both the heat and the rain, and more resistant to winds. The walls of the houses purported to reflect the grandeur of these buildings, made of "slaughtered arches, arches with mud is covering it, or knowledge of bamboos, which in S. Theago [Santiago island] is called nature plant and best bamboo Guinea (...) plastered with lime and sand " (AHU, 1838). Both the exterior doors and windows as the doors of the cabinets of the rooms should be built "in an arc, or like Gothic", given that they could not carry large stones for the construction of houses or structures (AHU, 1838).

Regarding the construction of the buildings of the governor general, public officials and its inhabitants should be built, according to the English model in Mumbai, India, "of bamboo, lime and sand towed" (AHU, 1838).

On the other hand, the construction of houses imposed on the owner the obligation to build a cistern to capture rainwater "as is done in Mozambique where there is no other fresh water more than tanks (...)" (AHU, 1838). To counter the criticism of the opposition to the transfer of the seat of government for Mindelo, Marinho proposes a house-building system where each house had its own cistern for water. To ensure the effectiveness of these sources of funding of rainwater, they argued that they should be "lined with good brick, also covered with an brick vault, and then lined with a delegated [thin] Pioma cement cover to become more iterna [eternal] and Cheap" (AHU, 1838).

Governor Joaquim Marinho designed a majestic city. Each house was to be built with a garden and trees. The walls of the gardens should be composed of "their own trimmed plants." The jatropa would be the ideal plant for the construction of the walls, in order that the animals can not eat away at them. It was the construction of a garden city (AHU, 1838). For this governor, a garden city project was justified, given his blame of the elites for the "lack of fuel, and wood." This situation was due to the large number of tree cutting, which led this politician to propose urgent measures to "restore thickets and (...) a very advantageous transplant of Guinea mangrove to the many beaches of São Vicente, Boa Vista, May and that points of the other islands". It also criticizes the administration of Cape Verde, reiterating that such failure is due to the way "more indecent that has administered the Cologne" (AHU, 1838).

On the other hand, it disputes the argument used by the local authority of the Praia village. According to Marinho, Santiago Island had the largest population of the archipelago, but the inhabitants of the province were not limited to the inhabitants of this island. The Navy intended to grant greater administrative freedom to the other islands. In his "Memória Official em resposta às acusações dirigidas à Sua Magestade contra o governador geral da província de Cabo Verde", Marinho accused the political elites of the island of Santiago of excessive administrative centralization, reiterating that "all these islands were truly the feudalistic will of S.Thiago (Santiago), and they did not receive more than oppressive orders" (AHU, 1838). Also according to Marinho, to enable the construction of the new city of Mindelo, the Portuguese Crown should "build it in an Industrial City", being denied access to all those who did not have "an industry or known profession, is well published by which can support". The governor's plan was to prevent both stray slaves and the farmers from living Mindelo and consequently threatening the new installed political structure there.

The goal was to build a center of industrial and commercial civilization, based on the English model of the factories. Also, centered around the production of salt, bricks and the spinning industry to be widespread in all the islands of the archipelago. According to this governor, being civilized meant having roads, factories and eliminating the culture reigning over sharecropper on the island of Santiago. For the granting of various wastelands to the dealer Jozé Alexandre Fortuna, attorney of Joaquim de Almeida Brandão and Souza and João Gomes d'Oliveira e Silva, several clauses were imposed. The first referred to the reserve requirement of "corresponding area to a city block of the new village of Mindelo on the island of Sao Vicente, to build them houses and warehouses". Second, there is the obligation to build at least six buildings in the area corresponding to the new "village" of Mindelo, created to host the new capital of Cape Verde. The third, tied with the commitment of these, under penalty of nullity of the contract, to use the colonization process "people chafer, free, or free, native or stranger, and never your slaves or others". The fourth emphasizes the obligation not to consent to both its agents and employees to engage, directly or indirectly, in political or party "that can shake the country, under penalty of being immediately dismissed from his service to the Government's request" (AHU, 1838).

The clauses also attest that the Mindelo creation project was highly exclusionary, given that, under the new agreements between the general government and traders, slaves could not get in Mindelo. Governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho also reiterated that local authorities should not allow "there any kind of inhabitant, man or woman, who does not have an industry or profession known". It also reiterated that the island of Sao Vicente was one of the "the most healthy places in the universe" (AHU, 1838). In addition to the contractual impositions on vacant land concessions, he also defended the moralization of the island of São Vicente. First, reiterated that "The island of S. Vincente's population is made up of (...) more immoralities, mulatto and black, some miserable tendeiros, mulattos... and thieves (...)" (AHU, 1835). Second, it argued that the new city creation project, called Mindelo, provided outstanding financial resources, with the granting of wastelands to dealers, which in turn, would among other obligations, lead to the construction of buildings necessary to support the archipelago's administration (AHU, 1835).

Finally, the Mindelo creation project had two main objectives: illustration and schooling. The school building, together with the governor, the camera, the episcopate and the court, were part of the three powers of the new city. Not by chance, the first of Cape Verde school was created in Mindelo, as one of the instruments to enable the new industrial city. In addition, the configuration of the new city is highly asymmetric, leaving out slaves or who had not recognized work. From the analysis of the underlying speech to the creation of the new center of civilization in Cape Verde, it highlights two relevant aspects. On the one hand, both the governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho and Mr. Theophilo Dias proposed the formation of a new political elite, where being neither liberal nor moderate liberal exalted was indeed a mandatory condition to inhabit the new industrial city. On the other, the revolts of sharecroppers of the interior of the island of Santiago were instrumental in the construction of a city that gave greater security and organization to the administrative body.

4. Conclusion

As announced, the purpose of this essay was to analyze the speeches of moderate and exalted politicians in the debate over the transfer of the headquarter of the Cape Verde from Santiago to Mindelo. We conclude that the proposed Mindelo city foundation had as main objective to break the culture of revolts of the island of Santiago against local authorities, creating a commercial and industrial civilization around the Porto Grande.

It is also worth reiterating that the new city construction design was based on the ideal of education, which explains the prominent place given to both the school and the land zoned for amusement and sports practices. In addition, we determined the new profile of its inhabitants, excluding those who do not have a fixed occupation, income or property, such as: slaves, sharecroppers or banished. In 1836, the exalted liberals, led by Manuel António Martins managed to depose the governor Joaquim Pereira Marinho, demanding the lifting of the Vila da Praia to a city. Despite the queen, Dona Maria II, by decree of June 11, 1838, having determined to transfer the government administration to Mindelo, the political elites of the island of Santiago continued to claim the final establishment of the government administration should have been on the island of Santiago, which came to be met in 1850.

5. References

5.1. Manuscripts sources

- Arquivo Geral de Simancas (AGS), *Secretarias Provinciales (Portugal)*, liv.1550, f. 357-357 v.
 Arquivos do Vaticano (AV), *Processus Consistorialis*, v. II, fl. 310, de 31 de março de 1608.
 Archivum Romanum Societatis Iesu, Roma (ARSI), *Lusitânia*, cód. 83, fls. 353 v. – 354 v., de março de 1608.
 Biblioteca da Ajuda de Lisboa, *Cód. 51-VIII-25*, f. 119-122 v., de 1606.
 Arquivo Histórico de Cabo Verde (AHN)
 AHN, Secretária Geral do Governo, Requerimentos (1837). Originais manuscritos. Cx. 40, de 23 de março de 1837.
 Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino, AHU
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 1, doc. 15.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 083/ doc. 31, de 16 de janeiro e de 18 de dezembro de 1824.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 83, doc. 74, de 13 de março de 1826.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 83, doc. 74.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 89A, doc. 114.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Coleção cartográfica, Enc., IV, 81 (Cat. C. A.).
 AHU, *SEMU-CV*, Cx. 53, ofício n. 1, de 16 de setembro de 1835.
 AHU, *Cabo Verde*, Cx. 54, de 1836 –Folheto Algumas considerações sobre a fixação da Sede do Governo da Província, e salubridade da ilha de S. Thiago de Cabo-Verde.
 AHU, *SEMU-CV*, Cx. 55-Memórias sobre Cabo Verde, 1º Caderno, de 1838.

5.2. Printed sources

- CHELMICKI, José Conrado Carlos de (1841). *Corografia Cabo-verdiana ou descrição geographico-historico da Província das Ilhas de Cabo-Verde e Guiné* (t. I). Lisboa: Typ. de L. C. da Cunha.
 GUERREIRO, Padre Fernam (1695). *Relaçam Anual das Cousas que Fezeram os Padres da Companhia de Jesus nas partes da Índia Oriental, e no Brasil, Angola, Cabo Verde, nos annos de seiscentos e dous e seiscentos e três, e do processo de conversam, e christandade daquellas partes, tirada das cartas dos mesmos padres que de lá vieram. (2nd ed)*. Lisboa: Per Jorge Rodriguez.
 MARINHO, Joaquim Pereira (1839). *Memória Official em resposta às acusações dirigidas a Sua Magestade contra o governador geral da província de Cabo Verde*. Lisboa: Typografia de A. S. Coelho.
 VALLE, Marqués de la Fuentesanta del; RAYON, D. José Sancho; ZABÁLBURU, D. Francisco de (1889). *Coleccion de documentos inéditos para la historia de Españā* (t. XCIV). Madrid.

5.3. Books

- AMARAL, Ilídio do (1964). *Santiago de Cabo Verde: A Terra e os Homens*. Lisboa: Memórias da Junta de Investigação do Ultramar.
 BARCELLOS, Christianno José Senna (1904). *Subsídios para a História de Cabo Verde e Guiné*, 5 partes. Lisboa: Typografia da Cooperativa Militar.
 CARREIRA, António (1984). *Cabo Verde (Aspectos Sociais. Secas e fomes do século XX)*. (2nd ed.). Lisboa: Ulmeiro.
 ELIAS, Norbert (1995). *O processo civilizador (Formação do Estado e Civilização)*. Rio de Janeiro: Jorge Zahar, v. I.
 HOBBS, Thomas (1983). *Leviatã ou material, forma e poder de um estado eclesiástico e civil*. São Paulo: Victor Civita.
 MATOS, Brigadeiro R. J. da Cunha (1963). *Compêndio histórico das possessões de Portugal na África*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Justiça e Negócios Interiores – Arquivo Nacional.
 PEREIRA, Eduardo Adilson Camilo (2014). Cabo Verde: entre uma civilização agrícola e uma civilização industrial e comercial (1822-1841). *SANKOFA - Revista de História da África e de Estudos da Diáspora Africana*, 14, 118-139. [Online] Available: <https://sites.google.com/site/revistasankofa/sankofa-14> (May 29, 2016).
 PEREIRA, Eduardo Adilson Camilo (2015). *Política e cultura: as Revoltas dos Engenheiros (1822), de Achada Falcão (1841) e de Ribeirão Manuel (1910)*. [3rd Rev.ed.]. Praia: Imprensa Nacional.
 PEREIRA, Eduardo Adilson Camilo (2013). Reformas políticas e o regime da prefeitura em Cabo Verde da primeira metade do séc. XIX (1832-1834). *SANKOFA - Revista de História da África e de Estudos da Diáspora Africana*, 12, 99-124. [Online] Available: <https://sites.google.com/site/revistasankofa/sankofa-12> (May 29, 2016).
 SILVA, António Leão Correia e (1998). *No tempo do Porto Grande do Mindelo*. Praia/Mindelo: Centro Cultural Português.
 SILVEIRA, Luís (1956). *Ensaio de iconografia das cidades portuguesas do ultramar*. Lisboa: Junta de Investigação do Ultramar, v. II.
 TYLOR, Edward B. (1920). *Primitive Culture*. (v. I, 6th Edition). London: John Murray.