



The Oxford Handbook of Commodity History

Jonathan Curry-Machado (ed.) et al.

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197502679.001.0001>

Published: 2023

Online ISBN: 9780197502686

Print ISBN: 9780197502679

Search in this book

CHAPTER

7 Commodities Shaping a New Imperial History: Tobacco and the Iberian Empires

Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, João Figueiroa-Rego, Vicent Sanz Rozalén, Jean Stubbs

<https://doi.org/10.1093/oxfordhb/9780197502679.013.33> Pages 145–166

Published: 18 December 2023

Abstract

Tobacco, which originated in the Americas, was one of the early commodities to shape a new imperial history. This chapter highlights recent historiography of tobacco in the Iberian Empires, which from the seventeenth century became embedded in transimperial and transcolonial connections in territories of the Americas, Africa, and Asia. This *longue-durée* history was one of tobacco monopoly and an Atlantic tobacco system that was integrally tied to the slave trade from Africa to the Americas, extended across the Pacific; was constantly dogged by opposition, illicit trade and smuggling; and witnessed major changes in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. This is illustrated by two case studies, one of Portuguese and the other of Spanish tobacco history, and a concluding section signals comparative lessons of this history and the relevance of the Iberian case for the broader study of commodities and empire.

Keywords: tobacco, Iberian empire, Americas, Africa, Asia, monopoly, illicit trade, smuggling

Subject: World History, History

Series: Oxford Handbooks

Collection: Oxford Handbooks Online

FOR the Iberian monarchies, tobacco became a fundamental source of revenue and a key driver articulating a system of imperial rule and shaping a colonial dynamic that transcended political and institutional arrangements and fundamentally reshaped social and property relations and labour regimes. Until the last part of the twentieth century, that tobacco history was little studied in its full dimension and not until the first decades of the twenty-first century as having at its epicenter an Atlantic tobacco system that extended across the Pacific to become global. For the Portuguese and Spanish Empires, tobacco was a commodity on

which the very process of colonization was grounded, making it one of the commodities that most shaped imperial and colonial spatial relations.

There was a process by which the Iberian tobacco monopolies established networks of transimperial and transcolonial connections in the Americas, Africa, and Asia, which changed over time in the *longue-durée* of monopolistic Iberian rule. To understand this, we begin here by looking at a select historiography situating Iberian tobacco historiography and tobacco monopolies in the formation, consolidation, and demise of the Iberian empires from the sixteenth to the nineteenth centuries. This highlights work of recent decades, in particular that spearheaded by Hispanic and Lusophone tobacco historians, exploring the ways in which the Iberian empires strived to harness resources, revenues, and people.

This is then illustrated in two case studies. The first traces facets of the Brazil–Africa–India connections in Portuguese imperial tobacco history, while the second charts the Spanish imperial and colonial monopoly system through to the early ↵ nineteenth-century demise of the Cuban monopoly and subsequent rise and fall of the monopoly in the Philippines.

After losing out to the British in India in the eighteenth century and crucially losing Brazil in the Americas in the nineteenth century, Portugal met with limited tobacco success in Africa. After the end of the Spanish monopoly in Cuba, Spain's designs with the tobacco monopoly in the Philippines, in an attempt to reconfigure its waning empire, were similarly chequered, and by the end of the century both Cuba and the Philippines were occupied by the United States in what was the start of a new era of US expansionism.

The concluding section signals ways in which the Spanish and Portuguese monopolies converged and diverged and the relevance of Iberian imperial tobacco history for the broader study of commodities and empires. The tobacco monopolies of the Iberian Empires might have fallen by the end of the nineteenth century, but this was by no means the end of tobacco monopolies or many other continuities into the post-imperial period.

Tobacco Historiography of the Iberian Empires

A spate of historiography since the late twentieth century has furthered our understanding of how tobacco, a plant of the indigenous peoples of the Americas, became an imperial global commodity. While many studies are quite narrow in focus, prioritising cultivation, processing, trade, or consumption, overview histories such as that by Victor Kiernan traced tobacco's global journey across the centuries, while Jordan Goodman's post-1800 social history of tobacco cultivation and trade cemented a persuasive concept of tobacco as a 'poor man's crop' bound up in 'cultures of dependence' that harked back to earlier times. Among the more popular commodity histories, James Walvin included tobacco as one of several 'fruits of empire', which Wolfgang Schivelbusch characterized as 'tastes of paradise', while for Ian Gately tobacco was 'La Diva Nicotiana', 'an exotic plant that seduced civilization'.¹

Venerated by the indigenous peoples of the Americas for its therapeutic properties and spiritual properties, bound up in shamanism, tobacco was initially looked down on by European colonizers and thereafter periodically demonized by European powers, with the persecution of those seeking its pleasurable consumption, as under the Portuguese and Spanish Inquisition.² Sander Gilman and Zhou Xun's edited collection on smoke through the ages, however, encapsulates the seduction of tobacco in tandem with the rise and fall of empires, covering a rich array of the many variations of the habit, through to the late nineteenth-century rise and twentieth-century global predominance of the cigarette.³

Within this wider framework, the focus of much Iberian tobacco historiography has been on the Spanish and Portuguese tobacco monopolies. Early examples in the ↵ Spanish case include the work of Edilberto de

Jesús, exploring the bureaucratic and social underpinnings of the Philippine monopoly, and Susan Deans-Smith on the role of bureaucrats, planters, and workers in the making of the monopoly during the Bourbon period and Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo demonstrating the importance for Spain of the tobacco monopoly in the Viceroyalty of New Spain. This was the first viceroyalty created by Spain in the Americas, in 1521, one that came to comprise much of what is today part of the southern and central United States, central and northern parts of South America (principally now Mexico), and extended to Pacific Ocean archipelagos, namely, the Philippines and Guam. The significance of the metropolitan tobacco monopoly in shaping Spanish history was also evidenced in the work of Francisco Comín and Pablo Martín Aceña, and that of the royal tobacco monopoly in the Viceroyalty of Peru, created in 1542 to administer much of Spain's South American Empire, by Catalina Vizcarra.⁴

A growing consensus among historians confirmed that the Spanish tobacco monopolies generated an immensely important economic sector, one which had, by the late seventeenth century, become an indispensable resource for the monarchical state. Tobacco was second only in value to silver crossing from the New World to the Old and central to the very shaping of empire. The significant role played in this by Spanish imperial fiscal design was highlighted in studies by Herbert Klein, John Fisher, and Laura Náter,⁵ while the importance and associated problems of the fiscal transfer known as the *situado* operating among the Spanish tobacco monopolies in Mexico and other Spanish territories such as the Philippines, Cuba, and Peru lay at the core of works such as those by Leslie Bauzón, Carlos Marichal, and Matilde Souto, and a later collection edited by Marichal and Johanna von Grafenstein.⁶

Náter highlighted the important broader imperial networks of the Spanish tobacco monopolies in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, while the context for tobacco reforms was set out in the work of Allan Kuethe and Kenneth Andrien on the eighteenth-century Spanish Atlantic world, war, and the Bourbon reforms. The centrality of tobacco in shaping Cuba and the Atlantic world was cemented by Charlotte Cosner, who also highlighted opposition to Spanish monopoly impositions with the uprisings of tobacco growers in Cuba, precursor to the late-nineteenth-century worker opposition to Spanish colonial rule documented earlier by Jean Stubbs and Joan Casanovas. Stubbs also later looked beyond the Iberian Atlantic to broader transimperial connections accounting for the rise of the Havana cigar to nineteenth-century pre-eminence in what was tobacco's 'century of the cigar'.⁷

In Spain, the standard reference for Spanish tobacco history had been the work of José Pérez Vidal published in the 1950s. That began to change with the 1990s publication of the historical dictionary of tobacco in Spain by José Rodríguez Gordillo, followed by his later compilation of essays on Spanish tobacco.⁸ Rodríguez Gordillo was one of a group of Spanish historians involved in a 1998 Spanish symposium on tobacco and economy and the subsequent creation of the GRETA tobacco study group, which continued until 2012. Attention turned to the imperial and colonial dimensions of Spanish tobacco history, connecting the organizational, administrative, and fiscal aspects of the metropolitan monopoly in Spain with the creation of tobacco monopolies in the colonies in the eighteenth century.

This gave rise to a series of publications, the earliest of which was the collection edited by Agustín González Enciso and Rafael Torres on tobacco and economy in the eighteenth century. Later collections followed on the economic history of tobacco from the seventeenth to the twentieth centuries, edited by Luis Alonso Alvarez, Lina Gálvez Muñoz, and Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and on the political economy of the eighteenth-century tobacco monopoly, edited by González Enciso.⁹ Among new regional studies of tobacco in Spain, those by Andrés Arnaldos Martínez and Jorge Arnaldos de Armas, as well as Luxán, evidenced the important positioning of the Canary Islands on Spain's route to the Americas. This was explored further by Luxán, Montserrat Gárate Ojanguren, and Rodríguez Gordillo, to develop the concept of the Atlantic tobacco system and the Cuba-Canaries-Seville axis within this.¹⁰

Further confirming the crucial importance of tobacco revenue for the royal coffers, these studies evidenced how the metropolitan monopoly depended on cultivation and trade in the colonies through controls, fiscal arrangements, and local networks of privileges granted in the seventeenth century (except for a brief interlude in the years 1684–1687); was later combined with direct administration over Seville and Madrid (1701–1730); and was thereafter brought under the *Administración Única* in which the Cuba–Canaries–Seville connection played a significant part.

Much of the debate on the eighteenth century centered around, on the one hand, the success of reforms seen by some as stemming from a more ‘free trade’ approach, and, on the other—as argued by Marichal and Vizcarra—the negative impact of fiscal policy of the tobacco monopolies aimed at maximising the extraction of resources to underwrite the monarchy’s costs of war.¹¹ The very extractive fiscal success of the imperial monopoly was depicted as one of the principle causes of the backwardness of Spain’s American colonies, while the tobacco monopolies were also seen—for example, by Náter—as the very economic backbone of those colonies. What remains best known to date is the history of the metropolitan monopoly, and in the Americas the privileged positioning and workings of the Cuban monopoly documented among others by Luxán and Gárate.¹²

In the case of Portuguese imperial tobacco historiography, studies as of the late twentieth century also documented the significance of tobacco in the Portuguese imperial period. These ranged from the importance of tobacco for the Portuguese nation in the work of Raul Esteves dos Santos to the monopoly and contraband in the early Portuguese tobacco trade of the late seventeenth to early nineteenth centuries by Carl Hanson.¹³

Portuguese Brazil occupied a prominent place, with pioneering studies including that on the Portuguese tobacco trade and tobacco growers in the late colonial period of Bahia and the Recôncavo region of northern Brazil by Catherine Lugar and on the colonial system of administering tobacco production, trade and labour by Jean Baptiste Nardi. B. J. Barickman, taking his cue from the influential—and controversial—work of Fernando Ortiz on the counterpoint of tobacco and sugar in Cuba (first published in 1940), explored the counterpoint of tobacco, sugar, and cassava in the late colonial and early post-colonial period, and Paulo Henrique de Almeida charted four centuries of tobacco growing and manufacture. Gustavo Acioli Lopes undertook a historiographical overview of the ascent of the Portuguese American tobacco ‘primo pobre’, prelude to his later study on tobacco, sugar, gold, and slaves in the Atlantic trade with Costa da Mina, and Philomena Sequeira Anthony subsequently explored relations between Goa and Bahia.¹⁴

A new boost was given to Portuguese tobacco historiography when Portuguese historians started collaborating with Spanish historians on the Iberian tobacco monopolies. The collaborative focus was on the creation and consolidation of complex structures of tobacco cultivation, trade, manufacture, and distribution across diverse colonial and metropolitan spaces from the end of the sixteenth century through the seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries and how this changed during the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries.

This resulted in a series of publications on Iberian tobacco, from the political and fiscal history of the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries edited by Luxán, to tobacco and slavery over the same period and the lucrative history of Iberian tobacco, as much as it was a ‘vice’ edited by Luxán, João de Figueiroa-Rego and Vicent Sanz Rozalén, and a special themed issue of the journal *Millars* on the Iberian tobacco monopolies, guest-edited by Luxán, Stubbs, and Figueiroa-Rego.¹⁵

Documenting in detail the workings of Portuguese and Spanish tobacco history and the tobacco monopolies confirmed their early convergence in economic and defence terms between the Atlantic extremities of the two empires, as argued by John Elliott,¹⁶ and on a scale that made it possible to see them both as components of an Iberian Atlantic system. This was articulated primarily in tandem with the trafficking of

slaves from Africa in the triangular trade between Africa, Europe, and the Americas, in which tobacco played a significant part, with expanding incursions into Asia.

In the early global context, there were three main axes to the tobacco trade. The Chesapeake-Britain-France axis (that of Virginia tobacco) was dominant in terms of the volume of trade, and its greater competitiveness due to its inferior quality and therefore much lower price, for use in smoking. Britain and France did not establish monopoly regimes per se but rather tariff trade systems. The second axis was that of Brazil-Portugal-Spain-Italy, with two secondary axes—Brazil-Africa, which was fundamental in the slave trade, and Brazil-India—and with the Atlantic archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira under the Portuguese monopoly. This was mainly in the form of rope tobacco that on the European market was processed for smoking or as snuff.

The third axis was that of Spain's Empire in the Americas, which was a tobacco monopoly to regulate all colonial trade. After the frustrated attempt to create a colonial monopoly in Venezuela in 1620, the Havana-Cadiz-Seville axis was established, the financial backbone of which was New Spain, with a secondary Cuba-Canaries-Seville axis. In 1760, a change in Spanish imperial policy extended to the creation of tobacco monopolies in other American colonies, establishing them in regions that were designated to be tobacco-producing—principally Cuba and New Spain—and others that were to be tobacco-consuming, where sales would be the source of revenue for Spain. The tobacco that was consumed in the latter regions was primarily in the form of snuff ↴ from leaf originating in Havana and processed in the Real Fábrica de Sevilla, although local populations were already smoking tobacco from Virginia and Brazil. This third axis functioned more completely under a monopoly regime, with an additional axis connecting the Pacific archipelago of the Philippines with New Spain, of which the Philippines was an administrative dependency. From the Philippines, tobacco was introduced into China, where by the seventeenth century there was mass tobacco consumption, and by the end of the century tobacco was a global product.

By embracing a comparative perspective the interconnections became more apparent beyond the Atlantic framework of Europe-Americas-Africa, with the structural dependence of the Portuguese colonies in the Indian subcontinent and the incorporation of the Philippines into the Viceroyalty of New Spain. In the Portuguese case, topics investigated included the connections between Brazil and Africa by Figueiroa-Rego; the administration of the Portuguese royal monopoly in India in the seventeenth-century and early eighteenth century by Susana Münch Miranda; and the small but significant Spanish commercial interests in Lisbon in the early eighteenth-century tobacco trade with Brazil by João Paulo Salvado and Leonor Costa Freire.¹⁷

A first approximation to a comparative history of the Spanish and Portuguese middle-Atlantic archipelagos of the Canary Islands and the Azores and Madeira from the seventeenth to the nineteenth centuries by Luxán and Margarido Vaz do Rego Machado highlighted how each had long operated under metropolitan monopoly control and then exhibited similar nineteenth-century strategies with the loosening of metropolitan strictures. This was not without strong local opposition in the Azores to the Portuguese tobacco contract in and through Lisbon in the last half of the nineteenth century, as documented by Vaz do Rego Machado, while María de los Reyes Hernández Socorro and Luxán broadened the scope of analysis to evidence the widespread smoking habit in the Canaries through a study of portraiture.¹⁸

Parallel work undertaken on the Philippines, meanwhile, underscored the importance of the Philippines in a new imperial construct of the Spanish monarchy, the laboratory it in effect became for colonial administration to finance the empire, and how it was a focal point for colonial tensions among European powers. The argument highlighting tobacco in the rearticulation of Spanish colonial power was substantiated, among others, by María Dolores Elizalde, Josep María Delgado, and Xavier Huetz de Lemps.¹⁹

p. 151

Findings such as these were linked to a wider process of transformation of the Spanish empire, which Josep Fradera encapsulated in the concept of the 'imperial nation'.²⁰ He related this to the turning point of the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries when imperial monarchies collapsed and modern nations emerged, and saw this pivotal moment as a bridge rather than a break, during which the legacy of monarchical empires shaped relations between imperial centres and their sovereign territories. The early nineteenth century saw tobacco being redefined in the reconfiguration in the metropolis, with the consolidation of the liberal State, and also the remaining colonial spaces, such that in Spain's last main colonies tobacco was prioritised in the Philippines, coffee in Puerto Rico, and sugar in Cuba. Burgeoning Cuban sugar interests were instrumental ↪ in securing the 1817 abolition of Spanish tobacco monopoly in Cuba, as documented by Sanz Rozalén,²¹ and hence the renewed focus on the Philippine tobacco monopoly.

The growing corpus of historical work thus highlighted the importance of tobacco in the Atlantic and Pacific extremities of the two empires and the connections between them. This was articulated in the early phase with the trafficking of slaves from Africa in the triangular trade between Africa, Europe, and the Americas in which tobacco played a significant part, the expanding incursions into Asia, and the constant losing battle to contain illicit trade and smuggling. The first of the two case studies that follow illustrates facets of this in Brazil–Africa–India connections in Portuguese imperial tobacco history. The second charts the Spanish imperial and colonial monopoly system through the rise and demise of the Cuban monopoly and subsequent repositioning of the Philippine colonial monopoly.

Portuguese Imperial Tobacco History: Brazil-Africa-India

The early history of tobacco under the Portuguese Crown was inextricably linked to the Hispanic axis, involving colonial defenses, tensions, and open conflict with other powers.²² The Dutch threatened Brazilian sugar and tobacco, the slave trade from Angola, and metropolitan salt, which led to war during the reigns of Philip III and Philip IV.²³ After the fall of Secretary of State Miguel de Vasconcelos in 1640, a first action was to raid the tobacco held by Castille,²⁴ and in 1648, former Jesuit Manoel de Moraes, in a letter to the King regarding possible secession of Brazil to the Dutch to end the conflict, argued it was totally unacceptable that Portugal lose a territory so rich in sugar and tobacco.²⁵

This changed with the Braganza dynasty and the Portuguese tobacco monopoly. After a short parenthesis (1642–1644), when the monopoly was replaced by a customs–tariff regime, the monopoly centralized the production and distribution of tobacco under the *Junta de Administração* and set up tobacco manufactories in Lisbon, Porto, the Azores, and Madeira. Tobacco underwrote much of the military and diplomatic outlay during the War of Restoration (1640–1668). However, a key year to underscore is 1674, when the ordinances of the *Junta de Administração do Tabaco* were drawn up for administering the new monopoly. This implemented fiscal and institutional reforms, which coincided with the colossal financial needs that would lead Regent Dom Pedro to request a substantial annual subsidy from the Cortes.²⁶ As of 1680, the *Junta Directiva del Estanco Real do Tabaco* was set up in Goa to regulate all facets of the trade and the *Fábrica Real de Lisboa* began to supply snuff to the Asian monopoly.²⁷

p. 152

The vicissitudes of the monopoly in failing to meet its normative framework and contractual obligations and suppliers and to navigate illicit trade and smuggling, conflict between the magistratures, and discord with monastic institutions²⁸ were almost ↪ permanent features from the late seventeenth and throughout the eighteenth centuries. Such failings did not, however, appear to dissuade any of the actors involved from their activities linked directly or indirectly to tobacco.

In 1697, the tobacco contract system came into force in Río de Janeiro to cover the costs of building the city's fortifications and the upkeep of the troops.²⁹ The *Junta de Administração* maintained it would not be possible to raise the sums needed were the system to be opened up. For a year, the Crown administered the

trade directly but again failed given the sheer amount of contraband.³⁰ Contracts decided annually in Portugal were then changed to three-year contracts. By this time, tobacco was one of the principal sources, and possibly the main source, of Crown revenue, and the objective was to achieve greater stability and compensate for the habitual delays in the annual handing out of contracts on the part of the *Junta de Administração*.³¹ Growers in Brazil were duty bound to sell their tobacco only to those merchants who had been licensed to operate as such, and only licensed merchants had the privilege of buying tobacco from the *Fábrica de Lisboa* and distributing it through a network of local outlets. In Goa and neighbouring Bardés and Salsete, contracts with local merchants were also entered into on a three-year basis.

The permeability of bodies such as Treasury, War, and Overseas Councils, *Junta de Administração*, and local authorities was such as to allow Bahia to become the main driver of tobacco production and distribution in the Portuguese dominions. At the start of the seventeenth century, it accounted for 90 per cent of tobacco in Brazil, in large part destined for Portugal. In addition to the tobacco produced in Bahia, there was the tobacco of Pará, Maranhão, Minas Gerais, and Pernambuco, but in much smaller volume. Tobacco made up a considerable part of the trade between Bahia and Costa da Mina, bolstered by this being tobacco of an inferior quality that was not distributed in the metropolis and also by Bahia tobacco being party to a trading monopoly in Dutch hands.

Until 1775, tobacco from Bahia was processed as snuff in Lisbon and from there sent to Goa, where the income generated was used to buy pepper and textiles, as well as diamonds, salt, porcelain, tea, and other products. From 1775 on, a significant new aspect of Portuguese intracolonial relations was the direct export of leaf tobacco from Bahia to the Goa monopoly. Goa became the principal Asian tobacco distributor for Bahia tobacco to Damão, Diu, Baçaim, Chaul, Mangalore, Costa de Coromandel, Solor, and Timor, as well as Macao, where a monopoly was set up for the whole of China under the Qing (Manchu) dynasty. Direct trade between the two colonies transformed the Goa-Bahia dynamic, enabling the two colonies to develop such intensive trade relations that these were only interrupted during the Napoleonic Wars and the opening of Bahia and Goa to the British, and only came to a complete end with the independence of Brazil in 1822.

The African trade was crucial for the link between tobacco and the slave trade, whereby the price of tobacco produced in the American colonies underwrote the purchase of slaves. In terms of the Asian market, however, the metropolitan design for Goa and later Macao to become the platform for Portuguese tobacco throughout the region did not come to fruition. The sweet taste of Brazilian rope tobacco did not appear to suit the palate of Asian consumers and the poor revenue generated was a problem for those attempting to manage the Portuguese Indian monopoly, unable as they were to meet the high volumes set out in the contracts they themselves had signed.

In terms of Britain's role in this, the transfer of Bombay to the British in 1661 eventually dealt a heavy blow to the Portuguese trade and Crown revenue. Goa was slowly overshadowed by Bombay, which became a base for the sale of tobacco, largely under the control of the British, many of whom were heavily involved in smuggling.³² Mozambique also played a considerable part in the trade in snuff, the profits generated finding their way to Goa in the form of ivory, gold or copper, then to be invested in other products in high demand in the trade to Bahia and Lisbon. Moreover, the eighteenth century saw the economic rise of Portuguese footholds in Gujarat and the Coromandel Coast, but not with the same success as Brazilian tobacco, which had gained recognition and prestige on international markets.³³

The tobacco trade in Portuguese India can be divided into three periods: the first from the early years of the introduction of tobacco in India until 1675, when locally grown tobacco was consumed; the second until 1775, when snuff from Bahia was shipped each year to Goa and sold through Lisbon under the Crown monopoly; and finally, the period after 1776, when Bahian leaf tobacco went directly to Goa, cutting out Lisbon.³⁴

A key element in this latter period, the final phase of which coincided with the territorial breakup of the Portuguese Atlantic Empire, was the abolition of the Goa monopoly. In its place came the *Junta do Tabaco*, building on the *Mesas de Inspeção* that had been introduced in Brazil in 1751, part of the reforms introduced by the Marquês de Pombal in response to British pressures in India. It was Pombal who had in 1756 imposed a limit of three thousand rolls of tobacco in each shipment for Costa da Mina trade, and decreed that slaves not be traded in the same ships, to maintain the tobacco–slave link favorable to trade interests in the metropolis and Brazil. After 1662, the Dutch and the British started buying slaves on a mass scale to meet the demand created in the tobacco–producing regions of the Caribbean and Virginia.³⁵

The Angola–Brazil axis was important for the slaveship connections, but after its decline, Costa da Mina filled the vacuum left to become the epicentre of the slave trade. The tobacco produced in southern Pernambuco financed the slave trade from Costa da Mina, especially between the mid–seventeenth and mid–eighteenth centuries.³⁶ In 1778, Spain and Portugal signed a treaty which gave the former trading rights, as in Gabon, Cameroon, and Cabo Formoso, committing the Crown to purchase Brazilian tobacco over a period of four years to buy slaves on the African coast.³⁷ The changing interests of Brazilian tobacco producers, who acquired slaves in the Costa da Mina, produced not only a substitution but also a distinct organizational model linked to the waning Portuguese colonial system and the rearticulation of European hegemonic powers.³⁸

p. 154

The Portuguese tried to make up for the loss of Brazil in 1822–1825 by cultivating tobacco in the overseas possessions that they retained in a relatively free context. While hopes of turning Angola into a new Bahia did not come to fruition, the colony produced enough tobacco for most of its own needs and exported modest amounts of leaf and cigars, and later cigarettes, to Portugal.³⁹ The other overseas possessions became more or less self-sufficient, except Macau, and the Azores even exported leaf and manufactures to Portugal.

In Continental Portugal itself, debates raged over the future of tobacco. The state monopoly ended in 1865, but cultivation remained prohibited. A *Régie* along French lines briefly emerged in 1888.⁴⁰ Three years later, it was leased to the private *Companhia dos Tabacos de Portugal* for thirty-five years—a lease that was prolonged for twenty more years. An exception to the ban on cultivation was granted in 1884 to the wine region of the Douro, to combat the phylloxera crisis. However, neither the *Régie* nor the *Companhia dos Tabacos de Portugal* was prepared to buy much of this low-quality leaf, and cultivation ceased in the late 1890s, as the wine economy recovered.

The Spanish Tobacco Monopoly System, Cuba and the Philippines

Understanding the nature and reach of the Spanish tobacco monopoly has to be seen as a process that can be divided into two broad phases: a pre-monopoly phase (1606–1717) and a monopoly phase (1717–1817). It was a process during which an institutional framework was created for structuring Atlantic transfers of tobacco, revenue, human capital, means of defence, and resources. It was to coordinate exchanges taking place in different colonial spaces and to arbitrate friction between large administrative entities, aimed at unifying practice and acting as a safeguard against smuggling.⁴¹

The underlying features of the monopoly were to restrict cultivation to designated areas under *factorías*, to control production through permits issued for manufacturing establishments, to create a network of third-party sales outlets—all of which operated with a certain degree of autonomy in comparison with the rigidity of other colonial Crown institutions.⁴² A centralized pricing mechanism was designed to maximize fiscal revenue, with a powerful coercive instrument of control in the form of advance credit, which in practice was often delayed, causing much discontent.

The prime characteristic of the monopoly emanated from the political decision to reserve for the colonies the raw material production and certain forms of processing with the *Fábrica de Sevilla*, founded in 1620, as a general distribution and manufacturing centre.⁴³ With the *Real Cédula* of 1620, a centralized structure was devised for tobacco from Trinidad, Cumaná, Guayana, and Barinas to supply a factoría in Cartagena de Indias. A further *Real Cédula* of 1636 established the tobacco monopoly of the Crown of Castille, to be supplied from the same sources and Cuba, and the *Real Cédula* of 1684 laid down that the *Fábrica de San Pedro de Sevilla* receive all tobacco from the colonies for manufacture and redistribution, including back to the colonies for consumption. The prohibition on cultivation in Spain was formalized in the *Real Cédula* of 1701, although prohibition had been in place since the creation of the metropolitan monopoly in 1636.

p. 155 There were cornerstones defining the structure of monopoly during the eighteenth century. The metropolitan monopoly was both administrative and fiscal, prohibiting the cultivation of tobacco in the metropolis and operating through a formula of monopoly leasing or direct control. The *Fábrica de Sevilla* became part of a complex of the *Almacenes de Madrid* and especially the *Factoría de Alicante*, for receiving and redistributing tobacco from Brazil, along with a wider system of *factorías* across Spain after 1768.⁴⁴

The *Factoría de La Habana* was the main source of supply and was not replicated in other parts of the Americas such as Santo Domingo, Puerto Rico, or, with certain provisos, Venezuela. In 1760, the *Segunda Factoría* was established in Cuba, strengthening Cuba's privileged position in relation to the Spanish monopoly, with increased financing from the New Spain *situado*, and the establishment of the monopoly in New Spain in 1764.⁴⁵ The attempt to increase tobacco from Havana was designed to reduce dependency on supplies from Brazil and Virginia, streamline administration under new administrative regions, *Intendencias*, and gain greater fiscal control.

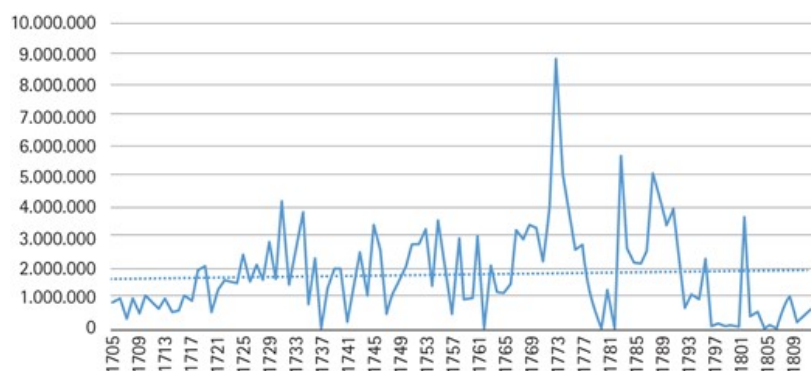
During 1764–1765, the creation of the imperial monopoly ran parallel to that of creating the new *Intendencias*, with the objective of building a more effective structure behind the monopoly, in the form of fiscal mechanisms, officials, and governing mandates, including in Spain itself. Throughout the Americas, with the exception of Cuba, areas were designated for tobacco cultivation, and, with the exception of Cuba and Venezuela, and at times Santo Domingo, Louisiana, and Puerto Rico, tobacco was not grown for export but to generate revenue. The main characteristic of the imperial monopoly was, to reiterate, defined by the political decision to demarcate production of the raw material and certain forms of processing.

The policy to create other monopolies in the Americas was ratified in 1765, and with the Anglo-American War of 1779–1783, the policy was extended across Spanish American territories. Colonial monopolies were established in the Viceroyalties of Peru, New Spain, and New Granada (which had been created in 1717, covering what is today Colombia, Ecuador, Panama, and Venezuela), all under the imperial monopoly, whereby Seville was the manufacturing centre for tobacco, which was then sent back for consumption in the colonies. Each had under its orbit other territories.

New Spain was the most successful from the imperial viewpoint: cultivation restricted to certain areas, control of distribution, and above all a source of fiscal revenue, accounting for 65 per cent of liquidity for Spain between 1765 and 1795, and financing Havana and also Manila in the Philippines.⁴⁶ Major reforms contributed to the articulation of the New Spain–Havana–Seville axis financing growing, manufacture, and redistribution in the first half of the eighteenth century and the expansion of the monopoly to all the colonial territories of the Americas during 1760–1786. With these reforms, especially the *Real Orden* of 1765, a uniform administrative structure was created along existing ecclesiastical lines. From a fiscal point of view, this swelled the Crown coffers, contributing net revenue above all other sources of revenue accruing to the Crown. However, it failed to increase production, sales or import substitution,⁴⁷ and, by the end of the century, liquidity from tobacco was 36 per cent from New Spain and 52 per cent from the other viceroyalties.

p. 156 In effect, the eighteenth century ushered in a new phase. The end of the War of Succession, the presence of French companies in Guinea, and British expansionism led to the creation of the *Factoría de Tabacos de San Cristóbal de La Habana*, which established Cuba as the main source of supply for Spain. Figure 7.1 shows approximate figures for how Cuban tobacco shipped to the Spanish peninsula during the period 1705–1812 increased as a result. The curve indicates a moderate supply throughout the century of less than two million pounds in weight a year; an asymmetry between the period of the first *Factoría* (up until 1761) and the second *Factoría*, which, after the trauma of the British occupation of Havana in 1762, reached a high point between 1765 and 1773; a second peak after the Paris Peace Treaty of 1783; and a subsequent decrease that continued until the monopoly in Cuba was abolished in 1817.

Figure 7.1



Tobacco shipped to Spain from Havana, 1705–1812.

Source: Archivo Histórico Provincial de Sevilla, Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla, Contaduría, Contaduría general, Cuentas del cargo y data de almacenes y gastos, leg. 2.762 a 2.786 (1705–1739); Libros de cargo y data general de las Reales Fábricas de Sevilla (1740–1761); Archivo General de Indias, Santo Domingo, 2023 (1762–1812).

The nineteenth century thus opened a new era for the Spanish imperial tobacco monopoly. Throughout the eighteenth century, as a result of the reconfiguration of European colonial powers and the need to create bigger and better defenses against the French and the British, the Spanish crown saw itself forced to reform its mechanisms of domination and revenue extraction in its imperial territories, with tobacco as a fundamental bulwark in its edifice of colonial rule. So much so was this that towards the end of the 1700s it was evidenced that tobacco revenue underwrote capital and loans taken on by the Crown to meet state demands,⁴⁸ and this remained so in the early 1800s, by which time tobacco revenue was seen to be the very backbone of the State.⁴⁹

Reforms implemented, however, proved insufficient against the backdrop of change taking place in the nineteenth century, in Europe and the colonial world, especially the Americas.⁵⁰ Turn-of-the century independence struggles in Spain's mainland colonies, the 1791 slave revolution in French Saint Domingue, and the creation of the independent state of Haiti in 1804, completely changed the geopolitics of the Caribbean region. Cuba replaced Haiti to become the world's main producer of sugar at a time when the balance of power between European colonial powers was in flux. Spain's need to hold onto Cuba, its 'pearl of the Antilles', as a source of revenue for its disintegrating empire meant meeting the demands of the Cuban elites tied to sugar and the slave trade, which in turn gave rise to what has been characterized as a 'second slavery'.⁵¹

In Cuba, the attacks on the tobacco monopoly of the last decade of the eighteenth century coincided with the expansion of sugar destined to fill the void left by Haiti. Francisco Arango, a leading proponent in attacking the Spanish tobacco monopoly, argued that the control of the *Real Factoría de Tabacos de La Habana* meant, among other things, not having sufficient tobacco without the threat of sanctions against the smuggling

that went with it, to defray the necessary costs of acquiring slave labour. It fell to *Intendente* José Pablo Valiente, a close associate of Arango in La Nífa sugarmill, to decree the abolition of the tobacco monopoly, freeing leaf cultivation and manufacture from monopoly constraints, on the sole condition that manufacture be duly registered.⁵²

The end of the tobacco monopoly in Cuba ushered in an inevitable reorganization of tobacco production in Spain at a time of tensions between absolutism and revolutionary liberalism coming to a height after the death of Ferdinand VII in 1833, and the Philippines emerged as Spain's new tobacco protagonist. Since the mid-1700s, importance had been attached to tobacco cultivation and establishing a tobacco monopoly in the Philippines, and in 1765 and 1766 Francisco Leandro de Viana, *procurador* of the *Audiencia* of Manila, took this position in the context of the need to reform the finances of the colony. To generate revenue, he argued, incomparably preferable to a monopoly only on snuff, the main form of consumption in the metropolis, was a monopoly on leaf tobacco and cigars, the main form of consumption among the indigenous population.⁵³

The *Real Cédula* of 1766, which reached Manila in 1768, stipulated that Governor José Raón set up the monopoly, but it wasn't until 1782 after José Blasco y Vargas had become the new captain general and governor that the new colonial policy became effective, with the necessary funds at its disposal in the form of the *situado* from the Viceroyalty of New Spain to buy the leaf and defray other costs.

By the 1830s, the Spanish Empire comprised only a handful of territories, among which Cuba and the Philippines were two where tobacco had played an important role. With Spain's loss of control of this in Cuba, the Philippines became essential to the colonial project of maintaining effective territorial rule. It was no coincidence that by 1817, with the abolition of the monopoly in Cuba, tobacco leaf from the Philippines was already beginning to reach Spain as raw material for the Spanish factories—years before this was formally set out in the *Real Orden* of 1834.⁵⁴ This continued until the abolition of the monopoly in 1881, during which time every attempt was made to avoid making the mistakes seen as depleting revenue to the Spanish state coffers by opening Cuban tobacco to foreign capital—an example of which was German capital in the 1840s and 1850s, spearheaded by Bremen bankers Hermann and August Upmann, among others.

p. 158 The tobacco monopoly in the Philippines, however, was very different from the Cuban monopoly in designating specific regions, *colecciones*, exclusively for tobacco growing. The first was Gapán, which included eight settlements in the central part of the island of Luzón, north of the capital city of Manila, then Bulacán, also close to the capital, and finally Cagayán, in the north of Luzón. The leaf was procured through intermediaries, either local indigenous authorities, *principalías*, or *mestizo* merchants under specific contract to the monopoly.⁵⁵

Implanting this tobacco monopoly model meant forced cultivation, at the cost of other crops in the *coleccion*, upending existing structures and cultures of peasant production. It also monetarized relations since tobacco growers had to acquire foodstuffs and other consumer goods produced in other regions. This in turn meant that any delays in payment for the tobacco harvest on the part of the monopoly led to greater indebtedness among peasant communities and a further strengthening of the dominant social and political order to control peasant labour when demand was at its height.

An additional complication was that the new tobacco monopoly system in the Philippines was erected on a model in which tobacco was the lynchpin of the new fiscal system that emerged in Spain in the early nineteenth century, whereby the state borrowed money from foreign bankers, pledging colonial tobacco revenues as collateral. In the case of the Philippines, this led at times to tobacco being handed over as payment, often in arrears, of the sums owed on these loans.

Tobacco thus played a role whose reach was far more than merely fiscal, reconfiguring property relations and thereby social relations which shaped the future of the colony—and the metropolis—throughout the nineteenth century. At the end of the eighteenth century, tobacco was the protagonist in reshaping the

colonial empire, and in the nineteenth century was destined to play a similarly protagonist role in articulating the new 'imperial nation'.⁵⁶ However, with the rise of the new Spanish Liberal State, there were those like José Jimeno Agius, who, in the 1870s, were calling for the liberalization of tobacco in the framework of the colonial space under metropolitan rule.⁵⁷ When the tobacco monopoly in the Philippines was finally abolished in 1881, tobacco passed into the private hands of the *Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas*, set up by Catalan and French bankers, and other smaller companies.⁵⁸

Challenges Ahead

At the outset of the collaboration between Spanish and Portuguese historians, more emphasis was placed on the existence of an Iberian Atlantic model along the lines mapped out by Elliott. In the period immediately prior to the creation of the Portuguese and Spanish monopolies (1580–1640), there was certainly convergence of the Portuguese and Spanish Atlantic on an important enough scale to speak of them as components of an Iberian Atlantic. However, further research led us to focus more on how, after the Portuguese Restoration of 1640, there were many differences in the two tobacco systems.

p. 159 In the Spanish case, the intention was to create an imperial monopoly, which, as has been demonstrated here, was a process closely tied to the military defence needs of the Spanish American colonies and involved both metropolitan and colonial monopolies—a process which, with the exception of the Philippines, culminated in the second half of the eighteenth century. In the Portuguese case, a very different institutional framework emerged. The Portuguese monopoly, while created parallel to that of the Spanish, was always limited to continental Portugal and its two middle-Atlantic Portuguese archipelagos of the Azores and Madeira. Throughout its entire history, the Portuguese monopoly operated by contracting out, within a framework of 'shared mercantilism', distinct from the mercantilist controls of the Spanish monopoly. The Portuguese monopoly thus came closer to that of the French, in which tobacco came under general contract as of 1730. In effect, there was no Portuguese imperial monopoly as such, although it is possible to speak of an early Portuguese Atlantic tobacco system, in which tobacco cultivated in Bahia in the north of Brazil was traded with Lisbon and for slaves on the African coast. Another major early difference—one that cannot be emphasized enough—is that after 1644 the Brazil tobacco trade on the international market did not necessarily pass through Lisbon but rather bypassed the European market whereby tobacco became a commodity traded directly (not through Lisbon) for African slaves.

Comparative history of the Portuguese and Spanish Empires evidenced that in the former the State did regulate the tobacco trade, but by means of trade agreements between the monopoly (Portugal, the Azores, and Madeira) and other partners, opening up the trade with Brazil and the international market. In the Spanish case, by contrast, the state opted for total intervention, assuming direct administration, albeit leaving open the trade with Brazil and Virginia, whose tobacco supplied a major part of the metropolitan market. In short, an Iberian imperial tobacco model proved not viable given the different monopoly regimes and disparate supply sources of tobacco.

Further comparative research along these lines will surely clarify more the areas of divergence as well as convergence during the Iberian imperial period. In the Portuguese context, a comparative reading of the changes shaping relations in and between Portugal, Brazil, Africa, and India and the Portuguese middle-Atlantic archipelagos would further our understanding of the defining interactions in these areas. Similarly, further study on the other Spanish colonial monopolies in the Americas, such as that of New Granada, would shed more light on their intercolonial connections. It is also important to note that the Iberian tobacco monopolies occupied a space that configured trade, property, and social relations in the metropolis and the colonies in ways that would shape what was to come long after their abolition. The three nineteenth- and twentieth-century transitions in tobacco in Cuba, the Canary Islands, and the Philippines are ripe for

comparative study from this angle, as are those across Spain's former American colonies. Another important aspect to be explored is the continuity of a model of pre-crop financing set out in the *situado* in the form of advancing farmers tobacco credit against their eventual crop, which might be seen as a precursor to futures trading.

p. 160

The end of the Iberian tobacco monopolies was the end of an era in which tobacco had been a key protagonist for the imperial states in shaping their colonial empires, framed institutionally to organize resources and revenues to underwrite military defences and bolster the metropolitan economy. It demanded a level of organization capable of maintaining colonies, coordinating intercolonial exchange, and acting as an arbiter of friction among large administrative units under which small-scale agriculture prevailed with not inconsiderable small-farmer agency and opposition. On all fronts, the monopolies were constantly fighting a losing battle.

The full dimension of the role played in this by what has been conceived as illicit trade and smuggling is yet to be explored, including the extent to which the colonial authorities themselves were complicit and efforts in Lisbon, Madrid, and colonial capitals invariably frustrated. It is impossible to calculate the true extent of illicit trade and smuggling, though references in reports drawn up by political, administrative, social, and religious bodies point to it being endemic wherever tobacco was grown, traded, manufactured, and consumed, and also the difficulties of putting a stop to it, no matter how many measures were introduced to that effect. How also should we see illicit trading and smuggling? While defined as such by one empire, it was not seen as that by another, or necessarily by those involved on the ground.

A key challenge going forward is the need for a global comparative history of all empires over time in which tobacco has played a central role, and the ways in which, and extent to which, developments were driven as much by the agency of people, including movements of people and/or circuits of knowledge and expertise as by imperial design. Another is to focus on the continuities as well as ruptures in cultivation, processing, manufacturing, and consumption after the end of empires and their tobacco monopolies, in the shadows of the post-imperial transnational tobacco corporations that emerged in their wake. A new globalization of tobacco from the late eighteenth century paved the way for mass mechanized production of the cigarette, which revolutionized the global tobacco industry from the late nineteenth century on, spanning old and new regions of the colonial and post-colonial world. No matter how many tobacco prohibitions in the past and smoking bans in the present day, a powerful culture of sociability had been created over the centuries around tobacco as a commodity, which overshadowed its nocive effects not only on health but on society and the environment. Understanding this fully in the case of tobacco can surely give us greater insights for a more rounded study of the history of other commodities in relation to both empire and empire's legacy in today's world.

Notes

1. V. G. Kiernan, *Tobacco: A History* (London: Hutchinson Radius, 1991); Wolfgang Schivelbusch, *Tastes of Paradise: A Social History of Spices, Stimulants, and Intoxicants* (New York: Vintage, 1993 [1980]); James Walvin, *Fruits of Empire: Exotic Produce and British Taste, 1660–1800* (New York: New York University Press, 1997); Iain Gately, *La Diva Nicotiana: The Story of How Tobacco Seduced the World* (London: Simon & Shuster, 2001); Iain Gately, *Tobacco: A Cultural History of How an Exotic Plant Seduced Civilization* (New York: Grove Press, 2002); Jordan Goodman, *Tobacco in History: The Cultures of Dependence* (London: Routledge, 1994).
2. Johannes Wilbert, *Tobacco and Shamanism in South America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2009); Jennifer Loughmiller-Cardinal and Keith Eppich (eds.), *Breath & Smoke: Tobacco Use among the Maya* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2019).
3. Sander L. Gilman and Zhou Xun (eds.), *Smoke: A Global History of Smoking* (London, Reaktion Books, 2004).

p. 161

4. Edilberto de Jesús, *The Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines. Bureaucratic Enterprise and Social Change, 1766–1880* (Manila: Ateneo de Manila University Press, 1980); Susan Deans-Smith, *Bureaucrats, Planters and Workers. The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992); Guillermo Céspedes del Castillo, *El tabaco en Nueva España* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1992); Francisco Comín and Pablo Martín Aceña, *Tabacalera y el estanco del tabaco en España, 1636–1998* (Madrid: Fundación Tabacalera, 1999); Catalina M. Vizcarra, 'Markets and Hierarchies in Late Colonial Spanish America: The Royal Tobacco Monopoly in the Viceroyalty of Peru, 1752–1813', PhD thesis University of Illinois, 2001.
5. Herbert Klein, *Las finanzas americanas del Imperio español, 1680–1809* (México: Instituto Mora/Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa, 1994); John R. Fisher, *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America, 1492–1810* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1997); Laura Náter, 'Colonial Tobacco: Key Commodity of the Spanish Empire, 1500–1800', in Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal and Zephyr Frank (eds.), *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and the Building of the World Economy, 1500–2000* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2006), 93–117.
6. Leslie Bauzón, *Deficit Government: Mexico and the Philippine Situado, 1606–1804* (Tokyo: Centre for East Asian Cultural Studies, 1981); Carlos Marichal and Matilde Souto, 'Silver and Situados: New Spain and the Financing of the Spanish Empire in the Caribbean in the Eighteenth Century', *Hispanic American Historical Review*, 74/4 (1994), 587–611; Carlos Marichal and Johanna von Grafenstein (eds.), *El secreto del imperio español: los situados coloniales en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico: El Colegio de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 2012).
7. Laura Náter, *Integración imperial: El sistema de monopolios de tabaco en el Imperio español. Cuba y América en el siglo XVIII* (México: El Colegio de México, 2000); Laura Náter, *Redes del Imperio. Análisis de gobernabilidad a partir del sistema de monopolios de tabaco en la monarquía española, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Archivo General de la Nación, 2017); Allan Kuethe and Kenneth Andrien, *The Spanish Atlantic World in the Eighteenth Century. War and the Bourbon Reforms, 1713–1796* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2014); Charlotte Cosner, *The Golden Leaf: How Tobacco Shaped Cuba and the Atlantic World* (Nashville, TN: Vanderbilt University Press, 2015); Jean Stubbs, *Tobacco on the Periphery: A Case Study in Cuban Labour History, 1860–1958* (London: Amaurea Press, 2023 [1985]); Joan Casanovas, *Bread or Bullets: Urban Labor and Spanish Colonialism in Cuba 1868–98* (Pittsburgh, PA: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1998); Jean Stubbs, 'Beyond Iberian Atlantic Spaces: Trans-imperial and Trans-Territorial Entanglements in Havana Cigar History (1756–1924)', in Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and João de Figueiroa-Rego (eds.), *El tabaco y la esclavitud en la rearticulación imperial ibérica/O trabalho e a escravagem na rearticulação imperial ibérica (s.XVI-XX)* (Evora, Portugal: CIDEHUS, 2018), 389–426.
8. José M. Rodríguez Gordillo, *Diccionario histórico del tabaco* (Madrid: Tabapress, 1993); José Rodríguez Gordillo, *La difusión del tabaco en España. Diez estudios* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla/Fundación Altadis, 2002).
9. Agustín González Enciso and Rafael Torres (eds.), *Tabaco y economía en el siglo XVIII* (Pamplona, Spain: Eunsa, 1999); Luis Alonso Alvarez, Lina Gálvez Muñoz, and Santiago de Luxán (eds.), *Tabaco e historia económica: Estudios sobre fiscalidad, consumo y empresa (siglos XVII-XX)* (Madrid: Altadis, 2006); Agustín González Enciso, *Política económica y gestión de la Renta del Tabaco en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Fundación Altadis, 2008); Santiago de Luxán Meléndez (ed.), *Política y Hacienda del Tabaco en los Imperios Ibéricos, siglos XVII-XIX* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2014).
10. Andrés Arnaldos Martínez and Jorge Arnaldos de Armas, *La industria tabaquera canaria (1852–2002)* (Gran Canarias: Gobierno de Canarias/Cámaras de Canarias/Asociación Canaria de Industriales Tabaqueros, 2003); Santiago Luxán y Meléndez, *La opción agrícola e industrial del tabaco en Canarias: Una perspectiva institucional: Los orígenes 1827–1936* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria and Sociedad Canaria de Fomento Económico, Consejería de Economía y Hacienda del Gobierno de Canarias, 2006); Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and Montserrat Gárate Ojanguren, 'La creación de un Sistema Atlántico del Tabaco (siglos XVII-XVIII). El papel de los monopolios tabaqueros. Una lectura desde la perspectiva española', *Anais de História de Além-Mar*, 11 (2010), 145–175; Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, Montserrat Gárate Ojanguren, and José Manuel Rodríguez Gordillo, *Cuba-Canarias-Sevilla. El estanco del tabaco español y Las Antillas (1717–1817)* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular, 2012).
11. Carlos Marichal, 'Beneficios y costes fiscales del colonialismo: las remesas americanas a España, 1760–1814', *Revista de Historia Económica*, 3 (1977), 475–505.
12. Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and Montserrat Gárate Ojanguren, 'La segunda factoría de la Habana antes de la Guerra de la Independencia de las trece colonias 1760–1779. Una lectura desde el estanco español', *Studia Historica. Historia Moderna*, 37 (2015), 291–321; Montserrat Gárate Ojanguren, *Cuba: Tabaco y hacienda imperial, 1717–1817. Un siglo de gestión del*

estanco: *Funcionarios, ilustrados y militares* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria, 2019).

13. Raul Esteves dos Santos, *Os tabacos, sua influência na vida da Nação* (Lisbon: Seara Nova, 1974); Carl A. Hanson, 'Monopoly and Contraband in the Portuguese Tobacco Trade, 1624-1702', *Luso-Brazilian Review*, 19/2 (1982), 149-168.
14. Catherine Lugar, 'The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period', in Dauril Alden and Warren Dean (eds.), *Essays concerning the Socioeconomic History of Brazil and Portuguese India* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1977), 26-70; Jean Baptiste Nardi, *O fumo brasileiro no período colonial: Lavouira, comercio e administração* (Sao Paulo: Editora Brasiliense, 1996); Fernando Ortiz, *Cuban Counterpoint, Tobacco and Sugar* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 1995 [1940]); B. J. Barickman, *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780-1860* (Stanford, CA: Stanford University Press, 1998); Paulo Henrique de Almeida, 'Quatro séculos de cultivo e manufactura do fumo na Bahia: História de um outro Recôncavo', *Nexus Econômicos*, 2/4 (2002), 25-36; Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 'A ascensão do primo pobre: O tabaco na economia colonial da América portuguesa—Um balanço historiográfico', *Saeculum. Revista de Historia*, 12 (2005); Gustavo Acioli Lopes, 'Negócio da Costa da Mina e comércio atlântico. Tabaco, açúcar, ouro e tráfico de escravos. Pernambuco, 1654-1760', PhD dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2008; Philomena Sequeira Anthony, *Relações intracoloniais Goa-Bahia, 1675-1825* (Brasília: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão/Ministério das Relações Exteriores, 2013).
15. Luxán, *Política y Hacienda del Tabaco en los Imperios Ibéricos*; Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, João de Figueiroa-Rego, and Vicent Sanz Rozalén (eds.), *Tabaco e escravos nos impérios ibéricos, ss. XVII-XIX* (Lisbon: Universidade Nova de Lisboa/CHAM, 2015); Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and João de Figueiroa-Rego (eds.), *O tabaco e a escravatura na rearticulação imperial ibérica, séc. XV-XX* (Évora, Portugal: Cidehus, 2018); Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, João de Figueiroa-Rego and Vicent Sanz Rozalén (eds.), *Grandes vícios, grandes ingresos. El monopolio del tabaco en los imperios ibéricos, siglos XVII-XX* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2019); Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, Jean Stubbs, and João de Figueiroa-Rego (eds.), 'Los monopolios ibéricos del tabaco', Special issue, *Millars. Espai i Història*, 2/49 (2020).
16. John H. Elliott, 'El atlántico español y el atlántico luso: divergencias y convergencias', in Elena Acosta Guerrero (ed.), *XX Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular/Casa de Colón, 2014), 21-35.
17. João de Figueiroa-Rego, 'O Regimento que se há de observar no Estado do Brasil na arrecadação do tabaco: Administração fumageira, atores, interesses e conflitos (séculos XVII e XVIII)', in Giuseppina Raggi, João de Figueiroa-Rego, and Roberta Stumpf (eds.), *Salvador da Bahia: Interações entre América e África, séculos XVI-XIX* (Salvador da Bahia: EDUFBA/CHAM, 2017), 99-120; Susana Münch Miranda, 'A Administração da Fazenda Real do Estado da Índia, 1517-1640', PhD dissertation, Universidade Nova de Lisboa, 2017; João Paulo Salvado, 'O tabaco do Brasil e a "nação espanhola" de Lisboa, c.1700-c.1740', in Luxán et al., *Monopolios ibéricos del tabaco*, 41-71; Leonor Costa Freire, 'Os primórdios do tabaco brasileiro: monopólios e expansão do mercado (1600-1700)', in Luxán, *Política y Hacienda del Tabaco en los Imperios Ibéricos*, 21-45.
18. Santiago de Luxán Meléndez and Margarida Vaz do Rego Machado, 'El tabaco en los archipiélagos ibéricos del Atlántico médio (siglos XVII-XIX). Una visión comparada', in Luxán et al., *Grandes vícios, grandes empresas*, 153-178; Margarida Vaz do Rego Machado, 'Contestações ao contrato geral do tabaco português pelos açorianos (2a metade do século XIX)', in Luxán et al., *Monopolios ibéricos del tabaco*, 101-118; María de los Reyes Hernández Socorro and Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, 'Retratos de promotores el cultivo del tabaco y representaciones plásticas del hábito placentero en Canarias (siglos XIX-XX)', *Millars*, 2/49 (2020), 185-223.
19. María Dolores Elizalde and Josep María Delgado (eds.), *Filipinas, un país entre dos imperios* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011); María Dolores Elizalde and Xavier Huetz de Lemp (eds.), *Filipinas, siglo XIX. Coexistencia e interacción entre comunidades en el Imperio español* (Madrid: Ediciones Polifemo, 2017).
20. Josep M. Fradera, *The Imperial Nation: Citizens and Subjects in the British, French, Spanish, and American Empires* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2018).
21. Vicent Sanz Rozalén, 'El estanco del tabaco y la expansión azucarera a comienzos del siglo XIX', in Josef Opatny (ed.), *Nación y cultura nacional en el Caribe hispano* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2006), 249-260; Vicent Sanz Rozalén, 'El discurso de la apropiación y la política colonial: Disputas por la tierra en Cuba a comienzos del siglo XIX', in Josef Opatny (ed.), *Pensamiento caribeño, siglos XIX y XX* (Praha: Univerzita Karlova, 2007), 223-230.
22. Vitorino M. Godinho, *Ensaio (II). Sobre História de Portugal* (Lisbon: Livraria Sá da Costa, 1968), 400.

- p. 164
23. Pieter C. Emmer, 'The First Global War: The Dutch versus Iberia in Asia, Africa and the New World, 1590-1609', *e-JPH*, 1/1 (2003).
 24. Ramada Curto, 'A Restauração de 1640: Nomes e pessoas', *Península. Revista de Estudos Ibéricos* 0 (2003), 321–336.
 25. Ronaldo Vainfas, 'Guerra declarada e paz fingida na Restauração Portuguesa', *Tempo*, 14/27 (2009), 82–100.
 26. João-Paulo Salvado, 'O Estanco do Tabaco em Portugal: contrato geral e consórcios mercantis, 1702-1755', in Luxán, *Política y Hacienda del Tabaco en los Imperios Ibéricos*, 139.
 27. Münch Miranda, 'A Administração da Fazenda Real do Estado da Índia (1517–1640)'.
 28. João de Figueiroa-Rego, 'O fumo da «Santa» Discórdia. As Instituições monásticas e o descaminho do tabaco (século XVII e XVIII)', in Eliseo Serrano and Eliseo Gascón (eds.), *Poder, sociedad, religión y tolerancia en el mundo hispánico, de Fernando el Católico al siglo XVIII* (Zaragoza, Spain: Institución Fernando el Católico, 2018), 1367–1382.
 29. João de Figueiroa-Rego, 'O tabaco em pé de guerra. Conflitos jurisdicionais e outros em torno de um monopólio ibérico (séculos XVII-XVIII)', in *International Conference. The Lusophone World: Global and Local Communities* (Évora, Portugal: Universidade de Évora, 2019).
 30. Esteves dos Santos, *Os tabacos, sua influência na vida da Nação*, 32.
 31. Hanson, 'Monopoly and Contraband in the Portuguese Tobacco Trade, 1624-1702', 149–168.
 32. Sequeira Anthony, *Relações intracoloniais Goa-Bahia, 1675–1825*, 55.
 33. Lugar, 'The Portuguese Tobacco Trade and Tobacco Growers of Bahia in the Late Colonial Period', 26–70.
 34. Sequeira Anthony, *Relações intracoloniais Goa-Bahia, 1675–1825*, 256–257.
 35. Roquinaldo Ferreira, 'A primeira Partilha da África. Decadência e ressurgência do comércio português na Costa do Ouro (ca. 1673 – ca.1700)', *Varia História*, 26/44 (2010), 479–498; Francisco de Salles Ferreira, *Do tabaco em Angola* (Lisbon: 1877).
 36. Acioli Lopes, *Negócio da Costa da Mina e comércio atlântico*.
 37. Gabriel Aladrén, 'Uma bicoca na costa da África: A política espanhola para o tráfico de escravos, o Regulamento de Comercio Libre e as fronteiras ibéricas na América do Sul (1776–1778)', *Revista de Indias*, 77/270 (2017), 585–615; Ferreira, 'A primeira Partilha da África', 479–498.
 38. Pieter C. Emmer, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Economy, 1580–1880: Trade, Slavery and Emancipation* (London: Routledge, 2018 [1998]).
 39. Salles Ferreira, *Do tabaco em Angola*.
 40. Maria Filomena Mónica, 'Negócios e política: Os tabacos (1800-1890)', *Análise Social*, 27/116–117 (1992), 461–479.
 41. Vizcarra, 'Markets and Hierarchies in Late Colonial Spanish America'.
 42. Santiago de Luxán Meléndez, 'El proceso de construcción del estado imperial hispánico (1620–1786). Las reformas borbónicas del siglo XVIII', *Anuario de Estudios Atlánticos*, 65 (2018).
 43. José Manuel Rodríguez Gordillo, *Historia de la Real Fábrica de Tabacos de Sevilla* (Seville: Fundación Focus-Abengoa, 2005).
 44. Sergio Solbes, 'La Factoría de Tabacos de Alicante, 1726–1780', in Rafael Torres (ed.), *Studium, Magisterium et Amicitia. Homenaje al Profesor Agustín González Enciso* (Pamplona: Ediciones Eunote, 2018), 495–508.
 45. Lúxan Meléndez and Gárate, 'La segunda Factoría de La Habana antes de la guerra de la independencia de las trece colonias (1760-1779)', 291–321.
 46. Marichal and Souto, 'Silver and *situados*', 587–611; De Jesús, *Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines*.

47. Agustín González Enciso, 'A modo de introducción. El monopolio fiscal del tabaco como rasgo típico del mercantilismo estatal', in González Enciso (ed.), *Política económica y gestión de la Renta del Tabaco*, 10–27.
- p. 165 48. Diego María Gallard, 1796, V, 207. *Práctica de la administración y cobranza de las rentas reales y visita de los ministros que se ocupan en ellas*, Oficina de la Viuda e Hijo de Marín, Madrid, 1796, Vol. V, 1796, 207.
49. José Canga Arguelles, *Memoria sobre la renta del tabaco leída en las Cortes generales y extraordinarias* (Cádiz: Oficina de Arazoza y Soler, 1812), 3–4.
50. Jürgen Osterhammel, *Die Verwandlung der Welt: Eine Geschichte des 19. Jahrhunderts* (Munich: Beck, 2010).
51. Dale Tomich, 'The Second Slavery and World Capitalism: A Perspective for Historical Inquiry', *International Review of Social History*, 63/3 (2018), 477–501.
52. Vicent Sanz Rozalén, 'Arango y el mundo del tabaco. Estanco, reforma y abolición', in María Dolores González-Ripoll and Izaskun Álvarez (eds.), *Francisco Arango y la invención de la Cuba azucarera* (Salamanca: Universidad de Salamanca, 2009), 277–288.
53. Josep M. Fradera, 'El estanco del tabaco y la reforma de la hacienda filipina, 1760-1860', Special issue, *Hacienda Pública Española* (1996), 85–98.
54. Josep M. Fradera, *Filipinas, la colonia más peculiar. La hacienda pública en la definición de la política colonial, 1762–1868* (Madrid: CSIC, 1999).
55. De Jesús, *Tobacco Monopoly in the Philippines*.
56. Josep M. Fradera, *Gobernar colonias* (Barcelona: Península, 1999); Josep M. Fradera, *La nación imperial* (Barcelona: Edhasa, 2015).
57. José Jimeno Agius, *Memoria sobre el desestanco del tabaco en las islas Filipinas* (Binondo, Philippines: Imp. Bruno González, 1871); José Jimeno Agius, *El desestanco del tabaco en las islas Filipinas* (Madrid: Establecimiento Tipográfico Conde y Cia, 1878).
58. Martín Rodrigo Alharilla, 'Del desestanco del tabaco a la puesta en marcha de la Compañía General de Tabacos de Filipinas, 1879-1890', *Boletín Americanista*, 59 (2009): 199–221.

Select Bibliography

Barickman, Bert J., *A Bahian Counterpoint: Sugar, Tobacco, Cassava and Slavery in the Recôncavo, 1780–1860* (Stanford, CT: Stanford University Press, 1998).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Céspedes del Castillo, Guillermo, *El tabaco en Nueva España* (Madrid: Real Academia de la Historia, 1992).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Cosner, Charlotte., *The Golden Leaf: How Tobacco Shaped Cuba and the Atlantic World* (Nashville, Vanderbilt University Press, 2015).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Deans-Smith, Susan, *Bureaucrats, Planters and Workers. The Making of the Tobacco Monopoly in Bourbon Mexico*. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1992).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Elizalde, María Dolores, and María Delgado, Josep, eds. *Filipinas, un país entre dos imperios* (Barcelona: Edicions Bellaterra, 2011).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Elliott, John H., 'El atlántico español y el atlántico luso: Divergencias y convergencias', in Acosta Guerrero, Elena, ed., *XX Coloquio de Historia Canario-Americana* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular/Casa de Colón, 2014), 21–35.

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Fisher, John R., *The Economic Aspects of Spanish Imperialism in America, 1492–1810* (Liverpool: University of Liverpool Press, 1997).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Fradera, Josep M., *The Imperial Nation: Citizens and Subjects in the British, French, Spanish, and American Empires* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 2021).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

p. 166 Gárate, Montserrat, *Cuba: Tabaco y hacienda imperial, 1717–1817. Un siglo de gestión del estanco: Funcionarios, ilustrados y militares* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria/San Sebastián: Universidad de Las Palmas de Gran Canaria/Real Sociedad Bascongada de Amigos del País, 2019).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

González Enciso, Agustín, ed., *Política económica y gestión de la Renta del Tabaco en el siglo XVIII* (Madrid: Fundación Altadis/ El Umbral, 2008).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Luxán, Santiago de, and de Figueiroa-Rego, João, eds., *O tabaco e a escravatura na rearticulação imperial ibérica, séc. XV-XX* (Évora: Cidehus, 2018).

Luxán, Santiago de, de Figueiroa-Rego, João, and Sanz Rozalén, Vicent, eds., *Grandes vicios, grandes ingresos. El monopolio del tabaco en los imperios ibéricos, siglos XVII-XX* (Madrid: Centro de Estudios Políticos y Constitucionales, 2019).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Luxán, Santiago de, Gárate, Monserrat, and Rodríguez Gordillo, José Manuel, *Cuba-Canarias-Sevilla. El estanco del tabaco español y Las Antillas, 1717–1817* (Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Cabildo Insular, 2012).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Luxán, Santiago de, Stubbs, Jean, and de Figueiroa-Rego, João, eds., Los monopolios ibéricos del tabaco, Special issue, *Millars*.

Espai i Història, 2/49 (2020).

[Google Scholar](#) [WorldCat](#)

Marichal, Carlos, and von Grafenstein, Johanna, eds., *El secreto del imperio español: los situados coloniales en el siglo XVIII* (Mexico: El Colegio de México/Instituto de Investigaciones Dr. José María Luis Mora, 2012).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Náter, Laura, *Redes del Imperio. Análisis de gobernabilidad a partir del sistema de monopolios de tabaco en la monarquía española, siglos XVII y XVIII* (México: Archivo General de la Nación, 2017).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)

Rodríguez Gordillo, José M., *La difusión del tabaco en España. Diez estudios* (Seville: Universidad de Sevilla/Fundación Altadis, 2002).

[Google Scholar](#) [Google Preview](#) [WorldCat](#) [COPAC](#)