

TEA: A JOURNEY FROM THE EAST TO MID-ATLANTIC

Mário Moura

Atlantic History's PHD student, in Universidade dos Açores,
Master in Museum Studies by Universidade Nova, Lisbon,
Museum Curator in Ribeira Grande County

Abstract

In this paper, we will focus on the tea journey from his Chinese birthplace to Azores, in Europe. We will approach it in a global, transcontinental and transoceanic way.¹ Along with coffee, cotton, potatoes, cocoa and sugar-cane, tea has changed - socially and economically -, the world's landscape. To understand this specific journey, one has to travel back and forth in time. Thus, we hope to understand tea, first, as a trade commodity sold to the Europeans by Chinese and Japanese, next, as a trade commodity manufactured and sold by some European countries. We will emphasize the Azorean case. As we classed Azorean Tea History in eleven

¹To a broader and in depth view on the subject, we recommend reading *Elusive Empires: Constructing Colonialism in the Ohio valley, 1673-1800*, by Eric Hinderacker, or *Middle Ground: Indian Empires and Republics in the Great Lakes Region (1650-1815)*, by Richard White, or *L'Aigle et le Dragon*, by Serge Grizinski, and by the same author, *(Ultrapassar as fronteiras) Go beyond Frontiers*. They all explain us the way the different empires, European or not, intermingled and communicated. In a global view of *Global History of the Portuguese Colonial Empire*, besides Charles Boxer's works, A. J. R. Russell-Wood, *A World on the Move: The Portuguese in Africa, Asia, and America, 1415–1808*. Departing from the global point of view to the local, Jared Diamond, *Guns, Germs, and Steel: The Fates of Human Societies*, 1997, gives us the itinerary of several known plants from their native home ground (most of the time presuming) to their adopted new homes. James Delbourgo and Nicholas Dew, in *Science and Empire in the Atlantic World*, tell us about the nautical techniques, mainly those used in the Atlantic Ocean. The sea was the privileged route taken by the European empires. In an article by Peter Coclanis, he illustrates perfectly that the History of the Atlantic goes beyond the Atlantic Ocean itself. Between 1500 and 1800, trade was rather 'inside the Old World, not between the Old World and the New World.'

For that time period, he gives examples of the weight of Asiatic trade in the Portuguese and Dutch colonial empires. The transoceanic tea journey, from China to Europe, or from the Indian textiles in the Western Africa coast exchanged to slaves or the so called Manila galleon, according to Coclanis, is another example of the real weight of Asian trade in Europe and the exaggerated weight that the History of the Atlantic gives to American trade. (Coclanis 2002: 178-179)

time periods², this present study falls into the long time period before 1801: *'1.º Time: From spontaneity to early tries'*³. While then we had divided that period into three different moments, due to additional data, now we add a fourth moment: from the 1860's to 1873.

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2 - Introduction

Tea Historians such as Mary Lou and Robert Heiss, label this non-alcoholic stimulating beverage's journey from the Pacific into the Indian and to the Atlantic oceans as a *'(...) long and turbulent History, filled with intrigue, adventure, fortune gained and lost, embargoes, drugs, taxation, smugglers, war, revolution, religious aestheticism, artistic expression, and social change'*⁴. Sarah Rose, another Historian, proclaims that *'(...) there was a time when the world were redrawn in the name of plants, when two empires, Britain and China went to war over two flowers: the poppy and the camillia.'*⁵

3 – Tea journeys: In and around China

If one wants to grasp tea's arrival point in the present, one must look for its starting point in the past. So, for this reason, the first question has to be: Where does tea come from? In 1985, to answer this question, Japanese Historian Minoru Hasimoto, published his findings. First he briefly explained the two existing theories: whether or not tea has one or two birth places. To the question where was *'the place of origin of all tea plants,'* Hasimoto responded: *'[It] is thought to be in the mountain range between Yunnan, in China, and Assam in India'*⁶. To the question where was *'the*

²Cf. Moura, Mário, Onze tempos do chá nos Açores (Proposta de esboço), XXI Colóquio de Lusofonia, 24-27 Abril 2014, Praia dos Moinhos, Porto Formoso, Ribeira Grande, S. Miguel, Azores, Portugal. [Not printed]

³ Cf. Moura, Mário, Seis tempos do chá nos Açores. Da espontaneidade ao balanço de 1913 (proposta de arrumo cronológico), in Insulana, Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, 2012, pp. 84-86.

⁴Cf. Heiss, Mary Lou, Robert J. Heiss, The Story of tea: A Cultural History and Drinking Guide, The Speed Press, Berkeley, 2007, p. 1.

⁵ Cf. Rose, Sarah, For All The Tea in China: espionage, empire and the secret formula for the world's favourite drink, Arrow Books, London, 2010, p. 1.

⁶ Cf. Hasimoto, M, 1985, 19, I:40-43 (Nota 7: Hasimoto. M, & Simura T. : Morphological studies on the origin of the tea plant. V. a proposal of one place of origin by cluster analysis, Jpn. J. Trop. Agri., 21, 93-101 (1978)[In Japanese with English summary].)

home of the tea plant,’ Hasimoto responded: ‘*East Asia (...).*’ Detailing his last answer, Hasimoto added: ‘*indigenous plants can be found in Japan, China, Burma, India and other countries*⁷.’

Without having Hasimoto explained the difference between ‘*place of origin of all teas*’ and ‘*the home place of the tea plant,*’ a Portuguese author, José E Mendes Ferrão, as he avows following Hasimoto, seems to have misinterpreted Hasimoto words. Firstly, Mendes Ferrão writes that ‘*some authors place the origin of the tea plant in the mountain ranges between Yunnan, in China, and Assam, in India.*’ After, he writes that ‘*Hasimoto’s most recent studies led him to admit a larger area, including China, Japan and other Eastern Regions*⁸.’ Some other Portuguese researchers, quoting Hasimoto through Mendes Ferrão, followed Mendes’s interpretation: João Teles e Cunha, in a work published in 2002⁹; and, in 2012, Maria Cândida Liberato.¹⁰ In 2007, Mary Lou Heiss e Robert J. Heiss, without mentioning Hasimoto, came up with the same origin.¹¹

What did Hasimoto really write? Instead of that, Hasimoto wrote that he ‘*has come to support the existence of one origin for the tea plant, centered, the author believes, in Sichuan and Yunnan in China (1978)*¹².’ He had come to that conclusion on the account of ‘*having recently visited Sichuan and Yunnan twice for research, the author is even more certain that the tea plant has only one origin*¹³.’ Still quoting Hasimoto, the fact that tea leaves were classified ‘*(...) into two major types*’, had probably led some researchers to the wrong conclusion that tea had ‘*(...) two different birth places*¹⁴.’ Hasimoto had come to a different conclusion ‘*after establishing numerical taxonomy and undertaken multivariate and cluster analysis (...).*’

Thus, what seems to be the right conclusion? After supporting his theory with some good and solid facts, he added some new fresh ones: ‘*In China wild gigantic tea trees first discovered in 1939, particularly in the southwest region of the country. A community of more than ten plants 6 m*

Idem

⁷ Idem.

⁸ Mendes Ferrão, José E., *A Aventura das Plantas e os Descobrimentos portugueses*, Lisboa, IICT/CNCDP, Fundação Berardo, 1992, p. 159

⁹ Cunha, João Teles e, *A via do Chá – Cultura Material e artefactos do Oriente ao Ocidente (Séculos III a XVIII)*, in *o Chá da China: Uma coleção particular*, Exposição, Centro Científico e Cultural de Macau, Ministério da Ciência, Tecnologia e Ensino Superior, Museu, 2005, p.59.

¹⁰ Liberato, Maria Cândida, *O Chazeiro. Sistemática e Distribuição Geográfica*, in *Oriente*, Revista da Fundação Oriente, 2012, pp.94-5; Em 2012.

¹¹ Heiss, Mary Lou, Robert J. Heiss, 2007: p. 4.

¹² Hasimoto, M, 1985, 19, I:40-43.

¹³ Idem

¹⁴ Idem

high have been found at Mt. Laoying in Wuchuan, Ghizhou. Gigantic individual plants have also been found in the Yung-gui Kaoyuan area.’ This made even stronger his theory: ‘From these facts, the origin of the tea plant would seem to be centered in the area identified by most Chinese tea specialists; that is, Yung-gui Kaoyuan. In addition, the fact that this Southwestern District is the world center of Theaceae also seems to confirm it as the tea’s first cultivators and drinkers¹⁵.’

One has to be cautious, Hasimoto’s answer is not yet the final one, as Hasimoto has warned us: *‘as Kingdon-Ward advised (1958), research on the origin of tea plant must include consideration of the History of population migration, and the time, place, and nationality of wild’s tea first cultivators and drinkers¹⁶.’* What would be then the age of the oldest tea plant found? Basing his calculations in Chen and others, in 1980, Hasimoto estimates to *‘more than 1700 years¹⁷.’* And how old would be the first *‘tea plants grown by human hands¹⁸’*? Again Hasimoto: It is acknowledged to have about *‘800 years (...)*’ Let us see: *‘There is another giant tea tree (...) on Mount Nanlo (summit 1300 m above sea level) in Monghai. Considering the environment, it is thought to be a relic species of the cultivated plant¹⁹.’*

So far, after having reasonably discussed the probable place and time of the first spontaneous and human grown tea plants, now we will turn to where and when tea consumption and cultivation spread. According to Mary Lou and Robert Heiss, having some Chinese Historians concluded that *‘(...) tea drinking changed and evolved with the advent of each successive dynasty,’* they proposed *‘a timeline tracing tea drinking development in China²⁰.’* However, comparing those dates – those advanced by Hasimoto with those the by the Heiss based on Chinese Historians -, we found huge time differences among them. For instance, the time for the first tea grown by human hands: while Hasimoto advances more than 800 years, then, c. 315 years AD, the Heiss, quoting unrevealed Chinese Historians’s sources, advance *‘the Shang’s dynasty (1766-1050 BC).’²¹* Is it a difference due mainly to different sources? Hasimoto applied the direct method of observing tea plants whereas the Heiss used written sources by some Chinese Historians? Was Hasimoto only referring to the use of wild or grown by human hands tea leaves? Did the Chinese Historians refer to the same as Hasimoto? We do not know for sure.

¹⁵ Idem

¹⁶ Idem

¹⁷ Idem

¹⁸ Idem

¹⁹ Idem

²⁰ Heiss, Mary Lou, Robert J. Heiss, 2007, p. 6.

²¹ Idem, p. 6.

3.1 – Tea in Korea (between VII and X the centuries)

In the Korean Peninsula tea was drunk in the so called Three Kingdoms period (55-668 AD). Historians only found hard evidence of Korean tea cultivation in the Silla Unified Period (618-935 AD). In the VIII century a Chinese Taoist visiting Korea spoke about the high quality of Korean teas²².

3.1.2 – Tea in Japan (IX Century AD)

Tea came from China to Japan *‘at the midpoint of the Tang and into the middle of the Song dynasty (...)’*²³. Japan *‘was in the Heian era (794-1185), a period when the Chinese influence was at its height and the samurai class was beginning to rise to power’*²⁴. It was a Japanese monk called *‘(...) Kukai (774-835) the first to return from China to write about his tea drinking experience’*²⁵. However, while the Chinese Ming improved their teas through the infusion of leaves, the Japanese remained with the old Song practice of drinking tea in powder. Nevertheless, tea consumption became only popular in Japan, later *‘when Eisai (1141-1215), the founder of Rinzaï’s Zen school (p. 291) (sudden enlightenment) reintroduced tea for medicinal purposes and keep his disciples awaken through the long meditation hours’*²⁶. Even though Japanese did not follow the Chinese improvements, *‘by the sixteenth century the ultimate artistic (p. 18) exercise in tea drinking was born in Chanoyu, or the way of the tea. Chanoyu was distinct from all the previous tea drinking approaches, it was an artful practice that embodies harmony, respect, tranquillity, humility, purity, mystery, beauty, artful appreciation, symmetry, and full attention’s to the art of tea brewing. Chanoyu is based in Zen qualities (...)’*²⁷. Later, *‘tea master Sen Rikyu (1521-1591) revised the rules of Chanoyu, focusing more on the philosophical virtues of harmony, reverence, purity, and calm rather than religious principles’*²⁸.

If *‘(...) by the time of Shang (1766-1050 AC), tea was being consumed in Yunnan Province for its medicinal proprieties,’*²⁹ in *‘(...) Zhou (1122-256 AC), (...) for the first time people began to boil tea leaves for consumption into a concentrated liquid without the addition of other leaves or herbs, thereby using tea as a bitter yet stimulating drink, rather than a*

²² Idem, p. 290.

²³ Idem, p. 14.

²⁴ Idem, p. 14.

²⁵ Idem, p. 14.

²⁶ Cunha, João Teles e, 2002: p.87

²⁷ Heiss, Mary Lou, Robert J. Heiss, 2007: 17-18.

²⁸ Idem, p.18.

²⁹ Idem, p. 6.

*medicinal concoction.*³⁰ It was still during Zhou’s dynasty, ‘to the later days of the Han dynasty’ that ‘China’s three great philosophy religions – Buddhism (which entered China from India, Confucianism and Daoism (...) embraced tea for its healthful virtues and powers of rejuvenation³¹.’ And ‘as the popularity [these three philosophies] spread through China, so did an awareness of tea³².’ It was only during the first emperor of Qin’s dynasty ‘(221-210 AC), however, that the greatest number of Chinese citizens came to hear of this beneficial tonic. During his reign China became a unified country.³³

Already in our present era, ‘(...) the celebrated and classic Tang dynasty (618-907 AD) brought a refinement and sophistication to tea drinking.³⁴ By this time, ‘(...) tea [had] lost its popular association as a crude, bitter brew, [and] the ritual of tea drinking became a cultured social rite during the Tang era.³⁵ It was by then that ‘Lu Yu – a scholar (...) who is often called China’s Father of tea – codified the rituals that he deemed necessary for brewing a proper pot of tea.³⁶ And most important, this goal went beyond ‘yielding a pleasing-tasting tea (he) preached that inner harmony could be attained through the expression of careful, attentive tea preparation³⁷.’

In another academic work: ‘(...) at the time the Portuguese sailed in oriental waters (1498), tea consumption was already rooted among areas influenced by the Chinese Culture, such as Korea, Japan, Vietnam, Tibet, Mongolia. If the land frontier of tea expansion laid in Central Asia, Malacca Strait was the last frontier of maritime tea expansion, thanks to the expatriate Chinese communities scattered throughout the Malayan archipelago since the end of Yuan’s dynasty (1280-1368) that gained an increased importance with Ming’s maritime expeditions (1404-1433)³⁸.’ However, at the time, as a beverage, tea had failed reaching the world outside China’s cultural influence: ‘Even though happened favourable events to its expansion, such as Islamic trading exchanges with China and the Mongol expansion in the XII and XIII centuries towards the Middle East and Central Europe³⁹.’

³⁰Ibidem. 7.

³¹ Idem, p. 7.

³² Idem, p. 7.

³³ Idem, p. 7.

³⁴ Idem, p. 9.

³⁵ Idem, p. 9.

³⁶ Idem, p. 9.

³⁷ Ibidem, p. 18.

³⁸ CF. Cunha, João Teles e, 2005: p. 62.

³⁹ Idem, p. 62.

Trading with the West

Manchus were in power In China ‘*when trade with Europe turned China into the most important trading country in the World (...)*’.⁴⁰ One cannot study tea trade between China and Europe without studying products associated to tea, because ‘*(...) tea was part of a broader package of goods where its weight and possibility of growing depended on its demand among consumers. Thus, tea came to be associated to other Chinese goods, such as silk and porcelain.*’⁴¹ Neither tea drinking in Europe can be understood without referring that Europeans drank first ‘*Japanese green powder tea, the matcha, sold in Europe by Dutch traders installed in Japan.*’ It must be said that ‘*the Chinese tea leaves varieties, mainly the so-called black teas, [and] reds (...)* only became available in the eighteenth century (...).’⁴²

Henry Hobhouse believes that the Portuguese ‘*were probably the earliest tea drinkers in Europe.*’ Moreover, they ‘*brought it to Lisbon from about 1580 onward*’.⁴³ In the Portuguese Empire, at the very heart of the Empire, still in the XVIII century ‘*tea came to Lisbon along with many other oriental goods, brought in by the Carreira das Índias.*’ (Albergaria [s.s] [in printing]) And she adds that, ‘*a good portion was reimported to France, Spain, Genoa, Germany, and mainly to England.*’ (Albergaria [s.s] [in printing]) The head of the Portuguese Empire ‘*(...) rather played the role of a trade entrepôt than an end market (...).*’ (Albergaria [s.s] [in printing])

Maria Cândida Liberato describes to us how ‘*tea leaves coming from China to Lisbon, through Macao, were bought to be sold by the Dutch to the Northern European countries*’.⁴⁴ As a matter of fact, ‘*(...) the Dutch clearly began tea trade.*’ Notwithstanding ‘*the fact that we only have statistics for (p.31) the second half of the seventeenth century, when consumption seems to have modestly begun in Europe, discreetly even in Amsterdam, according to the available records for from 1668 to 1670.*’⁴⁵ However, it ‘*was far from*

⁴⁰ Ibidem, p. 19.

⁴¹ Idem, p. 34.

⁴² Idem, p. 34.

⁴³ Hobhouse, Henry, *Seeds of Change: Six plants that transformed Mankind*, London, The Folio Society, 2007, p. 95.

⁴⁴ Liberato, Maria Cândida, 2012: p.88; Kiple 2008, 210. Kiple, Kenneth F., 2008. *Uma História Saborosa do Mundo*. Tradução de Margarida Vale de Gato. Cruz Quebrada. Casa das Letras.

⁴⁵ Cf. Cunha, João Teles e, *O Chá: uma História do Oriente ao Ocidente*, in *Oriente*, Revista da Fundação Oriente, 2012, pp.30-31; (De Korte, J. P., *The annual accounting of the VOC Dutch East India Company*, Amesterdão: NEHA, 2000, p. 64) O seu comércio começou a disparar na Europa apenas em finais do século XVII, a par do café mas, mesmo assim, apenas correspondeu a 4,2% do tráfico total da Companhia das Índias Orientais Holandesa (VOC), longe dos 32, 2% atingido cerca de meia centúria mais tarde (1738-1740). (Prakash, Om: *European Commercial enterprise in Pre-colonial India in the New Cambridge History of India*, Vol II-5, Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998, p. 117.)

reflecting real tea consumption in Asia, given the fact that Philippe Balde, a Calvinist minister, better known as Philippus Baldaeus, even before 1666, deplored Dutch excessive tea consumption habits in Asia (...)⁴⁶.

And then the British came into the business, and took the lion share: '(...) *Having the Dutch failed to establish themselves in China, VOC [Dutch East Indies Company] depended upon Macao's middlemen, who took more and more tea to Batavia (...).*' For this reason among some others, '*they were unable to win the completion with their English rivals, the East India Company, as soon as they succeeded into settling in China in the beginning of the XVIII century (1713). (...)*⁴⁷.' What happened '(...) *after the XVIII th century was the increase of tea consumption in Europe, due to free trade and industrial tea-growing in European colonies in the second half of the XX century.*⁴⁸' Trade with Europe, grew enormously: '*By 1820, millions of tea was being imported into Europe every year, and re-exported all over the world, more than half by the British. Probably 30 million pounds was consumed in the United Kingdom annually. Despite its high cost at this date, tea was drunk throughout the British Isles by all who could afford to buy it*⁴⁹.'

Tea consumption in Portugal and Azores

Researchers ordinarily offer several reasons to explain why Portugal, although being in Macao, and although being the first European empire to come to Asia, was more an exporter than a consumer of tea. Stating only a few reasons, one must say first, that there were '*other stimulants being sold in Europe, such as coffee, tobacco and chocolate (...).*' (Albergaria [s.s] [no prelo]) In Portugal, at the time, tea was consumed '*in the court and [by] (...)* *social elites.*' (Albergaria [s.s] [not printed]).

According to Avelino Menezes, Azores have written official records proving that tea for consumption arrived there, at least, in the XVIII th century⁵⁰. However, it is possible that tea came here as early as the XVI th century. Tea, who came from Japan or other place in the Far East. Aware of the fact, as we do, that there were Azorean Jesuits in Asia, among those, João Baptista Machado (Angra, 1582 – Omura, Japão, 1617). Machado learned Japanese. It is likely that tea (tea bush and tea to drink) was brought since

⁴⁶ Cf. Cunha, João Teles e, 2012: pp.30-31

⁴⁷ Cunha, João Teles e, 2012: pp. 34-36; Quoting: Souza, George Brian, A sobrevivência do Império: os portugueses na China (1630-1754). Lisboa, Publicações Dom Quixote, 1991, pp. 150-176.) Citing also; Jonathan I. Israel, Dutch Primacy in the World Trade 1585-1740, Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1991, pp. 338-339.)

⁴⁸ Cf. Cunha, João Teles e, 2012: p. 38

⁴⁹ Cf. Hobhouse, Henry, 2007: pp. 96-97

⁵⁰ cf. Avelino de Fritas de Meneses, Os Açores nas Encruzilhadas de Setecentos (1740-1770), Ponta Delgada, Universidade dos Açores, 1995, vol II, p. 220

that time. Furthermore, trade from Asia to Europe, for technical reasons had to stop somewhere in Azorean Islands.

For the eighteenth century, found in family files' held by public institutions, we found several tea consumption accounts by a well to do Azorean family. D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira, born Azores, Bishop in Goa, José do Canto's wife ancestor, in a January the 19th of 1758 letter to Azores, wrote that '(...) (fl 1 v.) *In this ship I send to my brother Jerónimo Brum (...) three little crystal bottles with green tea (...)*⁵¹.' Ten years later, in a January the 23rd 1768 letter, D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira, again from Goa, was sending, among other things, by ship to the Azores '(...) *golden branched enamelled tea, coffee and chocolate dishware (...)*⁵².' Letter from D. Francisco da Assunção e Brito, António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira's successor, sends as a gift '(...) *a tea sample brought in the present monsoon from Macao (...) a tea can for you and the other to Teotónio (...)*⁵³.' And still from 1800 to 1809, in the same family's archives, we found several other accounts on tea consumption⁵⁴.

Even inside or at the margins of the Atlantic Portuguese trading routes, carried either by the English or by the Dutch, tea arrived legally or not so legally to the Azores: '(...) *During the XVIIIth century, Azorean Duty Houses records show many English and Dutch goods. Mostly from the first ones, with whom Azoreans had for long being trading. Tea was in the list of items.*' (Albergaria [s.s] [not printed]) Up to the mid nineteenth century, to reinforce the Azorean elitist tea consumption pattern, we suggest three examples. In 1808, at the time he wrote his will, João Caetano Botelho declares to have in his household '(...) *two teapots, one black and the other white (...)* [and] *12 teacups (...)*⁵⁵.' João belonged to a very old and traditional and powerful Ribeira Grande's family, in S. Miguel's Island. In 1829, in the Holy Name of Jesus Franciscan Nunnery House, again in Ribeira Grande, tea was regularly consumed by nuns⁵⁶. After the nunnery was closed down by a Liberal Government's Decree dated from 1832, tea

⁵¹[Correspondência expedida por António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira] Carta de D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira a Manuel Paim de Frias, Goa, 19 de Janeiro de 1758, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/JC/001/Documentação não tratada, cx. 170

⁵² [Correspondência expedida por António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira] Carta de D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira a Tomás Francisco Brum da Silveira, Goa, 23 de Janeiro de 1768, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/JC/001/Documentação não tratada, cx. 170

⁵³ Idem

⁵⁴ Cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC- Documentação não tratada/Diário quotidiano para as despesas da casa principiado aos 15 de Julho de 1798, Fls, 29, 47, 70, 83, 87, 122, 122v., 124v..

⁵⁵ Testamentos, João Caetano Botelho, n.º 3085, aprovado em 31 de Março de 1808

⁵⁶ BPARPD, Livro de Receita e de Despesa do Mosteiro do Santo Nome de Jesus, ano 1829.

was drunk in sister's Margarida Isabel do Apocalipse house⁵⁷. Coincidentally, Margarida was João Caetano Botelho's niece. And a third and final example: according to researcher Margarida Machado, in the second half of the nineteenth century, a regular amount of tea in pre-ordained week days was one of Clube Micaelense's membership written rights⁵⁸.

In the early years of the nineteenth century, the situation was slowly changing. Even though, not all Deputies of the Nation shared the same view, in January the 12th 1844, a Portuguese Deputy declared to the House that the *'Portuguese early century drinking habits were much different from those at present; there is a great difference between 1800 and 1811. In this lapse of time, drinking tea was not at regular use in the country Provinces; tea was not usually taken every night, nor was it taken at lunch as well, as it is today; by then, tea was a drug sold in the drugstore; today, one have tea even in the smallest inland villages, in Geres and Estrela's mountain ranges (...)*⁵⁹. Another Deputy, two years later in 1846, exclaimed: *'Had we ever heard of tea in inland villages! 15, 20, 30 years ago, when we saw, as we did while travelling throughout Portugal? By then, tea was almost unknown (...)*' And repeating again: *'Tea was rather a drug from the drugstore than a regular drink.'*⁶⁰ In 1848, once again in the House, other Deputy acknowledged that *'today tea is a common beverage among rich and poor, one may say for sure, that three fourths of the Portuguese People drink tea. From a luxury article - as it happened to be not so far away in the past -, to a first necessity article - as it is now.'*⁶¹ But, even in 1851, tea was not yet universally recognized as such. For some, it was still a luxury good: *'(...) tea, coffee and cocoa, are [for] those who have the means to buy them, [are] almost luxury items (...)*⁶²,

⁵⁷ AMRG; Madre Margarida Isabel do Apocalipse, codicilo do Testamento, 16 de Março de 1857: 'Tea tray: (...) a tea tray with its teaware (...).'

⁵⁸ Arquivo Clube Micaelense, Livro de Actas do Conselho Administrativo n.º 3-1857-1864, reunião de 21 de Novembro de 1857. Margarida Vaz do Rego Machado, A cultura do chá na ilha de S. Miguel como ponte de ligação ao Oriente, ... p. 16.

⁵⁹ Cf. C. Câmara dos Deputados, 12 de Janeiro de 1844, p.39; Visto em 21 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cd&diary=a1844m01d12-0039&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=p>

⁶⁰ Cf. Câmara dos Deputados, 4 de Março de 1846, p. 7, 10; Visto em 21 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cd&diary=a1846m03d04-0007&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=p>

⁶¹ Cf. Câmara dos Deputados, 26 de Abril de 1848, pp. 1-3; Visto em 23 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cd&diary=a1848m04d26-0003&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=p>

⁶² CF. Câmara dos Pares, 21 de Fevereiro de 1851, p. 233; Visto em 21 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cp2&diary=a1851m02d21-0233&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=f>

Not all tea entering the Islands entered officially through the proper channel of the official Duty House. Still for the nineteenth century, in the thirties, forties and fifties, a contemporary local newspaperman researching S. Miguel's Island tea introduction, called Francisco Maria Supico, found several smuggling tea episodes in S. Miguel's Island. Among them, one involving a Jewish trader, an English subject⁶³. Vis-à-vis tea consumption in Azores, one might say that, with a slight time difference from the mainland, that it follows roughly the same mainland pattern.

European colonial empires with interest in Asia went tea-growing And tea-curing

For economic reasons, European colonial empires with vested interests in Asian tea trade, such as Portugal, England, Netherlands and France, decided to grow tea⁶⁴. According to João Teles Cunha, *'for nearly a thousand years, from the beginning to the XVIII th century, tea-growing did not go beyond Eastern Asia boundaries. Not even in other areas where tea was a native plant. Not even muslin trade activities in Chinese shores, nor Buddhist pilgrimages to India, favoured tea farming expansion*⁶⁵. As far as we know, by the eighteenth century, there was another Asiatic small tea grower in the region: Taiwan (Formosa). The earliest record of tea trees found in Taiwan can be traced back to 1717. However, transaction records indicated that tea business in Muzha area started as early as late 18th century.

Henry Hobbhouse, using other words, say that: *'(...) tea-growing and tea-curing had never moved westward, only eastward and southward to Japan, Formosa and Java. Tea was unknown in India, except as an imported consumable from China, enjoyed only by some Europeans and a few Europeanised Indians. History's joke on Europe is that for nearly two centuries a commodity was imported halfway across the world, and that a huge (p.97) industry grew up involving as much as 5 per cent of England's entire gross domestic product, and yet no one knew anything about how tea was grown, or prepared, or blended*⁶⁶.

Huge tea trade incomes led Europeans into trying tea-growing and tea-curing outside China and Japan. As far as we know, the German doctor Andreas Clayer, working for the Dutch, was the first (or one of the first) to

⁶³ Açoriano Oriental, 9 de Novembro de 1839, In Francisco Maria Supico, As Escavações, Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, vol. I, 1995, p. 206; Açoriano Oriental, 19 de Outubro de 1839, In Francisco Maria Supico, As Escavações, Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, vol. I, 1995, p. 206; O Cartista dos Açores, n.º 31, 25 de Setembro de 1845, In Francisco Maria Supico, As Escavações, Instituto Cultural de Ponta Delgada, vol. I, 1995, p. 207.

⁶⁴ There are other not so well known attempts, among those: United States of America.

⁶⁵ Cf. Cunha, João Teles e, 2002: p.291.

⁶⁶ Cf. Hobbhouse, Henry, 2007: pp. 96-97

attempt it in the year of 1685 (1684?) in the Island of Java: ‘(...) *the Dutch organized Botanical Gardens to acclimatize plants, which could be economically valuable, first to study and later to transplant them in areas under their control. These principles, dear to mercantilism, were intended to reduce precious metals exportations.*’ Thus, we can understand one of the reasons why the Dutch ‘*wanted to have tea bushes from Japan brought to the Javanese soil*’⁶⁷. J. J. B Deuss tells us about a second Dutch effort: ‘*Around 1684 and later on around 1728 the Dutch have tried tea planting in Java, both times without any success*’⁶⁸.

Dutch experimentations with tea in Java would be followed, later on, by the English in India: ⁶⁹ ‘(...) *where at the end of the XVIII th century, some British officers in India called up the attention to tea growing spontaneously there. The very first efforts, however, were condemned by the English East India Company (p.241) (...)*’⁷⁰. Another attempt in India took place ‘*early in 1820 [by] David Scott, commissioner for the newly acquired state of Assam in British India (...).*’ He ‘*sent samples of leaves from Cooch-Bihar and Ranpur to his superiors in Calcutta. Here they were declared to be leaves of one of the innumerable species of camellia, and sent by Dr. Wallich (...) [who] identified them as tea bush’s leaves. This was the first known identification of a wild tea bushes growing in India. At that time, India had no tea plantations.*’ It is known that ‘*at that time, nearly all tea, came from China, except for a small export surplus available in Japan and even a smaller amount one in Formosa.*’ Indian tea became possible, ‘*When the East India Company annexed Assam province, next to Burma, to the rest of its British possessions in 1824.*’ Then, ‘*two brothers, Robert Bruce and C. A. Bruce, an ex-Army businessman and a tea merchant respectively, went to the new territory looking for trading opportunities. There they found what they believed to be tea bushes growing wild on the hillsides.*’ Later, ‘*the brothers transplanted some seedlings to a private garden and sent samples to Wallich.*’ The East India Company officials were looking for solutions, ‘*(...) as the East India Company monopoly in China neared its end in 1834, India’s General-Governor appointed a committee in Calcutta to further investigate the possibility of growing tea in Indian British dominions.*’

⁶⁷ Cunha, João Teles e, 2012: p.33

⁶⁸ Cf. Deuss, J. J. B, *La culture et la fabrication du thé*, Journal d’Agriculture Tropicale et de Botanique appliquée, 1958, vol. 5, pp. 238-273, http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jatba_0021-7662_1958_num_5_4_2464, p. 229

⁶⁹ Cf. Deuss, J. J. B, 1958: pp. 238-273; Cf. Cunha, João Teles e, *Op. Cit.*, pp. 33, http://www.persee.fr/web/revues/home/prescript/article/jatba_0021-7662_1958_num_5_4_2464, p. 229

However, *‘Walich was (p.133) conservative (...) His caution may have delayed the development of India’s tea Industry by ten years.’* As a fact, *‘its final imprimatur, however belated, would allow tea to become the commodity which might save the Company from its growing financial burdens (...) (p.134).’* Despite this fact, *‘(...) in January 1839, news that Indian tea from Assam had arrived in London, to be auctioned, set British imaginations on fire. (...) If there was a future for British grown tea on the subcontinent, here was a chance to cut out the Chinese middleman from Britain’s most important drink⁷¹.’* Indian native tea had a supporter: *‘(...) Dr. John Forbes Royle (...) went out to India in 1819 (...) being eventually placed in charge of the Botanic Gardens at Saharanpur, in the North of the West Provinces. (...) Royle’s knowledge of the growing capacities of the Himalayan range was unmatched by any other botanist on earth. He believed, along with Hardinge, that tea could very profitably be grown there⁷².’*

Assamese *‘(...) wild tea bushes plants had been uprooted and burned to leave space for Chinese tea bushes.’* However, the Chinese tea bushes *‘either died or did not thrive, or failed to become productive.’* So, *‘ironically, a dozen years later, to breed better-suited specimens, when Assam’s tea industry began, the hills were scavenged for surviving Assamese tea bushes samples.’* But, despite this failure with Chinese tea bushes in Assam, tea bushes in Darjeeling, India, came from China *‘(...) through Robert Fortune, The East India English Company obtained the first plants and seeds from China, to be introduced and adapted in India⁷³.’*

As a result *‘From the 1840s, tea husbandry in the field was no longer a secret. After much experiment and many failures, an industrialised European tea industry was successfully established in Assam by about 1860, and in Ceylon and Java by 1890⁷⁴.’* As a matter of fact, in Ceylon was earlier than that: *‘In December 1839, just a year or more before Maurice’s arrival in Ceylon, experiments were being made in the Peradeniya’s Royal Botanic Gardens, just outside Kandy. A small batch of tea-seeds, sent from Assam in India, was sown. A few months later, 205 tea seedlings were also planted to assess how well they would do in Cingalese soil. In May of the same year, a number of young plants were sent off to the hill-resort of Nuwara Eliya to test their ability to weather the climate there. The government of the island had commissioned a report to look at the economic potential of this crop, urged on no doubt by the fact that earlier in that same year the very first*

⁷¹ ROSE, Sarah, For All The Tea in China: espionage, empire and the secret formula for the world’s favourite drink, Arrow Books, London, 2010, pp. 132-134

⁷² ROSE, Sarah, 2010: p. 48

⁷³ Liberato, 2012: 92-93

⁷⁴ Hobhouse, Henry, 2007: 132

*commercial crop of tea from Assam had been sold on the London markets, breaking the centuries-old Chinese monopoly*⁷⁵.’

Outside the Pacific and the Indian Ocean areas, in the Atlantic Ocean, in Azores, there was at the end of the XVIII century and early XIX century, tea growing spontaneously in Terceira’s Island⁷⁶. Thus, to better understand Azorean’s early Tea History, we will transcribe short extracts of a letter sent by the Azorean’s Captain-General in Angra, Terceira, to the King in Lisbon. The king had ordered D. Lourenço José Boaventura de Almada (1799-1804) in a ‘1799, November 29 th letter’ to send back to the Portuguese mainland, botanical spices current in Azores. Among other two species, Almada sent ‘some tea bushes growing in this Island [Terceira].’ Almada had been appointed Captain-General in Juin the 15th 1795, only to arrive at Angra in November the 6th 1799.

Complying to his majesty’s desires, along with tea he wrote a letter ‘(...) he was sending now [Juin 11 th 1801] in Cisne’s *Fragata* two boxes with the so called tea bush.’ Almada described what he had seen ‘personally.’ And he went on: ‘whose growing is easy in these places, (...) without being cultivated (...).’ It was so much so that tea grew ‘even amidst rocks (...)’⁷⁷. Aware of tea economical potential, even to Azores, he informed the King that some people in Terceira’s Island had the tea bush: ‘those who (...) out of curiosity have it (...)’ he continues, ‘don’t display the tiniest appreciation for the plant (...)’ This happens because ‘(...) they are ignorant of the drying process that renders consistency to tea (...)’ For this reason, ‘(...) they abandoned this so much useful plant’⁷⁸. Reading very carefully this key document, leads us, at least, at drawing two obvious assumptions: firstly, that several people in Terceira’s Island, Azores, had tea bushes, at least, in the XVIII century; secondly, most probably, having tried drying correctly tea, they had failed doing so. Did those tea plant’s owners wanted to learn the right way? Was the Captain-General implying that tea – growing and manufacturing -, should be introduced in Azores? Was he asking the king to send technicians, as by João Teles e Cunha suggests?⁷⁹

Under the king’s eyes and global imperial economic plans, Brazil not Azores had the required dimension to try tea introduction. So one of the earliest tea-growing and tea-transforming well succeeded experience led by

⁷⁵ Cf. ‘Cousins in Ceylon’, Victor Gray and Ismeth Raheem explain a curious and lasting Rothschild connection with Sri Lanka; http://www.ceylonstateteas.com/index.php?page_cat=wormbrothers&page=worm-brothers, seen in September the 16th 2015

⁷⁶ Among others, there are known examples for the same time period in the USA.

⁷⁷ Cf. Arquivo dos Açores, v. XIII 1983: 515-516

⁷⁸ Idem: 515-516

⁷⁹ Cunha, João Teles e, 2002: p. 295.

Europeans outside China and Japan, as far as we know, took place not in Azores but in Brazil by Portuguese and Chinese workers between the years of 1812 and 1816. The Portuguese court fleeing Napoleonic invasions, had moved to Brazil and Rio de Janeiro had become the imperial capital.⁸⁰

The introduction of tea in Brazil, while the Portuguese court was staying there, is explainable by larger imperial economic reasons: *‘transplantation of botanical species from Asia into other overseas areas including the Portuguese mainland, for economical purposes, (...) seems to have been considerable, mostly between Goa and Brazil, in the second half of the eighteenth century. There was a plan to introduce cinnamon, clove, nutmeg, pepper, tea, ginger and indigo in Maranhão (...).’* The Government’s commitment in transplanting useful Asian botanical species into America’s soil *‘is well documented’*, mainly *‘in the instructions on processes and the hiring of experts* (Letter from D. Rodrigo de S. Coutinho to F A V Cabral, April 2, 1800: to send from India a pepper and a cinnamon grower to Baía) (...)⁸¹.’ To Domenico Vandelli, hired by the Portuguese crown, in the eighteenth century, *‘(...) If tea from China grew well in England [Greenhouses?], one would have to expect that it would grow much better in Brazil’⁸².*

Four Chinese tea experts were sent by the Chinese Emperor to the King of Portugal in Brazil. Why did he do that? In recognition of the role played by the Portuguese in Macao? In favouring the Portuguese was he sending a message to the English? Was he trying to weaken the growing English power in China? The sending of four Chinese tea-workers to the Portuguese King, helped promoting the Portuguese’s King intention into developing his empire: to ease the Portuguese empire from the Dutch and English economic dependence. It was not, though, a new intention.

Anibal Cabido, a late nineteen and early twenty century researcher, about tea introduction in Brazil, wrote that *‘the Chinese emperor gave (...) a rich gift to the Portuguese King: the tea bush along with four Chinese natives to teach how to grow and manipulate that plant.’⁸³* And, the reason, he went on, *‘seems to have been (...) as a sign of gratitude for the Portuguese’s help on fighting pirates in the China sea.’⁸⁴* Whatever were the

⁸⁰ Idem, pp. 33-34

⁸¹ Lopes, Maria de Jesus dos Mártires, Goa Setecentista: Tradição e Modernidade (1750-1800), 2.ª edição, Universidade Católica Portuguesa, Lisboa, 1999, pp. 285-287

⁸² Raminelli, Ronald, Viagens Ultramarinas: Monarcas, vassallos e governo à distância, São Paulo, 2008, p. 272

⁸³ Cf. Aníbal Gomes Ferreira Cabido, A indústria do chá nos Açores, Boletim do trabalho industrial, n.º 88, Direcção Geral do Comércio e Indústria, Coimbra, 1913, pp.4-13. Read: SACRAMENTO, Leandro do, Memória económica sobre a preparação do chá, Rio de Janeiro, Typ. Nacional, 1825

⁸⁴ Idem, pp. 4-13.

reasons for it, Brazil was, then, the first place out of Asia, where tea was successfully grown and transformed. However, tea, unlike, coffee, had not succeeded into gaining Brazilian farmer's favour. Furthermore, soon, in 1822, Brazil would become independent from Portugal. And Portugal would enter a long period of political turmoil only to end in the 1850's.

In his most interesting work on tea in Azores and elsewhere, that we have been citing, Anibal Cabido comments on the influence that Brazilian tea had on Europe: '(...) *some European countries send agents to Brazil. France sent a botanist scholar to Brazil to trail tea practices; he went back to France and took to Angers Public Gardens and to some individuals some tea plants. Those attempts have failed.*' The same author, tells us that the '*English, facing the failure of all their experiments and studies, guided by their practical spirit, decided to abandon the idea of introducing and acclimatizing the tea bush in Europe, and began developing the tea culture in India and in the Himalayan neighbourhood (...).*' The Dutch, in the footsteps of the English success in India, did the same in Java. Starting in around 1830, England invests in Assam Province, in India, and a decade later is successful. In the meanwhile, comes the Opium War, and a vanquished China is forced to open their doors to foreign traders. In 1878, '*the English success in India led the Dutch to import to Java tea from Assam. Nearly 45 years after cultivating tea from China and Japan without success, this was a final attempt to establish a thriving tea industry in that Indonesian Island.*'⁸⁵

Portugal and Europe: tea-growing experiences

Mentioning tea introduction outside China, Japan and India, after and before the Brazilian experience, which occurred between 1812 and 1816, and before the Azorean experience, in 1878, there are a few known unsuccessful experiences in the Portuguese Mainland. Not to speak of a short lived experience in Madeira Island⁸⁶. [See Table I] Some say that the first one trying tea-planting in the Portuguese Mainland was Gaspar Pereira de Castro, who had come to Portugal from Brazil, at the end of the XVII [wrong date, actually it was in 1855] century. He was '*after some failed experiences in Coura and Ponte de Lima, he went back to Brazil. He even failed selling the tea plantations he had invested on.*'⁸⁷ So, '*from Brazil to the mainland, came*

⁸⁵ Cf. Heiss, Mary Lou, Robert J. Heiss, OP. Cit., p. 29.

⁸⁶ See Table I, Moles, Jacinto Cerda, El té en la isla de San Miguel (Açores), relatório. http://www.sabores-da-india.net16.net/_spices_pl_tea_history.html. 'Few years after the Brazilian 1816's success with tea growing and manufacturing, maybe in 1825, (...), after Brazilian's independence, the British Council in Madeira's Island, grew and produced successfully tea in that Island.'

⁸⁷ Cf. Rosa, Paulo, Chá uma bebida da China, Património Natural dos Açores, Mirandela, Viseu, 2004, p. Idem, p. 39.

*tea-bushes, and tea-growing was tried in the North, the Center and the South of Portugal. Even today, though left to abandon, there still remains tea bushes from those days, among those remaining, the most extensive and notorious tea bush's gathering can be seen in Pena's Park, lot n.º 10, in Sintra's mountain range, in a place known as Tea Heights (...).*⁸⁸,

Even before the 1878's Azorean experiment, Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia, *'as soon as he became aware of the existence of tea plants in Portugal, try(ed) to implement tea culture in our country (...).'* He was a *'former professor in the Royal Portuguese Mission College in Beijing, where he became a tea enthusiast and learned the tea manufacturing techniques (...).'* For that purpose, *'he sought the House of Braganza's support.'* As he had been *'appointed Director of tea culture, he sent seeds and plants to some of the House of Braganza's lands in Vila Viçosa, Vendas Novas and Quinta do Alfeite, where he also tried to grow seeds brought from Brazil.'* But the story does not have an happy ending: *'As seeds failed to sprout, rumours spread that someone close to the customer's house officials, interested in protecting the Azorean tea-plantations, which, in the meantime, had been introduced in the Azores, had secretly ruined the seeds. Although, tea-growing had few chances of growing well in Alentejo, where the Braganza House had sent seeds and plants.'*⁸⁹,

Before Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia's failure, in August of 1842, Viscount de Vilarinho de S. Romão had undergone some well-succeeded experiments with tea in Lisbon. That took place in the Ajuda's Botanical Garden. Seeds and plants had come from India to Brazil and from there to the Portuguese Mainland. Afterwards, he declared in The Deputy National House: *'(...) For three years I was member of the Comissão Inspectorá do Jardim Botânico da Ajuda; There, I gave instructions to sow Indian tea seeds, who had come from Rio de Janeiro; they are inside and outside greenhouses; they are acclimatized, and they are capable of being successfully being planted in Algarve, maybe, in the all South of Portugal,*

Mendes Ferrão, *A Aventura das Plantas e os Descobrimientos portugueses*, Lisboa, IICT/CNCDP, Fundação Berardo, 1992, pp. 162-4: points out to 1855.

⁸⁸Cf. Idem, p. 39

⁸⁹Ibidem, pp. 39-40. (Tea: Brazil's most rewarding economic activities) (...) as stated by Chernoviz, a Brazilian agronomist scholar, in the third edition to his *Dicionário de Medicina*, printed in 1868 (...); Cf. Morais, Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia, *Manual do Cultivador do chá do comércio, resumo dos apontamentos, que acerca de tão importante e fácil cultura, foram publicados no pretérito ano de 1881*, Lisboa 1882.

*because in this country's soil everything grows well (...).*⁹⁰ As a matter of fact, there seems to have been in c. 1855 some experiments in Minho⁹¹.

In 1856, there are known suggestions made by the Mozambican representative in the National Portuguese Parliament to introduce tea-growing in Mozambique. According to this representative, Mozambique was as rich as Brazil: '(...) *In there grows well and has a favourable place to grow everything that grows in Brazil (...)* [and exemplifies] *tea-growing and spices (...)*'.⁹² And even in the far away and remote China, far away from the capital Lisbon, in Macao, by the time, an almost forgotten and unprotected Portuguese colony, notwithstanding the fact, that tea was not grown in Macao's soil, tea was produced in Macao. It was Horta e Costa, a Deputy representing Macao in Lisbon, when he urged the National Government to take measures to improve Macao's economy, the way Spaniards had done in the Philippines, or the Dutch in Java or the English in Hong-Kong, who tells us about tea factories existence in Macao: '*There is [in Macao] a great number of important factories where tea, coming from China almost in raw, is prepared and passes through so many successive steps, and suffers a so complete alteration, that one must almost forget its initial classification, and consider it as a product of that colony. Not so long ago, there were, and I believe it still has (1889), fifteen factories (...)*'.⁹³

Tea acclimatization in Azores

After the 1801 Captain General's letter to the King, previously mentioned in this work, as far as we know, the first to mention tea was Antonio Feliciano de Castilho. Castilho, in an article dated from 1848, once again – or once more -, came to the idea of growing tea in the Azores. In both occasions, they were in tune with what was happening around the world. When oranges were still offering sizeable profits to the local landlords, although there were the first signs of ailments plaguing orchards, Castilho thought it would be economically wise to diversify investments. By that

⁹⁰Cf. Câmara dos Pares, 31 de Agosto de 1842, p. 237; Visto em 21 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cp2&diary=a1842m08d31-0237&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=f>

⁹¹ http://www.sabores-da-india.net16.net/_spices_pl_tea_history.html Jacinto Cerda Moles, El té en la isla de San Miguel (Açores), relatório.

⁹²Cf. Câmara dos Deputados, 14 de Fevereiro de 1856, p.296; Visto em 24 de Abril de 2015; <http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cd&diary=a1857m02d14-0296&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=f>

⁹³ Cf. Câmara dos Deputados, 3 de Maio de 1889, pp. 523-524, 528; Visto em 22 de Abril de 2015;

<http://debates.parlamento.pt/page.aspx?cid=mc.cd&diary=a1889m05d03-0524&type=texto&q=ch%C3%A1&sm=f>

time, in fact, orange trees began being attacked by unknown diseases.⁹⁴ The warning and even the suggestion were taken both very seriously by the SPAM's (St. Miguel's Developing Agricultural Society) first and second generation. Among those associate members, we have those who would three decades later invest in tea growing and tea producing: José do Canto, José Jácome Correia, José Maria Raposo do Amaral, José Bensaúde, Faria e Maia, Silveira Estrela.

Where did tea – bushes, seedlings and seeds -, come from to the Azores? From China? From China to the Azores or through Brazil to the Azores? Or from Japan? Or either from India? Or even from other unknown origin? Already in 1883, Gabriel de Almeida, a native of S. Miguel's Island, in Azores, that followed closely the first tea steps in 1878/79, and has studied tea Introduction in S. Miguel, openly confessed '*We do not know for sure how the tea bush came to S. Miguel (...)*'.⁹⁵ Russell-Wood, an English Historian expert on the History of the Portuguese Colonial Empire, in 1992, wrote that '*concerning the incoming of plants from India and Asia, it is hard to trace down dates and specific persons responsible for it.*'⁹⁶ As far as we know, they came from all these places at different times brought by different individuals and institutions to different Islands.

We do not know exactly when, why, where and who brought tea to the Azores. Where did tea, mentioned in *Arquivo dos Açores*, at the end of the eighteenth century and beginning of the nineteenth century, come from? There, it says India. But was it from India or from China through India? After the letter sent to the King by the Captain-General in Azores in 1801 about tea growing in Terceira's Island, we no longer heard about Terceira's Island tea. Even so after tea was successfully introduced and produced in 1878/9 in São Miguel: what happened in Terceira? Although in March 1878, while S. Miguel's Island tea producers were trying with success tea manufacture, '*the Terceiras Agricultural Society Chairman requested his Micaelense's counterpart some tea bushes to experiment in Terceira.*' The answer to the request was clear: '*at this present time, due to our limited tea bushes stock in S. Miguel, it is not possible to send some to Terceira.*'⁹⁷ In December of 1879, in reply to what Horta's Humanitarian, Literary and Agricultural Society (*Sociedade Humanitária de Literatura e Agricultura*) Chairman, in Fayal's Island, asked for, his Micaelense counterpart answered:

⁹⁴ Cf. António Feliciano de Castilho, *Agricultor Michaelense*, n.º 1, Janeiro de 1848, fls. 1-16.

⁹⁵ Cf. Almeida, G., *Breve Notícia sobre a Cultura da Planta do chá*, Ponta Delgada, Typographya Imparcial, 1883

⁹⁶ Cf. Russell-Wood, A J. R., *OP. Cit.*, p. 255.

⁹⁷ Cf. BPARPD, SPAM Atas da Direção de 1873-1887, Livro n.º 6, Sessão de 15 d'Abril de 1878, fls. 52-55.

*‘As for the tea manufacture, little can we tell in this moment for we have not yet finished our experiments (...).’*⁹⁸ That we know of, there was only a tea factory outside S. Miguel, in 1913, in Faial Island, owned by Moniz Vasconcelos, a man from S. Miguel⁹⁹.

About tea introduction in S. Miguel’s Island, before 1860’s, there are known several accounts. (See Table II) The earliest account dates from 1873, coming in *O Cultivador*. It refers things that allegedly occurred roughly 40 years before. It points to Jacinto Leite de Bettencourt, c. 1830, and Brazil: *‘the tea bush was imported from Rio de Janeiro’s Botanical Garden by the deceased Mr. Jacinto Leite de Bettencourt about 40 years ago after coming back from Brazil where he saw it and had the idea to acclimatize it in this Island’*¹⁰⁰. The following account, dates from 1874. It is a Supicos’ newspaper article, pointing out again to Jacinto Leite [he forgets Bettencourt], and for about 1820¹⁰¹. Supico does not gives us the reason for this 13 years date difference between *O Cultivador’s account* (c.1833) and his own (c.1820). The following account dates back to 1883, his from Gabriel de Almeida: *‘We do not know when’*¹⁰². Without explaining why he had changed his mind, the same author, in 1892, gives us a date: *‘it is believed to have come before 1833.’* It came from Brazil. He doesn’t indicate any name. In 1905, again Francisco Maria Supico, adds a new version: *‘a former morgado João Soares’ servant, coming home from Brazil, had brought a gift of tea to his former master’*¹⁰³. Again from Brazil. But he fails to indicate a date. In 1959, more than a century after, Amâncio Faria e Maia, proposes two new versions: *‘according to some, the tea bush was brought from Rio de Janeiro’s Botanical Garden, between 1750 and 1800, by architect Leite (...).’* And the second: *‘For some people, it was my great-grandfather, José Inácio Machado de Faria e Maia who brought tea from (...) Brazil.’* Knowing how History is done by Historians, Faria e Maia, ends up, admitting that: *‘(...) it is plausible that any of those versions has some*

⁹⁸ Cf BARPD, SPAM, Registo de Correspondência, 1860-1898, 24 de Dezembro de 1879, liv. 23, fls. 19v- 20.

⁹⁹ Cf. Cabido, Aníbal Gomes Ferreira, A indústria do chá nos Açores, Coimbra: Direcção Geral do Comércio e Indústria, 1913. - 38 p. ; 25 cm. - (Boletim do trabalho industrial; 88)

¹⁰⁰ Projectada cultura e manipulação do chá nesta Ilha, in *O Cultivador*, 15 de Dezembro de 1873, Ponta Delgada, cf. BPARPD, JC.PP, Misc.4; EC.PP 256, p. 322

¹⁰¹ Persuasão, 15 de Abril de 1874, Francisco Maria Supico, *As Escavações*, vol. III, 1995, p. 1024

¹⁰² Cf. Almeida, G., *Op. Cit.*, 1883

¹⁰³ Cf. Francisco Maria Supico, *As Escavações*, vol. III, ICPD, 1995, p. 1031, *Idem*, vol. III, 1995, p. 1024; *A Persuasão*, 15 de Abril de 1874; Francisco Maria Supico, *As Escavações*, vol. III, ICPD, 1995, p. 1031.

*truth in it*¹⁰⁴.’ All versions need to be thoroughly confronted with other sources: written records closer to the facts reported. Otherwise, they do not hold a serious Historical inquiry. In all these versions, Brazil comes as the main and the only source of tea and technology. However, they all run within the same plausible time frame: Brazilian’s tea experience.

Although, supposedly Jacinto Leite’s [Bettencourt?] began experiencing with tea in S. Miguel, somewhere probably between the 1820’s or the 30’s, prior to José do Canto’s in the 1860s, José do Canto’s experiences are well known documented facts. Furthermore, Jacinto Leite Bettencourt died before the coming of the two first Chinese tea teachers. So one must study José do Canto’s experiences. But before doing so, and it seems to be obvious, that tea in S. Miguel came from different places by different people on different occasions. And that much need to be known.

Tea entered S. Miguel’s Island in two distinct time periods: before and after wardian cases. Wardian cases were invented by Nathaniel Bagshaw Ward. It means before and after 1830’s. It is a sort of small portable greenhouse invented by Ward allowing plants and seeds to travel safely from a place to another¹⁰⁵. Before or after the nineteenth century, means also ordering plants through nurseries. From the eighteenth century on, nurseries and plant hunters went about all around the globe collecting botanical species.

Roughly from 1846 to 1860, José do Canto was, according to his words, almost entirely dedicated to plant collecting. He was then moved by the sheer pleasure of collecting plants. In a letter written in April the 5th 1866, he confesses that: ‘(...) (fl. 444) (...) *Since 1846 that I have been collecting plants and I already find it difficult to find new and desirable plants in France, England and Belgium. From Northern Germany and Europe, I only know (...) Booth House in Hamburg (...)*¹⁰⁶.’

While still living in Paris, José do Canto added another interest to his prior interest. In a February of 1866 letter, besides keeping ornamental plants, he purchases plants to profit from. We assume that besides oranges and other plants of the sort, tea might also be on his mind: ‘(...) *I found a great number of economical plants: (...) it would be necessary to undergo experiments using methods differing from those we have been using up to*

¹⁰⁴ Amâncio Machado de Faria e Maia, Esboço Histórico da Indústria Agrícola do chá em S. Miguel, Insulana, vol. XV, ICPD, 1959, pp. 427-428.

¹⁰⁵ Rose, 2010: 49-51.

¹⁰⁶ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 157in [Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)] Carta de José do Canto a Frederick Welwitsh, Paris, 5 de Abril de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 157

now, in selected and suitable places (...).¹⁰⁷ At that time, he was preparing his return to S. Miguel, where he was planning to improve his lands. For that matter, he had bought Pico Arde's land in Ribeira Grande. As a matter of fact, Pico Ardes's lands, where is Caldeira Velha, latter, would be the home place for his tea plantations.

Because its significance is very well documented, the 1860's time period, in S. Miguel, ought to be acknowledged as a turning point in the History of the local tea. For that matter, if up to now, we had the first tea time period divided into three different moments, from now on, due to additional data, we must add to it a fourth moment: one going from the 1860's to 1873. As a matter of fact, it is also a milestone for tea in India and Sri Lanka. As an updated reader of English and French newspapers and Magazines, José do Canto would be informed on to what was happening in those parts of the world.

A letter from Alexander Reith, José do Canto's gardener, written in Ponta Delgada (S. Miguel) to his boss, at the time in Paris, tells us about the coming of tea seeds from Japan in the year of 1860. It is the first time tea is mentioned after the last known 1801's account in *Arquivo dos Açores*. Despite being a short note, the information is crystal clear beyond unreasonable doubts: '(...) Sir (...) A list of Japanese seeds received from Capt. Sundetrall (...) N.º 6 Seed of the Thea Bush from Japan 1860, 3 seeds.¹⁰⁸' Edmond Goeze's (n.1838 – f. 1929) 1866 visit to S. Miguel's Island, plainly points out to tea experiences before 1866. Maybe it points out to those seeds arrived from Japan or eventually others from other parts. Besides Japan, José do Canto also ordered seeds and seedlings from China. We are talking about a time period roughly before 1864¹⁰⁹. There remains a

¹⁰⁷ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155, in [Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)] Carta de José do Canto a Ernesto do Canto, Paris, 9 de Fevereiro de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155

¹⁰⁸cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95, 595-C, 1455-list/Ap, in Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, 11 de Dezembro de 1863, A list of Japanese seeds received from Capt. Sundetrall, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95, 595-C, 1455-list/Ap

¹⁰⁹ Sometime after his visit, Edmond Goeze has recalled: '(...) When, in the summer of 1866, we came from Coimbra to visit S. Miguel's Island, we had the opportunity to make acquaintance to the great landlord José do Canto, whose prevailing thoughts were on the progress and prosperity of his land (p. 127) (...) Mr. José do Canto told me also about his plans about tea planting and he wanted to know my opinion about it (...) through Professor Decaisne (...) Canto dealt with some commercial enterprises based in China. He ordered a great amount of seeds [Thus, before 1866] as well as a portion of tea seedlings, but, for such long trip, it was necessary to prepare wardian cases.' In the meantime, at the Island, (...) they prepared all the necessary to receive them. After a few months, it had grown a small nursery located in a well taken care terrain. As soon as they have arrived, seeds were sown

problem to be solved: José do Canto, at that time was in Paris¹¹⁰. Goeze and Canto haven't met yet: '(...) (fl. 468) (...) *I have not the honour of knowing you personally* (...)'¹¹¹. Goeze took the son for the father or José by his brother Ernesto. What seems to be the case. In any circumstance, Goeze's testimony is to be taken as good and valid.

José do Canto received, this time from James Veitch's House, in London, in January the 16th 1866, '(...) (fl. 184) (...) *I Thea Bohea* (...)'¹¹², After January the 19th 1866, among other plants that Mr. Alexander Reith was expecting to receive in the forthcoming months of April, May and Juin of 1866, sent by José do Canto from several European nurseries: '(...) [fl. 6 v.] (*Economical Plants*) (...) (*a lápis V.*) *V. – Thea Bohea* (*V = James Veitch*) (...)'¹¹³.

Besides Japan and China, José do Canto received also tea from India. Thus, in July 4th 1867: '(...) *Paris Le 4 Juillet 1867/ Cher Monsieur/ J'accomplie un devoir des plus agréables, vous felicitations* (...) *Thea assamica Bohea* (...)'.¹¹⁴, In September of 1867, Fouqué was touring São Miguel where he studied several local gardens. Later on, back to France, he would write about those visits: '*Tea bushes grow extremely well in Ponta Delgada gardens. The culture is easy; they only have to know exactly the right conditions before dreaming into expanding it.*'¹¹⁵, Have we heard about '*teas and chinchonas*' before November of 1867? José do Canto's

in beds. Plants, for having travelled in small cases, had lost most of its foliage. Because of it, they completed it and its shoots were planted into cuttings or grafted into camellias. Doing so, it has elapsed two years until their final sowing (...) (...)'. Almanaque Açores, 1928, Propriedade da Livraria Andrade, Angra do Heroísmo, 1927, pp. 125-130

¹¹⁰ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx.156, in Carta de Vilmorin Andrieu & C.^a a José do Canto, Paris, França, 2 de Fevereiro de 1864, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx.156

¹¹¹ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155, in [Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)] Carta de José do Canto a Edmond Goeze, Paris, 10 de Abril de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155

¹¹² cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155, in [Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)] Carta de José do Canto a James Veitch, Paris, 16 de Janeiro de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155

¹¹³ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95, in [(...) plants that Mister Alexander Reith must receive in the months of April, May and June of 1866, sent by José do Canto from different nurseries in Europe] José do Canto a Alexander Reith, depois de Janeiro de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95

¹¹⁴ cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 156, 17000, in [Plantes –a José do Canto (?)], Paris, 4 Juillet de 1867, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 156, 17000

¹¹⁵ cf. BPARPD, JC.PP, Miscelânea Açoriana 9, p.1, in Fouqué, M. F., Voyages geologiques aux Açores, Paris, 1873, cf. BPARPD, JC.PP, Miscelânea Açoriana 9, p.1

experiences outside Grimaneza's greenhouse, in Ponta Delgada, in Pico da Pedra, in Furnas and in Porto Formoso. All in S. Miguel's Island. It is Reith who writes again to his boss José do Canto in Paris: '(...) *I have marked the places for the chinchonas and teas, at Grimaneza in different parts of the garden not all in one place, which will give a better idea of which part they will grow the best being at different heights of the ground. The same with the teas and at Pico da Pedra in the same manner. At the Furnas at the Pico do Fogo near the Rhododendron, and one higher up and the tea likewise at the Lagoa do Rabaçal (...) to learn which will do the best, the same with the teas. Teas being a plant that grows in China on hilly ground where there is much rain, I have every reason to think that the hills at the Furnas will suit it well (...) At Porto Formoso I have marked the ground in the same way. I think the teas (fl. 1 v) will grow well here the soil being what they like (...).*'¹¹⁶

After having succeeded into growing tea inside greenhouses, as early as c. 1860, they expanded it: still in the 1860's, they grew tea in local gardens, after, they grew tea in different places of the Island. The next step was to plant tea on a much larger scale. And José do Canto, for several reasons, he chose Pico Arde, in Ribeira Grande, where from 1869 on he planted tea and in 1878 he would build his first tea factory, and in 1892 he built his second tea factory¹¹⁷. For other reasons, for a while, he kept also smaller plantations in Porto Formoso and in Pico da Pedra.

But, for José do Canto as well as for other less known – or not known to us -, local tea growers, making proper tea was still a mystery. Quoting Supico in 1870's, '(...) *they placed some tender leaves in bottles, and when they were well withered, they made tea. For tasting so greatly sour, they could not drink it*'¹¹⁸. Quoting Angra's Captain-General's in 1801, '*they needed a method to reach perfection.*' So, most likely for that purpose, José do Canto, before going once again to Paris, conceived a plan of action with his brother Ernesto: they needed to bring the local Agricultural Association (SPAM) into this project¹¹⁹. No wonder that, a few months later, '*due to Mr. Ernesto do Canto's proposal, the Micaelense Promoting Agricultural Society*

¹¹⁶cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx. Nova/1705 RES, in Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, ? 1867?, cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.Nova/1705 RES

¹¹⁷ [Descrição dos melhoramentos feitos desde 1869 até Outubro de 1874 nas matas e biscoutos pertencentes ao corpo de terras (do?) Pico Arde comprado à Condessa do Redondo e seu Filho], cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada, Cx. 301

¹¹⁸ Cf. Francisco Maria Supico, op. cit, vol. III, ICPD, 1995, p. 1031.

¹¹⁹ '[José do Canto] Sugere a Ernesto do Canto que na próxima reunião da Direcção [ver qual ou mesmo se confunde com Assembleia-Geral] da Sociedade da Agricultura [SPAM] se estabeleça como futuras experiências neste campo, o estudo sobre a produção de chá.' Carta de José do Canto a Ernesto do Canto, Ponta Delgada, [Entre Julho e Outubro de 1873?], cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.14/1442 RES

*Administration had been empowered to hire an expert (...) to come into the Island to teach the Chinese process of turning tea leaves into articles of trade (...).*¹²⁰,

Final words

We believe we have reasonably outlined tea's journey from his original Chinese birthplace to Korea and Japan, to Azores in Europe. It took more than a thousand years in its journey from the mountains to the Pacific Ocean, to the Indian Ocean into the Atlantic Ocean. Although the Portuguese were most probably the first Europeans to bring tea from China to Europe and the first to drink it in Europe or in Asia, the Dutch fashioned the taste of tea in Europe and the English explored its potential to its fullest. However, it was in a Portuguese colony, as far as we know, that tea was first grown and manufactured: Brazil. And the Portuguese were also the first Europeans to study tea. We also found that tea grew well freely outdoors in Azores (Terceira Island) at least since the end of the eighteenth century. This tea is, probably, the first known tea in Europe growing outside a greenhouse. Already in the 1820's or in 1830's, Jacinto Leite Bettencourt was experimenting with tea in Calhetas, Ribeira Grande. But the years from 1860 on, preceding the coming of the two Chinese tea experts, due to José do Canto, were decisive to S. Miguel's tea introduction.

Table I Tea outside China by the Portuguese

When	Where	Who	Source of Information
1812-1816	Brazil	Portuguese	SACRAMENTO, Leandro do, 1825 Brazil; Gabriel de Almeida, 1883, pp. 4-5; Mendes Ferrão, 1992, p. 160
c. 1825	Madeira	English	Jacinto Cerda Moles, <i>El té en la isla de San Miguel</i> (Açores), relatório; Mendes Ferrão, 1992, p. 160
1842	Mainland	Viscount de Vilarinho de S. Romão	Câmara dos Pares, 31 de Agosto de 1842, p. 237;
1855	Mainland	Corrêa de Morais	Morais, Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia, Lisbon 1882; Mendes Ferrão, 1992, p. 164
1871-72	Mainland	Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia	Morais, Joaquim Manuel de Araújo Correia, 1882 , Mendes Ferrão, 1992, pp. 164-5

¹²⁰ Projectada cultura e manipulação do chá nesta Ilha, in O Cultivador, 15 de Dezembro de 1873,Ponta Delgada, cf. BPARPD, JC.PP, Misc.4; EC.PP 256, p. 322

Table II S. Miguel's tea Introduction versions

Alledged Introduction's Date	Accounts's date	Alledged tea Introdutor	From where	Source Information	
1750-1800	1959	Architect Leite	Brazil	According some	Amâncio Machado Faria e Maia
1808-1822?	1959	José Jacinto Machado Faria e Maia	Brazil	According some	Amâncio Machado Faria e Maia
c. 1820	1874, 15 th April	Jacinto Leite Pacheco	Brazil	It is admitted as the first tea plant	Francisco Maria Supico In A Persuasão
1820	1913	Jacinto Leite	Brazil	Beyond doubts The first says	Anibal Cabido
?	1905	João Soares de Sousa e Canto's servant	Brazil	Hearsay	Francisco Maria Supico Persuasão, 1905
c.1833 c. 40 years before	1873 December 15 th	Jacinto Leite de Bettencourt	Brazil	O Cultivador	?
We do not know when	1883				Gabriel de Almeida
1833 (even before, he believes)	1892	?	Brazil	It is believed to be the first plant	Gabriel de Almeida

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[Atas] Cf. BPARPD, SPAM Atas da Direção de 1873-1887, Livro nº 6, Sessão de 15 d'Abril de 1878, fls. 52

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Fouqué, M. F., Voyages geologiques aux Açores, Paris, 1873, cf. BPARPD, JC.PP, Miscelânea Açoriana 9

Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, ? 1867?, cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.Nova/1705 RES

Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, 28 de Novembro de 1867, cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.9/858 RES

Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, 13 de Janeiro de 1868, cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.9/869 RES

Carta de Alexander Reith a José do Canto, Ponta Delgada, 11 de Dezembro de 1863, A list of Japanese seeds received from Capt. Sundetrall, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95, 595-C, 1455-list/A

Carta de Vilmorin Andrieu & C.^a a José do Canto, Paris, França, 2 de Fevereiro de 1864, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx.156

[Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)]

Carta de José do Canto a Edmond Goeze, Paris, 10 de Abril de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155

[Copiador de correspondência de José do Canto (Nov. 1865-Abril 1866)]

Carta de José do Canto a James Veitch, Paris, 16 de Janeiro de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 155

[Correspondência expedida por António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira]

Carta de D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira a Manuel Paim de Frias, Goa, 19 de Janeiro de 1758, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/JC/001/Documentação não tratada, cx. 170

[Correspondência expedida por António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira]

Carta de D. António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira a Tomás Francisco Brum da Siveira, Goa, 23 de Janeiro de 1768, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/JC/001/Documentação não tratada, cx. 170

[Correspondência expedida por António Taveira da Neiva Brum da Silveira]

Carta de D. Francisco da Assunção e Brito (?) a D. Caetano de Nossa Senhora da Porta, Goa, 3 de Abril de 1777, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/JC/001/Documentação não tratada, cx. 170

[Descrição dos melhoramentos feitos desde 1869 até Outubro de 1874 nas matas e biscoutos pertencentes ao corpo de terras (do?) Pico Arde comprado à Condessa do Redondo e seu Filho], cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada, Cx. 301

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[...] plants that Mister Alexander Reith must receive in the months of April, May and June of 1866, sent by José do Canto from different nurseries

in Europe] José do Canto a Alexander Reith, depois de Janeiro de 1866, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 95

‘[José do Canto] Sugere a Ernesto do Canto que na próxima reunião da Direcção [ver qual ou mesmo se confunde com Assembleia-Geral] da Sociedade da Agricultura [SPAM] se estabeleça como futuras experiências neste campo, o estudo sobre a produção de chá.’

Carta de José do Canto a Ernesto do Canto, Ponta Delgada, [Entre Julho e Outubro de 1873?], cf. BPARPD, JC/CORR. Cx.14/1442 RES

[Plantes –a José do Canto (?)], Paris, 4 Juillet de 1867, cf. UACSD/FAM-ABS-JC/Documentação não tratada/Cx. 156, 17000

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