



## War Flour: An Essay on Eating in São Salvador da Bahia During the Battles of Dois de Julho

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### Abstract

This paper analyzes, from a documentary research, the influence of the state of war, which culminated in the Independence of Bahia on July 2<sup>nd</sup>, 1823, in the eating habits of nineteenth-century Bahians. For this, we resorted to the journey of travelers who passed through Bahia in the course of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, as well as research by historians and researchers who portray about food in this period. It could be observed that the battles directly influenced as they led directly in the supply and demand of food, making food and eating important fragments in this story, although it's not at the center of the discussion of several historians. In addition, manioc flour can be seen as the protagonist in this food historiography and that is why it appears here with its popular name: "war flour".

**Keywords:** Of Eating; July 2<sup>nd</sup>; Independence of Bahia; Travelers

"The city of Bahia seems to be in a desperate situation due to lack of provisions. Slaves die on the streets. Some houses, after being closed for a few days, were opened by police officials, who verified that the owners had fled and the slaves died. Two times a day the gates were opened to allow women and children to leave. Some Doris officers were curious to attend some of these occasions and saw five hundred people, loaded with furniture and clothing that the state of weakness and starvation allowed them to endure, leave the city" [1].

Food represents various roles in a society and the everyday events of a people's history can directly or indirectly modify the act of eating. We can see, for example, in Bertoldo's studies [2], that food is one of the systems that suffers the most influence in times of crisis and disasters. This can be better understood when we analyze the recent crisis in food caused by the Covid-19 pandemic: there was a rise in food prices due to the fall in the value of the local currency, as well as the lack of provisions in countries, generating repercussions on the supply and demand of foodstuffs and causing, on the one hand, increased hunger, especially in vulnerable

populations, and on the other (or to the same extent) aggravating the problem of overweight, as pointed out in the FAO and ECLAC reports<sup>1</sup> on the effects of Covid-19 on food systems. The fact is that the historical events of a society or the world impact on food and nutrition, because food and eating are the fruit of the interaction of several factors in a society, among which stand out the social, political, biological, cultural and economic structure [3].

Analyzing food over time, therefore, allows us to consider and glimpse how historical facts have impacted peoples' eating habits. Thinking about this, and due to the continuity of studies on commensality in Bahia during the nineteenth century [4], we observed the highlight that some nineteenth-century travelers gave to <sup>2</sup> food, as they narrate the influence of the state of war of the battles that culminated in the withdrawal of Portuguese troops from Bahia, on July 2, 1823, and how this modified the Bahian commensality during the course of the century.

Therefore, we listed in this essay the eating in São Salvador da Bahia during the battles of Dois de Julho, highlighting from the outset that our gaze is of food and eating researchers, using respect and admiration to historians who are dedicated to studying about Brazil's past to tell the events that preceded independence in Bahia and, through these secondary sources, to bridge with food historiography told in the reports of authors, travelers and chroniclers who are part of the primary sources of our research.

This food historiography was sewn from excerpts from the works "Diary of a trip to Brazil and a stay in that country during part of the years 1821, 1822 and 1823" by Maria Graham and "Via da Bahia: excerpts from the work *Reise in Brasilien*" by Von Spix and Von Martius, in addition to using "Historical and political memories of the province of Bahia" by Ignacio Accioli (a secondary source of great value), to obtain data related to food, dinner

and eating in the aforementioned period. Although conditioned by a foreign and distant look, these travelers present us with important reports of eating in a Bahia located in a past time, but that dialogues at all times with contemporaneity.

These authors present, in general, descriptions of the population's customs and eating habits, such as the persistence of genera such as sugarcane and cassava and their derivatives, the consumption of dried meat charqued and green, salted fish (including whale), various fruits (highlighted orange and coconut), vegetables and spices, the customs of dinner, as well as landscapes and trade routes and the economic impacts of the effervescence of the period. All these reports are essential sources of eating from a Bahia and, mainly, of a São Salvador located in the early nineteenth century and that are better deepened by Sousa Jr, Tavares Filho and Vasconcelos [4], in the documentary research on the eating of Bahians in the course of the nineteenth century.

#### 18<sup>th</sup>-century travelers and historiography of a war-war Bahia

It is necessary, in order to begin, to identify the authors chosen to write this writing and, thus, to understand how their approaches dialogue with historical events and their views on food and commensality. These authors passed through Brazil and Bahia in the mid-1980s, a period marked by several social events that impacted the political atmosphere of the State and thus modified the customs and habits of peoples. Although with distant glances from all the movement that prevailed (because they were foreigners in a "new", "different" land) and influenced by their own moral and political notions, these authors presented important sources of historical narratives.

Starting with Maria Dundas Graham Callcott, or simply Maria Graham, who was an English traveler, writer and painter who was in Brazil at the beginning of the 19<sup>th</sup> century passing through the states and provinces of Pernambuco, Bahia and Rio de Janeiro and who, upon returning to England, published a diary with her impressions of Brazil, entitled *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil and Residence there During Years 1821, 1822, 1823*. This document shows not only traces of a territory with all its landscapes, customs and peculiarities, but also aspects of subjectivity itself as narrator, as the author leaves exposed in the preface:

"The author has no pretensions to perfect impartiality, for this does not always mean virtue. But knowing that no human good can

<sup>1</sup>FAO - Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations; ECLAC - Economic Comyion for Latin America and the Caribbean

<sup>2</sup>Documentary research carried out from the reading of primary sources (books, travel diaries and other documents) produced through the accounts of chroniclers, travelers, botanists, naturalists and painters who passed through the City of San Salvador at the beginning of the century.

be achieved without a certain amount of evil, I hope I have always faced the issues on both sides, even though it has cost him a great deal of effort in composition" [1].

Under the lens of a bourgeois and foreign woman (and conditioned to this existence), Mary brings to the reader a detailed description that extends on various topics of the domestic sphere, such as clothes, hairstyles and customs at the table, of varied social events such as performances in the theater, religious parties, dinners and dances, etc., and the eating habits and customs of the population.

Although it portrays political issues of amplitude, such as the unfolding and observations of the country's independence process (especially the progress in the city of Salvador and nearby regions that were extremely essential for the writing of this essay), it is noted in the reading of her diaries, on certain occasions, her exclusion from some spaces and debates (for being a woman). Ahead of her time, Maria Graham, as a woman, while she brought and addressed themes considered 'feminine', which were labeled to bourgeois women, participated and integrated herself into the political and historical processes that involved the places she went through and, therefore, was chosen as the source of this writing.

Von Martius and Von Spix were sent to Brazil by the King of Prague, on the trip that became known as the Austrian expedition that, in addition to the political reasons for accompanying Princess Maria Leopoldina, future empress of Brazil, was intended to conduct scientific investigations, mapping the Brazilian fauna and flora. The travelers, both botanists, came to the city of Rio de Janeiro on July 14, 1817 and during the three consecutive years - 1817 to 1820 - traveled through the provinces of São Paulo, Minas, Goiás, Bahia, Pernambuco, Piauí, Maranhão and Amazonas.

The account of the trip was published in 1823 in Munich, and was divided into 3 volumes, entitled *Reise in Brasilien*, from the original in German, and became one of the most important documentary works for the history of the country, since travelers laid the foundations for the division of Brazilian biomes, in addition to cataloging almost half of all Brazilian plant species to date.

In Bahia, travelers passed through cities of the seclude, the sertão, the extreme south of the state and the capital, and unlike other authors who had a vision of cultural superiority, Von Martius and Von Spix presented more mild and sometimes liberal judgments, as Teodoro Sampaio said in introducing the book:

"He had so ate the feeling of the just and the honest that, in his writings, everything breathes sympathy, everything is studied and exposed with that sincere respect, that measure of pondering, which never degenerates into a censorship or complaint or allows itself to be exceeded in derogatory concepts before the despecular aspect of things. Its science, deep in a well-balanced spirit and always open to sympathy, makes it extremely pleasant to read their travel relations. Von Martius is an elegant writer, and because he is intimately commendable from the scenes of nature, he describes them with stretch marks that he sometimes snatches" [5].

Ignacio Accioli de Cerqueira e Silva was born in Coimbra, Portugal, and moved to Brazil as a child when his father Miguel Joaquim de Cerqueira e Silva was appointed an outside judge on Marajó Island - Pará. He studied a period in Bahia, dedicating himself to the area of humanities and served in the 5<sup>th</sup>. Infantry Battalion of the National Guard, in Bahia, acting in the pacification of Sabinada from 1837 to 1838. He was appointed lieutenant colonel of this Battalion in August 1838 and then Knight of the Imperial Order of the Cruise and of the Order of Christ, commander of the Imperial Order of the Rose.

A member of several scientific institutions, he wrote several works on Brazil, including Historical and Political Memoirs of the Province of Bahia, divided into five volumes, from 1835 to 1845. However, the third volume of the series provides very important information about some episodes that directly or indirectly affected the events in Bahian Independence, giving us a real sense of how the battles influenced and modified the local economy and foreign relations, which directly impacted those of the Soteropoliths.

In addition to the authors presented, we use secondary sources to trace a guiding thread in the history of Brazil, in order to situate the reader in the historical time we are analyzing. In this sense, it is necessary to contextualize this historical milestone, in order to finally discuss food in this process. All these sources dialogue with the independence of Bahia during the 1822-3, and discuss the changes that the state of war instituted in the capital and in the cities of Bahia at that time.

### **"The sun rises on July 2<sup>nd</sup>": The Independence of Bahia in popular memory**

The Independence of Brazil in Bahia, also known as The Independence of Bahia is an important milestone for all Brazilian history, being told by countless historians and introjected in history

classes from an early age - we remember here the ancient expression "Independence or death" that resonates in the memory of every Brazilian. Considering or not the myths involved in the telling of this story, it is known that this event was marked by numerous battles, which culminated in violence and shed a lot of blood and certainly modified the political, social and economic structure of the battle stages for this event and also those of eating in the regions involved.

In addition to the documented history, the victory of Dois de Julho, is one of the numerous emblematic festivals that take place throughout the year in Bahia and therefore carries in itself numerous symbolic and emotional personal stories. In this sense, Wlamyra Ribeiro de Albuquerque, PhD in Social History of Culture, in her work "O CIVISMO FESTIVO NA BAHIA: Comemorações Públicas do Dois de Julho" (1997) states that this date represents the celebration of the multiple ideas of belonging and freedom, translated in the different discourses, from the different social classes, mixed with Bahian patriotism, as well as playing a role as a thermometer of political and social tensions.

"It was the moment when Bahians took to the streets to celebrate Independence in various ways. It was the opportunity to attend the game stalls, fireworks, drinks and food mounted in various parts of the city, have fun in the armed parks in the squares Terreiro de Jesus and Campo Grande, parade in cars and planks (a kind of float), sambar very close to the caboclos or watch everything from the windows, throwing flowers on the procession. There were also conferences at the Historical Geographic Institute of Bahia - IGHBa and the speeches given by students of the Normal School or the Faculty of Medicine, in addition to public or reserved dances scheduled for the evening" [6].

What is certain is that, although superficially, The July Two is intertwined in the culture and memory of the Bahian citizen, so follow the story told by the authors' reports, travelers of the eight hundred who lived and followed the events in real time, even if loaded in the ink of their personal, cultural representations, their worldviews and their personal conditions, brings a deep connection to us, who wrote this essay, in an atypical year marked by the absence of the "procession of the 2<sup>nd</sup> of July" for the first time in history (in 197 years), due to the pandemic of Covid-19.

From an early age, the children of our generation were encouraged to participate in the festivities: from school walks to the popu-

lar parade to stories told by older people, Dois de Julho always had a space reserved in our memory and in our hearts; no for nothing, for many years, Salvador International airport was called "Dois de Julho", reinforcing the importance of this date. We remember, when writing this text, the spirit of bahians when accompanying the symbolic fire, which leaves the city of Cachoeira (which, during this period, during once a year, 'becomes' the capital of Bahia) and crosses many municipalities in the Metropolitan Region; of the allegories of Caboclo and Cabocla, main attractions of the celebrations, which cause countless feelings in the population, from fear (still perpetuated by the demonization of the historical representations of black and Indian by European culture), devotion (after all, there is no shortage of believers who "weep at the feet of caboclos") and even patriotism (by transfiguring to those figures, the heroic vision of a people who fought against the ills and injustices of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Brazil), who leave the Pavilion in Largo da Lapinha and walk through several streets until reaching campo grande square, called Praça Dois de Julho; of the fanfares, the parades, the meetings of the philharmonics and the people, who under the sun or rain, make a point of every year reminiscing about historical idols, such as Maria Quitéria, Joana Angélica, João de Botas, General Labatut, corneteiro Lopes, among others.

It is these and other feelings that, intertwined in the historical, cultural and political representation of this event, are configured as attractions for us to elect Dois de Julho and its historiography as a scenario to analyze the 18<sup>th</sup> century diet.

### **"Despotism will never govern our nation again": A chapter in Brazil's history in Bahia**

Recapping<sup>3</sup> history, The Independence of Brazil to the Portuguese metropolis began with the coming of the royal family in 1808 and with the political, social and economic transformations, which

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<sup>3</sup>Here we have the support of the Booklet "July 2: Bahia in National Independence", of the Government of Bahia (s.d), from the book History of Bahia, from Himz Henrique Dias Tavares (2001), of articles of the digital magazine "Bahia with history" (2015) and the master's thesis "The people and war: popular participation in the struggles for independence in Bahia (1822-23)" by Sérgio Armando Diniz Guerra Filho (2004) to count this event.

resulted in the opening of Brazilian ports to friendly nations and the elevation of Brazil to the category of United Kingdom in 1815. In 1820, Tavares [7] and Guerra Filho (2004), the Liberal Constitutionalist Revolution in the city of Porto, Portugal, headed by the mercantile body that had been accumulating losses since the departure of the Royal Family, demanded the return of the imperial court to Europe and the implementation of a Constitutional Monarchical regime.

As a result, at Fort São Pedro in Salvador in February 1821, a conspiracy broke out in support of the Porto Revolution, spurred by local merchants who were mostly Portuguese. In a statement, a Provisional Government Board was established, which declared itself subordinate to the Court, in favor of Portuguese predilections (Guerra Filho, 2004), and in the months that followed, new deputies elected in the Brazilian provinces were sent to the Cortes, who understood the conservative feature of the Porto Revolution, and, among other measures, intended to recolonize Brazil (Government of Bahia, s.d, p. 4). Faced with the in satism of brazilians in the face of the recolonizing project underway in the Metropolis, conflicts began between the supporters of the cause of Brazil and the defenders of the Portuguese cause.

Bahian military and civilian officers began to challenge the Portuguese-dominated Provisional Junta of Bahia. These manifestations of dissatisfaction demanded the end of the Provisional Board and greater autonomy of the Salvador an association. On February 15, 1822, a Royal Charter arrived in the city of Salvador, naming Brigadier Portuguese Inácio Luís Madeira de Melo as Governor of arms, replacing The Brazilian Manuel Pedro de Freitas Guimarães. The military commanders refused to accept the authority of Madeira de Melo [...]. After the appointment of Madeira de Melo to the Weapons Command, there were new clashes within the troops, involving Portuguese and Brazilians. These incidents culminated in the seizure of the Fort of St. Peter by the Lusitanians and the death of the Abbess Soror of the Convent of Lapa, Joana Angélica, who heroically tried to prevent the entry of Portuguese soldiers into the female cloister of the Convent of Lapa (Governo Da Bahia, s.d. p. 4-5).

After these events, dozens of Brazilian families and soldiers left Salvador in a stampede to the Recôncavo, where resistance to the Portuguese occupation began to gain strength - succeeding numer-

ous battles on the soils of the interiors. Several localities in Bahia gathered troops of volunteers and, recognizing the authority of D. Pedro before the government of Brazil, collaborated with supplies and ammunition to make up the Brazilian Army, responsible for organizing the resistance on Bahian soil (Governo Da Bahia, s.d.).

In the months that followed, there were many battles, with General Labatut at the head of the Peacekeeping Army, highlighting the events in Pirajá, Itaparica Island, Funil Canal, Cachoeira and the sea of The Bay of All Saints. The Booklet "July 2, Bahia na Independência Nacional" says that these battles had characteristics of civil war, reaching their peak in the months of May and June 1823, when the Brazilian troops, commanded by Colonel Joaquim José de Lima e Silva, after the deposition of Labatut, surrounded Salvador, while the squadron commanded by Lord Cochrane positioned themselves in front of the Bay of All Saints. Weakened, unsupported and unable to resist the force of the Peacekeeping Army, the Lusitanian Constitutional Legion, commanded by General Madeira de Melo, had no choice but to withdraw from Bahia during the early hours of July 2, 1823. With rejoicing and celebration, on this day the Peacekeeping Army paraded triumphantly to celebrate the victory of bahians against conservatism and oppression.

#### War Flour: Food and dinner in the battles of The 2<sup>nd</sup> of July

Told, in general terms, the story of the battles that culminated in the Independence of Brazil in Bahia through The Two of July, we now began to discuss the context in which food, eating and eating habits were impacted by the entire social and political atmosphere of these events. For this, it is necessary to divide this period into two moments.

The first moment is linked to the battles in the recôncavo region, mainly in the village of Cachoeira. Silva [8], reports that the Recôncavo had dominance in the production of food consumed in Salvador. Although there were domestic plantation crops in the capital of the province of Bahia, as stated by the author and also reported by Graham and Von Spix and Von Martius, this production could not supply the food necessary for their subsistence, which depended on other sources of supply, especially regular trade with the Recôncavo.

General Madeira, when he was sworn in by the King of Portugal and appointed Governor of Bahia and commander of the armed forces, began to multiply the number of Portuguese troops in the



capital, receiving constant reinforcements and supplies from Lisbon. With this began to carry out several 'assortments' in the lands around that region, being its main attack on the Village of Cachoeira, in order to reduce the contingent of "armed people". In addition to its objectives, it also managed to resolve the production of the foodstuffs that supported the capital (and thus, to disfeed soldiers and civilians of the resistance), especially by directly attacking the producers and men of the field, who were in charge of the organized civil guard.

Silva [8] points out that during the years 1822 and 1823, most of the slaves and workers of the countryside were forced to leave their posts to make up the armed military corps, reducing the labor force and, consequently, the production that supplied the city. In a way, given the civil character of the revolution, it was normal for ordinary people to be at the head of these joints (what Professor Luis Henrique Tavares called 'the true caboclos and caboclas of the revolution'). Apparently, as Silva [8] points out, there was nothing strange or absurd about strengthening local policing at a time of fierce struggles for Brazilian political emancipation. However, the daily reduction in the number of workers employed in the direct cultivation of the crop, caused, consequently, the relentless lack of food and impacted on the feeding of the different social groups, both in the Recôncavo and in the Capital.

Thus, with the production of food increasing and with the constant attacks of the Portuguese troops on the village of Cachoeira, the supply of the city of São Salvador decreased substantially, intensifying the lack of delicacies, by controlling, in addition to the Village of Cachoeira, other important food producing areas of the Recôncavo, such as the villages of Santo Amaro and Saubara and the Island of Itaparica, demanding other ways to supply the capital and feed the armies of resistance.

In parallel to these clashes there were frequent invasions and thefts of food on farms. Accioli describes one of these episodes in which the Madeira army furtara from one of the gardens a reasonable amount of cassava flour, which together with green meat, slaughtering or also called fresh meat, made up more than 50% of the fighters' diet [9]. In addition, clashes were common where the goal was to defuel the enemy army, with an intention to destabilize the opponent with the scourge of hunger. Accioli narrated that, on one occasion, general Machado's troops, due to direct confrontation with the peacekeeping army, abandoned "more than 20 head

of cattle, 7 rooms of fresh meat, barrels of wafer and flour, as well as shotguns, gunpowder, and many other objects that were at the mercy of the people and the Brazilian garrison" [9].

These foods were part of the common diet of Bahians in the 18<sup>th</sup> century Province, regardless of socioeconomic class, race or social prestige, as pointed out by Sousa Júnior, Tavares Filho and Vasconcelos (2020) and Silva (2015), especially cassava flour. Due to the high demand (reported by Von Spix and Von Martius, p. 136), and the fragile supply of thefts and arson in cassava swiddens, the flour rose the price exorbitantly in some periods, in fairs and markets in the region, as Sousa Júnior et al also observed (2020).

This genus had (and still has) great influence on Bahian food, especially for its nutritional potential, remembered by many by the folkloric name that cassava flour receives on bahian tables: war flour (which gives name to this essay), correlating its importance and its protagonism for the support of soldiers who fought in wars. This is a fact confirmed by Accioli, when the author Portuguese signals that the troop of the Peacekeeping Army regularly consumed, every day, "253 alquellers, 2 fourths and 3 tenths of flour, and 60 heads of vacum cattle, calculated the average term of 8 arrobas each" [9]; and by presenting a detailed table in a kind of statement<sup>4</sup>, referring to the five posts of the Battalions of the Bahian army scattered throughout the province (Pirajá, Itapoan, Engenho Novo, São Thomé and Boca do Rio), relating the amount of food, soldiers and employees - 10,148 (ten thousand and forty-eight) in total - who consumed these foods in their respective battalions, highlighting the flour.

Considering all these circumstances, the provision of these specific genera began to become scarce, since the priority of the Provincial government was to feed the military and the struggles fought on Bahian soil contributed to hinder the access of the population to these and other foods. As fighting increased in the interior territories, the owners of ingenuity and the owners of the cottages abandoned their residences and fled to the capital of Bahia, benefiting the soldiers who occupied their lands and their creations.

<sup>4</sup>Organized by the General Commissioner and dated April 8, 1823, p. 59

Those who could not escape, due to lack of financial resources or lack of political protection, died languishing with malnutrition and hunger (as Graham reports, p.227) or by the weapons of the Lusitanian army in the sieges of the city of San Salvador.

The second moment is associated with the exodus of the population from the camp and the period of siege to the bahian city. With the eminence of wars and the arrival of the population fleeing the camps, the city of Salvador went through a period of overcrowding, causing the demands for food to increase immensely beyond what they already had. With regard to supply, or rather, the lack of it, Graham and Von Spix and Martius, report the monopoly of a large farm, which had exclusivity in the supply of meat to the capital but sometimes left it poorly supplied, intensified in the clashes for independence. This allowed the choice of the prices of arrobas, which were always higher than the conventional one.

Meanwhile, the battles were increasingly close to the provincial capital and the provisions that came from the recôncavo and other regions of Brazil, both by land and by sea, were retained and were used by both Portuguese troops and Brazilian troops. Thus, the groceries became increasingly scarce to the population and those that, perhaps, were found in the markets and fairs of the city became exorbitantly expensive. In a scenario of unemployment and lack of resources generated by the battles, the situation was increasingly dramatic.

With the onset of the civil war, many workers were removed from their ordinary occupations, while others had to face a reality in which their wages could not keep up with rising prices. Generally speaking, we can summarize the picture of the period as follows: while food was scarce and becoming increasingly expensive, wage salaries were increasingly lagged every day. Low incomes and the general rise in prices can explain, at least in part, the malaise experienced by the inhabitants of the capital [8].

Moreover, taxes went up arbitrarily being levied from everyone, native sums and foreigners, rich and poor, the same percentage of people. To make matters worse, Silva (2015) reports that there were, among the merchants, those who counterfeited coins, which increased friction in the purchase and sale of products, especially food.

In this scenario, according to Graham, because of the shortage the slaves died in the streets due to the inanição, the houses were

abandoned, the foreign merchants relocated their families and some times a day, the gates of the city were opened allowing the exit of women and children. The author also recounts one of these occasions that was witnessed by her fellow travelers: "Some Doris officers were curious to attend some of these occasions and saw five hundred people, loaded with furniture and clothing that the state of weakness and inanity allowed them to endure, leave the city" (Graham, p. 278).

The tension and frictions of the battles intensified as the siege closed over the capital and the living conditions of the population became increasingly difficult. At that time, Silva (2015) reports that the writers of the newspaper *Age d'Ouro do Brazil* called the attention of the rulers to the "possibility that hunger would become an ally of the Liberating Army". Just as Josué de Castro discusses in "Geography of Hunger", Silva (2015) tells us that, according to the newspaper's writers, "the civil and military government, based in Salvador, should look very seriously at this object, because hunger produces dangerous as cents and the people always attribute to the government the lack of bread (Silva, 2015 apud *Age d'Ouro do Brazil*, n. 94 of 1822). This was in line with the discourse that to win the war it was not only necessary to feed the army, but "it was imperative that the population be fed, because the control of the city by the Portuguese necessarily permeated the contemplation of this requirement" (Silva, 2015).

In an attempt to solve some problems in the supply of food, the governor and general Madeira de Melo ordered barley and wheat from a neutral ship docked, in an attempt to supply internally and "raised native forced loans from the classes, both native sands and foreigners" (Graham, 1956, p. 298). In this same sense, Graham reports on the existence of an attempt to plant potatoes and onions, even though these were not widely consumed and easily offered, emphasizing the lack of prudence in not promoting the cultivation of cassava in the case of another state of siege, since flour was a cheaper and widely consumed product.

In a point, the authors point out the weaknesses in food supply and demand, influenced by the state of war and the numerous political and commercial interventions of the time. These vulnerabilities favored the scourge of the population, which suffered, in addition to the violence of wars, with the issues of hunger, especially the poorest.

### Final considerations

This work, which sought to trace a food historiography of 18<sup>th</sup>-century Bahia, from works and reports of travelers and chroniclers who passed through Brazil during the nineteenth century, it notes the influence of the battles, which resulted in bahian independence and, consequently, Brazil, in the processes related to food, commensality and eating of the population of Salvador, interacting with the social, geographical and economic aspects that permeated bahian life eighteenth century throughout the independence process.

One of the greatest impacts observed concerns the provision of food supply, because the capital of the province is not, to that is *poca*, a large producer of food and depends on the domain of the production of food and the breeding of animals of the cities of the *Recôncavo bahiano*. In addition, the relocation of slave labor and free labor to an "armed population", to defend the lands of the Bahian *Recôncavo* from the Portuguese attacks, was an impediment for the production of food, impacting on the supply of goods to the Capital and to the areas dependent on these productions.

The need to feed the armies has also changed the supply of food to the general population, especially because of the high amount of food needed for this purpose. In addition, cargo thefts and counterfeiting of coins, at fairs and markets in the capital and nearby regions, in addition to the economic impacts of the war on employability and government donations, made the supply of food scarce, causing high demand and increased food.

In this scenario, food becomes a great influence both for the war and for the end of it, since popular dissatisfaction maximized by hunger was predictive for the strengthening of the need for independence. In this sense, food has become a kind of fuse in the independence process, especially because it is necessary for subsistence. In view of this, cassava flour, an essential genus for 18<sup>th</sup> century Bahian food, stands out for its nutritional and gastronomic potential, being ordered even and exclusively to feed the armies. It is in this sense that this genre appears here as the protagonist, the "Flour of war", present in the culture and memory of every Bahian [10-14].

### Conclusion

We conclude by showing then that food proved to be an important fragment in the history of Independence, although it is not

documented and mentioned by many historians when narrating this essential event for Brazil. This puts this work as necessary to enable a Brazilian and Bahian food historiography, and to take stock of how food interacts with historical facts and impacts on the food culture of peoples. Giving this emphasis, perhaps, will help other studies to deal with the impacts of historical phenomena on food.

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