SLAVE RESISTANCE IN THE PROVINCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO
DURING THE BRAZILIAN EMPIRE, 1822-1888

A Thesis
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CHAPTER I

SLAVE RESISTANCE IN BRAZIL

There are two principal schools in the study of Brazilian slavery. The traditional view is that Brazil was a patriarchal society where slaves were brought into the family unit and were treated as an integral part of that system. Brazilian slavery--it would be argued--was therefore mild and benign.

This view is espoused most notably by Gilberto Freyre, who did much of his writing in the 1930's and 1940's. His sources were primarily travelers' accounts, and his picture of slavery is very optimistic. He shows slaves as loyal, contented components of the plantation world, who were fed, clothed, and catechized by their masters. Any harsh treatment they might receive would be no different from that meted out to the women and children of the family.

More recent students of Brazilian history emphasize that in the nineteenth century capitalism was on the rise in Brazil as it was in Europe. The quest for profit and subsequent wealth was so intense that masters cruelly exploited their slaves. Plantation work extended from early morning into the night, and field hands were not expected to have a long lifespan. Masters were interested solely in making good their investment by getting enough service from their slaves to compensate for the purchase price while making some profit. Such a system had fear as
its natural base. Slaves submitted to their masters, not from a sense of duty, nor from a sense of belonging to the patriarchal unit, but from fear of physical reprisal.

R. K. Kent affirms that "of all the expressions of protest in Brazil, slave revolts were undoubtedly the most common from the second half of the sixteenth century until well into the 1800's. They were most common simply because slavery, by its very nature, invites revolt irrespective of treatment or area."¹ Joaquim Nabuco, in his 1883 treatise in favor of abolition, stated that:

While slavery exists, it has within itself all possible barbarities. It can only be administered in a relatively mild way when the slaves blindly obey and subject themselves completely; the slightest reflection on their part, however,akens with total ferocity the hidden monster. This is because slavery can only exist by instilling absolute terror within the soul of man.²

Another writer, F. L. César, earlier in the century, attacked the slave traffic, and claimed that "when a government establishes or sanctions slavery, by this simple act it declares that the desires of the masters are the only laws of the slaves, and as a consequence, these must resign themselves to those desires."³

Under such circumstances, a feeling of friendship and goodwill between masters and slaves was almost impossible. There were some cases of good relations between the dominant and dominated classes, but these were the exceptions, and were often opposed by those who acted in the more widely accepted, repressive, way.⁴

By the nineteenth century, protocol for treatment of servants and slaves was well established. New generations invariably continued
the practices of their fathers and grandfathers. Children of both the slave and the free grew up together in this system. From a very young age the master's children were accustomed to see in the slave a creature who should submit to their whims, while slave children were brought up to be completely dominated, almost without a natural will, and this submission was reinforced through different forms of punishment.  

Slave resistance, when it occurred, was often unorganized and ineffectively carried out. The very patriarchal system which made plantations both working site and home dulled the slaves' consciousness of possibilities of escape. When slaves rebelled, punishment was swift and certain, usually performed in public, at the pelourinho, a wood or concrete post in a centralized point of a town or plantation, so that others would witness it and be intimidated, lest they follow the example of the rebels. The relationship between captivity and punishment was such a close one that the pelourinho became one of the symbols of Brazilian slavery.

Although resistance was rapidly quelled, and punishment emphatically administered, slaves consistently rebelled. Perdigão Malheiros, in his work on slavery in Brazil published in 1867, stated that "man, even when his dignity is abased by despotic fellow creatures, will always shake his yoke. The free man promotes revolutions, transforms society, modifies the social structure. The slave revolts against the masters."  

Slave uprisings were not publicized until the decade of the
1880's, but this does not mean they did not occur until then. There had always been resistance on the part of the slave population, yet before the abolitionists intervened slave capacity for organization was infinitely smaller and the disturbances which did occur were kept from getting much attention. The situation, however, had changed by 1885, for abolitionists promoted and publicized the protest, leading and advising the slave rebels.9

Artur Ramos was one of the few writers of the early part of the twentieth century to recognize the importance of the slave in the fight for abolition. He claimed that the slave in Brazil "was the principal craftsman of his own emancipation. . . . At first it was through violent reaction, by running away and forming quilombos \[autonomous slave communities\]. Later, it was through the organization of a studied emancipation plan. And he resorted to his own labor, slowly accumulating the necessary sum to purchase his freedom."10

Slave resistance took on a variety of forms. Quilombos were common throughout the colonial period. The most famous was the seventeenth-century quilombo of Palmares, often called a "Negro Republic." This community, made up primarily of Bantu-speaking Africans from Angola, lasted from 1603 to 1697, in the interior of Alagoas, in spite of numerous Dutch and Portuguese military campaigns against it.11

Quilombos were probably the oldest expression of slave dissatisfaction. In the sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, there were already reports of these communities (also called mocambos in Bahia).
One report in 1692 stated that "'no settler will have his slave secure' so long as mocambos persisted." And it is true that they posed a threat to an economy which was even then based on slave labor.12

Roger Bastide argues that "quilombos were the work of pure Africans who had not yet had the time to forget the realities of their own countries, more than of Creole Negroes."13 Many of the earlier quilombos were indeed organized and led by Africans. However, the idea of clandestine slave communities persisted, and abolitionists encouraged new quilombos in the decade of the 1880's, this time under the authority of the abolitionists themselves or of Brazilian-born slaves.

Throughout the nineteenth century quilombos sprang up in the province of Rio de Janeiro. Bastide's thesis that quilombos were the work of Africans finds support here, for Rio had an unusually high percentage of native African slaves. Thomas Merrick and Douglas Graham state that "African slaves comprised a much larger absolute and proportional contribution to the slave population in the province of Rio de Janeiro while crioulo or native-born slaves were more important in São Paulo. Data from the 1872 census show that 40 per cent of the total number of African slaves in Brazil at the time were located in the province of Rio de Janeiro. They accounted for close to 20 per cent of the province's total slave population. The comparable percentages in São Paulo were only 9 and 8 per cent, respectively."14

Quilombos were most often situated in the hills, in areas where they could be easily concealed, and where they would not be subject to
surprise attacks. The coffee-producing parts of the province of Rio de Janeiro were well-suited to the purposes of these communities, and there are records of several around the municipality of Vassouras.\textsuperscript{15} The largest of these in the vicinity of the Paraíba river was the one under the leadership of Manoel Congo, who was probably a native African, for often the surname given slaves referred to their country of origin. The members of this quilombo were responsible for serious raids in the surrounding area, and for a fire which completely destroyed a large fazenda. At its apogee there were approximately 400 slaves in this community, but it was finally disbanded in 1838 by a group of soldiers from the capital, under the command of the future duke of Caxias. An interesting aspect of the story of Manoel Congo's quilombo is that there were rumors of influential citizens organizing the raids and instigating the runaway slaves, an accusation unusual at this time, but which would become very common when abolitionist activity rose several years later.\textsuperscript{16}

Another famous quilombo was formed in the hills just outside the sugar-producing town of Macaé in the province of Rio de Janeiro. Its leader was a slave from Moçambique called Carukango. For several years he and his fellow quilombolas (about 200 of them) raided the nearby fazendas, plundering, and sometimes killing the fazendeiros and older slaves.\textsuperscript{17}

Discontent also surfaced in native Africans in the form of banzo, a type of slow suicide. The longing for their old home and a
consuming desire to return to their land caused many slaves literally to pine away.\textsuperscript{18} This strange, highly psychological phenomenon appealed to the abolitionist poets, and shows up in several of their works.

Outright suicides also occurred. In slave ships and in slave quarters some would seek to end their lives through asphyxiation--by swallowing their tongues to block the opening of the larynx. Runaway slaves were often found hanging from trees in the woods, preferring to end their lives rather than return to their masters at the hands of the capítães do mato\textsuperscript{19} (men who made a living by capturing and returning runaway slaves).

Flight from the plantations was a more frequent form of resistance than suicide. Brazilian planters were plagued by this loss of labor. Newspapers of the nineteenth century are full of advertisements offering rewards for the return of runaway slaves. Flight was one of the few weapons a slave had to combat the system which had made him a captive, and it also offered some hope that he could be rid of the heavy work and ready punishments so intimately connected with slave life on the plantations.\textsuperscript{20} The coffee plantations of the province of Rio de Janeiro were very isolated from each other, and there were terrible rumors as to what awaited slaves upon arrival. An unusually high number of slaves being transported to fazendas in the Paraíba valley would try to run away, for to them that area "was a butcher-shop of human meat"\textsuperscript{21} and they were the merchandise.

The comparatively large free black population in Brazil
increased the success of flight from plantations. Color alone was not sufficient to ascertain that one was a slave. Besides, free relatives and friends of the family were usually willing to help hide runaway slaves.

In their frustration with the institution of slavery and with those responsible for its propagation, slaves also turned to violent crimes. Many of these were unplanned, spur of the moment actions, but some were highly organized and involved detailed plots. These violent crimes were the number-one source of fear among slaveowners. In the 1880's, just before abolition, as these crimes increased, the fear engendered was a strong impetus in persuading the Rio de Janeiro planters to consent to relinquishing their slave property.

Individual crimes were more frequent than insurrections, but concerted slave action also took place. An insurrection is defined as "twenty or more slaves united to gain freedom by means of force." Suely Robles Reis de Queiroz, in her study of slavery in São Paulo, states that "it is difficult to judge the scope of unrest because the fear generated by the black masses made the dominant group refuse to publicize such a delicate matter which caused such grave repercussions." Caio Prado Jr. agrees that "it is no surprise, therefore, that the lightest public references to slavery aroused a well-justified alarm. Even when the matter began to be discussed in social circles, and the question was on the verge of resolution, the debates and deliberations were always surrounded by a rigorous secrecy."
Rebellious slaves were harshly punished. Leaders of insurrections could be sentenced to death or galés. The maximum penalty for unsuccessful attempts at insurrection was galés. This criminal sentence meant lifetime labor for the state. Many planters and police authorities accused this sentence of promoting crime, for working conditions in galés service were usually better than those on the plantations, even though slaves were made to wear chains when working for the state. Punishment, it seemed, actually improved the condition of the slave.26 Most planters were not happy with the prospect of losing their slave property to the state. It was not uncommon for punishment to be dealt privately, inside the plantation, without interference from local law enforcers.

Those who tried to insure what small rights slaves had were usually thwarted. In one case a police officer was demoted for investigating slave complaints. Lana Lage da Gama Lima, who relates the story, comments: "This kind of reprisal was common against those who dared legally to defend the rights of the slaves, for the masters controlled such a web of influence that it quickly annulled the process and would remove from his position anyone who interfered in the case."27

One further aspect of slave resistance, the purchasing of their own freedom, is worthy of note. It differed from the ones mentioned above in that it did not involve physical damage to the slave or to the master. In this sense it was the only constructive effort on the
part of the black community in its quest for emancipation. Some parts of the country were more propitious for slave cash earnings than were others. Merrick and Graham state:

Schwartz has correctly emphasized that before self-purchase could have become an avenue to freedom, a market economy must have existed, with sufficient opportunities to allow slaves the possibility of earning wages to buy their freedom. Though there has been little research on this point, Karasch's work in Rio de Janeiro [The court, not the province] strongly suggests that such opportunities did exist at least in the urban environment of Rio de Janeiro. 28

Artur Ramos relates the importance of slave organizations in the purchase of freedom. In eighteenth-century Minas Gerais a slave called Chico Rei began the imandade (brotherhood) of Santa Ifigênia, which gathered enough funds to build the church of Rosário in Ouro Preto. Ramos calls Chico Rei the first "negro abolitionist leader of Brazil." But others followed him in the "conscious and deliberate struggle toward emancipation." 29

These slave brotherhoods, instituted for religious purposes, organized a "freedom fund" in several Brazilian provinces. Slaves would pool their limited cash resources in order to purchase the freedom of a few of their group. The emancipation fund organized during the abolitionist campaign was probably inspired by these slave organizations. 30

All the different types of slave resistance were practiced in the province of Rio de Janeiro during the nineteenth century. This period was a time of change for the nation, a change which included slavery. Slaves were aware of the shifts in their status. In the province
of Rio news traveled quickly from the court to the outlying towns. The Campos newspapers, for instance, usually printed news from the capital within one week, but when developments were very important they could be transmitted to Campos within twenty-four hours. House slaves heard the news being discussed by family members, then spread the word to field hands. The Roman Catholic parish churches were sometimes given the responsibility of transmitting important emancipationist legislation to the slaves. Eric Williams, in his work Capitalism and Slavery, states the following about slaves in the West Indies, which also applies to those in Rio de Janeiro:

Far less stupid than his master thought and future historians pictured him, the slave paid attention to his surroundings, and was acutely interested in the discussions about his destiny. 31

A study of slave resistance in Brazil is especially important for the nineteenth century. There are numerous explanations and theories as to why abolition finally came about in 1888. Of course, the May 13 legislation was the culmination of various ideals. But the role of the slave was very important in emancipation. His weapon was rebellion. Sugar cane and coffee planters in the province of Rio had definite reasons to fear their slaves in the years directly preceding abolition. This fear, instilled by the slaves themselves, became a weapon which abolitionists used to accomplish their purposes. The theory of passive, submissive slaves, does not bear up under scrutiny of plantation life in the province of Rio de Janeiro during the Empire.
CHAPTER II
THE PROVINCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO

By the end of Brazil's colonial period, political and economic ascendency had shifted from the northeastern provinces to those in the southeast. Indeed this southward trend had been increasingly apparent since the 1763 transfer of the colonial capital from Salvador, Bahia, to Rio de Janeiro. At that time southern wealth emanated from the gold and precious stone mines of Minas Gerais. But as the eighteenth century progressed the gold boom faded and was replaced by the cultivation of sugar cane and, later on, by that of coffee.

The arrival of the Portuguese court and imperial family in 1808--fleeing the invading armies of Napoleon in Europe--added to the importance of the capital city. Throughout its thirteen-year stay, the royal family promoted many educational, cultural, and financial improvements in Rio de Janeiro. Brazil was officially raised to the status of joint-kingdom with Portugal in 1815, furthering the international importance of its capital city and principal harbor. Trade with all friendly nations was permitted shortly after the Portuguese royalty arrived, which contributed a more cosmopolitan flavor to the capital with French and English influence predominating. Then, when independence from Portugal was proclaimed in 1822, Rio de Janeiro became the capital of the new Brazilian Empire.
At this time the province of Rio de Janeiro, which surrounded the neutral municipality comprising the capital city, became the most important province in the economic and social life of the Empire. The province was dedicated almost exclusively to agriculture during the nineteenth century. In the northern part, at the mouth of the Paraíba river, and along the flat coastal plain, sugar cane predominated, while in the hills cut by the Paraíba river coffee introduced prosperity.

Rio de Janeiro first became agriculturally important in the 1790's. This period immediately following the French Revolution was characterized by serious reverses for the Caribbean sugar cane planters, longtime holders of most of the world sugar markets. Toussaint L'Ouverture led a slave uprising in Haiti in 1792, inspired by some of the ideals of the French revolutionaries, and was able to install a new government in that colony. While the French possessions in the New World were feeling the shock waves from Europe, Brazilians began once again to cultivate sugar cane in a determined way. This time southern planters decided to try the crop, too. So the northern part of the province of Rio de Janeiro, centered in the town of Campos, became the leading area for sugar production in Brazil.¹

Yet sugar cane did not long remain the most important crop of the province. In the second quarter of the nineteenth century a new crop, coffee, was planted in the hilly regions of the central part of the province. As its popularity spread and cultivation increased, coffee profits brought about a new class of wealthy fazendeiros, and
ultimately spurred industrialization in Brazil.

After the mid-nineteenth century coffee crops charted the economic course of the Empire. But the unquestioned importance of coffee must not obscure the contribution of sugar cane to the financial prosperity of Rio de Janeiro. Coffee production first soared impressively, then plummeted as planters moved farther south into more temperate regions. Yet the planting of sugar cane continued, and it is still an important agricultural product of the northern region of Rio.

The report of the President of the Province of Rio de Janeiro for the year 1852 illustrates the economic strength of the sugar-producing municipalities at mid-century. In listing the revenues of each municipality, we see that a predominantly coffee-producing area, Vassouras, comes in sixth place, while sugar-producing Campos heads the list:\(^2\)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Revenues of the Province by Municipalities Where Collection was Made</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>Campos</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Piraí</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Niterói</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Iguaçu</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Magé</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Vassouras</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Cabo Frio</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>
Coffee, however, undoubtedly became the strong point of the provincial economy. Richard Graham states that during the years between 1825 and 1875, "coffee not only dynamized the economy of the province, it also characterized the entire social structure, from the 'coffee baron' to the slave."\(^3\)

In his report of 1853, the Vice President of the province stated that although sugar had been the area's number one product, coffee now surpassed it in importance, even though most planters in the coastal area continued to cultivate sugar cane.\(^4\)

Brasil Gerson, in a study of gold and coffee in Brazil, claims that the coffee plantations of the region around Rezende and Pati do Alferes transformed Rio de Janeiro into the richest province of imperial Brazil, surpassing in economic power the northeastern province of Pernambuco at the zenith of its sugar production.\(^5\)

Both sugar cane and coffee planters relied primarily on slave labor. The economic life of the province was intricately connected with slavery. It is therefore not surprising that the comparatively small province of Rio de Janeiro had the second largest slave population of the Empire at the time of the 1872 census--following the much larger, and at this time also primarily agricultural, province of Minas Gerais.

In 1864, from an estimated national figure of 1,715,000 slaves, 300,000 (about 18 per cent) were in the province of Rio de Janeiro. By 1874, even after legislation had been passed to reduce the number of captives, there were 301,352 slaves in Rio. The province had 758,202
inhabitants, so slaves made up 39.7 per cent of the population. This was the largest slave community, percentage-wise, in the Empire. The next highest was Espírito Santo, where slaves comprised 27.6 per cent of the population. Minas Gerais had 311,304 slaves, the largest absolute figure in Brazil, but these were only 15.9 per cent of the total population.6

Within the province of Rio de Janeiro, the slave population was concentrated in the areas of highest agricultural activity. In 1816, 54.3 per cent of the population of Campos was unfree--there were 14,560 free citizens and 17,357 slaves. In 1873 the slave population had risen to 35,688, probably the largest municipal figure in all of Brazil.7 José Mattoso Maia Forte, in his study of the municipality of Vassouras, claims that at the height of the coffee culture slaves in Vassouras far outnumbered the free population, but he gives no supporting figures.8

Because of the size and importance of its unfree population, the province of Rio de Janeiro is crucial to the study of nineteenth-century Brazilian slavery and the various changes in this institution which culminated in abolition in 1888. During the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889) there were several changes in the legal position of the slave. The period began with discussions as to the viability of continuing the master-slave system in a new society, and ended with the complete abolition of slavery, an event which precipitated the end of the Empire. The period was characterized by slave unrest throughout
Brazil, but primarily in the provinces with large slave populations, i.e., Bahia, Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and, by the third quarter of the century, São Paulo. This unrest turned to outright violence when fanned by active abolitionist groups from the larger towns and cities. Yet abolitionists did not initiate slave resistance and rebellion. Brazilian history was fraught with problems between masters and their slaves. By the nineteenth century these problems were so acute that they influenced attitudes toward abolition. Planters, notably in the province of Rio de Janeiro, were so afraid of slave insurrections that they accepted the Law of May 13, 1888, even while claiming it would mean their ruin.
CHAPTER III
THE END OF THE SLAVE TRAFFIC

During the thirteen years that the Portuguese court resided in Brazil French and British ideas infiltrated Brazilian intellectual circles. When independence was proclaimed and a Constituent Assembly convoked, some of its members were intellectuals steeped in European ideology concerning freedom and independence. One of the issues facing this nation recently freed from its colonial bondage was what to do with the slave population.

This question, however, was posed by only a very small group in the 1820's. Agriculture was paramount, with the cultivation of the new coffee crop, and slave labor was desperately needed to insure essential profits to landholders. Brazilians also noted that other free nations, such as the United States of America, continued slavery.

For the early post-independence period we have one document attacking slavery in a scathing manner—that is the speech of José Bonifácio entitled "Slavery." He goes beyond simply attacking plantation owners for exploiting their slaves; he also inveighs against the Roman Catholic Church:

Our Religion is for the most part a system of superstitions and anti-social abuse; our clergy, in large part ignorant and corrupt, is the first
to make use of slaves, and accumulates them to enrich themselves through commerce and agriculture, and to form, many times, of the disgraced slave women, a turkish harem.¹

His opinion, however, was not widely divulged at the time. Robert Conrad states that "until 1880 . . . the now famous anti-slavery appeal of José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, Brazil's first Prime Minister, published in London in 1826, was almost totally unknown in Brazil."²

There was indeed a marked contrast in opinions about slavery. On the one hand were men who attacked the evils of the system, while on the other hand the vast majority of the Brazilian elite—clergy and plantation owners—approved of and benefited from slave labor.

Ideology was not the prime mover in the early overtures toward a change in Brazilian slavery. The main impetus for this change was pressure from Great Britain which made political recognition of Brazil's independence contingent upon a speedy termination of the African slave trade. Liberals in Parliament, courting Great Britain, pressed toward some sort of free labor system,³ while urging the end of the slave trade. Brazil had agreed that the traffic would stop in 1826, but only on November 6, 1831, was a law finally promulgated which declared that no more Africans could enter Brazil as slaves. A decree of April 12, 1832, further stated that those who continued the illegal trade would be financially responsible for re-exporting the Negros to Africa.⁴ But this law was never implemented. As the number of imported Africans steadily increased, and the importers refused to re-export
their merchandise claiming the expense was unbearable, apprehended
Africans were becoming a financial burden to the correctional institu-
tions to which they were taken. So the government issued a new decree
on October 29, 1834, which stated that these supposedly free slaves
could be used by the state. The majority in Parliament was not
interested in halting the slave trade, and effective measures to that
end were not taken until 1851.

A sizable group of slaves in Rio de Janeiro could claim
freedom based on the 1831 legislation. All Africans entering Brazil
between 1831 and 1851 should have been free. Although evidence has
not yet been uncovered to demonstrate slave reactions to the gross
disregard of that law, abolitionists used it to instigate anti-
slavery sentiment. They felt it was one more injustice perpetrated
against the slave population.

The regency period, which lasted from Dom Pedro I's abdication
in 1831 until 1840 when his son Dom Pedro II took the throne, was a
time of instability in the Empire. There were federalist uprisings in
several provinces, notably Maranhão, Pará, and Bahia, while two provinces--
Rio Grande do Sul and Santa Catarina--actually declared themselves to
be republics. Slaves also took the opportunity to revolt. During the
regency rebellions slaves participated in the Sabinada (Bahia, 1837-
1838), where they formed the Batalhão dos Leais à Patria (Battalion
of Those Loyal to the Fatherland), in the Cabanagem of Pará (1835-1840),
and in the Balaiada (Maranhão, 1838-1841). Some slave groups obviously
possessed political consciousness during the regency uprisings.

R. K. Kent is convinced that "although the idea of doing away with slavery as a socioeconomic institution was still of marginal importance, much of the provincial unrest reflected the growing fear that the imperial government might come to terms with Great Britain and abolish the slave trade." He ties in the Edict of 1831 with the separatist revolts in Pará, Pernambuco, Minas Gerais, Matto Grosso, Maranhão, Rio Grande do Sul, and Bahia.

Besides the politically oriented revolts, there were also strictly slave-based rebellions throughout the 1830's. In spite of the 1831 law theoretically abolishing the slave traffic, at least 500,000 Africans were brought into Brazil after that date. Some claim the true import figure was much higher—Evaristo de Moraes put it at 800,000. This continued influx of Africans contributed to slave unrest.

In 1835 the Mâlês, a group of West Africans with strong Islamic convictions, were responsible for one of the more well-known slave rebellions in Brazilian history. Historians vary in their views of why the Mâlês of Bahia organized and rebelled. Gilberto Freyre classified it as "a case of Mohammedan Negro culture against a Portuguese Catholic one," and placed it "among the libertarian revolutions of a religious, social, and cultural nature." Father Étienne, a Jesuit missionary in Brazil, termed it a "holy war," in which the rebels were "full of hate against whites and Christians."

Bahia was not the only province affected by slave unrest in
1835. There are many reports of problems in the province of Rio de Janeiro, also. Police reports for that year indicate insurrections in Magé, Santo Antonio de Sá (Macacú), Maricá, and Campos dos Goitacazes.\textsuperscript{11}

Planters feared the slave potential for violence. In September of 1834, the municipal judge of Vassouras requested that the local National Guard Legion send troops to help imprison and execute a slave who had killed his master's wife. The October 5 reply promised that 13 guards would be sent from each of the four companies, adding that 100 pistols and 50 swords would be provided to help administer justice.\textsuperscript{12} All this was to apprehend only one slave.

The insurrections of 1835 furthered fear among plantation owners, and as a result of the Malés' revolt in Bahia a General Law was passed by Parliament in June of 1835. Its first article reads as follows:

Slaves will be punished with the sentence of death should they kill, administer poison, gravely injure, or make any other kind of grave physical offense against their master, his wife, his descendents or ascendents living in his company, the administrator, the overseer, and the women who live with them. If the wound or physical offense is light, the sentence will be that of lashes, administered according to the aggravating circumstances.\textsuperscript{13}

This law indicates that the masters and the overseers were the ones who lived most in fear of the slave population, for they were the ones who would be the first to be attacked. It also shows the fear of the ruling class that rebellions might get out of hand, so they had
to be checked and their leaders punished in the earliest possible stages.

Students of worldwide slavery have at times heralded Brazil for giving slaves legal rights. The Constitution of the Empire, Paragraph 19, Article 179, had declared:

Lashes, torture, hot-iron branding and all other cruel sentences are now abolished.

Yet in practice these rights were generally ignored. Richard Graham, dealing with the legal rights of Brazilian slaves, stated the problem very well when he wrote that "the first point that occurs to anyone familiar with Latin-American culture is that laws there do not have the same importance in indicating actual practice as they may have elsewhere."14 It is apparent from newspaper accounts that lashings, death sentences, and hot-iron branding were habitually administered to slaves well into the last quarter of the nineteenth century.

Slave resistance continued in spite of the harsh legislation to halt it. In 1838 more than 300 slaves organized in Vassouras and resisted local forces until finally quashed by troops sent from Rio de Janeiro.15 Individual resistance also continued. In August of 1842 a slave in Rio Bonito killed his master with a knife wound.16 In that same year a slave in Barra Mansa was reportedly imprisoned for unsuccessfully trying to kill his master by knifing him seven times.17

Vassouras, by 1847 a thriving coffee county, was the scene of a very well-organized slave plot. Slaves planned a general revolt, but their plans were discovered and foiled. Yet the very fact that the
slaves had been able to divide and organize in an intricate way spread fear among the planters. Alexandre Joaquim de Siqueira states that there was a "secret association of slaves, divided into circles of various categories, each of which was made up of five members, and whose chief received orders from the chief of the category directly above his, and so forth up to the principal leader, a free black who was a blacksmith by trade, called Estêvão Pimenta." 18

Fear of slave unrest was such that the planters of Vassouras established a "Permanent Committee" in 1854, whose primary responsibility was to set up a series of measures which would reduce the risk of insurrections within the municipality (see Appendix A). The main points stressed by the committee were:

1. That there should be enough free individuals on the plantations to control the large numbers of slaves in case of emergency;
2. That there should be a good supply of arms and ammunition at the disposal of these free individuals;
3. That slaves should be closely supervised and deprived of possible weapons;
4. That slaves should be provided with an emotional and physical outlet in the form of recreation;
5. That slaves should be taught religious principles;
6. That slaves should own small plots of land to assure their loyalty through love of property.
In 1855 there was another report of organized slave activity, this time to the north, near the Minas Gerais boundary. Several slaves ran away from the Company of Morro Velho, taking with them arms and ammunition. Inhabitants around that locality feared that they would join with slaves in Campos who were already being accused of holding nightly meetings under the leadership of a slave called Paulo who had participated in a previous insurrection. Police records of the period indicate that there was a degree of organized rebellion among slaves in the more densely slave-populated areas.

In 1850, following further squabbles with Great Britain, Parliament promulgated the Queiroz Law to end effectively the slave trade. Although contraband continued for several years, there was now a more determined effort on the part of authorities to halt the illegal traffic.

The province of Rio de Janeiro had problems enforcing the law. This province depended on slave labor, and had a long coastline with good locations for clandestine landings. Even so, the importation of slaves from Africa became exceedingly rare. In an effort to continue their supply of plantation workers, planters in the south increased their imports from the northern, decadent provinces (see Appendix B). This, however, was sometimes used as a cover for smuggling Africans. On the 10th of August, 1852, the Secretaria da Policia of the province of Rio de Janeiro acknowledged receipt of an official document which prompted them to take measures to "prevent the commerce of slaves from
province to province from serving as a pretext to cover the traffic of free Africans."

Throughout the 1850's there were occasional attempts to continue to disembark slaves in the inlets along the Rio province coast. In February of 1851, 454 Africans were apprehended just off the shore of Cabo Frio. Ten crewmen were imprisoned. In 1857 the police of Mangaratiba hired one pilot and six oarsmen to patrol the coast in an effort to repress the traffic. As late as 1859 there was a report that two slave smugglers and three Africans had been apprehended on the beach at Itaipú, a community adjacent to the provincial capital of Niterói. In 1860 and 1861 notices from the provincial president were still being sent out, encouraging local authorities throughout the province to take strong measures against the illegal slave trade.

Slaves became increasingly valuable in the coffee-planting area which began its peak just as slave traffic from Africa was outlawed. Robert Conrad states that from 1850 to the 1880's, "slaves accounted for more than half of the plantation assets of the coffee-producing municipio of Vassouras, and in 1857/58 slave values comprised 73 per cent of that community's fazenda wealth."

In their study of population trends in Brazil, Merrick and Graham state that "as late as 1864 the older Northeastern region still claimed approximately half the total number of slaves in the country and more than the Southeastern coffee region. By 1872, these relative positions had changed abruptly, with the Southeast accounting for
almost 60 per cent of the slave population and the Northeast only 32 per cent. Thus, the high point of the interregional transfer of slaves in Brazil took place in the 1860's and early 1870's. ²⁵

Even with the transfer of slave property from region to region, the end of the traffic brought about a severe labor shortage. Robert Conrad concludes that "in nearly every important agricultural region of Brazil, nevertheless, even in the rich coffee-producing Paraíba Valley, the shortage of field hands was a constant complaint after 1850."²⁶

After mid-century treatment of slaves began to improve. Before the end of the traffic, masters knew that should they abuse their field hands, they could readily purchase replacements. But once imports ceased, planters became responsible for preserving and propagating the servile class. Brazil did not have a very good record for preservation of slaves. Merrick and Graham state:

Throughout the entire four-century history of the Atlantic slave trade the United States imported only 400,000 slaves. Yet, by 1860 there were over 4,000,000 slaves in the United States. Brazil, on the other hand, imported close to 3,600,000 slaves over this same period, yet there were only 1,500,000 slaves in Brazil in 1872.²⁷

It could be argued that Brazil's slave population was reduced because of the large number of manumitted slaves, but Merrick and Graham continue:

If we add the free-colored population to the number of slaves to correct for manumission, the total colored population of Brazil still amounted to only 5,700,000 persons in 1872. The U.S.
slave population (ignoring the small free-colored component) increased tenfold over the number imported through the slave trade, while the total colored population in Brazil (including slaves and the free colored) increased by only 60 percent over the number imported during these centuries. Clearly, there was a different mortality environment in the two countries and for the slave population in particular.28

Merrick and Graham attribute the high manumission rate in Brazil to the ease of purchasing new slaves:

Thus, continuation of the slave trade in Brazil until 1851 undoubtedly facilitated the manumission process. Put in economic terms, the rate of return on rearing domestic slaves was relatively low because of the high risk of infant and child mortality, the high opportunity cost of capital, and the relatively low price of the alternative source of prime field hands through the African slave trade. In such circumstances, the costs to owners of manumitting slaves at birth and during childhood was probably very low.29

And they conclude that "in the end, slavery was not a demographically viable institution in Brazil in that losses through slave mortality and manumission outweighed increases derived from fertility and the slave trade."30

The situation, however, changed with the end of the slave trade and with the serious loss of slave life through cholera and small-pox epidemics. Beginning in the mid-1850's and continuing to abolition in 1888, slaves received better treatment from their masters. Yet this did not assuage their rebellious spirits, and resistance actually increased in the decades that followed.
CHAPTER IV

FREEDOM FOR NEWBORNS

World opinion had turned strongly against slavery by the 1860's. In the West, only the United States, Brazil, and some of the Spanish colonies recognized the legality of human property. When Civil War erupted in the North American states over the slavery issue, Brazilians became acutely aware of the grave consequences which could accompany tampering with the position of slaves in a society dependent on slave labor. After the Emancipation Proclamation was issued in 1863, Brazil became the only western nation that had not abandoned the institution of slavery. Even Russia, considered backward and unrefined by the West, had abolished serfdom in 1861.

Yet the very war which brought slavery to an end in the United States contributed to promote slavery in Brazil. Coffee plantations in the province of Rio de Janeiro, manned exclusively with slave labor, were at their height of production and consequent prosperity. Sugar production was also booming. World markets were demanding cotton, blockaded from the Confederate South, and Brazilian slaves were planting, picking, and processing this crop, too. Brazilians were not ready to relinquish their slaves at this time.

During this period a shift was accentuated which had begun to develop about the time D. Pedro II assumed the Brazilian throne.
Planters with small landholdings were being substituted by a rural aristocracy better able to meet the demands for large-scale production. This small, wealthy group took an ever greater part in the political life of the province. Slaves were the principal asset of this class, the finest evidence of prosperity. Stanley Stein states that "in post-1850 Brazilian society, the age, health, number, and price of African and Brazilian-born slaves functioned as the most sensitive barometer of economic prosperity and uncertainty." Powerful planters who owned large communities of slaves, and whose prestige and power were directly dependent on the results of slave labor, were bitter foes of any emancipationist schemes.

By 1865 a new measure regarding slave status was imminent. But before the Emperor could demand action from his ministers Brazil became involved in a war against Francisco Solano López, dictator of Paraguay. A decision on the slavery issue was postponed until the conclusion of peace with this southwestern neighbor. At the onset of war Brazilians optimistically expected the Paraguayan dictator's quick defeat, but López's troops fought tenaciously. The Brazilian army needed more soldiers, so on November 6, 1866, a decree was issued promising freedom to those slaves who were able to enlist in the army. It is difficult to conclude accurately how many Rio de Janeiro planters permitted their slaves to participate in the war, but if we assume that of the approximately 20,000 slaves freed for military service at least 18 per cent were from the province of Rio, this would mean that some
3600 slaves from the province were emancipated at the close of the war in 1870. Many army officers, impressed with those slaves who had fought under their command, sympathized with the ideals of further emancipation.  

In 1866 D. Pedro II received a controversial letter from the French Abolitionist Society (see Appendix C), requesting that he take the necessary measures to end slavery in Brazil. Since Brazilians held French society and French intellectualism in very high regard, this letter had a profound effect on the Emperor and on Parliament. D. Pedro's answer, transmitted through his Foreign Minister, Martim Francisco Ribeiro de Andrade, infuriated Parliament and triggered much debate. Among other things the letter stated that:

Emancipation of the slaves, a necessary consequence of abolition of the traffic, is merely a question of form and opportunity.

When the wearisome circumstances in which the country finds itself so permit, the Brazilian government will consider as object of prime importance the realization of that which the spirit of Christianity has for long required of the civilized world.  

Parliament understood that the "wearisome circumstances" meant the war with Paraguay. However, they felt that measures leading to emancipation must come from the legislative body, not from the executive. D. Pedro II sympathized with the cause of the slaves; Parliament, nonetheless, remained hesitant, fearing that further moves on the issue would lead to an outbreak of slave unrest and rebellion.

At the end of the war with Paraguay the Brazilian Commander-in-
Chief (who was D. Pedro II's French-born son-in-law, the Count d'Eu) freed all Paraguayan slaves. Some Brazilians saw this as an inconsistent act since Brazil still had a large slave population. Others, however, viewed it as a shrewd political move which would force Parliament to take action on this same issue within Brazil.

Once peace with Paraguay was established, D. Pedro II began his search for a Minister who would guide some sort of emancipationist legislation through the Chamber of Deputies and the Senate. He went through several short Cabinets before deciding on the Viscount of Rio Branco. Shortly after appointing Rio Branco as Prime Minister, D. Pedro and his wife left for Europe and their daughter, the princess Isabel assumed power as Regent. Rio Branco began his fight for legislation which would free all newborns and would establish a fund to begin purchasing freedom for older slaves.

Debate in the Chamber of Deputies was fierce, for many feared that such legislation would promote dissatisfaction among those who continued as slaves. Some of these fears were well-founded. As early as May, 1870, there was a report to the President of the province of Rio, informing that because the police deputy of Campos feared there might be a slave uprising in the municipality "caused by the idea of freedom," the National Guard was to help keep order.7

Those members of Parliament not in favor of the Rio Branco bill foresaw grave calamity should it become law. Perdigão Malheiros, who had championed the end of the African slave trade, predicted a general
slave revolt. José de Alencar forecasted "'sad days, with all their attendant crimes, horrors, and scandalous scenes;'" Capanema stated that emancipation of the children "'will completely rupture the ties of subordination, will divide the servile population in our agricultural estates into two classes, making it impossible to continue under the system of passive obedience, which is the only one possible as long as slavery exists in our country.'"8

Robert Conrad, commenting on slave attitudes toward the debate occasioned by the Rio Branco bill, states that it is difficult to know just what effect it had on slaves, "but Joaquim Nabuco later claimed that the Rio Branco Law was 'a tremendous deception' for them because the Emperor and even the Liberal Party had spoken openly of emancipation." In fact, slaves in Sergipe rebelled in 1872, expressly because they believed the Rio Branco Law had freed them, and they were being held illegally.9

Slaves in the province of Rio were aware of the debate surrounding the Rio Branco Law. Stanley Stein states that at the time the law was passed "discussion of abolition at the masters' dinner tables and over the counters of country saloons and stores frequented by slaves, spread among slaves 'hopes never before felt, spurring them with the prospect of a smiling future around the corner' and apparently made slavery less tolerable."10

On plantations in the Paraiba valley slaves had great potential for organized revolt. At times planters loaned some of their slaves to
other family members or to friends who needed more workers. This, of course, increased communications between slave groups of different localities. One Vassouras executor's report stated that "the growing disproportion between needs of the fields and the number of field hands available for cultivation obliged the executor to hire the slaves of several of the estate's heirs and even the labor of the estate's slaves on Sundays and saints' days."

Religious gatherings also promoted inter-plantation slave relations. A provincial report on activities in Valença noted that "slaves from several fazendas massed in nocturnal meetings known as Cangrês. . . . There they celebrated mysterious ceremonies which everywhere the sons of Africa believe, in their crude superstition, can cure certain diseases, corporal punishment and bring money.'" But with the threat of impending insurrection, planters became suspicious of these meetings and advised more "'vigilance'" and "'discipline.'"

Planters of the municipality of Vassouras, as early as 1831, had issued regulations restricting slave "'dances and candomby'" to slaves of one fazenda, afraid that allowing slaves from different plantations to mix would provide opportunity to "'organize occult societies, apparently religious, but always dangerous, by the ease with which some clever Negro may use them for sinister ends.'"

The Rio Branco Law, popularly known as the Law of the Free Womb, was passed on September 28, 1871. Its main provision was a clause granting freedom to all children born of slave women from that day on.
These would remain a part of the household of their mother's master until they were eight years old (and the master would then receive an indemnification payment from the government), or until the age of 21 (working for the master who would thus forfeit the government indemnification). All slaves were to be registered and those masters who failed to do so would lose rights to those slaves. An emancipation fund was established to purchase the freedom of slaves, primarily of females still of child-bearing age. The parish churches were given the responsibility of transmitting the provisions of the law to the slaves.

This was the first serious legislative measure concerned with ending the slavery existent in Brazil. Yet for all the debate involved and the years required to pass this law, it proved merely a stop-gap measure, an effort to ameliorate the situation so outright abolition could be forgotten. If all slave children were born free, it was only a matter of time until the last slave would die; therefore, slaves would be introduced into the free black community gradually and painlessly.

Landholders resisted this law from the start. In 1871, while the bill was still being discussed, the Clube da Lavoura was founded in the province of Rio. It was highly organized with municipal divisions, devoted to anti-abolitionist propaganda and repression of slave revolts.14

Local authorities were slow to carry out registration of slaves. The emancipation fund was used sparingly. Yet the 1871 law gave rise
to a spurt of individual emancipations. These began when the Benedictine and Carmelite monks freed their slaves in 1871, and were consistently continued by private citizens until abolition.\textsuperscript{15} Newspapers in Campos carry many reports throughout the 1870's of Masonic lodges purchasing freedom for local slaves.

The inefficiency of the Rio Branco Law had two important results. In the first place, slaves continued to rebel and add to the apprehension and fear among the masters. In the second place, failure to comply with this law cemented the conviction of some vocal urban groups that the only solution to the problem of slavery in Brazil was complete abolition.

In the 1870's, as more attention was given to the problem of slavery, newspaper coverage of slave unrest began to increase. However, there was still fear that publicity would spark further revolt. In the Chamber of Deputies, whenever debates would approach the subject of emancipation, there would be cries for a secret session which the general public could not attend.\textsuperscript{16}

The town of Campos, with its large slave population, had its share of slave unrest in the 1870's. In the year of 1873 several murders and slave crimes were reported in the Monitor Campista, one of Campos' leading newspapers. On January 17, 1873, under the heading "Another Atrocious Crime," it was reported that a wealthy fazendeiro had been killed by his slaves. Details of the crime were not then known, but what made it especially noteworthy was that it followed by less than
one week the murder of another fazendeiro of the area. The article stated that the Campos police were expecting reinforcements in order to better cope with this type of crime in the future.\textsuperscript{17}

On March 29, 1873, the newspapers of Campos reported the horrible murder of a planter's wife in São João da Barra, a town south of Campos. A slave had killed and mutilated his master's wife with a scythe while she was sleeping, then had turned himself in to the police.\textsuperscript{18}

Slaves who committed violent crimes often went voluntarily to the police. One Vassouras newspaper claimed they did this "'with cynical disdain and tranquilly awaited inevitable condemnation.'" This same newspaper reported that "'a slave of Dr. Antônio José Fernandes killed his overseer with a billhook at 8:30 P.M. and then gave himself up,'" further stating that "'rare is the week when such facts are not registered.'"\textsuperscript{19}

One of the more commented upon murders carried out by slaves happened in Campos on the night of September 22, 1873. D. Anna Joaquina Carneiro Pimenta habitually locked four of her female slaves in the attic, chained to each other, for the night. On September 22, one of these slaves had been severely punished and had decided to take revenge on her mistress. She convinced her three attic companions to participate in the plot. That night they managed to pretend the locks on their chains were in place, then slipped out of the attic before it was bolted for the night. They waited until their mistress and her slave companion
were asleep, entered D. Anna's room, smothered her, then returned quickly to the attic and attached themselves to their chains. Nevertheless, police questioning revealed that they were responsible for the murder of their mistress. In their confession they claimed they had committed the crime because of frequent punishments and because they were forced to sleep in chains in the attic.  

The year of 1873 was a year of problems elsewhere in the province, also. For instance, the slaves of the Fazenda Boa Vista in Friburgo refused to continue working after their master's death. They claimed they were free. But the heirs' claims were very different, and troops had to be sent to Friburgo to force those slaves to acquiesce to their new masters. Stanley Stein summarizes the atmosphere of the time when he states:

At this point the problem of mounting slave reaction to forced labor and to the master became more than a matter for local repression. It became the problem of Brazilian labor in general, linked closely to the spread of transportation lines, decline of older coffee plantations, and the rise of an urban middle class. The protest of slaves against their status in a changing society now became part of the nationwide movement for abolition.

Increased coverage of slave unrest was accompanied by an increase in sentiment favoring complete abolition. Registration of slaves was not being carried out properly; there was much fraud. Immediately after September 28, 1871, very few slave births were recorded. Yet in the year before the Rio Branco Law was passed there was an above average number of births. Fazendeiros did not want to
give up their property. Debates raged as to whether or not the state had the right to grant freedom to the offspring of a citizen's property since this violated Roman law. All this stirred up the wrath of abolitionists. Meanwhile, small-pox and yellow fever continued to take their toll among the slave population of the province of Rio, increasing the value of the slaves who survived.

There were those who claimed that the only hope for Brazil was foreign colonization. But immigrants fared better in countries where they did not compete with slaves. Industrialization was setting in, particularly in the province of Rio. The Leopoldina railway was underway, carrying coffee from the inland plantations to the port of Rio de Janeiro. A water canal was built in 1874 between Campos and Macaé, to improve transportation of sugar from the Campos engenhos to the coast. As cities grew, so did an urban middle class, which did not own slaves, which could, therefore, support abolition.

Those who favored a complete end to slavery were disillusioned and dissatisfied with the Rio Branco Law of 1871. Slaves were confused at the results of the attempt to eliminate slavery gradually. Some thought they were going to be freed and were bitterly let down. At the same time a large free black population was growing ever larger as individuals emancipated their own slaves. Many of these moved to the cities where there was a greater chance of finding paying work. They added their support to the anti-slavery movement.

The stage was being well prepared for the abolitionist agitation
of the 1880's. Certain planters were adamant in their refusal to give in any more, and their slaves continued to be unhappy in their position. Other planters, by emancipating individual slaves, contributed to the rapidly increasing numbers of free blacks who were forming an unstable, unintegrated social class. Publicity of slave atrocities spread fear throughout the plantations, while publicity of mistreatment of slaves added to the propaganda of the abolitionists. The battle which began with the discussions of the emancipation bill in the late 1860's would only end with the death of the Empire in 1889.
CHAPTER V

ABOLITIONISTS AND ABOLITION

An abolitionist movement, as such, developed very slowly in Brazil. Robert Conrad states that "given the nature of the slave system, the single-minded opposition of the British, and the prestige and influence of foreign ideas, some Brazilian opposition to the slave trade and even slavery itself was inevitable, though opponents of slavery remained a small minority until the 1880's."¹ There were, nonetheless, some significant measures taken toward emancipation in the province of Rio as early as the 1850's.

In 1856 a Society for the Promotion of Free Labor was organized in Campos. Its purpose was to work toward replacing slave labor with free labor.² The timing of its organization is significant—just shortly after the legal end of the African slave trade. The Benedictines of Campos emancipated all children born of their slave women after May 3, 1866, yet kept the responsibility of educating these children. In 1869 all slaves belonging to the Benedictine order who reached the age of 50 were granted their freedom and were given plots of land to cultivate.³

A very significant year in the development of a Brazilian abolitionist movement was 1870. In that year the Republican Party was organized in Rio de Janeiro, with emancipation a prominent point in its
platform. The anti-slavery poetry of Castro Alves was very well received throughout the Empire. At this time war with Paraguay was over, and Parliament was looking into solutions for the servile question.

In Campos, in March of 1870, a doctor-journalist named Miguel Heredias de Sá organized the Society to Emancipate Slave Children. Reaction from local slave owners was immediate--Heredias was branded a "pernicious man." But many sympathized with his ideals and 1870 became a year of localized emancipation in Campos. Through the influence of Dr. Miguel Heredias the fazendeiro Jeronimo Pereira Pinto freed all his slaves; and Lieutenant-Colonel Francisco de Paula Gomes, the Barão de Itabapoana, and D. Francisca Maria Teixeira de Queiróz emancipated all children born on their plantations.4

After the Rio Branco Law was passed in 1871 the slavery question subsided until the 1880's when it was reopened with full force, and was only closed when the final solution was arrived at in 1888. On March 28, 1881, an abolitionist society was formed in Niterói, the capital of the province of Rio de Janeiro. It was called the Club dos Libertos Contra a Escravidão (Club of Freedmen Against Slavery). Its first president was João Fernandes Clapp, who would later have an important role in the Abolitionist Confederation formed in Rio de Janeiro in 1883. The primary purpose of this Club was to raise money to purchase freedom for slaves; but it was also dedicated to promoting education among both slaves and free, and to organizing speeches and demonstrations which spread the emancipationist spirit.5 The year of 1881 was also important for the abolitionists in Campos. On July 17, Carlos de Lacerda--a newspaperman
who became the leader of the anti-slavery movement in Campos—and a
group of his friends organized the Sociedade Campista Libertadora
(Liberating Society of Campos).  

The fight for abolition was unusually bitter in the province of
Rio de Janeiro. In 1880 the population of Brazil was 9,930,478,
comprised of 8,419,672 free citizens and 1,510,806 slaves; of the slave
population, there were 370,459 in Minas Gerais, 341,576 in Rio de Janeiro
province and Court combined, and 156,612 in São Paulo. So, 868,647
slaves, more than half the total slave population of Brazil, were concen-
trated in the provinces of Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo. These three provinces would be, quite naturally, the least willing to
give up their slaves. Robert Conrad, showing the importance of slavery
in this area, quotes a correspondent of The London Times who wrote in
1883 that "in the coffee cultivation there are employed about 500,000
slaves, who at this work are worth at least 120 pounds a head, or a total
of 60,000,000 pounds . . . ." 

In a situation where planters were unwilling to relinquish their
slaves, abolitionist agitation, in order to be effective, had to be
very well organized. Therefore, the areas of most resistance to
emancipation were those with the most determined abolitionists.

In the Court at Rio de Janeiro an Abolitionist Confederation was
formed on May 12, 1883. Its members were nationally known figures such
as José do Patrocínio, João Clapp, and André and Antônio Rebouças. Members
of this Confederation became popular heroes as they promoted abolition
in speeches and liberty parties. But, more importantly, they carried
out their own private war against slavery. They encouraged slaves to leave the plantations, they helped hide fugitives, they forged documents declaring runaways to be free negroes. The end result of these daring exploits was to infect the public with their enthusiasm toward abolition. This popular agitation following 1883 had important repercussions on the plantations, and further encouraged slave rebellions. Since the Abolitionist Confederation was organized in Rio de Janeiro, most of the agitation it promoted was in the province of Rio.

Following 1883 there was much more publicity of slave treatment and slave unrest. One obvious reason for this is that slave unrest increased with outside prompting. Another reason could be that abolitionists took it upon themselves to publicize what had traditionally be dealt with surreptitiously. The rights of slaves, guaranteed in the 1824 Constitution, but limited in 1835, and systematically ignored, were taken up by abolitionists. In 1883 alone there were police investigations into mistreatment and death of slaves in São João da Barra, Saquarema, Paraíba do Sul, and Magé. Richard Graham states that "violence knew no end. In 1880 the press reported one slave death caused by a flogging that exposed the bones of the victim and cut up his genital organs, while earlier wounds in his legs were found filled with maggots. In the end the pressure of the abolitionists forced some cases to court, as in the instance of a slave girl horribly burnt by boiling fat thrown upon her by her mistress."

Robert Conrad comments that "in the Empire as a whole, the anti-slavery movement was stronger in urban than in rural areas, but
in the region of coffee cultivation the clash between the comparatively sophisticated cities and the distinctly pro-slavery hinterland was particularly bitter. This was especially true after 1886 when such key towns as São Paulo, the neighboring port of Santos, Campos in eastern Rio de Janeiro province, and the capital of the Empire itself served as centers of agitation, as hiding places for runaway slaves, and even as headquarters for abolitionist assaults upon slavery in surrounding rural areas. Evaristo de Moraes, in his work on the abolitionist movement, claims that the fiercest fight between slave owners and emancipationists was in the town of Campos, where examples of all possible types of incidents occurred: armed clashes, verbal attacks, administrative and judicial acts, official and private violence.

In April of 1882, Francisco Gomes Nogueira and Florentino de Souza Nogueira, from a fazenda near Campos, killed one of their slaves while violently punishing him. Then, afraid the crime would be discovered, they burned the corpse in one of the large engenho ovens. Word, however, somehow got out, and the police deputy of Campos went to the Fazenda do Pontal to make inquiries into the death and cremation of the slave. On the very day he left town, his assistant deputy was mysteriously murdered.

Throughout the 1880's there were quilombos in the vicinity of Campos. According to the 1880 report of the Chief of Police of the province of Rio, the quilombo of Loanda was the "terror of the municipality," and the authorities had been unable to penetrate and arrest runaway slaves of this clandestine community. In 1883 there
were reports of a quilombo near Conceiçã o do Travessão, which kept the local inhabitants on edge. A police raid in September of 1883 failed completely. The quilombo was attacked again in March of 1884, and this time the leader of the group was killed, but all except two of the runaways managed to escape. In 1886 there were further reports of a quilombo near Campos, this time involving participants in the abolitionist movement.

Slave unrest increased in Campos during the eight or nine years preceding abolition. On March 16, 1884, the Chief of Police of the province went to Campos to investigate slave unrest. He concluded that the large number of slaves in that municipality—around 30,000—kept on plantations near the city, were easily aroused by the abolitionists.

Carlos de Lacerda continued to be the most outspoken leader of the Campos abolitionists. On March 25, 1884, in honor of the emancipation of all slaves in the northeastern province of Ceará, Lacerda held his first abolitionist conference in the Empyreo theater of Campos. More than one thousand people attended. When this conference was announced, the slaveowners of the area began to circulate a rumor that on that night the slaves of the municipality would rise up in revolt. In order to prevent such a slave uprising, they requested that thirty police guards be on special duty that day. Yet the conference was held peacefully, and after speeches by Lacerda and others, freedom was purchased for twenty-one slaves.

Carlos de Lacerda began to publish his own newspaper, the Vinte e Cinco de Março, on March 1, 1884. It was an abolitionist newspaper
similar to José do Patrocínio's *Gazeta da Tarde* in the city of Rio de Janeiro. But besides propaganda through his newspaper, Lacerda worked directly among the slaves, fomenting unrest, as did Antônio Bento in São Paulo, and the Cupim Club in Pernambuco. The first phase of this work among slaves was to instigate them to run away from the plantations. Abolitionists would convince them to flee from their masters, then would hide them until they could be sent to safe places, such as Ceará, where slavery no longer existed. Emancipationists like Lacerda went beyond arousing the hatred of the slaveholding class, they managed to infiltrate the plantations and arouse the slaves.

In July of 1884, 50 slaves rebelled at the fazenda Boa Vista in Natividade da Carangola, one of the most agitated areas of the municipality of Campos. The slaves, armed with rifles and scythes, were only subdued when confronted by a group of 200 citizens accompanied by 16 police guards. Then, in April of 1885, 70 slaves of the fazenda belonging to the heirs of the Barão de São Fidelis revolted against their overseer. This uprising was also quashed by the local police, and the three supposed leaders of the movement were jailed.

The increase in large-scale slave rebellion in the period from 1883 to 1885 indicates a higher degree of organized resistance to captivity. But it was not only the insurrections that made the situation in Campos so very serious. Individual acts of violence, on the part of both masters and slaves, some of them barbarous indeed, demonstrate the tension underlying local society, and the misery and violence which could erupt from a slaveholding context. The violence
that permeated master-slave relations caused a number of planters and merchants of the Campos area to present a motion to the local Chamber of Deputies on February 25, 1885, calling for total and unconditional emancipation of all slaves in Brazil within a seven-year period.  

In March of 1885 José do Patrocínio, a national leader of the abolitionist movement, returned to Campos--his hometown--for the first time since he had left in 1868. He was very well received both by the Abolitionist Club and by the people of the town. His visit increased anti-slavery feeling which was vented by invading fazendas and kidnapping slaves. Local authorities clamored for official curbing of this abolitionist enthusiasm. 

The second phase of abolitionist agitation in Campos began in January of 1886. Slaves were encouraged, with the help of local abolitionists, to set fire to the huge sugar-cane plantations, the very basis of the town's economic life. If the encouraging and aiding of runaway slaves had infuriated planters, this was a much greater blow to them--they confronted total ruin as their sugar cane mysteriously went up in flames. In January of 1886 alone there were fires on eight fazendas. 

This was more than the fazendeiros could endure. On January 30 they held a meeting in which it was decided that the leader of the abolitionist movement should be assassinated. Several days later an unsuccessful attempt at Lacerda's life was made while he was speaking at a conference in the Empyreo theater. Although Lacerda escaped, several other abolitionist leaders were murdered in the following years.
The first was Jeronimo Faria, on February 22, 1886; then Luiz Fernandes on January 30, 1887, followed by Antônio Eurico Cassalho on February 22 of the same year. 32

Campos was the largest agricultural center of the province, and had the largest slave population, so it is natural that slave unrest would also be widespread. Yet it was not the only scene of agitation and master-slave problems. Feelings ran high throughout Rio de Janeiro. In March of 1882 the Chief of Police requested an investigation into the death of Faustina, a female slave from Maricá. Faustina had been taken to burial on February 18. She showed signs of wounds, but the doctors called upon to examine her refused to do so, claiming they were ill. So two local pharmacists were asked to perform the examination. One of them could not because he was also ill; the other one did examine the body, but could not affirm whether death had been caused by the blows obviously inflicted on the slave or by natural causes. Faustina was duly buried, but the Chief of Police later ordered the body exhumed so an autopsy could be performed. None of the local doctors would do it. 33 So while there were attempts to carry out justice for the slaves, very rarely would local townspeople side with the slave against the master.

Often planters would not wait for justice to be applied to criminal slaves. Lynching became a frequent, frightening reality in the province. Those responsible for the lynchings were almost never captured. In 1883, five slaves of Santa Thereza de Valença murdered their overseer for no apparent reason. Two of them promptly turned
themselves in to the police. Shortly thereafter a mob attacked the jail, removed the slaves, and lynched them in the public square. The police finally discovered who was responsible for the prison raid, but were not able to capture him. In March of 1884 the Chief of Police went to Rezende to investigate a similar incident. Three slaves, imprisoned for murdering their master, had been killed when approximately 300 people mobbed the jail and removed the slaves to lynch them in public.

Planters thought they had good reasons for taking the law into their own hands. Many slaves preferred to belong to the state than to their own masters. Capital punishment was rarely carried out--in most cases the Emperor granted a pardon--so slaves preferred to work in galés for the rest of their lives instead of working for unpleasant or cruel masters. The number of slaves who committed crimes, even murders, and immediately went voluntarily to the local police was very significant. On July 3, 1883, three slaves turned themselves in to the police of Valença after murdering their overseer. On January 30, 1884, the slave José gave himself up to the police of Barra Mansa after using his hoe to split open the head of his overseer. Examples such as these multiplied throughout the 1880's.

Yet the lynchings caused grave repercussions in the province, and even turned some uncommitted city dwellers into abolitionists. Christiano Ottoni, a senator who had opposed the Rio Branco bill in 1871, was an outspoken abolitionist by 1884. In a speech pronounced in the Senate on June 9, 1884, he claimed that the "grave circumstances"
prevailing in the country could lead to Civil War (see Appendix D). Quilombos continued to spring up throughout the province. One of the most famous ones was in Leblon, on the outskirts of the capital city of the Empire. There was also an important quilombo near Rezende which, according to the Rio de Janeiro Provincial Legislative Assembly, was alarming the dwellers of that area in October, 1884. In order to make its report to the President of the province, the Assembly wanted to know what measures had been taken to disband the quilombo. Almost every town in the province had had problems with nearby quilombos.

Local police did not have enough resources to keep order among rebellious slaves. Therefore, as unrest increased, so did the need for a new guarantee of protection. The Chief of Police of the province, in his 1884 report to the President of the province, suggested they accept an offer he had received from many planters: local dwellers would contribute men for a troop to help local police. The province would only be responsible for providing arms for these men. Another solution to the unrest had been suggested by the provincial President in 1881. He urged that no more slaves be imported into Rio de Janeiro from other provinces, claiming that these slaves did not bring with them a "resigned and contented spirit," which was essential to the progress of the plantations.

While problems were brewing on the plantations, Parliament was in the process of formulating legislation which would benefit the nation by ending slavery yet keeping the planters happy and prosperous.
An end to slavery would have to come about by law, and the only place such a law could be enacted for all of Brazil was in Rio de Janeiro. Without a strong base of popular support Parliament would never pass a law which many feared would result in chaos and a possible end of the monarchy. The increase in slave rebellions after 1885, prompted by those exposed to the urban campaign against slavery, convinced many landowners that abolition was inevitable.

Yet in the early 1880's the Rio Branco Law was used as an excuse not to tamper further with the servile class, for slavery was doomed to extinction, and there was no need for measures to hasten its end. The imperial family, nonetheless, and some prominent members of the Senate and Chamber of Deputies, who no longer relied exclusively on slave labor, were determined to act further on the issue. As violence increased on the plantations, fazendeiros were forced to admit that life would be far more tranquil, and far safer, without dissatisfied slaves. So Parliament passed the Dantas-Saraiva Law in 1885. By this measure, slaves could no longer be sold between provinces, the emancipation fund was enlarged, and all slaves over the age of sixty were freed.

In 1886 further legislation was passed dealing with the treatment of slaves. A bill was introduced, and quickly passed, which revoked the law of 1835 having to do with punishment of slaves, and prohibited lashings as punishment for criminals not sentenced to death, galés, or lifetime imprisonment. Although this seemed a purely humanitarian gesture, Brasil Gerson claims it promoted the end of slavery, for slaves
were quicker to rebel and run away knowing they could no longer be legally whipped if captured.41

The last two years of slavery were chaotic. The number of individual emancipations multiplied. Clergymen published pastorals calling for a quick end to slavery. The Pope issued a plea for abolition in the last western nation to preserve this unchristian institution.42

On October 24, 1887, some of the men responsible for the Vinte e Cinco de Março newspaper were imprisoned in Campos. One week later, upon hearing this news, a group of 40 slaves organized and met in Guarulhos in order to attack the jail and free the abolitionists. The police, however, intervened in time and arrested seven of them while the others fled.43 It is noteworthy that the slaves identified with the abolitionists, and that they were able to organize on their own to try to help their friends. It is also significant that when aided by abolitionists slaves were able to keep their plans secret and carry them out successfully, but when working on their own they were often discovered and disbanded.

In early February, 1888, Carlos de Lacerda called a meeting at the Empyreo theater in which the abolitionist party was to "define its attitude." In the days which followed this meeting there were mass flights of slaves from the plantations. With few alternatives left, planters began large-scale emancipation of their slaves. By March 15, 340 slaves had been freed in Campos; on March 16, 322 more were freed; and on the 17th the number rose to 415.44
The urban populace was demanding abolition, slaves were being encouraged to leave the plantations, the military had finally refused to force slaves back to their owners. The planters had no alternative in many cases but to find other labor to work their fields. One of them noted that "'fazendeiros liberate their slaves by the law of necessity, and not by the law of humanity.'" Many of them feared that the runaway slaves would organize and spread anarchy and revolution throughout the country. They therefore hoped to avoid these dreaded consequences by lending their support to abolition.

An Agricultural Congress, meeting in Campos on March 18, 1888, voted to approve the following proposition:

The Congress judges necessary and urgent immediate abolition of slavery, without conditions, in this municipality.

One of the participants of this Congress wanted to send the following motion to the Emperor:

The population of Campos judges its duty to communicate to the imperial government its hope that the abolition of slavery in the Empire will be decreed, as soon as possible, even if by act of the executive power, for it is imperative that the deep and widespread unrest in the nation cease immediately.

In Campos alone, 8,727 slaves were freed between March 11, 1888, and April 5, 1888. Carlos de Lacerda's wife claimed in later years that by May 13, 1888, there were no more slaves in that municipality to be freed by the Golden Law.

Abolition had indeed become a national necessity, and on May 13, 1888, while the Emperor was once again in Europe, the Princess Regent signed the law which ended human captivity in the Brazilian Empire.
Her pronouncement was greeted with great enthusiasm. Flowers flooded the Senate meeting-room when the bill was approved by that body. The people of Campos celebrated for eight days after May 13. But although the urban population seemed euphoric at the moment, serious problems followed emancipation.

The province of Rio de Janeiro had entered a period of decline long before 1888. Planters were not as prosperous as they appeared, especially coffee planters. The price of coffee was unstable, labor was scarce and expensive after the end of the African slave trade, the lands of the province were aging, and were no longer well-suited for coffee cultivation. After 1885 there was a steady decline in coffee production in Rio: 50

<table>
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<tr>
<th>Year</th>
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</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>1885</td>
<td>2,336,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1886</td>
<td>2,042,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>1,032,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1888</td>
<td>1,824,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1889</td>
<td>1,309,000</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1890</td>
<td>1,310,000</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

Richard Graham states that in the last quarter of the nineteenth century the "economic hegemony of the province began to disappear." As cultivation of coffee spread south into the north of São Paulo, the municipalities of the province of Rio de Janeiro were left with
"unused land, with old populations, with debts and despair." 51

Following the poor coffee crop of 1888 the tendency was to blame abolition for the problems of the province. Yet if an end to slavery was directly responsible for these economic reverses, then problems should have been apparent as far back as 1850 when slave scarcity first began, for labor is far more important in periods of agricultural expansion, as were the 1850's, than in periods of decadence such as the 1880's. 52 Nonetheless, the crown was blamed for the planters' reverses, and the Republican Party swelled with fazendeiros in the months following abolition. Little more than one year later the Emperor was banished from Brazil and a Republic was established.
CONCLUSION

The four hundred-year history of Brazilian slavery was fraught with problems. Slave resistance, a constant factor, was accentuated in the nineteenth century. The theory of passive, contented slaves in Brazil does not bear up under a study of police reports and newspaper accounts of the period.

Slave life in Rio de Janeiro province shows that slaves reacted, at times violently, against their captors. It would be interesting to study nineteenth-century slave unrest in the province of Minas Gerais also, for with its very large slave population Minas would undoubtedly have been the scene of severe problems between masters and slaves.

I am convinced that abolition came about when it did because of slave action on the plantations. Masters feared a widespread revolt, while they also feared for their own lives, therefore they went along with emancipation. The members of Parliament who drew up emancipationist legislation were not merely interested in world opinion; they were very much concerned with the violence spreading through Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro, and São Paulo—the provinces with the largest number of slaves. Yet if slaves had resisted captivity since their sixteenth-century arrival in Brazil, why did their rebelliousness only bring results after 1850?

The answer, supported in recent works by Brazilian historians,
is that only in the nineteenth-century did a new, urban middle class develop. Industrialization began about the time strict measures were taken to halt the African slave trade, and as it progressed this new middle class grew, providing slaves with allies in the fight for freedom. Since the African importation had ceased and slaves had become so expensive, fewer people could afford to own slaves, and thus the rift between fazendeiro and city-dweller grew deeper. It is clear that slaves found friends among newspapermen and students in the cities, far from the fazendeiro's sphere of controlling influence; but in the small interior towns, still run at the word of the planter, slaves continued friendless.

When slaves tried to carry out insurrections and deeds of violence on their own they were often disorganized and ineffective. Yet when slaves were aided by abolitionists they became terrifying agents of destruction and loss for fazendeiros. Without the help of men like Carlos de Lacerda, José do Patrocínio, and countless unnamed instigators of slave flights and burning of crops, slavery would probably have continued until extinguished through the processes established in the 1871 Rio Branco Law. Recently much needed emphasis has been placed on the cooperation of urban groups in bringing about abolition. However, participation of the slave in the fight for freedom must not be ignored. Abolitionists were only successful because they had a restless group of slaves to work with. Masters did not really fear the abolitionists; they feared the effect these had on their already restive slaves. Therefore, to the list of those who promoted
abolition we must add the thousands of slaves who consistently protested against the brutality of a system which permitted human ownership of other human beings.
APPENDIX A

INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE
ESTABLISHED BY THE PLANTERS OF THE
MUNICIPALITY OF VASSOURAS

Illustrious Sir.

At the meeting of planters of this municipality, in the Village of Vassouras, it was decided that a permanent committee should be established which would be responsible for recommending and insisting with the planters that the measures stated in the attached instructions be followed.

You were named as one of the members of the Permanent Committee, whose president is Comendador Laureano Correa e Castro. Your responsibility, therefore, is to speak with the planters of your area and try to persuade them, through all means at your disposal, of the convenience, or better, the necessity of faithfully following the attached instructions. I hope you will accept this duty, for in fulfilling it you will be giving an important service to the Nation.

To simplify the work, the instructions are signed only by the members of the committee responsible for drafting them, who live in the village, according to agreement of the same committee.

May God protect you. Vassouras, August 5, 1854.

Joaquim Francisco de Faria
Laureano Correa e Castro
Domiciano Leite Ribeiro
Joaquim José Teixeira Leite
INSTRUCTIONS FOR THE PERMANENT COMMITTEE OF PLANTERS

Members of the Permanent Committee (each one in relation to the planters of the district he will be in charge of inspecting) should employ all means in their power to convince said planters of the danger of insurrections, and of the necessity of adopting, as quickly as possible, measures to halt and prevent such a terrible evil.

If the fear of a general insurrection is still remote, that of parcial insurrections is always imminent, especially now that the plantations are being filled with slaves from the North, who have always had sad celebrity. There have already been several partial insurrections in different localities and, unfortunately, these will not have been the last.

To sleep on this issue is unqualifiable foolishness which will deliver us into danger unarmed, or will cause us, in the event of a revolt, to take unordered and unwise measures which would only infuse in the spirits of the slaves the conviction that they can arouse fear and terror in us.

It is therefore necessary to adopt a series of prudent and moderate measures, a system of caution and vigilance which strives for mutual security, yet without arousing the suspicions of others.

If the planters would come to agreement on this matter, if each would have in his home an element of resistance and not simply trust his fate to chance, as has been the case up to now with ill-advised trust often turning to an even more ill-advised exaggerated fear, one could say that even parcial insurrections will become, if not impossible, at least less alarming because of the ease with which they can be put down.

To this end, the Permanent Committee should employ every effort to convince planters to adopt, among others, the following measures:

1. Have on their plantations at all times a number of free individuals, at least in the following proportion to the slaves: one free person for 12 slaves; two for 25; five for 50; seven for 100; ten for 200; and from that number up, two free individuals for each additional 100 slaves.

This measure, besides being indispensable, is convenient in every consideration. As financial speculation, it is incontestably superior to the purchase of slaves: one slave today costs 1:200$000 and in a short while will cost more; with this sum a planter could have the
services of more or less 12 tenant-farmers for one year.

Supposing that the tenants are not good and part run away, even so the speculation is superior to the purchase of slaves: calculating in our hypothesis that five tenants leave and only five remain, the service of each of those who remained will come to 200$000 in the first year, an amount inferior to what is presently spent in the upkeep of a slave during the same period.

And it should be noted that we are comparing ten tenants to one slave, and are assuming that the slave will live and labor, while in reality half of them disappear and are not useful to the planter. But should the slave die or run away, which is more probable in light of the nature of our supplies, then all terms of comparison disappear, and the advantage rests totally in favor of the tenant-farmers.

It should be observed, however, that we have only considered the matter from the financial angle; in relation to security, an essential point, what an enormous difference!...

The slave is an irreconcilable enemy, the addition of a few more pounds of gunpowder to a magazine about to explode, whereas the tenant is a friend, a fellow arm-bearer, whose loyalty can be counted on: we have common interests. Who, in the moment of danger, would not give half of his fortune to have at his side some tenants who would defend him from the barbarous horde which is thirsty for revenge?

The planters must become convinced of one thing, that is, that whether they like it or not, the problem has already been posed in such a clear and precise manner that it only admits one solution. The traffic has ended and it will not return; supply from the northern provinces will soon be drained; mortality will, within a few years, take from us slavery as a whole, or in large part. Therefore, of two one: either we acknowledge our incapacity and turn ourselves over as submissive servants to the domination of a power which knows how to use advantageously the forces of nature which God has given us; or else we show ourselves worthy of transmitting to children and grandchildren the heritage of our elders, striving to make up for the shortage of labor which is already beginning to be felt. This can only be done through colonization; and without it agriculture, our primary, and one might say only, source of wealth will wither and die.

If a planter considers it a sacrifice what we now ask him to do, he should be reminded that this sacrifice is necessary for his security and above that, for the maintenance of his plantation in the near future; the very limited number of free hands he must now have for his defense is the nucleus of colonization, which can be increased little by little, with small expenditures, and no disturbance, enabling him to make this
necessary transition which, should it be quick and violent, will be vigorous and fatal.

It has been said that Portuguese and Brazilians only put locks on their doors after they have been robbed; why should we not give proof that this injurious stigma is undeserved, being careful to lock the doors before the robbery?

Some planters are against colonization since they see little or no profit from quick experiments already carried out. The poor results attest, not to a fault in the principle, but to our inexperience and lack of research in the matter. The logical consequence should be, not to abandon this saving idea, but to try diligently to straighten out difficulties, some of which can easily be remedied. This is the only road left open to us.

To begin something is always difficult, especially when it means changing old habits. It is reasonable to expect frustrations in the first attempts. Those whom speculators call tenants are in large part bums and convicts, taken from the dregs of Europe, and with such people any experiment would be unfruitful. On the other hand, those who have made large scale colonization attempts and have brought tenants directly from Europe without having a base on which to firm themselves naturally erred in some of their calculations, and experienced bitter disappointments. The feeding and acclimatization of a considerable number of people with customs so opposite from ours are in themselves grave difficulties, and tend to be aggravated day to day in hasty contracts which do not duly consider the interests of both parties.

However, we see that Senador Vergueiro has not only maintained the colonization which he began on his plantation, but has reaped from it great advantages, simply because he is an intelligent, tenacious man who did not become discouraged with the first difficulties he encountered.

It is not our purpose to propose a complete plan for colonization. This is a difficult matter, one we are not equipped to handle. But it seems to us that the system of partnership can be maintained as long as the contracts are made out in such a way that they meet the interests of both parties. With good tenants the system offers incontestable advantages to the landowner, assuring him of a certain profit and freeing him from the burden of slavery which is the gravest and most serious problem facing our agriculture. The only difficulty lies in finding good tenants. But on this point experience should be our teacher. The planters must try it out, but in small scale. One might, for example, bring in ten workers; if five run away of show themselves unsatisfactory, substitute this number in the same way, and in a short time there will be a nucleus of ten which can be steadily increased without problems, for the new tenants will arrive to find habits already formed and they will adapt themselves to these. With such people the planters can make satisfactory
contracts which in all probability will please both parties.

As to slavery, experience shows that planters who bought large numbers of slaves did not make out well. Those who did the opposite had better results. The reason is that once a nucleus of good slaves is formed, those who are added to it also become good through contact and example. Why should this not be the case with colonization? The consequences should be the same, especially if the planters unite and have honest, hard-working men of the field chosen and sent over directly by a trustworthy representative.

So we repeat: colonization is the only means left to us to sustain our agriculture; the ports of Africa are locked forever, the present slaves tend to disappear due to the rate of mortality which, in this class, is very disproportionate to the birthrate.

2. The planters should have arms and ammunition corresponding to the number of free individuals, deposited in a safe-house and always ready for any unexpected occurrence.

3. Keep a vigilant police force, requiring all slaves to sleep in an enclosed area, prohibiting communication from one plantation to another, and not permitting slaves to keep any arms besides those absolutely necessary for their work.

4. Permit and even promote entertainment among slaves. To take recreation away from a man who works from dawn to dusk, without any hope, is barbarous and senseless. Africans, in general, are lovers of certain amusements. To forbid them is to reduce slaves to despair, the most dangerous of counselors. Those who enjoy themselves do not conspire.

5. Promote, through all possible means, religious ideas among slaves, encouraging them to go to confession, to attend mass as often as possible, and to observe certain holy days. The planter who thus proceeds, besides fulfilling his Christian duty, has many advantages. Religion is a brake and teaches resignation. Experience has shown that if one does not give this direction to African ideas, slaves will try to organize secret societies of their own, impelled by the mystical bent of their spirit. These societies are, in appearance, religious, but they are always dangerous because of the ease with which they can be used for sinister purposes.

6. Permit the slaves to have plots of land so they will become fixed to the plantation through love of property. The slave who owns does not run away, neither does he promote disorder.

APPENDIX B

SLAVES IMPORTED INTO RIO DE JANEIRO THROUGH THE INTER-PROVINCIAL TRADE, 1852-1862

<table>
<thead>
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<th>Year</th>
<th>From North</th>
<th>From South</th>
<th>Total</th>
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<tbody>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
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<tr>
<td>1862*</td>
<td>857</td>
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<td>958</td>
</tr>
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</table>

* To July

APPENDIX C

LETTER FROM FRENCH ABOLITIONIST SOCIETY TO D. PEDRO II
SEPTEMBER 1866

Sir!

At the moment when the Republic of the United States, victorious in a long and deadly war, has granted liberty to four million slaves; at the moment when Spain seems ready to heed the voice of humanity and justice, we are bold to direct to your Majesty an ardent appeal in favor of the slaves of your Empire.

We know, sir, and none in Europe ignores, that Your Majesty is powerful in your Empire, and that your strength lies in recognized administration and in sincere love of your people.

You have already abolished the traffic, but this measure is incomplete. One word, one desire of Your Majesty can bring liberty to two million men. You can give the example, sir, and be certain that you will be followed, for Brazil has never looked upon slavery as a divine institution.

Generous voices are raised every year in assemblies, in the press, in the pulpit, to request abolition. The number of slaves is less than that of free men, and nearly one-third already live in the cities where they practice a trade or act as servants, and it is easy to raise them to the condition of paid workers. Immigrants will make their way to your provinces once slavery has disappeared. Abolition, which should heed facts, interests, situations, seems less difficult in Brazil, where the customs are mild and hearts are humane and Christian.

Our desire for Your Majesty, already illustrious by means of arms, of letters, of the art of governing, is that of a more beautiful and purer glory, and therefore we hope that Brazil will not continue to be the only Christian land affected by slavery.

Source: Brasil Gerson, A escravidão no império, pp. 86-87.
Translation by Joan Meznar.
APPENDIX D

SPEECH OF CHRISTIANO OTTONI IN THE SENATE
JUNE 9, 1884

In the first place, for some years in these parts crimes and unrest on
the part of slaves toward their masters, administrators and overseers
have multiplied deplorably, with disquieting frequency. This sorry
fact should be studied by the public powers.

When this observation was made in the Chamber of Deputies, it was argued
that it was nothing new; there have always been similar facts. But if
such an argument was sincere it was not well-pondered. There has never
been what there is now. One crime or another of this type, committed
at long intervals, did not represent the seriousness of the present
situation.

It is deplorable that this increase in crime coincides with a significant
improvement in the treatment of slaves. Another symptom worthy of
observation.

I, Mr. President, have already completed 73 years of age; for over half
a century I have had the use of my reason; I see, I hear, I observe.
I can already be considered a living tradition who can contribute
something to our nation's history. In this quality, referring to my
own observations, I can give testimony to that which I just affirmed:
treatment of slaves in Brazil has progressively improved. Before the
end of the traffic, while the slave ships poured legions of Africans
on our shores, these were sold at a low price. Masters in general,
with rare exceptions, were indifferent to the lifespan of their slaves;
and even those incapable of cruel punishments (fortunately these were the
majority) generally cheapened the life of the slave through excessive
work. There were 12 to 14 hours of severe labor in sun and in rain; then
two hours at night, preparing grains for their own feeding and for the
feeding of the domestic animals; there was one more hour at dawn,
preparing the courtyard before receiving breakfast; in short, slaves were
expected to do heavy labor 15 or 16 hours a day, a task no one can
consistently keep up. To this must also be added insufficient or
inadequate alimentation, and clothing which was barely sufficient to
cover their nudity.

It was a current doctrine among masters, I heard it from many, that the
slave who worked one year, besides planting and harvesting enough for
his own sustenance, produced so much that the liquid profit from his
work would at least cover his purchase price. From the second year on
all was profit. Therefore, why worry much about them when new slaves
could easily be obtained at low prices?

With the end of the traffic, however, slave prices increased, and
treatment immediately softened, it became more humane. The invasion of
cholera morbus, which decimated the slave population, resulted in great
improvement of housing, clothing, general well-being, removal from work
when it rained, etc.; and the law of September 28 further improved these
conditions. Today there is no doubt that the lot of the slave in
Brazil is not inferior to that of the journeyman in the great nations of
Europe. When, therefore, the living conditions of the slaves improved
considerably, their irritation, their ferocity grew! This fact should
be observed by all men who ponder the future of this nation.

But, alongside these facts, there appear others which are equally sad,
and even more worthy of condemnation because they are carried out by
free men. I refer to the armed expulsion of certain judges from their
homes by individuals who call themselves the people; the expulsion of
lawyers who legally petition the freedom of some slaves; and excesses
which are even more noteworthy: the invasion of prisons and the removal
or criminals who are then drawn and quartered in public square!

And what is even more fearsome is the silence which surrounds these
facts. To the expelled judge the government gives another district,
and citizens whose rights have been violated must search him out there.
Nobody has yet heard it said that the one or the ones responsible for
the prison assaults and the murder of criminals has been discovered.
Authorities are satisfied with affirming--it is the Lynch Law.

Supposing it were a Lynch Law used in some of the states of the American
Union. I ask all those responsible for leadership in our public affairs:
would you wish to admit such a style into our country? Is what you see
in North America more worthy of emulation? I, for certain, do not wish
it. But there is, even so, a great difference between the Lynch Law in
the American states and that which presently occurs among ourselves;
there it is a tradition, not established by written law but tolerated by
authorities and by the people, not to attack the prisons and remove
criminals, no; ordinarily it is some scoundrel who was able to elude the
judges and escape legal punishment. Then it is customary among those
people to lay hold of the criminal, judge him summarily in public, and
erect a scaffold for him. But the leaders of the movement present them-
selves openly before the masses, in public square, and carry out in broad
daylight their summary justice, from which God should spare us.

They are responsible for what they do. Here, however, they go about at
night, or masked, or else send out anonymous mandates which guarantee
impunity for those acts committed; usually, after a few weeks, the police deputy (who sometimes takes part in the assault) limits himself to writing the president of the province in these terms:--in spite of all our inquiries, to this day we have not been able to discover those responsible for the crime.

This order of facts, along with the first ones to which I referred, constitute a threat, if not already the beginning of a civil war, a war of blood, of extermination, of death between two fractions of the population, eliminating action on the part of the authorities, and application of the laws. And these horrors are aggravated by hatred among the races!

On this point I would like the Ministry to be explicit, to manifest its impression.

I do not speak lightly when I consider these facts as sons of propaganda, of an idea which is being followed and is forming a system. May the Senate listen to me.

Nobody ignores the fact that among the representatives of agriculture of a large part of the south of the Empire there is an idea, a propaganda, an agreement of which public officials should be aware. There is a large scale agreement to pressure the juries so that these will not condemn guilty slaves, but will rather absolve them in order to return them to their masters, who naturally carry out justice with their own hands.

I would like the Ministry to declare whether it agrees, whether it also applauds this state of affairs, a class of society giving itself the right to carry out justice with its own hands, assuming over human beings _jus vitae et necis._

I know that this is the disposition of those who cultivate coffee in general. I have news from several municipalities, and I have heard this declaration from the mouths of no less than three important planters, one of whom is a very illustrious man.

And this purpose has already been carried out in several municipalities; slaves, proven criminals, have been absolved by juries and delivered to their masters.

I repeat what I said a short while ago: if this is not the beginning of a tremendous race war, it is at least a serious threat.

Source: _Anais do Senado_, 1884, pp. 30-31. Translation by Joan Meznar.
CHAPTER I
SLAVE RESISTANCE IN BRAZIL


4Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 49.


6Ibid., p. 73.

7Ibid., pp. 53-54.

8Ibid., p. 64.

9Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 139.


Ibid., pp. 84-85.


Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 132.

Artur Ramos, "Castigos de escravos," quoted by Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 133.

Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 131.

Gerson, O café, p. 84.

Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 149.

Ibid., p. 162.

Ibid., p. 130.

Caio Prado Jr., Historia econômica do Brasil, quoted by Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 130.


Ibid., p. 116.


Ramos, O negro na civilização brasileira, p. 92.

Ibid., p. 94.

Quoted by Gama Lima, "Rebeldia negra em Campos," p. 111.
CHAPTER II
THE PROVINCE OF RIO DE JANEIRO


CHAPTER III
THE END OF THE SLAVE TRAFFIC


3Ibid., pp. 17-18.


5Evaristo de Moraes, A escravidão africana no Brasil, quoted by Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 63.


8Evaristo de Moraes, A escravidão africana no Brasil, das origens à extinção (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1933), p. 178.


11Relatório do chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1835, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

12Letter from municipal judge to colonel in charge of National Guard Legion of Vassouras, 1835, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

13Reis de Queiroz, Escravidão em São Paulo, p. 55.


16 Relatório do subdelegado de polícia de Rio Bonito ao chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, August 9, 1842, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

17 Relatório do subdelegado de polícia de Barra Mansa ao chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1842, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


20 Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

21 Relatório do subdelegado de polícia de Cabo Frio ao chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1851, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

22 Relatório do subdelegado de polícia de Itaipú ao chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1859, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

23 Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


26 Conrad, *Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, p. 31.


28 Ibid.

29 Ibid., p. 54.

30 Ibid.
CHAPTER IV

FREEDOM FOR NEWBORNS


5Ibid.


7Relatório do delegado de Campos ao chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, 1870, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


9Ibid., p. 105.

10Stein, Vassouras, p. 146.

11Ibid., p. 75.

12Ibid., p. 200.

13Ibid., p. 204


CHAPTER V

ABOLITIONISTS AND ABOLITION


3 Ibid., p. 257.

4 Ibid., pp. 256-57.

5 "Estatutos do Club dos Libertos Contra a Escravidão," 1881, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.

6 Souza, Ciclo áureo de Campos, pp. 258-59.


8 Conrad, Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, p. 134.


11 Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


13 Conrad, Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, p. 127.


15 Telegram from delegado do termo da freguesia de S. Bento to chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, April 30, 1882, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.
16 Telegram from delegado de polícia de Campos to chefe de polícia da província do Rio de Janeiro, April 30, 1882, Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


18 Ibid., p. 144.

19 Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


21 Sousa, Ciclo áureo de Campos, p. 259.


26 Relatório do Chefe de Polícia da Província do Rio de Janeiro, 1885, p. 4, Sala Mattoso Maia, Biblioteca Municipal de Niterói.


28 Ibid., p. 145.


31 Sousa, Ciclo áureo de Campos, pp. 264-65.

32 Ibid.

33 Arquivo Municipal de Niterói.


36 Ibid., p. 27.
40 Conrad, Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, p. 117.
41 Gerson, Escravidão no império, pp. 284-85.
42 Sousa, Ciclo áureo de Campos, p. 268.
43 Ibid., p. 270.
44 Ibid., p. 271.
46 Ibid., p. 655.
47 Sousa, Ciclo áureo de Campos, p. 272.
48 Ibid.
49 Ibid., pp. 273-74.
51 Graham, Ensaios, p. 2.
52 Cavalcanti A. Jr., "Os republicanos fluminenses," p. 270.
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