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# **Making Abolition Brazilian: British Law and Brazilian Abolitionists in Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais and Pernambuco**

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## **Abstract**

This article compares two cases in which Brazilian abolitionists mobilized around a law passed in 1843 to prohibit British subjects, no matter where they resided, from owning slaves. Placing a case against a large British-owned gold mine in Minas Gerais alongside outcry against a Scottish widow who owned two slaves in Recife, the article argues that this law was used as a rhetorical tool to gain support for abolitionism and create public outrage against British slaveholders in Brazil at a moment of expanding public participation in abolitionism as a form of nationalism.

**Keywords:** British Abolitionism, Brazilian Abolitionism, Act for the More Effectual Suppression of the Slave Trade, Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, Morro Velho, Abolitionist discourse

On 4 March 4 1883, an article entitled ‘Scandal!’ appeared on the second page of the Recife daily newspaper *Jornal do Recife*. Below this single word, a line in all caps read: ‘SCOTTISH WOMAN, OWNER OF SLAVES’. The author, ‘Lincoln’ (the pseudonym used by the Republican journalist, lawyer, and abolitionist Francisco Faelante da Câmara Lima), opened his article stating ‘If we are not mistaken and English law was not made for *Brazilians to see* [*para brasileiro ver*], no subject of Queen Victoria is permitted to directly or indirectly possess slaves, even if he were to reside in a country that allows slavery’.<sup>1</sup> In this article, Lincoln made a bold rhetorical gesture: he affirmed national cultural distinctions (roast beef and feijoada) while inverting the popular expression ‘*para ingles ver*’, literally translated as ‘for the English to see’. In current usage, the expression describes an act performed merely for show or appearances, and has nothing to do with the English (*ingles*) in its wording. Nonetheless, the origin of the expression ties together the history of Brazilian slavery law and the British gaze. By most accounts, this expression was first used in reference to the first law to prohibit the slave trade to Brazil in 1831, referred to frequently as ‘*a lei para ingles ver*’ or ‘the law for the British to see’. The name recalls British pressure to end the slave trade and slavery in general and highlights the perceived notion that Brazilian law and efforts toward abolition of the international slave trade and slavery were carried out simply to divert the British gaze.<sup>2</sup> Lincoln turned this expression around, inverting the roles of the nations whose histories were so enmeshed through slavery, industry, mining, and abolition.

Lincoln’s clever criticism was made possible by the passing of the British ‘Act for the More Efectual Suppression of the Slave Trade’, referred to by Brazilians as ‘The British Law of 1843’, which prohibited ownership of slaves by British subjects ‘wheresoever residing or being, and whether within the Dominions of the British Crown or of any Foreign Country’.<sup>3</sup> With the

passing of this law, British subjects who owned slaves in Brazil found themselves trapped between the British Law of 1843, which outlawed owning slaves, and the Brazilian Rio Branco law of 1871 (also known as the Free Womb Law), which ordered that all slaves had to be registered by the close of the following year. In addition, a clause appended to the Rio Branco Law on 8 June 1872 stipulated that no individual previously conceded liberty could be re-enslaved.<sup>4</sup> Upon registering their slaves, British subjects in Brazil opened themselves up to criticism from abolitionists and the press, who attempted to use British law as leverage against British slaveholders in Brazil.

After providing a brief history of abolition law in Brazil, this article presents two cases in which Brazilian abolitionists used the British Law of 1843 to mobilize against British slave-owners in Brazil. The first is the famous case of the Cata Branca slaves, illegally held for decades by the British-owned St. John d'el Rey Mining Company – one of the most successful gold mines in Latin America and the largest employer of slaves in the state with the largest slave population in Brazil in the mid-nineteenth century.<sup>5</sup> This article compares the case of the Cata Branca slaves with the case against a widowed Scottish hotel owner named Margareth Cowie who had registered four slaves to her name in Recife, Pernambuco. Placing these two cases side-by-side demonstrates how abolitionists and their societies mobilized against different types of slaveholder, how abolitionists adopted and modified methods used around the country, and how the British Law of 1843 was used not only legally, but also discursively. I examine company and legal documents, newspaper articles, diplomatic and personal correspondence, and the records of a Brazilian abolitionist society in Recife to argue that the law was a powerful rhetorical tool used in the press to gain support and create a public outcry against British slaveholders in Brazil. In using this law, Brazilian abolitionists nationalized abolitionist discourse, making it rhetoric for

Brazilians – and not just the British – to see. This is not to say that Brazilian abolitionists were previously subjugated to the British. Rather, the inversion of who urged whom to follow their own law provided an effectual rhetorical tool to emphasize and strengthen Brazilian abolitionist discourse. It did so by highlighting the limits of British abolitionism at a moment of expanding public participation in abolitionism as a form of nationalism.

### **An Abbreviated Timeline of British and Brazilian Slavery Law in Brazil**

Brazil was the largest importer of African slaves throughout the span of the Atlantic Slave Trade. According to the most recent estimates from *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, 29,275 enslaved Africans disembarked in Brazil in the sixteenth century, 784,457 in the seventeenth century, 1,989,017 in the eighteenth century, and 2,061,625 in the nineteenth century (counting up to 1866).<sup>6</sup> While Rio de Janeiro was the most active and important slave port in Brazil, slightly over 1,300,000 enslaved Africans arrived through the port of Bahia and 800,000 through Recife.<sup>7</sup> Many of the African slaves arriving in Recife and Bahia in the sixteenth and seventeenth century labored in the sugar industry, but in the eighteenth century most were sent via the São Francisco and Velhas Rivers to Minas Gerais as sugar prices went up and gold mines and coffee plantations profited.<sup>8</sup> During the eighteenth century, Rio de Janeiro displaced Bahia as the largest supplier of slaves to the gold mines of Minas Gerais.<sup>9</sup>

Meanwhile, throughout most of the nineteenth century, the British Parliament actively supported and enacted abolitionist policy. In 1807, British Parliament declared it illegal for any British subject to participate in the slave trade after 1 May 1808.<sup>10</sup> For the next two decades, British authorities pressured the Portuguese Crown and (after Brazilian Independence in 1822) the Brazilian Emperor, Dom Pedro, to abolish the Brazilian slave trade.<sup>11</sup> In exchange for recognizing Brazilian Independence, British authorities required Brazil to sign a treaty in 1826

agreeing to end the slave trade in Brazil by 1830.<sup>12</sup> In 1831, Brazil passed the Feijó Law, popularly known as the ‘lei para ingles ver’, prohibiting Brazilian participation in the slave trade.<sup>13</sup> While the importation of slaves did slow for a time, the expansion of the coffee industry in the 1830s discouraged Brazilian enforcement of this law and an illegal slave trade flourished.<sup>14</sup> Meanwhile, British vessels had patrolled the seas since 1817, and, under the Aberdeen Act of 1845, categorized the slave trade as piracy and even confiscated ships.<sup>15</sup> It is within these attempts at the abolition of the slave trade that the British and Foreign Antislavery Society was founded by Joseph Sturge in 1839, focusing on the abolition of slavery itself and organizing two successful World Anti-Slavery Conventions (in 1840 and 1843).<sup>16</sup> In 1850, Brazil agreed to end its participation in the transatlantic slave trade and by 1853, traffic had virtually halted.<sup>17</sup>

The abolition of the Brazilian slave trade was a morale boost not only to British abolitionists, but also to those Brazilians who hoped to begin gradual emancipation. After years of debate, the Brazilian Senate passed the Rio Branco Law, also known as the Free Womb Law, on 27 September 1871. The law is best known for declaring all children born to enslaved mothers free, though they would live with their masters until they turned either eight or twenty-one years old (in the first case, owners were compensated by the state and turned the eight-year old child over to authorities; in the second, owners were compensated by the child’s labor until s/he reached twenty-one years of age). The law did not outright abolish slavery, but it did more than just promise the eventual freedom of newborns. As mentioned in the introduction to this article, it mandated the registration of slaves and prohibited the re-enslavement of freed people. It also created an emancipation fund and allowed slaves to save money toward their own emancipation.<sup>18</sup> Not satisfied with this law, in 1879, deputies Jeronymo Sodré (Bahia) and

Joaquim Nabuco (Pernambuco) began to give incendiary abolitionist speeches in the Chamber of Deputies, gaining support from abolitionist journalists like José do Patrocínio.<sup>19</sup> Quickly, abolitionist clubs formed around the country from the Associação Central Emancipadora in Rio de Janeiro to the Sociedade Libertadora Cearense in Fortaleza and the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora in Recife, discussed in more detail below.<sup>20</sup> Nabuco tried to present a bill that would abolish slavery by the end of the 1880s to the Chamber, but pro-slavery deputies would not allow its presentation.<sup>21</sup> Lacking support in the Chamber, Nabuco founded the Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society as a Brazilian version of the British abolitionist organization and began to publish the newspaper *O abolicionista*.<sup>22</sup>

In 1881, *jangadeiros*, or raft fishermen, in Ceará brought a much needed boon to the abolitionist movement. On the wake of a severe drought and small-pox epidemic, on 27 January 1881, Francisco José do Nascimento, or the ‘Sea Dragon’, led *jangadeiros* in a coordinated strike.<sup>23</sup> The *jangadeiros* were supposed to carry slaves from shore to ships that would take them for sale to a southern port, but instead they joined the Sociedade Libertadora Cearense in an effort to stop this trade.<sup>24</sup> The *jangadeiros* initially refused to load fourteen slaves onto the *Espírito Santo*, and then effectively closed down the port for most of the year.<sup>25</sup> Patrocínio himself visited Ceará during the strike, facilitating the spread of news and inspiration to abolitionists around the country, which eventually made the ‘Sea Dragon’ one of few memorialized popular heroes in the Brazilian abolitionist movement.<sup>26</sup> On 25 March 1884, Ceará became the first Brazilian province to abolish slavery.

In 1884, for the first time, abolitionism took on, in the words of Robert Conrad, ‘the character of a mass movement’.<sup>27</sup> Over the next few years, the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies would debate and pass a series of laws that put limits on slavery, including a law granting liberty

to slaves sixty years of age or older (Saraiva-Cotegipe Law) on 28 September 1885 and a law revoking the legality of the public whipping of slaves on 16 October 1886.<sup>28</sup> As slavery became increasingly less popular, a runaway movement formed and slaves began to abandon plantations en masse in São Paulo in 1886. Finally, on 13 May 1888, with the passing of the Golden Law, Brazil became the last country in the hemisphere to abolish slavery.<sup>29</sup> It is within this context that the cases against the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company Limited in Minas Gerais and against Mrs. Cowie in Pernambuco unfolded.

### **The Case against the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company Limited**

Within the study of Brazilian abolition, the case of the Cata Branca slaves has already gained considerable academic attention. The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company was British, with headquarters in London, which has attracted scholars setting out to contrast British abolitionism with British slave holding in Brazil. Marshall C. Eakin used the Morro Velho case to emphasize that British Foreign Office and British business did not always agree.<sup>30</sup> Matt Childs argued that the case against slaveholding at St. John d'el Rey Mining Company provided an opening for Brazilian abolitionists to rally against the British company.<sup>31</sup> A 2010 essay, relied on the case to highlight cooperation between British and Brazilian abolitionists, stressing the successes that came from these interactions, while recently Chris Evans examined the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the British Law of 1843 to argue that the law was 'ineffectual and unloved'.<sup>32</sup> Here, the case demonstrates how Brazilian abolitionists mobilized around the British Law of 1843 and the apparent contradiction of British slave-holding in Brazil to nationalize abolitionist discourse.

The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company Limited was one of eighteen British companies to arise out of the nineteenth-century gold mining boom in Brazil. A group of British investors

formed St. John d'el Rey as a joint stock company in 1830 and in 1834 acquired the Morro Velho mine and the 136 slaves which worked it, bringing its total slave labor force to around 186. Due to mine renovation and expansion, the company only began to pay dividends to stockholders in 1842, but continued to regularly pay dividends every year thereafter with the exception of a seven-year period following a mine collapse in 1867 and an eight-year period between 1874 and 1882 characterized by administrative change, another mine collapse and the construction of a new mine. Overall, in the period between 1830 and 1887, St. John d'el Rey paid dividends sixty percent of the time.<sup>33</sup>

St. John d'el Rey relied on free as well as slave labor. By the mid-1850s, a community of about 150 British subjects had formed in Morro Velho, about half of which were mineworkers.<sup>34</sup> With few exceptions, Europeans held the supervisory and administrative positions at the mine, while slaves and Brazilian free laborers held manual labor and lower-level positions. In 1834, captive labor formed just under forty percent of the total labor force. Over the next few years, captive labor would become increasingly important at Morro Velho, only dropping below fifty percent in the decade preceding abolition in 1888. In the early years, the directors of St. John d'el Rey claimed that scarcity of free labor and the 'lack of responsibility' of free workers led it to rely on slave labor.<sup>35</sup> By the 1860s, the company held approximately 1,400 slaves.<sup>36</sup> **Fig. 1 here**

After the British Law of 1843 outlawed slave ownership for the British-owned St. John d'el Rey, the company chose to rent slaves – a practice common in Minas Gerais during this period – from several failed mining ventures in Minas Gerais.<sup>37</sup> In 1845, St. John d'el Rey absorbed the assets of the collapsed Brazilian Mining Company, one of several enterprises formed in London in the 1830s and 1840s to mine gold in Minas Gerais.<sup>38</sup> Shortly thereafter, on 27 June 1845 in London, the two companies drew up a rental contract stipulating that the 385

slaves who had worked the Cata Branca mines for the Brazilian Mining Company would work for St. John d'el Rey for fourteen years.<sup>39</sup> At the end of the contract, in 1859, the slaves were to be freed. Further, the Cata Branca slaves who were minors when the contract went into effect would become free upon reaching twenty-one years of age, as would any children later born of these slaves. This contract was ratified and recognized in Brazil on 4 March 1846.<sup>40</sup>

Through court and company documents, we learn some demographic details about the Cata Branca slaves. Of the 385 slaves, 221 were men, eighty-eight were women, and seventy-six were children. Among the children, the sex ratio was closer, with forty-three male and thirty-three female children.<sup>41</sup> Many of the surnames derive from toponyms or ethnonyms, such as those of Helena Congo, Maria Mina, Ignez Creoula, Catharina Benguella, Francisca Cambinda, and Josepha Mosambique.<sup>42</sup> While most slaves in Minas Gerais in the mid-nineteenth centuries were Brazilian-born at this time, just under forty percent of the overall slave population in the region was still African-born.<sup>43</sup> These toponyms and ethnonyms included in the contract might indicate that the listed slaves were African-born, but color and ethnicity often passed on from generation to generation in nineteenth-century Minas Gerais, demonstrating the complex diversity of the workforce.<sup>44</sup> While 149 of the Cata Branca slaves worked within the mines, twenty-one worked in the forges.<sup>45</sup> Women worked primarily as spallers, who manually broke ore into smaller fragments, though about twenty men carried out this task as well.<sup>46</sup> The rest of the slaves held various occupations, including stone layers, carpenters, cooks, and nurses.<sup>47</sup> If patterns of the general slave population at Morro Velho apply to those of the Cata Branca slaves, teenagers and older laborers worked in 'menial labor and domestic service', while children and the elderly did little work.<sup>48</sup>

While the 1845 contract stipulated that all of the Cata Branca slaves would be free by

1859, at the passage of the Rio Branco Law in 1871, the slaves still remained in captivity.<sup>49</sup> The Rio Branco Law presented a particularly awkward situation. The law required the matriculation of the slaves, but as the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company rented but did not actually own the Cata Branca slaves, the company's director (and Vice-Consul of Great Britain to Minas Gerais), James Gordon, registered them in the name of the defunct Brazilian Mining Company. Only later did he seek and gain power of attorney from the Brazilian Mining Company's remaining (and possibly fictitious) representatives in London.<sup>50</sup>

A Brazilian by the name of Antonio Carlos Rebello Horta denounced the false registration to the municipal judge of Sabará, under whose jurisdiction the Morro Velho mines resided.<sup>51</sup> The judge, Dr. Chassim Drummond, placed the slaves 'in deposit', which changed their status on paper, but had no bearing on their physical reality. Drummond named Coronel Jacintho Dias da Silva as trustee and defense attorney for the slaves.<sup>52</sup> On 11 June 1877, Silva filed for the slaves' freedom based on Gordon's false registration in 1872.<sup>53</sup> The courts ruled, though, that Silva had to file an official suit for freedom.<sup>54</sup> On 21 July, the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company presented new evidence to the courts, now claiming to have reached a new agreement with the Brazilian Mining Company before the Cata Branca contract had expired. St. John d'el Rey produced for the courts a second contract, supposedly made on 27 June 1857 – two years before the slaves were to be released by the first contract. According to St. John d'el Rey, this new agreement required only that the company manumit Cata Branca slaves at the same rate per year as it did its own.<sup>55</sup>

The company's archives do house discussions between St. John d'el Rey and Brazilian Mining Company representatives around this date. On 8 May 1857 John Hockin, who served on the Board of St. John d'el Rey, communicated to Thomas Walker, then Superintendent of the

company at Morro Velho, that ‘the British Company’ would not interfere with the decisions made at the Morro Velho mine regarding emancipation, adding his opinion that emancipation should be granted based on good conduct.<sup>56</sup> Later in St. John d’el Rey’s board minutes from the same month, a certain Mr. Harding of the Brazilian Mining Company stated that freeing the Cata Branca slaves at the end of the agreement was ‘a measure wholly unadvisable, in every point of view and particularly with reference to the welfare of the negroes themselves’.<sup>57</sup> On 22 May 1857, the board minutes inform that it was resolved that ‘the Brazilian Company be invited to authorize their company to grant emancipation to such number of the Blacks hired from them as may represent an equal proportion to those which may be emancipated belonging to this Company’.<sup>58</sup> In a letter from 8 June 1857, Hockin communicated to Walker that five Cata Branca and five St. John d’el Rey slaves ‘be annually freed.’ Hockin also advised that the freed slaves should be adults who might be eager to purchase the freedom of their families, as this motivation would ‘act as a stimulant to labour for some time at least’. By ‘rewarding’ slaves who demonstrated ‘good conduct’, the company justified maintaining the Cata Branca workers in slavery after the expiration of the first contract by, in their view, encouraging if not creating an ethic for free labor. This ‘gradual emancipation’ both assured a continued labor force for St. John d’el Rey and resolved any moral or intellectual conflicts.<sup>59</sup> Nonetheless, a contract to such effect was neither registered in Brazil nor in London. Regardless, the unregistered contract presented to the courts effectively paralyzed the case from June 1877 to September 1879.

Joaquim Nabuco, the above-mentioned deputy from the state of Pernambuco, brought the case wider publicity. Nabuco was already well-known for his vocal abolitionist speeches and writings.<sup>60</sup> In July 1877, the St. John d’el Rey Mining Company correspondence alludes to certain concerns over a mention of the ‘ugly issue’ in the British press, and even suggests that the

man who had written of the case be ‘managed’ and that ‘some little thing’ be put ‘in his way’.<sup>61</sup> According to a letter in Rio de Janeiro’s English-language newspaper *The Rio News*, Charles H. Williams, then director of mines in Cocais, ‘ferreted out the condemnatory documents’ while Nabuco’s ‘brilliant oratory and humane appeals in the Chamber of Deputies, to the national justice, gave effect to these documents’.<sup>62</sup>

Nabuco delivered the ‘brilliant oratory’ that the writer of the article refers to in the Chamber of Deputies on 26 August and 30 September 1879. In the first address, Nabuco urged the Minister of Justice to follow up on the stagnant case, urged the Chamber to consider declaring the slaves free, and filed an official petition for information on the case, which the Chamber approved. While the Chamber supported his emphatic distaste for St. John d’el Rey’s actions, the legality of congressional intervention was disputed.

In this first address, both Nabuco and Ignacio Martins, deputy from the state of Minas Gerais, planted the seeds for Nabuco’s later arguments. Nabuco referred to the illegally enslaved Cata Branca workers as ‘fellow-citizens’ (*concidadãos*), emphasizing that they were legally free and were not only citizens, but ‘Brazilian citizens’. Martins, in his rebuttal, provided more details on the case, agreeing that they were legally free, but reminding Nabuco that:

this fact was previously unknown not only to our authorities, but to British authorities, [in England,] where the contract was made, and had they known of it, their Minister would have filed a complaint some time ago, so that the slaves might have enjoyed the freedom that should have been conceded to them by the contract filed in England.<sup>63</sup>

In Nabuco’s second address to the Chamber of Deputies, a little over a month later, he restated his case and juxtaposed the Brazilian-ness of the illegally enslaved workers with the British-ness of the St. John d’el Rey Mining Company. Instead of referring to St. John d’el Rey

by name, he frequently referred to it, instead as the ‘British company’ (*companhia ingleza*).<sup>64</sup> He highlighted that the company was ‘one of the most important [British companies] in the country, that pays extraordinary dividends to its stockholders’.<sup>65</sup> He referred to the illegally enslaved workers as ‘Brazilian citizens like us’, highlighting that this is a case of oppression of Brazilian citizens by British subjects. Worse yet, according to the deputy, the ‘British company’ knew that they were Brazilian citizens, and instead of righting the situation, they ‘continue to pay the salaries of these men, that they know are free, to individuals who are found in England’.<sup>66</sup>

Yet instead of using this case as an opportunity to argue that the Brazilian abolitionist spirit, in this case, was stronger than that of the British, Nabuco distinguished the illegal actions of the company from the desires of the ‘British government’. Nabuco stated that the British government was concerned with how this case could reflect negatively upon it, as it recognized that the stockholders were ‘their subjects, [who] under the flag of her British Majesty, reduce free people to slaves’. The British government, for this reason had ‘no other interest than to pursue with complete rigor the British laws’ but could not without ‘support from local courts and municipal authorities, where the company is sovereign’ in Brazil. ‘Why’, Nabuco asked, ‘could it be that when the government of England strives to punish its subjects, the noble Minister of Justice [of Brazil] does not denounce all of the employees of the company that reduce free people to slavery?’.<sup>67</sup> The Brazilians, Nabuco argued, should not allow these British subjects to hide from prosecution in Brazil.<sup>68</sup>

While government response to Nabuco’s speech lagged, the press responded immediately. *A Província de São Paulo* published an article summarizing Nabuco’s first speech just three days later on August 29, 1879.<sup>69</sup> *The Rio News* published an article that covered the first page and spilled over to the fourth on September 5, 1879, followed by articles in nearly every issue for the

rest of the year.<sup>70</sup> The *Jornal de Comércio* published articles on September 13 and 20, 1879 and future articles on the Morro Velho case appeared in the *Gazeta de Notícias* (Rio de Janeiro daily newspaper with a circulation of 24,000), *The Anglo-Brazilian Times* (an English-language newspaper of Rio de Janeiro with a circulation of about 1,000, four times a month that preceded *The Rio News*), *The London Daily News*, *The New York Times*, and the *Révue des deux mondes* (French-language newspaper distributed throughout Europe that is still in circulation today).<sup>71</sup>

*The Rio News* was the most vigilant of the newspapers that published accounts of Nabuco's speeches. This newspaper published both of the contracts that St. John d'el Rey presented to the courts, Nabuco's second speech to Parliament, court decisions, letters from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society addressed to Nabuco, and Nabuco's responses.<sup>72</sup> *The Rio News* was so aggressive that when St. John d'el Rey chose to reply to the new attention brought to the case, it addressed its defense not only to Nabuco's Parliamentary speech, but also to arguments made in this newspaper.<sup>73</sup>

In providing such wide coverage, *The Rio News* not only brought publicity to the case, but also provided its readers in Brazil and abroad with direct access to relevant documents and opened a space for public debate on its pages. Further, *The Rio News* gathered additional evidence and cultivated new angles and arguments on the issue that Nabuco himself incorporated into his second Parliamentary address on this issue.<sup>74</sup> These close ties between Nabuco and the English-language press were of strategic importance, as, according to Leslie Bethell and Murilo de Carvalho, Nabuco was fully aware of the importance of international opinion among Brazil's elite.<sup>75</sup> He also was fully aware of the importance of speeches within Parliament for creating press coverage.

On 14 October 1879, the Sabará court decision determined the slaves to be free, though

the company was not bound to release the slaves until a higher court approved the sentence. Nonetheless, pressure from slave unrest forced St. John d'el Rey to free the slaves before receiving the final order. Already in 1877 the slaves had heard of the case, responding with acts of 'insubordination' and receiving harsh discipline in the form of lashings, deemed necessary by the company 'in consequence of the rumour spread among the Cata Branca blacks respecting their freedom'.<sup>76</sup> On 24 October 1879, the illegally held slaves, aware of the Sabará court decision made ten days earlier, began to revolt.<sup>77</sup> As tensions escalated, St. John d'el Rey called in the slaves' Curator, the Judge, the Chief of Police, two soldiers, and a police force of 15 men and their Captain to try to maintain peace and convince the illegally held slaves that they were not yet free.<sup>78</sup> St. John d'el Rey gave in to the slaves' and abolitionists' wishes and freed the Cata Branca workers on 9 December 1879 – four days after a *Rio News* article stated that the slaves were still held in captivity.<sup>79</sup> Of the original 385 Cata Branca slaves, only 123 workers remained at the time of the Sabará court decision; most had died, while a few had gained their freedom before the court decision.<sup>80</sup> After further years of struggle through the lower and Supreme Court, the company finally paid an unspecified sum in back wages on 14 April 1882.<sup>81</sup>

While Nabuco's addresses before the Chamber of Deputies emphasized the Brazilian government's responsibility in this case, his reluctance to condemn the British government for not taking action surely also stemmed from his sympathies with what he referred to as 'the English spirit'. In his memoir *Minha formação*, Nabuco described England as the only 'great free nation' and defined the English spirit as 'the tacit norm of conduct that all of England seems to obey, the center of moral inspiration that governs all of its movements'.<sup>82</sup> For Nabuco, nothing defined the English spirit more than abolitionism which, according to him, it put above all else.<sup>83</sup> Nonetheless, that there were British subjects in the mining industry in Brazil that employed

slaves was already known to the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, with which Nabuco frequently corresponded, as early as 1840, before the filing of the British Law of 1843.<sup>84</sup>

Letters that Nabuco exchanged with members of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society between 1880 and 1882, both while in Brazil and while residing in London (1882), emphasize Nabuco's belief that St. John d'el Rey acted against the English abolitionist spirit and the Society's belief that Nabuco acted as their representative in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies.<sup>85</sup> Nabuco and Williams, the director of the Cocais mines, mentioned above, and a prominent member of the Society, frequently exchanged correspondence about the case.<sup>86</sup> Through their letters, we learn that Williams forwarded correspondence to Nabuco from the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society and provided Nabuco with the documents necessary to condemn the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company.<sup>87</sup> In a letter to Charles H. Allen of the Society, Nabuco stated his position between British abolitionists and the Chamber of Deputies clearly:

I was perfectly aware then that I was rendering a service, both to the English nation and to the slaves of Morro Velho, by denouncing the spoliation of human freedom perpetrated by an important gold mining enterprise of South America under the protection of the British flag.<sup>88</sup>

After the Sabará court decision Nabuco remained active in the Morro Velho case, maintaining contact with the British and Foreign Antislavery Society in London. In January of 1882, Nabuco wrote to Edmund Sturge, Honorary Secretary of the same abolitionist society, requesting information regarding the 'extinct Cata Branca Company' that 'the representative of the Blacks against the Morro Velho Company would like to know'.<sup>89</sup> From November 1881 through February 1882, several letters were exchanged between Nabuco and the Society to prepare for a criminal case in London. This correspondence between Nabuco and the British

abolitionists demonstrates not only that Nabuco continued to use ties with the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society to gain documents for the Morro Velho case, but that the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society also requested documentation and information to prepare a criminal case against St. John d'el Rey in England.<sup>90</sup> Yet, while the Brazilian courts were able to free the illegally enslaved workers at the Morro Velho mines, the British courts did not prosecute St. John d'el Rey representatives in England. In July, 1882, the *Daily News*, reported that while the Attorney-General found the conduct of the directors of St. John d'el Rey 'very reprehensible' and 'contrary their legal obligations', he had informed Mr. Pease (presumably Mr. Joseph Whitwell Pease of Darlington, who represented South Durham) that 'There did not, however, appear to be any chance of succeeding in a criminal prosecution against them'.<sup>91</sup>

### **The Case against Mrs. Cowie in Pernambuco**

In the newspaper article with which this article opened, after presenting British abolitionism as 'para brasileiro ver', Lincoln provided details of another case in which a British subject owned slaves in Brazil. According to Lincoln, a Scottish hotel owner named Margareth Cowie had not yet 'exchanged the British roast beef for the national feijoada', yet she had registered four slaves to her name. Felizarda, the mother of the other three slaves, had passed away between the mandatory registration mandated by the Free Womb Law and the publication of Lincoln's article. Mrs. Cowie had already sold Felizarda's only son, José, who was sent to Rio de Janeiro. Now, according to Lincoln, Ms. Cowie desired to sell the two girls, Rosária and França. But how, he asked, could she sell the girls as slaves if, by the law of her own country, she had no right to own them?<sup>92</sup>

The case that abolitionists attempted to articulate in Recife against Ms. Cowie is quite different from the case against the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company. The Recife case took

place on the heels of the Morro Velho case, with earliest mention appearing in 1883. Importantly, the case was not presented by a federal deputy, but by a vocal, local abolitionist and was investigated not in the courts, but by a newly formed, local abolitionist society: The Sociedade Nova Emancipadora. The Sociedade Nova Emancipadora was formed in the birthplace of Joaquim Nabuco, shortly after the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company decision. Though no direct reference is made to Nabuco in the society's statutes, *O abolicionista*, the newspaper run by Nabuco and the Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão, announced the creation of the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora in its pages.<sup>93</sup> A group of thirty-five merchants drew up the charter of the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora in October of 1880. The statutes state the society's objectives, quite simply, as 'the freeing of slaves', though it would engage in various types of emancipation activities over the course of its existence.<sup>94</sup> To carry out its goal, the Sociedade established a fund created by membership dues and donations used when they were able to convince slave owners to sell their slaves into freedom at prices below market value. According to Celso Castilho and Camillia Cowling, 'women, both enslaved and free, were the funds' principal beneficiaries and became important agents in the process of funding freedom', making this particular case against Ms. Cowie – a widowed woman living in a foreign country – even more complex.<sup>95</sup>

Another distinction is that the case against Mrs. Cowie was held in Recife – a major port city in a region in economic decline, noted for its strong anti-slavery sentiment and activism. After Brazil banned the international trade in slaves in 1850 and as the coffee market expanded in the southern states and sugar profits fell, there was both an economic and population shift toward the south.<sup>96</sup> Devastating droughts, coupled with a smallpox epidemic, forced slaveholders to sell their slaves to the expanding southern markets, marking the beginning of a tradition of

migration from the region.<sup>97</sup> While Recife remained an important northern hub in the production of sugarcane in the 1880s, it was no longer a lucrative, slave-importing port. Nonetheless, well into the 1880s, Pernambuco was still the state with the fifth largest slave population in Brazil. Further, ten percent of Recife's population was still enslaved and seventy-five percent of the state's slaves were held in the 'sugar belt'.<sup>98</sup> Conversely, it also produced a sizeable, organized, urban abolitionist movement.

In 1881, a new electoral law established direct-voting for the Chamber of Deputies and the lower house of Parliament. Importantly, this law required literacy for voting, greatly limiting the number of former slaves who would be able to vote.<sup>99</sup> Celso Castilho argues that the 1880s represent 'a specific moment in the arc of provincial and national politics of antislavery when the most dynamic discussions and initiatives were occurring in the press and on city streets, beyond the parliamentary sphere'.<sup>100</sup> Castilho demonstrates that this more public form of abolitionism 'set in motion significant changes in the meanings and practices of citizenship and national identity', framing emancipation as a 'national problem' and reflecting transformations in political mobilization that allowed for 'ordinary men and women to participate in the struggle for abolition', and, by extension, in the practice of the construction of a national discourse and identity.<sup>101</sup> Between 1880 and 1883, Recife went from having just two abolitionists societies to fourteen, each with its own emancipation funds. This expansion culminated in the creation of the Central Emancipadora do Município do Recife which pulled the societies together as a federation.<sup>102</sup> Castilho contends that this popular form of abolitionist politics 'represented Brazil's first national social movement'.<sup>103</sup>

Unlike the St. John d'el Rey example, the case against Mrs. Cowie, a widowed foreigner and owner of only two slaves, offers a limited paper trail, restricted to a dozen or so letters and a

newspaper article. It does not end with a climactic production of paperwork, but rather fades into silence. Despite the difficulties (and limitations), it is the very contrast between these two cases that makes their comparison so rich and that offers the opportunity to re-examine the repercussions of the British Law of 1843 in Latin America.

The Sociedade Nova Emancipadora sent out four letters to members of the British Foreign Office in Brazil almost immediately following the publication of Lincoln's article in the *Jornal do Recife*. Three of the letters request information on 'whether English subjects, under the laws of their country, can have slaves'.<sup>104</sup> The responses all recognize that British subjects were legally not allowed to possess slaves, but, two of the letters add that British slaveholders could only be prosecuted once arriving in the United Kingdom or one of its 'dependencies'.<sup>105</sup>

The Sociedade Nova Emancipadora sent the fourth letter directly to the British Minister Edwin Corbett in Rio de Janeiro. In his April 20 response, Corbett acknowledges a letter received from the Sociedade on April 4<sup>th</sup> informing him that 'Mrs. Cowie, a British subject, holds certain slaves which she has matriculated in her name'. Corbett does not state that he will act on the matter, but instead, writes that he 'shall not lose sight of this information, and, as far as may be in my power, present the infraction of the Law of 1843'.<sup>106</sup> This, it appears, is the only official response that the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora received on the matter of Mrs. Cowie.

Corbett, apparently did not act on the information, nor did any other British Foreign Office official. Letters to Acting Consul William Hughes set off a flurry of British Foreign Office correspondence. On 17 March 1883, Hughes wrote Corbett informing him that in Pernambuco and Ceará, agitation was on the rise for the abolition of slavery. Hughes reported to Corbett that he had been approached by local abolitionist societies requesting his explicit support but that he had always been careful to suggest that they follow the laws of their country just as he did.

According to Hughes, one such abolitionist society had approached him about Mrs. Cowie. The society had requested that he ‘bring British law into force through the native tribunals, to obtain the freedom of the aforesaid girls and boy’. Hughes claimed to have refused to get involved with the case because, according to the laws of Brazil, foreigners could hold slaves. In addition, offering a clearly gendered interpretation of the right to hold slaves, Hughes continued, ‘I have taken into consideration that Mrs. Cowie is a widow, and unprotected’. Further, according to Hughes, as the children were born in Cowie’s house and as their mother had died, they had ‘always been treated by her [Mrs. Cowie] almost as if they were her own children’. Hughes claimed that the two girls had run away ‘induced to do so by the members, or member, of the said Abolicionist [sic] Society, and under whose protection they are now in hiding’. Hughes’ final argument in favor of restoring the enslaved girls to Mrs. Cowie rested on his responsibilities to all British subjects in Brazil. While recognizing that Mrs. Cowie had broken British law, Hughes claimed that ‘it is my duty to see that she is not illtreated [sic]’. While the abolitionist society had offered Mrs. Cowie 300\$000 for the girls’ freedom, Mrs. Cowie had refused it, stating that she would free them only when they were ‘older and better able to take care of themselves’, perhaps in six years.<sup>107</sup>

Hughes forwarded the letter he had written to Corbett to the Earl Granville, George Leveson-Gower, who was then serving his third and final stint as Foreign Secretary. He added information regarding wider claims made (or, at least, that he perceived to have been made) by abolitionist societies. The way in which Hughes described these claims shows to what extent the abolitionist societies in Recife had placed Acting Consul Hughes on the defensive and uncertain as to how to proceed. Hughes writes:

One of the Abolitionist Societies intimated that they purposed [sic] petitioning the native

Tribunals to take under their protection all slaves matriculated in the names of British subjects, and claims their freedom on the basis that British Law prohibits Slaves being held by British subjects, no matter the country they may reside in. The Societies assert that British Consuls can through the native Law Courts claim the freedom of Slaves in possession of British Subjects. I have consulted my legal adviser on the matter: he does not concur with this view of the question, stating that as all nationalities are allowed by Brazilian law to hold slaves, the native courts could not interfere in the manner proposed by the Abolitionist Societies.

Again, Hughes reported that he had declined to interfere in the issue of slave-owning British subjects in Brazil, submitted the two articles from the *Jornal do Recife* mentioned above, and requested copies of acts regarding the slave trade.<sup>108</sup> About six months later, Hughes wrote Granville again, requesting permission to donate ‘5 to 10 pounds per year’ to the emancipation fund of the abolitionist society, but Granville denied his request.<sup>109</sup> With that letter, the case against Cowie and any possible support for abolitionist societies from the consul in Recife fades from history.

Lincoln’s revelatory article about Mrs. Cowie was not the only article on British slaveholding in Brazil to appear in the *Jornal do Recife* in March 1883. On 28 March 1883 the newspaper printed a letter drafted on 2 March 1883 from Bento Epaminondas, a lawyer in Minas Gerais, calling on the British consul to prosecute the representatives of the St. John d’el Rey Mining Company Ltd. in London. Epaminondas mentioned the British Law of 1843 and highlighted that it prohibited British subjects from not only owning but also from acquiring slaves. ‘We ask’, Epaminondas offered, ‘Since the English Company of Cocaes was extinct or went into liquidation for having suspended the exploitation of its mines, are all of its slaves free

or not, in virtue of the Bill of 1843?'. Epaminondas asked for a response directly from the abolitionist 'Carlos Henry Williams' and requested the attention of the Brazilian Emperor, the Brazilian Minister of Justice, and the British Consul in ensuring the protection of the slaves and prompt justice against the company.<sup>110</sup> Perhaps coincidentally, Epimondas' letter appeared on the same page and in the same column as had Lincoln's article three weeks earlier. Regardless, its appearance demonstrates that knowledge of the St. John d'el Rey case and the British Law of 1843 circulated the country and gave abolitionists the opportunity to connect it to local causes.

The St. John d'el Rey case was a fight against a large, established, wealthy and powerful British enterprise. Perhaps it is due to its visibility that instead of simply purchasing and registering its slaves, as had done Mrs. Cowie, it sought loopholes and contracts that forced it into a realm of legal fantasy. However, in the case that the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora tried to forge against Mrs. Cowie, instead of a giant, the lawbreaker was viewed as helpless, in need of protection, and even, as a feminine victim of the abolitionist groups. She was not just female, but a widow, and the girls she held as slaves were not just girls, but orphans. The Sociedade Nova Emancipadora was unable to convince the British Foreign Office to act in a case that would separate a widow from orphans.

Nonetheless, at a time characterized by the burgeoning sense that abolitionism was a form of public participation that joined local politics with a national abolitionist discourse, it would be rash to discard the importance of this case based simply on the inability to prosecute Mrs. Cowie in the courts under the British Law of 1843. The law offered a discursive tool that, in the Morro Velho case highlighted the responsibility of the Brazilian government to push for the liberation of the Cata Branca slaves, and, in the case against Mrs. Cowie nationalized abolitionist discourse within the public sphere. Through the British Law of 1843, the *Jornal do Recife* was able to flip

the roles of the Brazilians and the British in abolitionist history and the Sociedade Nova Emancipadora could pressure not only Brazilian, but also British subjects to follow international laws regarding the possession and trade of slaves in Brazil. While the law might not have been a decisive force in the courtroom, it provided a strong rhetorical tool for both abolitionists and slaves, emphasizing abolitionism as national discourse and British law as made just for Brazilians to see.

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<sup>1</sup> Lincoln, ‘Escandalo! Escosseza senhora de escravos’, *Jornal do Recife*, March 4, 1883, Setor Microfilmagem, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife, Pernambuco. Lincoln was the pseudonym of Francisco Faelante da Câmara Lima according to Maria Falcão Soares da Cunha, ‘Índice de Dicionário de pseudônimos de jornalistas pernambucanos de Luiz do Nascimento’ (Fundação Joaquim Nabuco), 21, accessed June 29, 2014, <http://www.fundaj.gov.br/geral/200anosdaimprensa/Pseudonimos.pdf>.

<sup>2</sup> As seen in recent studies, the general perception of the law of 1831 as a façade is not necessarily a fair assessment. Luiz Gustavo Santos Cota, ‘Não só "para inglês ver": justiça, escravidão e abolicionismo em Minas Gerais’, *História Social*, no. 21 (2011): 65–92; Argemiro Eloy Gurgel, ‘Uma lei para inglês ver: a trajetória da lei de 7 de novembro de 1831’, *Revista Justiça e História*, 2008; Cleyton Rodrigues dos Santos, ‘Para inglês ver: um estudo sobre a lei de 7 de novembro de 1831’, *Intertemas* 15 (November 2010): 226–43.

<sup>3</sup> This act pertains to the 6<sup>th</sup> and 7<sup>th</sup> Victoriae, chapter 98, section 3. Reference to the act is found in Great Britain, Foreign and Commonwealth Office, *British and Foreign State Papers*, vol. 158 (HMSO, 1879), 409. The UK Statute Law Database lists the excerpt referred to here on their website, with amendments. Office of Public Sector

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Information, 'Slave Trade Act 1843', *The UK Statute Law Database*, accessed May 1, 2014, <http://www.legislation.gov.uk/ukpga/Vict/6-7/98>.

<sup>4</sup> Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Malabar: Krieger, 1993), 75.

<sup>5</sup> Marshall C. Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John D'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830-1960* (Duke University Press, 1989), 16 and 33; Douglas Cole Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro no Brasil: o caso de Morro Velho* (Belo Horizonte: Itatiaia, 1984), 31.

<sup>6</sup> 'Assessing the Slave Trade', in *Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database*, accessed October 2, 2014, <http://slavevoyages.org/tast/assessment/estimates.faces>.

<sup>7</sup> Alexandre Vieira Ribeiro, 'The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582-1851', in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 136-137; Daniel Barros Domingues da Silva and David Eltis, eds., 'The Slave Trade to Pernambuco, 1561-1851', in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 117.

<sup>8</sup> Ribeiro, 'The Transatlantic Slave Trade to Bahia, 1582-1851', 137.

<sup>9</sup> Ibid.; Manolo Florentino, 'The Slave Trade, Colonial Markets, and Slave Families in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil Ca. 1790 - Ca. 1830', in *Extending the Frontiers: Essays on the New Transatlantic Slave Trade Database* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 2008), 278. For a general overview of slavery and politics in Brazil see João Fragoso and Ana Rios, 'Slavery and Politics in Colonial Portuguese America: The Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries', in *The Cambridge World History of Slavery*, ed. David Eltis and Stanley L. Engerman (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2011), 350-77,

<http://universitypublishingonline.org.proxy.library.vanderbilt.edu/cambridge/histories/chapter.jsf?bid=CBO9780511975400&cid=CBO9780511975400A029>. For a roadmap through the literature on slavery in Brazil and the transatlantic slave trade, see the following Oxford Bibliographies articles: Courtney J. Campbell, 'History of the Brazilian Northeast', ed. Ben Vinson, *Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2014), (section on slavery); Matt Childs, 'Atlantic Slavery', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Atlantic History*, ed. Trevor Burnard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010), (section on Brazil); David Northrup, 'The Atlantic Slave Trade', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Atlantic History*, ed. Trevor Burnard (New York: Oxford University Press, 2010).

<sup>10</sup> Leslie Bethell, 'The Independence of Brazil and the Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Anglo-Brazilian Relations, 1822-1826', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 1, no. 2 (November 1969): 115; Holger Lutz Kern, 'Strategies of Legal Change: Great Britain, International Law, and the Abolition of the Transatlantic Slave Trade', *Journal of the History of International Law* 6, no. 2 (2004): 233; John MacMillan, 'Myths and Lessons of Liberal Intervention: The British Campaign for the Abolition of the Atlantic Slave Trade to Brazil', *Global Responsibility to Protect* 4 (2012): 102-103.

<sup>11</sup> Lutz Kern, 'Strategies of Legal Change', 233-250.

<sup>12</sup> Bethell, 'The Independence of Brazil', 145; MacMillan, 'Myths and Lessons of Liberal Intervention', 131. Though, as Lutz Kern noted, the slave trade could still be carried out under the Portuguese flag. Lutz Kern, 'Strategies of Legal Change', 251.

<sup>13</sup> For a thorough discussion of this law, see note 2 above.

<sup>14</sup> Bethell, 'The Independence of Brazil', 146-147. For more on the illegal slave trade in Brazil, see Hebe Mattos, ed., *Diáspora negra e lugares de memória: a história oculta das propriedades voltadas para o tráfico clandestino de escravos no Brasil imperial* (Niterói: Editora da UFF, 2013). For fascinating accounts of the people who survived the period of illegal trading see: João José Reis, Flávio dos Santos Gomes, and Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, *O alufá Rufino: tráfico, escravidão e liberdade no Atlântico Negro (c. 1822-c. 1853)* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2010); Ricardo Tadeu Caíres Silva, 'Memórias do tráfico ilegal de escravos nas Ações de Liberdade: Bahia, 1885-1888', *Afro-Ásia*, 2007.

<sup>15</sup> Bethell, 'The Independence of Brazil', 146-147; Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 257-259; MacMillan, 'Myths and Lessons of Liberal Intervention', 104.

<sup>16</sup> Mike Kaye, 'The Development of the Anti-Slavery Movement after 1807', in *The British Slave Trade: Abolition, Parliament, and People*, ed. Stephen Farrell, Melanie Unwin, and James Walvin (Edinburgh: Edinburgh University Press, 2007), 241; MacMillan, 'Myths and Lessons of Liberal Intervention', 105.

<sup>17</sup> MacMillan, 'Myths and Lessons of Liberal Intervention,' 110. On British slavery and abolition, see also: Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Univ

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of North Carolina Press, 2010).

<sup>18</sup> Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*, Chapters 6 and 7.

<sup>19</sup> Ibid., 135–137.

<sup>20</sup> Ibid., 138.

<sup>21</sup> Ibid.

<sup>22</sup> Ibid., 139–140.

<sup>23</sup> Luiz Geraldo Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, vol. 1, Colônia e Império (Recife: Comissão Pastoral dos Pescadores, 1988); Oswaldo de Oliveira Riedel, *Perspectiva antropológica do escravo no Ceará* (Fortaleza: Universidade Federal do Ceará, 1988), 25; Marshall C. Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country* (New York: St. Martin's Griffin, 1997), 71.

<sup>24</sup> Lusirene Celestino França Ferreira, 'Nas asas da imprensa: a repercussão da abolição da escravatura na província do Ceará nos periódicos do Rio de Janeiro (1884-1885)' (Master's thesis, Universidade Federal de São João del-Rei, 2010), 31. The Sociedade Libertadora Cearense was formed on December 8, 1880 and included 225 members, all 'intellectuals and liberal professionals [meaning doctors and lawyers, and other groups that require a formal education and do not perform manual labor]', Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, 1, Colônia e Império: 179.

<sup>25</sup> Ferreira, 'Nas asas da imprensa', 31; Silva, *Os pescadores na história do Brasil*, 1, Colônia e Império: 180.

<sup>26</sup> Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*, 186–193; Ferreira, 'Nas asas da imprensa', 32; Celso Castilho, 'Abolitionism Matters: The Politics of Antislavery in Pernambuco, Brazil, 1869-1888' (Doctoral dissertation, University of California at Berkeley, 2008), 74–75. In the city of Fortaleza, the extensive art, educational, and cultural complex 'Centro Dragão do Mar de Arte e Cultura' is named in his honor. In 1941, a group of jangadeiros set out from Fortaleza to Rio de Janeiro on a well-publicized protest amid press invocations of the Sea Dragon. For more on the Dragão do Mar and the jangadeiros, see: Courtney J. Campbell, 'The Brazilian Northeast, Inside Out: Region, Nation, and Globalization (1926-1968)' (PhD Dissertation, Vanderbilt University, 2014), chapter 2; Edmar Morel, *Dragão do Mar* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições do Povo, 1949).

<sup>27</sup> Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*, 194.

<sup>28</sup> Ibid., Chapters 14 and 15.

<sup>29</sup> While I relied heavily on Robert Conrad's study of Brazilian Abolition to construct this chapter, there is a rich trove of literature from which to select, including other general works like: David Baronov, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil: The 'Liberation' of Africans through Emancipation of Capital* (Westport, CT: Greenwood Press, 2000); Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da senzala à colônia* (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1966); Rebecca Scott, *The Abolition of Slavery and the Aftermath of Emancipation in Brazil* (Duke University Press, 1988); Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1972). For more pointed studies, see: Marcus J. M. de Carvalho, *Liberdade: rotinas e rupturas do escravismo no Recife, 1822-1850*, 2nd ed. (Recife: Editora Universitária UFPE, 2010); Camillia Cowling, *Conceiving Freedom: Women of Color, Gender, and the Abolition of Slavery in Havana and Rio de Janeiro* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2013); Maria da Vitória Barbosa Lima, *Liberdade interdita, liberdade reavida: escravos e libertos na Paraíba escravista (século XIX)* (Brasília: Fundação Cultural Palmares, 2013); Ricardo Salles, 'Abolição no Brasil: Resistência escrava, intelectuais e política (1870-1888)', *Revista de Indias* LXXI, no. 251 (n.d.): 259–84; Giovana Xavier, Juliana Barreto Farias, and Flávio Gomes, eds., *Mulheres negras no Brasil escravista e do pós-emancipação* (São Paulo: Selo Negro, 2012). For a historiography of Brazilian abolitionism, see: Jeffrey D. Needell, 'Brazilian Abolitionism, Its Historiography, and the Uses of Political History', *Journal of Latin American Studies* 42, no. 2 (May 2010): 231–61; Barbara Weinstein, 'The Decline of the Progressive Planter and the Rise of Subaltern Agency: Shifting Narratives of Slave Emancipation in Brazil', in *Reclaiming the Political in Latin American History: Essays from the North*, ed. Gilbert M. Joseph (Duke University Press, 2001), 81–101. For an annotated bibliography to guide the reader through this dense historiography, see Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, 'Abolition', in *Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies*, ed. Ben Vinson (New York: Oxford University Press, 2011).

<sup>30</sup> Marshall C. Eakin, 'Business Imperialism and British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John D'el Rey Mining Company, Limited, 1830-1960', *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 66, no. 4 (November 1, 1986): 740.

<sup>31</sup> Matt D. Childs, 'A Case of 'Great Unstablens': A British Slaveholder and Brazilian Abolition', *The Historian* 60 (June 1998): 717–40.

<sup>32</sup> Chris Evans, 'Brazilian Gold, Cuban Copper and the Final Frontier of British Anti-Slavery', *Slavery & Abolition: A Journal of Slave and Post-Slave Studies*, August 24, 2012, 120; Courtney J. Campbell, '“Tinha apenas em vista chamar a atenção:” Joaquim Nabuco, os abolicionistas britânicos e o caso de Morro Velho', in *Conferências sobre Joaquim Nabuco: Joaquim Nabuco em Wisconsin*, ed. Severino Albuquerque Júnior (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-te-vi,

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2010), 381–405.

<sup>33</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 24–26, 67–68.

<sup>34</sup> The remaining British residents were family members of workers, as well as an Anglican clergyman and his wife who served as a school teacher.

<sup>35</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 27–32; Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro*, 92. The quotation, ‘falta de responsabilidade’, is from Libby.

<sup>36</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 33.

<sup>37</sup> For more on the renting of slaves, see Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro*, 94.

<sup>38</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 19 and 34; Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro*, 62.

<sup>39</sup> There is confusion within both primary and secondary sources on some names and numbers. For consistency, I use the following terms: St. John d’el Rey, the Brazilian Mining Company, the Cata Branca slaves, and the Morro Velho Case. I refer to the official number of slaves originally contracted, as corroborated by the contract and company documents.

<sup>40</sup> Jacintho Dias da Silva, *O Supremo Tribunal pela verdade, e a justiça, Victoria dos pobres ex-escravos da extincta companhia Catta-Branca contra a prepotente companhia S. João D’el-Rei (Morro-Velho)* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1881). Public Records division of British Foreign Office (FO), 131/18, 286 contains the full text of the original contract; an unidentified Rio de Janeiro newspaper cut-out and Anglo-Brazilian Times article found in FO 131/18, 441. The original contract was also published in ‘Illegal Slavery’, *The Rio News*, September 5, 1879.

<sup>41</sup> This according to the original contract, cited above.

<sup>42</sup> “Relação de todos os pretos da Companhia da Cata Branca; os existentes no Morro Velho, e os já falecidos e libertados desde 1o de janeiro de 1860”, n.d. FO 131/18, 210-220.

<sup>43</sup> Laird W. Bergad, *Slavery and the Demographic and Economic History of Minas Gerais, Brazil, 1720-1888* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1999), 125.

<sup>44</sup> Douglas Cole Libby, ‘A Culture of Colors: Representational Identities and Afro-Brazilians in Minas Gerais in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries’, *Luso-Brazilian Review* 50, no. 1 (2013): 26–52. For more on ethnicity in Minas Gerais, see Mariana L. R. Dantas, ‘Humble Slaves and Loyal Vassals: Free Africans and Their Descendants in Eighteenth-Century Minas Gerais, Brazil’, in *Imperial Subjects: Race and Identity in Colonial Latin America*, ed. Andrew B. Fisher and Matthew D. O’Hara (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009), 115–40; Beatriz Gallotti Mamigonian, ‘Do que ‘o preto Mina’ é capaz: etnia e resistência entre africanos livres’, *Afro-Ásia* 24 (2000): 71–95.

<sup>45</sup> For more on different types of labor in Minas Gerais’ gold mines, see: Eakin, ‘Business Imperialism and British Enterprise in Brazil’, 31–34; Libby, *Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro*, chapter 4.

<sup>46</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 196.

<sup>47</sup> Silva, *O Supremo Tribunal pela verdade*. FO 131/18, 287-291.

<sup>48</sup> Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 196. Richard Burton also wrote of this in his travel account: Richard Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of the Brazil; A Full Account of the Gold and Diamond Mines. Also, Canoeing down 1500 Miles of the Great River Sao Francisco, from Sabara to the Sea* (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869), 221–278.

For more on gender and slavery in Minas Gerais, see

<sup>49</sup> The slaves were to be freed in 1859 if we calculate 14 years from the date that the contract was drawn in London, but in 1860 if we count 14 years from the date the contract was registered in Brazil. These dates became more important later, when the court and the company tried to determine back wages.

<sup>50</sup> John Hockin, ‘Memorandum in Regard to the Original Agreement Between the Brazilian (Cata Branca) and the St. John D’El Rey Companies and Its Renewal’, n.d.; Ignacio Martins, ‘Sessão de 26 de Agosto de 1879’, August 26, 1879.

<sup>51</sup> Ignacio Martins, ‘Sessão em 26 de Agosto de 1879’, in *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro. Câmara dos Srs. Deputados. Segundo Anno da Décima-sétima legislatura, Sessão de 1879, tomo iv* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia nacional, 1879), 186. Martins does not give the year or date of Horta’s denunciation, nor does he give information about the latter’s position or title.

<sup>52</sup> *Ibid.*; ‘Superintendent’s Diary’, June 14, 1877.

<sup>53</sup> Sabará sentence of October 14, 1879 in *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, FO 131/18, 441.

<sup>54</sup> Martins, ‘Sessão em 26 de Agosto de 1879’, 186.

<sup>55</sup> Sabará sentence of October 14, 1879, FO 131/18, 20-28; article in *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, FO 131/18, 441; *Rio News*, October 5, 1879. St. John d’el Rey established a goal in the 1850s of emancipating 20 of its own slaves per year, including ten on St. John’s Day and ten on Christmas, incorporating the emancipation into holiday

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celebrations. Eakin, *A British Enterprise in Brazil*, 35.

<sup>56</sup> John Hockin to Thomas Walker, May 8, 1857, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais.

<sup>57</sup> 'Board Minutes , v. 3', May 18, 1857, St. John D'el Rey Collection, University of Texas.

<sup>58</sup> 'Board Minutes v. 3', May 22, 1857, St. John D'el Rey Collection, University of Texas.

<sup>59</sup> John Hockin to Thomas Walker, June 8, 1857, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais.

<sup>60</sup> Nabuco's principal works on slavery and abolitionism include: Joaquim Nabuco, *My Formative Years* (Oxford : Signal ; Rio de Janeiro : Bem-Te-Vi, 2012); Joaquim Nabuco, *Discursos Parlamentares, 1879-1889* (São Paulo, Instituto Progresso Editorial [1949, n.d.]); Joaquim Nabuco, *Abolitionism: The Brazilian Antislavery Struggle* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1977). For a comprehensive collection of studies on Nabuco's work, see: Severino João Medeiros Albuquerque, ed., *Conferências sobre Joaquim Nabuco: centenário da conferência na universidade* (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-Te-Vi, 2010).

<sup>61</sup> John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, July 6, 1877, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais. In the August 26, 1879 parliamentary debate on the Morro Velho case, Sr. Ignácio Martins mentions an article in the *Jornal do Comércio* that (supposedly) inspired earlier government inquiries after the case had become stagnant. It is unclear whether these articles are related.

<sup>62</sup> R. H. Gunning, 'The Catta Branca Blacks', *The Rio News*, May 24, 1880. This letter is part of a series of communication published in *The Rio News* over a dispute that arose when a certain Reverend E. Vanorden of the Brazilian Christian Mission of Rio Grande do Sul wrote that Dr. Gunning was responsible for freeing the Catta Branca slaves. *The Rio News* printed the words of Vanorden and questioned Gunning's role. Dr. Gunning wrote to the paper to give credit to Williams and Nabuco. Other readers wrote additional letters defending and criticizing Dr. Gunning. Letters referring to this dispute are found in the May 15, 1880, May 24, 1880, June 5, 1880, June 24, 1880, and July 15, 1880 issues. While Gunning's role was denied (by himself and others), the role of Williams and Nabuco was upheld by all.

<sup>63</sup> Martins, 'Sessão em 26 de Agosto de 1879', 185,.

<sup>64</sup> Nabuco does this at least four times within this address.

<sup>65</sup> 'Sessão em 30 de Setembro de 1879', in *Annaes do Parlamento Brasileiro. Câmara dos Srs. Deputados. Segundo Anno da Décima-sétima legislatura, Prorrogação da Sessão de 1879 (Comprehendida a sessão extraordinaria convocada em 30 de Outubro)*, vol. V (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia nacional, 1879), 257. This quotation is from page 257, but Nabuco repeats the same point on page 258.

<sup>66</sup> Ibid.

<sup>67</sup> Ibid. He repeats this point on page 258.

<sup>68</sup> Ibid., 258.

<sup>69</sup> 'A velhacada da companhia Morro Velho', *A Província de São Paulo*, August 29, 1879, 2. *A Província de São Paulo* continued to publish articles on this case in 1881 and 1882.

<sup>70</sup> The first article to appear was 'Illegal Slavery', 1. in *The Rio News* on 5 September 1879. Subsequent articles are included in the following issues (titles are included when given): 15 September 1879, 2; 'Illegal Slavery', 24 September 1879, 1; two articles in October 5 1879, 2; 'The Morro Velho Slaves', 15 October 1879, 1; two articles in 24 October 1879, 2 and 4; 5 November 1879, 2; 'The Judgement in Favor of the Catta Branca Blacks' and untitled article in 5 December 1879, 1 and 4. *The Rio News* continued to follow the case through 1883.

<sup>71</sup> Circulation information is from: Harlan Page Hubbard, *Leading Newspapers of All Kinds in All Countries on the Earth: Represented by the International Newspaper Agency*, 1884, 86, 91. An article in *A Província de São Paulo*, anno VII, no. 2183, 1 quotes an article from the *Gazeta*. The articles published in the *Jornal do Comércio* were reprinted in *The Rio News*, 15 September 1879, 2 and 5 October 1879, 2. An article from *The London Daily News* was reprinted in *The Rio News*, 22 July 1882, 3. The article 'Slavery in Brazil', *The New York Times* 30 July 1882, 9 reprints a portion of an *Anglo-Brazilian Times* article. The reference to the *Révue des deux mondes* comes from Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho, *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 22.

<sup>72</sup> The first contract was published in the first article on the subject in *The Rio News* on September 5, 1879, while the second was printed in the October 5, 1879 issue. Nabuco's second speech appears in the October 15, 1879 issue. The Sabará Court decision is printed in the December 5, 1879 issue and letters to and from Charles H. Allen of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society appear in the May 15, 1880 ('A Well-Earned Recognition') and April 24, 1880 ('Sr. Joaquim Nabuco and the Anti-Slavery Society') issues.

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<sup>73</sup> The company's first defense appeared in the *Jornal do Commercio* on September 13, 1879 and was reprinted in the Rio News on September 15, 1879. Nabuco also mentions St. John d'el Rey's response to himself and *The Rio News* in the Parliamentary debate of September 30, 1879. 'Sessão em 30 de Setembro de 1879.'

<sup>74</sup> For example, in the September 5, 1879 issue of *The Rio News* there is mention of emancipation documents signed for some Cata Branca slaves by St. John d'el Rey (and not Brazilian Mining Company) officials, who justified their signatures by claiming that the Brazilian Mining Company was 'extinct'. Nabuco incorporates this argument into his September 30, 1879 address, *Ibid.*, 257.

<sup>75</sup> Bethell and Carvalho, *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos*, 35.

<sup>76</sup> 'Superintendent's Diary', 23 October 1877. See also, 'Superintendent's Diary', 24 October 1877.

<sup>77</sup> 'Superintendent's Diary', 25 October 1879.

<sup>78</sup> 'Superintendent's Diary', 25 October 1879, 26 October 1879, 3 November 1879, 8 December 1879.

<sup>79</sup> 'Sabará Sentence of October 14, 1879', October 14, 1879, 20–28, F.O. 131/18. Also in English in article in *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, FO 131/18, 441; 'Superintendent's Diary', December 9, 1879, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais. The now freed workers were offered the choice of remaining in company houses at low wages or of leaving the company grounds to live amongst the free workers outside the mines.

According to company correspondence, many of the slaves chose to remain within the company's labor force. John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, February 23, 1880, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais. The *Anglo-Brazilian Times* article reprinted in *The New York Times* on July 30, 1882 affirms that '... nearly all the blacks freed by the company, as well as those freed by the Cata-Branca Company, are now living on the St. John Del Rey Company's property and working in their service', 9.

<sup>80</sup> The sentence itself states that 123 workers remained; the final list of slaves 'existing' or who had been freed or had died after January 1, 1860 only lists 122 living slaves. The same document lists 161 slaves who had died and 51 who had been freed since 1860. The remaining slaves had either died or been freed prior to 1860. FO 131/18, 210–220.

<sup>81</sup> 'Superintendent's Diary', April 14, 1882, St. John D'el Rey Mining Company Archives, Nova Lima, Minas Gerais. Supreme Court progress and its decision are summarized in letters from Nabuco to Charles H. Allen in Joaquim Nabuco, 'Letter 19: Nabuco to Allen, 23 January 1881', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 112–17; Joaquim Nabuco, 'Letter 31: Nabuco to Allen, 16 July 1882', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 150–51.

<sup>82</sup> Joaquim Nabuco, *Minha formação* (Rio de Janeiro: Edições de Ouro, 1966), 128 and 135, respectively.

<sup>83</sup> *Ibid.*, 139.

<sup>84</sup> In 1840, the Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention listed six mining companies in Brazil that used 3325 slaves. According to these proceedings, 415 were owned by the Brazilian Imperial Company, and 441 by the Cata Branca Mines. The proceedings state: 'It is perfectly notorious that the great majority of share-holders in these Mining Associations, are British Subjects'. 'Proceedings of the General Anti-Slavery Convention, Called by the Committee of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, and Held in London, from Friday, June 12th to Tuesday, June 23rd, 1840' (British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, 1841), 516.

<sup>85</sup> A letter from Charles H. Allen, for example, expresses the Society's gratitude for Nabuco's services in carrying out justice against the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company in favor of the Cata Branca slaves. Allen, Charles H., 'Letter 1: Allen to Nabuco (in Rio de Janeiro), 8 January 1880', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 47–48.

<sup>86</sup> Charles Williams, 'Letter 4: Williams to Nabuco, 9 August 1880', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 65.

<sup>87</sup> Charles Williams sent a previous letter to Nabuco in which he forwards a copy of a resolution approved by the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society, as requested by that society. Charles Williams, 'Letter 2: Williams to Nabuco, 14 February 1880', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 53.

<sup>88</sup> Joaquim Nabuco, 'Letter 3: Nabuco to Allen, 8 April 1880', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 54.

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<sup>89</sup> Joaquim Nabuco, 'Letter 25: Nabuco to Sturge, 23 January 1882', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 132–35.

<sup>90</sup> I refer here to the following letters in Bethell and Murilo de Carvalho: Charles H. Allen, 'Letter 20: Allen to Nabuco, 22 November 1881', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 118–21; Joaquim Nabuco, 'Letter 23: Nabuco to Allen, Thursday [January 1882]', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 128–29; Edmond Sturge, 'Letter 27: Sturge to Nabuco, 24 February 1882', in *Joaquim Nabuco e os abolicionistas britânicos (Correspondência 1880-1905)*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2008), 140–41. After the Supreme Court decision to remunerate the Cata Branca Slaves, the issue of a criminal case in London fades from the correspondence. The *London Daily News* article reprinted in the *Rio News* on July 24, 1882 states 'for some reason, which will no doubt be explained, they [the British government] have at length decided that they will not prosecute'.

<sup>91</sup> 'St. John Del Rey Mining Company', *Daily News*, July 12, 1882, 2. For more on Mr. Pease, see *London Society* (William Clowes and Sons, 1881), 443.

<sup>92</sup> Lincoln, 'Escandalo! Escosseza senhora de escravos.'

<sup>93</sup> Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, 'Estatutos da Sociedade Nova Emancipadora', October 2, 1880, Doc 0786, Cx 15, Maço III 786-806, Fundo Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano, Recife, Pernambuco; Leonardo Dantas Silva, ed., 'Sociedades abolicionistas [November 1, 1880]', in *O abolicionista* (Recife: Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Editora Massangana, 1988), 8.

<sup>94</sup> Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, 'Estatutos da Sociedade Nova Emancipadora.'

<sup>95</sup> Celso Castilho and Camillia Cowling, 'Funding Freedom, Popularizing Politics: Abolitionism and Local Emancipation Funds in 1880s Brazil', *Luso-Brazilian Review* 47, no. 1 (2010): 91. Abolitionist activities in Recife were not limited to emancipation funds or legal cases, but also emerged through performance – both elite and popular. For more on this, see Celso Castilho, 'Performing Abolitionism, Enacting Citizenship: The Social Construction of Political Rights in 1880s Recife, Brazil', *Hispanic American Historical Review* 93, no. 3 (2013): 377–409.

<sup>96</sup> Riedel, *Perspectiva antropológica do escravo no Ceará*, 25; Osvaldo Evandro Carneiro Martins, *Sobre o proletariado de Fortaleza* (Fortaleza: Barraca do Escritor Cearense, 1993), 23.

<sup>97</sup> Castilho, 'Abolitionism Matters', 73–74; Riedel, *Perspectiva antropológica do escravo no Ceará*, 25. Up to half a million cearenses died in this drought, Eakin, *Brazil: The Once and Future Country*, 71.

<sup>98</sup> Castilho, 'Performing Abolitionism, Enacting Citizenship', 390.

<sup>99</sup> Ibid.

<sup>100</sup> Ibid. 378.

<sup>101</sup> Ibid., 378–379.

<sup>102</sup> Castilho and Cowling, 'Funding Freedom, Popularizing Politics', 94.

<sup>103</sup> Castilho, 'Performing Abolitionism, Enacting Citizenship', 380.

<sup>104</sup> Sociedade Nova Emancipadora to George Gatis, March 12, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano; Sociedade Nova Emancipadora to P.J. Needham, March 12, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano; Sociedade Nova Emancipadora to W. W. Robilliard, March 12, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano.

<sup>105</sup> W.W. Robilliard responds, simply, that he is under the impression that British subjects cannot own slaves. W.W. Robilliard to Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, March 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano. George Gatis adds that the British slaveholders have to return to England and be denounced in order to risk prosecution. George Gatis to Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, March 14, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano. P.J. Needham offers the most complete answer, adding that they also can be prosecuted in 'dependencies' of the U.K. P.J. Needham to Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, March 13, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3,

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Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano. Each of these letters belonged to Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, IAHGP, as of June 2009.

<sup>106</sup> Edwin Corbett to Sociedade Nova Emancipadora, April 20, 1883, Documentos diversos referentes à Sociedade Nova Emancipadora e a campanha abolicionista, caixa 218, maço 3, Instituto Arqueológico Histórico e Geográfico Pernambucano.

<sup>107</sup> William Hughes to Edwin Corbett, 'Letter from Acting Consul William Hughes to Minister Edwin Corbett', March 17, 1883, Frame 90, F.O. 13/593, General correspondence before 1906: Brazil (microfilm), Great Britain, Foreign Office, housed at the Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>108</sup> William Hughes, 'Letter from Acting Consul William Hughes to Right Honorable Earl Granville', March 28, 1883, Frames 85-89, F.O. 13/593, General correspondence before 1906: Brazil (microfilm), Great Britain, Foreign Office, housed at the Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>109</sup> William Hughes, 'Letter from Acting Consul William Hughes to Right Honorable Earl Granville, Also Containing Granville's Handwritten Response from 27 October 1883', September 24, 1883, Frames 173-174, F.O. 13/593, General correspondence before 1906: Brazil (microfilm), Great Britain, Foreign Office, housed at the Jean and Alexander Heard Library, Vanderbilt University.

<sup>110</sup> Bento Epaminondas, 'A S. M. o Imperador, aos Exmos. Ministro da Justiça e Consul Inglez e às sociedades abolicionistas', *Jornal do Recife*, March 28, 1883, Setor Microfilmagem, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife, Pernambuco.