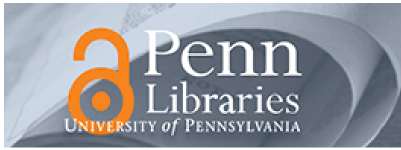

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American Mirror: The United States And The Empire Of Brazil In The Age Of Emancipation

Abstract
This dissertation traces the triumph of free labor in the two largest slave societies of the nineteenth-century western world: the United States and Brazil. Drawing on a range of primary sources from American and Brazilian archives, it reconstructs the intense circulation of transnational agents between these two countries from the 1840s to the 1880s. It shows how these exchanges transformed the political economies of both nations: whereas Brazil attracted American capital and expertise to modernize its economic structure and accomplish a smooth transition from slave to free labor; the United States seized the opportunity to invest, develop, and encourage free labor in Brazil, which had long been under the influence of the British Empire.

As vital as chattel slavery had become to the nineteenth-century world economy, a coalition of American and Brazilian reformers proposed that an even more efficient and profitable labor system could replace it. This transnational group of free labor promoters included activists, diplomats, engineers, entrepreneurs, journalists, merchants, missionaries, planters, politicians, scientists, students, among others. Working together, they promoted labor-saving machinery, new transportation technology, scientific management, and technical education. These improvements, they reckoned, would help Brazilian and American capitalists harness the potential of native-born as well as immigrant free workers to expand production and trade.

This work concludes that, by the late nineteenth century, free labor had strengthened capitalism in Brazil and the United States, making American industrialists and Brazilian planters more powerful than ever before. Consequently, in neither the United States nor Brazil did the triumph of free labor result in the advancement of social justice. In fact, from the very beginning of their campaign, free labor promoters favored major capitalists: their goal was to concentrate capital, shatter traditional ways of life, and control highly mobile workers. Free labor meant eliminating slavery while, at the same time, reinforcing proletarianization.

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AMERICAN MIRROR:
THE UNITED STATES AND THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL IN THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

Roberto Saba

A DISSERTATION

in

History

Presented to the Faculties of the University of Pennsylvania

in

Partial Fulfillment of the Requirements for the

Degree of Doctor of Philosophy

2017

Supervisor of Dissertation

____

Steven Hahn
Professor Emeritus of History

Graduate Group Chairperson

____

Peter Holquist
Associate Professor of History

Dissertation Committee:
Steven Hahn, Professor Emeritus of History, University of Pennsylvania
Eiichiro Azuma, Alan Charles Kors Term Associate Professor of History, University of Pennsylvania
Angela Alonso, Professor of Sociology, University of São Paulo
Stephanie McCurry, R. Gordon Hoxie Professor of American History, Columbia University

AMERICAN MIRROR: THE UNITED STATES AND THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL IN THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

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For my Parents
Paulo and Dirce

ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

As I tried to disentangle the networks that connected people between the United States and Brazil in the nineteenth century, I entered my own twenty-first century binational network. And I was very fortunate to meet some amazing people in it. I'm thankful to dozens of people, in two countries, who often went out of their way to help me write my dissertation.

I'm deeply grateful for the support I received from the members of my dissertation committee. I'm honored to have worked with Steve Hahn for six years. He welcomed me to American academia in 2011 and has offered his untiring support since. A brilliant writer, stimulating teacher, considerate advisor, and inspiring public intellectual, he is and will always be a model for me. Among many other things, he encouraged me to be bold in my academic work as well as in my political stands. I couldn't have asked for a better advisor. Stephanie McCurry's enthusiasm for my research gave me confidence throughout this journey. Within my limitations, I tried to emulate her provocative take on classic topics and her sharp challenges to mainstream ideas. As her student and her teaching assistant, I realized how thrilling the profession of historian can be. Eiichiro Azuma does the kind of work I want to do in my career. When I arrived at Penn I had a very fuzzy idea of how to proceed with my project. He showed me the challenges of transnational history, helped me see its potentials, and inspired me to push its boundaries. Angela Alonso has been an inspiration for a long time, well before I started my doctoral studies. She first told me to go for this topic and has always encouraged me to cross academic borders. Her advice kept me connected to the most refined Brazilian tradition in the social sciences while opening the doors to the world beyond it. I can't thank these four professors enough for everything they have done for me.

At the University of Pennsylvania, I had the opportunity to work with many other intelligent and kind professionals who made graduate school a joyful experience. The courses I took with Robert St. George, Eve Trout Powell, Warren Breckman, Kathy Peiss, Roger Chartier, and Matt Barton made me love even more the profession I chose. The same is true for the time I worked as a teaching assistant for Vanessa Ogle and Tamara Walker. I also enjoyed very much engaging with brilliant scholars such as Cheikh Babou, Kathy Brown, Sally Gordon, Walter Licht, Amy Offner, Dan Richter, and Beth Wenger. Throughout the years, I felt secure to know that I could rely on generous graduate chairs Antonio Feros, Peter Holquist, and Benjamin Nathans. I also appreciated very much the work of the department's amazing staff members Joan Plonski, Octavia Carr, and Bekah Rosenberg. I'll always be indebted to all these people.

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Gordon, Thavolia Glymph, Karl Jacoby, José Juan Pérez Meléndez, Max Mishler, Andrés Reséndez, Gabriel Rocha, Martha Santos, Barbara Weinstein, and Andrew Zimmerman.

History as a discipline would be far less interesting were it not for the great librarians and archivists who tirelessly work on preserving and systematizing documents. I'm especially thankful to John Pollack at Van Pelt Library, who showed me how to get the best out of archives and libraries. I'd also like to thank the staff of the several institutions that provided me with great materials: Alabama Department of Archives and History; Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Campinas; Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo; Arquivo Edgard Leuenroth, Unicamp; Arquivo Histórico do Museu Imperial; Biblioteca Brasiliana Mindlin, USP; Biblioteca Municipal Mário de Andrade; Centro Cultural Martha Watts; Centro de Memória Arquivos Históricos, Unicamp; Department of Records, City of Philadelphia; Fundação Biblioteca Nacional; Fundação Getulio Vargas; Fundação Joaquim Nabuco; Hagley Museum and Library; Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscripts; Historic Speedwell Archives Room; Houghton Library, Harvard; Indiana Historical Society; Kroch Library, Cornell; Louisiana State University Libraries; Loja América, São Paulo; Montana State University Library; The Morristown and Morris Township Library; Museu da Imigração, Santa Bárbara; Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira; Museu Republicano de Itu; Southern Historical Collection, UNC and Duke; Sterling Memorial Library, Yale.

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so generous in so many ways that I can't begin to express how grateful I am to all their kindness. I'm also thankful for the never-failing support I received from Alexis Broderick Neumann, Camille Suarez, Dani Holtz, Gabriel Raeburn, Hope McGrath, Jeremy Dell, Jessie Regunberg, Juan Pablo Ardila, Kristian Taketomo, Marlen Rosas, Robert Hegwood, Rosana Dent, Salar Mohandesi, and Sarah Rodriguez.

Not many people outside academia understand what historians do, especially during the long years of graduate school. I've been very fortunate, however, to have very good friends who not only understood what I was doing but also gave me enthusiastic support. I'm grateful to have Caleb Knedlik, Carlos Leone, Felipe Barbosa, Grácia Fragalá, Márcio Orsi, Rafael Borgue, Tiago Misiara, Vinícius Leone, and Yannick Marie D'Agrèves as friends.

When I was a child, my mother used to tell me stories about my ancestors: poor migrants from all over the place, people without roots, but brave people. And I used to wonder about the mysterious confluence of forces which made them come together and form my family. I still wonder, every single day, especially because my family keeps expanding, numerically and geographically. My father, mother, brother, sister, in-laws, nephew, nieces, uncles, aunts, and cousins are my inspiration, they are the main reason I do what I do. I think of them all, of how our lives are connected. Whether they are in Barro Preto, Campinas, Conchas, London, Maringá, New York, Poços de Caldas, or São Paulo, they are my people and they make me very proud.

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work is as much mine as it is hers. I thank her for being part of this journey and all journeys that are to come.

ABSTRACT

AMERICAN MIRROR:
THE UNITED STATES AND THE EMPIRE OF BRAZIL IN THE AGE OF EMANCIPATION

Roberto Saba

Steven Hahn

This dissertation traces the triumph of free labor in the two largest slave societies of the nineteenth-century western world: the United States and Brazil. Drawing on a range of primary sources from American and Brazilian archives, it reconstructs the intense circulation of transnational agents between these two countries from the 1840s to the 1880s. It shows how these exchanges transformed the political economies of both nations: whereas Brazil attracted American capital and expertise to modernize its economic structure and accomplish a smooth transition from slave to free labor; the United States seized the opportunity to invest, develop, and encourage free labor in Brazil, which had long been under the influence of the British Empire.

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ABBREVIATIONS

ADAH Alabama Department of Archives and History, Montgomery

AESP Arquivo do Estado de São Paulo

AMIP Arquivo Histórico do Museu Imperial, Petrópolis

BMA Biblioteca Municipal de São Paulo Mário de Andrade

SHC-CH Southern Historical Collection, University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill

SHC-DU Southern Historical Collection, Duke University

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NOTE ON ORTHOGRAPHY

Changes in the rules of nineteenth-century written Portuguese make for multiple spellings of the same word, including personal names. In the interest of clarity and homogeneity, I have adopted the most recent orthography.

NOTE ON CURRENCY

The Brazilian currency in the monarchical period was the milréis. One milréis could be broken into one thousand réis. One thousand milréis was called one conto de réis.

INTRODUCTION

> I looked in the mirror, walked from one side to the other, stepped back, gesticulated, smiled and the mirror reproduced everything. I was no longer an automaton, I was a living being. From then on, I was someone else.
> - Machado de Assis, 1882.

By the middle of the nineteenth century, the United States and the Empire of Brazil were by far the largest slave societies in the western world. The former enslaved approximately four million people, while the latter nearly two million. Brazilian and American slaveholders were not only important participants in the economies of their nations, controlling the production of valuable agricultural commodities for the global market; they were also powerful political actors who occupied important positions in local as well as national spheres of power. Such similarities notwithstanding, there was a striking difference in the way each of these two societies came to accept the supremacy of free labor. In the United States, a bloody civil war led to the Thirteenth Amendment and antislavery forces subjugated the planter class. In Brazil, a gradual legislative process led to the Golden Law and the major planters maintained their dominant status.

The story of slave emancipation in the United States and Brazil is well known. Either by looking at each national case separately or by comparing them, scholars have emphasized two main causes for such dissimilar paths to emancipation: the specific social structures of each national society and the choices historical actors made within their own national contexts.[1] The goal of this dissertation is to add a new dimension to the scholarship by

[1] For works that combine structural analysis to the study of historical actors' choices, see Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1998 [1966]); Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970); Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972); Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); James M. McPherson, *Battle Cry of Freedom: The Civil War Era* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1988); Phillip Shaw Paludan, *A People's Contest: The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988); Steven Hahn, *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the*

investigating how each one of these societies influenced the other in the age of emancipation. In order to accomplish this goal, this study draws on the insights of historians who show how the circulation of human beings across national boundaries produce new ideas, institutions, technologies, and commodities, impacting both local and global structures.[2] Ultimately, this dissertation seeks to understand how historical actors from the United States and Brazil—activists, diplomats, engineers, entrepreneurs, journalists, merchants, missionaries, planters, politicians, scientists, students, among others—came together to defeat slavery and consolidate free labor.

This work is divided into two parts. Part One moves from the height of proslavery expansionism in the United States to the downfall of the Confederacy and the beginning of gradual emancipation in Brazil. Chapter One shows that, no matter how conscious American and Brazilian slaveholders were of their common interests, Brazil and the United States never managed to work together in defense of slavery. Antislavery agents—and not proslavery ideologues—were responsible for bringing Brazil closer to the United States on the eve of the American Civil War. Chapter Two indicates that a shared anti-British sentiment created an informal alliance between Brazil and the Union during the American

---

Civil War South (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010); Angela Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas: O Movimento Abolicionista Brasileiro, 1868-1888* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015); Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016). For comparative studies, see Eugene D. Genovese, *The World the Slaveholders Made: Two Essays in Interpretation* (New York: Pantheon, 1969); Carl N. Degler, *Neither Black nor White: Slavery and Race Relations in Brazil and the United States* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1986); Seymour Drescher, "Brazilian Abolition in Comparative Perspective," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 68:3 (Aug. 1988): 429-460; Steven Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," *The American Historical Review* 95:1 (Feb. 1990): 75-98; Celia M. Azevedo, *Abolitionism in the United States and Brazil: A Comparative Perspective* (New York: Garland, 1995).

[2] Some of the most important works for my conceptualization of transnational history are Eiichiro Azuma, *Between Two Empires: Race, History, and Transnationalism in Japanese America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2005); Paul Alexander Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); James T. Campbell, *Middle Passages: African American Journeys to Africa, 1787-2005* (New York: Penguin Books, 2007); Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); Andrew Zimmerman, *Alabama in Africa: Booker T. Washington, the German Empire, and the Globalization of the New South* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014).

Civil War. Tired of British geopolitical maneuvers, Brazilian Liberals worked alongside American diplomats and entrepreneurs to foster closer connections between the two countries. Chapter Three traces the influence of Massachusetts antislavery intellectuals on Brazil in the late 1860s. By celebrating the Brazilian effort to gradually and peacefully emancipate, they strengthened the cause of Brazilian reformers who were rebelling against the status quo.

Part Two of this study extends from the beginning of Reconstruction in the United States to the Golden Law in Brazil. Chapter Four deals with three groups of Americans who lived and worked in the fastest-growing coffee-producing region of Brazil in the 1860s and the 1870s: ex-Confederates who took up mixed commercial farming on marginal lands; a manufacturer from New Jersey who established a successful business in agricultural machinery; and Protestant missionaries who built private schools for the planters' children. All of them contributed, in their own ways, to the modernizing projects of the local elite. Chapter Five reconstructs the trajectories of Brazilian men who visited, studied, or worked in the United States during the 1870s. The Brazilian observers celebrated the consolidation of free labor and bought into the projects to favor big capital in North America. Chapter Six addresses the seemingly contradictory connections between an expanding market for slave-grown Brazilian coffee in the United States and the American contribution to slave emancipation in Brazil. Ultimately, Brazilian coffee advanced industrialization in the United States and American capital gave Brazil the means to employ free labor in plantation agriculture.

Several studies have focused on the history of United States-Brazil relations. More often than not, however, scholars consider the pre-1889 period, when Brazil was a slaveholding monarchy, of marginal importance. A diplomatic historian went so far as

claiming that, prior to 1889, "the modest relationship reflected Brazil's lack of strategic significance and the fact that the activities of such faraway countries rarely impinged upon the U.S. consciousness."[3] Even when scholars are willing to deal with the pre-1889 period, they can only see a unidirectional relationship: Americans influenced Brazilian society, but not vice-versa. This study challenges this approach by demonstrating that, between the 1840s and the 1880s, the relations between Brazil and the United States were very intense and highly consequential. They not only had a major impact on both nations, but also redefined the enduring debate on slavery versus free labor in the modern world.

The Free Labor Promoters

Free labor has little to do with guaranteeing decent living conditions to the working class. The freedom of free labor consists in keeping the masses free from irrevocable obligations to human masters while, at the same time, maintaining them so destitute that they are forced to sell their labor power to those few who own land, tools, machines, buildings, and other means of production. As historian Steven Hahn puts it, "like all categories and ideal types, 'free labor' embodied many complexities and contradictions. Its focus on voluntary exchange in the marketplace obscured the historical process that required

[3] Joseph Smith, "Brazil: On the Periphery I," *United States-Latin American Relations, 1850-1903: Establishing a Relationship*, ed. Thomas Leonard (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1999), 196. See also Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil: Dois Séculos de História* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978); Joseph Smith, *Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889-1930* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991); Steven Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Helder Gordim da Silveira, *Joaquim Nabuco e Oliveira Lima: Faces de um Paradigma Ideológico da Americanização nas Relações Internacionais do Brasil* (Porto Alegre: EdiPucRS, 2003); Stephanie Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco: Monarchism, Panamericanism and Nation-Building in the Brazilian Belle Epoque* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006); Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Joseph Smith, *Brazil and the United States: Convergence and Divergence* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); Britta H. Crandall, *Hemispheric Giants: The Misunderstood History of U.S.-Brazilian Relations* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Susanna B. Hecht, *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013); Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira, *Brazil, the United States, and the South American Subsystem: Regional Politics and the Absent Empire* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).

people to seek work from someone else rather than to work for themselves."[4] Free laborers may work for wages in the form of money or shares of some product. But it is crucial that another party appropriates most of what they produce without appropriating their persons. Empty as this freedom has always been to those who have no choice but to sell their labor power, free labor succeeded in becoming the dominant way to organize production in the modern world.

Scholars now suggest that a variety of reasons compelled nineteenth-century westerners to oppose slavery, including middle-class sensibilities, dissenting religious traditions, legal culture, disciplinarian doctrines, imperialism, and human rights discourse.[5] Nonetheless, these explanations for antislavery mobilization do not consider why abolitionists and their sympathizers insisted that free labor was the best replacement for slavery. This study investigates why, by the second half of the nineteenth century, free labor triumphed in the two largest slave societies in the western world.

Free labor was not the natural or inevitable replacement for slave labor. Other forms of unfree labor, like peonage and convict labor, were tested on communities of ex-slaves in the Americas and expanded in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe throughout the nineteenth century.[6] Moreover, free labor was a recent development. It was not until the late eighteenth

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[4] Steven Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders: The United States and Its World in an Age of Civil Wars, 1830-1910* (New York: Viking, 2016), 93-94.

[5] For the newest works on antislavery, see Christopher Leslie Brown, *Moral Capital: Foundations of British Abolitionism* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights.* (London: Verso, 2011); Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2012); Jenny S. Martinez, *The Slave Trade and the Origins of International Human Rights Law* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2014); David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Emancipation* (New York: Vintage Books, 2014); Manisha Sinha, *The Slave's Cause: A History of Abolition* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2017).

[6] On the persistence and expansion of unfree labor in the modern world, see Willemina Kloosterboer, *Involuntary Labour since the Abolition of Slavery: A Survey of Compulsory Labour Throughout the World* (Leiden: Brill, 1960); Tom Brass, *Towards a Comparative Political Economy of Unfree Labour: Case Studies and Debates* (London: F. Cass, 1999); Diana Paton, *No Bond but the Law: Punishment, Race, and Gender in Jamaican State Formation, 1780-1870* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Richard B. Allen, *Slaves, Freedmen, and Indentured Laborers in Colonial Mauritius* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2006); Madhavi Kale, *Fragments of Empire: Capital, Slavery, and*

century, when a few economies in the North Atlantic started to industrialize, that free labor became a relevant labor system for whole societies.[7]

Despite the novelty of this labor system, as early as the 1830s, British abolitionists moved against slavery because they believed in the superiority of free to slave labor. As historian Thomas Holt explains, "while historians might conclude retrospectively that slavery was logically compatible with capitalism, the men who fashioned the emancipation law completely rejected that notion."[8] Inspired by thinkers such as Adam Smith, British policymakers thought that slavery prevented the consolidation of a fully efficient workforce in the West Indies and the rational development of sugar production. But their gamble did not bring the proceeds they were expecting. Once slavery ended in the British Caribbean, ex-slaves left plantations to squat marginal areas and ex-masters deliberately cut down investments. Consequently, the sugar industry declined. One scholar describes British emancipation as "econocide," or economic suicide.[9]

As the freed West Indies declined, independent nations like the United States and Brazil as well as European colonies like Cuba used slave labor to supply the world with abundant sugar, cotton, and coffee. The capitalist transformation of the nineteenth century, new works suggest, relied on the expansion of these slave societies. According to recent interpretations, this happened because nineteenth-century slaveholders were up-to-date with

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Indian Indentured Labor in the British Caribbean (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2010); *Commercial Agriculture, the Slave Trade and Slavery in Atlantic Africa*, ed. Robin Law, Suzanne Schwarz, and Silke Strickrodt (Rochester: Boydell & Brewer, 2013); Alessandro Stanziani, *Bondage: Labor and Rights in Eurasia from the Sixteenth to the Early Twentieth Centuries* (New York: Berghahn Books: 2014).

[7] On the relation between industrialization and the emergence of antislavery, see David Brion Davis, *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution: 1770-1823* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1975).

[8] Thomas C. Holt, *The Problem of Freedom: Race, Labor, and Politics in Jamaica and Britain, 1832-1938* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1992), 50.

[9] Seymour Drescher, *Econocide: British Slavery in the Era of Abolition* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1977). Despite the real decline in the West Indian sugar industry, "econocide" hardly made a scratch on the British Empire. Besides shifting their focus to the East Indies, British capitalists could easily obtain sugar from other parts of the Americas as well as from sugar beet producers in Europe.

the technological improvements and labor management techniques of their time. They mustered the powers of science, steam, and steel in commodity production. They refashioned plantation management by means of the clock, the panopticon, and the whip. They integrated with the world through the railroad, the steamship, and the telegraph. Sophisticated financial and commercial mechanisms connected slave plantations to markets, banks, and insurance companies in London, New York, and other centers. It has become common among scholars to speak of "the capitalist character of slavery," "a slave liberalism," or a "slave racial capitalism."[10]

Yet, as vital as "capitalist slavery" had become to the nineteenth-century world economy, emancipation did not cause economic upheaval. Neither in the United States,

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[10] Some scholars anticipated elements of this argument in the 1980s and 1990s: James Oakes, *The Ruling Race: A History of American Slaveholders* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1982); Alfredo Bosi, "A Escravidão entre Dois Liberalismos," *Estudos Avançados* 2:3 (1988): 4-39; Robert William Fogel, *Without Consent or Contract: The Rise and Fall of American Slavery* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1989); John Ashworth, *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic.* Volume 1: *Slavery, Capitalism, and Politics in the Antebellum Republic* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Mark M. Smith, *Mastered by the Clock: Time, Slavery, and Freedom in the American South* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 1997); João Fragoso, *Homens de Grossa Aventura: Acumulação e Hierarquia na Praça Mercantil do Rio de Janeiro, 1790-1830* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1998). Since the early 2000s, scholars engaged in ambitious projects to prove that slavery and capitalism were one and the same: Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores do Corpo, Missionários da Mente: Senhores, Letrados e o Controle dos Escravos nas Américas, 1660-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Ricardo Salles, *E o Vale era o Escravo. Vassouras – Século XIX. Senhores e Escravos no Coração do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2013); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "Capitalismo, Escravidão e a Economia Cafeeira do Brasil no Longo Século XIX," *Saeculum* 29 (2013): 289-321; Joshua D. Rothman, *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014); *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos Quadros da Segunda Escravidão*, eds. Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Faperj, 2015); *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico no Século XIX: Cuba, Brasil, Estados Unidos*, eds. Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2016); Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016); *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, eds. Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Márcia Regina Berbel, Rafael de Bivar Marquese, and Tâmis Parron, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790-1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016); *The Politics of the Second Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016); *New Frontiers of Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016); Daniel Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017). An alternative approach to the relation between slavery and capitalism is the concept of "war capitalism," which Sven Beckert presents in *The Empire of Cotton.* Drawing on the idea of primitive accumulation, it emphasizes how sheer violence in the form of enslavement, imperialism, and expropriation gave rise to capitalism. Yet, Beckert contends that "war capitalism" was different from "industrial capitalism" as the source and form of coercion were not the same.

where slave emancipation happened suddenly and violently, nor in Brazil, where all the major industries relied on slave labor, did the demise of slavery create a profound crisis. To the contrary. As hard as emancipation may have hit some planters, the postemancipation history of these two countries is one of immediate and continuous economic advancement. When free labor replaced slavery in each one of them, traditional lifestyles were shattered, capital flows were liberated, massive workforces were mobilized, and production and exchange were enlarged.

Moreover, the rest of the world hardly felt anything when slavery fell. If some textile manufacturers in Lancashire worried about a cotton famine during the secession crisis in the United States, the Civil War had barely started and they had already found new suppliers in Asia, Africa, and South America.[11] If coffee drinkers feared that antislavery agitation in Brazil could make them lose their cheap stimulant, Brazilian planters started producing record-breaking coffee crops immediately following slave emancipation.[12] In short, "capitalist slavery" was gone and capitalism grew stronger. Therefore, scholars of slavery need to address an important question: how could a vital part of the global economy vanish without damaging its structure?

In order to understand how the transition from slave to free labor took place in the two largest slave societies in the western world, scholars must consider the alternatives available for capitalist development by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Systems of production and exchange were changing fast as the extension and efficiency of transportation infrastructures, manufacturing facilities, and production technologies increased exponentially. Engineers applied science to production, developing new materials,

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[11] Beckert, *Empire of Cotton*, 274-311.
[12] Joseph L. Love, *São Paulo in the Brazilian Federation: 1889-1937* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1980), 37-52.

tools, fuels, fertilizers, vegetable and animal breeds, and labor management techniques. The very application of new technologies to slave plantations convinced some contemporary observers that slavery was not necessary anymore. This is not to say that they considered slave societies incompatible with improvement, but rather that they believed free labor societies improved at a much faster rate. If Prometheus was unbound—to paraphrase David S. Landes paraphrasing Percy Bysshe Shelley—why keep humans in chains?[13]

Most important for the transformation of capitalism, massive contingents of working people were entering the ranks of the proletariat. Though uneven and protracted, proletarianization was a global phenomenon which sped up as the nineteenth century progressed. Coupled with land surveys, national and colonial legislation commodified the soil. New communication technologies integrated markets and caused steep price fluctuations, undermining the fragile independence of smallholders, peasants, and squatters. The adoption of machinery and fertilizers drove the price of agricultural commodities down, further impoverishing small producers. Tenants who dedicated most of their time to subsistence agriculture got evicted. Large industry harmed traditional crafts. The expansion of credit mechanisms led to indebtedness. Modern warfare dissolved communities. Environmental degradation caused droughts, floods, and famine. As E. P. Thompson once

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[13] David S. Landes, *The Unbound Prometheus: Technological Change and Industrial Development in Western Europe from 1750 to the Present* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1969). My interpretation of the Industrial Revolution has been influenced mainly by Karl Marx, *Capital: A Critique of Political Economy*. Volume 1 (London: Penguin, 1976 [1885]); Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944); Joseph A. Schumpeter, *Capitalism, Socialism, and Democracy* (New York: Harper, 1947); E. P. Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class* (New York: Vintage, 1963); Geoffrey Barraclough, *An Introduction to Contemporary History* (New York: Basic Books, 1964); Eric J. Hobsbawm, *Industry and Empire: The Birth of the Industrial Revolution* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicholson, 1968); Michel Foucault, *Discipline and Punish: The Birth of Prison* (London: Penguin, 1975); Eugen Joseph Weber, *Peasants into Frenchmen: The Modernization of Rural France, 1870-1914* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976); Marshall Berman, *All That Is Solid Melts into Air: The Experience of Modernity* (New York: Viking Penguin, 1980); Christine Stansell, *City of Women: Sex and Class in New York, 1789-1860* (New York: Knopf, 1986); James C. Scott, *Seeing Like a State: How Certain Schemes to Improve the Human Condition Have Failed* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2008); Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014).

wrote, "the experience of immiseration came upon them in a hundred different forms."[14] And so the miserable had no choice but search wherever they could go for someone who would pay for the labor power contained in their arms and legs.

Hence, as efficient and profitable as "capitalist slavery" had become by the mid nineteenth century, an emerging group of Americans and Brazilians proposed that an even more efficient and profitable labor system could replace slavery in their countries. They were free labor promoters. Unimpressed by the newfound prowess of slavery, they grew bolder. As to the specter of the declining West Indies, they thought it made no sense to compare vast, diverse, and autonomous countries such as Brazil and the United States to colonial islands in the Caribbean. Through science and technology, they contended, capitalists in the cities and the countryside could take advantage of the proletarian masses to expand production. For decades, American and Brazilian free labor promoters worked together to prove their point. The study of their strategies, actions, and accomplishments explains why free labor defeated slavery, and not the other way around.

In the United States, free labor promoters first formed the Free Soil Party and later the Republican Party. In Brazil, most were dissidents within the Liberal Party and some were members of the Republican Party. Many free labor promoters were entrepreneurs of some sort: they devised infrastructural projects, managed factories, produced agricultural commodities, engaged in foreign commerce, published periodicals, established private schools, and so on. They were also brokers, connecting people with complementary interests and similar ideas across the hemisphere. Although they could disagree on timing and strategies when it came to implementing reforms, all believed that the permanence of slavery held them and their societies back in an age of progress.

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[14] Thompson, *The Making of the English Working Class*, 445.

Neither American nor Brazilian free labor promoters were seeking immediate emancipation, let alone the establishment of an egalitarian utopia. They usually proposed a safe route toward free labor, though reactionary forces led them to adopt more radical stands in the United States of the 1860s and in Brazil of the 1880s. All things considered, they remained faithful to the idea that free labor was superior to slavery, using an array of arguments to support their claim. Free labor promoters argued that free workers' ability to bargain and, above all, move around in search for better pay forced employers to constantly improve production by adopting labor-saving machinery and rational management techniques. They also contended that wages encouraged workers to consume, creating a multiplier effect beneficial to the economy as a whole. Wage earners, they added, might save money, seek to educate themselves, and settle businesses of their own, which usually diversified the economy. They further emphasized that free labor was less costly and more flexible than unfree labor, making it easier for employers to allocate resources when necessary.[15]

Historian Eric Williams wrote in 1944 that "slavery was an economic institution of the first importance. … In modern times it provided the sugar for the tea and the coffee cups of the western world. It produced the cotton to serve as a base for modern capitalism."[16] Yet, according to Williams, as free labor and industrialization advanced, they clashed with and ultimately destroyed slavery. In his famous rendering, slavery "helped to create the industrial capitalism of the nineteenth century, which turned round and destroyed the power of commercial capitalism, slavery, and all its works."[17] Although Williams was

[15] Jürgen Osterhammel writes that capitalism "presupposes the presence of 'free' (also in the sense of spatially mobile) 'wage labor.' It has often found ways of integrating unfree labor in the periphery of its systems but cannot tolerate it in the core. Slavery and other kinds of 'extra-economic' bondage conflict with its logic of unlimited availability." *The Transformation of the World*, 669-670.
[16] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 5.
[17] Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery*, 210.

writing about the British Empire in the early nineteenth century, in many ways, his model applies to the second half of the nineteenth century. The same innovations that relied on "capitalist slavery" and helped it expand in the United States and Brazil rendered it obsolete in the eyes of most contemporaries.

This study considers why free labor promoters triumphed in the age of emancipation. In spite of the ingrained interests of "capitalist slavery," they fought it because they thought slave labor bred backwardness. They were not sentimental human-rights activists. Neither were they rebellious outsiders. In fact, free labor promoters were shrewd modernizers who navigated the world that the Industrial Revolution created. And they did it with more mastery than those who insisted on maintaining and expanding chattel slavery. Free labor promoters were responsible for spreading railroads, urban centers, factories, and a myriad of other improvements throughout the United States and Brazil. They also succeeded in building agroindustrial empires moved by free hands which slave societies could not have dreamed of creating. Their numbers and their power grew as the years went by. When the time came, they could not claim the sole responsibility for overthrowing slavery, but they could boast about replacing it with something far more powerful.

"The Last Best Hope of Earth"

In *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, historian Eric Foner suggests that "the Republicans saw their anti-slavery program as one part of a world-wide movement from absolutism to democracy, aristocracy to equality, backwardness to modernity, and their conviction that the struggle in the United States had international implications did much to strengthen their resolve."[18] Elaborating on Foner's argument, this study shows that, even before the

[18] Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men*, 72.

secession crisis exploded into war, Republicans were devising means to export their program to the other major slave nation in the western world, Brazil. Once the war was over, they redoubled their resolve. But where did the need to make antislavery into an international movement come from? And why did they choose to engage with Brazil? This dissertation indicates that, by helping Brazilians phase out slavery while preserving social order and advancing economic development, American free labor promoters built a positive image of the United States abroad and justified the supremacy of free labor at home.

From the 1840s through the 1880s, the United States faced a succession of crises. The North clashed with South, free-soilers clashed with fire-eaters, Republicans clashed with Democrats, urban society clashed with farmers, whites clashed with non-whites, native-born citizens clashed with immigrants, bosses clashed with unions, big capital clashed with small producers. The swift expansion of free labor was one of the main causes of these clashes. Its revolutionary force left nothing unscathed. In this context, free labor came under attack from reactionary groups, such as southern planters, as well as from progressive ones, such as labor activists. Before long, social unrest took the whole country.[19]

Scholars of nineteenth-century capitalism, seeking to make sense of contemporary phenomena such as financial bubbles and growing inequality, have set their sight on the histories of speculation, debt, inefficiency, corruption, failure, and panic.[20] Yet, because its

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[19] For the great unrest that marked American society in the second half of the nineteenth century and its relation with the expansion of free labor, see Hahn, *A Nation Without Borders*.

[20] For a sample of the new history of nineteenth-century capitalism, see Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Steve Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator: A History of Wall Street in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006); John M. Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Jack Beatty, *Age of Betrayal: The Triumph of Money in America, 1865-1900* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007); Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); H. W. Brands, *American Colossus: The Triumph of Capitalism, 1865-1900* (New York: Anchor Books, 2011); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2011); Jonathan Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Scott Reynolds Nelson, *A Nation of Deadbeats: An Uncommon History of America's Financial Disasters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

main focus is finance, this scholarship does not discuss how the labor system that triumphed after the Civil War, despite all the havoc it created within the United States, vindicated itself domestically and became a model for other nations. Scholars of American expansionism, on the other hand, investigate how the United States exported its model of development abroad, a process that some call Americanization.[21] But rarely do these transnational works discuss how the overseas reach of American capitalism served to reassure American society of its own labor system and the structures it created.

This dissertation argues that, when facing a domestic crisis of unprecedented scale, a group of Americans took Abraham Lincoln's words to heart and set out to make their society into "the last best hope of earth." By helping Brazil move away from slavery, American free labor promoters were able to depict the system they favored as a civilizing force in the nineteenth-century world. As they helped reform the only remaining independent slave society in the western world, American free labor promoters presented their own version of the United States as the quintessential modern nation. At the same time

[21] The classic work in this field is Emily S. Rosenberg's *Spreading the Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982). Since the early 2000s, a renewed interest in Americanization influenced several scholars. See Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000); Sally E. Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); Antonio Pedro Tota, *The Seduction of Brazil: The Americanization of Brazil During World War II* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2010 [2000]); John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Julio Moreno, *Yankee Don't Go Home!: Mexican Nationalism, American Business Culture, and the Shaping of Modern Mexico, 1920-1950* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2003); Victoria De Grazia, *Irresistible Empire: America's Advance Through Twentieth-Century Europe* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2005); Richard F. Kuisel, *Seducing the French: The Dilemma of Americanization* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2007); Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2010); David Ekbladh, *The Great American Mission: Modernization and the Construction of an American World Order* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2011); Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013); Peter Conrad, *How the World Was Won: The Americanization of Everywhere* (New York: Thames & Hudson, 2014).

that free labor revolutionized American society, this group of innovators engaged with Brazil to vindicate their work and identify it with the American mission.[22]

The engagement with Brazil offered unique attractions to Americans striving to rebuild their nation (and the rest of the world) on the basis of free labor. First, Brazil was a slave society which presented evident similarities to the antebellum South. Second, Brazil was the largest and most powerful nation in Latin America, exerting imperial power of its own over the Plata and the Amazon basins. Third, Brazil was an important trade partner, supplying most of the coffee consumed in the United States. Finally, the Brazilian economy was completely dependent on British capital during most of the nineteenth century.

As the crises of secession, war, and reunion raged in the United States, American free labor promoters plunged headfirst into a relationship with Brazil. They reckoned that if they could help Brazilian planters make the transition from slave to free labor without war or revolution, the North could blame the secession crisis, and all the chaos that ensued, on the South. Furthermore, they took the Brazilian willingness to phase out slavery as a confirmation that free labor was the superior system to organize production in the modern world. In other words, American free labor promoters understood that slaveholding Brazil

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[22] Recent works on the global impact of the American Civil War focus on questions of democracy and nationalism but leave out the promotion of free labor. Moreover, these studies explain how the American Civil War impacted other nations, but say little about how the global dimensions of the Civil War changed American society. See Robin Blackburn, *Marx and Lincoln: An Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Wayne H. Bowen, *Spain and the American Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011); Brent E. Kinser, *The American Civil War in the Shaping of British Democracy* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Andre M. Fletche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015); *The Transnational Significance of the American Civil War*, eds. Jörg Nagler, Don H. Doyle, and Marcus Gräser (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *American Civil Wars: The United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Crisis of the 1860s*, ed. Don H. Doyle (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2017). In an earlier study, Michael Salman positions antislavery at the center of American colonial policies in the Philippines. His work, however, investigates how "the powerful meaning of slavery" was "refracted in struggles over the construction of colonial hegemony and nationalist alternatives" in the Philippines. *The Embarrassment of Slavery: Controversies over Bondage and Nationalism in the American Colonial Philippines* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2001), 20.

could teach some lessons to those who resisted the expansion of free labor in the United States.

Therefore, the same people who crushed slavery in the American South offered Brazil a safe path to emancipation. In the process, they made Brazil into a diplomatic ally of the United States as well as a major consumer of American capital goods. Yet, Americans established neither a formal nor an informal colonial relationship with monarchical Brazil. Unlike what took place when they engaged with Mexican or Filipino elites during the long nineteenth century, American diplomats, missionaries, scientists, and entrepreneurs mostly served the interests of wealthy Brazilian planters and influential Brazilian reformers. And precisely because Americans did not have the upper hand in their relationship with Brazil from the 1840s to the 1880s, they learned invaluable lessons in a soft—though very effective—form of capitalist expansion. Without denying the brutality of American imperialism in other international contexts, this study investigates the emergence of an alternative form of expansionism, one that helped the United States distinguish itself from European powers.[23]

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[23] For the violence of American expansionism in the long nineteenth century, see William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: World, 1959); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963); Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Lester D. Langley and Thomas Schoonover, *The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880-1930* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-American Wars* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Eileen Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Rape in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Eric Love, *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Kramer, *The Blood of Government*; Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Greene, *The Canal Builders*; Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Jason M. Colby, *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Amy S.

By befriending progressive Brazilians, American free labor promoters had a chance to challenge the almighty British Empire, which had been pressuring Brazil to end slavery. Instead of patrolling the Brazilian seacoast with warships and imposing invasive treaties, like Great Britain had done, the United States offered technologies and expertise which would render slavery unnecessary in Brazil. American free labor promoters thus appeared as a benevolent alternative to British imperial abolitionists, as true friends of progress. This way they reaffirmed the Republican vision of the United States as the "last best hope of earth" and gave free labor a positive meaning.

"We Are from America and We Want to Be American"

In *A Revolução Burguesa no Brasil*, sociologist Florestan Fernandes suggests that "the coffee planter ended up representing in Brazilian history the rural lord who was compelled to accept and identify himself with the bourgeois dimension of his interests and social status."[24] Fernandes and his disciples—the so-called São Paulo School—sought to understand the specificity of Brazil's bourgeois revolution. They argued that, seeking to avoid democratic change and the ascension of new classes, the richest Brazilian slaveholders conducted a "modernization from above." Unlike their American counterparts, the Brazilian planters understood the need to couple technological and managerial innovations with the encouragement of free labor. In the process, they transformed their own class, letting go of their aristocratic position to become bourgeois. This was especially significant in the region

Greenberg, *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico* (New York: Vintage Books, 2013).

[24] Florestan Fernandes, *A Revolução Burguesa no Brasil: Ensaio de Interpretação Sociológica* (Rio de Janeiro: Zahar Editores, 1974), 103.

of Brazil where slavery achieved its highest levels of exploitation and efficiency—the Oeste Paulista, the coffee-producing plateau northwest of São Paulo City.[25]

An alternative interpretation emphasizes the role of social movements in the Brazilian process of emancipation. Beginning in the 1860s, a broad coalition of marginalized political actors—including an emerging middle class, college students, and working people—started to challenge the slaveholders' dominance. By the 1880s, these discontented groups radicalized their struggle, asking for immediate emancipation and encouraging slaves to run away. Although scholars of social movements show that Brazilian slaveholders held onto slavery as much as they could and repressed abolitionist agitation, they acknowledge that only a reactionary minority explicitly opposed reform. In fact, these scholars argue, the abolitionists' "modernization from below" was intertwined with the elites' "modernization from above." Even the richest slaveholders in the country agreed that free labor would eventually prevail, bringing benefits to all. Unlike American slaveholders, the Brazilian planters never proclaimed slavery to be a positive and eternal institution.[26]

Contradicting the São Paulo School as well as the studies on social movements, a new scholarship contends that a coalition of proslavery Conservatives held hegemonic power in the Empire of Brazil. These hegemons were the Saquaremas, major coffee planters from the Paraíba Valley, a region on the border of Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São

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[25] In *Raízes do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1936), Sérgio Buarque de Holanda anticipated several arguments of the São Paulo School on slave emancipation. For the most important works that drew on Fernandes's ideas, see Fernando Henrique Cardoso, *Capitalismo e Escravidão no Brasil Meridional: O Negro na Sociedade Escravocrata do Rio Grande do Sul* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1962); Octávio Ianni, *As Metamorfoses do Escravo: Apogeu e Crise da Escravatura no Brasil Meridional* (São Paulo: Difel, 1962); Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia*; Paula Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro: Aspectos Políticos* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2005 [1968]); Dean, *Rio Claro*; Verena Stolcke, *Coffee Planters, Workers, and Wives: Class Conflict and Gender Relations on São Paulo Plantations, 1850-1980* (New York: St. Martin's Press, 1988).
[26] Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*; Robert Brent Toplin, *The Abolition of Slavery in Brazil* (New York: Atheneum, 1975); Azevedo, *Abolitionism in the United States and Brazil*; Maria Helena P. T. Machado, *O Plano e o Pânico: Os Movimentos Sociais na Década da Abolição* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2010); Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas*; Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*.

Paulo.[27] The Saquaremas not only believed in the efficiency of slavery, the revisionist argument goes, but also aligned themselves with American proslavery voices, adopting similar strategies in the defense of their economic system. The Saquaremas also appear as the great modernizers in Brazil, responsible for building railroads, adopting agricultural machinery, and establishing industrial forms of labor management in coffee plantations, all of which were forms of perpetuating slavery. According to the new interpretation, the Paraíba Valley had "capitalist slavery" and defended it as a positive good.[28]

When confronted with the question of slave emancipation in Brazil, this scholarship points to a combination of causes to explain it. First, the Union victory in the American Civil War and European abolitionism shamed Brazilians into reform. In other words, because they felt isolated, a few members of the Brazilian elite—commanded by a (supposedly) almighty monarch—began to favor gradual emancipation. Meanwhile, the predominance of Cuban sugar in the American market and the recovery of cotton production in the postemancipation American South harmed the northern provinces of Brazil. Because Brazilian coffee producers simultaneously expanded their global dominance, the southeastern provinces (São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro, and Minas Gerais) ended up concentrating the slave population. By the early 1880s, this demographic imbalance led fearful legislators to abolish the interprovincial slave trade in an attempt to preserve the consensus about the centrality of slave labor. But the measure backfired. Without the

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[27] For the original argument, see Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, *O Tempo Saquarema: A Formação do Estado Imperial* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1987). For more recent iterations, see Ricardo Salles, *Nostalgia Imperial: Escravidão e Formação da Identidade Nacional no Brasil do Segundo Reinado* (Rio de Janeiro: Ponteio, 2013); Jeffrey D. Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Tâmis Parron, *Política da Escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826-1865* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011).

[28] Marquese, *Feitores do Corpo, Missionários da Mente*; Salles, *E o Vale era o Escravo*; Marquese, "Capitalismo, Escravidão e a Economia Cafeeira do Brasil no Longo Século XIX"; *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos Quadros da Segunda Escravidão*, eds. Muaze and Salles; *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico no Século XIX*, eds. Marquese and Salles; Berbel et al., *Slavery and Politics*.

possibility of profiting from slave sales to coffee planters, the North and other peripheral regions lost interest in maintaining slavery. Thus, scholars now argue that emancipation happened in Brazil because of fear and isolation. And it happened in spite of the planters' desires.[29]

One of the problems with this new interpretation is that it makes generalizations based on a small section of the Brazilian political elite and treats dissenting voices as irrelevant.[30] It also fails to explain why the Brazilian government and major slaveholders spent precious resources experimenting with free labor. Nor does it explain why large sectors of the Brazilian society—including the sons of rich coffee planters and urban professionals connected to slaveholding interests—devoted their energies to the promotion of free labor. Furthermore, it gives no explanation of planning, the distinguishing factor of the Brazilian process of slave emancipation. The fundamental problem here is that, whereas scholars now point to transregional and transnational political processes, market fluctuations, and demographic changes, they fail to consider the great structural transformation of the nineteenth century: the relentless expansion and growing sophistication of free labor.

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[29] Needell, *The Party of Order*; Ricardo Salles, "As Águas do Niágara. 1871: Crise da Escravidão e o Ocaso Saquarema," *O Brasil Imperial. Volume III – 1870-1889*, eds. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 39-82; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "A Guerra Civil dos Estados Unidos e a Crise da Escravidão no Brasil," *Afro-Ásia* 51 (2015): 37-71.

[30] Recent studies on political representation in monarchical Brazil demonstrate that mechanisms such as elections, petitions, and free press established a dialogue between the political elite and other sectors of Brazilian society which went well beyond the interests of proslavery hegemons. See Miriam Dolhnikoff, *O Pacto Imperial: Origens do Federalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Globo, 2005); Vitor Marcos Gregório, *Uma Face de Jano: A Navegação do Rio Amazonas e a Formação do Estado Brasileiro (1838-1867)* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2012); Roberto Saba, *As Vozes da Nação: A Atividade Peticionária e a Política do Início do Segundo Reinado* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2012); Hernán Enrique Lara Sáez, "O Tonel das Danaides: Um Estudo sobre o Debate do Meio Circulante no Brasil entre os Anos de 1850 a 1866 nas Principais Instâncias Decisórias" (Ph.D. dissertation, Universidade de São Paulo, 2013); Miriam Dolhnikoff, "Governo Representativo e Legislação Eleitoral no Brasil do Século XIX," *Journal of Iberian and Latin American Research* 20:1 (2014): 66-82.

This dissertation returns to the questions posed by the São Paulo School and the scholars of social movements, seeking to understand how Brazil avoided a path to emancipation similar to that of the American South. It adds a new layer to the problem by analyzing how Brazilians interacted with the United States as the process unfolded. Ultimately, it argues that, as free labor was becoming the dominant force in the global economy, Brazilian planters and reformers associated with the very people who had crushed slavery in North America to modernize Brazil without a major upheaval.

Brazilian free labor promoters espoused some fundamental ideas. First, they all looked to the northern United States as a model for the future of Brazil and invited Americans to take part in their projects. Second, they thought that Americans would help them adopt labor-saving machinery, advance technical education, diversify economic activities, develop urban centers, and expand transportation infrastructure. These improvements, they reckoned, would weaken slavery and advance free labor in Brazil. Finally, they wanted to maintain coffee production as the central economic activity in Brazil and believed that free labor would optimize it. Most of this coffee would supply American markets.

By focusing on Brazilian free labor promoters and the ties they established with their American counterparts, this study demonstrates that the secession crisis in the United States and its aftermath resulted in a great opportunity—and not in fear or isolation—for Brazilian society. Confident that free labor could improve large-scale agriculture, some of the most powerful planter families in Brazil worked with Brazilian and American reformers to phase out slavery. Together, these groups succeeded in adapting to Brazil the labor system which was elevating the United States to the status of the richest nation in the world.

Proslavery had such a tenuous hold over Brazilian society that the partnership between Brazilian and American free labor promoters germinated as the secession crisis unfolded in the United States and strengthened as the American Civil War raged. With Reconstruction underway, exchanges between the two groups reached their zenith. By the 1880s, this collaboration set the stage for the overthrow of slavery and the expansion of Brazilian agroindustry based on free labor.

In 1870, the Brazilian Republican Party published its manifesto proclaiming that "we are from America and we want to be American." This sentiment was not restricted to the members of the new party, however. A growing number of Brazilians reckoned that stronger ties with the United States would not only help reform their political system but also modernize their national economy. As slavery crumbled in the western world, Brazilians were able to learn from the American experience and work alongside Americans to better integrate Brazil into capitalism.

PART ONE
A NEW WORLD UNCHAINED

A HAND-MIRROR

Hold it up sternly—see this it sends back, (who is it? is it you?)
Outside fair costume—within, ashes and filth,
No more a flashing eye—no more a sonorous voice or springy step,
Now some slave's eye, voice, hands, step,
A drunkard's breath, unwholesome eater's face, venerealee's flesh,
Lungs rotting away piecemeal, stomach sour and cankerous,
Joints rheumatic, bowels clogged with abomination,
Blood circulating dark and poisonous streams,
Words babble, hearing and touch callous,
No brain, no heart left—no magnetism of sex;
Such, from one look in this looking-glass ere you go hence,
Such a result so soon—and from such a beginning!
- Walt Whitman, 1855.

CHAPTER 1
DISTANT SLAVE EMPIRES

In May 1844, Secretary of State John C. Calhoun sent detailed instructions to the newly appointed United States Minister to Brazil, Henry A. Wise. If the British Empire ever managed to destroy the slave system of either Brazil or the United States, Calhoun speculated, "it would destroy the peace and prosperity of both and transfer the production of tobacco, rice, cotton, sugar and coffee from the United States and Brazil to [the British] possessions beyond the Cape of Good Hope." Hence, Calhoun commanded, "you will avail yourself of the occasion to impress on the Brazilian government the conviction, that it is our policy to cultivate the most friendly relations with all the countries on this continent, and with none more than with Brazil."[1] Despite Calhoun's wishes, neither Wise nor any other southern diplomat would be able to build a proslavery coalition with Brazil.

The problem of slavery polarized the United States during the 1840s and the 1850s. Contrary to what expansionists had planned, the Mexican War exacerbated sectionalism. Territorial expansion reopened questions about the balance between free and slave states that the Missouri Compromise had kept at bay. A new compromise was forged in 1850, but it failed to stem the conflict. Feeling threatened by the growing Free Soil movement, southern Democrats proclaimed slavery to be a positive and eternal institution. As the 1850s progressed, their imperial voracity only intensified: proslavery advocates now wanted to take Kansas, increase proslavery influence in southwestern territories, toughen the fugitive slave law, and promote filibustering expeditions in the Caribbean and Central America.[2] The

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[1] John C. Calhoun to Henry A. Wise, Washington, May 24, 1844, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, ed. William R. Manning, Vol. 2, *1831-1860* (Washington: Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, 1932), 127.

[2] Robert E. May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire, 1854-1861* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1973); David M. Potter, *The Impending Crisis, 1848-1861* (New York: Harper and Row, 1976), 90-328; William W. Freehling, *The Road to Disunion, 1776-1854*, Volume II: *Secessionists Triumphant* (New York: Oxford

Republican Party emerged as a response to aggressive proslavery expansionism. Confronted by fire-eaters, northern politicians such as William Henry Seward and Abraham Lincoln put their feet down: slavery was not to expand beyond the South.[3] The United States was at the brink of crisis.

The institution of slavery also created problems in Brazil by the middle decades of the nineteenth century. Pressured by the British Empire, the Brazilian government had made the importation of African slaves illegal in 1831. But the law was disregarded and the traffic only increased thereafter. The British government renewed its pressure and, in 1845, single-handedly gave the Royal Navy the right to intercept and search any Brazilian vessel suspected of carrying slaves.[4] In addition to the instability that slavery generated, the monarchy in Rio de Janeiro faced rebellious movements opposed to political centralization. From 1835 to 1848, major uprisings exploded in the provinces of Pará, Rio Grande do Sul, Bahia, Maranhão, São Paulo, Minas Gerais, and Pernambuco.[5] When the Brazilian government finally crushed the provincial rebellions, it found itself in a full-blown war against Argentina and Uruguay between 1851 and 1852. Although Brazil did not increase its territory at the time, it flexed its imperial muscles with little reservation in South America.[6]

The geopolitical agitation of the mid nineteenth century bred friction between the United States and Brazil. The involvement of American merchants and sailors in the illegal

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University Press, 2007), 25-201; Brian Schoen, *The Fragile Fabric of Union: Cotton, Federal Politics, and the Global Origins of the Civil War* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2009), 197-259.

[3] Eric Foner, *Free Soil, Free Labor, Free Men: The Ideology of the Republican Party Before the Civil War* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1970).

[4] Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 62-266; Richard Huzzey, *Freedom Burning: Anti-Slavery and Empire in Victorian Britain.* (Cornell University Press, 2012), 40-74.

[5] Miriam Dolhnikoff, *O Pacto Imperial: Origens do Federalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Globo, 2005), 155-221; *Revoltas, Motins, Revoluções: Homens Livres Pobres e Libertos no Brasil do Século XIX*, ed. Monica Duarte Dantas (São Paulo: Alameda, 2012), 97-390.

[6] Wilma Peres Costa, *A Espada de Dâmocles: O Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a Crise do Império* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996), 16-102.

transatlantic slave trade to Brazil provoked a negative reaction from Wise, who became embroiled in disputes with Rio de Janeiro authorities in the 1840s. Brazilian politicians protested his attitude vehemently and some even spoke of war. As relations between the two countries were still shaken by the early 1850s, the expansionist projects of American proslavery ideologues aggravated Brazilians once again. Brazilian observers feared that attempts by the American Naval Observatory to explore the Amazon Valley would transform the region into a colonized territory, repeating the process of conquest successful in Mexican Tejas.

As the secession crisis broke out in the United States, however, southern fire-eaters tried to reconcile with Brazil, seeking to convince influential Brazilians of their shared interest in preserving slavery. But a free labor promoter from Indiana named James Cooley Fletcher, acting as an agent of northern entrepreneurs and abolitionists, formulated a competing approach. He not only established strong ties with the Brazilian elite but also created a narrative about their progressive character, which he then used to attack proslavery in the United States. In the end, the Brazilian political elite found what Fletcher and his allies had to offer much more appealing than the plans of an emerging rogue state whose cornerstone was slavery.

No matter how influential American slaveholders had become or how powerful and confident they were, they failed to convince Brazil to embark in a project to defend slavery. In fact, questions involving the reproduction and the expansion of slavery set Brazilians and Americans apart by the middle decades of the nineteenth century.[7] Influencing domestic as

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[7] Scholars now suggest that American as well as Brazilian proslavery advocates exerted great influence in foreign policy and were willing to create an international alliance in defense of unfree labor. This chapter explains why they failed while free labor promoters succeeded. For the argument on proslavery foreign policy, see Manisha Sinha, *The Counterrevolution of Slavery: Politics and Ideology in Antebellum South Carolina* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000); Gerald Horne, *The Deepest South: The United States, Brazil, and the African Slave Trade* (New York: New York University Press, 2007); Matthew Pratt Guterl, *American Mediterranean:*

well as foreign policy, the institution of slavery made these two countries too aggressive in their imperialism and too protective of their sovereignty to get too close to each other. The northern promotion of free labor, on the other hand, seemed quite appealing to the Brazilian elite. By the 1850s, northerners planted the seeds of a binational cooperation which would isolate proslavery.

Filthy Business

Henry A. Wise, a slaveholder and politician from Virginia, would enter the history books as the governor who signed the death sentence of John Brown in 1859 and as a Major General in the Army of Northern Virginia during the Civil War. Before all that, Wise had been elected six consecutive times to the House of Representatives, serving from 1833 to 1844 and gaining notoriety as a staunch proslavery advocate. All in all, he seemed like the perfect person to foster closer relations between American and Brazilian slaveholders.[8] Yet, as soon as Wise arrived in Rio de Janeiro, he understood that the proslavery alliance would not be as easy to build as Calhoun had implied in his instructions.

From the 1810s to the 1830s, the major players in the transatlantic slave trade—Spain, Portugal, and Brazil—had been coerced to accept treaties permitting the British Navy to police their ships. The only exception was the United States. Thus, by the 1840s, the Stars and Stripes was being widely used to cover up the illegal slave trade to Brazil.[9] As Wise put it in one of his first reports to Calhoun, "our flag alone gives the requisite protection against

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Southern Slaveholders in the Age of Emancipation (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2013); Rafael Marquese and Tâmis Parron, "Proslavery International: The Politics of the Second Slavery," *The Politics of the Second Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016), 25-56; Matthew Karp, *This Vast Southern Empire Slaveholders at the Helm of American Foreign Policy* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2016).

[8] For a biographical account of Wise's trajectory, see Craig M. Simpson, *A Good Southerner: The Life of Henry A. Wise of Virginia* (Raleigh: University of North Carolina Press, 1985).

[9] Leonardo Marques, *The United States and the Slave Trade to the Americas, 1776-1867* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2016), 139-184.

the right of visit, search and seizure; … in fact, without the aid of our citizens and our flag, [the slave trade to Brazil] could not be carried on with success at all."[10]

Americans living in Brazilian coastal cities could make easy profits by obtaining sea letters from United States consulates and fitting out vessels for major slavers. As slave prices soared by the middle of the nineteenth century, traffickers had to organize several shipments of goods such as rum, arms, gunpowder, iron, tobacco, and cloth to Africa. American ships were fast, American seamen had expertise, and American merchants had access to these goods. More important, American seamen had few reasons for concern. Despite the existence of harsh anti-slave trade legislation in the United States, the Department of State and the Navy usually acted leniently toward slavers as long as they did not land in American ports. Accordingly, American judges and juries rarely convicted persons charged with the crime of slave-trading.[11]

Wise had many reasons to abhor the African slave trade. As a white Virginian, he identified the influx of Africans to the Americas with the threat of slave rebellion. Since the time of Thomas Jefferson, "Africanization" reminded Virginians of the Haitian Revolution.[12] Moreover, Nat Turner's Rebellion was still fresh in the memories of elite Virginians. Wise also believed that the opposition to the importation of Africans helped improve the image of

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[10] Henry A. Wise to John C. Calhoun, Rio de Janeiro, February 18, 1845, *Correspondence Between the Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro, etc., with the Secretary of State, on the Subject of the Slave Trade. Thirteenth Congress—Second Session. Ex. Doc. No. 61. House of Representatives* (Washington: United States House of Representatives, 1849), 70.
[11] Robert Edgar Conrad notes that, in the United States, "under a law passed in 1820, direct participation in slavetrading was piracy and punishable by death, but the first and only execution under the provisions of this law was not carried out until the Civil War." *World of Sorrow: The African Slave Trade to Brazil* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 142-143. Historians estimate that some 800 to 1,000 vessels built in the United States engaged in the illegal importation of Africans to Brazil, transporting over one million enslaved human beings. See also Dale T. Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies: The Demise of the Transatlantic Slave Trade to Brazil and Cuba* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2014), 39, 217-232.
[12] On American views of the Haitian Revolution, see Ashli White, *Encountering Revolution: Haiti and the Making of the Early Republic* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2010).

American slaveholders, who wanted to be seen as humane and liberal masters.[13] Yet more important, born in 1806, Wise came to adulthood at a time when his native state had established itself as an exporter of slaves to the cotton regions of the United States. Hence his and his fellow Virginians' fears that any revival of the African slave trade would end up encouraging Deep South planters to fight against the 1808 ban, thus disrupting Virginia's lucrative domestic business.[14]

In addition to his background as an anti-slave trade Virginian, Wise believed that the British campaign against the African slave trade could open a door to an assault on American slaveholders. "In immediate connection with this subject of the slave trade," Wise advised Calhoun in January 1845, "is that of interference by Great Britain with the domestic slavery of the United States." Consternated, Wise told his superior that the same British abolitionists who were attacking the African slave trade to Brazil were seeking information about slavery in the United States.

> They not only inquire about population, about the importation of slaves against our own laws in our own jurisdiction, about the laws for the protection of slaves, about the civil capacities and disabilities of slaves by law, about their relative increase or decrease, about the melioration of laws in respect to them, about their general relative condition, but they pry into the treatment of the slaves by their private owners, into their food and raiment, into the disposition of masters to manumit them, and into the existing extent and influence of private societies or parties favorable to the abolition of slavery among us.

If American merchants and seamen continued to participate in the importation of Africans to Brazil, Wise reckoned, the British would persist in their "impudent and dangerous intrusion," threatening "the very sanctity of our private lives and of our private rights."[15]

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[13] On Virginians' fear of slave rebellion, see Alan Taylor, *The Internal Enemy: Slavery and War in Virginia, 1772-1832* (New York: W. W. Norton, 2014).
[14] On the abolition of the African slave trade to the United States, see W. E. B. Du Bois, *The Suppression of the African Slave-Trade to the United States of America, 1638-1870* (New York: Longmans, Green and Company, 1904). On the emergence of the domestic slave trade in the United States, see Walter Johnson, *Soul by Soul: Life Inside the Antebellum Slave Market* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1999); Steven Deyle, *Carry Me Back: The Domestic Slave Trade in American Life* (Oxford/New York: Oxford University Press, 2005).
[15] Henry A. Wise to John C. Calhoun, Rio de Janeiro, January 12, 1845, *Correspondence Between the Consul of the United States at Rio de Janeiro*, 45-46.

Vexed by the ease with which traffickers acted in Brazil, Wise decided to demonstrate force. In late 1844, he was informed that an American brig called *Porpoise*, whose crew was composed of American and Brazilian seamen, had been chartered by Manoel Pinto da Fonseca, a powerful Portuguese slaver and resident of Rio de Janeiro. Fonseca placed one of his agents, a Brazilian named Paulo Rodrigues, in command of the *Porpoise* and sent it to the coast of Africa, where it supplied Fonseca's slave factories "with cachaça, (agua ardente, or the white rum of this country,) with muskets and fazendas, (or dry goods and groceries,) and with provisions, sailing from port to port, the captain and crew seeing the slaves bought at various times and places, and shipped on board of other vessels, and lending her boats and ship's crew from time to time to assist in shipping slaves."[16] As the *Porpoise* was completing its trip back to Brazil in January 1845, the USS *Raritan* captured it within the harbor of Rio de Janeiro. Outraged by the assault on Brazilian sovereignty, the Brazilian Minister of Justice promptly asked Wise to order the release of the *Porpoise*.

What followed demonstrated how much esteem Wise had for the nation that Calhoun viewed as an important ally. "I decided in my own mind to go on board the *Raritan*;" Wise reported, "and proposed that, if the minister of justice would send an officer to take Paulo [Rodrigues] and the other [Brazilian] passengers into custody for trial under the laws of Brazil, I would interpose for their release." The vessel and the American citizens, Wise commanded, would remain detained by the captain of the *Raritan* until the matter of "extradition could be satisfactorily adjusted between the minister of State and myself."[17]

The Brazilian authorities, appalled by Wise's insolence, ordered gunboats of the Brazilian Navy to surround the *Raritan*. Wise complained that this demonstration of force

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[16] Henry A. Wise to John C. Calhoun, Rio de Janeiro, February 18, 1845, 72.
[17] Henry A. Wise to John C. Calhoun, Rio de Janeiro, 18 February 1845, 75.

was done "in a very rude and insulting manner" and insisted that he was going to extradite the detained American citizens with or without the permission of the Brazilian Minister. Yet, the captain of the *Raritan* did not concur with such a confrontational proposition, and the *Porpoise* and its crew were handed to Brazilian authorities. But not without more haranguing from Wise. "Allowing Fonseca to walk aboard with impunity," he ranted, "releasing Paulo [Rodrigues] and his companions, … and, finally, sheltering all the criminals on their return under the protection of [Brazil's] sovereign jurisdiction" was an insult that "could not be submitted to by the United States, as far as their flag and citizens were concerned."[18]

At the moment Wise and the Brazilian authorities were clashing over the *Porpoise*, the British Minister to Brazil was informing his superiors that the Brazilians were not willing to renew the 1817 right-of-search treaty inherited from Portugal, which was about to expire. Pressured, the Earl of Aberdeen, the British Secretary of State, pulled off a diplomatic trick. Going back to a treaty that the Brazilian government had signed in 1826, Aberdeen found that the first article classified the slave trade as piracy. By the middle of 1845 the Brazilians learned about the infamous Aberdeen Act or, in British prose, "An Act to amend an Act, intituled An Act to carry into execution a Convention between His Majesty and the Emperor of Brazil, for the Regulation and final Abolition of the African Slave Trade." In fact, Aberdeen was unilaterally affirming that British warships could search any Brazilian vessel suspect of carrying slaves, an activity which, even according to Brazilian treaties, constituted piracy. Further twisting Brazil's arm, Aberdeen determined that the traffickers would not be judged anymore by Anglo-Brazilian mixed commissions created in 1817 but by the Great Britain High Court of Admiralty.[19]

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[18] Henry A. Wise to John C. Calhoun, Rio de Janeiro, 18 February 1845, 78.
[19] Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 242-266.

Wise did not side with the angry Brazilians against Aberdeen. Rather, just when Brazil was facing one of the most serious threats against its sovereign rights on the seas, he decided to wage a new attack on Brazilian sovereignty, this time targeting law enforcement in the Brazilian capital. On October 31, 1846, the Rio de Janeiro police arrested three drunken American sailors of the USS *Saratoga* for fighting with knives in front of the Hotel Pharoux, situated near the wharf. Their superior, Lieutenant Alonso B. Davis, charged the Brazilian officers with a sword and threatened to enter the guard room of the imperial palace, where his men had been detained. When Davis was arrested, Wise protested loudly, demanding the immediate release of the four Americans. Davis was soon released and the sailors were quickly tried and acquitted. Still, Wise was not satisfied and continued protesting, demanding the punishment of the police officers and their superiors as well as an official apology from the Brazilian government.

Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Bento da Silva Lisboa was scandalized. He remarked that, during the negotiations of the Davis affair, Wise "questioned Brazil's sovereign rights on its beaches (*in litore*); disregarded the public forces for neither wearing shiny uniforms nor having light-colored faces; qualified as treason and cowardice the capture of Lieutenant Davis; saw in it an insult to the [American] flag."[20] Not satisfied, Wise threatened to bombard the Brazilian capital. In a letter to *O Mercantil*, an outraged observer guaranteed that "Mr. Wise has directed to our Minister of Foreign Affairs the most unjust and ridiculous complaints … and some say that he even threatened to *raze Rio de Janeiro with all his frigates*!! !! !!"[21] Adding insult to injury, at the height of the imbroglio, Wise ordered an

[20] *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Legislativa, na Terceira Sessão da Sexta Legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve e Comp., 1846), 7.
[21] Um Brasileiro, "Correspondencia," *O Mercantil*, November 17, 1846.

American battleship stationed in the harbor of Rio de Janeiro not to salute the baptism ceremony of newborn Princess Isabel and Dom Pedro's birthday celebration.

As the Davis affair unfolded, Wise did not waste the opportunity to express his contempt for Brazil. When justifying his position to Secretary of State James Buchanan, who had replaced Calhoun in March 1845, Wise recognized that "this is all very unpleasant and seems very ungracious." "But really," he added without hesitation, "this people are yet uncivilized and ought to be taught a lesson." The imprisonment of Davis and the three sailors, Wise explained, was just one of many cases of Brazilian brutality against Americans occurring since he had arrived in Rio de Janeiro. He claimed that several American citizens—including his own son—had been humiliated by Brazilian authorities. A certain Mr. Southworth, Wise recounted with indignation, had been "imprisoned and fined severely, without judge or jury, because one of his employés struck a drunken negro who was abusing him in the most insufferable manner." The offense against an officer of the American Navy had been the last straw for Wise: "You must, in a word, *make* this people respect us. They are ignorant, insolent, and touched by a false sense of dignity; but they are selfish enough to know what concerns them, and will not lightly trifle with a Power which can injure them as deeply as the U. States can, if compelled to resent their insults and outrages."[22]

Wise's contempt grew out of his view of Brazil as a society at the mercy of vile slavers. In the middle of his exchange with Buchanan about the Davis affair, Wise railed once again against the traffic. Yet, this time, the Brazilian politicians, and not American merchants and seamen, were the target of his fury. "It is not to be disguised nor palliated," he argued, "that this Court as well as this whole country is deeply inculpated in that trade."

[22] Henry A. Wise to James Buchanan, Rio de Janeiro, November 16, 1846, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 366-367.

According to Wise, in Brazil, the slavers were either the men in power or those who financed and controlled the men in power. "Thus, the Govt itself is in fact a slave trading Govt against its own laws and treaties." Ignoring Calhoun's initial instructions, Wise delighted in having become "very obnoxious … to this country, whose most wealthy and influential citizens are all hindered and obstructed by me in their slave-trade profits."[23]

As a reflection of his stand, Wise saw fit to attack Great Britain for being much closer to the Brazilian slave trade than Americans had ever been. Writing to Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, the British Minister to Rio de Janeiro, Wise claimed that every British diplomat and statesmen knew that their country supplied the Brazilian traffickers with goods specifically designed for acquiring slaves in Africa. "A vast proportion of the dry goods, and the powder and muskets, and a great variety of articles under the general names of 'fazendas estrangeiras' [foreign fabrics] or 'mercadorias e varios generos' [merchandise and assorted goods]," he contended, "are of English manufacture, and many made expressly as 'panos da costa' [cloths of the coast]."[24] Clearly then, as Wise saw it, British "manufacturers and merchants cannot but know that these goods are made of a peculiar pattern from the fact of their being required for the Slave Trade, and that they are ordered and intended for that traffic."[25] The British had no right to attack American slaveholders, Wise told Hamilton, because they were accomplices of the Brazilians in a horrific crime. "Indeed," he concluded, "I am more than ever confirmed in the conviction that the largest interests in the world, next to those of Brazilian subjects, now favoring the Slave Trade, are those of a certain class of British manufacturers, merchants, and capitalists."[26]

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[23] Henry A. Wise to James Buchanan, Rio de Janeiro, November 16, 1846, 370.
[24] Henry A. Wise to Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1846, *British and Foreign State Papers*, Vol. 35, Part 1, *1846-1847* (London: Harrison and Sons, 1960), 505.
[25] Henry A. Wise to Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1846, 508.
[26] Henry A. Wise to Hamilton Charles James Hamilton, Rio de Janeiro, July 31, 1846, 515.

While Wise attacked the British, the Brazilian political elite understood that, when it came to impinging on Brazilian sovereignty, Americans were no different from the British. During the Davis affair, the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs suspended relations with Wise and requested that the United States Department of State recall him. Buchanan nonetheless kept Wise in Rio de Janeiro. When Brazilian government officials seemed to be retracting in their criticism of Wise, discontented voices rose, transforming the question into one of national honor. One member of the Chamber of Deputies exclaimed in April 1847 that "we will be the first inculpated if we do not forcefully express ourselves, protesting before the country and demanding the employment of all energy and vigor in this negotiation, because justice is on our side."[27] Humiliated by Aberdeen and Wise alike, a growing number of commentators raged at the sheep-like patience of Brazilian ministers and diplomats, disapproved the quick release of the four American prisoners, and demanded Wise's deportation.[28]

Confronted by the Rio de Janeiro press as well as Brazilian politicians, Wise positioned himself as a victim of the slave trade interests. "The Ministers and Councilors of State and Senators and Delegates in the Legislative Chambers," he told Buchanan in April 1847, "are, undoubtedly, engaged in this bold as well as horrid traffic, and its principal capitalists are the owners of the newspaper press in this city which prevented more than any other cause a course of conciliation on the part of the Imp[erial] Govt respecting the imprisonment of Lt Davis and the three seamen."[29]

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[27] Gabriel Francisco Junqueira, speech at the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, May 28, 1847, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, Quarto Anno da Sexta Legislatura, Sessão de 1847*, Volume 1 (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de H. J. Pinto, 1880), 176.
[28] "Negócios internacionaes. – Questão americana," *Sentinella da Monarchia*, April 7, 1847.
[29] Henry A. Wise to James Buchanan, Rio de Janeiro, 12 April, 1847, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 380-381.

Unlike Buchanan, who seemed quite satisfied with Wise's explanation, Brazilian political leaders knew that his intensions were not restricted to attacking the traffic and defending his injured compatriots. In May 1847, Antonio Pereira Rebouças, the son of a freed slave and a Portuguese tailor who became one of the most prominent statesmen of nineteenth-century Brazil, told the Parliament that Brazilians should keep their eyes wide open to Wise's actions.[30] "For a question of little importance," Rebouças charged, the United States had "revived in America, the land of Liberty, the principles of the ancient barbaric and semi-barbaric nations, invading territories of the Mexican Republic with the intention to conquer them by force and at gunpoint, making an effort to introduce discord among the peoples of that country by the most atrocious means." Rebouças feared that Brazil would have the same fate as northern Mexico if the American envoys continued to conduct diplomacy through the "ostentation of the intemperance of American soldiers; deducing from this intemperance a right over our country, as if they were disembarking in an abandoned beach; and, after flaunting as a right this act of intemperance, they insult the Brazilian nationality for the accident of the epidermis!"[31] Wise had affronted the Brazilian police because of their color, questioned Brazilian sovereignty in Brazilian territory, and threatened to attack Rio de Janeiro. All the while his superiors in Washington had supported him. "The Rubicon was passed," *O Mercantil* wrote upholding Rebouças, "the mask of hypocrisy fell off, and the so-vaunted protection of American interests, it is now clearly made evident, is nothing more than a pretext to boast superiority in relation to other states of the continent."[32]

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[30] For Antonio Pereira Rebouças's political trajectory, see Keila Grinberg, *O Fiador dos Brasileiros: Cidadania, Escravidão e Direito Civil no Tempo de Antonio Pereira Rebouças* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2002).
[31] Antonio Pereira Rebouças, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 28, 1847, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro*, 184-185.
[32] "Conflicto com o Gabinete de Washington," *O Mercantil*, April 21, 1847.

Two recent diplomatic episodes had deeply wounded the Brazilians' sense of national honor, Gabriel José Rodrigues dos Santos, a Liberal from São Paulo, cried in the Chamber of Deputies. And they needed to be redressed. First, the British, considering Brazil a vanquished nation, had subjected Brazilian seamen to "the judgement of tribunals that are not Brazilian, and that cannot, according to international laws, have jurisdiction over us." Yet, Rodrigues dos Santos lamented, the Brazilian government had lowered its head cowardly. Second, in the quarrel with Wise, Brazilian officials had demonstrated "the same tepidity, the same weakness, the same indecision. … After having got all he wanted through our humiliation, he intended to express, make it very clear, very manifest to the eyes of all, his triumph against our national dignity and the vilification that he had thrown over the Brazilian government."[33] Coupled with the Aberdeen Act, Wise's attitudes raised a fear that, if the Brazilian government continued its customary deference, every foreign power would conclude that Brazil was too feeble to protect itself. Urbano Sabino Pessoa de Melo, a Liberal from Pernambuco, advised that "Brazil cannot continue with the system that to this day has directed our foreign relations. Our exaggerated condescendence, our trepidation, a terror panic that we manifest in all our affairs, have brought us the most serious difficulties."[34]

In August 1847, Wise left his post in Brazil by his own request. The United States Department of State never apologized for his actions. At the same time, British cruisers were moving to single-handedly implement the Aberdeen Act.[35] Yet, what seemed like a double

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[33] Gabriel José Rodrigues dos Santos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 29, 1847, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro*, 201.
[34] Urbano Sabino Pessoa de Melo, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 28, 1847, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro*, 187.
[35] Jaime Rodrigues argues that "the threat to the [Brazilian] nation coming from British pressure was becoming stronger than the diffuse threat of labor shortage. It was urgent to evaluate the concrete necessity of maintaining the traffic in Africans and if, at that moment, it provided any guarantee to the maintenance of sovereignty or if, on the contrary, it threatened it." *O Infame Comércio*, 114-115.

national defeat was transformed into triumph. The Conservatives, returning to power in September 1848, now sought to find a way to end the slave trade. The Liberals as well as Dom Pedro II favored the measure and public opinion understood that Brazil should free itself from the traffickers' corrupting influence. As major slavers were becoming identified with foreign capital, Brazilian politicians argued that the end of the traffic would contribute to preserving national sovereignty.[36] On September 4, 1850, an anti-slave trade bill proposed by Eusébio de Queirós—a politician connected to the coffee-producing regions of Rio de Janeiro—was signed into law.

Immediately after the law was ratified, the Brazilian Navy reinforced its patrols of the coast; provincial presidents, judges, and police chiefs were constantly reminded to swiftly enforce the law; Portuguese slavers were deported; and special maritime courts were set up, dispensing with the necessity of sending traffickers to trial by jury. Slave ships continued trying to land their cargoes in Brazil, but the powers of the slavers were waning. Then, an opportunity appeared to demonstrate that Brazilians had once and for all repudiated the horrid traffic. Auspiciously, it involved the apprehension and condemnation of a schooner flying the American flag.[37]

In January 1856, the Brazilian Navy captured the *Mary E. Smith* off the Brazilian coast transporting nearly four hundred enslaved Africans. Chartered by Portuguese as well as American firms, the *Mary E. Smith* had sailed directly from Boston to southeast Africa and from there to Brazilian waters. When the vessel was taken to the port of São Mateus, in the

[36] Although foreign capital played an important role in the Brazilian slave trade, Brazilian politicians manipulated this fact in order to excuse native Brazilians. As Leslie Bethell puts it, "in the course of a tumultuous debate more than one deputy expressed marked hostility towards the slave trade, which all were agreed was controlled by foreigners and therefore 'not properly speaking a Brazilian interest' and which, moreover, was directly responsible for recent British outrages against Brazilian sovereignty." *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade*, 331-332.
[37] Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies*, 178-188.

province of Espírito Santo, dozens of Africans started to die of cholera. The local population was horrified and loudly called for the punishment of the crew. The occasion was propitious for Brazilian authorities to affirm national sovereignty. "This apprehension, lacking nothing to be complete," Minister of Foreign Affairs José Maria da Silva Paranhos stated, "evidently demonstrates the restless solicitude of the imperial government and its agents. The repulse that the smugglers found in the population of the province is one more proof that the extinction of the slave trade is today the Brazilians' general desire."[38]

Based on the Law of 1850, Brazilian authorities charged the ten members of the *Mary E. Smith* crew—five of whom were American citizens—with slave trafficking. They were sent to Brazilian prisons for two or three years and had to pay the expenses of sending the enslaved survivors back to Africa. In spite of the complaints from American diplomats and their claims that the seamen had been tricked by the ship captain, only one of the prisoners was pardoned—and not before spending two years in jail—for old age.[39]

Brazil now posed as an international crusader against the slave trade in the face of the United States. As Paranhos reported in 1857, the Brazilian government "has worked to obtain information through its agents in the countries where, we suspect, the speculators act, especially the United States, Portugal, Spain and its possessions."[40] Reversing Wise's accusations, Brazilian authorities transferred the stigma of the slave trade back to the Americans.

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[38] *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Quarta Sessão da Nona Legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1856), 21.
[39] Graden, *Disease, Resistance, and Lies*, 188-191.
[40] *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Primeira Sessão da Décima Legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1857), 20.

Texas in Amazonia

While Brazil was trying to put an end to the problem of the slave trade, a powerful group of Americans was looking to the Amazon Valley as a solution to their own problems. During the 1840s, superintendent of the American Naval Observatory Matthew Fontaine Maury, a member of a prestigious Virginia family resettled to Tennessee, conducted a project to map ocean currents and winds. One of his most vaunted discoveries was that the currents of the Gulf of Mexico formed a highway connecting the estuaries of the Mississippi and the Amazon. "Here, upon this central sea," Maury exclaimed, nature "has, with a lavish hand, grouped and arranged in juxtaposition, all those physical circumstances which make nations truly great. Here she has laid the foundations for a commerce, the most magnificent the world ever saw. Here she has brought within the distance of a few days, the mouths of her two greatest river."[41] It was the calling of his people, Maury preached, to take advantage of such a marvelous system of fertile lands and dynamic waterways.

Unlike the Mississippi Valley of the mid nineteenth century, the Amazon Valley was still covered by dense forests and the local inhabitants were mostly nomadic indigenous people who engaged in hunting, fishing, and subsistence agriculture. Afraid of losing this sparsely populated area, the Brazilian government prohibited foreign vessels from traveling and trading on its northern rivers while tightly controlling immigration to the region.[42] Determined to enter the Amazon Basin for good or ill, by early 1850 Maury petitioned the United States Congress and the Department of State, which, in turn, pressured Brazilian diplomats. After some hesitation, the Brazilian government granted permission for a

[41] Matthew Fontaine Maury, "Great Commercial Advantages of the Gulf of Mexico," *DeBow's Review*, December 1849.
[42] For the navigation policies of monarchical Brazil, see Vitor Marcos Gregório, *Uma Face de Jano: a Navegação do Rio Amazonas e a Formação do Estado Brasileiro, 1838-1867* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2012).

scientific expedition. Maury put two naval officers from Virginia in charge of the exploratory parties: Lieutenant William Lewis Herndon—who happened to be Maury's brother-in-law—was assigned to navigate from Peru into Brazil; Lieutenant Lardner Gibbon would go from Brazil into Bolivia.[43]

Despite all guarantees by the United States Department of State that the intentions of the expedition were purely scientific, the instructions that Maury sent to Herndon in April 1850 clarified his real designs. "Your going," he explained, "is to be the first link in that chain which is to end in the establishment of the Amazonian Republic." Maury believed that, if the American government forced Brazil to sign a treaty of fluvial navigation, "it can no more prevent American citizens from the free as well as from the Slave States from going there with their goods and chattels to settle and to revolutionize and republicanize and Anglo Saxonize that valley than it can prevent the magazine from exploding after the firebrand has been thrown into it." A man of the seas, Maury looked well beyond the Deep South and the newly acquired North American southwest as the future of American slavery. The Amazon Valley "is to be the safety valve for our Southern States," he advised. "When they become overpopulated with slaves … they will send these slaves to the Amazon. Just as the Miss[issippi] Valley has been the escape valve for the slaves of the Northern now free States so will the Amazon valley be to that of the Miss[issippi]."[44]

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[43] Susanna B. Hecht, *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013), 142-152.

[44] "Letter of Matthew Fontaine Maury to William Lewis Herndon, April 20, 1850," *The Hispanic American Historical Review* 28:2 (May 1948), 217. Susanna B. Hecht points out that, for Maury, "a Confederate tropical Manifest Destiny would be beneficial in many ways. Maury, like many other Southerners, feared a Malthusian crisis in a South overrun with black slaves, leading to problems of race war and miscegenation. Since slave systems could not expand on the North American continent, they needed a dumping ground for 'excess' population. The Amazon would be the salvation of American slavery. … If Amazonia was colonized, the tensions between the Northern and Southern states would be significantly reduced." *The Scramble for the Amazon*, 145-146.

Herndon's and Gibbon's reports, sent to Maury between 1851 and 1852, depicted the Amazon Valley as a vast wilderness inhabited by a half-civilized population. The racial composition of the Amazonian people was of particular interest to the explorers. Herndon found that the whites were very few and could only be considered white "in contradistinction to the Indian."[45] The Virginians were all the more surprised to learn that these half-breeds were in charge of securing the northern borders of Brazil. In Mato Grosso, on the Brazil-Bolivia border, Gibbon scorned the Brazilian soldiers' efforts to impress: "While they respectfully saluted Uncle Sam's uniform, we noticed, for the first time, how very awkwardly the negro handles the musket."[46]

Herndon came to the only conclusion that would have pleased his boss: the Amazon Valley was in need of "an industrious and active population, who know what the comforts of life are, and who have artificial wants to draw out the great resources of the country."[47] As he crossed sumptuous forests and rivers, Herndon dreamed of what his people would accomplish in the South American interior: "Let us suppose introduced into such a country the railroad and the steamboat, the plough, the axe, and the hoe; let us suppose the land divided into large estates, and cultivated by slave labor, so as to produce all that they are capable of producing." Subjected to American colonial rule, the Amazon would certainly surpass "the grandeur of ancient Babylon and modern London." Now, it was just a matter of Brazil throwing off "a causeless jealousy, and a puerile fear of our people," and inviting the American slaveholders into its bosom.[48]

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[45] William Lewis Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, Part I (Washington: Robert Armstrong, 1853), 236.
[46] Lardner Gibbon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, Part II (Washington: A. O. P. Nicholson, 1854), 273.
[47] Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, 251.
[48] Herndon, *Exploration of the Valley of the Amazon*, 277.

Unfortunately for Maury and his pupils, the Brazilian government was not willing to cooperate. While negotiating permissions for the expedition, Brazilian Minister at Washington Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo wrote a detailed report to Minister of Foreign Affairs Paulino José Soares de Souza. Teixeira de Macedo analyzed the recent territorial expansion of the United States, pointing out that "this country presents a system of conquest and usurpation unknown in past times and in the old world, a system which is incarnated in the population, constitutes part of their opinions, of their prejudices, which is practiced independently of the Government, and even against the will of the Government, and which will therefore continue for many years, perhaps for centuries." The United States, Teixeira de Macedo added, did not conquer territories by using a standing army, as the French or the British empires did. In a strange sort of democratic imperialism, American farmers and planters would simply settle whatever lands they desired, be they owned by European, Native American, or Hispanic nations. War usually followed, and the Americans, already settled in, triumphed. Under this system, they had conquered Texas as well as California and were moving to conquer Central America. The ease with which thousands of families from the eastern United States were transported and occupied former Mexican lands was enough, for Teixeira de Macedo, to demonstrate that they could go anywhere, including to the northern regions of South America. Forwarding some American newspapers to Soares de Souza, Teixeira de Macedo drew attention to "the contempt with which the Anglo-Saxon-American looks at other peoples, and especially at us, and how he inculcates himself as: the civilizer by excellence of the Americas."[49]

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[49] Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo to Paulino José Soares de Souza, Washington, November 14, 1850, in Arthur Cezar Ferreira Reis, *A Amazônia e a Cobiça Internacional* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1960), 81-86. For a scholarly analysis of American expansionism that parallels Teixeira de Macedo's views, see Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005).

Teixeira de Macedo also warned Soares de Souza that Brazilians should not fool themselves and expect that the sectional conflict raging in the United States would weaken the American expansionist drive. On the contrary, the creation of an independent slaveholding nation in North America would only spur aggression. "The southern fraction," he wrote, "is the most invested, most interested in these invasions. In the present state of union with the North, which does not find immediate gain in such conquests, the plans of the South often find themselves vexed by the federal Government." If the separation between slave and free states become a reality, though, "whatever the confederation of the South judges convenient, it will quickly execute, without having to deal with the bridles that now are presented by the commercial interests of the North."[50] Teixeira de Macedo knew very well where Maury was coming from. American slaveholders' imperialism terrified the slave empire of South America.[51]

As Herndon and Gibbon moved around the Amazon, the Brazilian government sent its own agents to negotiate treaties with Brazil's Amazonian neighbors. In 1851, Brazil proposed a treaty to Peru that would grant free intercourse on rivers common to both nations for Brazilian and Peruvian ships only. In 1852, it was Venezuela's turn and, in 1853, New Granada and Ecuador. Moreover, on August 30, 1852, the Brazilian government conceded to Irineu Evangelista de Souza—soon to become the Baron of Mauá—a thirty-year exclusive privilege, along with large financial incentives, to navigate the Amazon Basin. The Companhia de Navegação e Comércio do Amazonas [Amazon Navigation and Commerce Company] would establish one steamship line connecting Belém, on the Amazonian seacoast, to Barra (contemporary Manaus), at the confluence of the Amazon, the

[50] Sérgio Teixeira de Macedo to Paulino José Soares de Souza, Washington, November 14, 1850, 84.
[51] On proslavery expansionism, see May, *The Southern Dream of a Caribbean Empire*.

Negro, and the Solimões rivers, and another from Barra to Peruvian villages on the banks of the Marañón River. The contract also prescribed that the company would help establish sixty government colonies on the banks of the Amazon and its tributaries.[52]

Such developments infuriated Maury. In a series of articles for the Washington *Union* and the *National Intelligencer*, Maury—under the suggestive pseudonym of Inca—initiated his public campaign against Brazilian control of the Amazon Basin. These anti-Brazilian texts were soon translated and published in Lima, Rio de Janeiro, and La Paz, immediately gaining Maury notoriety in South America.[53] The Brazilian diplomatic pressure over the Amazonian republics, Inca ranted, was an attempt "to hood-wink them, to retard their progress, to seal up tighter than ever their great arteries of commerce, and thus perpetuate the stagnation and death that have for 300 years reigned in the great Amazonian water-shed." The concession to Companhia de Navegação e Comércio do Amazonas was "one of the most odious monopolies that ever were inflicted upon free trade, or that now retard the progress of any country."[54]

Inca portrayed a paradise in interior South America stretching from Venezuela to Paraguay and comprising lands suited to the establishment of coffee, sugar, cotton, cacao, rice, and indigo plantations as well as the extraction of wood, medicinal drugs, gold, silver, and diamonds. Yet, aware of its inferiority, Brazil had decided to shut the doors of the Amazon to the Anglo-Saxon civilizer. "So fearful has she been that the steamboat on those waters would reveal to the world the exceeding great riches of this province," Inca charged,

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[52] Demétrio Magnoli, *O Corpo da Pátria: Imaginação Geográfica e Política Externa no Brasil, 1808-1912* (São Paulo: Editora da Unesp/Moderna, 1997), 180-181.

[53] Matthew Fontaine Maury, *El Río Amazonas y las Comarcas que Forman su Hoya: Vertientes hacia el Atlántico* (Lima: J. M. Monterola, 1853); Matthew Fontaine Maury, *O Amazonas e as Costas Atlânticas da América Meridional* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de M. Barreto, 1853); Matthew Fontaine Maury, *El Rio Amazonas, las Regiones que Forman su Hoya y las Vertientes Atlánticas de Sud-América* (La Paz: E. Alarcon, 1854).

[54] Matthew Fontaine Maury, *The Amazon, and the Atlantic Slopes of South America: A Series of Letters Published in the National Intelligencer and Union Newspapers, Under the Signature of "Inca"* (Washington: F. Taylor, 1853), 54-55.

"that we have here re-enacted under our own eyes a worse than Japanese policy; for it excludes from settlement and cultivation, from commerce and civilization, the finest country in the world."[55]

Maury gained some high-level endorsements in the United States. Writing for the *Southern Quarterly Review* in October 1853, South Carolina Senator and proslavery ideologue James Henry Hammond concurred that, "by the united action of wind and stream," the Amazon Valley was more accessible from Charleston than from Rio de Janeiro. Like Maury, Hammond claimed that "Providence appears to direct—by the natural laws alluded to—into the waters of the United States, the future valuable and varied productions of an Empire. Energetic man must appropriate the blessing." Yet, whereas Peru and Bolivia were willing to open the doors for Anglo-American civilizers, Hammond regretted, Brazil resisted.

> Brazil, alone, at present the most important country, adheres to an obstinate hatred of North American '*pirates*' and to her own absurdly contracted notions of national prosperity. … Like the man who boasts to the world of a splendid (unimproved) estate—lying waste, and giving comparatively no return to the owner—Don Pedro will laud his possessions too; but neither improve them himself—for he is really incompetent—nor permit another to do so. … He fears our ambitious desire to annex his Empire!

Hammond indicated that the United States had other priorities for conquest: the rest of Mexico, Cuba, the West Indies, and Central America. Nevertheless, "reasoning from the increasing power and grandeur of America … and from the long tested propensities of her dominant race for the acquisition of *land*, and for the *order* and *good government* of the world, it may be said … that Brazil, empire as it is under a monarchical sovereign, must inevitably partake of the glorious destiny of the United States!" Hammond objected to Maury's idea that the American South needed a safety valve for its excess slave population as he thought that there was plenty of room for slavery to expand in North America for another thousand

[55] Maury, *The Amazon, and the Atlantic Slopes of South America*, 21.

years. Still, he enthusiastically embraced Maury's campaign to encourage "our southern planters, with their slaves, in large numbers, in the course of time, to emigrate to the fertile valley of the Amazon."[56]

According to Francisco Inácio de Carvalho Moreira—the successor of Teixeira de Macedo as Brazilian Minister to Washington—Maury's campaign had done more than kindling Hammond's imperial imagination. By mid 1853, he feared that American filibusters were preparing to occupy the Amazon.[57] Despite being reassured by the United States Department of State that those were only rumors and that the American Navy had been watching for any unauthorized expeditions, Carvalho Moreira insisted that several sources had provided him with precise intelligence:

> 1st That reckless ship-owners had intended to dispatch steamers to force the entrance to that river in search for ports in Peru and Bolivia, on the pretext that the governments of these two republics have declared their ports free to foreign commerce.
> 2nd That so well organized these plans of aggression against the Brazilian territory were, and so advanced the enterprise, that some announced that Lieutenant Porter, official of the American Navy, would take command of the steamers, adding that he had received a two-year permission to do so from the competent ministry.
> 3rd That, even if these ship-owners did not have the protection of the government of the Union, which they nevertheless were trying to obtain, they were disposed to continue their sinister projects either way, taking on their own the risks of so temerarious enterprise.[58]

If, on the one hand, Brazilian fears of an armed invasion of the Amazon did not materialize, on the other, the very United States Department of State acted on advancing Maury's cause. At the same time that Moreira was distressed about the risk of encouraging filibusters, American diplomats were approaching the Amazonian republics to establish their own

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[56] James Henry Hammond, "Maury on South America and Amazonia," *Southern Quarterly Review*, October 1853. For an analysis of Hammond's worldview, see Drew Gilpin Faust, *James Henry Hammond and the Old South: A Design for Mastery.* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1982).
[57] On filibustering and nineteenth-century American imperialism, see Robert E. May, *Manifest Destiny's Underworld: Filibustering in Antebellum America* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004).
[58] Francisco Inácio de Carvalho Moreira, "Nota da legação imperial em Washington ao governo dos Estados-Unidos," Washington, August 15, 1853, *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Segunda Sessão da Nona Legislatura*, Annex D (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1854), 4.

treaties of fluvial navigation. Brazilian diplomacy suffered serious setbacks then as all of Brazil's northern neighbors opened their interior rivers to American ships. Nationalist elites of northern South America, aware of Brazil's aggressive policies towards the republics of the Plata and concerned about their own scuffles in frontier disputes, saw Brazilian imperialism as the great menace in the region. The influence of the United States in the Amazon Basin, they reckoned, would be a good balance against Brazilian impositions.[59]

By controlling the Amazon Basin, Brazil prevented vessels coming from the Atlantic Ocean from reaching the interior of New Granada, Ecuador, Peru, and Bolivia. Because the Andes made access from the Pacific coast to the Amazon very difficult, these four republics were dissatisfied with Brazil's strict navigation policies. In a frontal challenge to Brazil, Maury included this map in the collected edition of his articles which erased national borders and showed an open Amazon Basin. Maury, *The Amazon, and the Atlantic Slopes of South America.*

While American agents helped raise anti-Brazilian feelings in northern South America, a new United States Minister arrived in Rio de Janeiro. William Trousdale had served as a Brigadier General during the Mexican War and governor of Tennessee from 1849 to 1851. On October 28, 1853, Trousdale proposed to Antonio Paulino Limpo de Abreu, who had replaced Soares de Souza as Minister of Foreign Affairs, a treaty of amity, commerce, and navigation. "I was told," an angry Trousdale reported back, "that if they

[59] Luis Cláudio Villafañe Gomes Santos, *O Império e as Repúblicas do Pacífico: As Relações do Brasil com Chile, Bolívia, Peru, Equador e Colômbia* (Curitiba: Editora UFPR, 2002), 68-61.

treated with us, the Government of Great Britain, … would not only ask for one also, but would insist on it, without revoking the bill introduced by Lord Aberdeen in 1845, containing a clause giving the British the right to search vessels under Brazilian colors on the sea." Therefore, Trousdale concluded, "a treaty with the United States had always been delayed or prevented."[60] By juxtaposing the Amazon question to that of the slave trade, Limpo de Abreu had found a (not so) subtle way of saying that his government was not willing to risk, again, involving itself with powers that did not observe Brazilian sovereignty.

Trousdale nevertheless persisted, managing to meet with Dom Pedro II. But the monarch was not of much help either, telling him that "it had become of late the settled policy of Brazil to decline entering into Treaty Stipulations with Foreign Powers, in order to avoid entanglements and interpretations which would be adverse to the interests of the Empire."[61] When Paranhos replaced Limpo de Abreu in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Trousdale renewed his efforts, now arguing that "Brazil is an American nation; she is in friendship with the United States; they are both the most powerful and wealthy nations on this Continent; both are slave-holding powers; the trade between them is advantageous, particularly to Brazil."[62] Trousdale repeated the same argument to a member of the Council of State, claiming that Brazilian "social institutions, particularly slavery, which must be preserved, pointed to the necessity of a closer alliance with the American Union."[63]

Trousdale's logic was straightforward, and quite simplistic: the largest slave nations in the western world, Brazil and the United States should become sworn allies. Yet, to his

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[60] William Trousdale, "Minute of interview of October 28, 1853," *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 442.
[61] William Trousdale, "Note of an interview with Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, at the Imperial Palace of Petropolis," February 5, 1855, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 471.
[62] William Trousdale to José Maria da Silva Paranhos, Rio de Janeiro, November 21, 1855, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 490.
[63] "Memorandum of a conversation between William Trousdale, United States Minister to Brazil, and Visconde de Maranguape," December 6, 1855, *Diplomatic Correspondence of the United States, Inter-American Affairs*, 493.

chagrin, Brazilians would have none of it. After all, as Trousdale himself recognized, "the idea had been frequently held out in the Brazilian papers and elsewhere that the object of the Americans in endeavoring to secure the opening of the Amazon was to gain a foothold, with a view of ulterior annexation to the United States."[64] In this point, Trousdale was right: American diplomatic pressure and the translation of Maury's articles transformed the opening of the Amazon into a hotly debated topic in Brazil. The memory of Wise and Aberdeen haunted Brazilian publicists, who demanded that their government resist foreign pressure this time.

In 1854, Brazilian Army Colonel João Batista de Castro Morais Antas, who had participated in several fluvial expeditions throughout South America, published a series of articles assailing Maury's geography point by point, demonstrating how grotesquely inaccurate it was. Additionally, Morais Antas denounced Maury's arrogant belief that Americans could "impose happiness by force to Peru, Bolivia, and Brazil." He feared the repercussions of such an idea in "a country ruled by democratic forms, where the illusions propelled without reply by the press may one day tend to disturb the modest prosperity of other peoples."[65] It was time, Morais Antas urged, "to draw the attention of the civilized world to this system of conquest by absorption, which starts to characterize some spirits in the United States."[66] Supportive of Brazil's fluvial navigation policies, he concluded that, even if the Amazon were undeveloped, "in no case it could be derived from this that the

[64] Trousdale, "Note of an interview with Dom Pedro II, Emperor of Brazil, at the Imperial Palace of Petropolis," February 5, 1855, 472.
[65] João Batista de Castro Morais Antas, *O Amazonas: Breve Resposta à Memória do Tenente da Armada Americana-Inglesa F. Maury sobre as Vantagens da Livre Navegação do Amazonas* (Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Alexandre de Gusmão, 2013 [1854]), 24.
[66] Morais Antas, *O Amazonas*, 11.

United States or any other nation has the right to create embarrassments and, much less, occupy that country, cultivate it, and colonize it."[67]

Another critic of Maury, Pedro de Angelis—a Brazilian resident in Montevideo—published a long pamphlet in French, the lingua franca of nineteenth-century diplomacy, to demonstrate that Brazil alone had the right to control the Amazon Basin. "Supported by the *droit de gens*, by the customs of nations, by the Treaty of San Ildefonso," Angelis set out his argument, "Brazil can reserve the exclusive right of navigation on its internal rivers and exclude any foreign power, even the Spanish-American republics."[68] Brazil nonetheless had extended its generous arm to its neighbors, he continued, spontaneously opening the navigation of its waters and providing them access to the Atlantic. All the Amazonian republics had to do was to ratify the treaties that had been proposed by Brazilian diplomats.

Very different from benevolent Brazil was the United States. "Vis-à-vis Texas," Angelis accused, "the Americans have been rehearsing a system that seems to have triumphed among them now."[69] The more territories Americans conquered, the hungrier they got, and a system created by blood-thirsty filibusters had now become the official foreign policy of the United States: "No longer timid aspirations, desires contained by respect to treaties, a tacit protection given to bands of adventurers; it is in the Senate, taking the form of a motion which presents and discusses the theories of invasion for public applause."[70] Quoting from speeches for the annexation of Cuba by Senators Lewis Cass and Stephen Douglas as well as President Franklin Pierce, Angelis presented the picture of a

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[67] Morais Antas, *O Amazonas*, 84.
[68] Pedro de Angelis, *De la Navigation de l'Amazone: Réponse a un Mémoire de M. Maury, Officier de la Marine des Etats-Unis* (Montevideo: Imprimerie du Rio de la Plata, 1854), 93-94. In 1857, a Spanish translation was published in Venezuela: *De la Navegación de Amazonas: Respuesta a una Memoria del M. Maury, Official de la Marina de los Estados Unidos* (Caracas: T. Antero, 1857).
[69] Angelis, *De la Navigation de l'Amazone*, 204-205.
[70] Angelis, *De la Navigation de l'Amazone*, 214.

nation of thugs dedicated to sending its filibusters all over the hemisphere. Yet, in concluding his anti-American piece, Angelis declared that Brazil had nothing to fear. "The Americans are bold and strong," he noted, "they are powerful in men, guns, in vessels; a famous writer called them Hercules in the cradle; but Brazil defies all hazardous activities; because it relies on the greatest of all human powers, justice and the law!"[71]

The last word in the quarrel with Maury came from Soares de Souza. In regard to the question of fluvial navigation, he told the Council of State in April 1854, "Brazil is in the same position that it was recently in regard to the traffic. If we openly and completely oppose ourselves to the navigation of the Amazon, we will have all against us, and no one for us. We will be, in spite of ourselves, dragged, and whoever is dragged cannot dominate and direct the movement which drags him so that he can take advantage of it."[72] Once again, the problem of the African slave trade reared its ugly head. Lest national sovereignty be jeopardized again, Soares de Souza argued, Brazilians could neither oppose the spirit of the age nor wait for some foreign power to force them into it. "If the Amazon is penetrated without us, and without any serious resistance," he insisted, "we will be deceived, and lose any moral force that we might have."[73]

Soares de Souza asked for renewed negotiations with the Amazonian republics as well as the reinforcement of Brazilian navigation and colonization projects—whatever it took to avoid American encroachment. Seeking to convince the Council of State about the urgency of the question, Soares de Souza narrated the histories of American conquest of

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[71] Angelis, *De la Navigation de l'Amazone*, 217-218.
[72] Paulino José Soares de Souza, "Ata de 1º de Abril de 1854," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1850-1857* (Brasília: Centro Gráfico do Senado Federal, 1978), 96.
[73] Soares de Souza, "Ata de 1º de Abril de 1854," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado*, 99.

Texas, California, New Mexico, and Oregon. Cuba and Sonora were next; and then, the Amazon.

> American migration to the Amazon would be an immense threat. It would extinguish our race, our language, our religion, our laws. Our industry would never emerge, and if any existed, it would be suffocated. ... The American immigrant does not mingle with other people. … Active and daring immigrants, aided by their government and by [American] companies, counting on the resources of steam, machinery, and various improvements, they would either get rid of all competition from our settlers or subject them.[74]

According to Soares de Souza, the Brazilian government could not repeat the mistake of the Mexicans, who let Tejas be colonized by Anglo-Americans. Neither could Brazil passively watch its neighbors yield to the invaders. If Peru or Bolivia were willing to open navigation and distribute lands to American settlers, Brazil should not hesitate to take measures "to counterbalance this population, by peopling our frontier." Soares de Souza asked Brazilian diplomacy to be even more aggressive in questions pertaining to the Amazon: "This way we will give the law, otherwise we will receive it."[75] Through Morais Antas, Angelis, and especially Soares de Souza, the Brazilian response to Maury was becoming a forceful affirmation of Brazilian imperialism in northern South America. Meanwhile, in North America, the United States engulfed itself in a battle that would redefine its future expansionist policies.

The Mission

As Maury's campaign raged, a missionary from Indiana became famous in Brazil. James Cooley Fletcher was the son of a powerful lawyer, banker, and railroader from Indianapolis, who also happened to be an abolitionist and a major donor to the Republican Party. Fletcher studied at Brown University and the Princeton Theological Seminary, became

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[74] Soares de Souza, "Ata de 1º de Abril de 1854," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1850-1857*, 99.
[75] Soares de Souza, "Ata de 1º de Abril de 1854," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1850-1857*, 104.

a Presbyterian minister, and spent part of his youth in Paris and Geneva. In 1851, at the age of twenty-seven, he went to Brazil to work as chaplain for the American Seaman's Friend Society. His first impressions of the country were quite positive. "This people," he wrote to his father, "(among whom there is free press, tolerant laws, a language easy to acquire, and more [religious] indifference than bigotry) it appears to me, that here in a growing kingdom, a flourishing empire, there is as much if not more reason to hope for fruit than in India or China."[76] Although Fletcher's primary intention was to preach to American seamen and spread the Protestant faith among Brazilians, his eyes were wide open to business opportunities. From the perspective of American merchants and manufacturers, Fletcher soon understood, Brazil could be a much better customer than the Far East.

In 1852, Fletcher's meager missionary earnings and his language skills led him to apply for the position of secretary of the American Legation in Rio de Janeiro. In contrast to most American missionaries and diplomats who preceded him, Fletcher eagerly sought to become close to the Brazilian elite. A great opportunity to cultivate good relations came when Dom Pedro II accepted an invitation for a tour of the USS *City of Pittsburg*. Declining the ship captain's request to accompany the monarch, the United States Minister to Brazil designated Fletcher, who immediately accepted. An exultant Fletcher described this "splendid experience" to his father.

> The etiquette of the Court is very great, very precise, but on that day the Emperor—a fine looking young man, more than 6 feet [tall] and of great dignity—conversed with me like "any brether," while ministers, generals, and commodores were most respectful and distant in their approach to his Imperial Majesty. … The Emperor has many fine steamers and vessels in his navy, but he was perfectly surprised at the richness and luxury and magnificence of the *City of Pittsburg*. He descended into the hold, examined the machinery, and studied a plan of it for a long time, and ordered his engineer to make a model of it.

[76] James Cooley Fletcher to Calvin Fletcher, Rio de Janeiro, July 28, 1852, Calvin Fletcher Papers, Box 6, Folder 7, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

Dom Pedro II was not the only Brazilian to demonstrate interest in American-made technology. In the same letter, Fletcher described a visit to a coffee plantation and told his brother—a railroad engineer and inventor—that "you ought to come here and apply science to the machinery of coffee plantations. They need you here."[77] A few months later, Fletcher returned to the subject of Brazilian need for American technology: "They are building a railr[oad] here over the mountain. I told the engineer about the locomotive which climbs the hill at Madison." Referring to the clog wheel system, which permitted locomotives to climb a steep hill in Indiana, Fletcher urged his family to help him and his Brazilian friends. "Will you so soon as you receive this," he requested to his brothers, "ask Morris or someone who knows to answer the following question – What is the descent to the mile of the Madison hill? – Who invented the Engine? – Has he any to sell? – and Where can they be manufactured? – for doubtless they are patented. I should not wonder if three or four of that kind should be ordered by this Govt."[78]

After a brief return to the United States in 1854, when he struggled to make ends meet preaching in upstate New York, Fletcher decided to put his connections with American manufacturers and influential Brazilians to work. Back to Rio de Janeiro in 1855, he organized an exhibition of American goods at the National Museum. His professed desires were "to see men of science and learning in Brazil linked with the kindred spirits of our vigorous land; to behold good school-books in the hands of Brazilian children; and to see our manufactures taking their stand in this country, which is so great a consumer."[79]

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[77] James Cooley Fletcher to Calvin Fletcher, Tijuca, March 22, 1853, Calvin Fletcher Papers, Box 7, Folder 2, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.
[78] James Cooley Fletcher to Calvin Fletcher, Rio de Janeiro, January 10, 1854, Calvin Fletcher Papers, Box 7, Folder 5, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.
[79] Daniel Parish Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians: Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Philadelphia: Childs and Peterson, 1857), 239.

Entering the exhibition, the visitors could see the American and the Brazilian flags together, hanging over the portraits of George Washington, Dom Pedro I, and Dom Pedro II. Several publications, small manufactured articles, and agricultural tools—all made in the United States—were displayed to demonstrate the development of American industry. To Fletcher's great satisfaction, Dom Pedro II was the first to visit, "made many inquiries, and manifested a most intimate knowledge with the progress of our country."[80] Extremely flattered, Fletcher decided to reciprocate Dom Pedro's kindness by going in person to the imperial palace and presenting the monarchical family with books, engravings, and maps from the exhibition. Before returning to the United States, Fletcher sent a few more gifts to the monarch along with a letter promising that "when I return to my home in Philadelphia I shall, if agreeable to Your Majesty, forward, so far as I am able, whatever there is new in the department of science in the United States."[81]

After Dom Pedro II, hundreds of visitors crowded the museum to see the objects from the United States. "Astonishment and admiration were constantly upon the lips of the Brazilians," Fletcher celebrated.[82] Rio de Janeiro newspapers took notice of Fletcher's effort, reporting that he had brought from his country "a magnificent collection of maps, photographic specimens, and diverse manufactures."[83] And he had done so "by his own and spontaneous will, taking from this no profit whatever."[84] The *Correio Mercantil* remarked that, through Fletcher's exhibition, the Brazilian people could see "the industrial progress of the United States, because it gathers works of all qualities, from the plow of the humble

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[80] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 242.
[81] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, Rio de Janeiro, July 14, 1855, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6082, AMIP.
[82] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 246.
[83] "Panorama," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, May 16, 1855.
[84] "Notícias Diversas," *Correio Mercantil*, May 16, 1855.

mechanic from Newark to the deluxe editions of the foremost publishers and engravers of the Union."[85]

José Martiniano de Alencar, a famous writer in Rio de Janeiro, saw in Fletcher's exhibition the material possibility of a rapprochement between the United States and Brazil. He was fascinated by the "industrial products of the United States," the samples of photography, chromolithography, geographical charts, and "a bust of [Daniel] Webster that Mr. Fletcher says was made by machinery." After listening to Fletcher speak on the need to make Brazil known in the United States, Alencar declared with excitement that, "if Mr. Fletcher succeeds in this idea, for which he seems to work with much enthusiasm, he will be making a great service to the Americas. From these new relations a great idea of an American policy may be born, which will in the future direct the destiny of the New World, and put an end to European intervention."[86] Fletcher, for his part, was convinced that Brazilians' positive response proved that "a proper exhibition of American arts and manufactures, arranged by business-men and those who have means to carry it out, would redound a thousandfold to the benefit of American commerce."[87]

Back again in the United States, Fletcher started speaking about Brazil to American audiences. In January 1857, a *Correio Mercantil* correspondent reported that Fletcher had lectured at the New York Historical Society. After exhibiting books, newspapers, and engravings about Brazil, he presented "a magnificent portrait of our monarch, which was received with thundering applause, once Mr. Fletcher declared that such was the portrait of a prince of great virtues as a man, and of superior merit as head of a country where true Liberty is enjoyed." The correspondent also noted that, thanks to Fletcher, articles about the

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[85] "Notícias Diversas," *Correio Mercantil*, May 17, 1855.
[86] José de Alencar, "Ao Correr da Penna," *Correio Mercantil*, May 20, 1855.
[87] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 246.

commerce of Brazil appeared in influential American publications such as the New York *Merchant's Magazine*. The Brazilian observer was delighted with what he had seen. "Thank God," he concluded, "I have finally heard good things being said about our country, and without adulation or lies."[88]

Fletcher's lectures were means to promote what would become the most popular book about a South American country in the nineteenth-century United States. Although including passages from the travel journal of Daniel Parish Kidder, a Methodist missionary who lived in Brazil during the 1830s, *Brazil and the Brazilians: Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches*, first published in 1857, resulted mostly from Fletcher's efforts.[89] The work opened with a reprimand to American readers for their ignorance in relation to the great nation of South America. Brazil was much more than a nation of mighty rivers, virgin forests, and wild animals. According to Fletcher, Brazilians were "the most progressive people south of the Equator."[90]

In *Brazil and the Brazilians*, Fletcher was particularly invested in contrasting the national paths taken by Brazil and Mexico. Although both countries were similar in territorial extension, population size, and resources, he indicated, Mexican instability had crippled its development while Brazil had been steadily progressing. Not surprisingly, Brazilian "commerce doubles every ten years; she possesses cities lighted by gas, long lines of

[88] "Notícias Diversas," *Correio Mercantil*, January 1, 1857.
[89] On the authorship of the text, a passage in the introduction clarifies that "although the present volume is the result of a joint effort, the desire for greater uniformity caused the senior author to place his contributions in the hands of his junior colleague, (J. C. F.,) with the permission to use the name of the former in the third person singular." Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 4. See also, Daniel Parish Kidder, *Sketches of Residence and Travels in Brazil; Embracing Historical and Geographical Notices of the Empire and its Several Provinces* (Philadelphia: Sorin and Ball, 1845).
[90] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 4.

steamships, and the beginnings of railways that are spreading from the sea-coast into the fertile interior; in her borders education and general intelligence are constantly advancing."[91]

Yet more remarkable, for Fletcher, was the contrast between the slave society of Brazil and that of his own country: "The subject of slavery in Brazil is one of great interest and hopefulness. The Brazilian Constitution recognises, neither directly nor indirectly, color as a basis of civil rights; hence, once free, the black man or the mulatto, if he possess energy and talent, can rise to a social position from which his race in North America is debarred."[92] Although acknowledging that slaves in Brazil faced serious problems such as high suicide rates, cruel punishments, and brutal exploitation, Fletcher insisted that "in Brazil every thing is in favor of freedom."[93]

In addition to lauding what he perceived as progressive laws and customs toward men of color, Fletcher was optimistic about the attitudes of those who should have been most interested in the perpetuation of slavery in Brazil—the coffee planters. For him, the Vergueiros, a prominent family from the province of São Paulo, represented all the best impulses of the Brazilian planter class. Fletcher was delighted to visit their model plantation of Ibicaba, situated near the township of Limeira, which employed European immigrants as sharecroppers.

> The peculiarity of Ybecaba [sic] consists in the fact that free labor is employed in carrying on its vast operations; and those whom Senator Vergueiro and his sons have brought to displace the Africans are men of the working-classes from Germany and Switzerland. With enlarged views and true economy, … they have adopted that plan which has not only been productive of great and profitable results to themselves, but that they have helped to elevate and greatly benefit the condition of those who were in narrow circumstances at home. The Vergueiros have solved the question, so often asked, "What is the true mode for colonization in Brazil?"[94]

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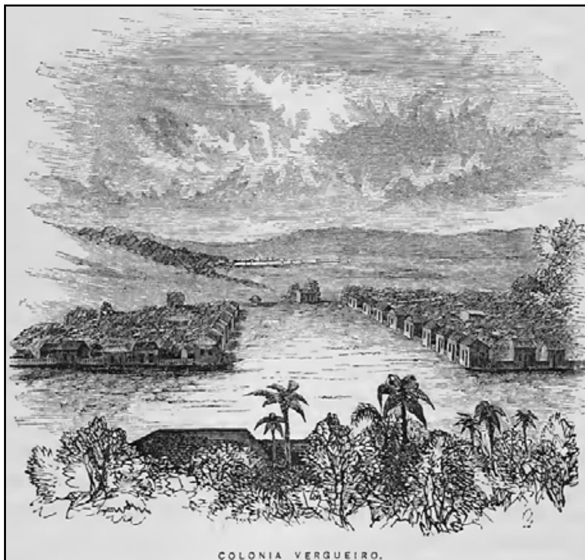
[91] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 77-78.
[92] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 132.
[93] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 133.
[94] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 406-407. The immigrant colonies which existed in the province of São Paulo were private enterprises, not to be confused with government colonization projects, which attracted foreigners to settle marginal regions of the national territory in order to develop unexplored resources

The planter, Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, was a Liberal Senator, many times minister, and once regent of the Empire. His sons, all of whom had been educated in Europe, were merchants and plantation managers. Fletcher was jubilant to learn the Vergueiros' views of their own enterprise: "I demanded of Sr. Luiz Vergueiro if it were mere philanthropy which prompted their efforts to introduce free labor: he replied, most promptly and decidedly, 'We find the labor of a man who has a will of his own, and interests at stake, vastly more profitable than slave-labor.'" The Brazilian planter class, Fletcher believed, had accepted the superiority of free labor and had already devised feasible plans to replace their slaves. Upon visiting another plantation belonging to the Vergueiros, Fletcher noted that "hitherto blacks have been employed upon this large estate; but it is the intention of the proprietor to introduce, as soon as possible, free white laborers."[95] From this and other observations, Fletcher concluded with pleasure (and quite a bit of haste) that "slavery is doomed in Brazil."[96]



In his book, Fletcher reproduced images that reinforced the idea of order and prosperity. This engraving represented the triumphing free labor system that Fletcher thought he had found in Ibicaba. The depicted houses were the residences of the "cheerful Swiss and German workmen, some of whom were surrounded by noisy and joyous fair-headed children, who capered about with as much life and glee as if at the foot of the Hartz or in the valleys of the Oberland." *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 411.

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and prevent threats of foreign occupation. On these differences, see Giralda Seyferth, "The Slave Plantation and Foreign Colonization in Imperial Brazil," *Review (Fernand Braudel Center)* 34:4 (2011): 339-387.

[95] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 412-413.

[96] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 138.

As it turned out, the always watchful Fletcher chose not to discuss the growing discontentment of the Ibicaba sharecroppers, which led to an uprising in 1857. Poorly treated by the supervisors, feeling cheated by the fazendeiros and the merchants, and unable to accumulate enough money to acquire their own lands, the sharecroppers rebelled. When the incident became known in Europe, Swiss and German authorities prohibited peasants from migrating to Brazil.[97]

Fletcher did not want to know about such setbacks. In fact, he did what he could to demonstrate that Brazilian prospects in relation to the transition from slave to free labor were extremely bright. "The system inaugurated by Sr. Vergueiro and Sons," he insisted, would "prove a great blessing to Brazil and to the poorer classes of Europe." Eventually, Fletcher imagined, the system would be expanded to all plantations of Brazil and the immigrants' children would grow up healthy, well-educated, and attached to the soil; "and, if nothing untoward occurs, Brazil, in half a century, will have a host of small proprietors infusing a new lifeblood into the body politic."[98]

In the presence of progressive men such as the Vergueiros, Fletcher regretted the attitudes that some of his compatriots had been adopting in relation to Brazil. To his

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[97] Emília Viotti da Costa explains the failure of the sharecropping system as it existed in Brazil of the 1850s: "The landowners' original intention had been to create an effective substitute for slave labor on the coffee plantations. The solution they chose intended to reconcile the interests of the planters, accustomed to slave labor, with those of the colonists, who were eager to acquire property, improve their living conditions, and rise in the social scale. The result did not please either group. … In fact, their interests were contradictory. The colonists refused to plant coffee trees; the clearing of forest, the preparation of land, and the long waiting period that precedes the trees' productive stage … were too tiring and unprofitable. One proposed solution—planting cereal crops between the rows of coffee trees while they were still small—did not generate sufficient profit for most of the colonists. This could be a practical project only when the plantation was near an urban center where the sharecroppers could sell their surplus and when the planter was willing to forego his share of the crop. … Most often, the colonist found himself impeded in his attempts to cultivate even basic crops, since the landowners believed that this would result in a diversion of energy away from the coffee trees." *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, Revised Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 110. The planters of São Paulo nonetheless persisted in their experiments with free labor by slowly improving the sharecropping system and combining it with the wage system. On the uprising at Ibicaba, see José Sebastião Witter, *A Revolta dos Parceiros* (São Paulo: Brasiliense, 1986).

[98] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 413-414.

embarrassment, Fletcher was residing in Rio de Janeiro when the Brazilian press published Maury's writings. "I well remember the commotion his communications on the Amazon caused at the capital," Fletcher lamented, "in connection with a report that a 'filibustiering' [sic] expedition was fitting out at New York to force the opening of the great river."[99] Fletcher applauded the Brazilian critics of Maury, upheld their efforts to establish a national system of fluvial steam-navigation, and never hesitated to defend Brazilian sovereignty. "As the case stands," he echoed Angelis and Morais Antas, "Brazil certainly has the right, and the sole right, to control the rivers within her own borders, no matter if they do rise in other states."[100] Fletcher was further disheartened by the appointment of William Trousdale as United States Minister to Brazil. Accusing the diplomat of having ruined all possibilities of an amicable treaty between the two countries, Fletcher told his father that Trousdale had become "the laughing stock of the Court, the diplomatic corps and his own countrymen. He is a man who asks advice of nobody and takes none from whoever that attempts to give it."[101]

Nonetheless, Fletcher did not think that American citizens should completely remove themselves from the waters of Brazil. A new approach to the question was necessary and, in contrast to Maury's aggressiveness, Fletcher favored the posture of an Ohio entrepreneur who he had met in Rio de Janeiro. Born in North Carolina, Thomas Rainey moved to Cincinnati during the 1830s, joined the Whig Party, and became an educator and the editor of the *Ohio Teacher*. In 1854, encouraged by United States Secretary of the Navy James Cochrane Dobbins, a family friend, Rainey headed to Brazil. After getting in touch

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[99] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 578-580.
[100] Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 580-581.
[101] James Cooley Fletcher to Calvin Fletcher, Rio de Janeiro, October 16, 1854, Calvin Fletcher Papers, Box 7, Folder 4, Indiana Historical Society, Indianapolis.

with Brazilian politicians and businessmen, he proposed the creation of a mail steamship line connecting New York to Belém, to be integrated there with Brazilian lines into the Amazon and to the southern provinces. Unlike Maury, however, Rainey was not seeking to colonize the Amazon with Anglo-American planters and their slaves. For him, the markets of Brazil were much more attractive than its jungles.[102]

Back in the United States, Rainey started a public campaign to gather support for his project. In 1856, he petitioned Congress for a contract for carrying mail and goods between the United States and Brazil. In 1857, Rainey gave a lecture at the New York Historical Society on the Brazilian trade. After presenting statistics, he put forward his main arguments.

> The commercial men of this country complain bitterly that the Government gives them no facilities for conducting this large trade successfully, and competing, on fair terms, with foreign merchants. … They complain not so much that Great Britain has the monopoly of this trade, which naturally belongs to the United States,—not so much that she conducts that trade by steam-facilities, to the detriment of us who have none,—not so much that she has even four lines of steamers and weekly communication, as well as the advantage and use of all the other European lines,—but that the citizens of the United States are not permitted to enter into a fair competition for this trade.[103]

In the same spirit of his friend Fletcher, Rainey emphasized that Brazil was a progressive country, enumerated Brazil's abundant agricultural products, and noted that its navigation networks were being extended and its railroads pushed to the interior. Rainey further noted that "Brazil, having now most heartily abandoned the slave-trade in fact and principle, finds that the labor of white colonists, so far from being unable to supply the demands of the country, is really largely increasing its production, and adding more rapidly to the permanent

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[102] David Gueiros Vieira, *O Protestantismo, a Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1980), 105-110.

[103] Thomas Rainey, "The Commerce of Brazil with the United States and Great Britain, considered in its bearings on the establishment of Mail-Steamship Communication between the United States, the West India Islands, and Brazil," in Kidder and Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians*, Appendix H, 609. In 1858, Rainey published a long pamphlet entitled *Ocean Steam Navigation and the Ocean Post* (New York: D. Appleton and Co., 1858) and distributed five hundred copies to American legislators.

wealth."[104] Fletcher applauded Rainey's effort and reproduced his lecture as an appendix to *Brazil and the Brazilians*.

In October 1858, the *Correio Mercantil* and the *Correio Paulistano* began to serialize a Portuguese translation of *Brazil and the Brazilians*, and Fletcher's fame reached its pinnacle in Brazil. But the enthusiasm of the Brazilian readers was tepid compared to the reception that Fletcher's work had in the northern states of the United States. Dozens of popular publications such as the Boston *Littell's Living Age* were enthusiastic to learn that "by an intelligent, vigorous, and persistent policy of internal and foreign government, [Brazil] may, one day, rival in wealth, in power, and in moral and intellectual splendor, the great empires of past or present times."[105]

The idea that Brazil had great potential was not new; what was really groundbreaking in Fletcher's approach was the idea that a policy of collaboration—instead of submission—would be the best one to secure American interests in Brazil. The Philadelphia *Saturday Evening Post* regretted that "Brazil, alarmed and incensed by the construction put upon some American newspaper articles regarding the opening of the Amazon river, … has shrunk from us, and now discourages any commercial connection." The editor hoped that, through Fletcher's initiative, the two countries would finally establish friendly relations.[106]

Sparing no praise to Fletcher, the Washington *National Era* emphasized that Brazilians deserved to be respected, especially because "everything is in favor of freedom in Brazil."[107] Antislavery publications were particularly interested in the future of that country. "Slavery is essentially and unchangeably evil," the New York *Methodist Quarterly Review*

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[104] Rainey, "The Commerce of Brazil with the United States and Great Britain," 612.
[105] "Brazil and the Brazilians," *Littell's Living Age*, October 1, 1859.
[106] "Rio de Janeiro," *Saturday Evening Post*, September 5, 1857.
[107] "Brazil and the Brazilians," *National Era*, November 5, 1857.

remarked. "Yet there are facts which greatly mitigate the curse, and render Brazilian slavery less hopeless than the *domestic* institutions of this 'Land of the free and home of the brave!'" Exalting Fletcher's Brazilian friends, the reviewer joyfully concluded that, in Brazil, "free labor is everywhere coming into contact with slave labor, and the result is obvious."[108]

Very different was the reception of *Brazil and the Brazilians* in the southern half of the American Union. Southern reviewers wasted no time in pointing out that Fletcher was mistaken. They contended that the political stability and economic development of Brazil resulted, in reality, from the existence of a strong slave regime there. J. D. B. DeBow, an influential proslavery ideologue based in New Orleans, alerted his readers that "it is to be observed that we are dealing with an antislavery authority." DeBow stressed the political elements of Fletcher's work: "Had Brazil been part of our South, we should have had 'painted devils' enough portrayed in its slave fields." A Republican and an abolitionist, Fletcher could never be "a proper judge of what is fitting or not fitting to the institution of African slavery." Fletcher erred, DeBow rebuked, when claiming that the institution was doomed in Brazil. "Based upon the experience of the rest of the world, and upon its necessity in that country," slavery would not only persist but expand there. All things considered, DeBow proclaimed that the United States and Brazil stood "together, though nearly alone in the world, in maintaining African slavery, and deriving from it that strength and consideration which experience has shown must result from it in all agricultural countries."[109]

An even angrier reaction appeared when Fletcher lectured about Brazil in Memphis, Tennessee. One of the audience members was scandalized by Fletcher's contention that

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[108] "Brazil and the Brazilians," *The Methodist Quarterly Review*, January, 1859.
[109] J. D. B. DeBow, "The Empire of Brazil—Its History, Statistics, and Future," *De Bow's Review*, January-June, 1858.

"abolition would be entirely in accordance with his wishes, and would redound to the glory and prosperity of Brazil, and the entire American continent." The spectator aggressively challenged Fletcher: "By what sort of labor is the great valley of the Amazon to be cultivated, if slavery be abolished in Brazil?—what is to become of the surplus slave population in the South, in the ages to come, if not profitably transferred to that immense valley?" Following Maury's logic, the critic concluded that "Fletcher is evidently behind the age. While all the outside world is modifying its views in regard to the 'peculiar institution' of the South, he comes into the midst of the South itself, and boldly makes war upon the very foundation-principle of that institution!"[110]

Fletcher's work about Brazil had fallen on fertile soil as anti- and proslavery positions hardened along sectional lines in the United States. Not incidentally, in April 1857, the *Charleston Mercury* urged President James Buchanan to appoint "men of ability and capacity" to represent the American interests in Brazil. That country, along with the United States, was the only independent nation "which recognizes and sanctions negro slavery;" and this institution would form, the editorial suggested, "an identity of interest which should bind the two nations in the closest alliance, and which entitles the United States, in virtue of its superior power, to a sort of protectorate over the weaker neighbor."[111] It did not take long for the Buchanan administration to satisfy southerners' demands and start working on the idea of making Brazil a client of American proslavery interests. By 1857, Richard Kidder Meade was appointed United States Minister to Brazil. A former congressman for Virginia, Meade was, in the words of the New York *Tribune*, "a well known politician of the extremist Calhoun school."[112]

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[110] "Fletcher's Second Lecture – Abolitionism," *Memphis Daily Appeal*, December 18, 1858.
[111] "American Policy on the American Continent," *The Charleston Mercury*, April 15, 1857.
[112] "Our Minister to Brazil," *Fremont Journal* (quoting the New York *Tribune*), February 26, 1858.

A Match Never Made

As soon as Meade arrived in Rio de Janeiro and had the opportunity to address Dom Pedro II, he mentioned the need for strengthening the bonds between Brazil and the United States. After a short note about giving "additional life and energy to an already growing and prosperous commerce," Meade reminded the Brazilian monarch that "an institution common to both countries, fixed and deeply rooted in their soil (with many hostile prejudices to encounter from without), does now establish an affinity between them, and will insure for mutual defense, a unity of action and feeling that will prove invincible in the future."[113]

Meade's address to Dom Pedro II caused great consternation among antislavery northerners. Republican Senator Henry Wilson of Massachusetts demanded that the President communicate to the Senate the instructions given to Meade.[114] The *National Era* supported Wilson's request, arguing that the American people had the right to know whether Buchanan had authorized Meade "to propose to Brazil an alliance offensive and defensive, on the ground of the existence of Slavery in one half of this country and in the whole of that country, for the purpose of rendering it irrevocable."[115]

Unlike the American press, Rio de Janeiro newspapers responded to Meade's plan for a binational proslavery alliance with indifference. The *Correio Mercantil* suggested that an alliance should emerge on the basis of commerce, wishing that Brazil and the United States could be brought closer "through fruitful lines of steam navigation."[116] Nothing was said about the protection of slavery. The *Correio da Tarde* expressed similar feelings, emphasizing

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113 "Telegraphic Intelligence," *The Charleston Mercury*, June 25, 1858.
114 "The News," *The New York Herald*, February 16, 1858.
115 "Slavery and Foreign Relations," *National Era*, February 18, 1858.
116 "Rio, 7 de Dezembro," *Correio Mercantil*, December 7, 1857,.

that commerce was the greatest incentive for two nations willing to become allies, "and since steam considerably shortened distances," all peoples should connect.[117] Again, not one word about the protection of slavery. The *Jornal do Commercio* was hopeful that a new binational relation would "produce beneficial consequences, becoming now evident the influence that the Empire [of Brazil] produces on the balance of trade of America."[118] Once again, the protection of slavery was absent.

The *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, whose editor-in-chief was Alencar, seemed anxious about Meade's proposition, alluding to past attitudes from the likes of Wise and Maury toward Brazil: "We cannot imagine that, being the ones extending their hand to this alliance of two continents, the United States are aiming at a selfish interest and hoping to deceive our government so that they can, under the shadow of this policy, practice offensive acts against the sovereignty of other peoples." Now that "the fast means of communication connect the world through commercial relations," Alencar hoped, "the time of conquest is far away."[119] Here again the shared interest in slavery failed to be mentioned. All in all, Brazilian commentators seemed much more intent on fostering commercial relations with the United States than in helping American fire-eaters to uphold slavery as the cornerstone of civilization.

The silence from the Brazilians on the topic of slavery did not go unnoticed in the United States. "The Brazilian Government is very far from regarding Slavery as a 'fixed,' or even as 'deeply rooted' in the soil," the *New York Daily Tribune* noted. Rather, slavery was regarded in Brazil "as an antiquated colonial institution … not suited to its more advanced condition." Meade had, therefore, "totally deceived himself in expecting to find in Brazil any

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[117] "Rio, 7 de Dezembro de 1857," *Correio da Tarde*, December 7, 1857.
[118] "Ministério dos negócios estrangeiros," *Jornal do Commercio*, December 7, 1857.
[119] "7 de Dezembro," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, December 7, 1857.

'unity of action and feeling' in resisting outward pressure—or hostile prejudice, as he calls it—against the institution of Slavery."[120] More emphatically, William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator* reproached Meade for embarrassing all Americans in front of the Brazilian people: "The very first time he makes his appearance at court, … with an impertinence never equaled, he brings up the subject of Slavery, and thinks thus to advance himself in the esteem of the powers that be." Meade had made a fool of himself as "the true state of the slavery question is set forth in the following extracts from the new work entitled, 'Brazil and the Brazilians,' from which it will be seen that there are causes at work to produce a termination of bondage in the empire." After attacking Meade, the *Liberator* extensively quoted sections of Fletcher's work discussing the lack of legal racial barriers and the free labor experiments in Brazil.[121]

Even as they learned about the Brazilian refusal to join a hemispheric defense of slavery, southern fire-eaters insisted that Brazil would ultimately be on their side. In June 1858, the *Charleston Mercury* published Meade's speech in full and in the very next section transcribed a letter from a southern merchant living in Rio de Janeiro who, echoing DeBow, pointed to the inaccuracy of Fletcher's view of Brazilian slavery. "You have read (especially in 'Brazil and the Brazilians,' by Fletcher) about the prospect of the future emancipation of the slaves here. There is just such a prospect as exists in Louisiana," the correspondent snorted. "The quiet and order in Brazil is due to the presence of that 'institution.'"[122]

In December 1860, informed of Abraham Lincoln's election, Meade made a final attempt to reach out to the slaveholding interests of Brazil. Writing to secessionist leader Howell Cobb of Georgia, a personal friend, Meade explained his efforts.

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[120] *New York Daily Tribune*, February 16, 1858.
[121] "Our Minister to Brazil," *The Liberator*, February 26, 1858.
[122] "Interesting from Brazil – Direct trade with the South," *The Charleston Mercury*, June 25, 1858.

> I say truly when I tell the Brazilians, which I often do, that the Institution [of slavery] is the great conservative principle of their Government, and that emancipation would result in its overthrow, to be succeeded by the same unsettled state of things, which distinguishes the Spanish American Governments; that it was as essential to the growth of coffee as of cotton, and without it neither Brazil nor the South United States would be fit for a white man to live in.

The persistent Meade even tried to approach Dom Pedro II again. "I had a short conversation with the Emperor on this subject, but when I said that slavery was the normal and proper condition of the African," a discouraged Meade recalled, "he dissented. I was much tempted to tell him that his Throne rested upon the conservatism of the coffee planter, as our constitution and freedom did on the slave owners." Meade realized that Brazilians were indeed interested in the future of the American Union, but not because of slavery per se. "The effect of our commotions is not yet much felt here," he remarked, "but is greatly dreaded. We consume more than one half of all the coffee that is made here, and a diminished demand in the United States would seriously affect their commerce."[123] Try as he might, Meade was unable to make Brazilians care more for the fate of American slavery than they did for the products of American industry.

As the fire-eaters were failing to attract Brazil to the cause of southern secession, a group of people on the northern side of the conflict continued to foster good relations with Brazil. Invited by "a large number of gentlemen," Fletcher lectured once again at the New York Historical Society in November 1860. "On the subject of Slavery," the *New York Times* paraphrased Fletcher's argument, "the Brazilians have no questions, no fusion and no confusion. The putting down of the African Slave-trade in 1850, has virtually done away with Slavery in that country, and a few years hence it will have ended altogether."[124]

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[123] Richard Kidder Meade to Howell Cobb, Rio de Janeiro, December 31, 1860, Howell Cobb Family Papers, Box 44, Folder 26, Hargrett Rare Books and Manuscripts Library, University of Georgia.
[124] "Lecture on Brazil by Rev. J.C. Fletcher," *New York Times*, November 15, 1860.

Northern interest in Brazil grew as the Civil War progressed, and Fletcher's book had five editions before 1865. In February 1863, a few weeks after Lincoln signed the Emancipation Proclamation, he was at the Boston Mercantile Library Association to talk about Brazil. Fletcher told the audience that he "had yet to see the first man in Brazil who held to the doctrine of Divine right of Slavery. They all, without exception, admitted it to be an evil, and acknowledged it to be their duty to do all in their power to mitigate and eventually to exterminate the curse." Fletcher's conclusion certainly made many Bostonians involved in a bloody war wish that the southern section of their nation were more like Brazil. "Under the action of influences now at work in Brazil," he optimistically advanced, "it was generally believed that slavery would come to a final and peaceful end within twenty years."[125] Meanwhile, Brazilian public opinion was extremely flattered by Fletcher's depiction of Brazil. Once news of his Boston lecture arrived in Rio de Janeiro, the *Correio Mercantil* praised "the considerable services rendered to our country by one of the enthusiasts of our wealth and a sincere friend of our progress, Mr. Fletcher," who was then going to Europe, where he planned to expand his promotion of Brazil.[126]

Fletcher's idealized portrait of the Brazilian slave society appeared at a time of exploding sectionalism in the United States. His northern audience appropriated his ideas about "the most progressive people south of the Equator" in response to the hardening of proslavery attitudes in the American South and as a proof that the southern slaveholders were, in fact, rebelling against the spirit of the age. Not surprisingly, proslavery

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[125] "Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Lectures on Brazil," *New York Times*, February 28, 1863.
[126] "Notícias Diversas," *Correio Mercantil*, October 24, 1863. By 1863, Brazil had only to gain by the publicization of Fletcher's views in Europe. Thanks to the Emancipation Proclamation, western public opinion had shifted toward the Union effort. As Don H. Doyle notes, "the hundreds of well-publicized demonstrations that rippled across Britain in early 1863 signaled a turn in public sympathy that neither the Palmerston government nor the Tory opposition could safely ignore. Nor could other conservative monarchies on the Continent fail to take notice of the depth and direction of public sentiment in opposition to the Confederacy." *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 249.

commentators quickly rejected Fletcher's account, formulating their own approach to Brazil, embodied by Meade's mission to make the South American empire a client of an emerging slaveholding confederacy. For their part, the Brazilian elite wholeheartedly welcomed Fletcher's promotion of free labor. All the while, Brazilians avoided any entanglement with the secessionists. Based on previous experiences with foreign powers, Brazilians had many reasons to believe that an involvement with proslavery forces could bring major geopolitical problems for their country.[127]

No doubt, Fletcher's charisma was a key aspect in the conciliation between Brazil and the northern United States at the onset of the American Civil War. Yet, Fletcher was not alone. He was a broker, a link between two very different societies interested in complementing—rather than fighting—one another. From a Brazilian perspective, the missionary from Indiana along with his Boston and New York friends had something very interesting to offer. For Brazil of the late 1850s, commercial ties with a booming industrial society appealed much more than fighting for the eternal preservation and aggressive expansion of slavery. More important, this industrial society, different from the British, was willing to take a very patient approach to the problem of slavery in Brazil, slowly treading the path toward free labor. At all events, it was not much of a contest: Brazilians hesitated little to choose Fletcher over Meade.

[127] As Stephanie McCurry points out, "the Confederate States of America was a proslavery nation. Founded in defiance of the spirit of the age, it aimed to turn back the tide of abolition that had swept the hemisphere in the Age of Revolution. Trusting that major powers had had their fill of the failed experiment in emancipation, Confederate founders proposed instead to perfect the slaveholders' republic and offer it to the world as the political form best fitted to the modern age." *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 310. Interestingly, from the outset, the other major independent slave society in the western world understood that the Confederate attempt to make slavery the foundation of a new nation was a losing proposition.

CHAPTER 2
BETWEEN THE LION AND THE EAGLE

On September 28, 1865, a *New York Times* correspondent in Rio de Janeiro wrote that "there is, in some respects, much competition here between the English and American interests in certain fields of enterprise. Perhaps I shall more truthfully state the case by saying much disposition is shown on the part of the lion to drive the eagle from this entire empire."[1] The writer might as well have said that the eagle fought back and did all it could to scare the lion away from Brazil. Brazilian observers were quite happy to watch this clash play out. The foreign policy of Great Britain, the mightiest empire of that time, was responsible for consolidating a partnership between two nations that had been, until then, quite distant from each other.

During the American Civil War, the supporters of the Union grew hostile to Great Britain. To begin with, British authorities nurtured plans to mediate peace negotiations that could consolidate Confederate independence. Adding insult to injury, elite Britons often stated that the Yankees were rough plebeians trying to oppress southern aristocrats.[2] The Union also complained that the British offered their colonial ports for Confederate ships to refit and sold warships to Confederate raiders. Moreover, northerners resented the way that British authorities dealt with a naval affair by the end of 1861, forcing the Union to release the two Confederate agents who had been removed from an intercepted British ship, the RMS *Trent*.[3] Further vexing the Union, other European empires, with the blessing of the British, were taking advantage of the crisis in the United States to exert their power in Latin

[1] "South America," *New York Times*, November 26, 1865.
[2] For the varied responses that British society formulated to the American Civil War, see R. J. M. Blackett, *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001).
[3] Dean B. Mahin, *One War at a Time: The International Dimensions of the American Civil War* (Washington: Brassey's, 1999), 23-256; Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015), 106-130.

America. By late 1861, Napoleon III led an incursion into Mexico and, by 1864, established a puppet Habsburg monarch there. Also in 1861, Spain attacked Santo Domingo, in an attempt to revive its colonial domination of Hispaniola. In 1864, Spain occupied the guano-rich Chincha Islands on the Pacific, which belonged to Peru and Chile.[4]

Within this geopolitical scenario, a British intervention in South America seemed imminent and Brazil appeared as the greatest prize for British imperialists. It was clear to all then that Great Britain was using the problem of slavery to intimidate Brazilian authorities. Following the Aberdeen Act of 1845, Brazil had terminated the African slave trade by the early 1850s. Still, British diplomats and politicians continued to bully. During the 1860s, they pressured Brazilian authorities about the so-called emancipados—Africans found aboard slave-ships, liberated by a mixed British-Brazilian naval court, and taken by Brazilian authorities for a fourteen-year period of apprenticeship and subsequent liberation. Most of the emancipados, however, were simply re-enslaved in Brazil. By January 1863, tensions between the two countries escalated as British warships blockaded the port of Rio de Janeiro. As a result, Brazil and Great Britain severed diplomatic relations.[5]

Diplomatic troubles also emerged between Brazil and the American Union during the Civil War. Brazilian neutrality and the activities of Confederate raider Raphael Semmes off the Brazilian seacoast irritated United States Minister to Brazil James Watson Webb, an Army General and member of the Republican Party. Yet, distrust was put aside as anti-British sentiment ended up bringing Rio de Janeiro and Washington to conciliation. Webb

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[4] Jay Sexton, *The Monroe Doctrine: Empire and Nation in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2011), 123-158.

[5] Richard Graham, *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 160-186; Leslie Bethell, *The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970), 242-387; Jaime Rodrigues, *O Infame Comércio: Propostas e Experiências no Final do Tráfico de Africanos para o Brasil, 1800-1850* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 2000), 97-125.

confronted a British diplomat who had been pestering Brazil about the emancipados, and Brazilian public opinion immediately recognized him as the bearer of the best practices of the Monroe Doctrine.

Contributing to the process of conciliation, by the early 1860s, Brazilian Liberals invited American engineers and entrepreneurs to conduct infrastructural works in and around Rio de Janeiro. American investment in railroads, steamers, and streetcars presented a serious challenge to the dominance of British capital in Brazil. More important, some of these entrepreneurs acted as free labor promoters, carrying on the work that James Cooley Fletcher had inaugurated during the secession crisis. Celebrating the emerging binational partnership, as the American Civil War was coming to an end, the Brazilian Liberal Party and the American Republican Party came together to subsidize the first direct steamship line connecting Brazil to the United States.

At the very moment they were facing a bloody war at home and seeing European powers challenge the Monroe Doctrine, the supporter of the Union refashioned their foreign policy by getting closer to Brazil. By taking the side of Brazil in its imbroglio with Great Britain and investing in the Brazilian transportation infrastructure, northern diplomats and entrepreneurs succeeded in presenting their country as a non-interventionist power and a true partner of Latin American progress.[6] The fact that Brazil still preserved slavery made

[6] While ideals of Anglo-American superiority fueled violent forms of imperial expansion during the nineteenth century, an alternative form of expansionism emerged as the Union engaged with Brazil during the 1860s. This chapter focuses on how this soft form of expansionism boosted American influence in a world dominated by European empires. On the brutal aspects of American expansionism between the Mexican War and the Spanish-American War, see William Appleman Williams, *The Tragedy of American Diplomacy* (New York: World, 1959); Walter LaFeber, *The New Empire: An Interpretation of American Expansion, 1860-1898* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1963); Glenn A. May, *Social Engineering in the Philippines: The Aims, Execution, and Impact of American Colonial Policy, 1900-1913* (Westport: Greenwood Press, 1980); Reginald Horsman, *Race and Manifest Destiny: The Origins of American Racial Anglo-Saxonism* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1981); Gail Bederman, *Manliness and Civilization: A Cultural History of Gender and Race in the United States, 1880-1917* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995); Lester D. Langley and Thomas Schoonover, *The Banana Men: American Mercenaries and Entrepreneurs in Central America, 1880-1930* (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1995); Kristin Hoganson, *Fighting for American Manhood: How Gender Politics Provoked the Spanish-American and Philippine-*

them all the more interested in helping Brazilian modernizers move forward. For their part, Brazilian free labor promoters refashioned their country's liberal tradition as they built a close relationship with the American Union. Instead of submitting to slaveholding interests, by the early 1860s new Liberal leaders rose in Brazil to demonstrate how feeble the institution of slavery had become and chart a path forward.[7]

The Waters of Brazil

The son of an American Revolutionary hero from Connecticut, James Watson Webb spent his youth in the Army fighting frontier wars and eventually rose to the rank of general. By the late 1820s, he became a newspaper editor and, after purchasing the *Morning Courier* and the *New York Enquirer*, created his own *New York Courier and Enquirer*. Webb soon gained notoriety for his aggressive nationalism and for spreading fears of racial amalgamation. In 1834, his writings contributed to inciting anti-abolitionist riots in New York City. A

American Wars (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1998); Eileen Suárez Findlay, *Imposing Decency: The Politics of Sexuality and Rape in Puerto Rico, 1870-1920* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1999); Eric Love, *Race over Empire: Racism and U.S. Imperialism, 1865-1900* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004); Noenoe K. Silva, *Aloha Betrayed: Native Hawaiian Resistance to American Colonialism* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2004); Amy S. Greenberg, *Manifest Manhood and the Antebellum American Empire* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2005); Paul Alexander Kramer, *The Blood of Government: Race, Empire, the United States, and the Philippines* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006); Gary Y. Okihiro, *Island World: A History of Hawai'i and the United States* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2008); Julie Greene, *The Canal Builders: Making America's Empire at the Panama Canal* (New York: Penguin Press, 2009); Alfred W. McCoy, *Policing America's Empire: The United States, the Philippines, and the Rise of the Surveillance State* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 2009); Jason M. Colby, *The Business of Empire: United Fruit, Race, and U.S. Expansion in Central America* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 2011); Amy S. Greenberg, *A Wicked War: Polk, Clay, Lincoln, and the 1846 U.S. Invasion of Mexico* (New York: Vintage Books, 2013). Jay Sexton considers the American Civil War as a key moment for the remaking of the Monroe Doctrine and building closer relations between the United States and Latin America. Yet, he does not see Brazil as a partner in this process. As he put it, "many [Brazilians] remained suspicious of the expansionist, English-speaking republic and continued to look to the Old World for inspiration, particularly those on the conservative end of the spectrum such as monarchists in Brazil." *The Monroe Doctrine*, 147.

[7] The argument that proslavery held hegemonic power in monarchical Brazil does not take into consideration what the Liberals accomplished by building connections with the American Union. This chapter shows that the Liberals were not a weak political faction. In fact, they were on the winning side in the hemispheric clash between slavery and free labor. On proslavery hegemony in Brazil, see Ilmar Rohloff de Mattos, *O Tempo Saquarema: A Formação do Estado Imperial* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1987); Ricardo Salles, *Nostalgia Imperial: Escravidão e Formação da Identidade Nacional no Brasil do Segundo Reinado* (Rio de Janeiro: Ponteio, 2013); Jeffrey Needell, *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006); Tâmis Parron, *Política da Escravidão no Império do Brasil, 1826-1865* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2011).

Jacksonian Democrat during the 1830s, Webb moved to the Whig Party in the 1840s, and eventually became a Republican. During the 1850s, Webb became an ardent advocate of the emerging new party and a harsh critic of southern proslavery. When the American Civil War broke, Webb was convinced that President Abraham Lincoln would appoint him Major General of the Union Army; instead, Webb had to content himself with an appointment as United States Minister to Brazil.[8]

Unhappy with his new position, Webb decided to use the opportunity to increase his fame and wealth, single-handedly devising a plan to colonize slaves freed during the American Civil War in Brazil. His project, presented to Secretary of State William Henry Seward in May 1862, called for the creation of a joint stock company to direct the enterprise. The American government would loan the company an amount to match the stockholders' investment. This money would be used to send freedpeople to the Brazilian Amazon, where they would become apprentices bound to the colonization company for three years. The Brazilian government would donate to the colonization company one hundred acres of land for every colonist introduced and for every child born to the colonists. At the end of the apprenticeship period, the ex-slaves would be given a small farm, a hut, agricultural implements, and some money. From then on, they would become Brazilian citizens and completely cut formal ties with the company. No more than one-fifth of the acquired lands would be distributed to the colonists. The remainder would be used or sold by the company for profit.[9]

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[8] For Webb's biography, see James L. Crouthamel, *James Watson Webb: A Biography* (Middleton: Wesleyan University Press, 1969).

[9] "Mr. Webb to Mr. Seward, No. 17, Legation of the United States, Petropolis, May 20, 1862," *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress at the Commencement of the Third Session of the Thirty-Seventh Congress*, Volume I (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1862), 704-710. For more details on the colonization scheme, see Nicia Vilela Luz, *A Amazônia para os Negros Americanos: As Origens de uma Controvérsia Internacional* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Saga, 1968).

Drawing on the language of benevolent colonization promoted by the American Colonization Society since the 1810s, Webb claimed to be an instrument of Divine Providence.[10] "In one word," he wrote to Seward, "the finger of God, in my mind, points to the northern provinces of Brazil as the future home of the manumitted negro of the United States; and thus, by the simplest of all means, the United States, Brazil, and the freed negro, are all to be equally benefited by one and the same measure." By welcoming millions of freedpeople from North America, Brazil would be acquiring "precisely the species of laborers and citizens best calculated to develop her resources and make her one of the great powers of the earth." By moving to the Brazilian Amazon, the American-born ex-slaves would find a home where "the woolly-headed and thick-lipped descendant of Africa has his place side by side with his 'White brother.'" Webb believed that his project would also bring a great advantage to the United States, which would be "blessed by his [the ex-slave's] *absence*, and the riddance of a curse which has well-nigh destroyed her."[11]

To guarantee the success of the enterprise, the Brazilian government would "cause such additional Legislation as may be necessary, to insure a faithful discharge of their duties as 'apprentices.'"[12] In other words, Brazil would have to modify its laws in order to guarantee the orderly conduct of the company's indentured laborers. Not surprisingly, Webb's colonization scheme was stillborn. Seward's response was a much-needed lesson in diplomatic courtesy: a proposition to occupy Brazilian lands could never be devised "without

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[10] Analyzing the discourse of benevolent colonization in relation to Libera, Nicholas Guyatt notes that, "unable to explain why free blacks should be denied the privileges of citizenship, colonization proponents sought to uphold their 'dearest political principles' by imagining the redemption of Africa. Instead of expulsion from the United States, benevolent colonization was presented as an opportunity for blacks to create their own America, with the development of the English colonies as both the inspiration and the guarantor of African success." "'The Outskirts of Our Happiness': Race and the Lure of Colonization in the Early Republic," *Journal of American History* 95:4 (March 2009): 1000.

[11] "Mr. Webb to Mr. Seward, No. 17," 705-709.

[12] "Concession to General J. Watson Webb of the United States of America, July 8, 1862," James Watson Webb Papers, Box 8, Folder 102, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

having first some overture from the head of that empire." And he doubted that Dom Pedro II would be willing to welcome ex-slaves from North America as colonizers. "We have no right to assume that the Emperor of Brazil would prefer an expelled caste from this country to other possible supplies of population for the improvement of the laboring classes of the empire," Seward remarked.[13]

Webb also received a negative response from Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs Miguel Calmon du Pin e Almeida, the Marquis D'Abrantes. "Nothing of that sort may possibly be tried in our country," he put it bluntly, "as we have a positive law which expressly interdicts the admittance of any freed Negroes within our limits."[14] In case Webb had any difficulty understanding what was being said, D'Abrantes transcribed the Law of November 7, 1831. He was not only rejecting Webb's colonization scheme but also making clear that Brazil would not change its legislation so that American speculators could profit.

Webb did not have time to press his colonization scheme for a major diplomatic issue was emerging on the Brazilian seacoast. In September 1861, the Confederate ship *Sumter*, commanded by Raphael Semmes, had spent one week coaling at the port of São Luís, on the northern coast of Brazil. Responsible for capturing, plundering, and burning eighteen northern commercial vessels, the CSS *Sumter* terrified Union diplomats and naval commanders during the first months of war.[15]

Although Webb was quick to protest the incident in São Luís, Brazilian authorities, following the lead of Great Britain and France, declared their neutrality in regard to the

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[13] "Mr. Seward to Mr. Webb, No. 33, Department of State, Washington, July 21, 1862," *Message of the President of the United States to the Two Houses of Congress*, Volume I, 713.
[14] "Marquis D'Abrantes to General Webb, June 24, 1862," James Watson Webb Papers, Box 8, Folder 100, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.
[15] For Semmes's role in the Confederate Navy during the American Civil War, see Stephen R. Fox, *Wolf of the Deep: Raphael Semmes and the Notorious Confederate Raider CSS Alabama* (New York: Vintage Civil War Library, 2008).

American Civil War. "In the same position in which the so-called confederate states find themselves today," the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs argued in a letter to Webb dated December 1861, "once were the United States, and after them Brazil and all the republics that had been colonized by Spain; in Europe, Greece and Belgium, and not long ago Hungary, Italy, and other countries."[16] Furious, Webb retorted that Semmes was a raider working for a desperate group of rebels whose goal was to "restore the infamous slave traffic with the Coast of Africa and establish a southern confederation based on the institution of slavery."[17]

During the time he spent in Brazil, Semmes never tried to disprove Webb's assertion. On the contrary, while in São Luís, he told the provincial president that "this war was in fact a war as much in behalf of Brazil as of ourselves, and that if we were beaten in the contest, Brazil would be the next one to be assailed by Yankee propagandists."[18] Whereas Confederate diplomatic envoys avoided stating the proslavery basis of their separatism in front of Europeans, Semmes made sure to tell the Brazilians what the war was really about.[19]

Yet, despite his understanding of a shared proslavery interest of Brazilians and Confederates, Semmes never seemed interested in fostering an alliance with Brazil. In the eyes of the Confederate raider, a huge gap separated his people from his Brazilian hosts. Not invited to a grand ball in São Luís for the celebration of Brazil's Independence Day, Semmes

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[16] Benvenuto Augusto de Magalhães Taques, "Nota do Governo Imperial à Legação dos Estados Unidos," Rio de Janeiro, December 9, 1861, *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Legislativa, na Segunda Sessão da Décima Primeira Legislatura*, Annex I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1862), 11-14.
[17] James Watson Webb, "Nota da Legação dos Estados Unidos ao Governo Imperial," Rio de Janeiro, November 1, 1861, *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros*, Annex I, 3.
[18] Raphael Semmes, *The Cruise of the Alabama and the Sumter* (New York: Carleton, 1864), 36.
[19] Don H. Doyle suggests that, early on, certain Confederate diplomatic agents "understood that Southern independence would require European support. They urged their fellow delegates to tone down the hysterical rhetoric about abolitionism, play up the South's alienation over tariff policy, and place the South's desire for free trade with Europe front and center." *The Cause of All Nations*, 30.

concluded that there was no reason for lamenting such exclusion. "The only feeling excited in us, by this official slight," he wrote in his memoir, "was one of contempt for the silliness of the proceeding—a contempt heightened by the reflection that we were a race of Anglo-Saxons, proud of our lineage, and proud of our strength, frowned upon by a set of half-breeds."[20]

In addition to his sense of racial superiority, Semmes saw Brazil as a weak power of no use as an ally to the emerging Confederate States of America. When, in April 1863, Semmes returned to Brazilian waters—this time commanding the faster and stronger CSS *Alabama*, which the Confederacy had purchased from Great Britain—Brazilian authorities had limited the stay of both belligerent parties in Brazilian ports to one day. After a productive raiding journey around the archipelago of Fernando de Noronha, Semmes left for Salvador, the capital city of Bahia. There, he received an order from the provincial president to depart within twenty-four hours. That was a great opportunity, Semmes reckoned, to put the Brazilians in their proper place: "I really wanted nothing—though I afterward took in a few boat-loads of coal, merely to show the President that I was disposed to be civil—and this consideration, along with the fact that I had the heaviest guns in the harbor, induced me to be rather careless, I am afraid, in the choice of phraseology, as I penned my dispatch."[21] After insulting Brazilian authorities in writing, Semmes refused to leave, remaining one more week in Salvador.

No matter how hard Brazilian officials tried to regulate their ports, the diplomatic trouble brought about by the naval conflict between the Confederacy and the Union only got worse. As two more Confederate vessels, the CSS *Georgia* and the CSS *Florida*, started

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[20] Raphael Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat: During the War between the States* (Baltimore: Kelly, Piet & Co, 1869), 211.
[21] Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat*, 617.

using ports in Bahia and Pernambuco to refit and sell their plunder, Webb emphatically protested, ranting that "the scenes which history informs us were rife in the 17th century, in the islands of the West Indies, are now being enacted in this the 19th century, in the ports of Brazil." Captured American sailors and passengers, Webb screeched, "have been compelled, in the ports of a friendly nation, to witness their clothing and jewelry, and even family relics, sold on the wharves and in the streets of Bahia and Pernambuco by their piratical captors, at a tenth of their value."[22] Following Webb's depiction of Brazilian ports as a safe haven for pirates, on October 14, 1864, the USS *Wachusett* entered the harbor of Salvador without the authorization of the Brazilian Navy and seized the CSS *Florida*. Under very suspicious circumstances, the seized Confederate vessel sank on its way to a Union port.

Brazilians were used to attacks on their national sovereignty from Anglo-Saxons since Brazil had become an independent state. Not only the British Empire had been seizing Brazilian vessels suspect of trading in slaves, but Henry A. Wise and Matthew Fontaine Maury had demonstrated that Americans were also unwilling to recognize Brazilian sovereignty. Now, during the first half of the 1860s, the threat from North America had escalated. Whereas Webb elaborated plans to colonize the Brazilian Amazon and called Brazil a safe haven for pirates, Semmes looked down on Brazil for its racial composition and openly challenged the orders of Brazilian authorities. The *Florida* affair seemed to represent the culmination of this long-standing American hostility toward Brazil.

To the surprise of many observers, however, the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs reported to his government that, immediately after the seizing of the *Florida*, Webb had come to him "not only to express to the imperial government all his regret for the

[22] James Watson Webb to the Marquis of Abrantes, Rio de Janeiro, May 21, 1863, *Message of the President of the United States, and Accompanying Documents, to the two Houses of Congress, at the Commencement of the first Session of the thirty-eighth Congress*, Part II (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1863), 1271.

deplorable event, but also to reassure us that the government of the Union, disapproving the proceeding of the commander of the *Wachusett*, would not hesitate in offering to His Majesty the Emperor [Dom Pedro II] a condign reparation." Along with Webb's apology came a note from Seward containing a list of guarantees: first, the commander of the *Wachusett* would be suspended and court-martialed; second, the United States Consul at Salvador would be discharged; third, "the Brazilian flag would receive the appropriate honors"; fourth, the crew of the *Florida* would be freed; and, finally, were it not for "an accidental shock with a warship" that had sunk the *Florida* off the coast of Virginia, it would have been returned to the Brazilian port.[23]

Reflecting on the incident, Semmes noted that the *Wachusett* had "violated the neutrality of the port [of Salvador], by seizing it [the *Florida*], and carrying her off; and the Yankee nation, rather than make the amends which all the world decided it was bound to make, by delivering back the captured ship to Brazil, ordered her to be sunk by *accident* in Hampton Roads!"[24] What the Confederate raider did not know was that, at the moment that the *Florida* affair threatened to unsettle diplomatic relations between the United States and Brazil, the actions of a pesky British diplomat had brought both countries closer than ever before.

The Enemy of My Enemy

In 1862, Webb and William Dougal Christie, the British Minister to Brazil, got into what seemed to be a petty quarrel. In a letter to Seward, Webb gave his version of the incident. Christie invited Webb, who lived in Petrópolis (the mountain summer retreat of the

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[23] João Pedro Dias Vieira, "Atentado do Vapor de Guerra 'Wachussett' dos Estados Unidos no Porto da Bahia," *Relatório da Repartição dos Negócios Estrangeiros Apresentado à Assembléa Legislativa, na Terceira Sessão da Décima Segunda Legislatura* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1865), 41-42.
[24] Semmes, *Memoirs of Service Afloat*, 619.

Brazilian elite), to spend a week at his house in Rio de Janeiro. Webb responded that he had to consult his wife. "What do you or I care," Christie rudely retorted, "for our wives objecting in such a case, intended to show the good feelings which exists between our countries." Although uncomfortable, Webb ended up accepting the invitation. But, during his stay, things got worse. Christie became even more discourteous, sparing no opportunity to mistreat Webb in front of other diplomats. It did not take long for Webb to speak up and leave Christie's residence. Moreover, he wrote directly to British Foreign Secretary John Russell accusing Christie of mismanagement and intemperance. Infuriated, Christie cut ties with the United States Legation.[25]

As personal as such a quarrel seemed to be, Webb's justification to Seward proved that there was much more involved in the matter than a clash between two ill-mannered personalities. "If there had been no Rebellion at home," Webb explained, "no Trent affair, and no bad blood existing between England and the United States, there would not have occurred any quarrel between their representatives in this far distant quarter of the world."[26] Even Seward, who had a well-established reputation as an Anglophobe and never completely dismissed a war against the British, thought Webb had gone too far in his pro-Union bravado and reproached him. Webb did not apologize, however. Rather, he insisted that were it not for the American Civil War "there would have been no reverses before Richmond, no General McClellan to sneer at and abuse, and no Northern Army to be characterized as inferior in courage to the rebels, and wanting in the chivalry, which pertains to the gentle blood of the Cavaliers! And this from a base-born, vulgar, Scotchman." After boasting about fighting frontier wars, entering duels, and confronting fire-eaters, Webb

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[25] James Watson Webb to William Henry Seward, Petropolis, November 5, 1862, James Watson Webb Papers, Box 9, Folder 102, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.
[26] James Watson Webb to William Henry Seward, Petropolis, November 5, 1862.

concluded that to bear humiliation from a British enemy of his country "would not only be hypocritical and out of place, but would justly expose me to the contempt of those who are familiar with my past life, and my well-known habits of promptly resenting insult to myself, or reflections upon my country and its institutions, come from what quarter they may."[27]

Webb's timing could not have been better. By early 1863, he had gained all the attention he had been seeking. The *New York Times* and other major American newspapers published the story along with his letters to Christie and Russell.[28] Webb not only boasted that he had defended the honor of his nation against a vile pro-Confederate Briton but also that he had greatly improved the image of the Union in Brazil. Writing to Seward, he claimed that it was a "well-known and openly conceded fact, here, in Brazil, that the Court, from the Emperor down, … justify my conduct, as not only expedient and necessary, but under the circumstances, absolutely unavoidable."[29]

There was, indeed, a grain of sanity in Webb's conceit. Before his intrigue with Webb, Christie had managed to make many enemies in Brazil. Since his arrival in 1859, Christie had been pressuring Brazilian authorities about the emancipados. In 1861, Christie wrote to the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs that he had been "instructed by Her [British] Majesty's government to request the government of the [Brazilian] Emperor to furnish it with a list of the free blacks who were handed over by the [Anglo-Brazilian] Mixed Commission to the care of the Brazilian authorities, specifying what has become of them, whether dead, emancipated, or still in service." Aware that Brazilian authorities, in spite of its treaties, had overlooked the re-enslavement of Africans rescued from slave ships by the

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[27] James Watson Webb to William Henry Seward, Petrópolis, April 21, 1863, James Watson Webb Papers, Box 10, Folder 116, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.
[28] "From Rio de Janeiro: A Difficulty Between the English and American Ministers—Gen. Webb's Conduct Vindicated—His Popularity—Miscellaneous News," *New York Times*, January 9, 1863; "Our Minister at Rio de Janeiro: His Quarrel with the British Resident," *New York Times*, January 23, 1863.
[29] James Watson Webb to William Henry Seward, Petropolis, April 21, 1863.

British Navy, Christie emphasized that he felt "entitled to ask for this information respecting them, and bound to look to their welfare."[30]

Already persona non grata, Christie found two (not very convincing) excuses to attack Brazil. First, he accused Brazilian authorities of negligence in a case of plunder and alleged assassination of the crew of the *Prince of Wales*, a British merchant ship that wrecked off the coast of Rio Grande do Sul in June 1861. Ignoring all Brazilian efforts to solve the case, Christie made undiplomatic maneuvers, sending two British warships to the region and naming a captain of the British Navy to intervene in the investigation. While the *Prince of Wales* case remained unresolved, in June 1862, three drunken British officers of the HMS *Forte* were beaten and imprisoned by Rio de Janeiro policemen. Although the three men were quickly released with no charges, Christie was outraged. Once again he made exaggerated demands, asking for official apologies from the Brazilian government, the punishment of the policemen, and the dismissal of the Rio de Janeiro police chief. All the while, Russell supported Christie's attitudes.[31]

As Brazilian authorities refused to meet Christie's demands, on December 31, 1862, he ordered British warships to blockade Rio de Janeiro, seizing all Brazilian vessels trying to leave or enter the harbor. A great commotion ensued and the British Legation was surrounded by an angry Brazilian mob. On January 3, 1863, Brazilian authorities agreed to pay, under protest, for the plunder of the *Prince of Wales* and proposed that the *Forte* affair be

[30] William Dougal Christie, *Notes on Brazilian Questions* (London: Macmillan & Co., 1865), 12. Richard Graham contends that "the end of the slave trade [in 1850] did not mark the end of British interest in ending Brazilian slavery. It was not until Brazil gave evidence of a firm commitment to end the institution itself that Great Britain ceased to exert pressure." *Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil 1850-1914* (London: Cambridge University Press, 1968), 167. American support for Brazil during the Christie affair contributed to diminishing British pressure.
[31] Richard Graham, "Os Fundamentos da Ruptura de Relações Diplomáticas entre o Brasil e a Grã Bretanha em 1863. A 'Questão Christie,' Parte I," *Revista de História* 49 (January-March 1962): 117-137.

subjected to arbitration by a third party. It took three more days for Christie to command the British Navy to release the seized Brazilian ships.[32]

Nevertheless, it was a pyrrhic victory for the British diplomat. In June 1863, Leopold II, the Belgian King, who had been selected as arbiter in the *Forte* case, decided in favor of Brazil. Now, Brazilian authorities accused Great Britain of breaking basic diplomatic rules by sending warships to Rio Grande do Sul and seizing ships in the Rio de Janeiro harbor in time of peace. When the British government refused to offer formal apologies and pay for damages, Brazil severed diplomatic relations with Great Britain.[33]

The conflict with Christie not only made the problems with Semmes and other Confederate raiders seem like a minor affair but also gave the Americans an opportunity to pose as true friends of Brazil. Brazilian newspapers hailed Webb as "a model diplomat," who, in his quarrel with Christie, "behaved as a true gentleman, as one would expect of him. Addressing Mr. Christie in person, he apologized for the harsh words which he had used to castigate his adversary, and extended his hand." Yet, the vengeful Briton insisted on attacking the honorable American, who bravely maintained his dignified stand.[34] It did not take long for Brazilian observers to go beyond the immediate intrigue and imagine Webb as the bearer of broader hemispheric interests. "We recently learned that General Webb, the United States Minister," the *Diário de Pernambuco* reported, "in his relations with our government, has given proof of his great benevolence, giving up on all the petty questions that emerge between nations, with the objective to manifest to our government that Brazil

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[32] Richard Graham, "Os Fundamentos da Ruptura de Relações Diplomáticas entre o Brasil e a Grã Bretanha em 1863. A 'Questão Christie,' Parte II," *Revista de História* 50 (April-June 1962): 379-400.
[33] Graham, "Os Fundamentos da Ruptura, Parte II."
[34] "Um Diplomata Modelo," *A Actualidade*, January 8, 1863.

has to connect itself to the United States in order to advance an American policy, thus putting an end to European pretentions of invasion and domination."[35]

Webb reinforced these ideas by having one of his letters to American entrepreneur Thomas Rainey published in Brazilian newspapers. "The relations between the two governments are the most cordial," Webb started his friendly note, "and I hope that they will be as longlasting as the friends of constitutional systems and the promoters of an American policy, who demand that the Americas be governed by Americans, may desire." After blaming the British for fitting out the *Alabama* for the Confederate pirates, and thus being the source of their crimes off the Brazilian coast, Webb concluded with a reference to Christie's actions: "These few egoistic men who think that the retaliations made by England against the commerce of Brazil were just, and approve the insult made against the sovereignty of the Empire, they certainly do not like to see the cordial relations that now exist between the two great nations of the American continent."[36]

Seeking to establish himself as a hero in the United States as well, Webb convinced Rainey and twenty-seven other American residents in Rio de Janeiro to write to the *New York Times* in June 1863. The letter denied Christie's claim to the London *Times* that he had been supported "by the sympathy and good opinion of all respectable men there [in Rio de Janeiro] of all nations, including Gen. Webb's countrymen." Seemingly outraged, the citizens of the United States felt "compelled—both in justice to Gen. Webb, our Minister, and in vindication of the truth—most emphatically to deny the correctness of the statement that Mr. Christie had our sympathy in the controversy to which reference has been made. We

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[35] "Revista Diária," *Diário de Pernambuco*, March 9, 1863.
[36] James Watson Webb to Thomas Rainey, June 6, 1863, *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, June 12, 1863; "Miscelaneous News," *New York Herald*, August 3, 1863.

have never heard any American express such sympathy for Mr. Christie, nor do we believe that it has existed among Americans."[37]

The United State Consul in Rio de Janeiro, James Monroe, wrote to Secretary of Treasury Salmon P. Chase that, after succeeding his clumsy proslavery predecessor Richard Kidder Meade as Minister to Brazil, Webb had "raised the American name from disgrace and reproach to respect and honor." Now, Monroe continued, "every American who walks the street in this city feels that he is treated by every Brazilian he meets, with more respect, on account of the spirited and patriotic course of his Ministry."[38] Even Americans living far away from Rio de Janeiro made sure that they sided with Webb. J. B. Bond, a merchant resident in Pará, told Webb that "I do not at all doubt you being a favorite with the Braz[ilian] Govt. You were so even before your row with Christie, and community of dislike has now no doubt increased the former Govt preference for you."[39]

Not incidentaly, when the USS *Wachusett* seized the CSS *Florida* in the harbor of Salvador, Brazilians and Americans were prepared to promptly reestablish friendly relations. In November 1864, the *Jornal do Commercio* noted that Webb's attitudes "make us hopeful that Lincoln will not treat Brazil with the brutality that Lord Russell did at the time of the retaliations against us." The offense that the commander of the *Wachusett* had perpetrated against Brazilian sovereignty would "sooner or later be redressed by a satisfactory explanation, which will be given as if this incident had taken place on the waters of the most powerful maritime nation in the world." The *Jornal do Commercio* concluded that Webb's "way

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[37] "The Diplomatic Imbroglio in Brazil," *New York Times*, June 23, 1863.
[38] "Extract from a letter addressed to Hon. S. P. Chase, Secretary of the Treasury of the United States, by James Monroe U.S. Consul to Rio de Janeiro; date March 30, 1863," James Watson Webb Papers, Box 10, Folder 115, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.
[39] J. B. Bond to James Watson Webb, Pará, June 20, 1863, James Watson Webb Papers, Box 11, Folder 120, Sterling Memorial Library, Yale University.

of addressing our government is in blatant contrast with that offered to us by Mr. Christie, of *inglorious* memory."[40]

In January 1866, an auspicious coincidence took place off the coast of Santa Catarina, in southern Brazil. The very USS *Wachusett* found itself in distress without fuel. Brazilian authorities not only supplied the needed coal but also declined to accept payment for it. William Van Vleck Lidgerwood, a New Jersey businessman who served as Chargé d'Affaires at the United States Legation while Webb was on leave, expressed his gratitude to the Brazilian Minister of Foreign Affairs, declaring that the American people would take "this additional courteous act of the Brazilian Government as renewed evidence of the feelings of friendship and good understanding which should exist between the leading powers of America." A new continental policy, Lidgerwood believed, was emerging: "We shall hereafter be not only close friends but practically we shall become firm and fast allies."[41] Writing to Seward in April 1866, Lidgerwood reported that "the Brazilian people generally believe that the *Florida* affair is settled, and in an entirely satisfactory manner to this Government, voluntarily so upon the part of the United States, and therefore the frequent comparison made by the Brazilian of the justice of the United States Government, as shown in the *Florida* Affair, and the injustice of the British Government evidenced in the Christie Affair."[42]

To be sure, Lidgerwood could have been exaggerating when he told Seward that Americans were now regarded by the Brazilian people "as just as we are known to be

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[40] "Interior," *Jornal do Commercio*, November 19, 1864.
[41] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to José Antonio Saraiva, Rio de Janeiro, January 29, 1866, William Van Vleck Lidgerwood Letterbook, Morristown Manuscript Collection, Microfilm 0045-31, Reel 31, Morristown and Morris Township Library, New Jersey.
[42] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to William Henry Seward, Rio de Janeiro, April 3, 1866, William Van Vleck Lidgerwood Letterbook, Morristown Manuscript Collection, Microfilm 0045-31, Reel 31, Morristown and Morris Township Library, New Jersey.

powerful, and hence the frequently expressed desire for an alliance, offensive and defensive between the United States and Brazil, by Brazilian citizens, which is never desired with any other nation."[43] Webb was certainly going through a delusion of heroism when he communicated to Seward that "with one voice too, it is proclaimed, that the subsequent quarrel between Mr. Christie and Brazil, which has so widely separated this [the Brazilian] government and people from England, and drawn them so much closer than ever before, to the United States, was the consequence of his private quarrel with me, resulting in his complete overthrow and disgrace."[44] Exaggerations and delusions aside, at a time when so many tensions crackled over the Atlantic, Webb's quarrel with Christie certainly contributed to improving relations between the United States and Brazil.

For Brazilians as well as Americans, the Christie affair became an example of imperialist practices by European powers which were taking advantage of the American Civil War and Latin American weaknesses to justify intervention. The French had invaded Mexico, the Spanish had attacked Santo Domingo as well as the Chincha Islands, and now the British threatened war to Brazil. All the while, British agents seemed very interested in supporting the Confederate bid for independence against the American Union. Not surprisingly, Webb and other Americans residing in Brazil did all they could to distance themselves from the British. In the process, they offered to help Brazilians solve their problems—including the problem of slavery—while preserving Brazilian sovereignty intact.

Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad

British railroaders had contributed to strengthening ties of friendship between the United States and Brazil even before Christie and Webb quarreled. In the mid 1850s, the

[43] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to William Henry Seward, Rio de Janeiro, April 3, 1866.
[44] James Watson Webb to William Henry Seward, Petrópolis, April 21, 1863.

Brazilian government started planning the expansion of its transportation infrastructure, starting from Rio de Janeiro and its surrounding areas. Whereas the British played a dominant role in this process, Brazilian authorities—especially those connected to the Liberal Party—relied on American entrepreneurs to ease Brazilian dependence on British capital.[45] A nation that continued to develop its infrastructure while facing a major crisis, Brazilian Liberals reckoned, certainly could challenge the British and help Brazil move forward.

In 1855, a joint stock company was formed to build the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, connecting the port of Rio de Janeiro to the coffee-producing region of the Paraíba Valley. The company, whose largest stockholder was the Brazilian government, acquired a loan amounting to 1,500,000 pound sterling from Great Britain. Along with the loan came British contractor Edward Price and British chief engineer Christopher B. Lane. They took charge of building the first section of the railroad, connecting the harbor to the foot of the Serra do Mar, the mountains extending into the interior. Soon the president of the railroad board, Cristiano Benedito Ottoni—a military engineer and member of a well-known Liberal clan from Minas Gerais—demonstrated his dissatisfaction with the services of the British railroaders. In addition to delays and waste, according to Ottoni, "it became clear that Lane was working with his countryman Price to deceive us. It seems that their plan was to take control of the railroad, one as engineer, the other as entrepreneur, eliminating the [Brazilian] Board."[46]

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[45] According to William R. Summerhill, "in the southern hemisphere Brazil was the single largest Latin American recipient of British capital through the 1880s." He further explains that "the typical British railroad in Brazil began with its organizers purchasing an unexploited or undeveloped concession held by native Brazilian entrepreneurs. About the time a guaranteed dividend was bestowed by the Brazilian government, organizers would launch the company on the London exchange." *Order Against Progress: Government, Foreign Investment, and Railroads in Brazil, 1854-1913* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 45-46.

[46] Cristiano Benedito Ottoni, *Autobiographia, Maio 1870* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Leuzinger, 1908), 107-108.

When, in 1858, the Brazilian government announced the plan for the second section of the railroad, Ottoni established certain conditions in order to curb foreign contractors. First, the board would take charge of determining routes, deadlines, and budgets; second, the contractors would be fined for any delays; and third, the company would "contract preferably American engineers, experts on building great lines through sharp slopes such as the Alleghenies."[47] Ottoni then hired Charles F. M. Garnett of Virginia as chief engineer and Andrew Ellison Jr. of Massachusetts as Garnett's assistant. Both men were military engineers and had worked together on the Virginia and Tennessee Railroad. Under Ottoni's supervision they projected the second section of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, which would climb the Serra do Mar.

Price, still working on the first section, was upset with the arrangement. Once Ottoni and the Americans started working together, he wrote to the Brazilian government that "the work that Mr. Ottoni wants to execute will cost two million pounds sterling; … it is possible to cross the sierra spending one million and a half; I am ready to undertake this work if you fire the American engineers, with whom I cannot get along."[48] Yet, to Price's chagrin, Ottoni not only kept the American engineers' project but also hired an American contractor to build the second section.

In January 1858, William Milnor Roberts arrived in Brazil carrying some impressive letters of introduction. "I have known Mr. Roberts professionally," the chief engineer of the Pacific Railroad wrote, "during twenty nine years during the whole of which time he has been actively employed upon the public works of Pennsylvania, Ohio, and Missouri. During this time he has been chief engineer of several important canals, slack water navigation, and

[47] Ottoni, *Autobiographia*, 106.
[48] Edward Price apud Ottoni, *Autobiographia*, 119.

railroads, whose successful completion bears testimony to his ability and skill."[49] The second section of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, which would climb twenty-five steep kilometers and include thirteen tunnels, was a challenging enterprise and Roberts seemed like the right man for the job. Born in 1810 into a Quaker family in Philadelphia, Roberts started working at the Union and Lehigh Canal at age fifteen. He quickly rose to chief engineer of major railroad and canal projects in Pennsylvania, Maryland, Virginia, Ohio, and Indiana. During the 1850s, he became the contractor for the St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad and the Keokuk, Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad.[50]

Upon his arrival in Brazil, Roberts met other American entrepreneurs along with whom he formed Roberts, Harvey & Co. Being the most experienced partner, Roberts assumed the presidency of the firm and became the main supervisor of the works.[51] In a letter to American newspapers, the American entrepreneurs measured their task up to that of the British: "You are aware that the first section of this important national work was commenced by an English party, Mr. Edward Price. His contract covered only the first thirty-eight miles—all light work, over a flat country." The second section, they bragged, "or *Mountain* division, is totally different from the first. It runs along the sides of the mountains, and encounters very heavy work—deep cutting through rock, heavy embankments and walls, and twelve tunnels [actually thirteen] in as many miles."[52]

It became clear very soon that the enterprise was more than a private matter for the Americans. "The Brazilian Government has always shown a very great willingness to

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[49] Edward Miller to All Whom It May Concern, St. Louis, October 31, 1857, William Milnor Roberts Papers, Box 2, Folder 1, Montana State University Library, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections.
[50] "An Obituary Notice of William Milnor Roberts (Furnished by Mrs. W. Milnor Roberts, and read before the American Philosophical Society, by Frederick Fraley, January 6, 1882)," *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society* 20:111 (January-June 1882): 199-202.
[51] William Milnor Roberts, "Autobiography," circa 1866, William Milnor Roberts Papers, Box 1, Folder 2, Montana State University Library, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections.
[52] "Interesting from Brazil," *New York Times*, July 12, 1858.

encourage American enterprise," a *New York Times* correspondent reported in June 1860, "although it still holds to the old idea of European superiority. This railway will, however, prove that science in the New World is not less advanced than in the Old."[53] Failure in climbing the Serra do Mar, a subcontractor wrote to the *New York Herald*, would represent a major defeat for the United States: "It will be a thing to lament should the American company fail to finish the entire second section. The English would gloat over it."[54]

The success of Roberts, Harvey & Co. would not only provide American entrepreneurs the opportunity to prove themselves superior to the British but also dissipate fears of the United States existing in Brazil. Having Wise and Maury in mind, the *New York Times* correspondent reminded the American public that not long ago, in Brazil, "the fear of American enterprise, of American trade, of American shipping, as opening wedges to American filibusterism, pervaded all ranks, and effectually excluded our citizens, as well as our diplomatic representatives, from the confidence of the Government." Now, thanks to entrepreneurs like Roberts, things were changing: "The completion of the contract for the extension of the Dom Pedro II Railroad gives a new hold to your countrymen upon the internal improvement system of Brazil. In fact the prejudice against the Yankees is rapidly vanishing."[55]

General optimism notwithstanding, the extreme incline, hard rocks, heavy rains, and tropical vegetation of the Serra do Mar made the construction a herculean effort. Even with all his experience, Roberts concluded that "the work on the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad was much heavier than any I had ever met with on any improvement in the United States."[56]

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[53] "Affairs in Brazil," *New York Times*, June 8, 1860.
[54] "Affairs in Brazil," *New York Times*, September 29, 1859.
[55] "South America," *New York Times*, July 20, 1858.
[56] Roberts, "Autobiography," circa 1866.

At the end of the day, the difficulties heightened Roberts's sense of accomplishment. In a long report addressed to James Cooley Fletcher, written sometime in 1864, Roberts remarked that "future contractors in Brazil may take advantage of the knowledge derived from the great experience of the builders of the Mountain Section of the Dom Pedro 2º Railroad; and why not future engineers too; and future Railroad Companies?" In addition to expertise for future enterprises, Roberts had already created some good business opportunities for his countrymen. Thanks to his advice, Ottoni had ordered "several locomotives from the United States, which are now being manufactured at the extensive works of Baldwin & Co. of Philadelphia, which have had much experience in constructing and adapting locomotives to heavy grades and hard curves."[57] Following this first order, Baldwin became the main supplier of locomotives to Brazilian railroads.[58]

Roberts believed that, even more so than American manufacturers and contractors, Brazilian agriculture would benefit from his work.[59] Observing the plantations close to the Serra do Mar, he lamented that the Brazilian economy still remained in a primitive condition.

> As yet, there is no agricultural interest, per se, in Brazil – no farming community. What land is cultivated in the country (only about 150th part) is chiefly in the hands of large holders – chiefly coffee and sugar planters. Each planter is an institution by himself. He has his own community – wife, children, and slaves, among whom he is the Patriarch. He and his have little to do with others so far as their agricultural habits and interests are concerned. There are no agricultural societies, no country and state fairs, as in the United States. Each Patriarch digs in, from year to year, usually increasing in wealth and consequence; but still not conducing by any joint action with others to the general improvement of agriculture or the general settlement of the country.[60]

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[57] William Milnor Roberts, "Dom Pedro 2º Railroad for Mr. Fletcher," 1864, William Milnor Roberts Papers, Box 6, Folder 2, Montana State University Library, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections.

[58] Baldwin locomotives became so popular that "Balduína" became a synonym for all locomotives in late nineteenth- and early twentieth-century Brazil. Gilberto Freyre, *Ordem e Progresso: Processo de Desintegração das Sociedades Patriarcal e Semipatriarcal no Brasil sob o Regime de Trabalho Livre* (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1959), 147.

[59] Teresa Cribelli notes that "the railroads did more than move freight and people; they became crucial for narratives of progress in the United States and Brazil, nations linked by the desire to incorporate enormous stretches of unsettled territory into the national body." *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels: Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 151.

[60] William Milnor Roberts, "Dom Pedro 2º Railroad Report," 1862, William Milnor Roberts Papers, Box 6, Folder 1, Montana State University Library, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections.

More than a simple railroader, Roberts was a free labor promoter. He thought of slavery, first and foremost, as an economic problem, which had until the Civil War made the American South a backwater and still made Brazilian agriculture fall short of its full potential. Slavery bred backwardness, he argued, because it prevented knowledge and wealth from spreading to all classes.

However, Roberts did not see Brazilians as an ignorant people. On the contrary, he was glad to notice that they were willing to move forward. Besides the great climate, well-organized government, and healthy population existing in Brazil, he wrote in 1862, "the Brazilian mind is quick in apprehending and appropriating; in contriving and arranging; and the spirit of enterprise having taken root, it is fair to infer that it will soon grow to be a tree which shall bring good fruit abundantly." The railroad, Roberts added, would help the Brazilians develop the countryside. "The vast interior of Brazil is yet a wilderness; so, fifty years ago, was nearly all the country west of the Ohio River in the United States," he remarked. After noting that the railroad had opened up the American Midwest to be settled by free immigrant farmers, Roberts imagined that Brazil could accomplish the same feat. "The construction of the railroads through the interior," he speculated, "is almost the only means of originating and sustaining such a stream of foreign population."[61]

Roberts's conclusion was based on the belief that the expansion of railroads and the universalization of free labor formed the only sustainable model of development. "All of Brazil can never be held by planters merely," he noted. Confident in his vision of the future, he added that "there must come a day when there will be a population of Farmers; men who will own a comparatively small extent of land; who, with their sons and their daughters and

[61] Roberts, "Dom Pedro 2º Railroad Report," 1862.

their free man servants and maid servants, will earn their bread by the sweat of their brow; and who will constitute the Yeomanry of Brazil." Roberts felt that he had done his part by climbing the mountains with the railroad and hoped that Brazilian elites would do theirs: "It is in the power of the statesmen at the head of affairs acting in harmony with the Emperor to retard or to advance the settlement of the interior by the external and internal policy they may pursue."[62]

Celebrating Roberts's work, in June 1862, the members of the Brazilian Liberal Party gathered for the inauguration of a tunnel along the second section. Martinho Álvares da Silva Campos, a political ally and business partner of the Ottoni family, offered a toast "to the United States, to the entrepreneurial genius of the Americans, to the services they offer around the world to the cause of progress and civilization." The older Ottoni brother, Teófilo, raised his glass "to American labor, of which we have just seen beautiful examples. May they conclude soon this gigantic enterprise and conclude it with glory for all the national and foreign entrepreneurs."[63] In 1865, Roberts left Brazil for the United States to engage in major enterprises such as the Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, the Ohio River improvement, and the Northern Pacific Railroad.[64] By successfully climbing the Serra do Mar, he had left a door wide open for other American entrepreneurs willing to work in Brazil. Roberts himself would return to conduct port improvements in the 1880s.

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[62] Roberts, "Dom Pedro II Railroad Report," 1862.
[63] "Festa Industrial," *A Revolução Pacífica*, June 15, 1862.
[64] "An Obituary Notice of William Milnor Roberts."

Companhia Ferry

A few months after Roberts left, a *New York Times* correspondent wrote that the completion of the second section represented the opening of new era for American enterprise in Brazil.

> The first and level portion of the road is of English build, with English cars and English locomotives. The second and mountain section is of American construction, of American material, and has heavy American engines, with eight drivers, built by M. W. Baldwin & Co., of Philadelphia. This portion of the road runs through a wild mountain region of Brazilian forest to the valley of the Parahyba, where is opened up, perhaps, the finest and largest coffee growing district of the whole empire, if not the world. … The Don Pedro Secundus [sic] Railway stands a witness and a monument to superior American engineering ability.

The competition between British and American entrepreneurs extended beyond railroads: "The ferry running across the bay to Praia Grande and Saint Domingo is of American origin and under American control. The very boats now running here have ploughed a thousand times the waters of New York bay, between South Ferry and Staten Island." Unhappy with this additional sign of the growing American influence in Brazil, "an English company was about reviving a line in opposition to this, … but failed in the attempt."[65] The Companhia Ferry was a creation of Thomas Rainey, Fletcher's and Webb's friend who had tried to establish a steamship line between New York and Pará. In 1858, Rainey obtained a twenty-year concession to form a company to run ferryboats across the Guanabara Bay, connecting the center of Rio de Janeiro to the growing suburbs of Praia Grande and São Domingos, in the township of Niterói.

By September 1860, Rainey was in New York City for the launch of the ferryboat *Primeira*, built by the Novelty Iron Works. After watching the spectacle on the waters of the East River, the Brazilian Minister to the United States declared that he regarded the event "as a beginning to drawing still closer the bonds of friendship and commerce" between the

[65] "South America," *New York Times*, November 26, 1865.

two countries, "and was glad that the United States had at last entered the list in competition with other countries in this important branch of business and industry." Rainey and other New York businessmen warmly applauded such words. They understood well what the Brazilian diplomat meant by "competition with other countries." As the *New York Times* put it, "the British have built all of the steamers hitherto for the Brazilian government, companies and individuals and consider themselves to have the rights exclusive and almost patent to this business for the future. Dr. Rainey has by this large contract broken their prestige and opened a place for the beautiful works of our own country."[66]

Revert Henrique Klumb, "Embarcadère de la cie. Ferry, Calle Pharoux,"
1860s, Brasiliana Fotográfica Digital.

Back to Rio de Janeiro in 1861, Rainey wrote to New York newspapers that "my works create a great enthusiasm here, and the ferry depot in the city will be altogether the handsomest structure in Brazil."[67] On June 29, 1862, a large crowd, which included the monarchical couple, gathered to watch the inauguration of the line of ferries. Yet, because of the intense traffic on the Guanabara Bay, the *Primeira* hit a barge and two sailboats, forcing

[66] "Launch of a Steamer for Brazil," *New York Times*, September 10, 1860.
[67] "News from Brazil and La Plata," *New York Herald*, February 16, 1861.

the boatmen to throw themselves overboard. As the commander of the ferryboat tried to avert other collisions, the *Primeira* ended up stranded on a nearby shoal.[68] These incidents augured greater troubles to come.

A few months after inauguration, local newspapers were pointing to the filthiness, delays, explosions, and crashes (some of which were fatal) to which Rainey's ferries subjected the inhabitants of Rio de Janeiro and Niterói. Some of the writers claimed that Rainey should be criminally charged for the accidents and that the Brazilian government should intervene in the company. *A Vida Fluminense*, published in Niterói, organized a relentless campaign against Rainey in 1868, attacking him for indulging in "mortifying the miserable users of his barges, keeping them filthy, with broken or crooked seats, poorly lit and having the boilers in a *yankeely* frightening state of safety."[69] After several trips were canceled without previous notice, *A Vida Fluminense* editorialized that "*El Mariscal Rainey* continues to treat us as a conquered people!"[70]

Rainey was shrewd enough to blame British interests for the campaign against his company. In February 1868, he published a story in the *Jornal do Commercio* about a passenger who had accused him out loud in the ferry of being "always drunk, from the morning to the night." A few days later, Rainey approached his critic on the street and found out that he was a well-known British resident of Niterói. In defense of his honor, Rainey said to the offender that "you have abused and slandered me very much during the last two or three years, I am tired of this and want to make it clear to you that, if you do not stop these abuses, I will take a whip and will apply it to your back." The two men then parted ways. Rainey claimed that the Briton was a rude customer who often used the entrance reserved for barefoot

[68] "Noticiario," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, June 30, 1862.
[69] *A Vida Fluminense*, October 17, 1868.
[70] *A Vida Fluminense*, October 24, 1868.

passengers (i.e. slaves) and had once encouraged some scoundrels to break the windows of the ferry house. And there was more.

> He is the one who two or three years ago suggested to my brother that we should steal from the Brazilians through all means possible, because they are, he claimed, all miserable thieves who live off the foreigners. He is the one who told several people that he could buy any local judge, that the tribunals and high authorities only existed to steal, and that the Emperor was an idiot, only capable of attending mass and producing state chicanery. He is, finally, the man who not only wanted, during and after the Christie affair, to catch a dozen Brazilians and send them to London so that Lord Palmerston could throw them into a cage and exhibit them as monkeys, but also who always disrespect social decency and bothers very much the society in which he perpetrates his crimes.[71]

Real or imagined, Rainey's foe was the kind of pesky Briton who Brazilians (and Americans living in Brazil) loved to hate. The reference to the Christie affair, the treatment of Brazilians as thieves and monkeys, and the disrespect for Brazilian authority made this character a perfect representative of the haughty Englishmen whose supremacy American entrepreneurs and diplomats had been challenging in Rio de Janeiro.

Rainey knew very well what side to take in Brazil of the 1860s, doing everything he could think of to convince the Brazilians that he was a faithful servant of their country. He often went to the imperial palace to pay homage to Dom Pedro II, made his ferries salute the Comte D'Eu (the French prince married to the Brazilian princess) when he returned from his post as General Commander of the Brazilian forces in Paraguay, gave money to various charities, fostered artistic events, organized regattas, guided Brazilian visitors through American gunboats stationed in the Rio de Janeiro harbor, offered free fare to students of the Normal School of Rio de Janeiro, and even organized a maritime tour to raise funds for the Niterói Abolitionist Society.[72] In January 1869, an amused Brazilian witnessed Rainey

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[71] Thomas Rainey, "O Diario do Rio de Janeiro," *Jornal do Commercio*, February 27, 1868.
[72] "Notícias Diversas," *Correio Mercantil*, June 16, 1863; "Companhia Ferry, Festa em Paquetá," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, August 29, 1866; "Theatros," *Jornal do Commercio*, August 29, 1866; *Correio Mercantil*, January 10, 1866; "Agradecimentos," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 13, 1867; "Voluntários da Pátria," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 30, 1870; "Paço Imperial," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, September 29, 1873; "Socorros a Buenos-Ayres" *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 23, 1871; "Escola Normal da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, January 31, 1874; "Companhia Ferry. Regata!!!" *Diário do Povo*, November 29, 1868; Henrique de Beaurepaire Rohan,

ripping out a poster of a humoristic publication entitled *Carambolas* which had been glued to the wall of his ferry house: "It was hilarious to see Mr. Rainey in his *Yankee* rage resembling a Don Quixote who throws himself, raising his fists, against a serene windmill. … He furiously cried, vociferating: '*Goddam*![73] Me not want *Carambolas* in this pier; this book be *republican*, against government, *goddam*!'"[74]

Despite Rainey's investment in public relations, in 1868, the Brazilian government granted to Carlos Fleiuss, the son of a rich German family, the right to establish a line of ferries to compete with Rainey's. The simple announcement of Fleiuss's enterprise, according to *A Vida Fluminense*, improved the services of the Companhia Ferry.

> Now that a new line of ferries will be established connecting the Court to Niterói, Mr. Rainey pull up his sleeves, grabs a mop, washes the barges, piers, stations and even the faces of his employees, sweeps and dusts everything, glazes the windows that for long have been naked, rebuilds one of his small barges, fixes the old pier of S. Domingos, tears his lips in an angelical smile, and promises to all champagne at all times and a ready reduction of fare prices. A toast to competition![75]

The improvements made the Companhia Ferry thrive. In 1874, Rainey sold his valuable stocks to Brazilian investors and left Rio de Janeiro a wealthy man.[76] Established in the New York neighborhood of Ravenswood (now part of Astoria), Rainey started working on a project to connect Manhattan to Queens. While the Companhia Ferry had made him rich, the Queensboro Bridge ruined Rainey, who watched—bitter and poor—a competing entrepreneur inaugurate it in 1909.[77]

"Passeio Maritimo a Paquetá em Benefício da Socidade Emancipadora Nitherohyense," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 20, 1871.

[73] Original in English.

[74] C. Gracchus, "As Carambolas do Governo e o Sr. Rainey," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 23, 1869.

[75] *A Vida Fluminense*, November 28, 1868.

[76] Noronha Santos, *Meios de Transporte no Rio de Janeiro: História e Legislação* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Jornal do Commercio, 1934), 56-57.

[77] "Dr. Thomas Rainey, Bridge Father, Dead," *New York Times*, March 10, 1910.

Botanical Garden Rail Road Co.

Like Rainey's ferries, American streetcars would connect the capital city of Brazil to its growing suburbs. In 1858, the Brazilian government offered a concession for the establishment of a line of mule-drawn streetcars connecting the central part of Rio de Janeiro to the suburbs of Botafogo and Laranjeiras. The Brazilian entrepreneurs who acquired the concession, however, failed to establish the service and put the concession up for sale a few years later. The former manager of the Bleecker Street Horse Company, Charles B. Greenough, heard of the opportunity and consulted with Fletcher about the prospects of investing in Brazil. As expected, Fletcher provided much valuable information about Brazil and the Brazilians. After acquiring a loan from New York railroader Erastus Corning, Greenough traveled to Rio de Janeiro and bought the concession. Because Brazilian investors did not want to gamble on streetcars, Greenough raised some more capital from his fellow countrymen and constituted the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. in 1867.[78]

On October 9, 1868, Greenough's streetcars started operating. Continuing a newly established tradition, during the inaugural ceremony, a Brazilian politician offered a toast "to the free and fruitful labor which irradiates from the United States to all the peoples of the universe." Someone else raised his glass "to the American people, who occupies the first place at the vanguard of civilization." Yet another Brazilian enthusiast of the United States spoke of "the fraternity of American peoples, condition of greatness for the present and for the future." Present at the ceremony, Dom Pedro II was impressed with the elegant

[78] Charles J. Dunlop, *Apontamentos para a História dos Bondes no Rio de Janeiro: A Companhia Ferro-Carril do Jardim Botanico* (Rio de Janeiro: Editora Gráfica Laemmert, 1953), 11-14.

streetcar imported from New York, which glided smoothly over the one mile of tracks that Greenough had managed to lay by then.[79]

A few days after inauguration, the humor magazine *Semana Illustrada* reminded its readers that the new streetcars had not yet been baptized. "It is a matter of giving a popular name to the new cars of Botafogo. Some think they should be called y*ankees*, others say *bonds*. Which one will catch on?"[80] Bonds (or bondes) it would be. The origin of this name was not clear even for contemporaries. An American diplomat learned during the 1880s that "the money for the undertaking was raised by the sale of the company's bonds, and from that fact the streetcars in Rio are universally called 'bondes.'"[81] A British visitor heard at roughly the same time that "the name arose from the simultaneous issue of the bonds of a national loan and the tickets of this company, which later were used as currency for small payments."[82] Whether people knew how it got its name or not, Greenough's bondes were a huge success. "If the [Brazilian] treasury bonds have limits," the *Semana Illustrada* observed in 1869, "those of the Americans have not."[83] By 1870, the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. had about eight miles of tracks, a dozen cars, and transported three million passengers a year. By 1875, it had over thirteen miles of tracks, more than seventy cars, and transported about six million people.[84]

One week after the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. initiated service, "An Old Englishman" wrote to the *Jornal do Commercio* that riding the streetcar "has been the most interesting fact that has ever taken place in my life." The tumultuous crowd waiting at the

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[79] "Chronica," *Opinião Liberal*, October 10, 1868.
[80] "Pontos e Virgulas," *Semana Illustrada*, October 18, 1868.
[81] Christopher Columbus Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects* (New York: D. Appleton, 1887), 30.
[82] Hastings Charles Dent, *A Year in Brazil, with Notes on the Abolition of Slavery, the Finances of the Empire, Religion, Meteorology, Natural History, Etc.* (London: K. Paul, Trench & Co., 1886), 235.
[83] Confucio, "Maximas, sentenças e pensamentos políticos do Celeste Imperial," *Semana Illustrada*, October 17, 1869.
[84] Dunlop, *Apontamentos para a História dos Bondes no Rio de Janeiro*, 67.

stop reminded the chronicler of the French Revolution. When the streetcar arrived, the crowd shoved him into it. Inside, he felt as if in a sardine can and the sound of the bells and the hoofs hitting the pavement reminded him of a trail of mules. Soon after the streetcar started moving, it derailed. Once fixed, it continued. A few feet ahead, it derailed again. And again. And again. A fellow passenger inquired the Englishman: "Will we regress?" The answer was pure sarcasm: "No sir, don't you know that these cars only move toward progress? How do you expect them to regress!?" All the while, the passengers complained about the hard wooden benches, the derailing, and the slow pace, leading the scornful British observer to remark that Greenough's "company will be as beneficial as that of Mr. Rainey."[85]

British envy aside, the experience of riding the streetcars—of waiting and sharing a ride with anonymous people, of getting to places much faster than on the old carriages and omnibuses, of adapting to impersonal rules—gave rise to the sentiment that Rio de Janeiro was finally becoming a modern metropolis. As a character who represented the common people of the city on the pages of the *Semana Illustrada* observed, "young men, old men, men, women, children, blacks, whites, filthy, clean, necktied, un-necktied; ultimately, every pouting animal that walks around in two legs has had the pleasure to enter, for 200 réis or a piece of yellow paper, the terrestrial ships which the Americans call some strange names but the boys, my little friends, call plain and simply *bonds*." Yet, in a hierarchical society such as nineteenth-century Brazil, the experience in coexistence could be troubling. According to the same chronicler, old white men reacted to the novelty by cursing everything, from republicans to modernizers, from street sweepers to prostitutes, from actresses to freemasons, from policemen to sorcerers, from raffle sellers to restaurant owners.[86]

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[85] "Estrada de Ferro do Jardim Botanico," *Jornal do Commercio*, October 18, 1868.
[86] O Moleque da Semana, "Dentro de um Bond," *Semana Illustrada*, January 15, 1871. Analyzing new means of transportation in nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro, Cribelli explains that "complaints about rude employees

While his streetcars filled with people of all kinds, Greenough became a symbol of how Yankee efficiency (and greed) could overpower Brazilian and British aristocrats. Famous for his grouchiness and tight management, Greenough was great material for the *Semana Illustrada*: "The man acts as a sergeant in his stables at the Machado Square. He spurts, screeches, my goodness! He looks like a madman, or a prophet of times long gone." For all his hard work, the *Semana Illustrada* continued, Greenough deserved "the gratitude of those who wait under the sun and the rain, are then pressed in to be pampered with kicks, scrubs, unrequired rubs, and sometimes even theft by highly skilled acrobats. Viva Mr. O Verde [Green O], cream of the crop of altruism, jewel of the philanthropists, perfection of abnegation!"[87] While humorists had fun with the mixed feelings that Greenough's success (and troubles) raised in Rio de Janeiro, the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. continued to grow. More people moved to the suburbs, and Greenough got richer.[88] In 1877, the humor magazine that had replaced the *Semana Illustrada* told Greenough's story through cartoons.

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were in part an expression of frustration with this impersonal structure of the trolley or railway company, where higher-ups were removed from direct public interaction and conductors represented the human face of the trolley. Additionally, trolleys were subsidized by public funds, and passengers felt entitled to good service. At the same time, railway workers exercised a certain amount of freedom on their daily rounds in the city or the countryside, and the fact that interactions took place away from the watchful eyes of managers probably empowered them to talk back or refuse service to what they saw as demanding passengers." *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels*, 191-192.

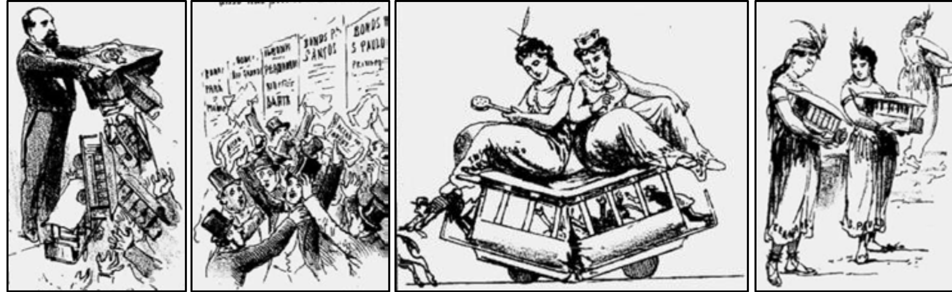
[87] O Y sem Côr, "Os bonds do Gonçalves Dias ao Jardim," *Semana Illustrada*, April 16, 1871.

[88] According to Sandra Lauderdale Graham, the streetcars redesigned the urban geography of nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro: "Following the tram lines the exclusive residential parts of the city spread up past the convent into the steep hillsides of Santa Thereza, and out beyond the established suburbs of Botafogo and Laranjeiras to the more recent Jardim Botanico, as well as to cool and tranquil Tijuca on the edge of the rain forest from which the area took its name. At the same time, the city center grew in upon itself as the slums, tellingly nicknamed cortisos or beehives, multiplied in the ever more congested older sections that became home to arriving immigrants, free blacks, and to the slaves who hired out their own labor." *House and Street: The Domestic World of Servants and Masters in Nineteenth-Century Rio De Janeiro* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1988), 26.

A Brazilian businessman acquired a concession for streetcars in the 1850s but decided to put it away and wait. Greenough arrived and bought the concession. Brazilian investors refused to acquire the company's stocks and laughed at his works, saying: "We are not burying our money here."

Nevertheless, Greenough's energy triumphed and all were glad with the new service. Brazilian investors now wanted stocks but Greenough responded that it was too late. Greenough's tracks and the dividends of the few investors expanded in tandem and the old means of transportation went out of business.

The Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. became ever more prosperous, bringing a true revolution to Rio de Janeiro, expanding the circulation of people, filling the streets with families, and benefiting commerce. Property along the tracks increased in value, new buildings were erected, and the city profited very much. Seeing streetcars as the greatest of all businesses, everyone came up with a project for a new line.



The government distributed new concessions and Brazil was taken by a streetcar-stock-speculation fever. But the government imposed heavy burdens, breaking most new companies. Still, all provinces, no matter how small their cities, created their own streetcar lines.

The game continued for a while and some ended up with useless stocks in their hands, feeling like asses. All realized that there was only one Rio de Janeiro and one Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. in Brazil, so the enthusiasm died out and turned into anger. The fatal streetcar fever drove many bankrupt. But not Greenough, who continued to cash in his splendid profits.
"Questão de Bonds," *Revista Illustrada*, November 24, 1877.

American visitors to Rio de Janeiro told a similar tale. In 1874, the envoy of the Jackson & Sharp Co. Delaware Car Works noted that, starting off with little capital and a short line, Greenough had become very successful. "The profits realized from this section were so great that in a few months the company extended its track as far as the Botanical Garden, which doubled its length, and passed en route the beautiful suburbs of Botafogo. The last annual dividend was 18%, which equals more than the entire first cost of the road." The line had "proved a literal gold-mine to its projectors" and done good to American entrepreneurs in general: "What is more, its success led to the most unbounded confidence in any enterprise that had its origin in America."[89] Similarly, a naturalist who explored Brazil in the mid 1870s noted that, when Greenough first arrived in Brazil, "people who could not

[89] William S. Auchincloss, *Ninety Days in the Tropics or Letters from Brazil* (Wilmington: 1874), 73.

afford a carriage of their own, must ride in dirty, crowded omnibuses, or go on foot, as the most of them did." After Greenough created his company, things changed. "The Yankee idea was received with favor and opposition, in about equal measure," the observer continued. "However, it was carried out, and now the Botafogo line is probably the finest of its kind in the world; the stock three or four hundred per cent above par, and not to be had at that." American observers agreed that Greenough had rendered a valuable service to Brazil as well as to his own country: "The road was economically built, and it is carried on with true Yankee acumen."[90]

Arriving in 1879 to serve as United States Minister to Brazil, Henry Washington Hilliard could not stress enough the importance of the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. for Rio de Janeiro.

> From the central part of the city the suburbs extend for miles in several directions, and its five hundred thousand inhabitants enjoy the increased facilities for travelling. Of these the Botanical Garden Railroad is by far the finest and the most important. Through the central part of the city, beginning at the Ouvidor, its finest street, it extends through the aristocratic quarter, Botafogo, to the magnificent Botanical Gardens, and to the suburb beyond them.[91]

Indeed, the streetcars had become so important for the people of the Brazilian capital city that when, on January 1, 1880, a government tax of twenty réis per ticket was enforced, a violent uprising took place. The leaders of the rebellion blamed the monarchical government and attacked cars, tracks, horses, and drivers. The Army intervened in the conflict and the Prime Minister fell from power. On January 4, the tax was indefinitely suspended and the uprising ended, leaving at least three dead. One day earlier, while the people of Rio de

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[90] Herbert Huntington Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1879), 459-460.
[91] Henry Washington Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 375.

Janeiro was still shedding blood for their right to ride the streetcars that Greenough had brought to their city, he died in France, where he had gone to treat his health.[92]

The success of Greenough, Rainey, and Roberts changed the image of American businessmen in nineteenth-century Brazil. The expansion of transportation infrastructure that these men helped to bring about improved neighborhoods in and around Rio de Janeiro and, soon, would transform other regions of the country. Progress seemed to be arriving in Brazil through the hands of American entrepreneurs. Along with it, for the Brazilians, arrived the hope of being less reliant on British capital and free from the humiliations that Great Britain constantly imposed to Brazilian sovereignty. More important, the success of American entrepreneurs ended up strengthening reformist groups interested in the promotion of free labor in Brazil.

The Hermit and His Friends

In 1858, when Roberts, Harvey & Co. signed the contract to build the second section of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, an American citizen living in Brazil wrote an enthusiastic letter to the *Philadelphia Bulletin*.

> All the Americans in Rio de Janeiro regard the making of the present contract as a strong movement toward American interests in Brazil; believing that it will be the means of introducing many enterprising Americans in various walks of life, as well as many American inventions and manufactures; besides strengthening the bonds of friendship which ought forever to exist between the two greatest Governments of the western hemisphere. … American mechanics, laborers and contractors will now, therefore, receive a double welcome in Brazil; from Brazilians, as well as from their own countrymen, in fact it needs only a *steamship* communication between the two countries, to induce a large social as well as commercial intercourse, and this cannot long be delayed. … The United States, being the *largest* coffee customer of Brazil, has to pay annually a heavy balance in *specie* – no trifling balance, but the large sum of *fourteen millions of dollars*, while Brazil, following naturally enough the old beaten path between her and Europe, spends this same specie in England in purchasing such articles as can, and *will be*, hereafter and ere long, furnished at lower prices in the United States.[93]

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[92] For details of the riot, see Sandra Lauderdale Graham, "The Vintem Riot and Political Culture: Rio de Janeiro, 1880," *The Hispanic American Historical Review*, 60:3 (August 1980): 431-449.
[93] "Interesting from Brazil," *New York Times*, July 12, 1858.

As American merchants and entrepreneurs became interested in a direct connection with Brazil and made plans to challenge British dominance, a young Brazilian politician began working toward a steamship line between Rio de Janeiro and New York. The son of a declining oligarchical family from Alagoas, an impoverished province in northern Brazil, Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos had entered the Pernambuco Law School at the age of fifteen, in 1854. The next year, he moved to the São Paulo Law School, where he joined a group of radical liberals and became an avid reader of Alexis de Tocqueville's *De La Démocratie en Amérique*. In 1858, Tavares Bastos joined the Liberal Party and was appointed to an administrative post in the Brazilian Navy. In 1861, at the age of twenty-two, he was elected to the Chamber of Deputies.[94]

Already in 1861, Tavares Bastos made an impression in the Parliament by delivering a speech condemning the obsolete structure of the Brazilian Armed Forces. And he did so in the presence of the ministers of the Navy and War. Tavares Bastos immediately lost his post in the Navy, but gained fame and an opportunity to express himself about issues that, he thought, held Brazil back in an age of progress. Tavares Bastos then started publishing a series of letters in the Rio de Janeiro *Correio Mercantil* under the pseudonym of O Solitário [The Hermit]. From education to the military, from public employment to the judicial system, from foreign trade to slave labor, Tavares Bastos assailed the status quo with relentless energy. In 1862, he compiled these letters in form of a book entitled *Cartas do Solitário*, which was expanded and republished in 1863.[95]

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[94] For a biographical account, see Carlos Pontes, *Tavares Bastos (Aureliano Candido), 1839-1875* (São Paulo: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1975).
[95] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário: Estudos sobre Reforma Administrativa, Ensino Religioso, Africanos Livres, Tráfico de Escravos, Liberdade de Cabotagem, Abertura do Amazonas, Communicação com os Estados Unidos, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro: 1863).

An ardent proponent of free trade and federalism, Tavares Bastos sought to refashion the Brazilian liberal tradition.[96] Attentive to the political and economic transformations of the middle decades of the nineteenth century, he addressed questions of national integration and economic development. A strong state, he contended, would intervene in society to optimize its potentials. The central state should use its resources to expand infrastructure instead of imposing restrictions to trade and association or feeding a swarm of judges, sheriffs, and inspectors.

> Facilitate interior communications in the country; bring the population centers closer to each other; connect the extreme points of the Empire; build railroad lines; proclaim freedom of navigation; make innumerable steamers cross our coast and our navigable rivers; in one word, develop the material elements of the country. Such is the true path toward our greatness; such is also, as it has always been, the true direction of the human spirit.[97]

Like Abraham Lincoln, Otto Von Bismarck, Napoleon III, the Count of Cavour, and Emperor Meiji, Tavares Bastos merged the language of nation with the language of capital. He believed that the proper way to build a polity integrated by the spirit of comradeship and mutual interests would be to develop a robust economy based on free enterprise.[98]

Tavares Bastos's nationalism rejected any form of chauvinism or isolationism.[99] In *Cartas do Solitário*, more so than in any other work by a Brazilian publicist at the time, the United States appeared as an example to be emulated. "The North-American Union," he

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[96] On the origins of the Brazilian liberal and federalist tradition, see Miriam Dolhnikoff, *O Pacto Imperial: Origens do Federalismo no Brasil* (São Paulo: Globo, 2005). On Tavares Bastos's interpretation of this tradition, see Gabriela Nunes Ferreira, *Centralização e Descentralização no Império: O Debate entre Tavares Bastos e Visconde de Uruguai* (São Paulo: Editora 34, 2000).

[97] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 413.

[98] On the intertwining of nationalism and capitalism during the nineteenth century, see Jürgen Osterhammel, *The Transformation of the World: A Global History of the Nineteenth Century* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2014), 403-419.

[99] By the middle decades of the nineteenth century, cosmopolitanism and nationalism were not mutually exclusive. As Eric J. Hobsbawm puts it, "whatever the long-term prospects, it was accepted by contemporary liberal observers that, in the short and medium term, development proceeded by the formation of different and rival nations. The most that could be hoped was that these would embody the same type of institutions, economy and beliefs. The unity of the world implied division." *The Age of Capital, 1848-1875* (New York: Scribner, 1975), 66.

proclaimed, "is the rendezvous of the civilized world." Among German, Irish, French, and English immigrants, all living "under the shadow of liberty" in the United States, one could easily spot the "audacious Yankee, generous, fervent with activity, breathing the personal dignity of the Apollo Belvedere, indefatigable and strong, in his agitated and tumultuous life of assemblies, meetings, clubs, press, in his vigorous life, that is the only one worth living."[100] For Tavares Bastos, the United States was, above all, a model of economic development: "It is from this country that will come to us the practical experience that will improve our agriculture, our economic condition, which has striking similarities to that of the Union." Tavares Bastos urged his fellow countrymen "not to be afraid of the civilizing, democratic, evangelical, humanitarian, and fraternal spirit of the North Americans."[101]

In a letter addressed to American merchant resident in Rio de Janeiro George N. Davis, Tavares Bastos lauded American entrepreneurs who were investing in Brazil during the 1860s.

> We meet with Americans in all parts of Brazil. … In Rio de Janeiro Americans have rendered commerce the labor-saving machines of their agriculture, which is analogous to ours. In the province of Rio de Janeiro our great man of enterprise, Mr. C. Ottoni, hands down to Americans his vast undertakings. Sustained by their indomitable perseverance and extraordinary energy, in the second division of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railway, they have filled up valleys, perforated through the Serra do Mar with tunnels, and at this moment locomotives made in their northern home take possession of the heights over [our] Thermopylae.[102]

Tavares Bastos was especially fond of Thomas Rainey: "Steam is today the great means of transportation. See the marvelous Bay of Rio de Janeiro, which should be crisscrossed by

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[100] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário: Estudos sobre Reforma Administrativa, Ensino Religioso, Africanos Livres, Tráfico de Escravos, Liberdade de Cabotagem, Abertura do Amazonas, Communicação com os Estados Unidos, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro: 1863), 344-345.
[101] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 345.
[102] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to George N. Davis, Valença, March 15, 1863, in Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 425. Representative John B. Alley of Massachusetts read a translation of this letter before the United States Congress on April 15, 1864. *The Congressional Globe: Containing the Debates and Proceedings of the First Session of the Thirty-Eighth Congress* (Washington: Congressional Globe, 1864), 1652-1653.

elegant *steam-boats* in every direction, like the beautiful vessels of the Companhia Ferry."[103] Tavares Bastos sought to invite more men like Rainey, Greenough, and Roberts to his country. "Brazil needs new *blood*," he continued his letter to Davis, "it needs the *Yankee* spirit, this intrepidity, this energy, this masculine spirit of invention and progress. She needs to remodel her Portuguese and priestly prejudices in the world of generous ideas of liberty, as to day we cast rifled cannon from the old-fashioned and worthless culverins."[104]

Tavares Bastos's admiration for the Yankees was intertwined with his contempt for the American South. Lynching and human hunting were just some of the evils becoming ever more common in the Confederacy. "In comparison to the cruelty of the slave breeders of Delaware, Maryland, Kentucky, Missouri, etc., and the extravagant barbarities of the inhabitants of the southern United States during the present war, most of our [Brazilian] slave masters deserve some praise." Yet, Brazilian masters should not conclude that they were free from the deleterious influence of slavery. Tavares Bastos ironically pointed out that, in Brazil, "slavery flaunts daily edifying scenes: suicides, cruelties, assassinations." Moreover, slavery was a burden to Brazilian society as a whole: "Whether or not the benevolence that now some attribute to Brazilian slaveholders is simply relative, it is undeniable that the institution of slavery was and is the central cause of our moral and material misery." Tavares Bastos wanted gradual antislavery legislation as soon as possible. "The slave," he concluded, "which now is a bad property; the slave, whose indiscriminate purchase explains the ruin of many rich planters; the slave will soon be the primary cause of a constant crisis."[105]

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[103] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 220.
[104] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to George N. Davis, Valença, March 15, 1863, 426.
[105] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 379-385.

Tavares Bastos did not restrict himself to praising the Yankees and attacking slaveholders, however. Early in his career, he got involved with American enterprises in Brazil. In December 1865, Tavares Bastos arranged a meeting between Rainey and the Minister of Public Works to discuss the future of the Companhia Ferry.[106] He also held 2,500 shares in the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad Company and supported Ottoni's projects.[107] Tavares Bastos constantly corresponded with Andrew Ellison Jr. asking questions about different steps of the construction of the second section, such as costs, labor, materials, and other technical matters.[108]

While he built networks with American engineers and entrepreneurs, Tavares Bastos started working on the one project that, he believed, would bring the United States and Brazil closer than ever before. In July 1862, he asked the Brazilian Parliament to subsidize a monthly line of steamers connecting New York to Rio de Janeiro with 200 contos de réis (approximately 110,000 dollars) annually. While some more cautious Brazilian politicians doubted whether it was a good time to tighten the bonds with a country going through a convulsive civil war, Tavares Bastos argued that Brazil should not hesitate to cultivate the friendship of the American people "first and foremost because, after the present struggle—a glorious battle, because it opposes freedom to servitude, progress to barbarism—it is the destiny of the great republic of Washington to become the major power of the world."[109]

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[106] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, n.p., Arquivo Paula Souza, December 26, 1865, PS865.12.25/2, BMA.
[107] Cristiano Benedito Ottoni to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Rio de Janeiro, April 19, 186_, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.005; Cristiano Benedito Ottoni to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Rio de Janeiro, December 19, 186_, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.009a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[108] Andrew Ellison Jr. to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Macacos, March 16, 1863, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.005a; Andrew Ellison Jr. to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Macacos, April 6, 1863, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.007a; Andrew Ellison Jr. to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Macacos, March 29, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.008a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[109] "Projectos sobre a Navegação a Vapor para os Estados-Unidos e a Abertura do Amazonas: Observações na Sessão de 8 de julho de 1862, da Camara dos Deputados," in Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 414.

Though the subvention failed to pass by six votes in the Chamber of Deputies, Tavares Bastos succeeded in attracting American attention to his project.

In January 1863, James Watson Webb wrote to Tavares Bastos to inform that he had found someone willing to help Brazil and the United States connect through steam navigation: "I enclose here a very valuable and important letter from the great man of our country, whose word in such circumstances is law, Commodore Vanderbilt. You certainly know him by reputation, and I believe him when he says that I am the only living man who could induce him into such an enterprise." According to Webb, his personal friend Cornelius Vanderbilt had calculated that the steamship line would need a subsidy of 50,000 dollars per round trip, amounting to 600,000 dollars annually, well beyond the amount that Tavares Bastos had asked the Brazilian government. But, from Webb's point of view, even one million dollars would be a small price for Brazil to pay in order to encourage trade with the United States. "Add ten million [dollars] to importation from the U. States," he speculated, "and without reducing the imports and duty items from England, the competition in [the Brazilian] market would reduce the profits on British goods at least fifteen millions, and fan that amount to the people of Brazil."[110]

Tavares Bastos wrote to Davis that he felt honored to know that "His Excellency Mr. General Webb has devoted some of his precious attention to this very important subject." He further explained that his initial setback in having the subvention approved by the Brazilian Parliament had been brought about by "some adulators who, more monarchist than the monarch himself, imply that the North Americans would disrupt Brazil if we

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[110] James Watson Webb to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Petrópolis, January 3, 1863, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.040a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

opened direct relations with them, or would end up annexing our northern provinces if they could." Yet, in spite of his opponents' fears, Tavares Bastos was hopeful.

> No one can foresee the increase of importation from the United States when there shall be the great convenience of steam communication with New York. Today no one ignores that Americans begin to take the lead in our markets in certain articles, which they compete with and surpass the English. The United States furnish us with breadstuffs. … Many articles of furniture and of wooden ware we buy by preference of the Americans. … The Dom Pedro Segundo Railway Company have formed so good an opinion of your foundries and machine shops that they now prefer American locomotives and American cars.

The steamship line would open great opportunities for American entrepreneurs: "Brazil needs civil engineers, men of enterprise, intelligent laborers, men habituated to new inventions, and they themselves inventors. … Let us have a line of steamers between the United States and Brazil, and then we shall see the development of our country by an advantageous influx of Americans."[111]

Like Webb, Tavares Bastos used anti-British sentiments to draw attention to his project: "The English, who almost monopolize our market in cotton and woolen fabrics, send to Brazil articles of a high price and inferior quality, hitherto without competition. If American manufacturers obtain information of this market and study near at hand the wants and tastes of nine million people, I have no doubt that in a short time they will be strong competitors of the English." The Christie affair also appeared in Tavares Bastos's argument. "The recent arbitrary conduct of England," he told Davis, "excites in the whole of Brazil a great distrust in all European Governments, and by this means some of the most obstinate minds have been opened to the idea of an intimate alliance with the United States. The moment is propitious."[112]

Despite his appreciation for Webb and their shared anti-British feelings, Tavares Bastos found another American partner to take his project forward. "I read in the New York

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[111] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to George N. Davis, Valença, March 15, 1863, 424-427.
[112] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to George N. Davis, Valença, March 15, 1863, 426-427.

Journal of Commerce of September 16 a letter from our good and respectable friend Rev. Mr. Fletcher on this subject," he informed Davis.[113] Fletcher and Tavares Bastos had met a few weeks after the Chamber of Deputies had rejected the subvention to the line of steamers. "In 1862 I went to Brazil," Fletcher recounted, "and had long conferences with Hon. Tavares Bastos, the youngest of Brazilian statesmen." Fletcher agreed to lobby for a subsidy from the American government equal to the one that Tavares Bastos was asking from the Brazilian government. With a joint subsidy of over 200,000 dollars annually, they reckoned, the concession for the steamship line would find many bidders.[114]

Still confident that his diplomatic performance and his connections to Vanderbilt made him the only man capable of taking the enterprise ahead, Webb continued to lobby for his project. In April 1863, he got in touch with an official of the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Affairs named João Batista Calógeras, who had been directly involved in negotiating the Christie affair. Webb told Calógeras that "the nations on the American continent, at no distant day, will be compelled to unite in self-defense to resist European aggression." Therefore, "let it be announced in England that Brazil is looking around to get rid of her dependence upon England, and has made such a concession, and it will go further to sooth the difficulties bothering the two nations than all the dispatches that diplomats can write."[115] Calógeras forwarded Webb's letters to Tavares Bastos.[116]

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113 Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to George N. Davis, Valença, March 15, 1863, 427.

114 James Cooley Fletcher, *International Relations with Brazil: Proceedings on the Reception of H. E. Senhor D'Azambuja, Envoy Extraordinary and Minister Plenipotentiary from Brazil, by the Chamber of Commerce of the State of New York November 2nd, 1865, with Remarks by James C. Fletcher on the Mail Communication between the United States and Brazil* (New York: John W. Amerman, 1865).

115 James Watson Webb to João Batista Calógeras, Petrópolis, April 3, 1863, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.041a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

116 João Batista Calógeras to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Rio de Janeiro, December 9, 1863, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.041a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

Eventually, Webb's aggressive approach ended up alienating Calógeras. "Father Webb," he wrote in tone of irony to his real father in 1864, "writes us letters and more letters to tell us that he is a friend of Brazil, and that we will have complete satisfaction in the case of the *Wachusett*, but at the same time he insinuates that such satisfaction will be much more complete and brilliant if we concede to him the line of steamers between the two countries." Webb's insolence stupefied Calógeras: "This good man has lost his mind. Can anyone say these things? When it comes to a satisfaction for an outrage against our sovereignty, we need to buy it, in exchange for a concession in a private interest?"[117]

Despite all the trouble that Webb had been creating—or, perhaps, because of it—Tavares Bastos decided not to sever relations with him and agreed to present his proposition to the Brazilian Parliament in April 1864. After mentioning how an increase in coffee exports to the United States and a reduction in price of American manufactured goods would challenge British interests, Tavares Bastos concluded that the new line of steamers would contribute to the enlightenment of Brazil.

> The Brazilian agriculturalist, instead of unproductively consuming the luxuries of Paris, will have a means to go straight to the Antilles and the United States to examine the innumerable improvements of the industry that constitutes his profession, from the most curious mechanisms to the steam-powered plow. … The Brazilian traveler will contemplate there the most amazing scenes of human progress, the marvels of a truly prodigious industry, and more. What benefic influence would the soul of young Brazilians receive from the zealous associations of the descendent of the Puritans? Within North American society—as arduous in industrial enterprise as it is severe in customs, family, and social order—our young men will get used to indefatigable labor, to feverous activity, fertilized by a solid education, practical, indispensable, fundamental, professional, the only one capable of saving our youth educated in the pernicious Latin, in vague theories of political writers, in fantasies of French literature.[118]

[117] João Batista Calógeras, Botafogo, November 20, 1864, *Um Ministério visto por Dentro. Cartas Inéditas de João Batista Calógeras*, ed. Antonio de Gontijo Carvalho (Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio Editora, 1959), 134.
[118] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, April 22, 1864, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, Primeiro Anno da Duodécima Legislatura, Sessão de 1864*, Volume IV (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve, 1864), 246.

Although Tavares Bastos's speech was enthusiastically applauded, the Chamber of Deputies balked; the subvention Webb sought was too costly for Brazilian coffers. Nonetheless, Tavares Bastos's argument about the beneficial influence of the United States on Brazil had made a good impression and he could now move forward alongside Fletcher.

While Webb's project floundered in Brazil, Fletcher worked to secure a subvention in the United States. In August 1863, the Boston Board of Trade met to watch Fletcher's lecture on the commerce of Brazil. Fletcher started by declaring that he "wished, as some of the most liberal and important propositions had been made in the Brazilian Parliament, that an expression of hearty sympathy might go out from this community, to encourage those who were endeavoring to link the United States and Brazil by lines of steamships and by closer ties of amity." After showing through statistics that the United States was losing a major commercial battle against Great Britain by not establishing a direct connection with Brazil, Fletcher read translated passages of *Cartas do Solitário*. Impressed, the Boston Board of Trade resolved: first, "that in view of the growing commerce between the United States and Brazil, we deem it for the highest interest of both countries to have direct steam communication"; second, "that we appreciate the endeavors of Hon. A. C. Tavares Bastos and coadjutors"; and third, "that we recognize in these propositions, and in the large vote in their favor, … a spirit of liberality and enlarged views that demand perseverance on the part of their projectors in Brazil, with cordial cooperation of the United States."[119]

Good news kept arriving in Brazil from the United States. "I enclose a paragraph cut from a Boston paper," Davis wrote to Tavares Bastos in February 1864, "by which you will

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[119] "Steam Communication with Brazil: Interesting Address by Rev. J.C. Fletcher, before the Boston Board of Trade," *New York Times*, August 14, 1863. The proceedings of this meeting were translated to Portuguese and published in Brazilian newspapers. "Exterior – Nova-York, 14 de Agosto – Comunicação a Vapor com o Brasil," *Correio Mercantil*, September 30, 1863.

see that our friends have organized a Steam Ship Company and have obtained an Act of Incorporation from the State of Massachusetts. If this [the Brazilian] government will give a subsidy to the first company putting ships into the service we shall soon have steam communication with the United States."[120] Fletcher wrote to Tavares Bastos directly in May 1864 to inform him that their collaboration had inspired American legislators to act.

> Included here is the speech in Congress by Representative John B. Alley, who is from my district (or "comarca"). You can see that not in vain has he studied the statistics of *Cartas* [*do Solitário*] and those I have provided; and that, in our Congress and throughout the United States, Tavares Bastos is well-known. The Bill passed in the House of Representatives (our "Camara dos Deputados") and newspapers say that in a short time it will pass in the Senate.[121]

On April 15, 1864, influenced by Fletcher and the Boston Board of Trade, Massachusetts Representative John B. Alley had presented a bill authorizing the United States Postmaster General to work with the Brazilian government in subsidizing direct steamship service between the two countries, "provided the expense of the service shall be divided between the two Governments." Speaking to his peers about the project, Alley explained that "the leaders of the [Brazilian] Liberal Party have been its earliest advocates. That party has lately come into power, and it is thought by well-informed persons now in Brazil, and in official relations with our Government, that the Brazilian Government is now prepared to act in full cooperation with our own." As an example of the good feelings existing among Brazilian Liberals for the American Union, Alley read in the House of Representatives the letter which Tavares Bastos had sent to Davis in March 1863.[122]

In support of Alley, Republican Representative John V. L. Pruyn of New York declared that British relations with Brazil were shaken, and now "authorities of Brazil are

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[120] George N. Davis to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Rio de Janeiro, February 1, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.063a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[121] James Cooley Fletcher to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Newburyport, April 22, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.076a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[122] John B. Alley, speech at Congress, April 15, 1864, *The Congressional Globe*, 1653-1655.

looking earnestly to the cultivation of closer relations with this country than have heretofore existed." Brazil had opened a great opportunity for the United States to challenge British supremacy in South America, Pruyn concluded with enthusiasm.[123] Alley concurred that the establishment of the steamship line would be a first step in weakening European imperialism and securing American influence in the region.

> Great political considerations, of transcendent importance, are involved in the question of intimate postal and commercial communications with our neighbors upon this continent. We need that friendship of those neighboring nations which always follows intercourse. The Governments of Europe are seeking to establish their institutions and their policy upon this continent. Nor will pretexts ever be wanting to the ambitious and unscrupulous. We ought not to allow them to outstrip us by means of steam communication which we ourselves can better supply in securing to themselves the great advantages which this system of national policy unquestionably gives them.[124]

In May 1864, President Lincoln signed Alley's bill into law. The United States government would subsidize the line of steamers connecting Brazil to the United States with up to 150,000 dollars per year. Subsequently, a public advertisement was issued inviting proposals from steamship companies.[125]

Informed of the new law, an outraged Webb started a campaign against Alley and Fletcher. "A set of Boston speculators have made an attempt in Congress," he wrote to Tavares Bastos in June 1864 as if he did not know what was going on, "to avail themselves of our labors, by introducing a Bill into Congress to do the work for less money and to throw the matter open to competition. … Their scheme is to take all control of the matter from us and Brazil, and give it to our Post Master General!"[126] But these complaints fell on

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[123] John V. L. Pruyn, speech at Congress, April 15, 1864, *The Congressional Globe*, 1655-1656.
[124] Alley, speech at Congress, April 15, 1864, *The Congressional Globe*, 1655.
[125] "An Act authorizing the Establishment of Ocean Mail Steamship Service between the United States and Brazil," *Statutes at Large, Treaties and Proclamations of the United States of America: from December 1867, to March 1869,* Vol. 13 (Boston: Little, Brown and Company, 1863), 93. On the economic policies of the Republican Party during the American Civil War, see Heather Cox Richardson, *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies during the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997); Mark Wilson, *The Business of Civil War: Military Mobilization and the State, 1861-1865* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2006).
[126] James Watson Webb to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Petrópolis, June 6, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.053a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

deaf ears. Tavares Bastos had given up on Webb's project and was now committed to working with Fletcher.

Immediately after Alley's bill passed in Congress, Fletcher traveled to Brazil to lobby for a Brazilian measure to complete the deal. Upon arriving, he wrote to Tavares Bastos, who was away in a diplomatic mission to Argentina and Uruguay.

> I have come to B[razil] with the most philanthropic intentions – to give light in regard to the steamship line and the law passed by the U.S. Congress and sanctioned by the President. … You know my sentiments toward Brazil, and I felt glad that the bill proposing to give US$600,000 failed; it was too much and besides the Deputies here and the people in the U.S. saw a speculation in this. Please say nothing; for it is hard for one to speak in this way, therefore keep this secret from our Minister [Webb]. You remember I told you to beware of any proposition put forward by him![127]

Responding to Fletcher, Tavares Bastos explained that "as soon as the law of the American Congress (Alley bill) became known here, more than 40 representatives signed the project, which you have seen, authorizing the imperial government to concede the subvention of 200 contos de réis [110,000 dollars] to whatever company receives from the government in Washington the subsidy voted by Congress."[128]

After meeting with Fletcher, by late August 1864, Martinho Álvares da Silva Campos, the Liberal leader from Minas Gerais and associate of the Ottoni brothers, brought into the Brazilian Parliament a project to complement the Alley bill.[129] In support of his project, Silva Campos made an argument that echoed Alley's speech at the United States House of Representatives.

> The United States is the only one of the great nations in the world against which we have no real complaints (*cheers*), and from whom we have never received an offense. (*Cheers*). … And it is the only one of the great nations in the world from whom we have received constant and never belied proofs of benevolence, and from whom we can find support, without which we might not live (*cheers*), given the impudent tone and the haughtiness with which we have been treated in the English Parliament by the British Prime Minister. (*Long applauses*).

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[127] James Cooley Fletcher to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, Rio de Janeiro, August 8, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.077a, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[128] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to James Cooley Fletcher, n.p., September 23, 1864, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.061n1, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[129] Fletcher, *International Relations with Brazil.*

> Mr. speaker, taking into consideration our relations with more than one of the great European powers and their relations with the American republics, their interventionist and aggressive spirit toward the independence and sovereignty of countries in our continent, which has been shown toward Santo Domingo, Mexico, and Peru, I believe that it is naïve to believe that the monarchical principle of our government will by itself guarantee that the old monarchies of Europe respect us (*cheers*); we better learn from experience and adopt an American policy, a policy which, creating harmony between us and the American nations, will give us strength to obtain that kind of justice that has been denied to us. (*Long applauses*).

When Minister of Empire José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva suggested that it would be inappropriate for Brazil to pay a subvention determined by the legislators of another nation, Silva Campos responded that "if the Americans could pay for everything by themselves, being such an entrepreneurial, active, and intelligent people in matters of navigation, they would do so." Yet, he continued in reference to the American Civil War, "the fact that the United States government, while facing great challenges and financial difficulties, decrees a subvention to initiate navigation" should be enough to move Brazil to pay its share.[130]

As the American Civil War approached its conclusion, the imminent victory of the Union became a major argument in favor of the subvention in the Brazilian Parliament. Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, a rich coffee planter and Liberal leader from São Paulo, spoke of his admiration for the American people and the economic progress they were achieving even during a bloody conflict.

> To prove the greatness of that people it is enough to observe that today, after three years of a fierce struggle never before seen, a battle of titans, giants, mythological gods … that people has not ceased to provide an example of development in all kinds of human activity; it was precisely when the forces of the South threatened the American Congress, when the star of Washington seemed to be eclipsing, when the canons clanked, that that people, with the placidity of Plutarch's men, conscious of their right, of their future, of their destiny, promulgated the law that serves as model to the one we are discussing.

Another representative pointed out that the Americans were only suffering from the vices of their own institutions. "Vices that we share," Paula Souza retorted. "What is the cause of the

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130 Martinho Álvares da Silva Campos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, August 29, 1864, *Annaes do Parlamento*, Volume IV, 256.

South in this war? It is a cause that also exists among us. The American people is destined to provide us plenty of examples on how, one day, we may solve our great social problem." Like Tavares Bastos, Paula Souza trusted that closer relations with the United States would bring valuable lessons to Brazil. Having a direct means of transportation to the United States, young Brazilians would be able to attend agricultural schools "with excellent teachers, the first in the universe," and would have access to "ready-made [agricultural] models and machines." Beyond intellectual and material gains, in North America, Brazilian youths would have "a school of morality, of elevation and personal dignity, of profound respect and belief in religious doctrines that we must develop in our people."[131]

Unwilling to concede, Minister Andrada e Silva demanded that a parliamentary committee analyze the project. A rebellion then took place within the Liberal Party and the representatives passed the subvention in spite of Andrada e Silva's request. The whole cabinet of ministers immediately resigned.[132] As Tavares Bastos explained to Fletcher, "from this vote, contrary to the Minister, resulted the fall of the Zacarias Cabinet, who saw in it a lack of trust from the Chamber."[133] What clashed in Brazil by the mid 1860s were two concepts of liberalism: that of the older Liberals, who sought to slowly improve representative institutions, and that of an emerging group, led by men like Tavares Bastos, which had embraced the gospel of progress.[134]

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[131] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, August 31, 1864, *Annaes do Parlamento*, Volume IV, 275.

[132] Francisco Iglésias, "Vida Política," *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira.* Tomo II: ***O Brasil Monárquico***. Volume 5: *Reações e Transações*, ed. Sérgio Buarque de Holanda (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2004 [1967]), 118.

[133] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to James Cooley Fletcher, n.p., September 23, 1864.

[134] The Liberal insurgency in Brazil tried to gear their party toward what Hobsbawm sees as the defining aspect of the middle decades of the nineteenth century: "The most obvious drama of this period was economic and technological: the iron pouring in millions of tons over the world, snaking in ribbons of railways across the continents, the submarine cables crossing the Atlantic, the construction of the Suez canal, the great cities like Chicago stamped out of the virgin soil of the American Midwest, the huge streams of migrants. It was the drama of European and North American power, with the world at its feet. But those who exploited this conquered world were, if we except the numerically small fringe of adventurers and pioneers, sober men in

The insurgent Brazilian Liberals were inspired by the American Republican Party. They sought to refashion the nation-state by placing economic development and social improvement before any rigid ideal about how political systems should work. On that occasion, thanks to the support of the American Union, they triumphed. In September 1864, Tavares Bastos informed Fletcher that Francisco José Furtado, who replaced Zacarias as Prime Minister, had chosen Jesuíno Marcondes de Oliveira e Sá, a signatory of the steamship line subsidy project, as the new Minister of Agriculture.[135] Soon, he would be replaced by another ally of Tavares Bastos's—Paula Souza.

Early in 1865, a New York steamship company—which had asked for a total subvention of 240,000 dollars to complete twelve round trips per year—obtained the concession from the American government, henceforth establishing the United States and Brazilian Steamship Company. In March of that year, an agent of the new company went to Brazil to work with Fletcher. Together, they "prepared a pamphlet, more fully explaining the law of the United States, and bringing the statistics of our own [American] commerce to bear upon the subject, to prove the necessity of immediate action on the part of Brazil."[136] Writing to Tavares Bastos from New York in July 1865, the president of the United States and Brazilian Steamship Company noted, referring to Webb, that "we have unjustified enmities" in Brazil but, "considering Your Excellency one of our best friends and defenders, we trust in your most valuable support and great influence."[137]

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sober clothes, spreading respectability and a sentiment of racial superiority together with gasworks, railway lines and loans. It was the drama of Progress, that key word of the age: massive, enlightened, sure of itself, self-satisfied but above all inevitable. Hardly any among the men of power and influence, at all events in the western world, any longer hoped to hold it up." *Age of Capital*, 4.

[135] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to James Cooley Fletcher, n.p., September 23, 1864.

[136] Fletcher, *International Relations with Brazil*.

[137] J. Navarro to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, New York, July 7, 1865, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.32.004, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

In May 1865, the members of the Rio de Janeiro Chamber of Commerce wrote a petition to the Brazilian Parliament suggesting that the benefits of subsidizing a line of steamers would go well beyond immediate pecuniary gains. The merchants expressed their fascination with "the magnificent spectacle which is presented by that laborious, bold, energetic, and rich democracy, in which abound all the resources of modern life." Such a spectacle, they believed, "must produce great and beneficial impressions upon those who behold it." Like Tavares Bastos and Paula Souza, the petitioners went so far as imagining that, in a short time, Brazilian youths would "be sent to the United States, there to study the useful arts and sciences of daily use and application; there to learn practically agriculture, the trades, and the arts—how to construct canals and rail-roads, and how to improve their time by employing it constantly in useful pursuits." Upon their return to Brazil, these young men would "bring with them a little of that spirit of enterprise, of that energy of character, of that love of labor, which so pre-eminently distinguish the American democracy, and the absence of which from amongst us is so painfully apparent."[138]

Not incidentally, the 149 merchants who signed the petition chose Tavares Bastos to present it to the Chamber of Deputies. And Tavares Bastos did so in a dramatic fashion, taking advantage of an unexpected circumstance about which the Brazilians had just been informed. "Presenting this extremely important petition from the Chamber of Commerce," he spoke before his peers, "I am touched to do it at this moment, when news of a tragic event arrives to disturb the minds of all friends of Liberty and Peace (*cheers*), when an irreparable disgrace darkens the nineteenth-century civilization!" Referring to the assassination of Lincoln and the attempt against the life of Seward, Tavares Bastos sought to solidify the link between Brazil and the American Union. "The noble act of the Chamber of

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[138] "Communication from the Exchange of Rio de Janeiro," in Fletcher, *International Relations with Brazil*, 11-12.

Commerce clearly demonstrates," he concluded, "the deep sympathy that the people of Rio de Janeiro nurture for the great country of real Liberty, known as North America, for the cause represented by the honorable President Lincoln and his illustrious Minister!"[139] Teófilo Ottoni presented the same petition to the Senate one week later.[140]

In June 1865, William Van Vleck Lidgerwood spoke in favor of the subvention to the steamship line at a meeting of the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional [Auxiliary Society of National Industry] (SAIN), the most important scientific association in nineteenth-century Brazil. He argued that it would permit the Brazilian planter to "meet the demand for coffee in the United States through a continuous supply of this product, avoiding the price fluctuation that currently feeds speculation and damages him. All these problems will cease to exist thanks to the steamship line, because the planter will constantly receive information about the real value of his coffee in New York."[141] The sum that Brazil would contribute to subsidize the steamship company would thus quickly be repaid. After a short deliberation, the members of SAIN approved Lidgerwood's speech and forwarded it to the Brazilian Parliament.

When the discussion reached the Senate, Senator João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá of Piauí, an ally of Tavares Bastos's and signatory of the project, explained what he understood of all the talk about establishing closer ties with the United States.

> If an American Policy consists in shortening the distance separating us from the peoples of our continent so that we can develop and maintain better and more useful commercial relations with them; if an American Policy consists in cultivating cordial relations with the peoples who sympathize with Brazil even under difficulties; if it consists in becoming closer to those who give us prompt and loyal satisfactions of the insults which are made by their

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[139] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, "Subvenções às Empresas de Navegação," speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 17, 1865, *Discursos Parlamentares* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1977), 319.

[140] The analysis that Jürgen Osterhammel offers of the outcome of the American Civil War certainly applies to the way that Brazilian Liberals interpreted it: "The victory of the North in 1865 prevented the lasting formation of a third independent state in the region, destroying the institution that went together with everything conservative or reactionary in the American context of the time." *The Transformation of the World*, 554.

[141] "Sessão do Conselho Administrativo em 16 de Junho de 1865," *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, 1865, 289.

> subjects, unlike those who attack us through their ministers and admirals, those who withhold our property and who try by all means to demonstrate their malice, counting perhaps on our subservience, of which we should never again demonstrate, I believe that I will not be mistaken that we all are for an American Policy.[142]

An American Policy, first expressed during the Christie affair and now reinforced by the Alley bill, appeared as the proper path toward peace and progress for Brazil. Little did it matter that Webb, the hero of the day when Christie confronted Brazil, had been left out of the steamship deal. The subvention passed in the Senate and was signed into law by Dom Pedro II on June 28, 1865.

The establishment of a monthly line of steamers between Rio de Janeiro and New York represented a great political victory for free labor promoters on both ends of the hemisphere. Tavares Bastos and his allies had established a strong bond with Lincoln's Party, the group of men who had just crushed an aristocracy of slaveholders. Brazilian Liberals now made plans to buy new technologies from the United States and send their sons to study at American universities. Moreover, the steamship line represented a new wide door open for American entrepreneurs willing to repeat, or expand, what Roberts, Rainey, and Greenough had achieved in Brazil. Last but not least, the steamship line represented a joint Brazilian and American victory over the British Empire. It was a message from Brazilians that they were not to be bullied anymore and a message from the United States that a new American foreign policy had emerged.

[142] João Lustosa da Cunha Paranaguá, speech at the Senate, June 16, 1865, *Annaes do Senado do Império do Brasil, Terceira Sessão em 1865 da 12ª Legislatura de 1º a 30 de Junho*, Volume II (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Correio Mercantil, 1865), 98.

CHAPTER 3
A HEMISPHERIC BATTLE

In July 1867, on learning that Brazil had opened the Amazon River to foreign vessels, poet John Greenleaf Whittier published a tribute to the Brazilian people in the *Atlantic Monthly*.

> FREEDOM IN BRAZIL
> With clearer light, Cross of the South, shine forth
> In blue Brazilian skies;
> And thou, O river, cleaving half the earth
> From sunset to sunrise,
> From the great mountains to the Atlantic waves
> Thy joy's long anthem pour.
> Yet a few years (God make them less!) and slaves
> Shall shame thy pride no more,
> No fettered feet thy shaded margins press;
> But all men shall walk free
> Where thou, the high-priest of the wilderness,
> Hast wedded sea to sea.[1]

From rural Massachusetts, Whittier had been a founding member of the American Anti-Slavery Society in the 1830s, achieved national fame for his *Poems Written during the Progress of the Abolition Question in the United States* (1830-1838) and *Voices of Freedom* (1846), joined the Free Soil Party and later the Republican Party, and supported Abraham Lincoln during the American Civil War. When Whittier wrote about Brazil, he had joined the effort of Radical Republicans, seeking to secure freedom in the postwar United States and extend it abroad. Whence, his hope that the Brazilians, after opening their river, would free their slaves.

The immediate aftermath of the American Civil War seemed to be undoing much of what men like Whittier had fought for. Unreconstructed white southerners carried on the conflict after Robert E. Lee's surrender through guerrilla warfare and terrorist acts.[2] Contradicting the principles of the Thirteenth Amendment, southern state legislatures

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[1] John Greenleaf Whittier, "Freedom in Brazil," *The Atlantic Monthly*, July, 1867.
[2] Gregory Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015).

enacted the Black Codes, which restricted the civil rights of freedpeople, punishing vagrancy and reducing many to peonage. Meanwhile, President Andrew Johnson adopted conciliatory measures toward former Confederates. Radical Republicans fought back, weakening Johnson and passing the Fourteenth and Fifteenth Amendments, which guaranteed the civil and political rights of ex-slaves. Additionally, Radical legislators placed the southern states under military rule and strengthened the Freedmen's Bureau.[3] Through their political activism, former slaves helped push the Radical cause forward. In response, white southerners became all the more aggressive.[4]

While American soil was still soaked with the blood spilled during the Civil War, Brazil became involved in a savage foreign conflict. The war for the control of the Plata Basin against the Paraguayans, who Brazilian elites deemed as barbarians, proved to be much longer and bloodier than expected, lasting from 1865 to 1870. The war crisis brought about an avalanche of criticism against the social system prevalent in Brazil.[5] Compounding the political turmoil, in 1868, Dom Pedro II replaced a coalition of moderate reformers from both parties with the Conservatives. The Liberals protested by presenting a long list of desired reforms in 1869, which included gradual slave emancipation. In the meantime, an abolitionist movement emerged with radical propositions. Excluded from the central positions of power, these activists would turn the Brazilian political reality upside down by attacking the status quo from the press and new associations.[6]

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[3] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 176-280.
[4] Steven Hahn, *A Nation under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South, from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2003), 163-313.
[5] Wilma Peres Costa, *A Espada de Dâmocles: O Exército, a Guerra do Paraguai e a Crise do Império* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1996), 221-306; Francisco Doratioto, *Maldita Guerra: Nova História da Guerra do Paraguai* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2002), 255-276, 383-402.
[6] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Tomo II: *O Brasil Monárquico*. Volume 7: *Do Império à República* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2005 [1972]), 13-156; Angela Alonso, *Idéias em Movimento: A Geração 1870 na Crise do Brasil-Império* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2002), 97-262.

Louis Agassiz, a personal friend of Whittier's, visited Brazil as the crisis opened. Between 1865 and 1866, accompanied by James Cooley Fletcher (another personal friend), he served as director of a Harvard scientific exploration to the Amazon Valley. Transcending his scientific duties, Agassiz expressed his antislavery opinions while in Brazil. As a gesture of sympathy toward him and his friends, the Brazilian political elite set aside old fears, opening the Amazon River and promising to deal as soon as possible with the problem of slavery. Capitalizing on Agassiz's visit, antislavery reformers such as Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos fought to make their country live up to the promises made to the famous naturalist.

For a brief moment, the influence of Massachusetts intellectuals, the victory of the Union, and Lincoln's martyrdom seemed to be pushing Brazil to antislavery reform. But now Brazil had its own war to wage and the Brazilian government vacillated when it came to acting against slavery. Agassiz, Fletcher, and Whittier nonetheless remained faithful to Brazil, going so far as defending Dom Pedro's brutal war against Paraguay before American critics. Then, inspired by the struggle in the United States and tired of procrastination in Brazil, the abolitionist movement started to pressure the political elite. Seeking to avoid further agitation, the Conservative government enacted the Law of the Free Womb on September 28, 1871.

The Emancipation Proclamation and the downfall of the Confederacy were not the definitive acts in the drama of slave emancipation. Massachusetts intellectuals intentionally extended their antislavery struggle to the only remaining independent slave nation in the western world.[7] For their part, Brazilian free labor promoters avidly seized the opportunity

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[7] Recently, scholars have emphasized how American and foreign intellectuals collaborated in advancing the causes of democracy and nationalism during and immediately after the American Civil War. They have further discussed the broad geopolitical and economic changes resulting from the conflict in the United States. Yet,

to push for reform in Brazil.[8] Neither side sat around waiting for slavery to crumble and be replaced by free labor. On the contrary, some of the most influential minds in the nineteenth-century United States and an emerging abolitionist movement in Brazil joined forces in a hemispheric battle. Even when the political elite failed to act, they carried on their campaign. It was through their interactions and decided activism that the American Civil War acquired a broader meaning.

The King of Naturalists

When President Andrew Johnson delivered his first Annual Message to Congress in December 1865, after discussing the pacification of the rebellious states, he spoke of foreign policy. When it came to Brazil, Johnson celebrated the newly established line of steamers connecting New York to Rio de Janeiro as well as a scientific expedition to the Amazon Valley organized by Harvard naturalist Louis Agassiz. "The distinguished party of men of science who have recently left our country to make a scientific exploration of the natural history and rivers and mountain ranges of that region," Johnson remarked, "have received from the Emperor [of Brazil] that generous welcome which was to have been expected from

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little has been said on the intentional expansion of the northern antislavery crusade abroad. See Robin Blackburn, *Marx and Lincoln: An Unfinished Revolution* (New York: Routledge, 2011); Wayne H. Bowen, *Spain and the American Civil War* (Columbia: University of Missouri Press, 2011); Brent E. Kinser, *The American Civil War in the Shaping of British Democracy* (Farnham/Burlington: Ashgate, 2011); Andre M. Fletche, *The Revolution of 1861: The American Civil War in the Age of Nationalist Conflict* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2014); Don H. Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations: An International History of the American Civil War* (New York: Basic Books, 2015); *The Transnational Significance of the American Civil War*, ed. Jörg Nagler, Don H. Doyle, and Marcus Gräser (Basingstoke: Palgrave Macmillan, 2016); *American Civil Wars: The United States, Latin America, Europe, and the Crisis of the 1860s*, ed. Don H. Doyle (Chapel Hill : The University of North Carolina Press, 2017).

[8] Scholars of slave emancipation argue that the American Civil War created a feeling of isolation and fear in the only remaining independent slave nation in the western world. Therefore, they ignore the opportunities for collaboration opened for American as well as Brazilian abolitionists at the time. See David Brion Davis, *Inhuman Bondage: The Rise and Fall of Slavery in the New World* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2008); Seymour Drescher, *Abolition: A History of Slavery and Antislavery* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2009); Robin Blackburn, *The American Crucible: Slavery, Emancipation and Human Rights* (London: Verso, 2009); Ricardo Salles, "As Águas do Niágara. 1871: Crise da Escravidão e o Ocaso Saquarema" in *O Brasil Imperial. Volume III – 1870-1889*, eds. Keila Grinberg and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2009), 39-82; Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "A Guerra Civil dos Estados Unidos e a Crise da Escravidão no Brasil," *Afro-Ásia* 51 (2015): 37-71.

his constant friendship for the United States and his well-known zeal in promoting the advancement of knowledge."[9]

Agassiz's interest in Brazil dated back to the late 1820s, when, as a student at the University of Munich, he had assisted his mentor, Carl Friedrich Philipp von Martius, classify and describe a collection of fish from Brazilian rivers.[10] During the 1840s, when Agassiz moved to the United States and became a Professor of Zoology at Harvard, he concentrated on studying North America. By the 1860s, however, Agassiz's interest in Brazil was rekindled as he became convinced that the study of the tropical environment, varied species, and geological formation of the Amazon Valley would help him debunk the evolutionary theories which had come out in Charles Darwin's *On the Origin of Species* (1859). Agassiz believed that a supernatural intelligence had created life once, wiped it out through glaciation, and created it again after the ice age. Hence, Agassiz could not accept Darwin's idea that chance was the cause of order or, in other words, that life on Earth was the product of random accidents.[11]

Besides Martius and Darwin, another person attracted Agassiz to Brazil: James Cooley Fletcher, who lived in Newburyport during the 1860s. Having several friends in common in Massachusetts, such as John Greenleaf Whittier, Agassiz was informed of Fletcher's travels to Brazil and, in 1862, commissioned him to conduct a field trip to the Amazon Valley to collect little-known specimens of freshwater fauna.[12] On that occasion,

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[9] Andrew Johnson, "First Annual Message," Washington, December 4, 1865, *A Compilation of the Messages and Papers of the Presidents, 1789-1897,* Vol. VI (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1897), 367.
[10] On Martius's exploration, see Karen Macknow Lisboa, *A Nova Atlântida de Spix e Martius: Natureza e Civilização na "Viagem pelo Brasil" (1817-1820)* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 1997).
[11] Louis Menand, *The Metaphysical Club* (New York: Farrar, Straus, and Giroux, 2001), 97-148.
[12] On Louis Agassiz's social networks, Louis Menand writes that "it is an indication of how commanding a presence Agassiz was in Boston in the years before the [American Civil] war that the Saturday Club—the literary dinning and conversation society which he was a founding member and whose participants included [Ralph Waldo] Emerson, [Nathaniel] Hawthorne, [Henry Wadsworth] Longfellow, [John Greenleaf] Whittier, [James Russell] Lowell, [Charles] Sumner, and [Oliver Wendell] Holmes, all at the peak of their fame—was

Fletcher had an interview with Dom Pedro II, who showed great interest in American works of science and literature: "He spoke of Agassiz, of Mr. Ticknor, author of Spanish Literature, and of Mr. Everett, as gentlemen well-known to him, and of his works which H[is] I[mperial] M[ajesty] had just received, asking after Mr. Bancroft, Mr. Longfellow, and John G. Whittier."[13]

On July 12, 1862, Dom Pedro II registered in his diary that "Fletcher has met with me and brought several works from the United States, and letters from notable men among which is one from Agassiz, which he promptly gave me."[14] In this letter, Agassiz, accustomed to aristocrats and politicians from Europe and the United States alike, paid tribute to the Brazilian monarch.

> The civilized world admires Your Majesty, not only as the paternal and generous sovereign of a people full of love and devotion, but also as an instructed man, protector of the arts and sciences, and friend of everything that tends to elevate the human species. … This is why I take the liberty to send to my friend the Rev. Mr. Fletcher an exemplar of the work that I recently published on the natural history of the United States, so that he can offer it to Your Majesty.[15]

Agassiz asked if Dom Pedro II would be willing to "establish direct relations between the savants of Brazil and those of the United States, and particularly with the Museum of Cambridge," whose director was Agassiz himself.[16] Dom Pedro II did not hesitate in accepting Agassiz's offer, guaranteeing that he would personally take detailed notes on some curious specimens of Brazilian fish and "send to you some objects of natural history which, according to what Mr. Fletcher told me about the nature of your study, will perhaps interest

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popularly referred to as 'Agassiz Club.'" *The Metaphysical Club*, 99. During the 1860s, Fletcher, who lived in Amesbury, was also part of this club.

[13] "Curiosities for Professor Agassiz," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, February 12, 1863.

[14] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 9, July 12, 1862 (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, IPHAN, MinC, 1999).

[15] Louis Agassiz to Dom Pedro II, n.p., n.d., Louis Agassiz Correspondence and Other Papers, Am 1419, Houghton Library, Harvard University.

[16] Louis Agassiz to Dom Pedro II, n.p., n.d.

you."[17] Always communicating in French, the naturalist and the monarch became scientific collaborators and personal friends, exchanging letters about plants and animals as well as sick relatives and birthday parties.

Back to the United States in 1863, Fletcher lectured on Brazil at the Boston Mercantile Library Association, "giving an interesting and vivid description of that 'King of Waters,' interspersed with numerous anecdotes of his personal experience while navigating its bosom." Fletcher added that the real King—or Emperor—of Brazil was as majestic as the Amazon River: "The speaker closed by paying a high tribute to the rare qualities of head and heart which distinguish the present Emperor of Brazil and render him the greatest and best monarch now living."[18]

Fletcher's lectures and the material he had collected for Agassiz generated great enthusiasm about Brazil in Massachusetts. In early 1865, when Agassiz decided to organize his expedition, Boston banker Nathaniel Thayer told him to "select your assistants, organize your expedition, proceed to your work, and send the bills to me."[19] Writing to Dom Pedro II a few days after the announcement of the Thayer Expedition, Fletcher emphasized that "Your Majesty can hardly appreciate the great interest that is felt here by men of science in this contemplated visit of Professor Agassiz."[20]

Agassiz arrived in Rio de Janeiro on April 22, 1865, where he stayed for a few months before going to the Amazon. Along with the naturalist came his wife Elizabeth Cabot Cary Agassiz (his former student and the daughter of a rich Massachusetts manufacturer), several Harvard students (including William James and Charles Frederick

[17] Dom Pedro II to Louis Agassiz, Rio de Janeiro, November 3, 1863, Louis Agassiz Correspondence and Other Papers, Am 1419, Houghton Library, Harvard University.
[18] "Rev. Mr. Fletcher's Lectures on Brazil," *New York Times*, February 28, 1863.
[19] "Legislative Visit," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, March 16, 1865.
[20] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, Boston, March 8, 1865, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6635, AMIP.

Hartt), and Fletcher.[21] It was a very propitious moment for such an enterprise. The United States and Brazilian Steamship Company had just started operating its monthly line between Rio de Janeiro and New York. Meanwhile, the Companhia de Navegação e Comércio do Amazonas [Amazon Navigation and Commerce Company] had been expanding its fleet, the volume of cargo and number of passengers transported, and the waystations integrated into the fluvial transportation system. For most Brazilians, Matthew Fontaine Maury and fears of American occupation were all but forgotten.

Brazilian public opinion and many politicians thought that the time for a thorough development of the Amazon Valley had arrived and argued that the opening of the river to foreign vessels would be the first step in that direction. As the Minister of Agriculture had put it in his 1863 report, "the opening of the Amazon River to the commerce of all nations that are in peace with Brazil is certainly one of the things that the imperial government desires the most to see, and it is something that I hope will bring happy results."[22] In 1864, the discussion had reached the Parliament and Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos had become the leader of those supporting the opening.[23]

Under such circumstances, Agassiz was welcomed as a celebrity by the Brazilian political elite. Always having Fletcher by his side, he had interviews with Dom Pedro II and, escorted by William Milnor Roberts, visited the works of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad.[24] Agassiz and Fletcher also visited the Chamber of Deputies and the most important scientific institutes of Rio de Janeiro, always receiving tributes. Invited by the

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[21] For more details on the expedition, see Menand, *The Metaphysical Club,* 117-148; Maria Helena P. T. Machado, "A Ciência Norte-Americana Visita a Amazônia: Entre o Criacionismo Cristão e o Poligenismo 'Degeneracionista,'" *Revista USP* 75 (2007): 68-75.

[22] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Primeira Sessão da Décima Segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Públicas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1863), 20.

[23] Vitor Marcos Gregório, "O Progresso a Vapor: Navegação e Desenvolvimento na Amazônia do Século XIX," *Nova Economia* 19 (January-April 2009): 199-207.

[24] "South America," *New York Herald*, June 13, 1865.

monarch, Agassiz delivered free public lectures at the Colégio Dom Pedro II. The audience was delighted and Rio de Janeiro newspapers transcribed Agassiz's lectures in full, filling their pages with theories about glaciation and freshwater fish.[25]

The editor of the *Semana Illustrada* was mesmerized by Agassiz: "I am anxiously waiting for the third lecture, the fourth, the fifth, the thousandth; because to listen to this notable naturalist is to harvest from each one of his dissertations the seasonal fruits from the Tree of Knowledge." A full-page portrait of "The Sage Agassiz" was included in the same edition. *Semana Illustrada*, June 18, 1865.

Before the Thayer Expedition left Rio de Janeiro for the Amazon, the Imperial Artistic Institute organized a banquet for fifty guests to pay Agassiz homage. The first toast to Agassiz and his crew was proposed by Minister of Agriculture Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, a Liberal leader from São Paulo. Several other toasts by Brazilian politicians and intellectuals followed. Fletcher was not forgotten. Representative Pedro Luiz Pereira de Souza, "in a brief and warm improvisation, recalled the new era being opened to Brazil with the inauguration of the steamship line to the United States, which will strengthen the bonds that must connect two great brothers, and proposed a toast to the promoter of this line, Mr. Fletcher." Then, Fletcher raised and started speaking of the friendship between North and

[25] "O Sr. Dr. L. Agassiz," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 6, 1865; "O Professor Agassiz," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, June 11, 1865; "Conversações do Sr. Agassiz. Noite de Quinta-Feira 15 de Junho," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 16, 1865; "Conversações do Sr. Agassiz. Noite de Sabbado 17 de Junho," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 18, 1865.

South America. Agassiz, taking central stage, interrupted his friend, saying that "there is only one America now." The Brazilians rejoiced.[26]

Brazilian authorities provided Agassiz with every facility he needed to accomplish his scientific goals in the Amazon Valley. "The kindness of the Emperor of Brazil, who is man of no common culture," the *Boston Daily Advertiser* learned from Agassiz letters, "had followed him [Agassiz] wherever he had gone and had facilitated in the most generous and effective manner all the scientific purposes and plans which Mr. Thayer's magnificence had enabled Professor Agassiz to arrange and undertake a year ago." Dom Pedro II placed a government steamer at the service of the naturalists and furnished them with letters of introduction.[27]

Minister Paula Souza also took great interest in the Thayer Expedition.[28] Among other things, he requested that Agassiz collect Amazon specimens for the Brazilian Imperial Museum. "Allow me to say," Agassiz responded, "that I will not only accept your request with pleasure but am also convinced that this collaboration will be very useful to our enterprise."[29] Paula Souza appointed João Martins da Silva Coutinho, a major in the Brazilian Army Corps of Engineers who had distinguished himself for his works on the Amazon during the 1850s, as guide to the Thayer Expedition.[30] Agassiz was delighted to have Coutinho by his side, writing from the province of Pará to inform Paula Souza that "the profound knowledge that Coutinho possesses about everything that relates to the Amazon

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[26] "Banquete ao Sr. Agassiz," *Jornal do Commercio*, July 8, 1865.
[27] "Professor Agassiz," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 4, 1866.
[28] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Quarta Sessão da Décima Segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário dos Negócios da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1866), 28.
[29] Louis Agassiz to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Rio de Janeiro, July 1, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.07.01, BMA.
[30] Marina Jardim e Silva, Antonio Carlos Sequeira Fernandes, and Vera Maria Medina da Fonseca, "Silva Coutinho: Uma Trajetória Profissional e sua Contribuição às Coleções Geológicas do Museu Nacional," *História, Ciências, Saúde-Manguinhos* 20:2 (April-June 2013): 457-479.

has been the main source of all the facilities that I am finding to conduct my work with promptness and in a vast scale."[31]

Coutinho made sure that everything needed for Agassiz's works—such as fuel, tools, and containers—would be readily available in the Amazon Valley.[32] Coutinho admired Agassiz's work as well as his manners, informing Paula Souza that he "does not cease, in all parts and in all respects, praising the Emperor and the government of Brazil; he does not refrain from saying that before coming to Brazil he had a narrow view of our things, but that now, only in France and the United States has he encountered the same dedication to the sciences from the government as he has found here." Coutinho was delighted when Agassiz compared Brazil to the United States pointing to the "the tranquility that we enjoy, the liberty that we possess, even in times of war." Agassiz's opinions, Coutinho believed, would not only improve the image of Brazil in the United States but also foster closer relations between the two countries.[33]

Another figure who impressed Agassiz was Tavares Bastos, who met with the Thayer Expedition in Manaus, capital city of the province of Amazonas. "To our great pleasure," Elizabeth Agassiz noted in her travel journal, a river steamer "brings Mr. Tavares Bastos, deputy from Alagoas, whose uniform kindness to us personally ever since our arrival in Brazil, as well as his interest in the success of the expedition, make it a great pleasure to meet him again."[34] In March 1866, the *Atlantic Monthly* published a letter from Elizabeth Agassiz

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[31] Louis Agassiz to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Pará, February 25, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.02.25, BMA.
[32] João Martins da Silva Coutinho to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, on board of the *Icamiaba*, September 22, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.09.22; João Martins da Silva Coutinho to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, n.p., June 22, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.06.22; João Martins da Silva Coutinho to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Pará, February 25, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.02.25, BMA.
[33] João Martins da Silva Coutinho to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Belém, February 11, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.02.11.2, BMA.
[34] Louis Agassiz and Elizabeth Cary Cabot Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil* (Boston: Ticknor and Fields, 1868), 252-253.

describing Tavares Bastos. "Although not yet thirty years of age," she started, "he is already distinguished in the politics of his country; and, from the moment he entered upon public life to the present time, the legislation in regard to the Amazons [sic], its relation to the future progress and development of the Brazilian empire, has been the object of his deepest interest." A leader of those who advocated for progressive reforms in Brazil, Tavares Bastos had "already urged upon his countrymen the importance, even from selfish motives, of sharing their great treasure with the world."[35]

In his 1863 *Cartas do Solitário*, Tavares Bastos had made clear that opening the Amazon was essential to his modernizing project. "Let us decidedly open the great river," he cried, "so we conquer the sympathy, which we now lack, of the civilized world." An open-door policy, Tavares Bastos envisioned, "would promote labor, increase transactions, spread abundance, people the wilderness, and multiply transportation. It is the natural order of things, and this is the harmony of interests."[36] Tavares Bastos admitted that, in the 1850s, Maury and his followers had made plans to annex the Amazon; yet, he guaranteed that the aggressive imperialists were now a defeated minority in the United States. To prove his point, Tavares Bastos reminded his readers that "in the final chapter of the work *Brazil and the Brazilians*, Mr. Fletcher condemned these [Maury's] exaggerations, but simultaneously insisted on the great advantages to foreign commerce that the opening of the Amazon would bring." Fletcher's writings were definitive proof for Tavares Bastos that it was "an error to believe that all American is a filibuster, and that the political motto of the nation of Washington, Franklin, and Jefferson is invasion and conquest. Nothing could be more

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[35] Elizabeth Agassiz, "An Amazonian Picnic," *The Atlantic Monthly*, March, 1866.
[36] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário: Estudos sobre Reforma Administrativa, Ensino Religioso, Africanos Livres, Tráfico de Escravos, Liberdade de Cabotagem, Abertura do Amazonas, Communicação com os Estados Unidos, etc.* (Rio de Janeiro: 1863), 315.

inaccurate." Inspired by Fletcher, Tavares Bastos insisted that "the enlightened part of that country and, above all, the Republican Party profess the impartial principles of Monroe."[37]

Now, in addition to Fletcher, Tavares Bastos had none other than Agassiz on his side. In a series of articles for the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* and in a book entitled *O Valle do Amazonas*, he resumed the work started in *Cartas do Solitário*. "Professor Agassiz says that the Amazon is not a river," Tavares Bastos echoed the famous naturalist. "It is a fresh-water ocean: this is what Mr. Agassiz told me about the Negro River, when, in front of the Solimões [River],"—both of which are tributaries of the Amazon River—"looking left and right, one loses the horizon on the vast aquatic plain. … It is, thus, the same as any inland sea of the globe, a system of communication that must be put in service of the peoples of the world, because the seas belong to all."[38]

Sensing what was going on in Brazil, the Philadelphia *Illustrated New Age* noted in November 1865 that "Brazil is yet a new, undeveloped country. It may, therefore, be reasonably doubted if any previous event of its history has so affected its agricultural and mineral development, not to say its civilization and Christianization, as the scientific explorations now making under the supervision and direction of Professor Agassiz."[39] Exaggerations aside, Agassiz was indeed invested in making his trip to Brazil something more than a scientific quarrel with Darwin. After months exploring the Amazon Valley, he returned to Rio de Janeiro, where he lectured for more than four hundred prominent figures, including the monarchical family, on the resources of that region. "It was his opinion," the *New York Herald* reported, that the region "would one day become the mart of the world,

[37] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 380-381.
[38] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, *O Valle Do Amazonas: A Livre Navegação do Amazonas, Estatística, Producções, Commercio, Questões Fiscaes do Valle Do Amazonas* (Rio de Janeiro: Companhia Editora Nacional, 1937 [1867]), 101.
[39] "Professor Agassiz's Expedition," *Illustrated New Age*, November 25, 1865.

supporting in comfort twenty millions of inhabitants."[40] Agassiz's message to the Brazilian political elite was clear: he concurred with Tavares Bastos that the treasures of the Amazon Valley should be open to all friends of Brazil.

Agassiz left Brazil for the United States in July 1866. A few months later, the Brazilian Parliament, supported by Dom Pedro II, issued a decree establishing that, from September 7, 1867 onward, the navigation of the Brazilian portion of Amazon Basin would be open to all friendly nations.[41] Writing to his friend Quintino Antonio Ferreira de Souza Bocaiuva, who was in New York City in December 1866, Tavares Bastos exulted: "The Amazon is open. Give me a hug for this! … What a battle! But we won." Following such an enthusiastic message, Tavares Bastos asked Bocaiuva for a favor: "Send without delay to my old friend Fletcher and to Professor Agassiz (Boston) two copies of my book [*O Valle do Amazonas*]. Don't take too long. It is an honor that I owe them."[42] For Tavares Bastos, it was clear that Fletcher's and Agassiz's interest in the Amazon had convinced powerful men in Brazil that Americans and Brazilians could work together in making the mighty river a center of civilization.

As soon as Agassiz arrived in the United States, he started lecturing on the Amazon and the Brazilian policies. Politicians, intellectuals, and businessmen attended these lectures. The *New York Herald* revealed how enthusiastic the audiences were about the opening of the river.

> This is a most important concession in view of the vast and productive territory which thus thrown open to the commerce and enterprise of this country. We have the authority of Professor Agassiz, who has just returned from a tour of scientific investigation in Brazil, that the valley of the Amazon is an immense extended plain, with an ocean front of one hundred

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[40] "Brazil," *New York Herald*, June 24, 1866.
[41] Gregório, "O Progresso a Vapor," 207-209.
[42] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to Quintino Antônio Ferreira de Sousa Bocaiúva, Rio de Janeiro, December 23, 1866, Coleção Quintino Bocaiuva, CP 855.08.21, Pasta V – 1866, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.

> and fifty miles wide, through which the river and its tributaries discharge fresh water ocean into the Atlantic.
> … The actual population of this valley, with its gigantic intersecting water courses and facilities for development, is not over a quarter of a million, and Professor Agassiz is probably under the mark in his calculation that it could sustain and enrich a population of twenty million. Under the thrifty hand of American enterprise it might be made to support from fifty to a hundred millions.[43]

One major hurdle on the way toward closer relations between Brazil and the United States had been overcome: the "King of Waters" was open to American ships. This came to complement the steamship line, the infrastructure works, and the shared antipathy toward British imperialists. Tavares Bastos, Agassiz, Fletcher, and their allies now looked forward to a new—and fundamental—step toward progress in Brazil: the transition from slave to free labor. As Whittier put it, "Yet a few years (God make them less!) and slaves / Shall shame thy pride no more."[44]

War Measures

Along with books and equipment, Agassiz carried to Brazil a letter from Whittier to be delivered to Dom Pedro II. "I have long, in common with all our literary and scientific men," the poet wrote to the monarch, "cherished a high respect for the humane and enlightened ruler of a great empire, who faithful to all his public duties, finds leisure for the cultivation of the arts which adorn and elevate humanity." After the praise, Whittier did not "lose this opportunity to thank thee from my heart for the friendly attitude of the Brazilian government toward my suffering country in the hour of her great trial. Our terrible struggle seems drawing to a close and everything indicates that, with the withdrawal of the evil and disturbing element of slavery, we are to be henceforth a truly united people."[45]

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[43] "Opening of the River Amazon," *New York Herald*, January 18, 1867.
[44] Whittier, "Freedom in Brazil."
[45] John Greenleaf Whittier to Dom Pedro II, Amesbury, March 18, 1865, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6658, AMIP.

Following Whittier's lead, Agassiz was not afraid to touch on the problem of slave emancipation in front of Dom Pedro II.[46] Violating the etiquette that he knew so well, Agassiz engaged in a frank conversation about slavery with the monarchical couple during a dinner at the palace. Elizabeth Agassiz reproduced the dialogue in a letter to a friend:

> The Emperor asking about Agassiz's impressions in Brazil, he answered, "Everything delights me with one exception and perhaps that exception is one which it would be indiscreet to speak of here." "No, no," the Emperor said, "be perfectly frank. I like to have your observations, favorable or unfavorable." "Then," said Agassiz, "I must say it shocks me to see numbers of negroes who are crippled in their limbs in consequence of the numerous burdens they carry on their heads. It is a hideous consequence of slavery here." The Emperor responded at once with the greatest earnestness, "Slavery is a terrible curse upon any nation, but it must and it will disappear from among us." The Empress took up the strain and said she considered it the saddest feature in their social system. They seemed to have no hesitation in expressing their horror and detestation of it and their hope that it would be rooted out.[47]

It did not take much to convince the couple of naturalists that the prospects of emancipation were bright in Brazil. After a few enquiries with Brazilian political leaders, Elizabeth Agassiz happily concluded that "the subject of emancipation is no such political bugbear here as it has been with us. It is very liberally and calmly discussed by all classes; the general feeling is against the institution, and it seems to be taken for granted that it will disappear before many years are over."[48] In their trips around Rio de Janeiro, Mr. and Mrs. Agassiz thought that antislavery sentiments had entered even some Brazilian plantations, where masters encouraged slaves to work for money and save until they could buy their freedom. After observing this kind of paternalistic and exploitative approach to

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[46] Harvard had been a hotbed of antislavery sentiment before and during the American Civil War. According to Phillip Shaw Paludan, "Harvard sent 56 percent of its graduates in 1861 to serve in the Union army." Paludan explains that there was much of self-interest in this willingness to serve: "The heroism of Harvard aristocrats validated the moral qualities of America's upper class." *A People's Contest: The Union and Civil War, 1861-1865* (New York: Harper & Row, 1988), 132-133. Although Agassiz did not see military action during the war, he carried Harvard's mission abroad by expressing his antislavery sentiments before members of the Brazilian elite.

[47] Elizabeth Cary Cabot Agassiz to Quincy A. Shaw, Rio de Janeiro, June 5, 1865, in Lucy Allen Paton, *Elizabeth Cary Agassiz: A Biography* (Boston: Houghton Mifflin Co., 1919), 80.

[48] Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 65.

emancipation, Elizabeth Agassiz concluded that "these are the things which make one hopeful about slavery in Brazil, emancipation is considered there a subject to be discussed, legislated upon, adopted ultimately, and it seems no uncommon act to present a slave with his liberty."[49]

By mentioning the problem of slavery, Whittier and the Agassiz couple were, at once, condemning the proslavery rebellion against the Union and trying to push Brazil toward reform. But the rosy picture they painted left aside the bitter disagreement that Brazilian intellectuals were having when discussing the meaning of the emancipatory measures of the Union. Perhaps more so than any other people then, Brazilians fully understood that the Emancipation Proclamation had taken the war to a point of no return.[50] They also understood that their interpretation of this war measure had the potential to advance or obstruct antislavery reform in Brazil.

Politically aligned with the Conservative Party and the planters of the province of Rio de Janeiro, the *Jornal do Commercio* claimed that the Emancipation Proclamation was "not a legal measure of pacific abolition, but an arbitrary act of vengeful and cruel Servile War! … Its only goal is to excite a slave rebellion." No matter how much Lincoln talked about his Christian piety, for the *Jornal do Commercio*, "God will never approve an act that, under the pretext of emancipation, seeks to reduce the South to the horrific condition of Saint Domingue."[51]

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[49] Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 121.
[50] According to Stephanie McCurry, "the Emancipation Proclamation profoundly upped the ante for the C.S.A. in their battle for the hearts and minds of their own slaves. … Jefferson Davis was thus not far off the mark in charging that by the Emancipation Proclamation ('the most execrable measure recorded in the history of guilty man') 'President Lincoln has sought to turn the South into a San Domingo.'" Besides leading almost one hundred thousand black males to join the Union Army, the Emancipation Proclamation reassured enslaved women, children, and elderly that their struggle for freedom would be recognized by the Union. *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010), 318.
[51] "Exterior. Correspondencia do Jornal do Commercio. Londres, 23 de Dezembro de 1862," *Jornal do Commercio*, February 28, 1863.

Responding to the *Jornal do Commercio* and other reactionaries, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* began to portray Lincoln as a hero. Edited by Tavares Bastos's friend Bocaiuva, traditionally allied to the Liberal Party, sometimes tending to republicanism, and often supporting social reform, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* had lauded Lincoln in January 1863 as he admitted "slavery as the cause of the War" and proclaimed that "through the abolition of slavery the Union will be restored."[52] By freeing millions of human beings, the editor added in February 1863, "Mr. Lincoln has marked his name in one of the greatest acts of justice in history." The Brazilian enthusiasts of the Union argued that, "come what may, as lamentable as it is to see violence in service of justice, this is a great act; the idea for so long incubated has hatched; from now on slavery is dead!" If there were one fact to really lament, it would be Jefferson Davis's "savage proclamation announcing a sanguinary retaliation against the acts of the federal government: death to all officials who command armed slaves; death to all slaves enlisted in the federal troops; death without pity, without mercy, outside of the battlefield, to even those who surrender." Provoking its adversaries, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* asked: "What will the partisans of the South say about this terrible decree?"[53]

For the *Jornal do Commercio*, there was nothing barbaric in the Confederate response to the Emancipation Proclamation. Southern slaveholders needed "preventive measures of repression … to avoid the insurrection that it encourages."[54] The Brazilian reactionaries responded to their reformist interlocutors that barbaric were Lincoln's measures, which would only contribute to more bitterness on the side of the rebels and a longer and bloodier conflict. Had Lincoln preserved slavery, "it would still be possible to find understanding and

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[52] "Revista da Europa. Conclusão da Carta do Correspondente. Paris, 24 de Dezembro," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, January 21, 1863.
[53] *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, February 25, 1863.
[54] "Correspondencia do Jornal Commercio. Washington, 20 de Fevereiro de 1863," *Jornal do Commercio*, March 7, 1863.

harmony between the South and the North." Yet, the *Jornal do Commercio* proclaimed in early 1863, the Emancipation Proclamation had "shattered the last bond, … and the war will now take an even more horrific character."[55]

Brazilian reactionaries were not alone in condemning Lincoln's war measures. Similar responses were emerging in Europe at the time. In October 1862, as the news of the preliminary emancipation proclamation reached Britain, the London *Times* accused Lincoln of doing "his best to excite servile war in the States which he cannot occupy with his arms." The influential British newspaper, which claimed to defend the cause of humanity, pointed its accusatory finger at the American President: "He will appeal to the black blood of the African; he will whisper of the pleasures of spoil and of the gratification of yet fiercer instincts. … Mr. Lincoln avows, therefore, that he proposes to excite the negroes of the Southern plantations to murder the families of their masters while these are engaged in the war. The conception of such a crime is horrible."[56]

Such sensationalist pronouncements only demonstrated that the likes of the *Jornal do Commercio* and the *Times* were desperately embracing a lost cause. For most foreign observers, the Emancipation Proclamation represented a moral triumph for the Union. Socialists in Germany, Republicans in France, and Garibaldians in Italy praised Lincoln for his courageous stand against slavery.[57] Labor activists organized mass meetings in working-class districts of Lancashire to celebrate American emancipation and none other than Karl Marx, who lived in Britain then, wrote that "the New World has never achieved a greater triumph

[55] "Retrospecto Politico do Anno de 1862 II. Parte Exterior. Estados-Unidos da America do Norte," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 31, 1863.
[56] *Times*, October 7, 1862, *Abraham Lincoln, a Press Portrait: His Life and Times from the Original Newspapers of the Union, the Confederacy, and Europe*, ed. Herbert Mitgang (Chicago: Quadrangle Books, 1971), 319-320.
[57] Doyle, *The Cause of All Nations*, 240-256.

than by this demonstration that, given its political and social organization, ordinary people of good will can accomplish feats which only heroes could accomplish in the old world!"[58]

As public opinion in the western world swung in favor of the Union, and the Confederacy was all but defeated, even the reactionaries of the *Jornal do Commercio* had to admit that the American Civil War had become a war for freedom.

> It is not a battle of governmental principles that can be harmonized with concessions from the parties; it is a social war, which admits no conciliation of ideas, because its raison d'être is as implacable as the *be not be*[59] of Shakespeare. Slavery or not slavery. It is impossible to relinquish even partially in these cases: it is all or nothing; there is no halfway that will allow the victory to be either of the North or of the South.[60]

In January 1865, the *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* emphasized that "it does not matter anymore, especially for the Brazilian thinker, to know if the American Constitution permits the meridional states to secede from the motherland." What was really at stake at the time was that "the fratricidal battle, while its bloody combats multiply, threatens the whole of humanity in its morality, in its dignity, in its essential progress, because the prize that both sides dispute is called—*slavery*."[61]

While Brazilian reformers were celebrating the victory of the Union, some dramatic news arrived from the United States. Elizabeth Agassiz wrote in her travel journal that, on May 21, 1865, "as we drove up to the Hotel Inglez after dark that evening, hoping to get a glimpse of an American paper, … we were greeted by the announcement of the

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[58] Karl Marx, "Comments on North American Events," *Die Presse*, October 12, 1862, *Collected Works, Vol. 19. Marx and Engels: 1861-1864* (New York: International Publishers, 1984), 250. In England, like in Brazil, organized groups on the left and the right engaged in the debate on the meaning of the Emancipation Proclamation. Analyzing pro-Union and pro-Confederate rallies in places like Lancashire, R. J. M. Blackett notes that "there was little that was spontaneous about any of this: resting on a firm foundation of national and local societies, the agitation was organized, well financed, and aimed to reach the broadest audience." *Divided Hearts: Britain and the American Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2001), 193.

[59] Original in English.

[60] "Retrospecto Politico do Anno de 1864. Parte Exterior. America Septemtrional," *Jornal do Commercio*, January 2, 1865.

[61] "O Anno de 1864 III. Estados-Unidos da America do Norte," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, January 4, 1865.

assassination of Lincoln and Seward, both believed at this time to be dead."[62] More news arrived in the following days: Seward had survived, but Lincoln had died.

Now all major Brazilian newspapers, including old critics, paid tribute to Lincoln. The *Jornal do Commercio* described John Wilkes Booth's act as the "most terrible of all modern crimes, the assassination of President Lincoln at the precise moment in which the world expected so much from him, and when his plans for the restauration of peace started to ripen in the plenitude of his capacity and moderation."[63] The *Diário do Rio de Janeiro* reflected on the sadness of the American people and congratulated their effort to honor the deceased president during his funeral: "Pomp never seen before, enormous and plaintive multitude waited for the remains of the heroic man, the martyr of the causes of progress and humanity. It was a triumphal march among tears and longing from a free people. The most beautiful of all spectacles and the most fecund of all lessons."[64]

Brazilian public opinion quickly transformed Lincoln into a martyr. In July 1865, a pamphlet came out containing a description of the funeral, a Portuguese translation of Reverend Phineas D. Gurley's eulogy, and a biographical sketch of Lincoln.[65] Brazilian poet Felix Ferreira published *A Morte de Lincoln: Canto Elegiaco* [The Death of Lincoln: Elegiac Song] and the leader of the Presbyterian mission to Brazil delivered his own public eulogy to Lincoln in Rio de Janeiro.[66] Ads for "photographic portraits of President Lincoln" appeared in Brazilian papers and the assassination became a favorite topic for Brazilian illustrated

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[62] Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 79.
[63] "Exterior. Correspondencia do Jornal do Commercio. Londres, 8 de Maio de 1865," *Jornal do Commercio*, June 12, 1865.
[64] "Noticias dos Estados Unidos," *Diário do Rio de Janeiro*, April 25, 1865.
[65] José Manoel da Conceição, *As Exequias de Abrahão Lincoln, Presidente dos Estados Unidos da America, com um Esboço Biographico do Mesmo Offerecido ao Povo Brasileiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Eduardo & Henrique Laemmert, 1865).
[66] Felix Ferreira, *A Morte de Lincoln: Canto Elegiaco* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Popular de Azeredo Leite, 1865); A. G. Simonton, *A Discourse on the Occasion of the Death of President Lincoln* (Rio de Janeiro: G. Leuzinger, 1865).

publications.[67] Now a manly figure defending his wife from the cruel assassin, now a defenseless creature held in George Washington's arms, the deceased President appealed to those looking for a warrior and those looking for an angel.

Semana Illustrada, May 28, 1865.

Bazar Volante, December 10, 1865.

Another eloquent tribute to Lincoln came from the Grande Oriente do Brazil, the most important masonic lodge in the country. In June 1865, the freemasons addressed the American people through United States Minister to Brazil James Watson Webb, lamenting the death of "the most energetic, if not the foremost, representative of the cause of progress," "a benefactor of humanity." Declaring themselves cosmopolitan apostles of freedom, the Brazilian freemasons stated that "the blood of Abraham Lincoln was the supreme baptism to the Christian idea in the modern era, idea which he embodied with sublime perseverance and indomitable courage."[68]

Commemorating the hero of the American Civil War was especially meaningful to the Brazilian people because their nation was entering its own bloody conflict. Because of domestic conflicts in Uruguay, in 1864, the Brazilian Navy had singlehandedly shut down the

[67] *Jornal do Commercio*, June 4, 1865.
[68] "Grande Oriente do Brasil" *Jornal do Commercio*, June 28, 1865.

Port of Paysandú on the Uruguay River. Paraguay, a landlocked country, was deeply affected as it depended on the rivers of the Plata Basin to reach the ocean. Thus, Paraguayan dictator Francisco Solano López sought to unify discontented factions all over the region in an effort against Brazilian imperialism. Yet, the Uruguayan and Argentine governments, afraid of López's intensions to acquire a maritime outlet for his country, formed a coalition with Brazil. One of the most devastating wars in South American history ensued.[69]

Worried about the lack of manpower as the war dragged on, in November 1866, Dom Pedro II consulted the Council of State about the possibility of emulating Lincoln and recruit slaves to fight. Liberal leader from São Paulo José Antonio Pimenta Bueno, the Marquis of São Vicente, responded affirmatively, arguing that Sparta, Athens, and Rome often used slave soldiers in their legions, and "the United States has recently offered a new example of this practice."[70] José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo, a Liberal from Pernambuco, agreed with São Vicente, reminding Dom Pedro II that "in the United States President Lincoln in his proclamations of September 22, 1862 and January 1, 1863, ordered the slaves having the necessary aptitude to be enrolled in the Army and the Navy. Thousands were enlisted and served well." To support his position, Nabuco de Araújo quoted parts of the 1863 *American Freedmen's Inquiry Commission Report* by United States Secretary of War Edwin Stanton. Among other things, he read the opinion that "the negro has a strong sense of the obligation of law and of the stringency of any duty legally imposed upon him. The law in the shape of military rule takes for him the place of his master, with this difference, that he submits to it heartily and cheerfully without any sense of degradation."[71]

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[69] On the causes of the conflict, see Thomas Whigham, *The Paraguayan War*, Volume 1: *Causes and Early Conduct* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).
[70] José Antônio Pimenta Bueno, "Ata de 5 de Novembro de 1866," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1865-1867* (Brasília: Centro Gráfico do Senado Federal, 1978), 48.
[71] José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo, "Ata de 5 de Novembro de 1866," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1865-1867*, 51-52.

Not all councilmen agreed, however. Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, a former Liberal who had moved to the Conservative Party, argued that "what has been done in the United States during the last civil war cannot serve as a model for Brazil." Torres Homem's opinion did not entail a criticism of Lincoln or the Emancipation Proclamation, but the acknowledgement that, by using slaves as soldiers, the Union Army had "employed its natural allies, who combated in favor of their own cause, and therefore were the most interested in the triumph of the Union." In the context of a war to crush a slave power, Torres Homem continued, "there was no risk in the measure provided that slave emancipation would be general and those who did not take part in military service would have the same benefit." But Brazil was itself a slave power, Torres Homem reminded Dom Pedro II, and, notwithstanding the promise of individual emancipation, slaves would not fight for a country which kept their families in chains. Brazil was between a rock and a hard place, according to Torres Homem: it could either proclaim general emancipation and displease the most powerful men in the country or leave things as they were and reject the support of hundreds of thousands of able-bodied men who were enslaved. Torres Homem chose the second option, and so did most of his peers.[72]

Brazil never established a general policy of slave recruitment. But the Brazilian Army continually paid masters for slave recruits or accepted slaves in place of a slaveholder's relative or protégé. Upon returning from Paraguay, those who survived the sanguinary war were freed. Though not nearly as important as in the Union Army, slaves represented a significant source of bodies in the Brazilian effort against López. More than six thousand slaves, nearly five percent of the total Brazilian soldiers, fought. Slave recruitment was

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[72] Francisco de Sales Torres Homem, "Ata de 5 de Novembro de 1866," *Atas do Terceiro Conselho de Estado, 1865-1867*, 53-54.

particularly important during the years of 1867 and 1868, when popular enthusiasm for the war was waning.[73] Then, slaves constituted more than one quarter of all recruits sent to the battlefield. Yet, at the end of the day, Torres Homem was right: unlike the slaves who fought for the Union in the American Civil War, few of the Brazilian slaves went to Paraguay willingly.[74]

For the Brazilian government, the war against López was nothing more than a war against an imperial competitor vying to control the Plata Basin. It never became a war for freedom. The enlightened friend of American poets and scientists, Dom Pedro II never matched Lincoln's war measures. His American friends, however, were not willing to see their efforts go to waste. As American public opinion turned against the Brazilian war effort, they engaged in a public campaign to assuage anxieties in the United States and continue to encourage antislavery reform in Brazil.

The Last Slave Empire

Initially, the American press seemed to favor Dom Pedro II over López. Brazil's enemy, according to a *New York Times* article of March 1865, was no different from some of the populations that were being attacked by the forces of the Union during the 1860s.

> Paraguay preserves the petrified form of civilization of the year 1550, except so far it has been lowered by the mixture with the nations. More than half of Paraguayan blood is native American, and the language of the sons of the forest is spoken in the streets of their metropolis. … The president, the Grand Sachem, is the father of all. … He holds the country and uses it much as we might suppose a Southern overseer would manage who never expected to meet the owner of his agent.[75]

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[73] The war became highly unpopular in Brazil as the death toll increased and the government adopted brutal means of conscription. Peter M. Beattie points out that "as the war dragged on, criticisms of the emperor coalesced around impressment." Meanwhile, in Paraguay, "many soldiers died from preventable diseases and treatable injuries. Those who survived endured harsh discipline, grueling marches, and a frequent lack of food, potable water, clothing, munitions, and shelter." *The Tribute of Blood: Army, Honor, Race, and Nation in Brazil, 1864-1945* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2001), 47, 54.

[74] For a comparison between recruitment in the American Civil War and the Paraguayan War, see Vitor Izecksohn, *Slavery and War in the Americas: Race, Citizenship, and State Building in the United States and Brazil, 1861-1870* (Charlottesville: University of Virginia Press, 2014), 128-162.

[75] "From Buenos Ayres," *New York Times*, March 30, 1865.

Aside from defeating an indigenous population and their slave master, Brazil's civilizational mission in the Plata Basin, some American commentators argued, would create opportunities for foreign merchants in the interior of South America. "Now is the time for the European Powers and American also," the *New York Herald* correspondent to Rio de Janeiro urged in May 1865, "to unite with Brazil in opening the Paraguay River to [the Brazilian province of] Mato Grosso, where an important custom house should be established, and push Lopez and his policy aside to reach it."[76]

Discussions about recruiting slaves for the Brazilian war effort intrigued American observers. In the beginning, correspondents emphasized that some progressive slaveholders were willing to help. "Many planters and others," the *New York Herald* correspondent noted in May 1865, "have presented slaves to the government to serve as soldiers. They have certificates of freedom given them which grant all the rights of citizens, and they will be entitled to bounty lands the same as white volunteers."[77] Yet, the same writer realized in October 1865 that, more often than not, what moved masters to send slaves to battle was self-interest: "Insubordination having shown itself on one of the plantations in the province of S. Paulo, a thousand of their able-bodied men have been offered to the government as soldiers."[78]

Whether moved by progressive ideals or self-interest, the attitudes of Brazilian slaveholders made American observers optimistic. Reporting on the debates in the Council of State, the *New York Herald* correspondent spread rumors that the Brazilian government was planning to expropriate thirty thousand slaves for the war effort. "This measure, if

[76] "South America," *New York Herald*, June 13, 1865.
[77] "South America," *New York Herald*, June 13, 1865.
[78] "The Plate War," *New York Herald*, October 19, 1866.

carried out," the writer speculated in November 1867, "will be borne with full resignation by the majority of Brazilians, who in reality are not great lovers of the institution of slavery. Of late they have been realizing the disadvantages under which the empire has been laboring for the last fifty years, owing to the institution."[79] Similarly, the *New York Times* remarked that "Brazil, pressured from within and without to abolish slavery, is prepared to furnish men to fill up the gradually depleted army of invasion."[80]

Not all American observers, however, bought into the antislavery and civilizing narratives of the Brazilian war effort. From the outset of the conflict, some had been expressing their concern about Brazilian expansionism in the Plata. "The war arises out of the long-determined and selfish desire of Brazil," the *Boston Daily Advertiser* indicated in August 1865, "to extend her boundaries to the Rio de la Plata, on the south, and the Uruguay on the west. Such an acquisition of territory would give Brazil control of la Plata, and the fertile lands which that large stream and her tributaries drain, a tract of 70,000 square miles in extent."[81]

As it became clear that the war would not change the plight of most Brazilian slaves, anti-Brazilian sentiment surged in the American press. In June 1868, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* suggested that it was the duty of all civilized nations, and especially of the United States, to stop the destruction of Paraguay by the "unwholesome empire of Brazil, ruled more villainously than any other country on the face of the earth, by a wretched oligarchy of Portuguese slaveholders."[82] In February 1869, the *New York Herald* correspondent explained that "the existence of slavery as a Brazilian institution makes them [the Paraguayans] fear the

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[79] "South America," *New York Herald*, November 12, 1867.
[80] "South America," *New York Times*, December 24, 1867.
[81] "The Military Situation of South America," *Boston Daily Advertiser*, August 22, 1865.
[82] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, June 1, 1868.

imperial views, and they are therefore fully prepared to believe what their leaders are careful to impress upon them, that the Brazilians design reducing them to slavery."[83] Such a statement was easily manipulated and, in December 1869, an editorial piece in the same newspaper speculated that Brazilian victory would mean "the extension over the eastern portion of the [South American] Continent of an empire based on human slavery and liberal exclusion." Brazil would not only absorb Paraguay, Uruguay, and Argentina to expand slavery to the Plata but also close the fluvial system of the region, "for Brazil has always opposed the opening of those rivers."[84] Suddenly, the nation which had been hailed by Agassiz and Whittier became an aggressive slave empire jealous of its rivers.

An incident involving American diplomats contributed to damaging the Brazilian cause even further in the United States. Early in 1866, the Brazilian Navy barred United States Minister to Paraguay Charles Ames Washburn from reaching Asunción. After almost one year, during which Washburn remained stranded in Argentine territory, United States Chargé d'Affaires in Rio de Janeiro William Van Vleck Lidgerwood successfully pleaded with Brazilian authorities to let the American diplomat quietly pass the river blockade. When Webb returned to Rio de Janeiro after a leave of absence and learned about what had passed, he was outraged. The once hero of the Brazilians in their struggle against Christie claimed that he would have broken diplomatic relations with Brazil were he in charge while Washburn was stranded in Argentina.[85]

Further complicating the situation, in 1867 Brazilian authorities vehemently rejected offers of mediation that Webb had presented in the name of his government. In the United

[83] "South America," *New York Herald*, February 23, 1869.
[84] "The Paraguayan War—Brazil and her Allies," *New York Herald*, December 17, 1869.
[85] Lawrence F. Hill, *Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil* (Durham: Duke University Press, 1932), 192-200.

States, some called for a demonstration of force. "Brazil declines the friendly intervention of our government in bringing about a peace between the Emperor and his neighbors," an outraged correspondent wrote to the *New York Times*. "That is an insult, and must be avenged."[86]

Things got out of hand when, in 1868, López accused Washburn of conspiring against the Paraguayan government and put him in jail. Then, Webb gave orders to the commander of the USS *Wasp* to go up the Paraná River, reach Asunción, and rescue Washburn. But the Brazilian Navy enforced the blockade once again. Furious, Webb threatened, for the second time, to break diplomatic relations with Brazil. The Brazilian government thus acceded to take Washburn out of Asunción in a steamer of the Brazilian Navy and hand him over to the commander of the *Wasp*. Webb, not satisfied with this arrangement, behaved in a way reminiscent of his foe Christie, bringing back to life claims of four American merchants against Brazilian naval authorities dating back to the 1850s. When Brazil refused to pay, Webb went beyond threats and broke diplomatic relations between the two countries for thirteen days in May 1869. Brazil finally paid and diplomatic relations were reestablished.[87]

While Webb raged against Brazil, General Martin Thomas McMahon, who had served as aide-de-camp to General George B. McClellan during the American Civil War, became United States Minister to Paraguay, replacing Washburn. To everyone's surprise, McMahon developed a friendship with López. Back in the United States by the end of 1869, he depicted the now defeated López as a benevolent and beloved leader. When questioned about the causes of the war, McMahon responded that "Paraguay is a republic in name, and

[86] "Going to War," *New York Times*, June 5, 1867.
[87] Hill, *Diplomatic Relations*, 201-213.

with an elective president, and Brazil would have a hostility against any republic situated on the borders of her slave-holding empire. I think there is a necessary antagonism."[88] For McMahon, López's Paraguay represented a free republic fighting Brazilian proslavery expansionism. "At the beginning of the contest," he told an audience at the New York Cooper Institute in February 1870, "Paraguay contained a million happy people—today two-thirds of the population have perished and the remainder are wandering on the mountains and learning to look forward to death as a welcome deliverance from Brazil. The rule of Brazil brought misery and wrong, and death was less terrible than starvation and lifelong persecution."[89]

In face of the growing hostility that American diplomats and journalists were demonstrating to the Brazilian war effort, Dom Pedro's friends did not fail him. Fletcher wrote to the monarch in July 1866 that he had no doubt "that the cause of Brazil—the cause of justice and civilization—will triumph."[90] In October 1866, Agassiz reassured Dom Pedro II that the Brazilian war against López would "advance the cause of humanity and of progress, freeing the Paraguayans from the frightful despotism under which they groan."[91] In July 1868, Whittier requested that Fletcher inform "the Emperor that the intelligent people of the U.S. understand that the struggle now going on is waged by Brazil and her allies in the cause of civilization and progress."[92]

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[88] *Report of the Committee on Foreign Affairs, on the Memorial of Porter C. Bliss and George F. Masterman, in Relation to Their Imprisonment in Paraguay* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1870), 226.
[89] "The War in Paraguay—Lecture by General M. T. McMahon," *New York Times*, February 15, 1870.
[90] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, Newburyport, July 20, 1866, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6818, AMIP.
[91] Louis Agassiz to Dom Pedro II, Cambridge, October 29, 1865, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6836, AMIP.
[92] John Greenleaf Whittier to James Cooley Fletcher, Amesbury, July 27, 1868, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 7047, AMIP.

From his home in Massachusetts, Fletcher engaged in a public campaign to defend the cause of Brazil, writing articles to major American publications, including *Harper's Weekly*, the most popular magazine in the United States at the time.[93] Already in September 1865, an article argued that "it is folly to claim the sympathy of civilization for the stern and solitary despotism of Paraguay; and it is unpardonable to represent the contest as a struggle between monarchy and republicanism." Unlike Paraguay, Brazil was a constitutional monarchy based on a representative political system. "Paraguay is actually and in spirit," the article concluded, "the least republican State upon the continent, while Brazil and the Argentine Republic, open to all the world, are constantly advancing in liberal civilization."[94] In October 1865, the readers of *Harper's Weekly* were informed that Dom Pedro II "is an admirer of American writers" and had welcomed Agassiz as "a kind friend and warm supporter." More important, "the great purpose of his life seems to be to elevate the Brazilians to the position of a free people. During his reign Brazil has taken gigantic strides in material progress." Paraguay, on the other hand, "is without doubt one of the most despotically governed countries in the world."[95]

In the sixth edition of *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1868), Fletcher lamented that, in regard to the Paraguayan War, "there has been as much ignorance in both the United States and England as there was in Europe concerning the late Rebellion in North America."[96] Fletcher constantly drew parallels between the Paraguayan War and the American Civil War. A central point of these comparisons was an alleged manipulation of facts by British journalists who sought to hurt the causes which, according to Fletcher, were the just ones.

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[93] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, New York, May 23, 1868, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6984, AMIP.
[94] "The War in South America," *Harper's Weekly*, September 16, 1865.
[95] "Brazil," *Harper's Weekly*, October 21, 1865.
[96] "Preface to the Sixth Edition," Daniel Parish Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians: Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1868), ix.

"As in our [American] civil war we were constantly misrepresented by Englishmen," Fletcher wrote to Dom Pedro II in July 1866, "so we have a *few*, a *very* few, who sympathize with Paraguay, but I have been on the alert from the beginning of hostilities to set the public right through the means of some of our journals."[97]

By late 1866, two pieces of news arrived in the United States that contributed to the pro-Brazilian campaign. One of them was the opening of the Amazon River and the other was that "two hundred slaves belonging to the Brazilian Government have been set free by the Emperor—that is, from his own private purse, as His Majesty has not possessed a single slave for many years. They desired to go to the war, and were enlisted and sent South [to Paraguay] as volunteers."[98] Agassiz wrote an optimistic letter to Dom Pedro II.

> Two recent events will electrify our country, the emancipation of the slaves of the state and the opening of the great rivers of Brazil. The United States is passionate about slave emancipation and I am sure that from now on many voices will rise in the secret of the hearts of republicans asking for the Heavens to bless Your Majesty for the initiative taken in the regeneration of a suffering race. On the other hand, the opening of the Amazon will stimulate pecuniary interests and give a new impetus to this adventurous spirit that makes Americans the pioneers of modern civilization.[99]

From early on, *Harper's Weekly* had been emphasizing the antislavery tendencies of Dom Pedro II, no matter how vague they were. "The Emperor's ideas of the abolition of slavery are well known," an October 1865 article claimed.[100] A December 1865 article further speculated that "Brazil has been quietly doing away with slavery by the mild process of her laws since 1850, but the complete downfall of the 'institution' in our land has led the South American Empire to consider the best means to be more speedily rid of that which weighs like an incubus upon any country."[101]

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[97] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, Newburyport, July 20, 1866.
[98] "Brazil," *New York Times*, December 23, 1866.
[99] Louis Agassiz to Dom Pedro II, New York, January 18, 1867, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Caixa 122, Documento 6945, AMIP.
[100] "Brazil," *Harper's Weekly*, October 21, 1865.
[101] "Chevalier D'Azambuja, the New Minister from Brazil," *Harper's Weekly*, December 2, 1865.

If Dom Pedro II freed his family's slaves as well as the rivers of his Empire, the friends of Brazil now claimed, López did exactly the opposite. Brazil's allies built an image of López that resonated with those of proslavery secessionists during the American Civil War. "The people of Paraguay are the slaves of Lopez," *Harper's Weekly* remarked in September 1868, "who is the only great trader in the country, and who might be left to himself, like any other barbarian, if he did not molest innocent people."[102] Further, López had tried to block the Plata "as the rebels once did the Mississippi River to Northern steamers." Thus, "the people of Brazil and the Argentine and Uruguayan republics determined, as did the people of the North, that the rivers should be opened. This was the cause of the war."[103] In *Journey in Brazil* (1868), Agassiz reinforced the idea that Brazil deserved "the sympathy of the civilized world, for it strikes at a tyrannical organization, half clerical, half military, which, calling itself a republic, disgraces the name it assumes."[104]

By 1870, Dom Pedro II—the benevolent monarch beloved by Massachusetts intellectuals—concluded a genocidal war which killed over two thirds of the Paraguayan male population by having his forces assassinate López and impose a puppet regime in what was left of Paraguay.[105] True, the Brazilian monarch had freed his family's two hundred slaves; but he would never become the antislavery hero that his Massachusetts friends expected. Nonetheless, other Brazilians, more courageous than the famous monarch, would pick up the flag of free labor and work with American allies to prompt Brazil to live up to its ideals of civilization. Contradicting American expectations, it would not be Dom Pedro II who would take the movement for emancipation ahead in Brazil.

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102 "Abyssinia and Paraguay," *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868.
103 "View of Humaita," *Harper's Weekly*, September 5, 1868.
104 Agassiz and Agassiz, *A Journey in Brazil*, 215.
105 Thomas L. Whigham and Barbara Potthast, "The Paraguayan Rosetta Stone: New Insights into the Demographics of the Paraguayan War, 1864-1870," *Latin American Research Review* 34:1 (1999): 174-86.

The Radicals

Although resistance was as old as slavery in Brazil, news of the American Civil War heightened Brazilian slaves' rebelliousness.[106] In 1861, as Union and Confederate ships waged their battles along the waters of northern Brazil, a slave named Agostinho spread rumors that foreign antislavery forces were arriving in Maranhão. After local authorities punished Agostinho, the provincial president reinforced the militia and guaranteed to the Minister of Justice that he would do "whatever is on my reach to neutralize any plan that the question in the United States of North America may cause to appear here among the slaves."[107] In 1864, enslaved people and fugitive communities around two diamond mining districts in the province of Minas Gerais planned a war against masters. Although betrayal and bloody repression prevented the insurrection from materializing, several disturbances occurred. During the hearings, one of the rebellious leaders confirmed that he knew about "a war for the freedom of the slaves in another country."[108] Reflecting on what (almost) happened in Minas Gerais, Representative Joaquim José Ferreira Rabelo regretted that no one had seen that "some slaves, reading news about the events of the Civil War in the United States, transmitted them to those who could not read."[109] In 1865, another insurrection scare erupted, this time in Pará. After slaves expelled an overseer from a local plantation, the provincial president informed the Minister of Justice that "the condition of

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[106] For the Brazilians slaves' antislavery politics, see Clóvis Moura, *Rebeliões da Senzala: Quilombos, Insurreições, Guerrilhas* (São Paulo: Edições Zumbi, 1959); Sidney Chalhoub, *Visões da Liberdade: Uma História das Últimas Décadas da Escravidão na Corte* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990); João José Reis and Flávio dos Santos Gomes, *Liberdade por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1996).
[107] Francisco Primo de Souza Aguiar apud Isadora Moura Mota, "O 'Vulcão' Negro Chapada: Rebelião Escrava nos Sertões Diamantinos (Minas Gerais, 1864)" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2005), 184.
[108] Adão apud Mota, "O 'Vulcão' Negro Chapada," 83.
[109] Joaquim José Ferreira Rabello apud Mota, "O 'Vulcão' Negro Chapada," 181.

the slaves in the province is terrible given that, thanks to the war in the United States, an ingrained belief exists among them that all will be freed."[110]

While the slaves used the American Civil War to strengthen their never-waning resistance to slavery in Brazil, reform-minded political leaders used it to advance gradual emancipation. Born in the western province of Goiás in 1811, José Inácio Silveira da Mota built his political career among the Liberals of São Paulo. In the early 1850s, Silveira da Mota was elected to the Chamber of Deputies and, in 1857, presented a bill to ban slavery in Brazilian cities. A political outsider, Silveira da Mota drew only laughs and scorn from his peers. A few years later, however, he did not seem so quixotic. During the early 1860s, Silveira da Mota's antislavery reemerged through bills for banning all public slave auctions as well as prohibiting foreigners, religious orders, and the state from owning slaves in Brazil. As early as May 1861, Silveira da Mota was arguing in the Senate that "had the states of the South of the American Confederation adopted a system to ameliorate the legal condition of the slaves, perhaps, gentlemen, we would not see today a threat to the American Union, perhaps we would not see today two flags in the United States."[111]

Silveira da Mota was not alone. Fighting alongside him was Senator from Bahia Francisco Gê Acayaba de Montezuma, the Viscount of Jequitinhonha, a radical Liberal who had participated in the process of Brazilian independence and whose romantic views of politics led him to confront slavery earlier than most Brazilian politicians. In 1831, when it became clear that the Brazilian ban to the African slave trade was not going to be enforced, Jequitinhonha denounced the inhuman traffic in the Parliament and asked for stern

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[110] José Vieira Couto de Magalhães apud Mota, "O 'Vulcão' Negro Chapada," 192.
[111] José Inácio Silveira da Mota, speech at the Brazilian Senate, May 17, 1861, *Annaes do Senado do Império do Brasil, Primeiro Ano da 11ª Legislatura de 27 de Abril a 31 de Maio*, Volume I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Correio Mercantil, 1861), 43.

measures. During the early 1860s, Jequitinhonha presented bills for freeing slaves who had performed military service and the children of enslaved women who had been donated or ceded by their previous owners.[112]

Since the Brazilian Parliament would not even consider their bills, the opponents of slavery found other means to attract attention to their cause. And the outcome of the American Civil War offered them valuable opportunities. In 1865, Jequitinhonha published a pamphlet celebrating the defeat of the slaveholders' rebellion in North America: "To punish the defenders of such an iniquitous institution, Providence made a body of freed slaves the first to enter Richmond, the capital of the Southern Confederacy."[113] When Lincoln was assassinated and the Brazilian Senate resolved to send condolences to the United States Senate, Jequitinhonha did not miss the opportunity to say that Brazil should glorify the deceased President "as a benefactor of humanity, as someone who recognized the justice of a great cause and struggled for it." To honor his death, Jequitinhonha continued, "it is our duty to demonstrate that, if a cancer that weakens us still exists, it does so because circumstances of high politics force Brazil to put off justice."[114] When some of his peers accused Jequitinhonha of imprudence, he became even louder, clarifying that by "great cancer" he really meant "the institution of slavery."[115]

Tavares Bastos joined Silveira da Mota's and Jequitinhonha's struggle in the early 1860s, proposing in the Chamber of Deputies bills for the immediate emancipation of newborn slaves, the proscription for state institutions and religious orders to own slaves, and

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[112] *A Abolição no Parlamento: 65 Anos de Luta (1823-1888),* Volume 1 (Brasília: Senado Federal, 2012), 28.
[113] Francisco Gê Acayaba de Montezuma and Felix Dupanloup, *Carta do Exmo. e Revmo. Bispo De Orleans ao Clero de sua Diocese sobre a Escravidão Traduzida e Offerecida ao Clero Brasilero pelo Visconde De Jequitinhonha* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1865), 29-30.
[114] Francisco Gê Acayaba de Montezuma, speech at the Brazilian Senate, June 5, 1865, *Annaes do Senado do Império do Brasil, Terceira Sessão em 1865 da 12ª Legislatura de 1º a 30 de Junho*, Volume II (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Correio Mercantil, 1865), 19.
[115] Montezuma, speech at the Brazilian Senate, June 5, 1865, 24.

the end of public slave auctions and the breakup of slave families through sale. He warned his countrymen that antislavery was sweeping the world and would not be late in coming to Brazil.

> I believe that the liberal movement, which, from 1834 in the English colonies to this day, has gradually freed slaves, will not stop, will not disappear now in the second half of this century. While Holland, through the law of August 8, 1862, gives freedom to 34,000 slaves in Guyana, the United States rehearses, in the midst of an honorable struggle, plans to solve once and for all the question of slavery. In my humble understanding, time will also come to Brazil when this problem will enter the order of the day.[116]

Working alongside American allies, Tavares Bastos set out to making his prediction come true. In March 1865, several American newspapers, including William Lloyd Garrison's *Liberator*, published an article by Fletcher. "I have just received," he wrote, "a letter from Hon. Tavares Bastos, a leading member of the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies, requesting that I should send him immediately all the works pertaining to slavery that I can collect." During his most recent stay in Brazil, Fletcher had received the same request from several other Brazilian politicians. "Certain Brazilian statesmen," he continued, "have looked upon our struggle with intense interest; for while their own slavery will, by their own laws on the subject, doubtless become extinct in twenty years, yet there are a great many leading minds who desire to take measures for the extinction of bondage for the 2,000,000 slaves (there were, in 1850, 3,000,000 slaves) before a half decade shall have gone." Fletcher went on, pointing out that Agassiz had been assured that "in Brazil they were looking forward to emancipation," Princess Isabel had freed her slaves in the occasion of her wedding, Dom Pedro II had been reading Joseph John Gurney's letters on the benefits of emancipation, and Senator Silveira da Mota had "brought in resolutions to check the accursed thing last session." Although the Brazilians were "united in their detestation of slavery," the

[116] Tavares Bastos, *Cartas do Solitário*, 382.

discussions in the Parliament would not be simple. "Therefore," Fletcher concluded, "come these pressing requests for books, pamphlets, speeches, etc., etc., on this subject. I appeal to members of [the United States] Congress, editors of newspapers, publishers, ministers, and private citizens, to all interested in weal of their fellow-man, to aid in this matter."[117]

Fletcher's article brought the attention of the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society (BFASS) to Brazil and Tavares Bastos. "As I found your name referred to in a letter which appeared in the American papers by Reverend Mr. Fletcher, in connection with the question of emancipation," the secretary of the BFASS wrote to Tavares Bastos in May 1865, "I take the liberty of forwarding to you a copy of a letter which I addressed to a correspondent of ours in Rio, on the ___ February 1865." The BFASS asked for information about the slave trade, the conditions of free Africans, the number of slaves, and the progress of the antislavery cause in Brazil.[118] Tavares Bastos's response left no doubt that, in general, Brazilians were willing to move toward emancipation. He emphasized that "Brazilian society is more [illegible] and more advanced than the society of the vain knights of the golden circle, the planters of the South of the [American] Union. … A well-designed reform, based on practical experience, will never cause a terrible crisis in Brazil like the one that has just taken place in the North American Union."[119]

Reflecting on what was going on within and without his domains, sometime in 1865 Dom Pedro II asked one of his councilmen to analyze possible means for gradual emancipation in Brazil. In January 1866, the Marquis of São Vicente presented five different projects to the monarch: the first one would free the newborn; the second would create

[117] "Books on Emancipation for Brazil," *The Liberator*, March 17, 1865.
[118] A. Chameroozow to Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, London, May 8, 1865, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.047, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.
[119] "Africains et Esclaves: Exposição de Tavares Bastos sobre o problema da escravidão no Brasil enviada a L. A. Chameroozow," 1865, Coleção Tavares Bastos, I03.31.048, Fundação Biblioteca Nacional, Rio de Janeiro.

provincial committees responsible for regulating slaves' self-purchase; the third would compel slaveholders to register their slaves in a national database; the fourth would free the slaves of the state; and the fifth would free the slaves of religious orders.[120] Yet, as the war effort against López became ever more complicated, Dom Pedro II pushed aside slave emancipation to focus on slaughtering the Paraguayan population.[121]

While Dom Pedro II and São Vicente faltered, Tavares Bastos acted. In June 1866, he presented to Parliament two antislavery bills: one would free the slaves of religious and lay associations; the other would free the slaves of the state.[122] Neither bill passed. Too worried about López, the Progressive League—a coalition of moderate reformers from both Brazilian parties who was in power then—adopted the same posture as the monarch. The more radical Liberals were outraged. The government not only conducted a most inept war against Paraguay but also seemed incapable of acting on pressing social reforms. Adding insult to injury, instead of turning to more progressive elements within the Liberal Party to solve the crisis, in 1868, Dom Pedro II ousted the Progressive League and gave power to the Conservatives.[123]

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[120] Joaquim Nabuco, *Um Estadista do Império. Nabuco de Araújo: Sua Vida, Suas Opiniões, Sua Época*, Volume II (Rio de Janeiro: H. Garnier, 1897), 388-395.

[121] Jeffrey Needell argues that Dom Pedro II was the first mover in the process of slave emancipation in Brazil: "Having received an appeal from an abolitionist committee of distinguished French statesmen, the emperor had his foreign affairs minister reply, in August 1866, that the Empire would address abolition. The political world, irrespective of parties, was shocked. In all of this, it was the monarch who initiated." *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2006), 235. Historians of the abolitionist movement have long disproven this view of the process of slave emancipation in Brazil. However sympathetic to the foreign antislavery opinion—be it French, British, or American—Dom Pedro II delayed a process of reform which men like Tavares Bastos had been advocating since, at least, the outbreak of the American Civil War.

[122] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, June 27, 1866. *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, Quarto Anno da Duodécima Legislatura, Sessão de 1866*, Volume II (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & C., 1866), 238-239.

[123] On the causes of this political change in the late 1860s, see Holanda, *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*, 13-19.

For the Brazilian opponents of slavery, it was time to fight from outside the political institutions. An organized abolitionist movement began to emerge in Brazil then.[124] It was not long before images from North America became powerful weapons in the hands of Brazilian activists. The brightest star of Brazilian poetry at the time, Antonio Frederico de Castro Alves, became nationally famous for his 1869 "Slave Ship," one of the greatest antislavery poems ever written. Before writing his magnum opus, though, Castro Alves dedicated some of his ink to the American Civil War. In 1865, he published "The Century."

> Fight. There is a sublime law
>   That says: "On the shadow of crime
> Revenge shall march."
>   Don't you listen to a cry from the North,
> Which reaches the feet of infinity,
>   Which will awaken Franklin?[125]

Castro Alves's view of the American Civil War as a death struggle between freedom and slavery reappeared in his 1868 "Verses of the Solitary."

> To shout to the winds the inspiration of Gracchus
>   To wrap oneself in the cloak of Spartacus,
> The serf among the nation;
>   Lincoln—a Lazarus wakes up again
> And from the ignominious tomb raises the people,
>   Make of a vermin—a king![126]

Like Castro Alves, many young Brazilian agitators were born to planter families, but attended college in the changing Brazilian cities during the 1860s. In the urban centers, these young men engaged in discussions about politics, art, philosophy, and science in ways

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[124] Angela Alonso argues that the return of the Conservative Party to power generated a crisis which fractured the Brazilian political elite. In her words, "the crisis had an unexpected effect. The intra-elite clash opened opportunities for the expression of varied kinds of criticisms to the imperial institutions. … Tavares Bastos's faction, self-styled Liberal Radicals, created newspapers, clubs, public conferences and manifestos, all of which demanded the gradual termination of slavery as well as political and economic modernization." *Flores, Votos e Balas*, 39.

[125] *Antologia Brasileira: Castro Alves*, eds. Afrânio Peixoto and Contâncio Alves (Lisbon and Paris: Livraria Aillaud e Bertrand, 1921), 48.

[126] *Antologia Brasileira: Castro Alves*, 85.

unthinkable in the rural world where they had been raised. Critical of the old political elite, the students became Tavares Bastos's disciples and a force for social change in Brazil.[127]

In São Paulo, law students and urban professionals got together to create the Radical Club, which congregated around the ex-slave and self-taught lawyer Luiz Gama. Born in Bahia to an African mother who had participated in the Malês Revolt of 1835, Gama had been sold to a man in Lorena, on the coffee-growing Paraíba Valley, but ran away and ended up as one of the most influential abolitionists in Brazil. A hero for an entire generation of Brazilian activists, Gama never hid who his own heroes were: "To the positivity of tender slavery, I oppose the revolutions of freedom; I want to be a madman like John Brown, Spartacus, Lincoln, Jesus; I hate, however, the pharisaical calm of Pilatus."[128]

The Radical Club organized conferences through which young men could get in touch with Gama and engage in political discussions. In 1869, a twenty-year-old law student from Bahia named Rui Barbosa, who would eventually become one of the foremost intellectuals and politicians of Brazil, lectured during a meeting of the Radical Club. "Based on the laws of economic science, illuminated by the history of the American Union before and after 1863," Barbosa argued, it was possible to see "the infinite superiority of free labor over servile labor." The speaker discussed specific examples from American society, pointing out that Virginia, "being until 1787 the pearl of the United States, has been reduced to the

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[127] In his analysis of nineteenth-century Brazilian students' political culture, Andrew J. Kirkendall suggests that, "by embracing a liberalism that rejected slavery and the status quo, students renewed their claim to lead Brazilian society. While only a minority actually became abolitionists, abolitionism became a key component of the student ideal from 1860 on. From that point on, the student ideal required a young man to reject a central institution of his society. … The model served, in part, to question the role of patronage in the formation of identity and to demonstrate the students' independence. If sons and clients of slave owners could join in the call to abolish the institution responsible for their families' economic well-being—challenging that which made it possible for them to study at law school—then patronage and family were not all. A student was not just his father's son or his patron's client. He was, as liberalism would have it, an independent individual actor." *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002), 121.
[128] Luiz Gama apud Lígia Fonseca Ferreira, "Luiz Gama: Um Abolicionista Leitor de Renan," *Estudos Avançados USP* 21:60 (Aug. 2007): 271-288.

fourth place in the federation, having only doubled in population, while Pennsylvania's [population] increased sixfold and New York's tenfold, from 1790 to 1850."[129]

While Gama and his radicals agitated São Paulo, Bocaiuva created the Republican Club in Rio de Janeiro, which brought together students, journalists, and small bureaucrats. "After the heroism with which the United States shed the generous blood of thousands of free men to wash away the stain that defaced some of the brightest starts which adorn its flag," Bocaiuva's *A Republica* asked in 1870, "what have the Brazilians done?" The answer was discouraging: "We have discussed and postponed."[130] Praising the antislavery policies of the Union during the American Civil War, the Republican Club scolded the Brazilian political elite for its inaction. In a direct attack to Dom Pedro II and the petty symbols of his power, *A Republica* described Lincoln as a "simple citizen, worker of progress, without garb or fancy hat, without a cloak of stars or toucan craws, without silk trousers or a golden scepter, without ostentation or pomp, the man whose voice moved an entire nation, a people of 32 million souls, who rouse, fought for a great idea, spent without noticing their blood and their treasure." That rude plebeian, born and raised in the wilderness of the American West, should serve as an example for the coward Brazilian noble, *A Republica* concluded.[131]

Another radical group located in Rio de Janeiro was formed by the followers of a new religion based on orientalist, positivist, and evolutionist fashions. The so-called Spiritists believed that fighting slavery was a means to reestablish the balance of Brazilian society within the material as well as the immaterial world. One of the founders of Brazilian Spiritism, Antonio da Silva Neto wrote in 1866 that "the enslavement of the negro in North

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[129] Rui Barbosa, "Quinta Conferencia Radical," *Radical Paulistano*, September 25, 1869.
[130] *A Republica*, December 8, 1870.
[131] "Abrahão Lincoln," *A Republica*, February 11, 1871.

America was the latent cause of that war of giants between the states of the north and the states of the south. Now, the vanquished lie in disgrace, and the victors are ruined." Yet, Silva Neto professed, the brave Americans, lovers of democracy, had welcomed such revolutionary change and were now zealously working on reconstructing their society. "A country in which the lumberjack becomes a teacher and a lawyer, and later reaches supreme power," he continued, "will not be removed from the position it occupies among nations by the costs of a war in favor of civilization and humanity. I say more: not even twenty years will pass before North America becomes the power of all powers."[132] In 1869, Silva Neto suggested that the struggle between truth and falsehood always produced martyrs, but there was no reason to be fearful. Jesus had been crucified for revealing moral truths, Galileo had been burnt for revealing scientific truths, and "not long ago, in our continent, John Brown, standing up for four million slaves, was hanged. Nonetheless, Christianity continues to operate its revolution, the sciences have endorsed Galileo, and the freedom of the captives was decreed by the immortal Lincoln short after the sacrifice of John Brown!"[133]

The antislavery agitation spread to Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio Grande do Sul, and other Brazilian provinces. New abolitionist associations and publications spread like wildfire. People from all classes and ethnicities entered the conversation.[134] With the end of the

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[132] Antonio da Silva Neto, *Estudo sobre a Emancipação dos Escravos no Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1866), 31-32.
[133] Antonio da Silva Neto, *A Coroa e a Emancipação do Elemento Servil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Universal de Laemmert, 1869), v-vi.
[134] As Celso Thomas Castilho puts it, "the making of an abolitionist community in the late 1860s occurred through a mix of social, legal, and cultural processes. More specifically, a flurry of associational activities, political theater, public discussion of freedom lawsuits, and the expansion of abolitionist print culture shaped this emergent identity. If organized locally with regional, national, and transnational connections, abolitionism formed as an explicitly 'national' movement. Framing it as such, abolitionists were legitimizing broad political participation and arguing that everyone, not just the slaveowners, had a stake in this debate. If these public processes unfolded in city squares, churches, theaters, and at the Recife Law School, we know that people brought these debates into their homes, including the slaves' quarters, of course. The enslaved were integral to the communication networks that carried the latest political news, and their initiatives set in motion the all-important manumission ceremonies that came to represent enactments of abolition." *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 38.

Paraguayan War in 1870, the Brazilian government would move to reform. Yet, in a maneuver typical of the old elites, the Conservatives in power would manipulate the example of the United States to protect the status quo. They would implement slow reforms while postponing more profound changes.

The Moderates

The commotion around the problem of slavery got so intense that influential Liberal leaders embraced the abolitionist crusade. In 1870, Nabuco de Araújo urged Dom Pedro II and the governing party to respond to the public outcry: "I deplore the absence of the servile element in the Emperor's speech, in spite of the popular manifestation, which, like a torrent, snatches everything."[135] The discontented Senator had joined the Liberal Center, a coalition of unelected politicians dedicated to pressure the government for reforms. The example of the American Civil War, these moderate reformers thought, loomed large over Brazilian heads: "After the great American republic freed itself from the blemish [of slavery] at the cost of blood, it would be an unacceptable form of blindness not to see that it is time for Brazil to search for a natural and smooth solution to the problem, so we do not risk to see it abruptly untied."[136]

Abolitionist appropriations of the American Civil War did not, however, go unchallenged. José Martiniano de Alencar, the writer who had praised Fletcher in the 1850s, considered it a terrible idea to have Abraham Lincoln as inspiration and jump into antislavery measures. In a series of open letters to Dom Pedro II written between 1865 and 1868, Alencar—under the pseudonym of Erasmo—warned that "the act of slave

[135] José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo, speech at the Brazilian Senate, July 12, 1870, *Annaes do Senado do Império do Brasil, Segunda Sessão em 1870 da Décima Quarta Legislatura de 1 a 31 de Julho*, Volume II (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Diário do Rio de Janeiro, 1870), 74.
[136] *Manifesto e Programma do Centro Liberal* (Salvador: Typographia do Diario, 1869), 75.

emancipation in the South of the [American] confederation, decreed through a violent civil war, cannot be considered consummated yet. Misery and anarchy begin to take the country, which flourished until yesterday; nobody knows of the horror scenes which will serve as mishap for the bloody drama."[137] The recent history of the United States, Alencar challenged the emerging social movement, should teach Brazilians that abolitionist agitation would bring nothing but chaos and destruction to their country: "The United States have much to worry about in regard to the fermentation of their political passions, and the deluge of slaves recently liberated, before they can offer to the world philanthropic utopias, raptures of idle spirits."[138]

Contradicting Alencar and other reactionaries, yet avoiding the growing radicalism of the Liberals, in May 1871, Conservative Prime Minister José Maria da Silva Paranhos—soon to become the Viscount of Rio Branco—introduced a bill supposed to set the stage for an orderly transition from slave to free labor in Brazil. A native of Bahia, Rio Branco moved to Rio de Janeiro a young man, studied at the Naval Academy, became a professor and a journalist, and joined the Liberal Party in the 1840s. By the 1850s, however, Rio Branco had come under the influence of the Saquaremas, the major coffee planters of the Paraíba Valley. Chosen by the Conservative Party for a diplomatic mission in the Plata, he performed his duties well and soon became a prominent Conservative leader. During the Paraguayan War, Rio Branco negotiated with Brazil's allies, avoiding further conflicts, and organized the provisional government that replaced López.[139]

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[137] José Martiniano de Alencar, *Ao Imperador: Novas Cartas Políticas de Erasmo* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Pinheiro, 1867-1868), 24.
[138] Alencar, *Ao Imperador*, 40.
[139] Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas*, 53-56.

Although he never defended slavery as a positive good, until the 1860s Rio Branco had sided with the slaveholders in defense of their property rights. In the Plata, however, he learned that slavery made foreigners look down on his country and decided to move against the institution. As he put it before the Chamber of Deputies, in Paraguay "I found myself … amongst no less than 50,000 Brazilians, who were in touch with neighboring peoples, and I know for myself and through the confession of the most intelligent of them how many times the permanence of this odious institution in Brazil shamed and humiliated us before the foreigners."[140] As Prime Minister, Rio Branco sought to modernize Brazil from above and obviate more dramatic changes stemming from the radicalization of younger generations and the rise of leaders such as Tavares Bastos.

Rio Branco's bill combined the measures that São Vicente had presented to Dom Pedro II in 1866. Freeing newborns, the law would give the masters a choice of state indemnification or the use of the minors' labor until they turned twenty-one years old. It would also create a public fund to be used for manumission and would grant the slaves the legal right to save money in order to buy their own freedom. In cases of conflict over the slave's just price, magistrates would intervene. Furthermore, the law would free all the slaves of the state. Finally, it would require masters to register all their slaves in a nationwide inventory; failure to do so within one year would result in loss of slave property.[141]

Immediately after the Law of the Free Womb was ratified, an apologist for Rio Branco analyzed the path that had led to it: "Having slavery been extinguished in the United

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[140] José Maria da Silva Paranhos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, July 14, 1871, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, Terceiro Anno da Décima Quarta Legislatura, Sessão de 1871*, Volume III (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & C., 1871), 146. Very likely, the way the Paraguayans referred to Brazil's black soldiers compounded Rio Branco's shame. According to Francisco Doratioto, "the use of slaves in the Brazilian Army became a topic for Paraguayan newspapers and for Solano López. The newspaper *Cabichuí* often referred to the imperial forces as *the monkeys*, associating the black soldiers with the supposed cowardice of the Brazilians." *Maldita Guerra*, 272.
[141] Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, 90-91.

States, only Brazil and the Spanish colony of Cuba formed a most sad exception. The country agitated itself, many emancipation societies were created, many pamphlets and texts appeared."[142] The example of the United States had come in handy for the supporters of Rio Branco. Yet, unlike the abolitionist agitators, the last-minute champions of emancipation used the lessons from American society to defend a conservative approach to reform. A pamphleteer from Bahia, writing in 1871, declared not to be "an adversary of emancipation; but I want it slow and meditated so that the bloody scenes of the United States do not take place among us; I want emancipation; but protecting the master, less responsible than the society which authorized and encouraged him to acquire such property."[143]

Posing as a progressive reformer, Rio Branco spoke to the Parliament a few days after his bill was introduced, remarking that "we know the history of this question in the United States, we know the reluctance of the southern states, and we know what were the consequences of not searching for a solution that could conciliate the interests of the owners and those of society as a whole."[144] Francisco de Paula Negreiros de Saião Lobato, the Minister of Justice, jumped into the discussion to draw a comparison.

> President Lincoln used to say: I do not want, neither do I admit, the emancipation of the slaves of the southern states, I only require that adequate measures be taken to conveniently modify it and bring an end to it in the future. But the slaveholders repelled the fair proposition that was offered, and made a bad demand, which resulted in their complete ruin. The same fate will have our agriculture if—God shall not allow—we see reluctance from our slaveholders, if they rise and blindly resist. If, on the other hand, they are well directed, if they listen to the advice of prudence, and if they convince themselves that it is necessary to accept this measure, … I am certain, gentlemen, that they will not only avoid the cruel fate of the slaveholders of the United States, but will also have their own interests preserved.[145]

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[142] Luiz d'Alvarenga Peixoto, *Apontamentos para a Historia. O Visconde do Rio Branco* (Rio de Janeiro, Typographia do Imperial Instituto Artistico, 1871), 99.

[143] *A Emancipação: Breves Considerações por Um Lavrador Bahiano* (Salvador: Typographia Constitucional, 1871), 29.

[144] José Maria da Silva Paranhos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 29, 1871, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Câmara dos Srs. Deputados, Terceiro Anno da Décima Quarta Legislatura, Sessão de 1871*, Volume I (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & C., 1871), 108.

[145] Francisco de Paula Negreiros de Saião Lobato, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 31, 1871, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro 1871*, Volume I, 145.

Following the reasoning of Saião Lobato, a supportive pamphlet urged the Brazilian slaveholders to avoid, whatever the cost may be, the same mistake that their American counterparts had committed. "The southern states, which possessed slaves," the pamphleteer narrated, "separated themselves from the northern states, which did not have slaves; a tremendous war broke between them, and a violent intervention by the government was necessary and total slave emancipation had to be decreed as a compensation for the rivers of blood and wealth that had been expended, and that could have been spared!"[146] Much blunter, Rio Branco himself remarked that the Brazilian slaveholders should not "wait that the solution come from below, but welcome it from above."[147] Rio Branco and his supporters reckoned that, if let loose, the abolitionist movement would jeopardize the status quo in Brazil.

In spite of Rio Branco's explicit attempt to protect Brazilian slaveholders from a tumultuous transformation, representatives of the coffee planters of the Paraíba Valley opposed his reform plans. Their reactionary stance notwithstanding, they never defended slavery as a positive good or spoke of secession, like fire-eaters had done in the United States. They even admitted that, in the long run and under the masters' supervision, the end of slavery would be desirable. "We want emancipation," Domingos de Andrade Figueira professed in the Chamber of Deputies, "but conciliating it with the gravest interests of the country, with public order, with economic interests, with the resources of the State. We want emancipation, but not through the means through which you, and the propaganda that you direct, seek to topple the Empire."[148]

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[146] *Analyse e Commentario Critico da Proposta do Governo Imperial as Camaras Legislativas sobre o Elemento Servil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 63.
[147] Paranhos, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 29, 1871, 108.
[148] Domingos de Andrade Figueira, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, May 30, 1871, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, 1871*, Volume III, Annex I, 32.

The defenders of slavery in Brazil believed that Rio Branco had been following the lead of abolitionist agitators. Paulino José Soares de Souza—the son of the councilman who had vehemently opposed Maury's plans to colonize the Amazon—protested that "slavery is an institution that has created roots in our society, attached itself to our way of life, and formed with it a compact whole, being impossible to violently uproot it without making the whole resent and generating perturbations in the things that form with slavery one single body."[149]

Alencar, whose positions in Parliament were even more reactionary than in his writings, accused the abolitionists of being "emissaries of revolution, apostles of anarchy." The propaganda, according to Alencar, was on the wrong side of history and, deplorably, the government was following it. "You are the reactionaries," he cried, "who want to pull back the progress of the country, hurting its heart, killing its first industry, agriculture." Alencar, who constantly referred to the menace of racial war, claimed that the Brazilian planters, as true lovers of freedom, were patiently preparing their slaves to become good freedmen and citizens. The abolitionists, on the other hand, "understand that to free means only to subtract captivity, and do not remember that freedom conceded to these brute masses is a fatal gift, it is sacred fire handed to the impetus, to the audacity, of a new and savage Prometheus!"[150]

The reactionaries had very weak arguments, however, to stop the spirit of the age from entering Brazil. A legislative committee charged with studying the Rio Branco bill lamented that "some important members of our respectable agricultural class have been

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[149] Paulino José Soares de Souza, *Discurso Proferido na Sessão de 23 de Agosto de 1871 sobre a Proposta do Governo Relativa ao Elemento Servil pelo Conselheiro Paulino José Soares de Sousa, Deputado pelo 3º Districto da Provincia do Rio de Janeiro* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & C., 1871), 43.
[150] José de Alencar, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, July 13, 1871, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro 1871*, Volume III, 134.

induced to believe that these measures will cause their ruin. The bill petrifies them as if it were Medusa's head." Yet, the committee continued, there was no reason to worry: "Were not the northern states without slavery more civilized and richer than the southern states of the American Union, when the latter tolerated the institution?"[151] Brazilian politicians, including the most reactionaries, knew the answer to this rhetorical question.

Nonetheless, a member of the committee, Joaquim Pinto de Campos, presented a detailed comparison between the two regions of the antebellum United States to the Brazilian Parliament. In cultivated area, agricultural productivity, commerce, manufacturing, and property value, he argued, "the superiority of the states without slaves over the states with slaves is indubitable." Before the Civil War, Pinto de Campos continued, the slave states seemed more like a colony of the free states: "The South sent to the North its raw materials, its brute products, and got them back manufactured, and consequently having the value many times multiplied." Using quantitative data from *De Bow's Review*—which, Brazilian politicians knew, was anything but an abolitionist publication—Pinto de Campos demonstrated that the free states had more primary schools, universities, libraries, and newspapers than the slave states. "Every ten years," he continued, "the census demonstrated to the country and to the whole world the heinous evil that slavery represented. The South had ears but could not hear, to comprehend and to save itself, and it was necessary to wage a tremendous war to convince it of its sin." The message to Brazilian slaveholders was clear: "History and statistics are here. It is our choice now to either ignore this lesson … or take advantage of it, being wise."[152]

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[151] *Elemento Servil: Parecer da Commissão Especial Apresentado à Camara dos Srs. Deputados na Sessão de 30 de Junho de 1871 sobre a Proposta do Governo, de 12 de Maio de Mesmo Anno* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1871), 16.
[152] Joaquim Pinto de Campos, *Discurso Pronunciado pelo Senhor Deputado Monsenhor Pinto de Campos, Relator da Commissão do Projecto sobre a Reforma do Elemento Servil na Sessão de 19 de Agosto de 1871* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia de Julio Villeneuve & C., 1871).

Rio Branco's bill was signed into law on September 28, 1871. Celebrations followed and the streets of Rio de Janeiro were strewn with flowers. According to a local observer, the new United States Minister to Brazil, James R. Partridge, "present at this splendid celebration of freedom, ordered that some flowers be picked up, saying that he would send them to the United States. Some say that the illustrious diplomat, full of enthusiasm, exclaimed: 'I want people in my country to know that what has cost much spilled blood there, in Brazil only cost flowers.'"[153]

Partridge's optimism was hasty, however. The Law of the Free Womb alone would not lead Brazil to a free labor system. More than gradual antislavery legislation would be necessary. In the following years, an intense circulation of human beings—including farmers, students, intellectuals, and businessmen—would bring Brazil and the United States even closer together. This circulation would allow Americans to introduce improvements in the Brazilian economy and help Brazilians understand how American capitalism developed. As a consequence, this circulation would advance the cause of free labor on both ends of the hemisphere.

[153] Peixoto, *Apontamentos para a Historia*, 125.

Part Two
The World that Free Labor Made

> The bourgeoisie … has been the first to show what man's activity can bring about. It has accomplished wonders far surpassing Egyptian pyramids, Roman aqueducts, and Gothic cathedrals; it has conducted expeditions that put in the shade all former exoduses of nations and crusades.
> - Karl Marx and Frederick Engels, 1848.

CHAPTER 4
INTO THE COFFEE KINGDOM

Following the downfall of the Confederacy, Joel E. Matthews, an Alabama cotton planter, traveled to Brazil. There, he expected to find "many of the peculiarities of social society which result from the ownership of slaves, which to me are so pleasant and agreeable, and to which I had all my life been accustomed." Matthews indeed found many hospitable Brazilian gentlemen who held slaves. Yet, he also found many things that made him wary. Brazilian society, he noted, "now has paper money, four short railways, wants more of them, and talks much of developing the resources." Matthews believed that the Yankees had imposed their ideas of development on the American South which ended up destroying the way of life he cherished. Thus, he warned the Brazilians about the great evils to come if they continued along this road: "Like all things which come from Satan this is often shown to the world under many pleasing and alluring devices;" soon, however, the forces for change would gather under "a blood-red banner, with the words 'Rapine, Robbery and Blood' inscribed on it with letters of fire." Finally, in a stage "no stranger to us of the Rebel States," development would result in "destruction, desolation and death" in Brazil.[1] Matthews returned to Alabama and stayed there, but many other Americans, from the South as well as the North, tried their luck in Brazil between the 1860s and the 1870s. Whether they planned it or not, they ended up advancing the very changes that had terrified Matthews.

The United States experienced tumultuous transformations during the early years of Reconstruction. Fueled by money from wartime contracts, new technologies, and political

[1] Joel E. Matthews, *Brazil: Reflections on the Character of the Soil, Climate, Inhabitants, and Government* (Selma: William, Chambliss, & Co., 1867), 14. On the tensions rising from the transplantation of northern ideas of development to the American South in the wake of the Civil War, see Lawrence Powell, *New Masters: Northern Planters During the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1980).

hegemony, the industrial North thrusted forward. Older industries, such as steel, went through an overhaul, while newer ones, such as oil, consolidated. Northern merchants, financiers, and industrialists expanded their influence all over the country. There was very little that northern capital failed to touch.[2] Meanwhile, in the South, former planters and yeoman farmers faced hardship. The rebellion cost hundreds of thousands of lives as well as billions of dollars in property losses, not the least property in slaves. Plantations, farms, and towns were devastated. Production and exchange were in complete disarray. White southerners dreaded vengeful freedpeople and invading Yankees. But what really deranged the postwar South were marauding bands and terrorist organizations composed of their own kind.[3] Whether emboldened by success or frustrated by defeat, Americans got on the move. Whereas most moved from rural to urban areas and from eastern to western regions within the United States, many sought new opportunities abroad.

Brazilian society also faced major changes between the late 1860s and early 1870s. Complications in the Paraguayan War, the emergence of an abolitionist movement, and political reform shook the country. Yet, in the midst of growing political agitation, the Brazilian economy received a great boost. Trees of *Coffea arabica* grew at an astonishing rate on the new agricultural frontier of the province of São Paulo. A marginal region surviving on a mixture of sugar and subsistence farming until then, the Oeste Paulista, the plateau northwest of São Paulo City, was on its way to become the leading coffee-producing region

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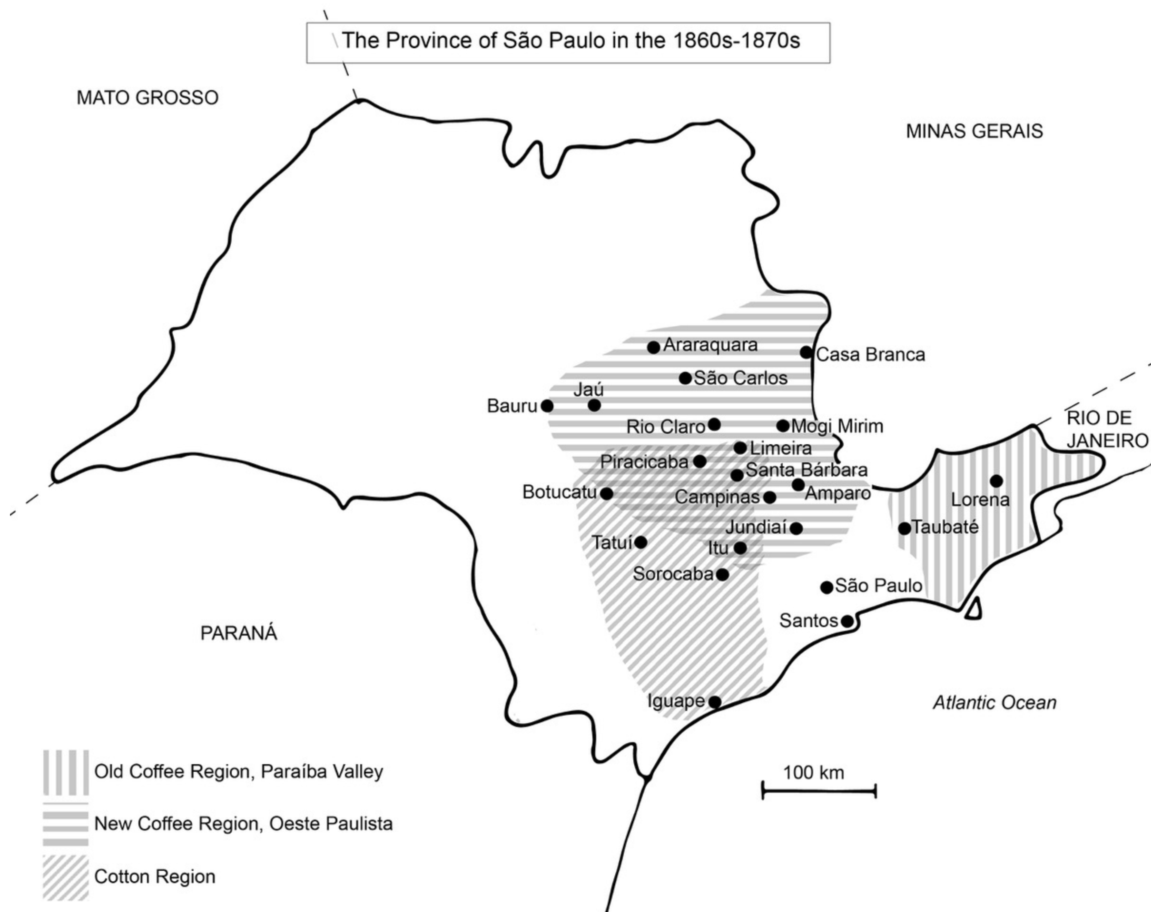
[2] Walter Licht, *Industrializing America: The Nineteenth Century* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 79-101; Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the Bourgeoisie, 1850-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 145-154.
[3] James L. Roark, *Masters Without Slaves: Southern Planters in the Civil War and Reconstruction* (New York: W.W. Norton, 1977), 111-155; Gregory P. Downs, *After Appomattox: Military Occupation and the Ends of War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2015), 11-38, 137-160.

in the world.[4] Although slave labor fueled this boom, the fazendeiros[5] knew that the termination of the African slave trade in 1850, the low birth rate and the high mortality rate of the slave population, growing antislavery feelings, and the effects of the Law of the Free Womb would sooner or later bring slavery to an end in Brazil. Hence, they engaged in an effort to transition to free labor.[6]



During the coffee boom, the Oeste Paulista attracted hundreds of Anglo-Americans. Most of them came from the American South. So soon as the Confederacy was dissolved, a

[4] Francisco Vidal Luna and Herbert S. Klein, *Slavery and the Economy of São Paulo,1750-1850* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 53-78.
[5] Fazendeiro was the common word for planter in nineteenth-century Brazil. The term fazenda usually meant plantation.
[6] Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1998 [1966]), 169-249; Warren Dean, *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 1-87.

large group of ex-Confederates[7] decided to move to the Oeste Paulista in order to revive a way of life based on slavery and plantation agriculture. Yet, their project clashed with that of the local elite, who planned to transform the newcomers into sharecroppers or smallholders employing free labor. Not long after the ex-Confederates, a man named William Van Vleck Lidgerwood, a machine importer from New Jersey, arrived in the Oeste Paulista. Following the coffee money, he first opened an office and, soon after, established a foundry in the township of Campinas.

While Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. became a powerhouse by producing agricultural machines and setting up textile mills in the Oeste Paulista, the community of ex-Confederates could hardly make ends meet by growing cotton and foodstuffs. As time wore on, the ex-Confederates became completely dependent on the fazendeiros. Some, who had the training, found employment as country doctors, treating the fazendeiros and their dependents. The plight of the ex-Confederates, however, did not discourage other Anglo-Americans from trying their luck in the Oeste Paulista. Northern as well as southern Protestant missionaries, besides attending to their compatriots, saw an opportunity to establish private schools in the region. Before long, the fazendeiros were sending their children to these institutions, expecting that the American missionaries would prepare them for the new age opening for Brazil.

In the 1860s and 1870s, the wealthiest and most powerful planters in Brazil consciously attracted American technology and expertise in order to advance free labor.[8] To

[7] The term ex-Confederate describes the ambiguous national identity of the people who left the defeated South because they refused to rejoin the American Union and reincorporate an American national identity.
[8] Scholars of "capitalist slavery" now point to technical innovations as a means to strengthen and expand slavery in the western world. Yet, attempts to apply this idea to nineteenth-century Brazil do not take into consideration the attitudes of the wealthiest coffee planters in the country. See Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores do Corpo, Missionários da Mente: Senhores, Letrados e o Controle dos Escravos nas Américas, 1660-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Ricardo Salles, *E o Vale era o Escravo. Vassouras – Século XIX. Senhores e Escravos no Coração do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008); Rafael de Bivar Marquese,

be sure, the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista were not abolitionists. But neither were they proslavery advocates. Instead of gambling on the persistence of unfree labor, they reckoned that they had much more to gain by transitioning to a model of development inspired by the postwar United States. Shrewdly, they mustered forces unleashed by the American Civil War to effect this transformation. In the process, the fazendeiros Americanized the Oeste Paulista to their own advantage.[9] Like Joel E. Matthews, all groups involved in the process—fazendeiros, politicians, ex-Confederates, entrepreneurs, missionaries, and even British observers—understood that mechanization and diversification were forces opposed to the permanence of slavery in the Oeste Paulista.

Cotton and Confederates

In April 1861, British engineer John James Aubertin, the superintendent of the San Paulo Railway Co. Ltd., shipped to Manchester a few cotton bolls that he had collected from lands on the shore of the Tietê River, close to São Paulo City. Since 1857, when it was created, the Manchester Cotton Supply Association (MCSA) had been searching for cotton producers who could ease British manufacturers' reliance on cotton planters from the

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"Capitalismo, Escravidão e a Economia Cafeeira do Brasil no Longo Século XIX," *Saeculum* 29 (2013): 289-321;); *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos Quadros da Segunda Escravidão*, eds. Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Faperj, 2015); *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico no Século XIX: Cuba, Brasil, Estados Unidos*, eds. Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2016); Daniel Rood, "An International Harvester: The Second Slavery, the Virginia-Brazil Connection, and the Development of the McCormick Harvester," *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, eds. Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016), 87-104.

[9] While most works on Americanization show Anglo-Americans in positions of power in relation to foreigners, this chapter investigates an early case of Americanization in which the group being Americanized, the fazendeiros, shaped the process. For studies of Americanization in other contexts during the long nineteenth century, see Emily S. Rosenberg, *Spreading the Dream: American Economic and Cultural Expansion, 1890-1945* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1982); Matthew Frye Jacobson, *Barbarian Virtues: The United States Encounters Foreign Peoples at Home and Abroad, 1876-1917* (New York: Hill & Wang, 2000); Sally E. Merry, *Colonizing Hawai'i: The Cultural Power of Law* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2000); John Mason Hart, *Empire and Revolution: The Americans in Mexico Since the Civil War* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 2002); Ian Tyrrell, *Reforming the World: The Creation of America's Moral Empire* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2010); Cristina Evangelista Torres, *The Americanization of Manila, 1898-1921* (Quezon City: University of the Philippines Press, 2010); Robert W. Rydell and Rob Kroes, *Buffalo Bill in Bologna: The Americanization of the World, 1869-1922* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2013).

American South. By 1861, as the secession crisis exploded in the United States, the MCSA intensified its search, turning to Egypt, India, and other parts of the world.[10] Through Aubertin, the Brazilian province of São Paulo got the attention of the British. As the president of the MCSA recalled in 1871, "Sao Paulo was unknown as a source of cotton supply until in 1861 the Association began experiments with some New Orleans seed, which, together with a cotton gin, were entrusted to the care of Mr. J. J. Aubertin." Throughout the 1860s, Aubertin distributed cottonseed and cotton gins to São Paulo agriculturalists.[11]

Even though the MCSA claimed that the "striking success" of São Paulo cotton culture "was mainly attributable to the zealous and persevering exertions of Mr. Aubertin," he had not been acting alone.[12] In reality, Aubertin had been collaborating with Brazilian authorities, who coordinated a broad campaign to foster cotton cultivation in São Paulo.[13] In his 1862 report to the São Paulo Provincial Assembly, the provincial president noted that "the recent events in the United States of America, which discontinued the exportation of the cotton which fed the factories in Europe, producing a true crisis there, gave evidence of the great value of this product and convinced us that the farmer who employs himself in this cultivation will not fail to receive good compensation."[14]

Already in 1861, the provincial government had created a practical school for cotton cultivation on the fazenda of Carlos Ilidro da Silva, an amateur agronomist, in the township

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[10] On British dependence on cotton from the American South and the search for new suppliers, see Sven Beckert, *Empire of Cotton: A Global History* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2014), 98-174.
[11] Isaac Watts, *The Cotton Supply Association: Its Origin and Progress* (Manchester: Tubbs & Brook, 1871), 85-86.
[12] Watts, *The Cotton Supply Association*, 86.
[13] John James Aubertin to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, September 4, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.09.04; João da Silva Carrão to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, February 4, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.06.04; John James Aubertin to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, February 4, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.02.04; John James Aubertin to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, July 24, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.07.24, BMA.
[14] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Legislativa da Provincia de São Paulo na 1ª Sessão da 14ª Legislatura pelo Presidente Doutor João Jacyntho de Mendonça* (São Paulo: Typ. Imparcial, 1862), 43.

of Itu. By the mid 1860s the region between Itu and Sorocaba, sixty miles distant from São Paulo City, had become the cotton-growing center of Brazil.[15] By late 1865, a visitor to Sorocaba observed that "one who enters this happy city will soon realize that it is a land of labor and industry. At the entrance, a facility for packing and seeding cotton; ahead, another one, powered by steam; at the center, yet another; not to mention those on the surrounding areas, totaling 18 to 20."[16]

While São Paulo cotton was blooming, the cotton kingdom in North America was in upheaval. Reverend Ballard S. Dunn, former rector of St. Phillip's Church in New Orleans and chaplain in the Confederate Army, traveled to Brazil days after Robert E. Lee's surrender. Explaining the reason that made him leave his country, Dunn wrote that "as surely as that these four years of disastrous war have left most of those who have been true to themselves and their ancestors penniless, homeless, despoiled, and bereaved, so surely the future, with its cumbrous disabilities, and fearful forebodings, promises nothing better than poverty and humiliation."[17] Like Dunn, dozens of men who could not accept Confederate defeat followed his lead in search of a new home for themselves and their kin. Their ulterior reasons were very clear to contemporary observers. "A pioneer company of planters," a northern journalist noted, "disgusted with 'free niggers,' the United States Government, the defeat, and everything connected with the country, were about to sail for Brazil, taking with them farming utensils and provisions for six months."[18]

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[15] On the role of Brazilian authorities and institutions in fostering cotton cultivation in São Paulo, see Alice Canabrava, *O Desenvolvimento da Cultura do Algodão na Província de São Paulo, 1861-1875* (São Paulo: 1951), 20-68.
[16] "Correspondencia do Correio, Sorocaba, Novembro de 1865," *Correio Paulistano*, November 21, 1865.
[17] Ballard S. Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners: Or, a Practical Account of what the Author, and Others, who Visited that Country, for the Same Objects, Saw and Did while in that Empire* (New York: George B. Richardson/New Orleans: Bloomfield & Steel, 1866), 4-5.
[18] Whitelaw Reid, *After the War: A Southern Tour, May 1, 1865 to May 1, 1866* (London: Samson Low, Son, & Marston, 1866), 374.

The first visitors from the American South were welcomed by the same people who had been fostering cotton agriculture in São Paulo. Aubertin was responsible for taking three South Carolinians on a tour of the interior in December 1865. Aubertin's guests were James McFadden Gaston, Robert Meriwether, and H. A. Shaw, all of whom had served in the Confederate Army. Shaw and Meriwether had been cotton planters before the American Civil War and Gaston, who had dedicated himself exclusively to medicine, was planning to cultivate cotton in Brazil. Aubertin took the South Carolinians to Itu, Sorocaba, and nearby townships, where they enjoyed the hospitality of figures such as Antonio Paes de Barros, the Baron of Piracicaba, one of the richest coffee planters of the Oeste Paulista.[19]

The Brazilian Minister of Agriculture provided full support for the exploration parties of ex-Confederates. The son of a prominent planter family from Itu, Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza had studied medicine in Belgium, married the daughter of the Baron of Piracicaba, joined the Liberal Party, entered the Chamber of Deputies, and become a member of the Council of State.[20] In 1865, he ascended to Minister of Agriculture and set to work attracting ex-Confederates to São Paulo. Upon arriving, Gaston met with Paula Souza, who promised him that the Brazilian government would soon "devise a plan for assisting those who were desirous of coming to Brazil from the Southern States."[21] After meeting with Paula Souza, Dunn felt overjoyed: "The genial sunshine of generous friendliness, offered by a minister of State, had a singular effect, and I was foolish enough to shed tears."[22] Paula Souza instructed the provincial president to supply the ex-Confederates

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[19] John James Aubertin, *Eleven Days Journey in the Province of Sao Paulo, with the Americans Drs. Gaston and Shaw, and Major Mereweather* (London: Bates, Hendy & Co, 1866).
[20] Cristina de Campos, *Ferrovias e Saneamento em São Paulo: O Engenheiro Antonio de Paula Souza e a Construção da Rede de Infra-estrutura Territorial Urbana Paulista, 1870-1893* (São Paulo: Fapesp/Pontes, 2010), 40-41.
[21] James McFadden Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil. The Agricultural Resources and other Characteristics of the Country. Also, the Manners and Customs of the Inhabitants* (Philadelphia: King & Baird, 1867), 42.
[22] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 25-26.

with everything they needed and hired geographers to accompany the exploration parties and inform them about the quality of the lands they visited.[23]

Local figures were also excited about the prospects of immigration from the America South. In October 1865, major fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista held a reception for former Confederate General William W. W. Wood of Natchez, Mississippi, at the São Paulo Legislative Assembly.[24] A delegation from the township of Araraquara, located on the farthest agricultural frontier of the Oeste Paulista then, told Gaston to "rest assured that we will receive you as brothers receive brothers."[25] A fazendeiro from Jaú, another distant township of the Oeste Paulista, was glad to inform Paula Souza that "the Americans who have been here thought all was very good and promised to come here and already have land arrangements somewhat set."[26] Richard Gumbleton Daunt, an Irish medical doctor who had been living in Campinas since the 1840s, wrote to Paula Souza that "all the people are profoundly thankful to Your Excellency for the way that the idea of immigration of the people from the former Confederate States is developing and sees this as proof of your desire to be useful to the country." Daunt further reported that the visitors had been placed in the houses of the richest inhabitants of Campinas.[27]

Returning to North America, the southern travelers published narratives which emphasized the great wealth and the friendliness of the fazendeiros. At José Bonifácio do

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[23] João da Silva Carrão to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, October 14, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.10.14/1; João da Silva Carrão to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, October, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.10/1; Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to João da Silva Carrão, Rio de Janeiro, March 14, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.03.14, BMA. Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to João da Silva Carrão, Rio de Janeiro, May 11, 1866, Minutas Ministérios da Agricultura, 1866, Secretaria da Agricultura, Livro 29, Caixa 7, Ordem 7855, AESP.
[24] "Emigração," *Diário de São Paulo*, October 21, 1865.
[25] Manoel Francisco Oliveira, Francisco Correa de Arruda and José Aranha da Amaral, "Adress of Welcome," Araraquara, October 29, 1865, in Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 152-153.
[26] José Ribeiro de Camargo to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Jaú, April 4, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.04.04, BMA.
[27] Ricardo Gumbleton Daunt to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Campinas, October 24, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.10.24/2, BMA.

Amaral's Sete Quedas plantation near Campinas, Gaston was served a banquet. After eating, "we were furnished with horses of most excellent saddle-qualities, and accompanied our host, Senor Bonifacio, in a ride to his plantation. Here we saw the coffee trees in full bearing, planted in lines and squares. … The appearance of this field gives evidence of much careful attention."[28] Gaston was also impressed by José Vergueiro's Ibicaba plantation in the township of Limeira. There, he rode "over miles of winding roads through the fields of coffee." He also observed the extensive cotton fields recently planted, a cotton gin, and a cotton press. By 1866, Vergueiro cultivated almost four hundred acres of cotton. Beyond the blooming coffee trees and cotton stalks, Gaston was delighted to observe the lifestyle of his host: "This fazendeiro combines all the various interests that conduce to the comfort of his family and the welfare of the large number of colonists and slaves who are dependent upon his supplies. His extensive fazenda is emphatically a self-sustaining establishment, and he lives within himself to a very large extent."[29]

The Oeste Paulista, the southern visitors agreed unanimously, offered great incentives for their countrymen willing to grow cotton. Writing for *De Bow's Review* in 1866, Shaw and Meriwether recalled that, while exploring the farmlands of São Paulo, "we saw cotton that would make one thousand pounds an acre, or more. … We also saw cotton gins at work, driven by steam, by water and by hand. All the cotton here is of good quality."[30] At Ibicaba, Gaston observed that "the production of cotton here already is stated to reach two thousand pounds of seed cotton to the acre." He thus urged his compatriots to take advantage of the opportunity: "Note this, ye planters of cotton in the Southern States, and

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[28] Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 85-86.
[29] Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 105-108. On cotton production in Ibicaba, see Canabrava, *O Desenvolvimento da Cultura do Algodão*, 76.
[30] Robert Meriwether and H. A. Shaw, "Shall Southerners Emigrate to Brazil?," *De Bow's Review*, July, 1866.

think how painstaking you are to develop the growth of cotton in its several stages; yet here, in Brazil, it grows and matures well without culture of any kind."[31] In Sorocaba, Dunn "saw specimens of cotton in the field, equal to any I have ever seen in the United States. This is emphatically the cotton-growing region of Brazil, and only needs the appliances of labor and improved culture to make it profitable indeed."[32] The ex-Confederates believed that Anglo-Saxon cotton planters, who had once expanded from the Carolinas to Texas, could easily convert São Paulo into a new cotton kingdom.[33]

It was not only the prospect of producing cotton, however, that pleased the ex-Confederates who visited São Paulo. The prospect of growing cotton using slave labor was what truly thrilled them.[34] Dunn assured prospective settlers that, in Brazil, "any foreigner, no matter where he may be from, can hold as many slaves as he is able to buy."[35] Gaston noted that, besides the natural advantages that Brazil presented, "the additional element of slave labor here is likely to afford results that cannot be secured by hired labor in the United States." He further explained that, if unable to immediately buy slaves, the newcomers could lease them in Brazil: "One of the points of most interest to me is the facilities for hiring negroes."[36] Slave prices, Shaw and Meriwether noted, were not too high in Brazil, "some

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[31] Gaston, *Hunting a Home in Brazil*, 106-107.
[32] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 149.
[33] On cotton planters' expansionism in North America, see Adam Rothman, *Slave Country: American Expansion and the Origins of the Deep South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005).
[34] Some scholars suggest that the ex-Confederates' choice for Brazil was not related to slavery, pointing to business and family networks. See, for example, Laura Jarnagin, *A Confluence of Transatlantic Networks: Elites, Capitalism, and Confederate Migration to Brazil* (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2008), 181-228. Yet, the evidence pointing to the centrality of slavery for this choice is just too strong to be ignored. For white southerners' attachment to slavery until the final moments of the Civil War, see Stephanie McCurry, *Confederate Reckoning: Power and Politics in the Civil War South* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2010). For the proslavery views of the ex-Confederates who moved to Brazil, see Célio Antônio Alcântara Silva, "Capitalismo e Escravidão: A Imigração Confederada para o Brasil" (PhD dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2011).
[35] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 40.
[36] Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 160, 235.

gangs of negroes, including men, women and children, being offered by the year for fifty dollars each, though the usual price is from sixty to a hundred and twenty."[37]

The southern visitors further emphasized that Brazil would not only offer the settlers an opportunity to own slaves but would also protect their rights as masters. As Dunn put it, in Brazil, "the rights of property, as guaranteed in the constitution, are carried out to the letter" and no one, not even a man "with the highest title of nobility," would ever "presume to enter the humblest dwelling, without first asking permission; and should permission be withheld, he does not enter, except at his own peril." In Brazil, Dunn exulted, each man was "lord supreme, in his own domicile; however humble or lowly it may be."[38] This idea would resonate with many ex-Confederates who decided to settle in Brazil in the following years. There, they hoped to rebuild a patriarchal society in which white men were supreme rulers of their land, family, and slaves.[39]

Making the plans of the ex-Confederates explicit, in July 1868, "a Southern Gentleman" wrote to the Rio de Janeiro *Anglo-Brazilian Times* that "the Southern slaveholder has eminent executive and administrative qualities that make him an acquisition and an extremely valuable one to any country having analogous conditions." Slave labor, he claimed, had been perfected in the antebellum American South: "As a race, the condition of the

[37] Shaw and Merriwether, "Shall Southerners Emigrate to Brazil?" On the domestic slave trade in Brazil, see Robert W. Slenes, "The Brazilian Internal Slave Trade: Regional Economies, Slave Experience, and the Politics of a Peculiar Market," *The Chattel Principle: Internal Slave Trades in the Americas*, ed. Walter Johnson (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2005).

[38] Dunn, *Brazil, the Home for Southerners*, 39.

[39] Patriarchal independence was the foundational ideology of the antebellum South, affecting major planters and yeoman farmers alike. As Stephanie McCurry suggests in her study of South Carolina, "independence had powerful meanings for lowcountry yeomen. Not the least was that manifest in the household itself: in the virtually unlimited authority conferred over the property and dependents that lay within the enclosure. … In a society in which the authority of masters over domestic dependents was a matter of paramount political significance, state authorities were seriously disinclined to interfere, limit, or even regulate the power of household heads over their subordinates, familial or otherwise. Within the household, the master's word was virtual law." *Masters of Small Worlds: Yeoman Households, Gender Relations, and the Political Culture of the Antebellum South Carolina Low Country* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1995), 85-86.

negro slaves in the Southern States of the North American Union had steadily and gradually been modified and ameliorated, till they in truth presented to the world the happiest mere laboring community on a large scale that the world has ever seen." If any doubts remained of the good services the ex-Confederates could offer Brazil, the proslavery writer clarified that "it is this class of men, men accustomed to such agriculture, possessed of such executive capacities, active and energetic managers of a labor incidentally analogous to what is now and will be for a long time most abundant in Brazil, that I conceive to be most needed in this Empire."[40] In other words, ex-Confederates were going to Brazil with plans to perpetuate slavery.

The American Civil War had destroyed slavery in North America. Unwilling to accept defeat and emancipation, several ex-Confederates visited Brazil in search for lands where their kin could, once again, become plantation owners and slaveholders. In the province of São Paulo, they found land proper for cotton cultivation, slaves for sale or hire, and rich coffee planters who had their arms open to settlers from abroad. Unlike Joel E. Matthews, however, most visitors from the American South chose not to see that the same people who were welcoming the ex-Confederates nurtured plans to use their labor and skills in the process of phasing out slavery in Brazil.

The Clash

In a series of articles published in 1865, the *Diário de São Paulo* suggested that the ex-Confederates would bring "to the midst of our shameful backwardness, their agricultural improvements; to the midst of the traditional darkness that surrounds our agriculture, the light of experience."[41] Communities of Anglo-Saxons would emerge alongside new railroads,

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[40] A Southern Gentleman, "The Great Immigration Question," *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, July 8, 1868.
[41] "Araraquara. A Lavoura e a Emigração," *Diário de São Paulo*, October 13, 1865.

the newspaper projected, "spreading wealth all over the province, covering our borders with free hands and useful citizens."[42] The rivers of the interior would be "taken by the same small steamers that are used in the United States," the markets of the province would be "enriched by all products necessary to life," "great steam-powered sawmills" would convert local wood into American-style furniture, and "the rich cotton farms" of the ex-Confederates would give birth to textile mills in São Paulo.[43]

When William W. W. Wood decided on a place to establish a settlement, close to Araraquara, the provincial president reported to Minister Paula Souza that "the selected territory is occupied mostly by squatters, who must be displaced either by agreement, expropriation, or exclusion when titles are not legally held."[44] Although the fazendeiros had plans to direct the ex-Confederates to unimproved areas of the province, they thought it would be unwise to forcibly take land from native Brazilians (even if they were squatters) and give it to a foreign people.[45] "To expropriate a territory of fifty to one hundred [square] leagues," an Araraquara landowner pondered, "forcing Brazilians to remove themselves in search for new lands, and new climates, is something that we cannot justify, and there is no national or public interest which justifies such a measure."[46]

The fazendeiros thus decided to either sell or lease the uncultivated parts of their own estates to ex-Confederates who possessed some capital. For newcomers arriving without means, the *Correio Paulistano* suggested employment as sharecroppers.

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[42] "O Sr. General Wood," *Diário de São Paulo*, October 15, 1865.
[43] Pinto Junior, "Communicado," *Diário de São Paulo*, October 16, 1865.
[44] João da Silva Carrão to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, August 1865, PS865.08, Arquivo Paula Souza, BMA.
[45] On the rural free poor and their tense integration to the nineteenth-century São Paulo slave society, see Maria Sylvia Carvalho Franco, *Homens Livres na Ordem Escravocrata* (São Paulo: Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros, 1969); Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, *Ao Sul da História: Lavradores Pobres na Crise do Trabalho Escravo* (Rio de Janeiro: FGV Editora, 2009).
[46] L. M., "Araraquara. A Lavoura e a Emigração," *Diário de São Paulo*, November 30, 1865.

> It is necessary that our planters, the representatives of our nascent and still undeveloped agriculture, convince themselves that they will gain incomparably more by handing to the immigrants their uncultivated lands than by conserving them under the shadow of primitive forests, as a poorly understood reservoir. … Moreover, on the list of the planter's gains will enter half of what is produced by his new associate—the immigrant. … If necessary, our practical men may inquire into the balance between the benefits and the costs of American immigration. They will see that the profits to be obtained are very significant.[47]

Ultimately, the understanding in São Paulo was that the ex-Confederates would occupy marginal—though not isolated—lands of the province either as smallholders, tenants, or sharecroppers, producing crops other than coffee and relying on the good will of the local elite.

While the fazendeiros made their plans, Paula Souza acted from the capital of Brazil. In October 1865, he wrote to his son, who was studying engineering in Germany, that he was expecting to receive more than fifty thousand immigrants from North America. "We will thus have quick and unexpectedly an immense influx of energy, industry, and morality," he envisioned, "and my name may one day be connected to the most beautiful page of our history, if we couple this [immigration] to other reforms."[48] Paula Souza considered establishing communities of ex-Confederates in São Paulo as part of a comprehensive program to modernize the region. In his 1866 report to the Parliament, he spoke of immigration in connection to slave emancipation: "Experience demonstrates that immigration, and the consequent emergence of a market in free labor, will not develop alongside servile labor; when demand [for free labor] does not exist, it cannot emerge." The settlement of ex-Confederates in São Paulo, Paula Souza hoped, would establish "relations

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[47] *Correio Paulistano*, October 12, 1865.

[48] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Rio de Janeiro, October 9, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.10.09/3, BMA.

of free and industrious labor, which will produce immigration on a scale never seen before."[49]

In June 1866, the editor of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, an Irishman named William Scully, praised Paula Souza for "seeing in servile labor the deepest blot upon the moral and political constitution of this otherwise free and liberally governed country" and for seeking gradual means "to exterminate the evil." Scully was further elated that Paula Souza had been working on attracting Anglo-Saxon immigrants to the country: "Fortunately for his views in this respect, the dissatisfaction in the Southern States of North America caused Brazil to be visited by various small parties of Americans." Scully concurred with the fazendeiros that, "although the Southern States of North America will not supply the labor market of the agriculture of the Empire [of Brazil], great results indirectly advantaging the supply may be derived from it, namely valuable examples of labor-saving farming, and numerous experts to direct and utilize the skilled laborers of European immigration."[50] The office of the *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, located in the center of Rio de Janeiro, became a rendezvous for ex-Confederates in need of information. Scully also translated some of Paula Souza's letters to the newcomers and, in 1866, published an immigration guide in English.[51]

The immigration promoters in Brazil imagined that the ex-Confederates, turned into small farmers capable of employing machinery and free workers, would help the transition from slave to free labor. And cotton seemed to be the perfect crop to propel such a transition. As Ilidro da Silva observed in 1861, the required capital to start a cotton farm was

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[49] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa na Quarta Sessão da Décima Segunda Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretario de Estado dos Negócios da Agricultura, Comércio e Obras Públicas Dr. Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1866), 43.
[50] "Immigrant Labor," *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, June 23, 1868.
[51] William Scully, *Brazil; Its Provinces and Chief Cities; The Manners and Customs of the People; Agricultural, Commercial, and Other Statistics, taken from the Latest Official Documents; With a Variety of Useful and Entertaining Knowledge, both for the Merchant and the Emigrant* (London: Murray & Company, 1866).

"of insignificant amount in comparison to what is necessary for the cultivation of coffee and sugar cane."[52] Or, as Scully put it in 1866, cotton "is a staple which is well adapted to the capabilities of white labor and small proprietorship. … Children and women can assist in planting and harvesting without tasking their powers too strongly."[53] A poor man's crop in the land of coffee, cotton would be fit for foreign farmers who were not supposed to own large estates or many slaves.

Another free labor promoter who enthusiastically supported Paula Souza's project was Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos. In 1865, as the first ex-Confederates began to survey Brazilian lands, he organized the Sociedade Internacional de Imigração [International Immigration Society] (SII).[54] In his first report, Tavares Bastos noted that Brazil should prepare for "the crisis that will follow the inevitable abolition of slavery" by attracting immigrants, who would increase "the number of producers, consumers, and tax-payers, mitigating the effects of this crisis." Specifically in regard to the ex-Confederates, Tavares Bastos wrote that "the *farmers*[55] from the southern states will meet the need for intelligent and bold agriculturalists" in Brazil.[56]

Having Paula Souza as an associate, the SII became the unofficial organ of the Brazilian government to promote the settlement of ex-Confederates.[57] Tavares Bastos and Paula Souza worked together to obtain free passage for the exploring parties on river

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52 Carlos Ilidro da Silva apud Canabrava, *A Cultura do Algodão*, 106.
53 "The Future of Cotton in Brazil," *Anglo-Brazilian Times*, January 8, 1866.
54 "Sociedade Internacional de Immigração," Coleção Quintino Bocaiuva, CP855.08.21, Pasta V, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.
55 Original in English.
56 "Memoria sobre a Immigração pelo Director A. C. Tavares Bastos," *Sociedade Internacional de Immigração. Relatório Annual da Directoria, Numero 1* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Imperial e Constitucional de J. Villeneuve & Co., 1867), 6.
57 Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to Diretores da Sociedade Internacional de Imigração, Rio de Janeiro, October 17, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.08.07/1, BMA.

steamships as well as railroads within Brazil.[58] Tavares Bastos also mediated an agreement between the Brazilian government and the United States and Brazilian Steamship Company to subsidize the trip of those interested in leaving the American South for Brazil.[59] By mid 1866, the SII sent an agent to New York City to promote Brazil as a new home for ex-Confederates—Quintino Antonio Ferreira de Souza Bocaiuva, a journalist known for his republican and antislavery stands. Paula Souza was pleased with this choice and personally wrote to Bocaiuva asking for books on American monetary policy as well as "any work on cotton cultivation, its diseases, and the making of oil from cottonseed and machines for it."[60]

Yet, as soon as Bocaiuva got to New York City and spoke with ex-Confederates waiting for steamship passage to Brazil, he had a change of heart. In an open letter to Brazilian newspapers, Bocaiuva explained why he decided not to direct ex-Confederates to his country.

> We want to prepare for the future, and the near future of the country is emancipation. God shall permit it to happen soon and without trouble. We also want to address the question of the present, and the question of the present is the replacement of the slave hand. Thus, here I offer my thoughts. The man of the South, ruined landowner who saves from the shipwreck the shambles of his fortune, accustomed to servile labor and having, like us, all the bad habits acquired from this system, will never harrow the earth and spread the seed himself. He needs and will search for helpers, workers, machine-men, he will be the intelligence and the experience which will direct them. I have learned on my own that all of them hope to find and request slaves for rent. You know that this is impossible in the present situation of our country.[61]

Making things more difficult for Bocaiuva, while he was in New York City, Paula Souza died unexpectedly. The new Minister of Agriculture, Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, a Liberal Senator from Bahia, wrote to Bocaiuva that the Brazilian government was "convinced that

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[58] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Rio de Janeiro, March 3, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS866.03.03, BMA.
[59] "Cópia. Contracto que celebram de um lado o Governo Imperial do Brasil, do outro B. Caymari, como representante da Companhia United States & Brazil Mail Steamships para o transporte de emigrantes," Coleção Quintino Bocaiuva, CP855.08.21, Pasta V, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.
[60] Antonio Francisco Paula Souza to Quintino Antonio Ferreira de Souza Bocaiuva, August 24, 1866, Coleção Quintino Bocaiuva, CP855.08.21, Pasta V, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.
[61] "Emigração Norte-Americana para o Brasil," *Correio Paulistano*, March 6, 1867.

the most convenient immigration to this Empire is that composed of individuals accustomed to cultivating the land … as the inhabitants of the Southern States are." The new instruction to Bocaiuva was to "immediately transfer residence from New York to New Orleans" and convince cotton planters to move to Brazil.[62]

Bocaiuva spent little time in New Orleans before returning, disappointed, to Brazil. By early 1867, Dantas had elaborated his own immigration scheme, contracting directly with agents from the American South, who would purchase or lease lands in Brazil and bring their own parties of settlers.[63] Another change was that Dantas planned to scatter the newcomers all over the country. Already in November 1865, he had written to Paula Souza criticizing his exclusive focus on the Oeste Paulista as a destination for the ex-Confederates: "Don't be parochial, see that we [in Bahia] also offer to these wonderful American colonists lands in great locations."[64] Sponsored by Dantas, settlements of ex-Confederates emerged in isolated regions of northern and southeastern Brazil.

Charles Grandison Gunter, a cotton planter from Alabama, arrived in Brazil with plans to "buy a place with 50 or 100 slaves if suited in soil and situation, price etc."[65] By August 1866, Gunter informed his family in Alabama that he had finally "rented 6000 acres of good land at Linhares on the Rio Doce," province of Espírito Santo, which he would distribute among his countrymen. To work his piece of land, Gunter bought forty slaves for

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[62] Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas to Quintino Antônio Ferreira de Souza Bocaiuva, December 24, 1866, Coleção Quintino Bocaiuva, CP855.08.21, Pasta V, Fundação Getulio Vargas, Rio de Janeiro.
[63] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Geral Legislativa, na Primeira Sessão da Décima Terceira Legislatura pelo Ministro e Secretário dos Negócios da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Publicas Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1867), 67.
[64] Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, Rio de Janeiro, November 3, 1865, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS865.11.03, BMA.
[65] Charles Grandison Gunter to William A. Gunter, Rio de Janeiro, December 21, 1865, Charles G. Gunter Family Papers, SPR635, ADAH.

"$12,500 half cash and one year without interest – which is considered cheap here."[66] Yet, despite Gunter's excitement, his settlement would not endure. Julia Keys, whose father had left Alabama to join Gunter in Brazil, noted in her diary that the first crops all "failed from the unusual drought." Worse, tropical diseases affected both masters and slaves. "Those who had bought negroes for farming," she narrated, "were most anxious to leave as they were having chills and generally disabled." Soon, the immigrants became "nearly all discouraged" and started "making plans to leave the Doce."[67]

Lansford Warren Hastings, a proslavery land surveyor who had plotted to bring New Mexico and Arizona into the Confederacy during the Civil War, established a settlement in Santarém, in the heart of the Brazilian Amazon. When he advertised his immigration scheme, he indicated that in Brazil, "considering the comparative scarcity of slaves, they are very cheap; excellent, able-bodied men and women can be purchased at prices ranging from three to six hundred dollars each."[68] By the mid 1870s, when an American naturalist visited the ruins of Hastings's settlement, he understood that Hastings had attracted mostly adventurers to the Amazon Valley: "With a few good families there came a rabble of lazy vagabonds, offscourings of the army and vagrants of Mobile, who looked upon the affair as a grand adventure." An immigrant from Tennessee lamented that, after having "to struggle with utter poverty," the few ex-Confederates who had stayed survived by producing rum. The farmer complained "of the low prices that he receives for his produce; the Santarem traders take advantage of his helplessness." After years of hard work, the Tennessean

[66] Charles Grandison Gunter to William A. Gunter, Rio de Janeiro, August 23, 1866, Charles G. Gunter Family Papers, SPR635, ADAH.
[67] Julia L. Keyes, "Our Life in Brazil (1874)," *The Alabama Historical Quarterly* 28:3-4 (Fall and Winter 1966), 240-247.
[68] Lansford Warren Hastings, *Emigrant's Guide to Brazil* (Mobile: 1867), 213.

possessed one slave, a small farm, "a burden of debts that will take him a long time to pay, and [finds] himself with a broken-down body and a discouraged heart."[69]

William Bowen, a cotton planter from Texas, established a settlement in the Ribeira Valley, a region of dense rainforest between southwestern São Paulo and northeastern Paraná. Bowen acquired slaves and began to cultivate cotton. As early as 1867, he petitioned the provincial government for a road connecting the settlement to larger towns, "as my people have no way to get to market."[70] Besides facing isolation, the colony soon became rife with conflict. In a report to provincial authorities, Bowen claimed that some immigrants had "left the settlement in account of scarcity of provisions and also on account of efforts made by one G. S. Barnsley at [the township of] Iguape to get into his possession the affairs of the colony."[71] George Scarborough Barnsley, a physician from Georgia who had served as assistant surgeon in the Confederate Cavalry, had helped Bowen start the settlement but soon accused him of mismanagement and corruption.

In June 1868, Barnsley wrote a letter to his father explaining why Bowen's and other settlements of ex-Confederates were facing difficulties in Brazil.

> Colonies in unhealthy localities have all failed and all speculations to that end have gone by the board; for very patent reasons: 1st The present age does not permit colonization in bodies for the benefit of one man who becomes a kind of Baron or Feudal Lord; 2nd The Southern people are too poor to settle sickly fertile lands, where they cannot work for themselves; 3rd There must be transportation. … The great curse of many of our people is that they come here … [and] find that the streets are not paved with gold nor the acute Brazilian ready to open his coffers to every stranger. Perplexed and bewildered they stay here a variable time doing nothing, yet ever looking for some "Micawber"[72] to treat and amuse themselves.[73]

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[69] Herbert Huntington Smith, *Brazil, the Amazons and the Coast* (New York: Charles Scribner's Sons, 1879), 136-141.
[70] Petition of Guilherme Bowen, American Colony, N. 3, November 10, 1867, Requerimentos Diversos, Anos 1852-1904, Secretaria da Agricultura, Caixa 1, Ordem 7217, AESP.
[71] Guilherme Bowen, "To His Excellency the President of the Province of São Paulo," N. 1, November 9, 1867, Requerimentos Diversos, Anos 1852-1904, Secretaria da Agricultura, Caixa 1, Ordem 7217, AESP.
[72] Wilkins Micawber is a fictional character in Charles Dickens's *David Copperfield* known for his naïve optimism.
[73] George Scarborough Barnsley to Godfrey Barnsley, Rio de Janeiro, June 22, 1868, Godfrey Barnsley Papers, Box 5, SHC-DU.

The likes of Gunter, Hastings, and Bowen proved Bocaiuva right: the ex-Confederates were indeed moving to Brazil with plans to form their own communities of slaveholders. Yet, as Barnsley explained, expensive slaves, isolated settlements, tropical diseases, and lack of resources prevented the emergence of plantation communities ruled by Anglo-Saxon masters in Brazil.

The intentions of the ex-Confederates who resettled in Brazil had clashed with Brazilian views for the future. Still, Dantas and others, disagreeing with radical abolitionists like Bocaiuva, insisted in settling Brazilian lands with agriculturalists from the American South who knew how to grow cotton. They made it clear from the outset, however, that Brazilians would not extend a helping hand to newcomers who sought to perpetuate the institution of slavery within their enclosed communities. On the contrary, those sponsoring the ex-Confederates wanted them to become small farmers, employing the labor of family members or other immigrants. Not surprisingly, the Santarém, the Doce, and the Ribeira settlements crumbled.

Not all settlements of ex-Confederates failed, however. In December 1866, Gunter's youngest son wrote to his brother in Alabama that he wished their father had "settled on the high lands of S. Paulo instead of the Doce."[74] By June 1868, Barnsley had heard that, "in São Paulo, in the serra-acima country—that is on the great elevated table lands of the interior—the crops have been good and the health excellent."[75] Keyes had also heard about the settlement where the ex-Confederates had "their own schools and churches. In and around Campinas are the points."[76] All three were referring to the settlement of ex-Confederates on

[74] Harris Gunter to William A. Gunter, Rio de Janeiro, December 23, 1866, Charles G. Gunter Family Papers, SPR635, ADAH.
[75] George Scarborough Barnsley to Godfrey Barnsley, Rio de Janeiro, June 22, 1868.
[76] Keyes, "Our Life in Brazil," 298.

the plateau northwest of São Paulo City. At the same time that the immigrants were arriving at the Oeste Paulista, fast economic development was taking place and new opportunities were emerging for those who would adapt to new demands.

Mechanizing the Coffee Kingdom

Rich in iron oxide and nitrogen, the terra roxa [purple earth] of the Oeste Paulista could sustain large coffee crops without much preparation. The global market for coffee was expanding quickly as industrialization made employers seek a stimulant that would keep the proletarian masses working on repetitive and exerting tasks without becoming rowdy.[77] Moreover, the two main competitors of the Oeste Paulista, the British colony of Ceylon and the not so distant Paraíba Valley, were facing rapid decline thanks to pests and soil exhaustion.[78]

Nevertheless, declining competitors, expanding markets, and good soil did not solve structural impediments to the development of the new coffee region. A vital problem still haunted the Oeste Paulista: labor shortage. Because the African slave trade to Brazil had been terminated in 1850, the solution closest at hand was the domestic slave trade. By buying slaves from declining agricultural regions of Brazil and non-plantation areas, the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista were becoming the largest slaveholders of the country. Yet, they were aware that the Brazilian slave population was decreasing, abolitionist agitation was

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[77] E. P. Thompson remains the main authority on the changing labor conditions in nineteenth-century factories: "Time, Work-Discipline, and Industrial Capitalism," *Past & Present* 38 (1967): 56-97. For a similar approach to the American context, see Herbert G. Gutman, "Work, Culture, and Society in Industrializing America, 1815-1919," *The American Historical Review* 78:3 (June 1973): 531-588. On the coffee commodity chain, see Steven Topik and Mario Samper, "The Latin American Coffee Commodity Chain: Brazil and Costa Rica," in *From Silver to Cocaine: Latin American Commodity Chains and World*, eds. Steven Topik, Carlos Marichal, and Zephyr Frank (Durham: Duke University Press, 2006), 118-146.
[78] Dean, *Rio Claro*, 30-34.

starting to pick up steam, and the Brazilian government was moving toward gradual emancipation.[79]

It did not take long for fazendeiros like Joaquim Bonifácio do Amaral and José Vergueiro to start experimenting with free immigrant labor in the Oeste Paulista. Members of the Liberal Party, they nurtured reformist views similar to those of Paula Souza. As early as the 1840s, Amaral and Vergueiro's father started employing Portuguese, German, and Swiss immigrants at Ibicaba and Sete Quedas. Each family of colonos—as rural immigrants were called in Brazil then—was responsible for tending a specific grove of coffee trees and, after harvest, they were paid half of the proceeds from sale. The experience did not bring the expected results, though. Poorly treated by Brazilian supervisors, feeling cheated by the fazendeiros and the merchants, and unable to accumulate enough money to acquire their own lands, the Swiss and Germans began demonstrating discontentment. The Ibicaba immigrants went on a strike in 1856, which Brazilian authorities repressed. Only a few hundred colonos remained in the coffee plantations of the Oeste Paulista thereafter.[80]

As the first experiments with sharecropping failed, the fazendeiros started adopting labor-saving machinery. When Gaston visited Amaral's Sete Quedas plantation, he saw "all the most recent improvements for treating the coffee." The coffee hulling machines, Gaston learned, received "the coffee directly from the tree, without any preliminary process of drying, and even while the berries are yet red, previous to their becoming black." Gaston watched the steam-powered revolving cylinders remove the outside hull of the coffee berry and then drop the coffee beans into tanks, where they were washed by percolation to

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[79] Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia*, 169-199; Dean, *Rio Claro*, 50-123.

[80] Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro: Aspectos Políticos* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2005 [1968]), 89-94; José Sebastião Witter, "Ibicaba Revisitada," *História Econômica da Independência e do Império*, eds. Tamás Szmrecsányi and José Roberto do Amaral Lapa (São Paulo: Imprensa Oficial, 2002), 131-146.

remove dirt, sticks, leaves, and unripe coffee. The coffee beans were then taken to a cement terrace to dry for a few days.[81] Gaston saw five of the same coffee hullers at Vergueiro's Ibicaba plantation. The processed coffee was "entirely free from dust or any foreign matter, and the proprietor states will command from two to five cents per pound more than the rolled or pounded coffee."[82]

Prior to the adoption of coffee hullers, the preparation of the picked coffee was the most labor-intensive stage of production. In order to remove debris, the slaves had first to wash the coffee berries by hand. After washing, they took the berries to dry under the sun. The slaves then had to stir the berries several times a day and store them between dusk and dawn to prevent damage from dew. Depending on the weather, the process could take several weeks and an unexpected rain could ruin everything. Once both the outer shell and the pulp were dry, the coffee berries were taken to mortars to be pounded. After pounding, the slaves used large manual fans to blow away the shells. Finally, the coffee beans were spread on tables and hand-sorted.[83]

Machine-processed coffee dried much faster than whole berries and there was no need for pounding, fanning, or hand-sorting it. Thanks to its superior quality, "machine coffee" sold for twice as much as "terrace coffee."[84] More important, the fazendeiros reckoned that, if the heaviest kind of work on coffee plantations could be performed by machines, it would be easier to employ free hands in coffee cultivation. In other words, coffee hullers were integral part of the fazendeiros' movement toward free labor.

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[81] Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 90.
[82] Gaston, *Hunting a Home* in *Brazil*, 103.
[83] Dean, *Rio Claro*, 37-38.
[84] Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia*, 226-228.

The coffee hullers that Gaston saw in Amaral's and Vergueiro's fazendas were imported by William Van Vleck Lidgerwood from his family's Speedwell Iron Works of Morristown, New Jersey. Although Lidgerwood did some important diplomatic work for the United States Legation during the 1860s, his main occupation was selling agricultural machinery. In July 1862, a few weeks after he arrived in Brazil, Lidgerwood met with Dom Pedro II, who noted that he was a relative of "the owner of a great factory of agricultural instruments and requests a privilege for the Walker machine, which cleans coffee beans and was very beneficial in Cuba."[85] Since the 1850s, Speedwell had been manufacturing the improved coffee hullers patented by New York engineer Robert Porter Walker and selling them to Cuba in great quantities.[86] Now, it was Brazil's turn.

In addition to family capital, Lidgerwood counted on the expanding network connecting Brazilian and American interests. Writing to his stepfather and business partner, Stephen Vail, on the steamer to Rio de Janeiro, Lidgerwood mentioned that one of his travel companions was "Mr. Fletcher, the missionary traveler and writer, the one who wrote the book upon Brazil which I bought a couple of years since and which Pa will no doubt remember." A great storyteller, James Cooley Fletcher quickly captivated Lidgerwood: "His society to me has been a great pleasure."[87] Arriving in Brazil, Fletcher promptly introduced Lidgerwood to members of the elite, including Dom Pedro II.[88] Guided by Fletcher, Lidgerwood became a member of the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional [Auxiliary Society of National Industry] (SAIN) and applied for the exclusive privilege to import,

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[85] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 9, July 14, 1862 (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, IPHAN, MinC, 1999).
[86] Stephen Vail Journals, January 1848-February 1865, HM9 Vail, The Morristown and Morris Township Library.
[87] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Stephen Vail, Steamship *Constitution*, New York to Rio de Janeiro, 200 Miles N.E. of Cape Frio, July, 1862, Stephen Vail Family Correspondence, Unit 1, Folder 20, Shelf 4, Box 1, Historic Speedwell Archives Room, Morristown, New Jersey.
[88] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 9, July 14, 1862 (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, IPHAN, MinC, 1999).

manufacture, and sell Walker's coffee hullers in Brazil. By the end of 1862, he had acquired that privilege for a period of ten years.[89]

Lidgerwood shared Fletcher's sense of mission, believing that American influence would help Brazil transition, without major upheaval, from slave to free labor. Writing to Vail about his first trips to sell machinery in the Paraíba Valley and Minas Gerais, Lidgerwood confided that "I often compare your trips in those sailing vessels to the [American] South, when it was a comparative wilderness, to my being out here, with the same object, the introduction of machinery."[90] Like the antebellum American South, which had made his stepfather rich, Lidgerwood saw Brazil as an improved agricultural society in need of the civilizing forces of machinery, railroads, and free labor.

At the SAIN, Lidgerwood worked alongside modernizers such as André Pinto Rebouças and Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, promoting the mechanization of agriculture and the creation of agricultural schools.[91] In January 1863, Lidgerwood invited journalists to visit his warehouse in Rio de Janeiro. "We observed with utmost interest," *O Auxiliador da Industria Nacional* reported, "the machines that can be used in this country, and provide a great service to our agriculturalists, always so plaintive about the lack of hands."[92] By September 1865, a *New York Herald* correspondent in Rio de Janeiro reported that "Mr. Van Vleck [Lidgerwood] is here looked upon as quite a public benefactor for having introduced so

[89] "Ordem do Dia," *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, 1862. On the Brazilian law of patents and its importance for agricultural machinery in the late nineteenth century, see Luiz Cláudio Moisés Ribeiro, "Ofício Criador: Invento e Patente de Máquina de Beneficiar Café no Brasil (1870-1910)" (master's thesis, Universidade de São Paulo, 1995).
[90] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Stephen Vail, Rio de Janeiro, February 21, 1863, Stephen Vail Family Correspondence, Unit 1, Folder 20, Shelf 4, Box 1, Historic Speedwell Archives Room, Morristown.
[91] Teresa Cribelli notes that "the central aim of the Sociedade Auxiliadora [SAIN] was the dissemination of the latest in scientific and technological advances, especially … for agricultural improvement and as a way to transition from slave to free labor." *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels: Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 26.
[92] "Industria Agricola. Uma Visita ao Establecimento de Maquinas Americanas, do Sr. G. Von V. Lidgerwood, na Rua da Misericórdia, N. 52," *O Auxiliador da Indústria Nacional*, 1863.

much useful machinery into the country of his adoption. … Mr. Lidgerwood is quite a favorite with all, and has become a member of the society for the encouragement and assistance of industry, of which the Emperor is patron."[93]

In his letters, Lidgerwood constantly complained about having to ship his products on the backs of mules, which "slowly wind around the foot of the hills, one after another, seeming in the distance like a long row of snails." Yet, he optimistically informed Vail in September 1863, "these modes of travel are giving way to the advances of civilization." Lidgerwood was glad to learn that Brazilians were "getting their eyes opened gradually to the improvements of the age."[94] In addition to building railroads, Lidgerwood continued, "there is a fine prospect here for business in coffee machinery, water wheels (turbines) for great falls, saw mills and small sugar mills and corn mills."[95]

Lidgerwood became particularly interested in a new railroad being built "from Santos to Sao Paulo – where they tell me is one of the most healthy [sic] spots in the world (city of about 40,000) and is the center of a large coffee growing region. Therefore, Pa can see that in a few years, or even in two or three years, what an impetus will be given to the agricultural resources and products of the interior of this country."[96] Prior to the railroad, the cost of transporting coffee from the interior of São Paulo to the port of Santos could reach a staggering sixty percent of the total value of the product. Consequently, regions of good terra roxa too distant from the seacoast simply could not be profitably cultivated with coffee.[97]

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[93] "The Brazil Paraguay War," *New York Herald*, September 19, 1865.
[94] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Stephen Vail, Rio de Janeiro, September 12, 1863, Stephen Vail Family Correspondence, Unit 1, Folder 20, Shelf 4, Box 1, Historic Speedwell Archives Room, Morristown.
[95] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Stephen Vail, Rio de Janeiro, February 21, 1863.
[96] William Van Vleck Lidgerwood to Stephen Vail, Rio de Janeiro, February 21, 1863.
[97] Flávio Azevedo Marques de Saes, *As Ferrovias de São Paulo, 1870-1940* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1981), 37-67.

Railroad expansion transformed everything. In 1865, the San Paulo Railway Co. Ltd., whose superintendent was John James Aubertin, connected the port of Santos to the provincial capital. In 1868, it arrived in Jundiaí. Then, a group of rich fazendeiros created the Companhia Paulista, which would take the railroad line to Campinas, Limeira, Rio Claro, São Carlos, and Araraquara in subsequent years. The new line drastically reduced transportation costs and encouraged the fazendeiros to spread their coffee plantations along the railroad axis.[98]

The Lidgerwood machines arrived in the Oeste Paulista simultaneously with the railroad. By January 1868, the *Diário de São Paulo* reported on the arrival of coffee hullers in Limeira.

> The coffee processing machines from Lidgerwood's factory begin to be introduced among the planters of this township. There are about half a dozen or more of them around. Considering the notable economy of time and personnel as well as the perfection and cleanliness of the product that comes out after processing—everything compared to the cost and all other expenses necessary to make them work—it seems that the benefit they will bring to agriculture will be remarkable. The agriculturalist is capable of processing in one of them two hundred arrobas [640 pounds] a day, with a small number of hands employed; having, in the end, his product so well processed that it will not fail to be preferred at the market in relation to any other; certainly obtaining the highest prices.
> … Time will make the results clear and, in view of them, the planters will seek to equip themselves with these Lidgerwood machines.[99]

In May 1868, Lidgerwood opened an office in Campinas. Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. was quick to publicize its arrival, buying space in major newspapers in order to publish testimonies from fazendeiros who had acquired the coffee hullers. One of them foresaw that, by purchasing Lidgerwood machines, "the planters will acquire several advantages and

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[98] William Summerhill explains that "railroad expansion in São Paulo pushed out the extensive margins of agriculture, attracted large-scale immigration from abroad, and stimulated investments in the form of improvement to land. Such increases in the stock of the economy's resources generated dynamic gains that escape the social savings estimates. These gains appeared in the increase in output that was due to the newly acquired factors of production." By the 1850s, Brazil claimed 52 percent of world production of coffee, by the 1900s, its share had risen to 77 percent. *Order against Progress: Government, Foreign Investment, and Railroads in Brazil, 1854-1913* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003), 140.

[99] "Correspondência do Diário. Limeira, 13 de Janeiro de 1868," *Diário de São Paulo*, January 28, 1868.

our agriculture will enjoy a benign influence." Another fazendeiro found the Lidgerwood machine excellent. "I therefore recommend it to all planters, with much emphasis, being ready to show its workings in my plantation to whoever wants to see it."[100]

Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. achieved swift success in the Oeste Paulista. In 1871, the provincial president celebrated "the introduction of American machines of Lidgerwood, very common in the province, which, despite its elevated price, offer great advantages; in order to understand these advantages one needs only to notice that, in [the port of] Santos, coffee processed by them, known as machine coffee, sells for 200 réis above any other."[101] In 1873, Manoel Ferraz de Campos Sales, a major fazendeiro in Campinas, wrote a positive review to the local almanac.

> The first machine (Lidgerwood) to appear in the township [of Campinas] to replace the old system was established on the Anhumas plantation, which belonged to Vicente de Souza Queirós, the Baron of Limeira. All observers noticed that upon the introduction of these new machines, our coffee, which was beginning to suffer in consumer markets because of its poor preparation, reconquered the preference which it deserved thanks to its excellent quality.[102]

When Dom Pedro II visited Campinas in 1875, he was glad to see that "the Lidgerwood coffee machines are very well assembled and are moved by the waters of the Sete Quedas Rivulet."[103]

Lidgerwood's success encouraged other manufacturers to enter the machine business. Campos Sales indicated that "until recently, there was no other equipment for coffee processing in this township except the mortar and pestle; today, however, while the latter still prevails, new equipment begins to be introduced, being worthy of notice among

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[100] "Ao Público," *Diário de São Paulo*, March 24, 1868.

[101] *Relatório Apresentado a Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de S. Paulo pelo Presidente da Provincia, o Exm. Sr. Dr. Antonio da Costa Pinto Silva, no Dia 5 de Fevereiro de 1871* (São Paulo: Typ. Americana, 1871), 42.

[102] Manoel Ferraz de Campos Sales, "Campinas em 1872," *Almanak de Campinas para 1873 organizado e publicado por José Maria Lisboa, Anno III* (Campinas: Typographia da Gazeta de Campinas, 1872).

[103] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 16, August 26, 1875 (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, IPHAN, MinC, 1999).

them, for their degree of sophistication, those of the Lidgerwood system and those of the Conrado system."[104] The German brothers Bierrenbach, established in Campinas as hat-makers since the 1850s, were now manufacturing coffee hullers designed by German inventor Johan Conrad Engelberg. And they were not modest when it came to their machines, claiming that they were made "by the best system known to date, solid and economic, perfectly finished, and far superior to the North Americans."[105]

Lidgerwood and his agents would relentlessly go after these smaller manufacturers. From the time of their arrival in the Oeste Paulista, Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. had made clear that they were "inventors, proprietors, and the only privileged in the Empire [of Brazil] to sell the coffee-cleaning devices known by the name *Lidgerwood Machines*." The competition should know that "any person who might make, sell, or use one of these machines, or counterfeit them, or even parts, without previous authorization from the proprietor or from his agents, will be prosecuted with all rigor of the law."[106] Already in 1868, Lidgerwood sued Engelberg, accusing him of infringing on the privilege obtained in 1862 and renewed, due to improvements, in 1867.

Engelberg defended himself by arguing that Lidgerwood was not the original inventor, did not manufacture his machines in Brazil, and the Conrado system was distinct from the Walker (or Lidgerwood) system. After long discussions about cylinders, plates, springs, and screws, in 1871, Lidgerwood obtained a first-instance victory based on the 1830

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[104] Thirty-three Lidgerwood machines and twenty-six Conrado machines could be found in Campinas in 1872. Campos Sales, "Campinas em 1872," 78.
[105] "Fabrica a Vapor de Machinas de Beneficiar Café Bierrembach & Irmão," *Almanak de Campinas para 1871 organizado e publicado por José Maria Lisboa* (Campinas: Typographia da Gazeta de Campinas, 1870), 54-55. For the industrialization of nineteenth-century Campinas, see Ulysses C. Semeghini, *Do Café à Indústria: Uma Cidade e seu Tempo* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1991). On the social and cultural impact of industrialization in Campinas, see José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Cidade: Os Cantos e os Antros: Campinas, 1850-1900* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1996).
[106] "Aviso," *Diário de São Paulo*, May 5, 1868.

Brazilian Law of Patents, which protected inventors and introducers alike. The production of the Conrado machines was halted and the defendant was ordered to pay Lidgerwood for his losses and hand over all his coffee hullers. At the Campinas Courthouse, Engelberg's lawyer groused about how Lidgerwood had been able, at once, to fascinate his allies and terrify his adversaries.

> Similar to the old Roman emperors, the Plaintiff makes his entrance in this august precinct, followed by a horde applauding him, covered by the laurels of victory, dragging behind him the last trophies of the vanquished – we, who remain here mournful with our dejected countenances, forming the entourage of his triumphal car! … Give passage, interests of agriculture; give way, national conveniences; open the road, public necessity; get out: individual rights are passing; it is William Lidgerwood who goes ahead![107]

In 1870, Lidgerwood moved against the Bierrenbach brothers and another German inventor, Johan Josef Stirp. In 1877, he sued his former employee, a Scotsman named William Mac-Hardy, who had left Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. and established his own workshop in Campinas.[108]

After the first-instance victory against Engelberg, however, it became quite difficult for Lidgerwood to convince Brazilian judges that other manufacturers were infringing on his patent. Based on careful examinations of the machines by designated engineers, local judges concluded that different manufacturers used different mechanisms and that they had only been inspired by Walker's invention. Higher courts overturned the decision of the Campinas Court against Engelberg and all the other defendants were acquitted. Brazilian judges chose

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[107] Lidgerwood v. Engelberg, Ação: Libelo Civel, Ano: 1868, Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo, Comarca de Campinas, Ofício: 2, Caixa: 347, Processo: 6684, Folha: 127, Centro de Memória Arquivos Históricos, Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

[108] Lidgerwood v. Bierrembach & Irmão, Ação: Libelo Civel, Ano: 1870, Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo, Comarca de Campinas, Ofício: 1, Caixa: 199, Processo: 04162; Lidgerwood v. Stirp, Ação: Corpo Delito, Ano: 1870, Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo, Comarca de Campinas, Ofício: 1, Caixa: 199, Processo: 04175; Lidgerwood v. Mac-Hardy, Ação: Ordinária, Ano: 1877, Tribunal de Justiça de São Paulo, Comarca de Campinas, Ofício: 2, Caixa: 401, Processo: 8003, Centro de Memória Arquivos Históricos, Universidade Estadual de Campinas.

to foster competition and promote manufacturing in Brazil instead of protecting an American importer.[109]

Unable to defeat his competitors in the Brazilian courts, by the mid 1870s, Lidgerwood established his own foundry in Campinas to better meet the demands of the fazendeiros. It was the largest and most advanced machine factory in Brazil. He also began to foster closer relationships with the fazendeiros.[110] A man from Casa Branca, a township located eighty miles north of Campinas, thanked Lidgerwood for "your cherished letter including samples of coffee, I will take your good advice with great consideration as to how to improve the processing of my coffee."[111]

Concurrently, Lidgerwood invested in advertising. His ads openly attacked his fastest-growing competitor, Mac-Hardy. In 1877, one of these ads posed that the Mac-Hardy machines were "simply a regress to the first models introduced by Mr. Lidgerwood 14 years ago and, in any case, made of much inferior materials."[112] A battle that would last for years ensued when Mac-Hardy decided to confront his former employer. "I challenge them to prove what they say," Mac-Hardy wrote to the *Gazeta de Campinas*. "Moreover, I invite whoever wants to examine the quality of the material that I adopt to come see it."[113]

Lidgerwood's rejoinder came in the form of dozens of letters from fazendeiros attesting to the superior quality of his machines. "Having examined the different systems of

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[109] For more details on the lawsuits, see Ema Elisabete Rodrigues Camillo, "Modernização Agrícola e Máquinas de Beneficiamento: Um Estudo da Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., Década de 1850 a de 1890" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2003).

[110] Olivier Zunz suggests that the proximity between corporations and farmers was responsible for agricultural improvement in the American Midwest during the 1870s: "Technical innovation for instance, involved a constant dialogue between implement manufacturers and their rural customers." A similar pattern developed in the Oeste Paulista at the time. *Making America Corporate: 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 154.

[111] "Despolpador," *Gazeta de Campinas*, November 11, 1879.

[112] "Secção Particular. Ao Público," *Gazeta de Campinas*, February 28, 1877.

[113] "Ao Público," *Gazeta de Campinas*, February 18, 1877.

coffee-processing machines used in this province to date," a fazendeiro from Amparo wrote in 1879, "I did not find one which has satisfied me as much as the Lidgerwood system." For more than a decade, he continued, the Lidgerwood machines "had demonstrated that they are the most propitious to the needs of agriculture. … Always perfectly assembled by the expert machinists of this company, these highly useful machines do not fail in their processing, being indispensable for all well-established plantations."[114] Mac-Hardy counterattacked by publishing testimonies from fazendeiros who pointed to the benefits of competition: "The Lidgerwood machines were sold for a high price because this company had a true monopoly of machinery. Thus, not all planters were capable of obtaining them, so expensive they were." After the Mac-Hardy machines were introduced, though, "a natural process of emulation among the two manufacturers appeared, and the competition came to destroy the monopoly for good."[115]

Instead of damaging Lidgerwood's reputation, these controversies convinced the fazendeiros that his machines had ushered in a mechanical revolution in the Oeste Paulista. In 1876, a user of the Conrado system wrote that, until 1867, the only means to process coffee available in São Paulo had been the mortar and pestle, which damaged the coffee beans and left debris mixed in. "Our agriculture understood nine years ago," he continued, "that the Lidgerwood machines—which clean the coffee, presenting few broken beans—were worthy of replacing those [methods] existing up to that point, and the Santos [export] market has contributed much to generalizing the use of these perfected machines." The Lidgerwood machines not only made coffee from the Oeste Paulista more desirable but also encouraged other manufacturers in the region to build their own machines: "Sales, in large

[114] Manoel Francisco de Oliveira Junior to Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd, Amparo, May 21, 1879, "Secção Particular," *Gazeta de Campinas*, June 29, 1879.
[115] Muitos Fazendeiros, "As Machinas do Sr. Mac-Hardy," *Gazeta de Campinas*, March 1, 1877.

scale, of the cylinder-machines of the Lidgerwood system, made the competition offer machines with some modifications, as, for example, those of Conrado."[116]

The more Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. grew, the more the fazendeiros saw it as a standard for excellent coffee processing. Planning the participation of São Paulo in the 1878 Paris Universal Exposition, the Campinas Agricultural Club sent a petition to the provincial president containing eighty signatures from the richest men of the Oeste Paulista. The fazendeiros demanded that the types of coffee sent to Paris should be "those produced with and sorted by the Lidgerwood machines, which are: those known by the names of *moka*, *large flat*, and *regular flat*."[117] Agricultural reformers concurred with the fazendeiros about Lidgerwood's positive impact on the Oeste Paulista. His SAIN associate Nicolau Joaquim Moreira remarked that the Lidgerwood machines were so widespread in the region that its coffee was known in Europe as "machine coffee."[118]

Observers understood that, by improving the quality of the coffee and making the fazendas more efficient, the Lidgerwood machines were helping ease the ongoing transition from slave to free labor in the Oeste Paulista. In 1880, a commentator from the distant coffee frontier of São Carlos criticized the fazendeiro "who knows that the day when the slave hand will cease wielding the hoe is near, but buys negroes for any price and plants as much coffee as possible." Such an attitude would eventually lead coffee production in the region to a catastrophic decline, the writer contended. Yet, there was a glimmer of hope on the horizon.

> In the middle of this general malaise, indications appear of a truly intelligent work, well-understood efforts, which will in the future replace the current madness, which is reaching the doors of absurdity. We refer here to the useful invention produced by the house of Lidgerwood & C., established in Campinas, named *Huller*. Though simple in the

[116] Um Lavrador, "Machinas de Beneficiar Café," *Gazeta de Campinas*, August 17, 1876.
[117] Club da Lavoura de Campinas, "A Exposição de Paris," *A Província de São Paulo*, December 4, 1877.
[118] Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Breves Considerações sobre a Historia e Cultura do Cafeeiro e Consumo de seu Producto* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia do Imperial Instituto Artistico, 1873), 64.

> combination of its pieces, it offers perfect results, saving time for the agriculturalist in the desiccation of coffee on the terraces. It will shortly become the most powerful auxiliary in the transition from slave to free labor.

The fazendeiros should thank Lidgerwood for the improvements he brought to the Oeste Paulista: "What great results will agriculture obtain, what comforting prospects for those who trust in free labor! This is intelligence defeating old prejudices and erroneous doctrines, while conjuring the crisis that threatens us."[119] To be sure, the article may have been a concealed advertisement written by one of Lidgerwood's associates. Nonetheless, it unequivocally placed Lidgerwood and his machines on the side of a well-planned movement toward slave emancipation in São Paulo.[120]

Although Lidgerwood was seen as a powerful businessman and a great innovator in the Oeste Paulista, he did not wield absolute power. By fostering competition, the São Paulo planter class forced Lidgerwood to adapt his business practices to attend local demands. True, he would reap great profits and consolidate his position as the most important machine manufacturer in nineteenth-century Brazil. But, in the process, Lidgerwood would serve the fazendeiros in their project to transform a slave economy into a booming agroindustrial complex.

Dependency and Development

In addition to manufacturing agricultural machinery in Campinas to serve the needs of the fazendeiros, Lidgerwood provided the structure for the nascent textile industry in the Oeste Paulista. In 1869, Luiz Antonio de Anhaia and the Baron of Piracicaba built a cotton mill close to Itu. A local newspaper reported that "the machine will be, in accordance with

[119] "Despolpador," *Gazeta de Campinas*, September 12, 1880.
[120] Teresa Cribelli finds a similar phenomenon among SAIN intellectuals, who thought that "*máquinas aperfeiçoadas* (perfected machines) promised a peaceful transition from slavery to free labor without overturning the social order." *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels*, 72.

the contract made with Mr. Lidgerwood, of the most modern and perfect kind known today; everything will cost, including the building, 80,000 mil-réis [approximately 40,000 dollars] more or less." The new factory would produce one thousand and five hundred yards of course fabric daily.[121] In 1874, William Pultney Ralston, a Pennsylvania engineer who worked as Lidgerwood's agent in Campinas and married into a rich planter family from Itu, formed a partnership with two sons of the Baron of Limeira to establish the Carioba cotton mill in Santa Bárbara. "Mr. Antonio de Souza Queirós, William Ralston, and Luiz de Souza Queirós," the *Gazeta de Campinas* reported, "propose to establish a great and important textile factory in that township, similar to others that already exist in this province."[122] Most of the cotton that fed these mills was cultivated by ex-Confederates who lived nearby.

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MACHINAS DE COSTURA
SINGER
AVISO IMPORTANTE

Desejando proteger seus amigos e freguezes CONTRA AS IMITAÇÕES
Singer manufacturing Company
tem adoptado a marca abaixo descripta

Nenhuma machina SINGER é LEGITIMA se não leva esta marca FIXA no BRAÇO DA MACHINA

THE SINGER MFG. CO. N.Y.
TRADE MARK

Para evitar CONTRAFACÇÕES note-se bem todos os DETALHES DA MARCA

Marca da Companhia

As unicas MACHINAS VERDADEIRAS DE SINGER vendem-se em casa de
GUILHERME P. RALSTON
AGENTE GERAL PARA A PROVINCIA DE S. PAULO
44, RUA DO COMMERCIO — CAMPINAS

SUB-AGENTES NESTA PROVINCIA:
George G. Harvey, rua da Imperatriz, 2 A—S. Paulo.
Joaquim Antonio d'Araujo Cintra—Limeira.
Guilherme Platt—S. João do Rio Claro.
Hermenigildo Ribeiro do Prado—Patrocinio das Araras.
Candido Augusto da Costa Braga—Pirassununga.
Ricardo Pinto d'Almeida—Piracicaba.
Antonio Mariano Corrêa de Moraes—Tieté (Pirapora de Coruçá).
Antonio Dias d'Aguiar—S. João de Capivary.
Francisco Aprigio Pacheco Jordão—Itú.
João Aguiar de Barros & C.ª—Sorocaba.
Jacintho de Souza Neves—S. Carlos do Pinhal.
Nas casas acima mencionadas é o UNICO logar onde se encontra as legitimas machinas de SINGER.

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GUILHERME P. RALSTON
44-Rua do Commercio-44
CAMPINAS
Agente geral, na provincia de S. Paulo, das acreditadas machinas de
SINGER

Tem sempre um completo sortimento de azeite, agulhas, linhas, retroz, e todas as peças avulsas para o concerto das mesmas.

Damos abaixo uma noticia que, sobre estas afamadas machinas, publicou o acreditado jornal de Nova-York, *Novo Mundo*:

«A machina de costura feita pela The Singer Manufacturing C., na ultima exposição nacional, recebeu o maior premio pelo seu maior numero de vendas! Esta companhia supplantou todas as suas rivaes, pois vendeu em 1870—127,835 machinas, sendo acima de 40,000 mais do que vendeu em 1869; e 44,000 mais do que vendeu em 1870 outra qualquer companhia, como se vê dos seguintes algarismos, tirados dos depoimentos jurados dos varios fabricantes.

A Singer Manufacturing Company vendeu mais de que a Florence Sewing Machine Company 110.178.
Mais do que Wilcox e Gibbs Sewing Machine Company 98,943.
Mais do que Weed Sewing Machine Company 92,831.
Mais do que Grower & Baker Sewing Machine Company 70,431.
Mais do que a Howe Machine Company 52,679.
Mais do que Wheeler e Wilson Manufacturing Company 44,625.

Lidgerwood also became the exclusive importer of Singer sewing machines to Brazil, which Ralston sold in great numbers. These sewing machines became a ubiquitous tool in São Paulo town homes and fazendas, transforming the work of wives, daughters, and domestic servants. *Almanak de Campinas para 1872: Organizado e Publicado por José Maria Lisboa* (Campinas: Typ. da Gazeta de Campinas, 1871).

By the early 1870s, around one thousand ex-Confederates lived in Santa Bárbara, twenty miles north of Campinas and fifteen miles south of Limeira. Since 1865, José Vergueiro and other fazendeiros had been working with Paula Souza to attract settlers from

[121] "Maquina de Tecer," *O Ypiranga*, January 22, 1869. See also Anicleide Zequini, *O Quintal da Fábrica: A Industrialização Pioneira do Interior Paulista, Salto-SP, Séculos XIX e XX* (São Paulo: Annablume, 2004).
[122] "Estabelecimento Industrial," *Gazeta de Campinas*, March 29, 1874.

the American South to the Oeste Paulista, paying for their transportation and lodging.[123] On Paula Souza's death, Dantas continued to work with local immigration promoters. Informed that a group of thirty-one men and women, many accompanied by children, were heading to the Oeste Paulista in March 1867, Dantas ordered the provincial president "to provide them the assistance they need to move to that location without delays." He also approved the reimbursement of "the expenses that the citizen José Vergueiro had with transportation."[124]

Many ex-Confederates would not have made it to the Oeste Paulista were it not for the assistance offered by Vergueiro and other fazendeiros. Some of the newcomers were so destitute that, on March 30, 1867, the police chief of Jundiaí wrote to the provincial president that "a number of families of American immigrants, totaling thirty-four people among men, women, and children, presented themselves to me. They are bound to Campinas and require transportation for themselves and their luggage." The police chief further noted that some of the immigrants "do not even have resources for their own subsistence."[125]

Initially, most of these immigrants became tenants or sharecroppers on lands belonging to fazendeiros in and around Santa Bárbara. Among the newcomers who managed to acquire their own farms, the purchase of uncultivated lands of less than sixty acres was most common.[126] The ex-Confederates' role as dependent farmers in the Oeste Paulista

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123 Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to the President of São Paulo, letters of January 3, January 5, January 10, June 25, and July 6, 1866, 3ª Directoria das Terras Publicas e Colonização, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério dos Negócios da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas, Secretaria da Agricultura, Livro 29, Caixa 7, Ordem 7855, AESP.

124 Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas to the President of São Paulo, Directoria das Terras Publicas e Colonização, Rio de Janeiro, Ministério dos Negócios da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Públicas, March 26, 1867, Secretaria da Agricultura, Livro 30, Caixa 7, Ordem 7855, AESP.

125 Police Chief of Jundiaí to the President of São Paulo, Estrada de Ferro de São Paulo, Telegrama Recebido, March 30, 1867, Secretaria da Agricultura, Livro 30, Caixa 7, Ordem 7855, AESP.

126 Out of 232 land titles belonging to ex-Confederates that historian Alessandra Ferreira Zorzetto found in Santa Bárbara, 75 percent registered lands of less than sixty acres. "Propostas Imigrantistas em Meados da Década de 1860: A Organização de Associações de Apoio à Imigração de Pequenos Proprietários Norte-Americanos – Análise de uma Colônia" (master's thesis, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2000), 90-100.

became established so quickly that, by August 1870, a fazendeiro from Limeira offered lands "in excellent condition, close to town, and near the main road for export to the American immigrants." Although not good for coffee, the lands were great for sugar, tobacco, vine, and cotton. "The proprietor," the ad made clear, "only requires as compensation half of the gross product of each one of the mentioned crops." For a fee, the sharecroppers would be allowed to use the agricultural machines belonging to the landowner.[127]

Unlike the Swiss and German colonists of the 1850s, who had been channeled into fazendas such as Ibicaba and Sete Quedas, the ex-Confederates would not work in coffee plantations. In the Oeste Paulista, they would grow the poor man's crop on marginal lands. A traveler who visited Santa Bárbara in January 1870 admired "the great cotton farms and the way they are planted by means of the plow." Cotton now grew "on good lands that had been abandoned around here, being most of them taken by tall grass, and for this reason devalued by the Brazilians." The visitor praised the ex-Confederates for reclaiming lands that Brazilians rejected: "It is undeniable that the North Americans came here to boost this township, which was completely forsaken."[128]

Besides growing cotton on marginal lands, the ex-Confederates played another very important economic role in the Oeste Paulista. In November 1869, a visitor described how an ex-Confederate in Santa Bárbara "cultivated 14 alqueire [42 acres] of land, having a crop of cotton, and also large quantity of beans, corn, potatoes, etc. etc." The observer was further pleased to learn that "the American agriculturalists have, in addition to their crops, sheep, bees, dairy cows, and all else that brings abundance and a comfortable domestic life." Another newcomer cultivated cotton on "four alqueire [12 acres] of land, having as

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[127] "Atenção," *Correio Paulistano*, August 8, 1871.
[128] "A Pedido. Santa Barbara, Janeiro 1870," *Correio Paulistano*, January 28, 1870.

companion a plow and a mower, besides foodstuffs such as corn, beans, etc." [129] At a time when the fazendeiros were investing mostly in coffee, the farmers from the American South were employing their implements and their own labor to produce food that would feed the fazendas.

Local observers believed that the mixed commercial farms of the ex-Confederates were setting a positive example for the rest of the population. The editor of the *Correio Paulistano* was pleased that "the beneficial influence from the labor and customs of these families … reflects itself on the beautification and growth of the township, which in everything resembles a city of the American Union."[130] In June 1869, provincial legislator João Guilherme de Aguiar Whitaker proposed that the provincial government subsidize the settlement of one thousand more families from the American South in São Paulo. "All territories of the province," he projected, "where lands have stopped producing, not for lack of fertility, but for being exhausted by fire and poor management from backward farmers, will leave the state of abandonment thanks to the arrival of the Americans."[131] In 1873, Campos Sales remarked that "the practical and well-trained North Americans showed us the true advantages of their system, demonstrating that each implement did not need more than a man and an animal to carry out its operation. Therein consists the economy of labor, which we so much need." Campos Sales thanked the ex-Confederates for encouraging local agriculturalists to adopt the plow and other tools for cultivating the soil.[132]

The beneficial influence of the ex-Confederates would also help the province to slowly transition from slave to free labor, the fazendeiros reckoned. Whitaker, who was also

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[129] "De como a Liberade Nobilita o Trabalho," *Correio Paulistano*, November 27, 1869.
[130] "De como a Liberade Nobilita o Trabalho."
[131] Guilherme Whitaker, speech at the Legislative Assembly of São Paulo, June 21, 1869, *Annaes da Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo 1869* (São Paulo: Typographia Americana, 1869), 218.
[132] Campos Sales, "Campinas em 1872," 77.

a major landowner in Rio Claro, reasoned that, "if there are no more slave hands, our planters will not be able to keep their plantations and will have to sell them, and we will then need men capable of buying and cultivating them." He imagined that, as the number of slaves dwindled, large fazendas would be broken up into small farms, which the ex-Confederates would purchase and cultivate with their plows and hired hands. "This is why," Whitaker clarified, "it is necessary that we welcome these men who can, as soon as possible, buy the plantations abandoned by the planters because of lack of hands."[133]

In the beginning, the marriage between the fazendeiros and the ex-Confederates satisfied both parties. George Matthews, a medical doctor from Alabama who had become a farmer in Santa Bárbara, was pleased with the land he had leased: "Instead of tall grass you find eight acres around me as red as your chimney and as nicely plowed as your garden, ready to be planted in two or three days in cotton, in my yard some 1/4 acre, you see orange, lemon, sweet lemon, cedia (or citron), one peach tree, two walnuts and several others you are not acquainted with." Cotton grew easily in Santa Bárbara, Matthews told his son who had stayed in Alabama, and it was grown mostly by the labor of white people. "It has been asserted," he continued, "that cotton couldn't be raised by free labor on account of the miasma of the swamps etc. etc. but here that objection cannot be urged as the health of the white man is not affected by labor in the field." After making six bales of cotton in 1867, Matthews hoped to make fifteen in 1868.[134]

Matthews was relieved to be exempt from taxation and military duty, and to have "no election riots, no free nigger excitement, no epidemics, but little sickness, no freeze, cold spells," or any other trouble to worry about. By contrast, Matthews thought that the

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[133] Whitaker, speech at the Legislative Assembly of São Paulo, June 21, 1869, 219.
[134] George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, October 4, 1868, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

American South was plagued by "heavy taxation, Yankee oppression, free niggerism – disease – excessive summer heat and winter cold (all unknown here)." The most pleasing element of life in Brazil, for Matthews, was the respect for a man's domain. "Politeness ramifies through all grades of society, from the lowliest slaves to the highest nabob of the land: No one not even the Emperor will enter your house until invited or will take a seat until asked to do so."[135] Matthews imagined that he had encountered in the Oeste Paulista the patriarchal lifestyle that Yankee invaders and rebellious slaves had shattered in the American South.

The unravelling of Matthews's arcadia would not be late in coming, however. "I shall not return to the [United] States this year and can't say when I shall attempt it," he wrote to his son in August 1870, "though it is my intention at present to do so whenever I shall be able to reach home with means sufficient to give me a little start." Matthews had just finished packing twelve bales of cotton when he wrote this letter. Yet, "the present low price completely knocks down all my calculations as to returning this year."[136] In January 1871, Matthews's wife Jane wrote to her son to inform that "we had bright prospects of being able to get back home only a few days ago, but I am sorry to say that the great cotton scourge (the caterpillar) has made its appearance. … We may make half a crop or we may make none."[137]

Worse than being trapped in Brazil growing the poor man's crop, for Matthews, was that the land he had been cultivating belonged to a powerful fazendeiro of African descent.

> My chief patron, to whom I bore a letter of introduction, was a Negro, Illustrissimo Senhor and Commendador Francisco Teixeira Vilela. Myself and Dr. Ezell had the honor of dining with this illustrious individual with another barefoot nigger at the table. The last being far the

[135] George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, October 4, 1868.
[136] George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, August 3, 1870, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[137] Jane and George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, January 5, 1871, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

> biggest nigger of the two. This Gentleman (of color) owns on his plantation "Santa Maria" 400 slaves and 800,000 coffee trees, besides owning another large Fazenda "Moro Alto," with 200 more, some of them much whiter than himself. He is a very pretty chocolate color like Hamp and keeps his hair trimmed very close to prevent it curling (kinking). He offered me $750 to do his practice and to build me a good house anywhere within a mile that I might select.[138]

Ashamed of being dependent on a non-white patron, Matthews rejected the offer to work as a doctor in Vilela's plantation. In August 1872, he believed to be planting his last crop in Brazil, hoping to realize "my long cherished wish of reaching home again with an ample sufficiency to live under my own vine and fig tree without fear or favor from any man."[139] Nonetheless, Matthews had to endure yet another decade in Santa Bárbara working for other men.

While Jane Matthews dreamed in vain of having a dairy cow and eating turkey, she felt bad about seeing her husband and children picking cotton. In 1872, she asked her son to tell the family's servant that Matthews "often wishes he had him out here to help him pick cotton. George can pick more than the Doctor [Matthews] or Charlie either."[140] Desperate, Matthews elaborated all sorts of plans to make enough money to leave Brazil, from patenting a corn sheller to breading racehorses. These, however, were all pipe dreams. Meanwhile, Jane continued her lament.

> Doctor [Matthews] and Mr. Whitaker have taken a job of work on the railroad, they are not gradeing, they only cut down and clear it off, it will only take a few days to accomplish it if they can get hands enough. All hands will soon have to be picking cotton, it is opening very fast. Provisions have been scarcer and higher this year than they ever have been since we have been in Brazil. We have never suffered for anything but there are a great many that have. … We have no school in our neighborhood now, there are not enough children (that can be spared out of the cotton fields) to justify one to open a school here at present.[141]

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[138] George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, August 3, 1870.
[139] Jane and George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, August 7, 1872, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[140] Jane and George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, April 8, 1872, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[141] Jane and George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, March 7, 1874, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

After all, having to work for wages on railroad construction, pick cotton, and exploit the labor of their own children, the ex-Confederates of Santa Bárbara were not much better off than those who had stayed in Alabama, North Carolina, or Georgia after the Civil War ended.[142]

Not all ex-Confederates, however, experienced so much hardship as did Matthews. Hailing from Arkansas, Orville Whitaker (who was not related to the São Paulo legislator of the same surname) abhorred the postwar order of the United States. Writing to a friend in 1874, he lamented that "the Southern states are on the eve of a war of races" and augured that "the Northern people and the Federal government will ride with the Negro."[143] Whitaker thought Brazil was a safe haven, free from political trouble. More important, he had found a good balance between farming cotton and railroad work, which he performed alongside Matthews and other neighbors.

Although Whitaker managed to acquire one slave, who made his life somewhat comfortable, he often made clear that he was positioned nowhere near the fazendeiros.[144]

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[142] Steven Hahn notes that "the postwar years gave 'hard times' a new and increasingly enduring aspect. Falling prices for agricultural produce on the international market, discriminatory freight rates, the erection of high protective tariffs, the demonetization of silver, and land policies that favored engrossment combined to squeeze farmers throughout the United States as a national economy was consolidated under the auspices of industrial and financial capital. Supplying raw materials for Northern factories, the South in particular was relegated to junior partnership—if not colonial status—in a powerful industrializing society." *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 168. Although dynamics of power and the political economy differed, ex-Confederates were "relegated to junior partnership" in the Oeste Paulista as well.

[143] Orville Whitaker to Frank O. Adams, Santa Bárbara, November 11, 1874, Mss. 3637, Israel L. Adams and Family Papers, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge. Whitaker's and his Santa Bárbara neighbors' perception of the continuous state of war in the post-1865 American South was shared by many of those who remained in the United States. Gregory Downs writes that "although Republicans sought to steer their revolution to a safe, peaceful end, they could not fully achieve that goal. Facing a powerful insurgency, they accomplished only part of what they desired. But it would be a mistake to read the lack of success as a lack of will or imagination. Even moderate Republicans were bolder—in their use of the Constitution and of force—than almost any American politician from any other era in history. In their fight for liberal rights, they did not shy away from illiberal methods." *After Appomattox*, 249.

[144] Although family and hired labor was prevalent, one third of the ex-Confederate families in Santa Bárbara owned slaves. Yet, because the price of a slave was often equivalent to a ninety-acre farm, most slaveholding immigrants owned no more than three slaves. Zorzetto, "Propostas Imigrantistas em Meados da Década de 1860," 105-113.

Because cotton had reached a very low price in the early 1870s, he explained, "the Brazilians have most all quit planting it" and had "mostly turned their attention to planting coffee trees." Therefore, he bemoaned, "there has been almost a perfect mania amongst the Brazilians to obtain coffee lands and to buy Negroes, the result is lands that will grow coffee and Negroes have advanced in price quite materially." Whitaker knew that coffee was the best business "that any one can follow in this country," but was also aware that "it will not pay a man of my age to go to planting coffee trees as it takes four years under the most favorable circumstances to realize any crop from them."[145]

Still, Whitaker was hopeful that the rapid development of the Oeste Paulista would end up benefiting his community. The new Santa Bárbara train station was only six miles away from his farm and, he indicated in September 1875, "in the course of six months there will be seven cotton factories running and the furthest one will not be more than fifty miles from me, some of them are now running, last week I sold sixteen bales of cotton to a factory not more than ten miles from me."[146] The closest and most successful of these factories was the Carioba, establish by Ralston with equipment supplied by Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd.

One of the ex-Confederates to take better advantage of these changes was William Hutchinson Norris, a former state senator and planter in Alabama. Although Norris came to Brazil with enough money to buy his farm, which he named New Alabama, he and his family had to adapt to the demands of the fazendeiros. Norris's son Robert, who had served in Stonewall Jackson's brigade, had to work as an overseer on a fazenda forty miles from their home. The pressure to make money also affected the choice of crops at New Alabama. "I do not know how much cotton we will be able to plant," Norris told a son who had stayed in

145 Orville Whitaker to Frank O. Adams, Santa Bárbara, November 11, 1874.
146 Orville Whitaker to Frank O. Adams, Santa Bárbara, September 14, 1875, Israel L. Adams and Family Papers, Mss. 3637, Louisiana State University Libraries, Baton Rouge.

the United States, "but all we can. It is the only produce that brings ready money. Tobacco and cigars don't seem to sell readily, and the Americans have quit raising tobacco, and will plant cotton."[147]

Once New Alabama started producing plenty of cotton, Norris came to believe that in Brazil, "with industry and proper management, any man can make as much as he can possibly house." A dedicated agriculturalist, Norris was critical of his neighbors. "The Doctor," he censured Matthews, "has recently returned from a trip in the interior of the country where there are plenty of deer, anteaters, tigers and other large game, and I would not be at all surprised if him and Reece move there another year. … Neither of them likes to farm and unfortunately for them they don't know how to take care of money."[148]

Perhaps a bit jealous, in 1872, Jane Matthews told her son that "Norris has bought a negro woman, I am truly glad for the old lady's sake." The female slave did not understand the language of her new masters, but "the negro boy that they have speaks English as well as he does Portuguese, so I guess he will soon learn her."[149] The acquisition of two slaves certainly meant a lot to Norris. He had been a proslavery secessionist in Alabama and his decision to rebuild life in Brazil came, above all, from his hatred of abolitionists and freedpeople. "The people of the North imposed slavery upon the people of the South, the North made their fortunes by the operation," he wrote to a friend in 1873. "They abolished slavery in the South, and now they wish to enslave the white people of the South and they

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[147] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, August 1, 1869, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[148] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, August 1, 1869.
[149] Jane and George Matthews to Imo, Santa Bárbara, August 7, 1872, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

will do it, if you of the South do not firmly and boldly take steps under the Constitution to maintain your rights."[150]

Norris often claimed that he had found stability in Brazil, being able to work, feed his family, and prosper without intervention from above or disruption from below.

> No government on earth [is] more prosperous, quiet and happy than this. I came here as poor as the Devil would have me be (it is said he is after the rich) and was compelled to struggle pretty hard for about three years. After that, I have been able to see my way pretty clear. I am comfortably situated, have plenty of good land, and a beautiful farm. I gave $3500 for my land, have sold about $5000 worth of it, and yet have 1000 or 1200 acres left, enough for all practical purposes. Make heavy crops of cotton, corn, potatoes.

While his neighbors complained about hard work and growing debt, Norris had "over forty bales of [picked] cotton, plenty of corn, plenty of stock, cows, hogs and horses, etc. I have bought and paid for two negroes and we could pay for six more." He would not exchange his life in Santa Bárbara for anything in his native country. "When I compare our situation with the people of the Southern States," Norris closed his April 1873 letter, "I come to the conclusion that I would not be back there for the whole of Alabama, unless I could rid it of Radicalism."[151]

As Norris tried to preserve rural patriarchy, other ex-Confederates were more directly serving the fazendeiros as physicians. In 1867, George Scarborough Barnsley had optimistically written to his father that he would leave the Ribeira Valley for the Oeste Paulista, where he would practice medicine and also farm, hoping to get "all the necessary to commence moderately."[152] By 1870, Barnsley had moved to Tatuí, near the cotton-growing Sorocaba, where he bought a small tract of land with another ex-Confederate: "Mr. Emerson and I have, jointly, bought a 'chacara' (country-place) near the village and propose living

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[150] William Hutchinson Norris to J. W. Shomo, M.D., Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, April 9, 1873, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[151] William Hutchinson Norris to J. W. Shomo, Sitio New Alabama, Province of Sao Paulo, April 9, 1873.
[152] George Scarborough Barnsley to Godfrey Barnsley, Rio de Janeiro, May 23, 1867, Godfrey Barnsley Papers, Box 5, SHC-DU.

together. By having this place I shall be enabled to plant grape, keep my horses fat, and have corn and garden. Mr. E will plant cotton."[153]

The farm never thrived and the medical profession became Barnsley's only viable means to make a living. But it was not easy: "I must confess that the heavy work I have to do, with exposure, I fear will eventually injure me." In debt, Barnsley found himself "forced to enter into a contract with the most influential families of the place to treat [them] for six months, receiving the money beforehand. This 'partido' [group] has been a source of loss to me and has given arise to much unnecessary labor." Barnsley had to travel on horseback from one fazenda to the next, serving as doctor to the planters, their families, and slaves. "Among my 'partido' I have done some very hard work this past two months," he complained, "having ridden over five hundred miles in that time."[154]

According to Barnsley, many of his countrymen had moderate success working as physicians in the Oeste Paulista. Dr. Jones had become a famous doctor around Santa Bárbara and "Dr. Crisp practiced some and farmed more at S. Barbara and did well."[155] Norris's son Robert also became a country doctor. Like Barnsley, he dreamed of living off his farm and, as late as 1885, he wrote to his brother that "with a good pasture my family would be self-sustaining without any effort of mine."[156] Yet, Robert only started making ends meet when he began practicing the medical profession which he had learned at the Mobile Medical College. "Robert has kept pretty busy and has been very successful," Norris

[153] George Scarborough Barnsley to Godfrey Barnsley, Tatuí, June 8, 1870, Godfrey Barnsley Papers, Box 5, SHC-DU.
[154] George Scarborough Barnsley to Godfrey Barnsley, Tatuí, September 7, 1870, Godfrey Barnsley Papers, Box 5, SHC-DU.
[155] George Scarborough Barnsley, "Notes on Brazil during the Years of 1867 to 1880," George Scarborough Barnsley Papers, Subseries 3.1, Folder 23, Volume 4, SHC-CP.
[156] Robert Cicero Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Santa Bárbara, September 6, 1885, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

noted in 1887, "the typhoid fever is considered almost a new disease in this country, consequently the Brazilian doctors hardly knew how to treat it."[157]

The most successful of these physicians from the American South was James McFadden Gaston. Like Barnsley, Gaston had first settled at the Ribeira but soon started moving around the São Paulo interior. One day, on a road near Tatuí, Barnsley met Gaston traveling with his family. "The four smaller children were put into baskets, two on each side," Barnsley recounted, "and these baskets were tied on to a mule's pack-saddle in the common way. The rest came on horseback."[158]

By 1873, the peripatetic Gaston had opened his own clinic in the heart of the Oeste Paulista. "Dr. Gaston reached Campinas," his son wrote in a memorial, "just at a time when return for his services was most remunerative. He was well acquainted with the superintendent of the railway, Mr. William J. Hammond, and some of the officials of the telegraph office and the services rendered were well appreciated and well paid for." Gaston specialized in treating accidents caused by railroad construction. "The repair of the many injuries to the fitters, apprentices, and other workmen in the shops," Gaston Jr. recounted, "was also part of the business, while the locomotive engineers often met with serious accidents requiring amputation of limbs and relief of pain and suffering." And "there were also more and more large foundries and machine shops springing up in the city of Campinas," which sent several other injured bodies to Gaston's clinic.[159] By treating the emerging industrial workforce of the Oeste Paulista, Gaston offered a vital contribution to the advancement of the region during the 1870s.

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[157] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, January 13-14, 1887, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[158] Barnsley, "Notes on Brazil during the Years of 1867 to 1880."
[159] James McFadden Gaston Jr., "A Pathfinder of Yesterday: James McFadden Gaston, Patriot, Explorer, Scientist," James McFadden Gaston Papers, Subseries 2, Folder 19, SHC-CP.

Neither Gaston nor Norris would be the hands to replace the slaves on the fazendas of the Oeste Paulista. Yet, they performed valuable work in the region. As the fazendeiros recognized that economic diversification would help Brazil navigate a smooth transition from slave to free labor, they directed the ex-Confederates to occupations that would complement their expanding enterprises. Some immigrants grew cotton for the new cotton mills and foodstuffs for the fazendas and towns. Others worked in railroad construction. Yet others, who knew about medicine, treated the illnesses of fazendeiros, slaves, and industrial workers. Not all ex-Confederates were happy with the dependent status that they had assumed in the Oeste Paulista. But they did not have many options besides fulfilling the roles that the local elite had reserved for them.

Faith in Education

While American farmers, doctors, and manufactures helped transform the economy of the Oeste Paulista, American missionaries from both northern and southern states helped transform its mind. In 1860, Alexander Latimer Blackford of Ohio moved to Rio de Janeiro to join the newly established mission of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America (PCUSA), the northern faction of American Presbyterianism.[160] In 1863, he moved to São Paulo and started to travel around the province, quickly acquiring a significant following.

In 1868, a mob in the township of Lorena, located in the Paraíba Valley, close to the border with Rio de Janeiro, attacked Blackford's service. Tavares Bastos intervened immediately, writing to the provincial president demanding protection for his missionary friend. Fletcher also acted, writing from Boston to Dom Pedro II that episodes like that

[160] On Presbyterianism in nineteenth-century Brazil, see David Gueiros Vieira, *O Protestantismo, a Maçonaria e a Questão Religiosa no Brasil* (Brasília: Editora Universidade de Brasília, 1980), 135-161.

were doing great damage to Brazil's image in the United States. Always faithful to Brazilian interests, though, Fletcher did all he could to explain the episode to the American public: "I have excused it by saying that it was far from the capital and a few people, probably mostly low Portuguese rendeiros [sharecroppers] and feitores [overseers], incited to this bloody and cowardly deed by ignorant and fanatical priests; and that I was sure His Majesty did not approve of it."[161]

Patronized by Tavares Bastos and Fletcher, the PCUSA missionaries continued to work in São Paulo, going to the Oeste Paulista. Still, Blackford found a major impediment to the success of the gospel there. Writing to the leader of the PCUSA mission in Brazil, he noted "the lack of instruction and the weak intellectual development of many people among the most accessible classes, and most inclined to the gospel."[162] Blackford saw the need to educate the local population.

In 1869, Blackford moved back to Rio de Janeiro. The PCUSA mission in São Paulo was then transferred to George Whitehill Chamberlain, a native of Pennsylvania and a graduate of the Union Theological Seminary in New York City, who had arrived in Brazil in 1862. In 1871, Chamberlain and his wife, following Blackford's plan, established the Escola Americana in São Paulo City, a day school for boys and girls modeled after New York public schools. It was not long before the new institution became popular among the locals. São Paulo newspapers were thrilled that the Escola Americana established the first kindergarten in that city, adopted innovative methods of education, and offered classes in English and

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[161] James Cooley Fletcher to Dom Pedro II, Boston, January 22, 1869, Arquivo da Casa Imperial do Brasil, Documento 7050, AMIP.

[162] Alexander Latimer Blackford, "Algumas Considerações sobre os Obstáculos ao Progresso do Evangelho no Brazil, Apresentadas ao Prebyterio do Rio de Janeiro em sua Sessão de 16 de Julho de 1867," Relatórios dos Campos de Trabalho Enviados por estes Missionários e Pastores ao Presbitério do Rio de Janeiro em 1861 a 1872, Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira, Campinas.

German as well as advanced courses in drawing, music, geography, and astronomy.[163] Moreover, unlike most Brazilian schools, the Escola Americana did not subject students to physical punishment. "One can find there the America ideal," the *Correio Paulistano* celebrated in 1872.[164]

In an advertisement published in the *Correio Paulistano* in 1873, Chamberlain informed the public that, at his institution, "tuition is free or paid in accordance with the conditions of the parents or guardians: no one is excluded for not being able to pay."[165] Chamberlain's charitable intentions notwithstanding, the Escola Americana served some of the most affluent residents of São Paulo. Missionary John Beatty Howell, a native of New Jersey and a graduate of the Princeton Theological Seminary, was most responsible for turning Chamberlain's school into an elite institution. Appointed school administrator in 1874, Howell decided to make "a change in the terms of registration, requiring from all, with the exception of a few poor members of our church, the payment of tuition." In 1875, he wrote to the Presbytery of Rio de Janeiro that "I believe I can say that these changes made the school better appreciated and attended."[166] The 1878 *Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions* described the one hundred and twenty five pupils of the Escola Americana as "representing some of the best families in the city."[167]

The Escola Americana grew fast and, by 1877, local observers were pleased that Chamberlain "has spared no sacrifices to take the school to its utmost development, having

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163 "Escola Americana" *Correio Paulistano*, December 5, 1872; "Estatutos Provisórios da Escola Americana" *Correio Paulistano*, July 1, 1873; "Metodo Rapido para Aprender a Ler" *Correio Paulistano*, October 21, 1874.
164 "Escola Americana," *Correio Paulistano*, August 8, 1872.
165 "Escola Americana. Rua de S. José n.1 S. Paulo," *Correio Paulistano*, February 21, 1873.
166 "Relatório de J. B. Howell. São Paulo 1875," Relatórios dos Campos de Trabalho Enviados por estes Missionários e Pastores ao Presbitério do Rio de Janeiro em 1861 a 1872, Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira.
167 "Missions in Brazil," *The Forty-First Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Mission House, 1878), 24.

rendered so many services to public instruction in this capital, taking his dedication so far as erecting at São João Street a beautiful and vast building with all the necessary accommodations for this end."[168] Above all, the locals were delighted to see that the school was helping to instill a new civic culture in their children. William Alfred Waddell, a missionary from Iowa who served as school administrator, recalled the reasons behind the quick success of the Escola Americana.

> Attending to the fact that the Protestant concept of a school excludes religious propaganda and limits the function of the school to questions of moral and ethics, based on the teachings of Christ, and, also, to the fact that the children of many Brazilians who belong to the republican constituency, suffering in the public schools, started seeking to enroll in our school, it was decided that the institution would be opened to all who, knowing its organization, desired to come.[169]

Francisco Quirino dos Santos, a republican leader in the Oeste Paulista and the editor of the *Gazeta de Campinas*, spoke at a commencement ceremony at the Escola Americana in 1873, "celebrating, with brilliant words, the interesting and imposing spectacle that he was watching."[170] In 1878, when a terrible drought afflicted the northeastern provinces of Brazil, Chamberlain organized festivities at his school to collect money for the victims. Present at the event, Eduardo Prado, the republican son of the richest coffee planter of the Oeste Paulista, and Francisco Rangel Pestana, a republican journalist resident in Campinas, both "praised the philanthropic sentiments of the distinct teachers of the Escola Americana."[171]

In addition to running the school, Chamberlain traveled the province preaching. He made some prominent converts to Protestantism, such as Luiz Antonio de Souza Barros, a wealthy fazendeiro from Piracicaba.[172] But the tireless Chamberlain did not restrict his

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[168] "Escola Americana" *Diário de São Paulo*, April 3, 1877.
[169] William Alfred Waddell apud Júlio Andrade Ferreira, *História da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil em Comemoração ao seu Primeiro Centenário*, Volume 1 (São Paulo: Casa Editora Presbiteriana, 1959), 100.
[170] "Festa Escolar," *Correio Paulistano*, June 7, 1873.
[171] "Festa de Caridade," *Correio Paulistano*, January 27, 1878.
[172] Ferreira, *História da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil*, 196.

preaching to the elite. He visited the settlement of ex-Confederates in Santa Bárbara quite often. During one of his trips, he was invited to preach "at the farm of an influential man close to S. Bárbara and found a rustic auditorium, sons of the countryside and accustomed to labor, who listened with pleasure to the words of salvation."[173]

Stopping in Campinas, Chamberlain met Reverends George Nash Morton, from Virginia, and Edward Lane, a native of the British West Indies who had relocated to the American South as a young man. They had arrived in 1869 as missionaries of the Presbyterian Church in the United States (PCUS), which had broken with northern Presbyterians during the secession crisis over the question of slavery.[174] Setting sectionalism aside, Chamberlain became close to the PCUS missionaries, constantly traveling through the Oeste Paulista with them.[175]

The partnership between northern and southern Presbyterians soon bore fruits. In December 1871, the *Gazeta de Campinas* reported that Morton and Lane called a meeting in Campinas "to deliberate on various points concerning the establishment of a school based on the method adopted in many places of the United States." During the meeting, "Mr. Chamberlain, commissioned by Messrs. Morton and E. Lane, read an exposition of the bases of the school that both men seek to establish." The more than fifty attendees made sure that the Presbyterian educators would choose "Campinas as the most convenient location [for the new school] given that it is considered the agricultural capital of the province." Taking an

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173 "Relatório do Reverendo Geo. W. Chamberlain, Pastor da Igreja de San Paulo, apresentado ao Presbítero do Rio de Janeiro na Sessão de 1870," Relatórios dos Campos de Trabalho Enviados por estes Missionários e Pastores ao Presbitério do Rio de Janeiro em 1861 a 1872, Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira.

174 On how the problem of slavery created religious schisms in the antebellum United States, see Mark A. Noll, *The Civil War as a Theological Crisis* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2006).

175 "Relatório de G. W. Chamberlain, Pastor da Igreja de São Paulo, lido perante o Presbbitério do Rio de Janeiro na Sessão aos 19 de Agosto 1872," Relatórios dos Campos de Trabalho Enviados por estes Missionários e Pastores ao Presbitério do Rio de Janeiro em 1861 a 1872, Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira.

active part in the proceedings were Republican leaders Quirino dos Santos, Rangel Pestana, and Campos Sales, who made sure that the project received unanimous acclaim. Side by side with the Republicans were several fazendeiros, merchants, lawyers, doctors, and even Ralston. Under the blessing of prominent locals and relying on Chamberlain's guidance, Morton and Lane established the Colégio Internacional in Campinas.[176]

Although the school would absorb most of his time now, Morton did not give up the work with the ex-Confederates. A British naturalist who visited Campinas by the mid 1870s was pleased to meet Morton and Lane, remarking that "there are some three hundred Americans (all exiled Southerners) living in the district, which is visited in turn by these ministers of the gospel."[177] Morton, Lane, and other Protestant missionaries attracted a large following among the ex-Confederates, but could not please everyone. "I can truly say, we have no schism, no discord, no slander, no tattling or backbiting [here]," Norris wrote to a relative in Alabama, "except what is produced by the missionaries sent here by the different boards of missions."[178]

Whether Norris liked it or not, the American missionaries were growing in the esteem of the local population. In 1874, the *Imprensa Evangélica*—the PCUSA publication in Brazil—reported that the Colégio Internacional, only one year since its inception, had one hundred and seventeen male and forty female students. The PCUSA recommended the Colégio Internacional "to parents who desire for their children varied and solid instruction along with a careful moral and religious education."[179] While in Campinas in 1874, an

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[176] "O Collegio dos Srs. Morton e Lane," *Gazeta de Campinas*, December 14, 1872.
[177] William Hadfield, *Brazil and the River Plate, 1870-76* (London: Edward Stanford, 1877), 162.
[178] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, January 13, 1887, LPR191, William H. Norris Family Papers, ADAH.
[179] "Collegio Internacional," *Imprensa Evangélica*, September 19, 1874.

American visitor was happy to see that the school was expanding its influence as well as its structure.

> Mr. Morton has found it necessary to construct a larger college building, so anxious are the better classes to have their children receive proper instruction and to surround them with refining influences. At present, the building is nearly completed, and he is still obliged to refuse further applicants. The school is non-sectarian, and the training is of the most liberal character. It is gratifying to our countrymen on entering that city to be told that the conspicuous and prominent building on the hillside is an American college.[180]

Just like Chamberlain's Escola Americana, Morton's Colégio Internacional attracted reform-minded locals. During a literary festival held at the school in 1875, Clemente Falcão de Souza Filho, a professor at the São Paulo Law School, suggested that the Colégio Internacional brought from the United States the ideal that "the citizens must put their talents to the service of their nation, and that the nation, for its part, must give to its children all the means to realize the greatest portion of their possibilities." Such an elevated ideal, Souza Filho continued, was the only one compatible with a century in which freedom had triumphed, dogmas had fallen, the telescope and the microscope had expanded human vision, and canals, telegraphs, railroads, and steamships had overcome geographical distance.[181] Contributing to the prestige of the institution, ads in the *Gazeta de Campinas* stressed that the Colégio Internacional "prepares students for the academies of the Empire as well as for universities and polytechnic schools of the United States and Europe."[182]

Morton hired prominent intellectuals and reformers to teach at the Colégio Internacional. One of them was Rangel Pestana, who considered the school the best hope for rebuilding Brazilian society: "Since the disappointments of public life began to cloud my heart, I have turned my views to the school, as the point from where will spring a generation

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[180] William S. Auchincloss, *Ninety Days in the Tropics or Letters from Brazil* (Wilmington: 1874), 36.
[181] "Discurso proferido no Collegio Internacional por ocasião da distribuição de prêmios," *Gazeta de Campinas*, January 7, 1875.
[182] "Collegio Internacional," *Gazeta de Campinas*, January 5, 1874.

capable of saving the nation from the evils that are degrading it." He rejoiced that "in this house of education we can already see the shaping of young men who resemble the North-American student, proud and delicate, energetic and respectful of the social laws."[183] Nurturing similar modernizing views, in 1876, the students of the Colégio Internacional created a periodical. In the declaration of principles, they stated that "the Brazilian youth must not continue traditions which are not theirs and which kill the dreams of the most blessed of all lands."[184]

In 1879, Morton left the Colégio Internacional under Lane's supervision and opened another school in the provincial capital, which, he hoped, would be the basis for the first Brazilian university. "There is no reason," Morton explained, "for the province of S. Paulo, so progressive in material development, not to take the forefront in intellectual and moral development." He believed that São Paulo City would be the perfect place for establishing a university because the Law School was already there. "What we need with great urgency now is an academy of arts and sciences," Morton explained. "Later, other colleges will be established. My task is to create the foundation."[185]

Morton received enthusiastic support from the local elite. *A Província de São Paulo*, whose editor-in-chief in 1879 was none other than Rangel Pestana, applauded his "admirable courage," emphasizing that "the idea of the illustrious teacher is magnificent; the province needs an educational institution compatible with the quality of its coffee production and its railroads." But Rangel Pestana's support came with a warning: the pervasive ignorance of

[183] Francisco Rangel Pestana, "Uma festa no Collegio Internacional," *Gazeta de Campinas*, July 1, 1876.
[184] "Revista Literária do Collegio Internacional," *Gazeta de Campinas*, March 22, 1876.
[185] George Nash Morton, "Educação Nacional," *A Província de São Paulo*, November 20, 1879.

Brazilian society and the retrograde educational system imposed by the monarchical government would make Morton's endeavor very difficult.[186]

Morton's troubles nonetheless began when he got involved in a controversy with local Positivists.[187] In February 1880, Morton published an article in *A Província de São Paulo* claiming that Auguste Comte's ideas were "fatal, cold, without a soul, without compassion, without life."[188] Articles defending the father of Positivism and attacking Morton appeared subsequently in *A Província de São Paulo*.[189] Morton retorted and the controversy got quite long and ugly.[190] Losing supporters and money, he left the country in 1883.[191] Yet, he was not forgotten. Over a decade later, a Brazilian traveler met Morton in New York City and was pleased to find that he knew all about "the political career of his former students and friends who had reached the highest positions in the [Brazilian] Republic. He took out of a drawer a collection of postcards, and those from Prudente de Morais, Campos Sales, Bernardino de Campos, and Martinho Campos stood out."[192]

While Morton took his own path, the PCUSA continued supporting educational enterprises in the province of São Paulo. Working alongside Chamberlain, João Fernandes da Gama, a Presbyterian missionary born on the Portuguese island of Madeira and educated in the United States, visited fazendas and small towns in the deep Oeste Paulista. In 1874, he heard from the inhabitants of a rural neighborhood in Rio Claro that "nobody there knows how to read, they are desirous of having a school whenever possible so all of them can learn

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[186] "O Estabelecimento de Instrução projetado pelo Sr. Morton," *A Província de São Paulo*, November 22, 1879.
[187] For an analysis of Positivism in Brazil, see Angela Alonso, *Idéias em Movimento: A Geração 1870 na Crise do Brasil-Império* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2002), 165-262.
[188] George Nash Morton, "Positivismo," *A Província de São Paulo*, February 13, 1880.
[189] Luiz Pereira Barreto, "O Sr. G. N. Morton e o Positivismo," *A Província de São Paulo*, February 17, 1880.
[190] George Nash Morton, "Positivismo," *A Província de São Paulo*, February 22, 1880.
[191] Ferreira, *História da Igreja Presbiteriana do Brasil*, 123.
[192] José Custódio Alves de Lima, *Recordações de Homens e Cousas do meu Tempo* (Rio de Janeiro: Livraria Editora Leite Ribeiro, 1926), 57.

and be instructed in the Gospel."[193] Gama then created a school there with plans to "train up a class of earnest, self denying laborers, who will be fitted to live among the poorer classes in the interior, and lead them in the way of salvation."[194] Like Chamberlain and Morton before him, Gama attracted the attention of some influential people. As the PCUSA Board of Foreign Missions noted in 1885, "much interest was shown by the public in the annual school examination; not even standing room remained, and Romanists gave open expression to their approval, especially as regards the education of girls."[195]

Other American Protestant denominations soon joined the Presbyterians in the Oeste Paulista. In 1871, a few members of the Southern Baptist Convention (SBC) established a church in Santa Bárbara. Ten years after opening, the head of the SBC mission, a Texan named William Buck Bagby, complained that his following would not expand beyond the ex-Confederates, who lacked the pecuniary means to maintain the congregation. The solution would be to appeal to native Brazilians. But this was no easy task, Bagby reckoned.

> Here atheism as well as Catholicism stand in opposition to the promulgation of the gospel of Christ. Here the whole surrounding—social and political—is opposed to Bible truth. The heart of the present generation—hardened by crime, darkened by ignorance, insensible by prejudice, established by habit, fanatical by education—lies beyond the probability of reformation. May it be said, "Can the Ethiopian change his skin or the leopard his spots?"

Seeking to change the leopard's spots, in 1881, Bagby requested funds from the SBC to open a day school in Santa Bárbara, noting that "the Presbyterians have a college at Campinas and another at San Paulo." The experience of Chamberlain and Morton, he suggested, showed

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[193] "Relatório Annual de J. F. Dagama apresentado ao Presbytero do Rio de Janeiro em sessão em São Paulo 9 de Agosto de 1873," Relatórios dos Campos de Trabalho Enviados por estes Missionários e Pastores ao Presbitério do Rio de Janeiro em 1861 a 1872, Museu Presbiteriano Reverendo Júlio Andrade Ferreira.
[194] "Missions in Brazil," *The Forty-Second Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Mission House, 1879), 22.
[195] "Missions in Brazil," *The Forty-Eighth Annual Report of the Board of Foreign Missions of the Presbyterian Church in the United States of America* (New York: Mission House, 1885), 39.

that "the conquests of the gospel in papal lands depend much upon the early culture of the inhabitants. … The mission school prepares the way for the march of the church." Nonetheless, the new Baptist school was not to be a strictly religious institution. "The school must be essentially free," Bagby clarified, "otherwise it could not withstand the counter-influence of the free-school system of Brazil that is widely dispersed throughout the Empire. … The school, during the regular hours of study, cannot bring in the dogmas of any religion whatever as a subject of instruction."[196]

During a trip to the provincial capital, Bagby attendeded a meeting of the PCUSA and had "an opportunity of seeing and consulting with their workers from different localities of the Empire, some of whom have had long, varied, and valuable experience in mission operations in this country."[197] The Escola Americana became a model for the Baptist school in Santa Bárbara and Chamberlain a mentor to Bagby. "I am anxious to make a journey in a few weeks to the farther interior with Mr. Chamberlain," Bagby wrote in June 1881. "He speakes Portuguese excellently, and by traveling with him and mingling with the Brazilians I can learn a great deal of their language, manners, and customs, which can never be learned from textbooks."[198]

Not far away from Bagby's day school, Republican leader and fazendeiro Prudente José de Morais e Barros (also known as Prudente de Morais) and his brother Manoel Morais e Barros became interested in the American model of education. In 1879, the Morais e Barros brothers approached Methodist missionary Junius Newman to establish a school for girls in Piracicaba. Newman had come from Alabama to Santa Bárbara in 1867 along with

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[196] "Brazilian Mission. Arrival of New Missionaries," *Foreign Mission Journal*, May 1881.
[197] William Buck Bagby, "Letter from Brother Bagby. Santa Barbara, Sao Paulo, Brazil, Sept. 2nd, 1881," *Foreign Mission Journal*, November 1881.
[198] William Buck Bagby, "Good News from Brazil. Campinas, Sao Paulo, Brazil, June 30, 1881," *Foreign Mission Journal*, September 1881.

his daughter Annie, who had studied at the Colégio Internacional. Alongside the Morais e Barros brothers, Annie Newman established the Colégio Piracicabano in 1881. Soon after, however, she got married to a missionary from Tennessee and moved to Rio de Janeiro. Late in 1881, with support of the Woman's Missionary Society of the Methodist Episcopal Church South, Martha Watts of Kentucky arrived in Piracicaba to take charge of the new school.[199]

The network of American missionaries and educators in the province of São Paulo facilitated Watt's adaptation to her new surroundings.

> We have had pleasant intercourse with other missionaries; we have been invited to visit them at Campinas, and now have a very pressing invitation to go to San Paulo during the sitting of the San Paulo Presbytery – which, no doubt, will be a pleasant meeting of missionaries. … Mr. Chamberlain, of the Presbyterian Mission at San Paulo, preached in Portuguese in our little parlor, one night, to a small congregation. Mr. Bagby, of the Baptist Mission at Santa Barbara, conducted a very successful meeting a few weeks ago, which resulted in quite a number of conversions, and eight accessions to the Baptist Church, seven to the Methodist, and five to the Presbyterian Church.[200]

Support from the local elite was even more important for Watts. "I must tell you too," she wrote to the Woman's Missionary Society in 1883, "that the president of the city council is our good friend – Dr. [Manoel] Morais [e] Barros – also editor of the *Gazette* [sic]. He spoke of our school in a very complementary manner in his paper."[201] Indeed, reporting on the construction of a new school building, the *Gazeta de Piracicaba* celebrated the arrival of "an establishment of solid and true education, in accordance with the progress of the century in which we live and, above all, an establishment of solid education for women which repels old traditions."[202] A few years after opening, the Colégio Piracicabano had more than fifty

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[199] James M. Dawsey, "The Methodists: The Southern Migrants and the Methodist Mission," *The Confederados: Old South Immigrants in Brazil*, eds. Cyrus B Dawsey and James M Dawsey (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 1998), 126-129.
[200] "Letter from Brazil, N. 4, October, 1881," *Evangelizar e Civilizar: Cartas de Martha Watts, 1881-1908* (versão bilíngue), ed. Zuleica Mesquita (Piracicaba: Unimep, 2001), 172.
[201] "Brazil Mission, probably May, 1883," *Evangelizar e Civilizar*, 198.
[202] "Collegio Piracicabano," *Gazeta de Piracicaba*, February 11, 1883.

students, including the daughters of the Morais e Barros brothers and other important families from the Oeste Paulista, such as Prado, Penteado, and Pacheco Jordão. Italian, English, German, and American girls attended the school alongside the daughters of the rich fazendeiros.[203]

Watts quickly became a popular figure in Piracicaba, receiving tributes from politicians as well as poets. All the flattery convinced Watts that she played a civilizing role in Brazil. "I have lately read a little book about the Zenana life in India," she referred to the segregation of women in the Indian household, "and was struck by the similarity in some of the customs to those of Brazil." Watts believed that the Brazilian women lived in the Middle Ages when compared to their American counterparts: "With many women at home is 'suffrage,' but here the need is 'freedom.'"[204]

From the standpoint of nineteenth-century Brazil, the education that the Colégio Piracicabano offered certainly had an emancipatory aspect. As student Ana Maria Morais e Barros, the daughter of Manoel Morais e Barros, explained in 1883, schools for girls were rare in Brazil and those that existed only taught them "to play the piano and say a few phrases in French." Ana Maria, who was nineteen years old then, attacked the Brazilian woman whose "entire being is involved in a sphere of silks, laces, diamonds, dances, plays, etc., only remembering with pleasure the flattering phrases directed to her, the envy with which her friends look at her, and believes that everybody admires and courts her." Ana Maria nonetheless restricted herself to upholding the values of her father and uncle, stating that a woman had to acquire sufficient knowledge of the world to become a good daughter,

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[203] In a list containing information 329 students registered at the Colégio Piracicabano between 1881 and 1890, there were forty-three Americans, twenty-two Germans, ten Italians, ten British, five Portuguese, three Swiss, two French, and one Spanish. "Lista de Alunos do Colégio Piracicabano," Acervo do Colégio Piracicabano, Centro Cultural Martha Watts, Piracicaba.
[204] "Letter from Miss Watts – the School at Piracicaba, N. 4, October 1884," *Evangelizar e Civilizar*, 214.

wife, and mother. "Can our country not see the great example of the United States?" she asked rhetorically. "A nation as young as ours, and one of the happiest in the world, where the true family mother raises sons who make the happiness of the nation; or bravely fulfils, alongside her man, any mission she is charged with, because there she is instructed, educated, and free."[205]

Faithful to the mission that the fazendeiros had bestowed on her, Watts, who never married, was pleased to write to her superiors in 1889 that "last week I saw another of my 'daughters' married, on her seventeenth birthday; she took upon herself the responsibilities that marriage entails with smiles and joys." The student, Watts rejoiced, had done really well for herself: "Her husband is a nice young man, and industrious, though not poor. He is the second of his family who has chosen a wife from my family." Above all, Watts was pleased to be constantly at the center of attentions: "I always go to the weddings, and am one of the most honored guests, not only by the family but by the parents of my pupils who are present."[206] While Watts congratulated herself, the fazendeiros recruited the women trained at the Colégio Piracicabano to keep reproducing their family privilege.

As much as the local elite honored Watts and her compatriots, the Americans were serving the interests of the fazendeiros, and not the other way around. Americans indeed played a crucial role in improving the economy and advancing education in the Oeste Paulista. But they did it because men like Paula Souza, Vergueiro, Campos Sales, and Morais e Barros included them in a broader modernizing project which had been cultivated domestically. In the end, the schools of Watts and Chamberlain, the commercial farms of

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[205] "A Educação da Mulher. Composição da aluna do Collegio Piracicabano, D. Anna de Barros, lida por occasião da Festa Collegial na noute de 8 do corrente," *Gazeta de Piracicaba*, February 11, 1883. On the changing ideas of motherhood in nineteenth-century Brazil, see Okezi T. Otovo, *Progressive Mothers, Better Babies: Race, Public Health, and the State in Brazil, 1850-1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2016).
[206] "From Piracicaba, N. 1, July 1889," *Evangelizar e Civilizar*, 229.

Norris and Matthews, the medical practice of Gaston and Barnsley, and the factories of Lidgerwood and Ralston formed solid steppingstones to the new order that the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista were seeking to build during the age of emancipation.

CHAPTER 5
BRAVE NEW WORLD

In 1874, engineer William S. Auchincloss traveled to Brazil to promote the products of Jackson & Sharp Co. Delaware Car Works. After visiting a fazenda in Campinas, province of São Paulo, he enthused that "much progress has already been made in the introduction of labor-saving machinery and more scientific methods of tillage." Auchincloss was further elated to find that the advancement of Brazilian society bore the mark of the United States.

> Many of the most influential Brazilian engineers have pursued their studies in France and Belgium. … The tide, however, has turned in a measure in favor of America, for each year brings to our shores new students for our colleges and technical schools, who, on the completion of their education, immediately return to their native land. Besides, many of the sons of the gentry pursue practical courses in our cotton mills, laboratories, and machine shops.[1]

During the 1870s, Brazilians were converging on the United States, seeking to understand the transformations that free labor brought to the country. They traveled through all sections, visiting factories, farms, mines, universities, and fairs. Their American guests were mostly entrepreneurs, managers, and intellectuals. The interactions that ensued helped making the postwar United States into a model for Brazil.

During the 1870s, the United States faced growing unrest. The Panic of 1873, dissatisfaction with the politics of Reconstruction, corruption scandals, controversial monetary policies, and labor agitation shook American society. Meanwhile, the chain of failures inaugurated in 1873 and capitalists' strategies of vertical and horizontal integration made the concentration of wealth all the more shocking.[2] Whereas the working class pushed the government to curb monopolistic practices and help small producers, capitalists

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[1] William S. Auchincloss, *Ninety Days in the Tropics or Letters from Brazil* (Wilmington: 1874), 76-77.

[2] Alan Trachtenberg, *The Incorporation of America: Culture and Society in the Gilded Age* (New York: Hill & Wang, 1982), 11-100; David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 9-170; Olivier Zunz, *Making America Corporate: 1870-1920* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1995), 11-101.

advocated less federal interference in economic and social matters. Pressured from all sides, the Republican Party favored big capital. By the end of the decade, Reconstruction was buried and the Gilded Age opened.[3]

Brazil also faced unrest in the 1870s. The political elite sought modernization while preserving the status quo. From 1871 to 1875, the Viscount of Rio Branco implemented a series of reforms, touching on slavery, the right of habeas corpus, military recruitment, bureaucratic functions, laicization, the metric system, among other things. The government also expanded access to higher education, invested in railroads, and established telegraphic communication with Europe and North America.[4] Nonetheless, the more the Conservative government reformed, the more insurgent groups cried for an overhaul of Brazilian institutions. Young men, some hailing from the nascent middle class and others from rich planter families, lambasted the slow pace of reform. They wanted to stimulate rapid economic growth, liberate capital, and submit the country to the rule of engineers and entrepreneurs. Above all, they wanted to rebuild the nation on the basis of free labor.[5]

One of the most influential Brazilian reformers in the 1870s was a journalist named José Carlos Rodrigues. Between 1870 and 1879, he lived in New York City and published Portuguese-language reviews, which arrived in Brazil once a month. Rodrigues's main contention was that free labor at the service of big capital had successfully rebuilt the United States after the Civil War. Sharing Rodrigues's worldview, two Brazilian engineers from

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[3] Eric Foner, *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 460-563; Richard Franklin Bensel, *Yankee Leviathan: The Origins of Central State Authority in America, 1859-1877* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990), 238-415; Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the Bourgeoisie, 1850-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 207-236.
[4] Sérgio Buarque de Holanda, *História Geral da Civilização Brasileira*. Tomo II: *O Brasil Monárquico*. Volume 7: *Do Império à República* (Rio de Janeiro: Bertrand Brasil, 2005 [1972]), 159-205.
[5] Angela Alonso, *Idéias em Movimento: A Geração 1870 na Crise do Brasil-Império* (São Paulo: Paz e Terra, 2002), 51-163; Teresa Cribelli, *Industrial Forests and Mechanical Marvels: Modernization in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2016), 37-177.

influential families toured North America by the early 1870s and celebrated the expansion of the railroad system as well as large-scale manufacturing, farming, and mining operations. Regardless of the widespread corruption, racial violence, and class conflict fracturing American society then, Brazilian observers concluded that the universalization of free labor had given the United States the perfect formula for national advancement. And they were confident that the same could be done in Brazil.

Influenced by Rodrigues and other enthusiasts of the United States, young Brazilians flocked to American universities such as Cornell and Syracuse during the 1870s. Most were the sons of the wealthy fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista, who sought to acquire scientific and practical training. Like their mentors, the students concluded that free labor, as it had been shaped in the postwar United States, was the central element for building a powerful nation. Other, older Brazilians came to the same conclusion in 1876, when they participated in the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Renowned Brazilian scientists, planters, and politicians used the opportunity to travel around the United States. From their perspective, the triumph of free labor in the United States appeared as a fabulous achievement: by multiplying railroads, manufacturing, mining, and agroindustry, American capitalism had quickly reunited a war-ravaged country and transformed it into a world power.

Amid social turmoil, Brazilian visitors and their American hosts worked together to make the United States into a model for the only remaining slave society in the western world.[6] While celebrating free labor, they attacked Reconstruction and justified unbridled

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[6] Scholars consider that the establishment of a republican government, in 1889, made the United States into a model of nation-building for Brazil. The focus on political change, however, does not account for the influence of the United States in the social and economic transformations leading to slave emancipation and the proclamation of the republic in Brazil. See Luiz Alberto Moniz Bandeira, *Presença dos Estados Unidos no Brasil: Dois Séculos de História* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 1978); Joseph Smith, *Unequal Giants: Diplomatic Relations between the United States and Brazil, 1889-1930* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 1991); Steven Topik, *Trade and Gunboats: The United States and Brazil in the Age of Empire* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996); Helder Gordim da Silveira, *Joaquim Nabuco e Oliveira Lima: Faces de um Paradigma Ideológico da Americanização*

capitalist expansion. In the process, they helped legitimize the dominance of a few privileged groups in the United States.[7] It became clear then that American and Brazilian free labor promoters favored fast economic development and territorial integration over social justice and political equality.

The Journalist

José Carlos Rodrigues was born in the township of Cantagalo, northeast Rio de Janeiro, into a planter family. A law student in São Paulo during the 1860s, Rodrigues established a close relationship with Luiz Gama, the ex-slave turned into abolitionist leader.[8] In 1862, he joined his classmate Francisco Rangel Pestana to create a student newspaper entitled *O Futuro*.[9] In his articles, Rodrigues attacked slavery and the monarchy. He also commented the great event of the decade, the American Civil War: "The majestic edifice of

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nas Relações Internacionais do Brasil (Porto Alegre: EdiPucRS, 2003); Stephanie Dennison, *Joaquim Nabuco: Monarchism, Panamericanism and Nation-Building in the Brazilian Belle Epoque* (Bern: Peter Lang, 2006); Micol Seigel, *Uneven Encounters: Making Race and Nation in Brazil and the United States* (Durham: Duke University Press, 2009); Joseph Smith, *Brazil and the United States: Convergence and Divergence* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2010); Britta H. Crandall, *Hemispheric Giants: The Misunderstood History of U.S.-Brazilian Relations* (Lanham: Rowman & Littlefield, 2011); Susanna B. Hecht, *The Scramble for the Amazon and the "Lost Paradise" of Euclides da Cunha* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2013); Carlos Gustavo Poggio Teixeira, *Brazil, the United States, and the South American Subsystem: Regional Politics and the Absent Empire* (Lanham: Lexington Books, 2014).

[7] The recent scholarship on capitalism in the postwar United States focuses on speculation, corruption, and failure. Alternatively, this chapter investigates how, despite the havoc it created, the postwar model of development kept running and became an example to developing countries. For a sample of new works on nineteenth-century capitalism, see Scott A. Sandage, *Born Losers: A History of Failure in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2005); Steve Fraser, *Every Man a Speculator: A History of Wall Street in American Life* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2006); John M. Lubetkin, *Jay Cooke's Gamble: The Northern Pacific, the Sioux, and the Panic of 1873* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 2006); Jack Beatty, *Age of Betrayal: The Triumph of Money in America, 1865-1900* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2007); Stephen Mihm, *A Nation of Counterfeiters: Capitalists, Con Men, and the Making of the United States* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2009); H. W. Brands, *American Colossus: The Triumph of Capitalism, 1865-1900* (New York: Anchor Books, 2011); Richard White, *Railroaded: The Transcontinentals and the Making of Modern America* (New York: W. W. Norton & Co, 2011); Jonathan Levy, *Freaks of Fortune: The Emerging World of Capitalism and Risk in America* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2012); Scott Reynolds Nelson, *A Nation of Deadbeats: An Uncommon History of America's Financial Disasters* (New York: Alfred A. Knopf, 2013).

[8] Luiz Gama to José Carlos Rodrigues, São Paulo, November 26, 1870, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* 9: *Correspondência Passiva de José Carlos Rodrigues* (Rio de Janeiro: Divisão de Publicações e Divulgação, 1971), 271.

[9] On the political culture of law students in nineteenth-century São Paulo, see Andrew J. Kirkendall, *Class Mates: Male Student Culture and the Making of a Political Class in Nineteenth-Century Brazil* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 2002).

democracy collapses. The adepts of slavery, the despots of all nations, sing Hosanna and continue their work of destruction. The United States, the land made sacred by the blood of the free, is the victim of a civil war, which sucks its life and threatens the cause of the republic."[10] However upset, Rodrigues was confident that the cause of freedom would prevail in the United States and set an example to the rest of the world. "Today," he uttered, "the nations, submerged by the shadows of despotism, turn their eyes to the North, hoping that a star will shine on the horizon, which will guide them through the desert."[11]

After graduation, Rodrigues moved to Rio de Janeiro and started working at the Ministry of Finance. Yet, an accusation of embezzlement cut his public career short. Escaping prosecution, he moved to the United States in 1867, first settling in Lowell, Massachusetts. In Rio de Janeiro, he had taken English lessons with Presbyterian missionary George Whitehill Chamberlain and converted to Protestantism. Soon, the networks that American missionaries had constituted came in handy. Chamberlain found him work translating pamphlets for the American Tract Society and American schoolbooks to be used at the Escola Americana in São Paulo. James Cooley Fletcher, who lived in Newburyport, Massachusetts, also became Rodrigues's close friend, introducing him to prominent American intellectuals and entrepreneurs. In the preface of the ninth edition of *Brazil and the Brazilians* (1879), Fletcher wrote that "the thanks of the authors are especially due for aid and corrections, in preparing this edition, and for many other favors, to Dr. J. C. Rodrigues."[12]

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[10] J. C. R., *O Futuro*, May 17, 1862.

[11] J. C. R., "Os Patriotas," *O Futuro*, September 7, 1862. For biographical accounts, see Hugh C. Tucker, *Dr. José Carlos Rodrigues, 1844-1923: A Brief Sketch of His Life* (New York: American Bible Society, 1925); Charles A. Gauld, "José Carlos Rodrigues, o Patriarca da Imprensa Carioca," *Revista de História* 7:16 (1953): 427-438; George C. A. Boehrer, "Jose Carlos Rodrigues and *O Novo Mundo*, 1870-1879," *Journal of Inter-American Studies* 9:1 (January 1967): 127-144.

[12] James Cooley Fletcher, "Preface to the Ninth Edition," in Daniel Parish Kidder and James Cooley Fletcher, *Brazil and the Brazilians: Portrayed in Historical and Descriptive Sketches* (Boston: Little, Brown, and Company, 1879), vii.

In 1870, Rodrigues rented an office in the building of the *New York Times*. On October 24 of the same year, the first edition of *O Novo Mundo: Periodico lllustrado do Progresso da Edade* came out. A monthly publication in Portuguese, *O Novo Mundo* was sent to Brazil by the New York-Rio de Janeiro line of steamers. The illustrated review was modeled after American publications such as *Harper's Weekly*. It would run for almost a decade and reach more than ten thousand subscribers, a great success for the time. In the first edition, Rodrigues exposed the objectives of the new publication: "After the domestic war in the United States, Brazil and South America have sought to carefully study the things of this country. 'O Novo Mundo' proposes to contribute to this study, not only by providing news from the United States but also by exposing the principal manifestations of its progress and by discussing the causes and tendencies of this progress."[13]

Rodrigues's descriptions of the postwar United States emphasized economic prosperity and technological advancement.

> A few years ago the farmer of the great West spent his hot summer days cutting hay and grain with the reaper or the sickle: now he does the same work in a few hours by means of one of those American harvesters, drawn by the horse, and the farmer, gloves in hand and sitting down, finds great fun in what recently used to be a heavy task.
> In leather shoe manufacturing three men can now, with the aid of machinery, work as much as six did fifteen years ago. The United States now has forty thousand miles more of railways than it had ten years ago and freight now costs less than half of what it used to cost. The constant improving of mechanisms does not cease: large, heavy, and expensive devices are everywhere being replaced by smaller, compact, and inexpensive machines.[14]

The heroes of *O Novo Mundo*, however, were not simple farmers or shoemakers. Rodrigues described Cyrus West Field, the founder of the Atlantic Telegraph Company, as "a great inventor, of those to whom we owe the greatest conquests of civilization."[15] Rodrigues also admired Edward Cooper, a major steel manufacturer, who "quickly acquired perfect and

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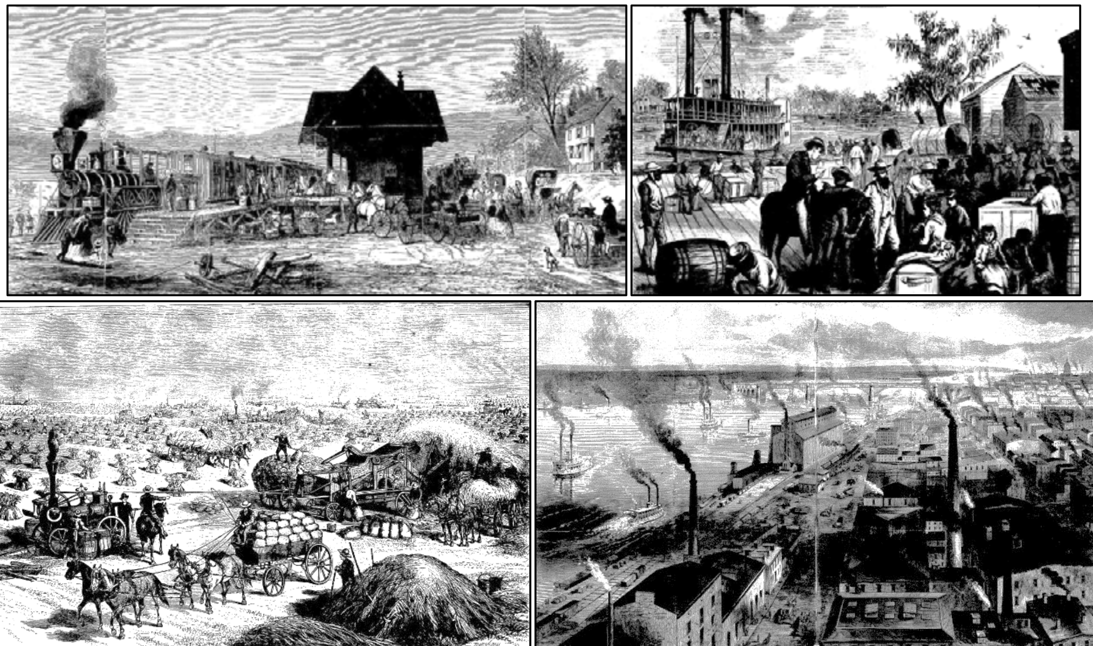
[13] *O Novo Mundo*, October 24, 1870.
[14] "O Valor das Machinas," *O Novo Mundo*, May 23, 1875.
[15] "Mr. Cyriu W. Field," *O Novo Mundo*, January 23, 1871.

complete scientific knowledge, which allowed him to perfectly understand all operations in their smallest details."[16] For Rodrigues, no one embodied American greatness better than Cornelius Vanderbilt, who had started his business at age sixteen piloting a small ferry from New York City to State Island. "Sixty years later," Rodrigues exulted, "Vanderbilt dies leaving nothing less than one hundred and twenty thousand contos de réis! How it is possible in one life to accumulate such capital is something impossible to explain to someone who does not know the value of indomitable energy allied to the good fortune of an American." In the same edition, Rodrigues published a full-page portrait as a tribute to the shipping magnate.[17]



O Novo Mundo depicted economic development in all sections of the United States. Top left: Train station in upstate New York (April 1871). Top right: Steamship arriving in New Orleans (January 1875). Bottom left: Bonanza farm in Dakota (November 1878). Bottom right: Factories of St. Louis (March 1872).

An enthusiast of major capitalists, Rodrigues often sided with capital against labor. Reporting on a strike of Pennsylvania coal miners in December 1870, he questioned "if the

[16] "As Gravuras," *O Novo Mundo*, February, 1879.
[17] "Alguns Retratos," *O Novo Mundo*, February, 1877.

condition of the working classes is so awful that it justifies their general discontent or the concept of enmity which they have little by little formed against capital, the inquietude that they always show, suspicious of those who are their natural allies."[18] A critic of unions and socialists, Rodrigues littered *O Novo Mundo* with maxims such as "labor—even arduous labor—is our duty; and for being so, it is our glory and salvation."[19] All men, he preached, should value "independence of character; the innate aversion to any form of tutelage; the sublime aspiration of being what the *Yankees* style—*self-made man*[20]—a man made by himself; without patrons or protectors."[21]

Rodrigues's analysis of Reconstruction was consistent with his *laissez faire*. He saw corruption all around and singled out Radical Republicans as the root of all evil.

> First of all, the states that had seceded were placed under military and dictatorial rule, not as lost brothers, but as desolate strangers. Second, the negro, still a brute because of enslavement, was given the right of suffrage—that is, he was made into a desirable tool. Third, having the war created large pecuniary needs, it was necessary to raise money from customs tariffs, which unevenly affected different industries. All these reforms grew along with staggering corruption, which we can better analyze now. We have often commented on the government of the *carpet-baggers*,[22] these adventurous vultures from the North who were quick to fall on the corpse of the South. The ignominies that these men practiced are unprecedented in the history of the most corrupt eras of human society.[23]

Rodrigues aligned himself with sections of the New York elite who disapproved of the military occupation of the southern states, high tariffs, monetary inflation, the income tax, labor organizations, and machine politics. He echoed Liberal Republicans such as Carl Schurz and Charles Sumner, who had turned against the Grant administration.[24] When

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[18] "As Classes Operarias nos Estados Unidos," *O Novo Mundo*, December 23, 1870.
[19] "Importancia do Trabalho Individual," *O Novo Mundo*, February 23, 1872.
[20] Original in English.
[21] "Iniciativa Individual," *O Novo Mundo*, March, 1877.
[22] English in the original text.
[23] "Aspectos Políticos," *O Novo Mundo*, April 23, 1872.
[24] On the Liberal Republicans, see Foner, *Reconstruction*, 488-511; Andrew L. Slap, *Doom of Reconstruction: The Liberal Republicans in the Civil War Era* (New York: Fordham University Press, 2006).

Horace Greeley, a personal friend, ran against Grant in 1872 promising to end Reconstruction, Rodrigues supported him.[25]

Rodrigues concurred with the Liberal Republicans that Reconstruction should guarantee political stability, which meant returning major planters to power, and secure to the ex-slaves the right to freely (and individually) establish labor contracts. Nothing more.[26] He went so far as arguing that the Radicals had "invented or exaggerated the horrors committed in the South by white people against the negroes, and with this system Grant got what he wanted, more power, more centralization."[27] Rodrigues even reproduced the myth that, if left alone, race relations would improve in the South: "The masters or former masters continue saying that the negroes are the best rural workers of the world and, in general, good relations exist among them."[28]

Despite all the evils he saw in Reconstruction, Rodrigues was convinced that slave emancipation had been a blessing to the South, especially in economic terms. "The work of Reconstruction in the South is completed," he wrote in December 1873, "the negro is not only a free man, he is a citizen; and the material wealth of the country is recovered under the wise and peaceful administration of those who forever crushed the terrible hydra of slavery."[29] Rodrigues was delighted to learn that cotton planters were figuring out the advantages of free labor in the form of the wage system or sharecropping. In October 1872, *O Novo Mundo* quoted one of them at length.

> Free labor costs much less than slave labor used to cost us. A negro could not be rented for less than 300 to 350 dollars per year, and in addition we had to pay taxes, and treat him in case of illness, etc., etc. The cost of owning a slave was more or less the same, if we calculate

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[25] "Grant e Greeley," *O Novo Mundo*, August 23, 1872.
[26] Sven Beckert notes that "freedom, as they saw it, meant first and foremost self-ownership and the right to participate in markets, both of which seemed to have been accomplished in the states of the former Confederacy." *The Monied Metropolis*, 159.
[27] "Estados Unidos: Como um Grande Povo se Governa," *O Novo Mundo*, November 23, 1874.
[28] "Negócios Americanos," *O Novo Mundo*, June 23, 1875.
[29] "O Anno de 1870," *O Novo Mundo*, December 23, 1870.

> the costs of taxes, medicine, interest, feeding, and maintaining him as a child and after old age. Currently, we can rent the same negro for ten or fifteen dollars per month, in addition to home and food. It is true that negroes now do not work as much as before: but, in any case, their proportional labor is much cheaper.

The quoted cotton planter, one of the richest in the South, according to Rodrigues, believed that wartime destruction—and not slave emancipation—caused difficulties for some of his neighbors. Nonetheless, he added, the planter who employed agricultural tools and fertilizers was making "more money planting cotton with free labor than he would with the slave's sweat."[30]

Rodrigues acknowledged that freedom caused labor shortages, especially in the cotton areas, because ex-slaves could now pack and leave.[31] But he did not see it as a problem: "Emancipation, it is true, has made many freedpeople, who had once been employed in agriculture, abandon it for lighter jobs in the North. Nonetheless, the difficulty caused by lack of hands has made agriculture more careful and scientific, and many negroes, who have not emigrated from the South, now find more incentive in free labor than they found under the lash of the overseer." Progress, Rodrigues added, was reflected on the fact that by the late 1870s "the cotton crop in the states of the South has reached a number of bales superior to any year when the fiber was produced by slave hands."[32]

In addition to the recovery of cotton production, Rodrigues was thrilled that slave emancipation had brought economic diversification to the American South. "Another result of the war and the consequent ruin it caused is the increase of manufacturing in the South,"

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[30] "O Trabalho dos Emancipados," *O Novo Mundo*, October 23, 1872. On the restructuring of the plantation economy in the postwar South, see Gavin Wright, *Old South, New South: Revolutions in the Southern Economy Since the Civil War* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 1986), 51-123.
[31] Steven Hahn explains that "emigrationism seems to have been most evident and powerful in places where freedpeople labored in cotton plantations, had made major efforts—with at least some success—to organize themselves and create stable communities, but then suffered, or were threatened by, serious reversals." *A Nation Under Our Feet: Black Political Struggles in the Rural South from Slavery to the Great Migration* (Cambridge: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 2003), 331.
[32] "O Trabalho dos Libertos," *O Novo Mundo*, February 1, 1879.

he observed in October 1871. Southerners had learned that, "instead of sending cotton to Europe or the northern states to be woven, it is better to weave it at home and save in brokerage, freight, and other expenses."[33] And there was more: "Turpentine, yellow pine, grains, precious minerals, excellent and rich layers of phosphates and fossil bones. … The manufacture of natural fertilizers such phosphates, newly discovered, is already most important, and cotton manufacturing is prospering more than in the North."[34] Northern capital, Rodrigues argued, was fueling the industrial boom of the South. In Kalmia, Georgia, "a capitalist of New York, Mr. W. C. Langley has a factory with 15,000 spindles, recently established there, and that is going very well."[35] Such investment, he speculated, was strengthening the bonds between the sections.[36]

Rodrigues never hid his goal when describing the progress of the postwar United States in the pages of *O Novo Mundo*. "Shall this eloquent example serve to calm down the fears of those who worry about the future of agriculture in case of immediate slave emancipation," he uttered as early as January 1871, "and shall we soon have in the Empire [of Brazil] a great material prosperity such as the one we have here demonstrated to our readers!"[37] In 1872, after discussing the labor of the ex-slaves in the South, he reiterated that "this example shall serve to strengthen the courage of those Brazilians who, worried about the interests that surround them, fear a change that is now highly necessary, not only in regard to the great moral interests of humanity, but also to their own material interests, and those of the country."[38] As late as 1879, Rodrigues exclaimed that "the complete cessation of

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[33] "Condição Economica do Sul dos Estados Unidos," *O Novo Mundo*, October 24, 1871.
[34] "O Trabalho dos Libertos," *O Novo Mundo*, February 1, 1879.
[35] "Fabricas de Tecer," *O Novo Mundo*, April 23, 1872.
[36] On the rise of industry in the postwar American South, see Wright, *Old South, New South*, 124-197.
[37] "Prosperidade Industrial de 1870," *O Novo Mundo*, January 23, 1871.
[38] "O Trabalho dos Emancipados," *O Novo Mundo*, October 23, 1872.

slavery is our greatest ambition. On the day no more slaves exist, our agricultural industry will begin its first era of true prosperity."[39]

Rodrigues had no doubt that slave emancipation would bring economic development to Brazil in the same way it had done for the American South: "The freedmen of Brazil will continue to grow coffee, as those of the United States continued to grow cotton. In a few years the cultivation of coffee and other products, stimulated by freedom and the consequent break up of enormous rural properties, will be done on a much larger scale and in a more rational and productive way."[40] With the "inglorious and degrading" institution of slavery gone, free Brazilians would "take the plow and embrace rural work; then we will see Brazil doubly prosper: by the excess of production of the freedmen in relation to the slaves and by the fruits of the labor of millions of unfortunate people who have been obstructed by slavery from working in agriculture."[41]

When the Viscount of Rio Branco set to work on the Law of the Free Womb, Rodrigues exulted. "We are happy that the present Cabinet," he wrote in June 1871, "has listened to the clamor of the country, considered as a whole, as well as the clamors of justice, which we slavery has outraged."[42] Rodrigues forcefully attacked the critics of Rio Branco: "The system of slavery died a disgraceful and ridiculous death in the United States, thanks to its own madness; and it will die in the same way in Brazil if its supporters do not understand the spirit and the forces that work at the times they live in."[43] As early as November 1871, however, Rodrigues started pressuring for further measures to promote free labor.

> Now that the country decreed the first step toward the complete abolition of slavery and seeks to attract to its shores the superabundant population of Europe, and that, as a consequence, agriculture and industry will receive the electrifying touch of free labor, the

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[39] "O Trabalho dos Libertos," *O Novo Mundo*, February 1, 1879.
[40] "Beneficios da Emancipação," *O Novo Mundo*, November 1, 1879.
[41] "Progresso Agrícola em Pernambuco," *O Novo Mundo*, February, 1877.
[42] "A Fala do Trono," *O Novo Mundo*, June 24, 1871.
[43] "História da Escravidão nos Estados Unidos," *O Novo Mundo*, August 24, 1871.

> government needs to slice up its public lands, not only directly for the immigrants but also indirectly through concessions to railroads and other progressive institutions willing to help.[44]

By the mid 1870s, Rodrigues had joined those who criticized the Law of the Free Womb as imperfect and incomplete.[45] In addition to a forceful enforcement of the law, he asked for legislation guaranteeing the education of the children of slave mothers and abolishing corporal punishment.[46]

Rodrigues coupled his effort against slavery with a campaign to improve Brazilian agriculture. He dedicated several articles to coffee production, exchange, and consumption. In 1875, Rodrigues celebrated that four-fifths of all coffee consumed in the United States came from Brazil. He nevertheless made a warning, pointing out that Brazilian export duties were too high and that Brazil's competitors were expanding production and improving cultivation techniques.[47] In 1877, Rodrigues offered more valuable advice to the planters: "You shall not only manage to produce large quantities of coffee, but also improve it, because if we now have access to all markets of the world, we will only be able to secure them through the quality of our product, not its quantity."[48]

According to Rodrigues, American technology had the potential to improve Brazilian agriculture, making it up-to-date with the age of industry. Thus, he sought to open Brazilian markets for American capital goods. Editors of American periodicals helped in this endeavor. In November 1870, *The Nation* informed its readers that *O Novo Mundo* "will be a

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[44] "Disposição das Terras Públicas," *O Novo Mundo*, November 24, 1871.

[45] Robert Edgar Conrad notes that "a decade after passage of the Rio Branco Law [the Law of the Free Womb] its failure to produce impressive immediate results was widely recognized. Even proslavery spokesmen admitted that the law had not been implemented energetically, that its provisions no longer corresponded with national aspirations, and that its results were insignificant when compared with the effects of private initiative and the high costs of administration." *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 116-117.

[46] "O Futuro dos Ingênuos," *O Novo Mundo*, April 23, 1875; "A Pena de Açoites," *O Novo Mundo*, April 23, 1875.

[47] "O Comércio do Café em 1875 nos Estados Unidos," *O Novo Mundo*, January 23, 1875.

[48] "O Nosso Café," *O Novo Mundo*, April, 1877.

valuable medium for spreading still further knowledge in Brazil of the products of American invention and skill, already so popular there."[49] By 1877, Rodrigues could proudly note that "the liberal support received from subscribers in Brazil and from the business public of the United States, who have used its [*O Novo Mundo*'s] advertising columns to make known their products in Brazil, testify to the intelligent appreciation of his [the editor's] efforts in both countries."[50] *O Novo Mundo* advertised American locomotives, agricultural implements, steel structures, steam-powered machines, turbines, fertilizers, pesticides, among many other things.

Similar to what Fletcher had done earlier, Rodrigues also championed Americans with established business interests in Brazil. In 1875, he praised the "beautiful ferry boat line" that Thomas Rainey had established in Rio de Janeiro.[51] In 1877, he wrote that the Botanical Garden Rail Road Co. had revolutionized the habits of the people of Rio de Janeiro and called it a "true blessing brought about by the streetcar pioneer in Brazil, Mr. C. B. Greenough."[52]

Rodrigues took his project of channeling American products and expertise to Brazil one step farther in July 1877, when he created another monthly periodical entitled *Revista Industrial*. Seeking to attract American advertisers, Rodrigues published notes in English indicating that "the *Revista Industrial*, as its name implies, has for its principal aim: to disseminate among the planters and farmers, the railroad, industrial, and commercial classes of Brazil, the latest movements of invention and industry in the United States, and to make known in the United States the resources and progress of Brazil."[53] In support of

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[49] "Notes," *The Nation*, November 3, 1870.
[50] "O Novo Mundo, A Monthly Illustrated Family Journal of Literature, Politics and the Arts, Edited by J. C. Rodrigues, LL. B.," *O Novo Mundo*, November, 1877.
[51] "Nova Ferry," *O Novo Mundo*, May 23, 1875.
[52] "C. B. Greenough," *O Novo Mundo*, February, 1877.
[53] "Revista Industrial," *O Novo Mundo*, November, 1877.

Rodrigues's new enterprise, a group of Philadelphia manufacturers, which included Baldwin Locomotive Works, offered a testimony: "We have advertised for several years in *O Novo Mundo*, and also in *Revista Industrial*, both published in the Portuguese language, for circulation in Brazil, and from our knowledge of the standing of these periodicals with the Brazilian public, and their circulation in that country, we believe them to be valuable means of advertising the business of American manufacturers and merchants in Brazil."[54]

The *Revista Industrial* preserved the tenets of *O Novo Mundo*. In 1877, it condemned the Great Railroad Strike: "The discontented railroad workers were joined in the cities by the scum of the population and also the immense class of unemployed who, under a system of complete political freedom, have acquired the conviction that the Government must provide for their livelihood, which the rich steal from the poor—all these axioms from the Commune."[55] Based on John B. Jervis's *The Question of Labor and Capital*, Rodrigues concluded that "the workers have no just cause to antagonize the capitalist, because it is he who, with his money, provides the instruments, machines, and tools which are indispensable to labor."[56] A simple relation of trade, the encounter between labor and capital should be regulated by free-market laws, and strikes should be banned. Like in the issue of Reconstruction, Rodrigues aligned with the New York elite when it came to labor activism.[57]

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[54] "O Novo Mundo, A Monthly Illustrated Family Journal of Literature, Politics and the Arts, Edited by J. C. Rodrigues, LL. B.," *O Novo Mundo*, November, 1877.

[55] "A Última Crise Americana," *Revista Industrial*, September, 1877. For an analysis of the strike, see David O. Stowell, *Streets, Railroads, and the Great Strike of 1877* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1999).

[56] "A Questão entre Capital e Trabalho," *Revista Industrial*, December, 1877.

[57] Beckert explains that "free-labor ideology prepared industrialists to blame workers for their social standing and to see workers' collective action as a threat to their core beliefs. As proletarianization widened, workers organized, and the social distance between manufacturers and their employees increased; commitment to a shared social contract centered on social mobility became more difficult to maintain. With notions of a mutuality of interest between workers and their employers diminishing, industrialists eventually would recast their relationship to the people in their employ." *The Monied Metropolis*, 177. During the Great Railroad Strike, the New York elite concluded that only the use of military force against the labor movement would guarantee social order and the safety of private property. Rodrigues agreed.

While depicting free labor as a natural law, the *Revista Industrial* carried on the antislavery arguments of *O Novo Mundo*, identifying slavery as the main cause of Brazilian backwardness. "Slave labor, and the consequent extensive cultivation of the soil, and also the extreme fertility and unlimited space," the editorial of volume one posited, "have contributed to maintaining us enslaved to antiquated and obsolete processes."[58] In the *Revista Industrial*, Rodrigues was even more emphatic than in *O Novo Mundo* when expressing his contempt for the social order that slavery engendered: "If it were necessary to present patent proof of the cancer which now takes Brazil, … it would be enough to point to the immense territories never surveyed, latifundia surrounded by miserable tenants, henchmen, parasites, and political firebrands, and worked by unfortunate and ignorant slaves."[59] Rodrigues saw slavery as the cause of irrational and destructive economic practices, suggesting that "the nefarious abundance of slaves inevitably perpetuates the barbarous routines of axe and fire."[60]

Before long, Rodrigues's forceful defense of free labor made him a favorite among Brazilian modernizers. Liberal leader Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos developed a very cordial relationship with Rodrigues, constantly praising his work. "Go on, my friend," Tavares Bastos wrote a letter to Rodrigues in 1872, "rendering services to our Brazil through your beautiful publication, which becomes everyday more popular here."[61] Reformers such as Nicolau Joaquim Moreira and Cristiano Benedito Ottoni often contributed to *O Novo Mundo*.[62]

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[58] "Aos Leitores," *Revista Industrial*, July, 1877.
[59] "Irrigação—Fertilização pelo Limo," *Revista Industrial*, July, 1879.
[60] "Monopolio Territorial," *Revista Industrial*, March, 1878.
[61] Aureliano Candido Tavares Bastos to José Carlos Rodrigues, February 3, 1872, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* 9, 162-163.
[62] "O Dr. Nicolau J. Moreira," *O Novo Mundo*, June 24, 1872; "O Sr. Cristiano Ottoni," *O Novo Mundo*, October 23, 1873; "Ensino Público: O Sr. Dr. A. C. Borges," *O Novo Mundo*, June 23, 1875.

The majority of Rodrigues's admirers lived in São Paulo, where he had his largest readership. The *Correio Paulistano* used his writings as sources for discussing antislavery legislation, agricultural improvement, immigration policy, railroad construction, industrial enterprises, educational reform, among other things. In 1874, its editor praised Rodrigues for his services.

> Occupying himself assiduously about Brazil in brilliant articles, written within the intense glow coming from the place where he lives, our illustrious and solicitous countryman has become an independent thinker and journalist, impartial and profoundly judicious, and day to day offers invaluable services to our land through his wise observations, always dealing with the natural differences between Brazil and the powerful American federation.[63]

When the *Revista Industrial* came out, the *Correio Paulistano* commented that, "no doubt, the new periodical will render an inappreciable service to the progress of the country," recommending it "especially to our countrymen who dedicate themselves to agriculture, because they will find in the *Revista Industrial* a powerful tool always providing useful and beneficious information."[64] The contributors to the *Gazeta de Campinas* also drew inspiration from Rodrigues's work. In 1871, Manoel Ferraz de Campos Sales, a major fazendeiro and republican leader in the Oeste Paulista, used articles he found in *O Novo Mundo* to criticize the "the fatal belief, very common among our agriculturalists, that the free hand is absolutely impotent and incapable to cultivate coffee."[65]

Rodrigues reciprocated the admiration from the Oeste Paulista. In 1875, he sponsored the establishment of a school in the township of Itu, which was christened

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[63] "O Brasil visto dos Estados Unidos," *Correio Paulistano*, January 30, 1874.
[64] "Revista Industrial Illustrada," *Correio Paulistano*, August 12, 1877.
[65] Manoel Ferraz de Campos Sales, "Questão do Dia," *Gazeta de Campinas*, November 5, 1871. Emília Viotti da Costa notes that, "although the [Republican] party included among its members such renowned abolitionists as the practitioner-lawyer Luiz Gama, Republican leaders in São Paulo made it clear from the beginning that they did not want to discuss abolition. By avoiding the issue the party leadership hoped to maintain the support of the rural sectors, which despite some experiments with free labor continued to depend mainly on slaves." *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, Revised Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 227. True, Campos Sales and other São Paulo republicans would not encourage abolitionist agitation. Yet, contrary to what Costa argues, they would openly defend free labor as superior to slave labor. It was not long before the very sons of the fazendeiros radicalized this position.

Instituto do Novo Mundo. "The illustrious editor of *O Novo Mundo* had a very felicitous idea," *A Provícia de São Paulo* rejoiced, "his act is inspired by this noble sentiment which makes the North Americans be admired and esteemed by other peoples: to love one another."[66] Rodrigues shipped over one thousand books from New York to Itu, along with desks, a printing press, and innovative didactic materials. The new school would admit two hundred students. As a contribution to the school's maintenance, Rodrigues would donate one hundred copies of *O Novo Mundo* monthly, whose sale, he calculated, could pay for the salaries of a teacher and a librarian as well as rent. George Nash Morton—who Rodrigues described as "a very well educated North-American whose mission is to develop his students intellectually and morally"—joined the school board along with some of the wealthiest men of the Oeste Paulista.[67]

Rodrigues portrayed the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista as great entrepreneurs and the modernizers of Brazil. In the Oeste Paulista, Rodrigues uttered, "there is *self-help*[68]; there is self-consciousness; there is individual initiative; there is trust in personal effort; there is unshakable certainty of the success of perseverance and labor."[69] Receiving a report on São Paulo railroads in 1875, he happily concluded that it was no exaggeration calling that province "the Brazilian Pennsylvania."[70] When Antonio Paes de Barros, the Baron of Piracicaba, died in 1876, Rodrigues published a memorial describing him as the trail-blazer, responsible for starting coffee cultivation, introducing the plow, projecting the first turnpikes and railroads, and building the first textile mill in the Brazilian interior.[71]

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[66] "O Instituto do Novo Mundo em Itu," *A Provícia de São Paulo*, January 4, 1875.
[67] "Colégio Internacional de Campinas," *O Novo Mundo*, May, 1878.
[68] Original in English.
[69] "Navegação Fluvial," *O Novo Mundo*, June 24, 1876.
[70] "Caminhos de Ferro de S. Paulo," *O Novo Mundo*, May 23, 1875.
[71] "Barão de Piracicaba," *O Novo Mundo*, January, 1877.

Rodrigues also opened his publications for the fazendeiros seeking to promote their region. In 1875, João Guilherme de Aguiar Whitaker, a major landowner in Rio Claro, wrote to *O Novo Mundo* about the "multiplicity of enterprises and industrial associations through which [São Paulo] contributes to the common good." He mentioned the proliferation of railroads, plows, and steam-powered machines, which would help in the transition to free labor: "All around we see the agriculturalist trying to alleviate labor through the assistance of new instruments and understanding well that to invest in production is to sow capital which will produce advantageous fruits."[72]

Feeling that he had accomplished his mission of bringing Brazil closer to the United States, Rodrigues left New York City in 1879. He first went to the Colombian province of Panama to work as a correspondent for American newspapers, investigating the French attempt to build a canal there. He criticized the French and became an early supporter of American takeover.[73] Then, he moved to London, where he became a financial advisor for entrepreneurs seeking to invest in Latin America. By the late 1880s, he returned to Brazil and bought the *Jornal do Commercio*. An enemy of slavery as much as a friend of big capital, Rodrigues promoted free labor like few others had done.

The Engineer

While Rodrigues was still taking his first steps in the United States, a member of a prominent family from the Oeste Paulista arrived in the country to work as an engineer. Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza was the eldest son of his namesake and Maria Rafaela

[72] João Guilherme de Aguiar Whitaker, "O Progresso de S. Paulo," *O Novo Mundo*, February 22, 1875.
[73] José Carlos Rodrigues, *The Panama Canal: Its History, Its Political Aspects, and Financial Difficulties* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1885).

Aguiar de Barros, a daughter of the Baron of Piracicaba.[74] The elder Paula Souza, a Liberal leader, served as Minister of Agriculture during the 1860s, supporting the Thayer Expedition and attracting ex-Confederates to Brazil. At the time, the young Paula Souza was studying engineering in Europe, first in Zurich and later in Karlsruhe. From the time he arrived in Europe, he started planning a new journey. "I would like to go to the United States," he wrote to his father in May 1861, "because, as soon as the [civil] war is over, or even now, when works are being conducted during the war, there will be a lot to do there."[75] The father thought it was a great idea, but suggested that the son finish his studies first.[76]

The outcome of the American Civil War made the young Paula Souza all the more interested about the visit to North America. "A trip to the United States," he wrote to his father in April 1866, "is not only advantageous from a technical perspective; there I can also understand the results of slave emancipation. I do not believe that Brazil can advance while maintaining this plague, which demoralizes everything, and which damages all true liberties."[77] Yet, because his father died a few weeks after receiving this letter, Paula Souza decided to postpone his trip and return to Brazil.

Upon arriving, in 1867, Paula Souza got involved in the emerging abolitionist movement, seeking to "extirpate this cancer which lacerates us." In his spare time, he read about the United States: "Tocqueville, 'Démocratie en Amérique.' Then Michel Chevallier, 'Voyage aux États Unis.' I was so interested in reading about the history and institutions of

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[74] For Paula Souza's professional and political trajectory, see Cristina de Campos, *Ferrovias e Saneamento em São Paulo: O Engenheiro Antonio de Paula Souza e a Construção da Rede de Infra-estrutura Territorial Urbana Paulista, 1870-1893* (São Paulo: Fapesp/Pontes, 2010).
[75] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, May 5, 1861, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS 861.05.05, BMA.
[76] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, São Paulo, October 18, 1863, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS 863.10.18, BMA.
[77] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza to Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, April 4, 1866, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS 866.01.04, BMA.

this country that I was not satisfied before reading Laboulaye, 'Paris en Amérique,' and Astie, 'Histoire des États Unis.'"[78]

Counting on influential friends and family members, Paula Souza was named general inspector of public works in his province, but the job did not bring him joy. Frustrated with the local reality and inspired by his readings on the United States, in 1869 he expressed his reformist views in a pamphlet: "Agriculture in Brazil should have freed itself from this fatal inheritance from colonial times, slave labor; because slavery is incompatible with the freedom and the rights of men."[79] Paula Souza also attacked the Brazilian monarchy, accusing it of perpetrating corruption and incompetence. As a consequence, his position as a public employee became untenable and he quit.

On April 25, 1869, Paula Souza left Brazil for the United States in search for new experiences. In New York City, he spoke to the director of the United States and Brazilian Steamship Company, who directed him to St. Louis, Missouri. After a few weeks looking for a job there with no success, Paula Souza followed a few men to northwest Missouri, where he found employment as a mapmaker at the Chillicothe-Brunswick Railroad Company.[80]

In September 1869, one month after his arrival in Chillicothe, Paula Souza wrote to *O Ypiranga*, a São Paulo newspaper connected to the Liberal Party, with the objective of informing "my province of everything that shows the necessity of slave emancipation as well as the inevitability of doing it without wasting time, because the difference in civilization that already exists between our country and others may increase to such a proportion that we will, for a long time, become the disinherited of progress." Paula Souza then described

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[78] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," August 15, 1869, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS 1868, BMA.
[79] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, *A República Federativa no Brazil* (São Paulo: Typ. Ypiranga, 1869), 3.
[80] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," August 15, 1869.

Chillicothe: rivers navigable by steamers, waterfalls that could power mills, good wood for construction, coal for metallurgy, and fertile lands for agriculture. "All the necessary elements for great prosperity are present here."[81]

But something had gone wrong in Chillicothe's recent past. "Why was this county," he inquired, "poor, very poor, until recently, until 1866? What satanic power prevented education, industry, and commerce from entering this portion of the blessed soil of the United States?" Paula Souza had the answer to his own questions: "Slavery! The eternal law could not be disavowed here. Slavery prevented the development of public education, the diffusion of wholesome moral principles, and consequently nothing advanced." To illustrate his point, Paula Souza recounted the story of a railroad project which had been stalled for almost twenty years because Chillicothe landowners feared that "the Yankees would come inhabit the region with their schools and their strange ideas, making it easier for the slaves to escape."[82]

The dawn of progress in Chillicothe came after the American Civil War. "Slavery ended: a new and amazing spectacle began." According to Paula Souza, Chillicothe represented undeniable proof of the superiority of free to slave labor.

> Labor is not something that dishonors anymore; education is considered indispensable and all the means to promote it are well-received. Prostration was replaced by life, distrust by complete confidence, inertia by activity. On these very fields, which some used to say only Africans could work, the men from the North produce twice, three times, as much as slave labor used to produce. I say! The locals are the first to question their old inertia and lament how much time they wasted. … Replacing the hoe and the overseer's lash, an elegant and modern instrument pulled by a horse, driven by a man comfortably placed on a comfortable seat. The worker does not wear coarse cotton clothes now; he dresses as if he is going to do business in town. There is no mourning or pain on these fields; there is only the perpetual feast of free labor. It is really admirable, my friend, the development that has taken this town since emancipation.

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[81] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, "Victorias do Trabalho Livre," *O Ypiranga*, November 30, 1869.
[82] Paula Souza, "Victorias do Trabalho Livre."

Paula Souza went on and on about the causes of the newfound progress of Chillicothe: "All this movement, all this feverish activity, only took Chillicothe after slavery was gone. Banks, schools, newspapers, new buildings, a growing city, everything resulted from the transformation of labor. The magic wand of free labor, one of the Yankee fairies, created all this almost overnight, given that about two years ago the beehive was silent and muffled under the maleficent breath of slavery." Paula Souza could not hide his astonishment before the spectacle of free labor revolutionizing a former slave state. "Slavery had precluded local elements from becoming productive," he proceeded. "Slavery now disappeared and things changed in character, progress is the natural consequence."[83]

As astounding as it already seemed, Paula Souza indicated, the progress of Chillicothe was just beginning. "What I observe," he explained, "seems like a lot, seems like everything; but men from Illinois, Ohio, and Indiana say that all this life and movement is only the beginning, the dawn of transformation. It is necessary that schools improve, that railroads cut the town in every direction, so one can say: Chillicothe is alive!" His fellow Brazilians, Paula Souza concluded, had much to learn from the Yankees: "I wish we could copy them! And forget the old and corrupt formulas which subjugate us, making us forget that we live in the American continent!"[84]

If, in the public letter to his countrymen, Paula Souza painted Chillicothe in vibrant colors, his work experience there was far from vivid. "I vegetate, don't live," he wrote in his diary. "I concluded the maps requested by Captain Mead, which could not be valued under 75 to 100 dollars. Nonetheless, I asked 50 dollars for all 16 maps. But he had the imprudence of offering me 10 dollars! I told him to give the money to the poor and left."[85]

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[83] Paula Souza, "Victorias do Trabalho Livre."
[84] Paula Souza, "Victorias do Trabalho Livre."
[85] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," August 25, 1869.

Personal humiliation led the abolitionist Paula Souza to reflect on the harsh reality of free labor: "It is a curious and perhaps inevitable thing in this world! Someone in need arrives and the employer throws him a crumb for a job which he would otherwise not perform for ten times more money. The capitalist not only takes advantage of the abundance of labor but also considers himself a protector, telling his workers that they would starve to death were it not for him."[86]

A few days after quitting his job, however, Paula Souza gave more thought to the problem of free labor, writing that "the political economy axiom of supply and demand is real, just like the axioms of the hard sciences. … Every man occupies himself first of his own interests, only after this he can and must occupy himself of the interests of others." Reducing labor exploitation to scientific laws, Paula Souza convinced himself that the wage system was the most rational labor arrangement of all. He ended up regretting his earlier rebellion: "I did not need to go too far with the consequences [of my ideas] to see how wrong and imprecise my premises were."[87]

Soon, Paula Souza got a new job as measuring assistant of one of the railroad engineers in Chillicothe. Try as he might, he found it hard to live up to his ideals. "The General Inspector of Public Works of the heroic province of São Paulo," he remarked disappointedly, "is now measuring assistant, carrying measuring chains, levels, etc.!!!" Making matters worse, he thought his new boss was "a great ignoramus; he knows how to mechanically measure the angles, read them, and level, but has not a clue about how to build; he measures the cubic yards of a landfill or a cut mechanically, without having the slightest idea of the laws regulating the removal of earth or its value, etc." But, once again, Paula

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[86] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," November 3, 1869.
[87] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," November 3, 1869.

Souza took a moment to reflect and concluded that he could learn something from the experience.

> Is it necessary that all engineers and assistants be scientific authorities? No. If this were the case, the progress of the world would be very slow. It is exactly in this point that the Americans are more advanced than any other nation. Here, no one expects that a man becomes a luminary in his field. What they want is a punctual execution of each one's duty. … If he does it mechanically or knows the principles governing methods and theories, it makes no difference.[88]

Paula Souza was figuring out that practical knowledge and immediate action—not abstract theories or meticulous calculation—were the secrets of American economic development.

But the energy of American engineers did not guarantee employment for everyone. Three months after Paula Souza's arrival in Chillicothe, financial difficulties struck the railroad company, which laid off the workers. Once again, he reflected on the hazards of free labor: "There are men here who are very poor and live of daily manual labor, by this act of the company, they will go without the daily bread and will have to search for a new occupation, but they do not complain!" Paula Souza felt badly for complaining as he realized that "I am not so poor to need to live off daily labor."[89] As he prepared to return to St. Louis, another engineer told Paula Souza to go to northwest Illinois as the Rockford, Rock Island, & St. Louis Railroad Company needed engineers.

Paula Souza's work experience in Rock Island lasted only one month. Yet, it confirmed one valuable lesson about the burgeoning transportation system of the United States.

> American railroads are made with a speed that is harmful to good execution. Even the chief engineers, I am convinced, would not pass a preparatory exam in Zurich or Karlsruhe, even on the easiest subjects. … In short, the method of building American railroads (on the western prairie) consists of drawing a line avoiding the expensive properties. Then they check how many cubic yards of earth and the landfills, how many pillars and bridges, and go on doing everything blindly with the highest speed possible. There is no calculation; there is only action.

[88] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," November 3, 1869.
[89] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," November 3, 1869.

All things considered, Paula Souza came to admire this system. "There is no need to be rigorous with theories," he argued, "and even when they are left out it is possible to execute works for the general good, as long as the time of execution can be shortened with such lack of attention."[90] Paula Souza gave little thought to the corruption and waste that this system might entail.[91] All he cared about was that American railroad engineers were free to create the world anew. By covering the United States with railroads, he concluded, they were successfully integrating and developing a nation that not long ago had been devastated by a civil war.

After quitting his third job, Paula Souza decided to make the best of his stay and go on a tour. His first stop, right next to Rock Island, was the town of Moline, where he met a man named John Deere. "Thanks to his activity and intelligence," Paula Souza observed, "he ascended from mere laborer to owner of a great establishment in which more than 100 agricultural instruments are made a day and hundreds of men find employment." For Paula Souza, Deere embodied the characteristic traits of "the most energetic men of the country." After describing how Deere left New England for northwestern Illinois during the 1840s, Paula Souza remarked that he had made a wise choice as "several systems of communication, by land and water, would meet there or in the surrounding areas." Starting out as a blacksmith with a small workshop, Deere rendered invaluable services to the

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[90] Paula Souza, "Notícias Diversas em Forma de um Diário," January 1, 1870.
[91] Richard White suggests that the transcontinentals created dumb growth: "The railroads seemed uncappable to achieve a balance between too much and too little. They enabled farmers and miners to produce far more cattle, wheat, and silver than the world needed. They opened up some of the most productive farmlands in the world and some of the most unproductive. Poverty, as Henry George observed, increased in the midst of progress." *Railroaded*, 461. From Paula Souza's point of view, there was nothing wrong with it as long as dumb growth achieved economic development and territorial integration.

northeastern farmers who were migrating west. By manufacturing plows adapted to the deep soil of the Midwest, Deere & Co. had become a powerhouse.[92]

Yet, according to Paula Souza, good location and good products were not enough. What explained Deere's success was an advanced system of production. Because men had access to land ownership, salaries were high in Illinois, forcing Deere, "like it does to all active men in that country, to introduce in his workshop machines which expedited labor and therefore decreased the price of the manufactured goods." Free labor encouraged him to improve production. "Every year he enriches his workshop with a new labor instrument: now scissors to cut steel sheets, now a mallet to shape certain pieces, now a mechanic saw or jointer which increases production tenfold, etc." Deere employed steam-powered machines for all sorts of activities. "All these means of production," Paula Souza concluded, "were directed by very well-trained and well-paid operatives."[93]

Still in Moline, a town of no more than ten thousand inhabitants, Paula Souza visited another highly-mechanized factory which produced wooden buckets: "Like in John Deere's factory, I observed there a complete division of labor. Each operative executed one single task, and as a consequence the quantity of manufactured items each day was astonishing." At the Mississippi River, Paula Souza inspected the installation of turbines that would produce great amounts of energy and bring even more companies to Moline. He was astonished that "in one town we see more factories than in whole Brazilian provinces." He was further

[92] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, "John Deere," *Almanach Litterario de S. Paulo para o Anno de 1878* (São Paulo: Typographia da Provincia de São Paulo, 1877), 65-66. Analyzing agricultural production in nineteenth-century Illinois, William Cronon explains that "the grasses formed a mat so dense that in upland areas rainwater rarely sank more than six inches into the ground, preventing all but the hardiest of competing plants from taking root. Wooden plows with cast-iron edges quickly came to grief here. What farmers needed was a steel plow that could cut the tangled roots and still hold its edge—exactly the sort of plow that John Deere and other prairie manufacturers began to produce in their shops during the 1840s." *Nature's Metropolis: Chicago and the Great West* (New York: W. W. Norton, 1991), 99.
[93] Paula Souza, "John Deere," 66-67.

dazzled to think that "there are dozens of towns like Moline and thousands of men like John Deere in the American Union."[94]

From Illinois, Paula Souza took the southbound railroad. Crossing Tennessee, he observed that "between Decatur and Nashville it is possible to see a country similar to Rio Claro and Limeira: red soil, grass, some cotton and corn farms." When he arrived in Nashville, Paula Souza noted that "it is just like S. Paulo [City]. The view of the plains which, in the horizon, elevate into mountains, the river, the steep streets, everything is very similar to S. Paulo. The population is almost the same as that of S. Paulo, but commerce, construction, etc. is more intense here." Railroads and steamers, Paula Souza observed, were the means of development in Tennessee. Nashville was "already an important point, and will continuously grow in importance: navigation on the Cumberland, railroads to all points." Paula Souza made detailed notes and drawings as he believed that the study of the greater Midwest could help plan for the future of the Oeste Paulista.[95]

From Tennessee, Paula Souza headed back north, now to Kentucky: "The country you cross is more populated; the small villages quickly succeed one another and the farms seem very well managed." Louisville was a pleasant surprise, making Paula Souza feel "in a civilized country: 150,000 inhabitants, rich, commercial, becoming a manufacturing, or, rather, an industrial center. It possesses many factories of machines, railroad equipment, bridges." From Kentucky to Ohio, Paula Souza reached "the queen of the West. Cincinnati is in fact a magnificent city: rich, industrial, full of magnificent buildings, and a large commerce. It is here that innumerous railroads converge."[96]

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[94] Paula Souza, "John Deere," 68-70.
[95] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, "Anotações de Viagem aos Estados Unidos," 1869, Arquivo Paula Souza, PS 1869, BMA.
[96] Paula Souza, "Anotações de Viagem aos Estados Unidos."

From Cincinnati, Paula Souza headed to Chicago. Nothing fascinated him more than the stockyards. He marveled at the railroads delivering live animals and grains, the speed with which the livestock moved from one place to the next, the fast processing of paperwork, the banks located nearby, the grain elevators storing corn to feed the yards, and the railroads exporting the processed meat to other states.[97] Paula Souza described the working of the slaughterhouses in detail.

> In small herds the hogs are taken from the pens to the slaughterhouse and are forced to go up an inclined plane which takes them to the fifth or fourth floor of the establishment. Upon arriving at a large room, they are separated in groups of 4 or 5 and then inserted in a small compartment in which they are tied, killed, skinned, and gutted. All is done with speed and cleanliness thanks to several ingenious machines used. From the upper to the ground floor, in which the barrels with hams, ears, feet, etc. are shipped out in wagons, the meat goes through different processes, one in each floor. They never disrupt one another. Thanks to this division of labor and the improved machinery, in one day a slaughterhouse can buy a large number of living pigs and ship them to states of the south as cured meat.[98]

In the United States, labor-saving machinery and expert management, Paula Souza concluded, had reached far beyond factories. Fueled by free labor, industrial production had transformed something as ancient as slaughtering pigs.

After weeks exploring the greater Midwest, Paula Souza left for Europe and a few months later returned to Brazil. Back home by 1871, he started using his observations of the greater Midwest in his political and technical writings. In regard to agricultural production, Paula Souza remarked that American farmers always adopted rational means of cultivation and processed all they produced in "appropriate machines: ventilators, dryers, threshers, etc. We can understand the degree of perfection of these machinery by reminding ourselves that

[97] Cronon notes that the Chicago livestock dealers and meat packers "established intricate new connections among grain farmers, stock raisers, and butchers, thereby creating a new corporate network that gradually seized responsibility for moving and processing animal flesh in all parts of North America. One long-term result of this new network was a basic change in the American diet, and in that of people in many other parts of the world as well. Another was a growing interpenetration of city and country. With it, seemingly, came an increasing corporate control over landscape, space, and the natural world." *Nature's Metropolis*, 212.
[98] Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza, "Esboço Rápido de Algumas de Nossas Industrias Comparadas às dos Estados Unidos," *Almanach Litterario Paulista para 1876* (São Paulo: Typ. da Província de São Paulo, 1875), 55.

our best coffee-processing machines are of American invention."[99] Comparing political structures, Paula Souza argued that local powers had more autonomy in the United States than in Brazil, and could, therefore, be better controlled by private interests: "Instead of putting obstacles to private enterprise, general laws must foster it, not by trying to determine its activities with the excuse of protecting it, but setting it free, only regulating with clarity the rights of property."[100] Curiously, Paula Souza left out of his analyses the labor exploitation that he had witnessed in the greater Midwest. All he could—or wanted to—remember was the astonishing economic development of the postwar United States. A development propelled by free labor and managed by engineers. A model which he would try to replicate in Brazil.

The (Black) Engineer

André Pinto Rebouças was Paula Souza's peer. Even though he did not come from a planter family, he was the son of Senator Antonio Pereira Rebouças, considered one of the greatest Brazilian statesmen of the monarchical period, and his family held slaves as domestic servants. The young Rebouças earned the degree of military engineer from the Central School of Rio de Janeiro. After an educational trip to Europe, he started working with his brother, who was also an engineer, on port improvements. In 1865, Rebouças served in the Paraguayan War. Back to Rio de Janeiro in 1866, he became a Professor of Engineering at his alma mater, joined the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional [Auxiliary Society of National Industry] (SAIN), and engaged in rebuilding the docks and the

[99] Paula Souza, "Esboço Rápido de Algumas de Nossas Industrias Comparadas às dos Estados Unidos," 51.
[100] Paula Souza, "Esboço Rápido de Algumas de Nossas Industrias Comparadas às dos Estados Unidos," 56.

water supply system of Rio de Janeiro. In 1871, Rebouças designed a railroad line in the southern province of Paraná. Unlike Paula Souza, however, Rebouças was black.[101]

In 1872, Rebouças went on another foreign trip, this time to Europe and then the United States. In London, American businessman Charles J. Harrah, former partner of William Milnor Roberts in the construction of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, handed Rebouças two letters of introduction and two letters of credit.[102] Arriving in New York City on June 9, 1873, he went straight to the luxurious Fifth Avenue Hotel: "I was told that they had no more rooms and directed to another hotel. After a few attempts, I understood that the problem of color was the cause of the rejections." Rebouças then went to the Brazilian Consulate. The Consul General did all he could to fix the situation, but could only get a room for Rebouças at the Washington Hotel under the condition that he did not dine at the restaurant. "The first room I got was a very dirty little room on the 3rd floor," he noted in his diary, "later they gave me a bedroom with a living room on the ground floor, n. 43, with a direct exit to the public square where Broadway begins." Direct access to the street kept Rebouças out of the common areas of the hotel.[103]

A reader of *O Novo Mundo*, Rebouças set up a meeting with José Carlos Rodrigues. The two men bonded immediately. But Rodrigues's company did not make things much easier for Rebouças: "I spent the night with Dr. Rodrigues. The prejudice of color prevented me from watching the spectacle at the 'Grand Opera House.'"[104] Rebouças was an opera enthusiast and had no problem going to opera houses in Paris or Milan. Rodrigues, the great

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[101] On the life, ideas, and career of André Pinto Rebouças, see Maria Alice Rezende de Carvalho, *O Quinto Século: André Rebouças e a Construção do Brasil* (Rio de Janeiro: Revan, 1998); Alexandro Dantas Trindade, *André Rebouças: Um Engenheiro do Império* (São Paulo: Hucitec, 2011).
[102] André Pinto Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas: Textos Escolhidos e Anotações por Ana Flora e José Veríssimo*, May 23, 1873 (Rio de Janeiro: J. Olympio, 1938), 245.
[103] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 9, 1873, 245.
[104] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 9, 1873, 245.

enthusiast of American society, felt deeply embarrassed about what was happening and tried to make his new friend feel better: "Rodrigues informed me yesterday that the mulatto [Frederick] Douglass, an old friend of President Grant and very influential in his reelection, was recently rejected by hotels in Washington. This fact created great controversy in newspapers and a motion in the Senate."[105] Rebouças learned that the color line was an inescapable reality in the United States, affecting even someone as important as Douglass, who Rebouças included in the Brazilian racial category of mulatto.

If Rebouças's visit was not as miserable as racist Americans were willing to make it, it was because he could rely on the expanding networks connecting Brazil to the United States. "I presented Harrah's letter at the [office of] Engineer [William] Milnor Roberts, director of the New York Pacific Railway." Because Roberts was out of town, his secretary hosted Rebouças "with much kindness" and took him to see the Cooper Institute, the Astor Library, the Seventh Regiment Armory, and the construction grounds of Brooklyn Bridge.[106] Rebouças took detailed notes on the structural components of the suspension bridge: "All the works were done perfectly with the help of a small steam pump." Observing the building materials, he noted that "Americans have unreserved trust in their cast iron, which they consider much superior to the European. They use it in their locomotive wheels, the walking beams of their steamships, etc."[107]

Rebouças also rejoiced to find a fellow member of the SAIN in New York: "At around one o'clock I had the pleasure to embrace at his office—165 Park Street—my old friend and colleague [William Van Vleck] Lidgerwood and get to meet his older brother John

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[105] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 11, 1873, 247.
[106] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 10, 1873, 246.
[107] André Pinto Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873," Arquivo Joaquim Nabuco, PI, Pasta 3, Documento 7, Fundação Joaquim Nabuco, Recife.

H. Lidgerwood."[108] The Lidgerwood brothers took Rebouças to the New York Department of Docks. "General [George B.] McClellan," he noted, "resigned a few days ago for not standing the frauds in the municipality." Subsequently, the three men headed to the construction grounds of the post office building. The mobile scaffolding system, he thought, was "recommendable for its elegance and economy."[109] Rebouças also visited the workshop of John Stephenson, a streetcar manufacturer who often advertised at Rodrigues's *O Novo Mundo*. "Philanthropist, free trader, a specialist and a lover of his business," Stephenson pleased Rebouças.[110] In the workshop, he saw "good order and excellent machinery performing prodigious work—it is a true beehive."[111]

After a few days, Rebouças informed his friends that he would go on a railroad journey and "John Lidgerwood offered to accompany me in the excursion in order to avoid difficulties caused by the prejudice of color."[112] The two men took the Fall River line of steamers from New York City to Providence. Then, they traveled by train through Rhode Island, Massachusetts, upstate New York, Pennsylvania, and back to New York City, making several stops on the way. The color line followed Rebouças all over. At a train station in Utica, New York, "a restaurant owner complained about my color, and it was necessary for John Lidgerwood to mention my nationality: my friend intentionally repeated the treatment 'Doctor.'" The same thing happened again and again. Although people of African descent could not travel or eat peacefully in the United States, Rebouças noticed their presence: "In the trains as in the hotels the service is performed by blacks and mulattos."[113]

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[108] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 11, 1873, 247.
[109] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[110] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 12, 1873, 247-248.
[111] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[112] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 12, 1873, 247-248.
[113] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 17, 1873, 252.

Setting the color line aside as much as he could, Rebouças concentrated on the economic organization of the American Northeast. He admired the very transportation system in which he suffered from racism, taking notes about everything he saw: tracks, bridges, steamships, locomotives, and more. "The American wagons are much superior to the Europeans," he registered in his notebook, "more room, more light, more air; individual safety, cold water, water closet, lighting, refreshments, newspapers, books and novels, sweets and fruits."[114]

In Lowell, he visited the Tremont Cotton Mills: "500 H.P. machine from Corliss Steam Engines Co.—Providence, Rhode Island. 4 turbines of 190 H.P. each. Good order and great hygiene everywhere. Similar disposition at Suffolk Mills."[115] He also went on a tour of the Lowell Carpet Mills, "which employs steam and hydraulic engines of 250 horse-power." The city of Lowell delighted Rebouças: "How beautiful this little town is; how different from the manufacturing cities of old Europe."[116] From Lowell, he headed to Cambridge to visit the Massachusetts Institute of Technology. Rebouças found the buildings beautiful, the classrooms excellent, the chairs comfortable, the desks spacious, and the lighting efficient. He was also excited to see steam-powered engines and other advanced instruments at the students' disposal.[117]

The Niagara waterfalls did not impress Rebouças as much as the local tourism industry, which he considered more developed than that of the Roman ruins in Italy. The cable car over the falls, he remarked, "is certainly a characteristic trait of Yankee audacity." The new suspension bridge was "one of the most beautiful things engineering has ever

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[114] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[115] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[116] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 13, 1873, 248.
[117] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."

produced."[118] In Buffalo, Rebouças admired the great steamers on Lake Erie and "the Erie Canal, the first of a series of great works of public utility which made her [the United States] surpass Europe in prosperity."[119]

In Pennsylvania, Rebouças visited coal mines and steel mills.[120] In Pittsburgh, he inspected the American Iron Works Co. and observed in awe that "the mill employs 2,500 workers." In Philadelphia, he stopped by the shipyard of William Cramp & Sons. One of the Camp brothers showed him around the facilities. Rebouças made a long list of all the machines he saw and paid close attention to a "large steamship of 1800 H.P. under construction." As in most manufacturing facilities he visited, he found "good order, good hygiene, much room around the establishment." He then went to Wilmington to inspect the luxurious sleeping cars of Jackson & Sharp Co. Delaware Car Works.[121] Finally, Rebouças visited Baldwin Locomotive Works, which was "preparing ten locomotives, out of a purchase of twenty, for the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad."[122]

Nothing impressed Rebouças more, however, than the nascent oil industry of northwestern Pennsylvania. Thirty minutes from Titusville, he arrived at "the margins of a marvelous rivulet; black from the petroleum extracted here! We stopped by the derricks on the oil wells." In the middle of "a true forest of derricks," containing no less than sixty, Rebouças found himself in ecstasy.

> At 10 P.M., the spectacle became marvelous. At the bottom of the Oil Creek Valley, the petroleum rivulet reflecting, at intervals, the flames of the gas pipes; a black line, a daring suspension bridge for the workers; the forest rising on the hills to the sky; trees projecting fantastic shadows on the gleam of a cyclopean light; the hum of the steam engines burning natural gas, the grind of the wooden derricks; the blows of the mining bars perforating new wells; the panting of the locomotive on the railway parallel to the river.

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[118] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 15, 1873, 249.
[119] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[120] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 17, 1873, 252.
[121] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[122] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 18, 1873, 253.

The discovery of petroleum in Oil Creek, Rebouças learned, dated from 1858, but it was during the American Civil War that this industry boomed. In his diary, Rebouças reflected on the deeper meaning of the spectacle before his eyes: "In the times of Moses, God, to free the people of Israel, made water come out of rocks; in order to free the slaves of America, God made even more: He made oil emerge from the earth of Pennsylvania! When God works for liberty he is capable of producing wonders!"[123] For an observer like Rebouças, the oil of Pennsylvania represented more than just wealth that made the Union richer than the Confederacy; it represented, first and foremost, that industrial capitalism could do things unimaginable in slave societies.

Back to New York City, Rebouças was glad that Lidgerwood had managed to book a room for him "at the Clarendon Hotel (currently the most aristocratic in New York)." He then visited Lidgerwood's estate in Morristown, New Jersey. He was delighted to learn that, "in the garden of this residence, [Samuel] Morse worked with the help of the Lidgerwood family, inventing here the electric telegraph."[124] Rebouças also visited the Boonton Iron Works and the Grant Locomotive Works nearby.[125] Again in New York City, he stopped by the office of *O Novo Mundo.* Rodrigues wanted to publish an article about "Mr. Perpetual-Motion Rebouças." Shy, he declined the tribute.[126] After buying some books, Rebouças left for Rio de Janeiro on June 23, 1873.

Like Paula Souza, Rebouças presented a selective memory of what he had seen in the United States. He never mentioned in his public writings anything about the color line. Also like Paula Souza, he lauded the American government for fostering private enterprises: "In

[123] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 16, 1873, 251.
[124] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 19, 1873, 254.
[125] Rebouças, "Viagem aos Estados Unidos em junho de 1873."
[126] Rebouças, *Diário e Notas Autobiográficas*, June 21, 1873, 255.

the United States, a country in which *self-help*[127] and the spirit of association are more vigorous than in England even, it is common practice for the federal or state government to provide 6% interest guarantee and direct pecuniary relief to canal and railroad companies." Rebouças was also interested in the way American agriculture expanded westward, noting that, "in North America, the sons of the New World, the *Yankees*, prepare the land and sell them in condition to be cultivated to European colonists." But this system was only possible, he added, under free labor: "Colonization and slavery, it must not be forgotten, are always in mortal struggle, in perfect antagonism. The great example of the United States demonstrates clearly that colonization is only possible after emancipation."[128]

During the 1870s, Rebouças's and Paula Souza's influence grew in Brazil as they engaged in key infrastructure works. In their writings as well as their projects, they drew inspiration from the postwar United States. Only by submitting to the rule of engineers and capitalists, they proposed, could a nation develop its full potential and integrate its different parts. Rebouças's praise for how American society rebuilt itself after the Civil War made this point clear.

> The deadly North American war revealed to the world that it was not only in the length of its railroads that the United States was superior to France and England combined, but also that this unmatched republic was far ahead of the European nations in the arts of peace as well as war! Today, the United States is a very rich country of 40,000,000 inhabitants. Today, the great North American republic attends to all national demands: it rebuilds New York, once made of wood, using porphyry, marble, and granite! Today, engineer Charles Pullman is invited to England to teach how to build palace-cars for railroads! Today, Americans can be proud of having river steamers unmatched in Europe, true floating palaces of indescribable luxury and elegance such as the *Providence* and the *City of Bristol*! Today, the prodigious nation can build in Philadelphia a monument to celebrate the centennial of its independence which will cast a shadow on the marvelous palaces of the London, Paris, and Vienna expositions![129]

[127] Original in English.
[128] André Pinto Rebouças, *Garantia de Juros: Estudos para a sua Applicação às Emprezas de Utilidade Pública do Brazil* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1874), 18, 146-148.
[129] Rebouças, *Garantia de Juros*, 245.

Both Rebouças and Paula Souza knew well that labor exploitation, corruption, and racism plagued the postwar United States. But they chose not to mention these problems. The United States was the land of the future, and the future, they naively trusted, would take care of all problems.

The Students

Thanks to Rodrigues and a geologist named Charles Frederick Hartt, more Brazilian engineers would come to think like Paula Souza and Rebouças. Born and educated in Nova Scotia, Hartt joined Louis Agassiz at the Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology in the early 1860s. In 1865, he visited Brazil as a member of the Thayer Expedition. In 1867, funded by the Cooper Institute, Hartt returned to Brazil to continue his studies. In 1869, thanks to Agassiz's recommendation, Hartt became Chair of Geology at the recently established Cornell University. In 1870, he finished writing *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil*, which was published along with Agassiz's *Scientific Results of a Journey in Brazil.*[130] That same year, Hartt organized a new expedition to Brazil, which would be funded by Edwin Barber Morgan, a banker from upstate New York who occupied a seat on Cornell's Board of Trustees.[131]

O Novo Mundo praised *Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil*: "In an agricultural country, in which industry still needs to be developed, a work like the one we analyze here cannot be underestimated. It is impossible to create a rational and practical agricultural system without knowing nature or the composition of the mass which sustains the plant."[132]

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[130] *Thayer Expedition: Scientific Results of a Journey in Brazil by Louis Agassiz and his Travelling Companions; Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil by Ch. Fred. Hartt* (Boston: Fields, Osgood, 1870).
[131] For an intellectual biography of Charles Frederick Hartt, see Marcus Vinicius de Freitas, *Charles Frederick Hartt: Um Naturalista no Império de Pedro II* (Belo Horizonte: Editora UFMG, 2002).
[132] "Geologia do Brazil," *O Novo Mundo*, October 24, 1870.

In January 1871, Rodrigues published Hartt's biography and portrait. During the second visit of the Morgan Expedition to Brazil, in September 1871, Hartt was struck by the reach of Rodrigues's work. "I feel deeply indebted for what you have done for me in Brazil, I find I am known everywhere," he wrote while traveling the Amazon. "What is more, many persons who can't for the life of them see what is the use of my work think it must amount to something because the *Novo Mundo* says so."[133]

Hartt's and Rodrigues's most relevant collaborative effort was attracting Brazilian youths to American universities. Brazilians had been studying abroad since the early nineteenth century, when the University of Coimbra, in Portugal, became a popular destination for the sons of the ruling elite seeking juridical education. By the middle of the century, as engineering became more popular, Brazilian youths chose French, German, and Swiss institutions. During the 1870s, thanks to Hartt and Rodrigues, the United States became their primary destination.[134]

In June 1871, *O Novo Mundo* presented a long article about Cornell. It described the beautiful campus, mentioned that Hartt was a member of the faculty, and explained its origins in the Land-Grant College Act of 1862.[135] Rodrigues supported government grants for higher education as an efficient means to create large research institutions. But he emphasized that Land Grant colleges were free from direct government intervention. All

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133 Charles Frederick Hartt to José Carlos Rodrigues, on board of the steamer *Pará*, Tapajós River, September 17, 1871, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* 9, 138.

134 On technical education in nineteenth-century Brazil, see José Murilo de Carvalho, *A Escola de Minas de Ouro Preto: O Peso da Glória* (Rio de Janeiro: Finep, 1978).

135 On the origins of the Land Grant College Act, Heather Cox Richardson writes that "the increased wartime responsibilities of the government had enabled the Republicans to explore and gain confidence in the national economy, then to strengthen the national government's economic role in the country through banking, currency, tax, and tariff legislation. With their homestead and land grant college acts, the Republicans had developed an active role for the government in the economy by using government land grants to develop agriculture." *The Greatest Nation of the Earth: Republican Economic Policies during the Civil War* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 1997), 170.

they had to do was to use the resources for the advancement of agriculture and the mechanical arts.[136] And this was precisely what Cornell did. It had its own farm and workshops, in which students worked, and "all the roads and bridges close to the university were built by the students."[137]

By the end of his article about Cornell, Rodrigues noted that "the costs here are not higher than in São Paulo or Pernambuco; and Brazilian parents will do well to send their sons to receive practical education in the United States. A few days ago a Brazilian youth, Mr. E. F. Pacheco Jordão, arrived from Itu, São Paulo."[138] Born in Rio Claro, Elias Fausto Pacheco Jordão was the son of a wealthy fazendeiro. Thanks to the networks Rodrigues had established, he soon adapted to the American university. "Jordão is well and contented," Hartt informed Rodrigues in June 1871, "he is a nice filho [son], I think he has come to the best place he could himself find."[139]

Other students from São Paulo soon followed Pacheco Jordão. Writing in 1874, Tomás de Aquino e Castro explained how the network connecting Cornell to Brazil functioned. Upon arriving in New York City by steamship, Aquino e Castro and his cousin "went searching for the office of 'O Novo Mundo' in order to visit the illustrious editor Mr. J. C. Rodrigues," who had acquired a reputation as "the patron of the Brazilian students in the United States." Rodrigues accompanied the two young men to Ithaca, introducing them

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136 Paul N. Nienkamp notes that "during the second half of the nineteenth century, educators across America embraced and fostered a national character and identity intricately tied to Morrill Land-Grant Colleges Act. College administrators and professors recognized a dire need for technically skilled individuals who could adapt quickly to changes in equipment and processes and implement advances in scientific knowledge in American homes, fields, and factories. They wanted highly trained students to become leaders, managers, and field experts." "Engineering National Character: Early Land-Grant College Science and the Quest for an American Identity," *Science as Service: Establishing and Reformulating Land-Grant Universities, 1865-1930*, ed. Alan I Marcus (Tuscaloosa: University of Alabama Press, 2015), 115-116.
137 "A Universidade de Cornell," *O Novo Mundo*, June 24, 1871.
138 "A Universidade de Cornell," *O Novo Mundo*, June 24, 1871.
139 Charles Frederick Hartt to José Carlos Rodrigues, Ithaca, June 18, 1870, *Anais da Biblioteca Nacional* 9, 138.

to Hartt, who, "affable and kind, welcomed us with deference and consideration." At the hotel, "we received the joyful visit of the students Elias Jordão, [Luiz de] Souza Barros, [Carlos] Paes de Barros, [Antonio de] Queirós Teles Neto, Bento [de Almeida] Prado, and José Prado, who until then were the only Brazilians living there and who were enthusiastic about the growing community. We were eight then—and how odd!—all from the heroic province of São Paulo."[140]

Out of the thirty-four Brazilian students enrolled at Cornell during the 1870s and 1880s, twenty-three were from the province of São Paulo. Like Pacheco Jordão, most were children of the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista and most studied engineering.[141] Since the time of the American Civil War, São Paulo had been the Brazilian province with closest ties to the United States: the most successful colony of ex-Confederates in Brazil was situated in Santa Bárbara, Lidgerwood had established his foundry in Campinas, and American missionaries had opened schools all over the province. Writing in 1875, Whitaker, the landowner from Rio Claro, took great pride in seeing one more element tying his province to the United States: "Around fifty men from São Paulo crossed the ocean to study in that country. Thankfully! Let us pray that they come back strengthened by example, by education, and capable of sowing the seeds which will fertilize our soil already so inclined to adopt North American uses and customs."[142]

Expanding these networks, the students from São Paulo created a monthly publication entitled *Aurora Brasileira: Periodico Litterario e Noticioso – Orgão dos Estudantes*

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[140] T. A. Castro, "Impressões de Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Ithaca," *Aurora Brasileira*, May 20, 1874.
[141] Andrew J. Kirkendall suggests that, when compared to the more prestigious law degree, engineering "received little acclaim in imperial Brazil's agrarian society. Few plantation owners would have welcomed a son's choice of engineering as a profession." *Class Mates*, 5. By the 1870s, the fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista had clearly broken with this attitude.
[142] Whitaker, "O Progresso de S. Paulo."

Brasileiros nos Estados Unidos.[143] Their source of inspiration could not have been other than Rodrigues: "The coming of so many Brazilians to this university happens thanks to that gentleman, who has shown the advantages of education in this country through the civilizing pages of *O Novo Mundo* and has welcomed all Brazilians in New York, advising that they come to this university, one of the best in the country. The creation of *Aurora* is, therefore, a triumph of *O Novo Mundo*."[144]

Like *O Novo Mundo*, the *Aurora Brasileira* portrayed São Paulo as the motor of Brazilian progress. In April 1874, the editors reminded readers that, "long ago, through private initiative, the province of São Paulo first considered replacing the slave hand, and this happened well before the law of September 4, 1851, which put a definitive end to the trade in Africans to Brazil." Moreover, São Paulo agriculture, "diverse and abundant as it is, has long rejected the old routine." Private initiative had brought railroads, factories, and schools to the province. "The Massachusetts of Brazil," São Paulo was destined to great things, according to the *Aurora Brasileira*.[145]

Unlike *O Novo Mundo*, however, the *Aurora Brasileira* was quite timid when it came to the problem of slavery in Brazil. But it was not silent. Its articles often implied that the improvement of Brazilian agriculture would eventually lead to slave emancipation. The son of a landowner from the township of Brotas, located fifty miles northwest of Rio Claro, Francisco de Assis Vieira Bueno pointed to the American example, reminding Brazilian legislators that, "in the midst of the horror of a civil war, when all attentions converged to it, the representatives of the American Union discussed, and A. Lincoln sanctioned, laws which

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[143] For the intellectual tenets of the *Aurora Brasileira*, see Marcus Vinicius de Freitas, *Contradições da Modernidade: O Jornal Aurora Brasileira (1873-1875)* (Campinas: Editora Unicamp, 2011).

[144] "O Novo Mundo," *Aurora Brasileira*, January 20, 1874. The complete collection of the *Aurora Brasileira* is available digitally in a CD-ROOM included in Freitas, *Contradições da Modernidade*.

[145] "Propagadora da Instrução," *Aurora Brasileira*, April 20, 1874.

provided industrial education to the people, to all the people. Here lies the greatness of the Americans."[146]

Vieira Bueno and his fellow Cornell students believed that, if Brazilian legislators followed Lincoln's example, adopting measures such as the Land Grant Act, the backward practices of Brazilian agriculture would soon disappear.

> The farmer who understands a little about physics, instead of prayer and vows, will employ his time in saving the plants of his garden by irrigation; instead of having four rifle shots on each corner of his cotton farm, maybe he will find in chemistry the means to extinguish the caterpillar; veterinary seems less open to error than the often brutal practices of the witchdoctor; mechanical engines might replace the pestle and improve the mortar; botany might teach many things that can be useful in gardens and orchards.[147]

The Brazilian students at Cornell equated agriculture to industry: "The progress of agriculture requires the assistance of machines, means of communication, railroads, bridges, dams, docks, the opening of ports, the destruction of reefs." Full of optimism, they proclaimed that "the time which dawns now in Brazil is that of Engineering. The movement begins: in all steamships young Brazilians depart for the United States, seeking to study the sciences—confident that they will render great services to their country: fifteen came to Cornell alone, and many others are on their way."[148]

In September, 1873, eighteen Brazilian students organized a parade to celebrate Brazil's Independence Day at Cornell. Accompanied by a band, they marched to the house of the university president Andrew Dickson White. "If there is anything to stimulate us to new exertion," White told the Brazilian students, "to arouse us to put forth new efforts to build up this new institution, it is the idea that its influence is to spread even beyond the

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[146] F. A. Vieira Bueno, "Necessidade de uma Academia de Agricultura no Brazil I," *Aurora Brasileira* , January 20, 1875.
[147] F. A. Vieira Bueno, "Necessidade de uma Academia de Agricultura no Brazil II," *Aurora Brasileira*, February 20, 1875.
[148] "Aurora Brasileira," *Aurora Brasileira*, October 22, 1873.

borders of our own country."[149] The Brazilian youths took White's words to heart. For them, Cornell represented a transformative experience.

Aquino e Castro described the great surprise he had when he arrived at Cornell: Pacheco Jordão "worked with his own hands, spiking the soil of the Union with several miles of railway"; Souza Barros "breathed an atmosphere of acids in the chemistry laboratory"; Paes de Barros "surveyed university lands"; Vieira Bueno studied bridge building; and Almeida Prado "trained by moving agricultural instruments on the American soil" and his thesis dealt with rotation of crops. Aquino e Castro concluded that his colleagues' training represented more than individual efforts: "It was Brazil which had come here to remake itself, undress the dull cloak of the royalty and take the garments of the humble worker of the century!"[150] Rodrigues went further when explaining the meaning of these efforts. "They want to learn;" he uttered, "they see on the walls of the near future the 'mene, mene, tekel, upharsin'[151] of slavery; and through this sentence they see their country in need of all the energy from the men who will found the new order. … Never before have young Brazilians dedicated themselves so much to natural sciences and mathematics as now."[152]

The positive experience of Brazilian students at Cornell led *O Novo Mundo* and the *Aurora Brasileira* to expand their promotion of American higher education. They wrote about Lehigh University, in Pennsylvania, emphasizing that it provided hands-on experience for engineering students at its two foundries.[153] They also pointed out that Lafayette College,

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149 "The Brazilian Celebration," *Daily Journal*, September 8, 1873.
150 T. A. Castro, "Impressões de Viagem do Rio de Janeiro a Ithaca," *Aurora Brasileira*, June 20, 1874.
151 In the Old Testament (Daniel 5:25), these words appeared on the wall during Belshazzar's feast and Daniel interpreted them as God dooming the kingdom of Belshazzar.
152 "Educação no Exterior," *O Novo Mundo*, January 23, 1874.
153 "A Universidade de Lehigh, em Bethlehem, Estado da Pennsylvania," *Aurora Brasileira*, November 23, 1873.

also in Pennsylvania, was a center of excellence in the study of mines.[154] In 1875, the *Aurora Brasileira* reported that Luiz de Souza Barros, Alberto Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, and José Nabor Pacheco Jordão had transferred from Cornell to Columbia College, in New York City, and were satisfied.[155] In 1876, a student from São Paulo wrote that the University of Pennsylvania provided "not only complete enlightenment but also the aptitude that man needs to advantageously fulfill his duties before society and the state."[156] The University of Cincinnati and the Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, in Troy, New York, also became very popular among ambitious Brazilian youths.

In 1875, José Custódio Alves de Lima, the son of a fazendeiro from the township of Tietê, located fifty miles west of Campinas, transferred from Cornell to Syracuse University and took with him the Brazilian students' publication. He renamed it *Aurora Brazileira: Engenharia, Mechanica, Sciencia, Agricultura, Artes e Manufacturas*. Inspired by publications such as *Scientific American*, Alves de Lima sought to transform his journal into a guide for Brazil's progress.

> If there is a country in need of periodicals dealing with mechanics applied to industry and agriculture, this country certainly is Brazil. True, we are a rich country, but we are very poor at the same time; we certainly have inexhaustible treasures, but we have not used them yet. Our people still have very deficient ideas about mechanics, engineering, agriculture, etc. Hence, it is necessary to encourage reading of periodicals which can instruct us in matters of public and private use.[157]

The new *Aurora Brazileira* (now with a "z") would "familiarize the Brazilian people with the scientific progress made here [in the United States] from a material and a moral

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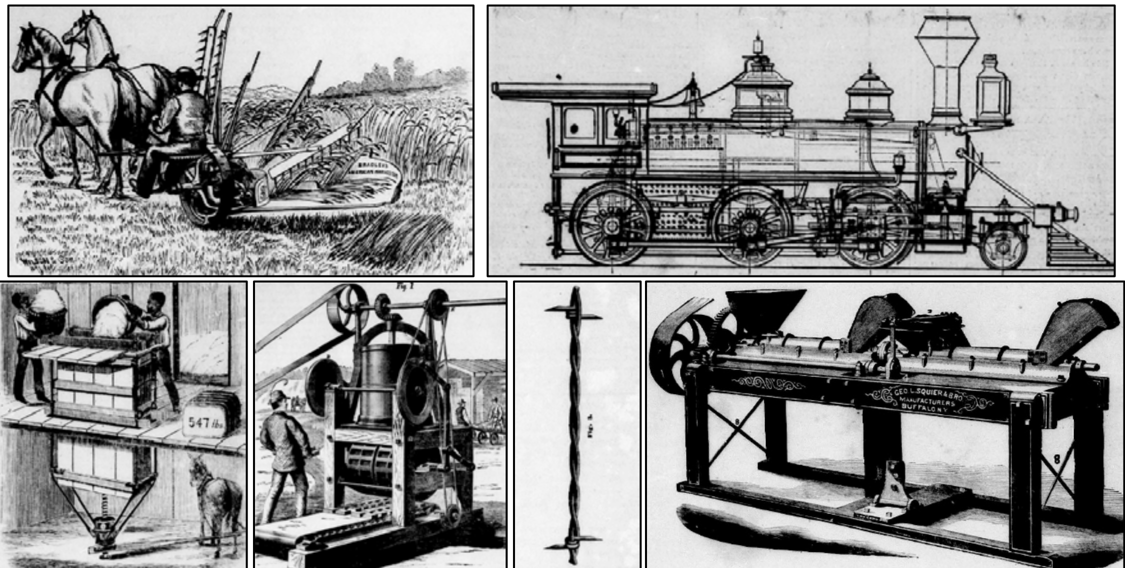
[154] "O Lafayette College," *O Novo Mundo*, October 23, 1874; J. P. D. Carneiro, "O Lafayette College," *Aurora Brasileira*, November 20, 1874.
[155] "Partida," *Aurora Brasileira*, January 20, 1875.
[156] G. T. Pisa e Almeida, "A Univesidade da Pennsylvania, em Philadelphia," *Aurora Brasileira*, December 20, 1873. On Brazilian students at the University of Pennsylvania, see Fernando Atique, *Arquitetando a "Boa Vizinhança": Arquitetura, Cidade e Cultura nas Relações Brasil-Estados Unidos, 1876-1945* (Campinas: Pontes, 2010).
[157] "Aurora Brazileira," *Aurora Brazileira*, March 1877.

perspective."[158] For Alves de Lima, "the American Union is a mirror in which the Brazilian must look if he wants to contribute his part to the material development of the country."[159]

Alves de Lima's central goal was the improvement of Brazilian agriculture. "We understand," he announced in October 1877, "that the time is arriving when no one will be a good agriculturalist without knowledge, even if superficial, about the principles of chemistry, geology, and botany." According to Alves de Lima, scientific knowledge applied to agriculture automatically led to mechanization: "In a farm, economy basically consists of performing labor with the least cost, the least waste, in the better way possible. The agriculturalist who does not observe this principle, applying modern agricultural machines and using steam-power, will not qualify as a true economist and by the end of the year will not only run out of money but also credit."[160]



The *Aurora Brazileira* promoted products manufactured in the United States which could contribute to economic development in Brazil. Top left: Bradley's American Harvester (January 1876). Top right: Baldwin Locomotive (July 1876). Bottom left: Wright's Cotton Packing Device (June 1877). Bottom middle-left: Machen's Brick Making Machine (July 1877). Bottom middle-right: Washburn and Moen Barbed Wire (October 1877). Bottom right: Geo. L. Squier & Bro. Coffee Huller (January 1878).

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[158] "Aurora Brazileira," *Aurora Brazileira*, December 1875.
[159] "A Educação do Engenheiro Civil," *Aurora Brazileira*, January 1878.
[160] "Verdadeira Economia," *Aurora Brazileira*, October 1877.

Alves de Lima often announced, in English, that "parties who would like to have their goods known and introduced in Brazil, principally those manufacturers of engines, bridges, agricultural implements, locomotives, rolling stock, etc., will find at once that it pays to advertise in the *Aurora Brazileira*, which is the only organ of men of progress in Brazil."[161] He hoped that, by introducing American capital goods in Brazil, his periodical would help solve what he identified as the main cause of Brazilian backwardness—slave labor. Work that could be performed by machines, he regretted, "is done in Brazil by slaves, who, we must admit, are always sluggish. Why should Brazil not imitate the United States at least in material improvements?"[162]

Like other free labor promoters of his generation, Alves de Lima understood industrial technology as a force opposed to slavery. He ascertained that the Law of the Free Womb would "only attain the beneficial results which our legislators envisioned if, from now on, we promote the complete revolution in our system of rural labor, replacing manual work with machines, creating a reasonable economy of time and money."[163] Technology, he believed, would help Brazil substitute the immigrant for the slave: "The German, Portuguese, Italian, or American colonists will work better if they have in hand a plow or an improved machine to cut grass, rice, etc. … Thus, Brazilian agriculture needs to adopt machines, just like the United States did after slave emancipation."[164]

Alves de Lima's approach to slave emancipation was based on that of André Pinto Rebouças, who the *Aurora Brazileira* often lauded as one of the most brilliant minds in Brazil. When, in 1877, Rebouças presented at the SAIN a project "to provide technical education to

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161 "Advertise in the Aurora Brazileira," *Aurora Brazileira*, May 1877-January 1878.
162 "Bombas para Uso Domestico," *Aurora Brazileira*, December 1875.
163 "Aurora Brazileira," *Aurora Brazileira*, December 1875.
164 "O Segador de Bradley," *Aurora Brazileira*, January 1876.

the people and prepare them in arts and industry," Alves de Lima applauded with enthusiasm. He argued that Rebouças tackled some of the most important challenges that Brazil would face in the near future.

> Will the Brazilians be prepared to receive with courage the shock that, sooner or later, they will receive? Are the planters working on improving agricultural labor so, when they have no more slaves, the work in their plantations will not be disturbed? If they do not answer affirmatively to our question, as provident Brazilians, we advise the Brazilian government to be cautious and execute the practical measures that the distinguished member of the SAIN suggests.

Following Rebouças's program, the Brazilian government should tell the planters that "their capital will not be affected by slave emancipation *if they make use* of the agricultural machinery used in this country [the United States] and in others."[165]

Alves de Lima chided Brazilian planters who invested in slaves instead of machines. "They consider expensive a machine which does the work of ten slaves and still do not hesitate in paying ten times more for one slave!"[166] What these benighted planters needed was "practical knowledge to calculate with precision if it is advantageous to buy three or four slaves to obtain a certain quantity of labor which we could easily obtain through a machine which costs half, a third, or a quarter of the capital immobilized."[167] Alves de Lima looked down on the followers of Senator Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, a spokesmen for the Paraíba Valley, who had insisted in the 1840s that "our civilization came from Africa." These were men fighting the spirit of the age: "The tortoise-statesman (as everyone knows) alluded to the benefit of importing more slaves to Brazil, the greatest error that our ancestors bequeathed to the present generation."[168]

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[165] "Museu de Machinas em Movimento," *Aurora Brazileira*, June 1877.
[166] "Nossa Resposta," *Aurora Brazileira*, May 1876.
[167] "Machina a Vapor para Lavradores," *Aurora Brazileira*, August 1877.
[168] "Influencia da Machina sobre o Trabalho," *Aurora Brazileira*, December 1875.

But there were signs of progress among Brazilian planters. Like Rodrigues and the Cornell students, Alves de Lima praised the fazendeiros of his native province. "There is no Brazilian who is not ecstatic about the progress that S. Paulo has made in such a short time," he wrote in May 1877. "While in other regions of the Empire individual energy obtains nothing, in S. Paulo capital is raised in order to build railroads which take life and light everywhere." New schools emerged in the throughout the Oeste Paulista. And now the fazendeiros' sons were flocking to the United States.

> We are proud to say that here we find young men from Campinas, Piracicaba, Tietê, Capivari, Tatuí, Jundiaí, Santos, Itu, and other cities, who decided to come on their own or through advice from their parents. Some study engineering, others mechanics, agriculture, or medicine. … Our readers from other provinces will be surprised to learn that the students from São Paulo are the children of wealthy planters, who see in the education of their sons a great investment not only useful to themselves but also to society and their birthplace.[169]

Along with knowledge, São Paulo was absorbing technology from the United States. Alves de Lima noted that "the Porter Manufacturing Company, which has always advertised in the *Aurora* is presently building several steam-powered machines to be used in the townships of Tietê and Capivari in the province of São Paulo."[170] Moreover, Luiz de Souza Barros, a student at Columbia and a collaborator of the *Aurora Brazileira*, sent "one hay-cutting machine, three different harvesters, one corn-planting machine, one grain-processing machine, one alfalfa-planting machine, several cultivators, and other instruments to the plantation of Mr. José de Souza Barros, a planter from Araraquara." Alves de Lima applauded "the progressive spirit of the Souza Barros family."[171]

The networks that Alves de Lima celebrated would continue to expand. Hundreds of Brazilian young men would seek education in American universities in the following decades and would come back home after graduation to modernize Brazilian structures. The sons of

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[169] "Porque É que S. Paulo Progride," *Aurora Brazileira*, May 1877.
[170] "Locomotivas e Machinas a Vapor Para o Brazil," *Aurora Brazileira*, December 1877.
[171] "Em Geral," *Aurora Brazileira*, April 1876.

the fazendeiros understood well what the mission of Cornell, Syracuse, and other American universities was. At these institutions, they learned how new applied sciences could be used to rebuild an economy and integrate a nation on the basis of free labor.

The Guests

The fazendeiros' sons were far from being the most prominent Brazilians to explore the United States during the 1870s. On April 15, 1876, Dom Pedro II arrived in New York City. He was the second reigning monarch to ever visit the United States. Unlike the first one, King Kamehameha IV of Hawaii, who visited the country in 1850 and was exposed to Anglo-American racism, Dom Pedro II was welcomed as a great head of state. James O'Kelly, a *New York Herald* reporter who covered the visit, observed that "the Emperor of Brazil wins favor at every step. His Majesty pleasantly represents himself as a student, eager to be instructed and willing to avail himself of knowledge that subsequently may be put into practical operation in his own domain, and may redound to the advantage of the empire of which he is the benign ruler." Pleasing American sycophants, Dom Pedro II self-identified as "the Yankee Emperor."[172]

On May 10, 1876, Dom Pedro II joined Ulysses S. Grant for the opening ceremony of the Centennial Exhibition in Philadelphia. Together, they started the Corliss Engine, which supplied energy to the main building. The Brazilian monarch of Habsburg, Bourbon, and Braganza lineage was the most celebrated of the two. American fascination with Dom Pedro II was so intense that *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* published a special article about him. "The contour of his forehead shows excellent memory, and his eyes indicate ability to talk with precision and clearness." A striking body accompanied such a

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[172] James O'Kelly, "Dom Pedro II," *New York Herald*, April 17, 1876.

magnificent head: "Over six feet by three inches in height, and possessing an athletic frame, with a face whose expression is gentle and winning, and manners that are simple and dignified, he reminds an observer of the knightly kings of romance."[173]

However flattered Dom Pedro II might have felt, such praise had more to do with American politics than with his own aptitudes as a statesman. By 1876, the Grant administration faced charges of corruption and abuse of power. State and municipal officers did not fare much better. The day after Dom Pedro's arrival, the *New York Herald* discussed what he might observe during his stay.

> He will see a metropolis of imposing mansions and streets whose paving would disgrace a Turkish town; he will see splendor and squalor, affluence and poverty, virtue and crime. … He will find a wretched civil service all the offices of the State given over to political adventurers, who have no aim but their own advancement, and who use the functions of government to consolidate their power. … If he looks to Washington he will see a strange flowering of the centennial period—a House of Representatives so busily engaged in ferreting out corruptions that it has no time to pass the bills necessary to supply the public buildings with gas and coal. … His Majesty, as a scholar and a thinker anxious to apply the results of his observations and meditations to the welfare of his own people, will no doubt delight in these themes.[174]

Distilling their irony, the critics of Reconstruction projected onto the Brazilian monarch the qualities that they found lacking in American politicians. "Dom Pedro is the first Emperor we have seen on this imperial soil, where all are emperors," the *New York Herald* taunted. "How much better our Yankee Emperor behaves then some of his foreign cousins! … When he goes home he will know more about the United States than two-thirds of the members of Congress."[175] Unwittingly, "the knightly king of romance" served the interests of those seeking to dismantle Reconstruction.[176]

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[173] "Dom Pedro II, of Brazil," *The Phrenological Journal and Science of Health*, July 1876. Phrenology was also popular among Brazilian scientists during the second half of the nineteenth century. See Lilia K. Moritz Schwarcz, *The Spectacle of the Races: Scientists, Institutions, and the Race question in Brazil, 1870-1930* (New York: Hill and Wang, 1999).
[174] "Our Imperial Guest," *New York Herald*, April 16, 1876.
[175] "Our Yankee Emperor," *New York Herald*, April 21, 1876.
[176] According to Robert W. Rydell, "rather than merely offering an escape from the economic and political uncertainties of the Reconstruction years, the fair was a calculated response to these conditions. Its organizers

That Dom Pedro II was the ruler of a slave nation did not escape American observers. Yet, they were quick to transform shame into honor. The *New York Evangelist* claimed that Dom Pedro II favored emancipation. "But wisely mindful of the prejudices as well as interests which time had established among his wealthier subjects," he adopted gradual legislation and encouraged free immigration. "By these means he gradually demonstrated the superiority of free labor, and so prepared the public mind for a degree of total, though gradual emancipation, which was promulgated in 1871."[177] Similarly, the Philadelphia *Friend's Intelligencer* noted that "the total abolition of slavery in Brazil is believed to be, now, the desire and intent of the Emperor, and he ardently cherishes the hope of accomplishing the work 'without causing convulsions, or reducing to misery both the planters and their former slaves.'"[178] Echoes of anti-Reconstruction propaganda were more than evident in articles like these. As white Americans grew hostile to admitting black people as full citizens of the United States, attacks on immediate slave emancipation became common. The slow transition that Dom Pedro II (supposedly) encouraged in Brazil thus appeared as wise policymaking.

The admirers of Dom Pedro II suggested that the American people could see the results of his enlightened rule in the Brazilian section of the Centennial. Brazil mounted the largest foreign exhibition in Philadelphia, containing raw materials, processed food, handcrafts, paintings, publications, weapons, and manufactured products.[179] As usual, Dom

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sought to challenge doubts and restore confidence in the vitality of America's system of government as well as in the social and economic structure of the country. From the moment the gates swung open at nine o'clock on the morning of 10 May, the fair operated as 'a school for the nation,' a working model of an 'American Mecca.'" *All the World's a Fair: Visions of Empire at American International Expositions, 1876-1916* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 1999), 11. Surely, the presence of Dom Pedro II was part of this effort. Yet, the Brazilian monarch also offered a precious opportunity for those who wanted to attack Reconstruction by contrasting his supposed enlightened rule with the Grant administration.

[177] "Our Imperial Guest," *New York Evangelist*, April 20, 1876.

[178] S. R., "Freedom in Brazil," *Friends' Intelligencer*, May 13, 1876.

[179] *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section, Philadelphia International Exhibition, 1876* (Philadelphia: Hallowell & Co., 1876).

Pedro II received praise for the work of other people. An official committee of seven members had set up the Brazilian section: Antonio Pedro de Carvalho Borges, a military engineer and career diplomat; Felipe Lopes Neto, a career diplomat and member of the Council of State; João Martins da Silva Coutinho, the Army engineer who had accompanied Louis Agassiz to the Amazon; José de Saldanha da Gama, a botanist specialized in Brazilian woods and vegetable fibers; Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, a prominent member of the SAIN; Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, an engineer and coffee planter from the province of Rio de Janeiro; and Hermenegildo Rodrigues de Alvarenga, a medical doctor and parliamentarian. Luís Pedreira do Couto Ferraz, the Viscount of Bom Retiro, served as Dom Pedro's personal companion. Diplomats and students assisted the committee. José Carlos Rodrigues published pamphlets about Brazil to be distributed to the American public.[180]

The Brazilian committee's main goal was to advertise that "coffee is actually esteemed as the best product and as the first cause of the public wealth in Brazil." Before the official opening, Lopes Neto wrote to the director of the Centennial that Brazil had "a quantity of coffee which is to be distributed gratuitously in order to convince Americans that our coffee is the best."[181] In Brazilian plantations, the *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section* informed the visitors, coffee was "gathered in sieves, sun dried, decorticated, and polished by American machines." It further emphasized that "the coffee of S. Paulo (which is exported through Santos) enjoys the best reputation in foreign markets, and there are few farmers of S. Paulo who do not employ machinery for improving coffee."[182]

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[180] "A Comissão Brazileira," *O Novo Mundo*, May 27, 1876.
[181] Felippe Lopes Netto to Alfred T. Goshorn, April 2, 1876, United States Centennial Commission, RG 230, Box A-1525, Department of Records, City of Philadelphia.
[182] *Catalogue of the Brazilian Section*, 78-82.

The Vergueiro, Paula Souza, Souza Queirós, Pacheco Jordão, Paes de Barros, and other planter families sent samples of their coffee to Philadelphia. The fazendeiros of the Oeste Paulista had been preparing their participation for a long time. By 1874, local authorities organized a provincial exhibition to gather the best coffee of the province. The president of São Paulo instructed municipal councils and police chiefs to "invite the largest number possible of producers to submit specimens of industry and agriculture to the exposition."[183] The coffee was subsequently sent to a national exhibition organized by the Ministry of Agriculture in 1875. There, specialists selected the cream of the crop to be sent to Philadelphia.[184]

A popular spot of the Centennial Exhibition was the Caffé do Brazil, which sold cups of coffee for the visitors wandering around Fairmount Park. At the opening day, Dom Pedro II took President Grant there to try a cup of the beverage. United States Centennial Exhibition Collection, Free Library of Philadelphia.

The Brazilian committee distributed a pamphlet in English entitled *Brazilian Coffee*, written by Moreira and published by Rodrigues's printing office in New York. The twelve-page document emphasized that Brazilian planters used sophisticated machinery to insure the best quality.

> For hulling, screening, selecting and polishing coffee the more advanced farmers employ the most improved machinery, conspicuous among which are the American machines of Lidgerwood & Co. These gentlemen have rendered great services to the cultivators of this

[183] Palácio do Governo da Província de São Paulo, November 16, 1874, Secretaria da Agricultura, Caixa 5652, Livro E00942, AESP.
[184] Palácio do Governo da Província de São Paulo, October 28, 1874 and January 7, 1875, Secretaria da Agricultura, Caixa 5652, Livro E00942, AESP.

product, especially in S. Paulo, whence the coffee known in the market as *machine coffee*, comes. It is not uncommon to find among the coffee establishments, hullers and fanners, which will prepare 250 arrobas [8,000 pounds] of coffee in 10 hours.

After mentioning Lidgerwood's contribution, Moreira added that "Agassiz, whose name should be as dear to Brazil as to the American Union," had written that, "thanks to their perseverance and the favorable conditions presented by the constitution of their soil, the Brazilians have obtained a sort of monopoly of coffee." Moreira was confident that, in 1876, Brazilian coffee would be "distinguished in the great and pacific competition which is going to take place in the country which was so fortunate as to be the home of Washington, Franklin, Lincoln and Johnson."[185]

Brazilian coffee samples received several medals in Philadelphia. And, overall, the Brazilian section made a very good impression on American observers. The famous editor Frank Leslie remarked that, "among the foreign nations represented in the Agricultural Building, Brazil is justly credited with making one of the finest and most interesting displays, embracing all the varied products of the country and its provinces."[186] The *New York Observer and Chronicle* reported that visitors to the Brazilian section got "a strong impression that it is a great and powerful empire, in its national infancy indeed, and with its sources hardly begun to be developed, but full of wealth, energy, industry, and with bright prospects of power and influence in the future."[187]

But Brazilians were not in the United States only to promote their coffee. They also wanted to observe the wonders of American development, which extended far beyond Philadelphia. Dom Pedro II and the members of the committee traveled north, west, and south. The sprawling transportation infrastructure was the first thing that caught the

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[185] Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Brazilian Coffee* (New York: O Novo Mundo Printing Office, 1876).
[186] *Frank Leslie's Illustrated Historical Register of the Centennial Exposition* (New York: Frank Leslie Publisher, 1876), 112.
[187] "The Centennial Exposition," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, July 20, 1876.

Brazilians' attention on their tours. Dom Pedro II, who wrote a detailed journal of his trip, joked that soon Americans would "build a Yankee Tunnel underneath the Behring Strait. And it will be possible to go by train from N.Y. to Lisbon. And maybe South America."[188] Traveling west with the monarch, Bom Retiro remarked that "the movement on these railways is astonishing. People outside have no correct idea of it. There are railways everywhere. It is a wonder collisions do not occur more frequently."[189] Travelling alongside Coutinho, Cornell student Vieira Bueno realized that Buffalo was "the commercial hub between East and West, formed by the great railroad lines, Lake Erie, and the canals."[190]

Trains, steamships, bridges, tunnels, canals, and other structures, the Brazilian visitors concluded, encouraged the settlement and development of the North American hinterland. According to O'Kelly, from New York to Illinois, Dom Pedro II "did not cease to admire the small, growing towns, so thickly scattered along the line of the railway, and the frequent occurrence of splendid public buildings in situations where they could scarcely have been expected, giving proof of the energy, self-reliance and industry of the inhabitants." Chicago amazed the Brazilian monarch.

> His Majesty says it is a "fine city"; that he saw there "buildings unequalled in New York"; that it is "truly wonderful that such a magnificent city could have been built up in a few years, but, important as are the buildings and splendid streets, the public improvements, like the water works and the tunnels, are still more worthy of attention and praise." He concluded his eulogy by saying, "Chicago is a monumental city."[191]

Paes Leme took a tour of the Chicago stockyards and was impressed that "all these pens combined can house 60,000 animals!" He inspected the slaughterhouses, attentively observing "the bleeding, skinning, opening, and separating in four parts of five hogs per

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[188] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, April 29, 1876 (Petrópolis: Museu Imperial, IPHAN, MinC, 1999).
[189] James O'Kelly, "Dom Pedro's Tour," *New York Herald*, May 11, 1876.
[190] Francisco de Assis Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro," *Aurora Brazileira*, March 1877.
[191] James O'Kelly, "Pedro Segundo," *New York Herald*, April 20, 1876.

minute; within just ten minutes the hog reaches the tables for salting."[192] Vieira Bueno and Coutinho saw Chicago as the new center of world: "To see Chicago and then die! I do not know if it is its large streets full of mansions, the Palmer Hotel by itself, the fifteen railroad lines that arrive there, Lake Michigan with myriad steamers, the commerce of wheat and flour, or the unmatched fire department. I do not know what makes me repeat—to see Chicago and then die! What frenzy, what activity, what luxury!"[193]

Chicago was the door to the West, Brazilian visitors realized. From there, Dom Pedro II headed to Omaha and stopped by the smelting works, observing "the powerful machinery and arrangements for rolling and working the metal." According to O'Kelly, Dom Pedro II was "very well satisfied with the examination of this specimen of our industrial enterprise."[194] Passing through Cheyenne, Wyoming, "the Emperor was surprised to see a city so far West, where he had expected to meet only buffaloes and Indians."[195] On his way back east, Dom Pedro II was pleased to see mining enterprises, extracting not only gold and silver but also iron, coal, lead, copper, and sulfur. He was also elated to see factories of sewing machines and plows in cities like Des Moines.[196]

Arriving in Pennsylvania, Dom Pedro II decided to visit the oil fields. "His Majesty proceeded to inspect the Imperial Petroleum Works," O'Kelly narrated, "where he had an opportunity of acquainting himself with the various processes through which the oil passes during its preparation for the market. The Emperor was deeply interested in all that he saw." In Pittsburg, Dom Pedro II made a stop at "the American Iron Works, where 3,000 men are

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[192] P. D. G. Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano," *O Novo Mundo*, January 1877. On how Chicago's slaughterhouses became a touristic attraction, see Dominic A. Pacyga, *Slaughterhouse: Chicago's Union Stock Yard and the World It Made* (Chicago: The University of Chicago Press, 2015).
[193] Francisco de Assis Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro(Continuação)," *Aurora Brazileira*, April 1877.
[194] James O'Kelly, "Dom Pedro," *New York Herald*, April 21, 1876.
[195] James O'Kelly, "An Emperor Abroad," *New York Herald*, April 22, 1876.
[196] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, April 29-May 6, 1876.

employed, and, having carefully inspected the works, he paid the manager the compliment of saying that in some of the departments the works were more complete than any he had seen in Europe."[197] Coutinho and Vieira Bueno also rejoiced to explore the "City of Smoke": "Never before, my friend, have I experienced similar sensation to see through the dense night such a beautiful spectacle as the innumerous forges throwing on the atmosphere smoke and blazes of fire as if they were the volcanos of the Andes. It is beautiful to see those men there at the glowing heat of the red hot iron, working for the progress and the comfort of those who Fortune has chosen."[198]

Although mining and manufacturing made the country pulsate, the Brazilians thought that agroindustry was its lifeblood. Thus, they set to inspecting the works of agricultural machinery manufacturers. In Syracuse, Alves de Lima took Moreira and Paes Leme to the workshop of Bradley & Co., who advertised in the *Aurora Brazileira*.[199] In St. Louis, Vieira Bueno and Coutinho visited "the warehouse of agricultural implements of Messrs. Semple, Birge & Co., a great establishment in which the farmer finds the axe, rake, plow, oxbow yoke, corn thresher and mill, animal-powered machines, steam-powered machines, and hundreds of other things which are the secret for the agricultural prosperity of this country."[200] In Moline, Illinois, Paes Leme visited the most famous manufacturer of agricultural implements in the United States: "Mr. Deere gave us a warm welcome in his house, where we dinned. In the afternoon we went to the fields to see the work of the gang plows. The work is excellent and performed with economy of time and labor, and the machine responds with ease to every movement of the farmer as I could feel for myself

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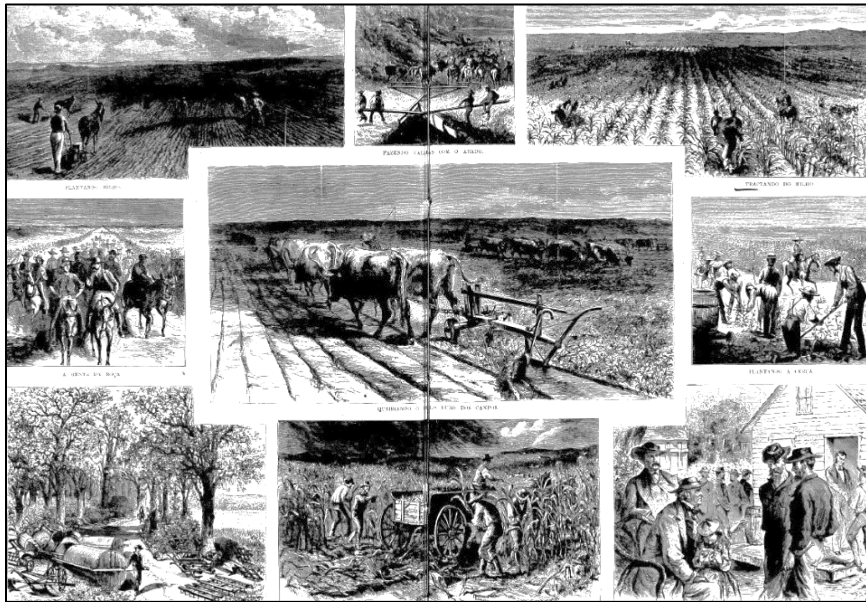
[197] James O'Kelly, "Dom Pedro," *New York Herald*, May 8, 1876.
[198] Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro."
[199] "Dous Commisarios Brazileiros em Syracusa," *Aurora Brazileira*, May 1877.
[200] Francisco de Assis Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro (Continuação)," *Aurora Brazileira*, April 1877.

taking the control of one of them." A few miles from Deere's factory, Paes Leme visited other two workshops which also produced plows and harvesters. "One hundred and forty thousand precious instruments a year," he marveled, "come out of this small corner of the state, in which 8,000 souls live."[201]



On October 24, 1871, *O Novo Mundo* published a special report on Burr Oak, the forty-thousand-acre property of M. L. Sullivant in Chatsworth, Illinois. Rodrigues's description of the mechanized system and astonishing productivity of that estate kindled the interest of Brazilian visitors, who decided to see it in person in 1876.

Also in Illinois, the Brazilian visitors stopped by Burr Oak Farm, which Paes Leme described as "an ocean of corn!" The owner, M. L. Sullivant, welcomed the visitors with joy, took them on a tour of the fields, and invited them to dine and sleep at his house. The farm, entirely enclosed and divided into fifty-acre plots, employed three hundred workers, five hundred mules, "200 plows, 150 cultivators, 45 seeders, 25 harrows, and a large number of carts." Paes Leme saw black and white workers side by side, all receiving fifteen dollars a month plus food and shelter. The reason the operation worked, he concluded, was that "the whole property is cut by a railroad line built in the American style. … Everything is light and inexpensive and, this way, the bushel of corn reaches Atlantic ports for 12 cents after

[201] Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano."

traveling more than 1,000 miles."[202] When Vieira Bueno and Coutinho visited Burr Oak, they regretted that there were not many men like Sullivant in Brazil: "Go tell a Brazilian planter that the cultivation of corn can generate a great fortune, … go tell him and he will laugh at your face or will come up with the trite idea—this is not for Brazil."[203]

Irrigated farming in California also impressed the Brazilian visitors.[204] Paes Leme rejoiced to find one of "the curiosities of this country of fairy tales, … the great labor and extreme care at the cultivation of precious fruits from the European Mezzogiorno." Upon visiting a fair exhibiting vegetables and fruits of Santa Clara Valley, he noted that "the dry climate of California and its deep and rich soil are excellent for such crops, but the cultivation would not be profitable were it not for the railroads which take the vegetables and fruits to the markets of New York and other cities." The railroad made California bloom: "Affordable transportation transforms the character a country!"[205]

However, a good transportation system was not enough to make the American West flourished. According to Brazilian observers, free labor was the force behind rapid development. High salaries in California, Paes Leme argued, led agriculturalists "to acquire improved instruments such as gang plows, mowers, and other machines to process cereals. These powerful assistants and the fertility of the soil sustained cultivation for more than

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[202] Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano."
[203] Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro (Continuação)."
[204] Donald J. Pisani explains that "the decline of the mining industry, the adoption of no-fence laws, and the expansion of rail transportation into the San Joaquin Valley and southern California contributed to a dramatic increase in irrigation during the 1870s. Irrigated land nearly tripled during the decade, even as the state suffered through its first protracted economic depression. The transition from a frontier economy characterized by individual entrepreneurs and loose confederations of investors, to an economic system dominated by large corporations, accelerated during the 'terrible seventies.' … Proponents of corporate water development pointed to the irrigation colonies adjoining Fresno as proof of how private enterprise had encouraged diversified, small farms; but critics maintained that farmers could never be independent and self-sufficient when they depended on greed capitalists for their water." *From the Family Farm to Agribusiness: The Irrigation Crusade in California and the West, 1850-1931* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1984), 103. No doubt, the members of the Brazilian committee to the Centennial would have sided with corporate capitalists.
[205] Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano."

twenty years, producing such good wheat that it now competes with Russia and Turkey, where salaries are almost inexistent, and builds fortunes for the farmers of the West."[206] Paes Leme, himself a slaveholder from the Paraíba Valley, could not help but conclude that free labor produced results unimaginable in unfree societies. After all, he tirelessly repeated, American agriculture, based on free labor, was now the most efficient in the world. "The average productivity of a worker here is 400 dollars, reaching a maximum of 1,000 dollars in California." In Brazil, on the other hand, it did not surpass fifty dollars.[207]

Like Paes Leme, Nicolau Joaquim Moreira wanted to understand how free labor thrusted the United States forward. Therefore, he used his trip to study immigration. In a report to the Brazilian Ministry of Agriculture, Moreira argued that foreigners migrated to the United States because they could find well-paying employment. Based on his observations, he suggested measures to be adopted in Brazil such as civil marriage, an easy road to citizenship, and a homestead act such as the one Lincoln had signed in 1862. None of these reforms would be effective, though, without "the complete abolition of slavery, which has contributed to our contempt for work and our preference for inertia instead of activity. The existence of slavery or serfdom in manufacturing and farming, instead of dignifying labor, degrades it."[208]

Buying into the myth of the American frontier, the Brazilian visitors tried to explain how American and immigrant workers integrated a coherent system of economic expansion based on free labor.[209] Paes Leme argued that the American pioneer, after cutting trees and

[206] P. D. G. Paes Leme, "Agricultura Americana em 1876," *O Auxiliador da Industria Nacional*, Volume XLVI, 1878.
[207] P. D. G. Paes Leme, "Machinas Agricolas na Exposição da Philadelphia," *O Novo Mundo*, September, 1876.
[208] Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, *Relatório sobre a Immigração nos Estados-Unidos da America Apresentado ao Ex. Sr. Ministro da Agricultura, Commercio e Obras Publicas* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1877), 23-24.
[209] According to Richard Slotkin, "the Myth of the Frontier is the American version of the larger myth-ideological system generated by the social conflicts that attended the 'modernization' of the Western nations, the emergence of capitalist economies and nation-states. The major cultural tasks of this ideology were to

creating a profitable lumber industry, "begins the economic labor of the plow, just like we can observe on the western prairies." Once production began to decline, the pioneer sold "the small property to European immigrants, who then establish a new agricultural system, proper for the needs of manufacturing, which makes the country advance. Following this march, the Americans establish great cities which become, in a short time, production centers of all articles needed to men."[210] Moreira added that "immigrants only enjoy true stability when they live close to consumer markets and means of transportation, maintain their religion, educate their children, and acquire useful knowledge: thus, *the railroad, the telegraph, the church, the school, and the newspaper* are the five indispensable elements of American immigrant colonies."[211] These elements, he believed, constituted what many people called the American Dream.

Inspired by the panorama of American development, Brazilian visitors went shopping. They purchased locomotives from Baldwin Locomotive Works and wagons from Jackson & Sharp Co. Delaware Car Works and Pullman Palace Car Works.[212] The Brazilian committee also made a large purchase of American agricultural machinery to serve as samples for Brazilian importers, inventors, manufacturers, and planters.[213] Paes Leme attended a special demonstration in Philadelphia, observing how "Buckeye, McCormick &

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rationalize and justify the departures from tradition that necessarily accompanied these developments. Progress itself was to be asserted as a positive good against the aristocratic and peasant traditions that emphasized stasis and permanence in productive techniques and social relations." *The Fatal Environment: The Myth of the Frontier in the Age of Industrialization: 1800-1890* (Norman: University of Oklahoma Press, 1998), 33. Because nineteenth-century Brazil, like the United States, had vast interior territories occupied by subsistence agriculture as well as unproductive latifundia, the American version of the development myth was easily adaptable to the Brazilian modernizers' projects.

[210] Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano."

[211] Moreira, *Relatório sobre a Immigração nos Estados-Unidos da America*, 71.

[212] James D. McCabe, *The Illustrated History of the Centennial Exhibition* (Philadelphia: National Publishing Company, 1876), 431; "Carro de Estado Brazileiro," *Aurora Brazileira*, May 1876; *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, June 27, 1876.

[213] "Agricultural Department of the Exhibition," *New York Observer and Chronicle*, November 23, 1876.

Co., Russell & Co., Rochester Works, and others engaged in combat with great gallantry, presenting excellent and ingenious machines." He believed that the dissemination of American agricultural technology in Brazil would constitute "the shortest and safest way of transforming our agricultural labor." Paes Leme was confident that "the plow and the horse … will be the emancipators of the rural worker in Brazil."[214]

To be sure, the Brazilian visitors knew that not all sections of the United States developed at the same pace. When traveling south on the Mississippi, Dom Pedro II noted that "I have not seen as many churches and even less schools than in the North and West."[215] He soon got annoyed by listening to what southerners had to say: "Their tone is that of people who have not yet resigned themselves to the consequences of their improvidence and, above all, of their evil and selfish cause. For now, I cannot say much besides that the North has pleased me much more than the South."[216] On the steamer, Dom Pedro II had a small altercation with a fellow passenger.

> I spoke with an elderly woman who had lost her husband and son fighting for the cause of the South. She told me that she had no nation and was surprised that I had visited the prevaricator Grant. I responded kindly and she agreed with me that the principle of slavery had made the cause of the South unlikable and that, although the Constitution said nothing, it could not be in the mind of Washington, Franklin, Jefferson, and so many other great men of the Revolution to uphold such a principle. At last, [I argued that,] for our world, the result [of the Civil War] was very positive and it was necessary to submit to it, having as consolation the country united again, forming a great nation. To this point she responded with two emphatic <u>nevers</u>.[217]

When Dom Pedro II arrived at his destination, he concluded that the Lost Cause affected both the mind and the body of the South. "The impression made on His Majesty by New Orleans," O'Kelly reported, "has not been favorable. He finds a noticeable difference

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[214] Paes Leme, "Machinas Agricolas na Exposição da Philadelphia."
[215] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, May 31, 1876.
[216] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, May 24, 1876.
[217] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, May 20, 1876.

between the energy and bustle of the Northern and Western cities and the easygoing aspect of the Creole population."[218]

Yet, Dom Pedro II was confident that the Lost Cause would yield to progress. He was glad to see plowed fields close to Natchez, Mississippi, and bales upon bales of cotton in southern ports. In New Orleans, he inspected new railroads and streetcar lines, met southern planters who were sending their sons to study in northern universities, and visited new rice mills.[219] On the sugar plantations around New Orleans, Dom Pedro II observed the horse-drawn plows cutting the earth and the cultivation of peas and beans as fertilizers for exhausted lands. The organization of labor made a positive impression on him. "The blacks work well under a year-long contract," he noted, "which they often renew, making from 13 to 18 dollars per month—depending if they get food or not—but in both cases they get housing, which does not seem bad."[220]

The prevalence of wage labor, Vieira Bueno and Coutinho observed during their visit to New Orleans, had rationalized sugar cultivation. "The uncertain labor of the black free hand makes agriculture in Louisiana so uncertain in its results that the planter cannot foresee with any precision what his next crop will be," Vieira Bueno started. Seeking a remedy for uncertainty, the Louisiana sugar planter now plowed the earth, mixed in bagasse and bean stems as fertilizers, and used mule-drawn plows imported from Kentucky. "You see, my friend," Vieira Bueno concluded, "that the difference between sugarcane cultivation in Brazil and in Louisiana is that, in the latter, the work is expeditious thanks to the use of improved agricultural implements."[221]

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[218] James O'Kelly, "The Brazilian Emperor," *New York Herald*, May 26, 1876.
[219] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, May 26, 1876.
[220] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, May 27, 1876.
[221] Vieira Bueno, "Carta de um Engenheiro Brazileiro (Continuação)."

After witnessing the transformation of the southern states, the Brazilian visitors returned to the Northeast. Closing his journey, Dom Pedro II went to Massachusetts. He first visited Agassiz's grave: "I took some flowers which grew close to it and sent one to Mrs. Agassiz." Dom Pedro II then met John Greenleaf Whittier, whose embrace he felt full of sentiment. Whittier introduced Dom Pedro II to other American admirers: Henry Wadsworth Longfellow, Ralph Waldo Emerson, Wendell Phillips, and George Bancroft.[222] From Massachusetts, he returned to Philadelphia for the Fourth of July. A few days later, Dom Pedro II and the Brazilian committee left the United States with "the best wishes of a free people for the future of the great Empire of Brazil."[223]

Reflecting on the importance of Brazilian participation in the Centennial Exhibition, a *New York Herald* correspondent in Rio de Janeiro suggested that, "while the rapid growth of the young [American] Republic and its marvelous progress always excited admiration, even wonder," in some Brazilians, most of them, "like the wealthy Southerner before the war, regarded both the growth and the progress as pertaining to the 'canaille.'" But things had changed thanks to the Centennial. "Now," the correspondent concluded, "as if large scales were falling from their eyes, the Brazilians are gazing toward the North."[224] However sympathetic he tried to be, the chronicler had got everything wrong. To begin with, the Brazilians had very little in common with "the wealthy Southerner before the war." They had joined American society in celebrating the triumph of free labor long since. Hence, 1876 was not the year that the scales fell from their eyes. They had fallen much earlier. In reality, the Centennial was just the consummation of a binational alliance for the promotion of free

[222] *Diário do Imperador Pedro II*, Volume 17, June 10-June 15, 1876.
[223] *New York Herald*, July 13, 1876.
[224] "The Herald in Brazil," *New York Herald*, June 22, 1876.

labor that had emerged over a decade earlier. And it would not be long before this alliance would finalize its transformative endeavor.

Chapter 6
The Triumph of Free Labor

On May 17, 1888, only four days after Princess Regent Isabel signed the Golden Law, the *Boston Daily Advertiser* drew a parallel between the processes of emancipation in the two largest slave societies of the western world. In the United States, "slavery was overthrown by a war begun in order to maintain it," whereas, in Brazil, "the same end has practically been reached by peaceful means." Different paths to emancipation generated different outcomes: "The republic is still suffering, and seems likely to suffer for years to come, from the bitterness of spirit engendered by the strife. The empire has reached a condition in which public sentiment seems to be all in accord as to the evils of slavery and eager to erase the blot upon the nation." The *Boston Daily Advertiser* then explained how Brazilian slaveholders willingly accepted gradual emancipation, which incorrigible fire-eaters had refused in the United States. Brazilian society had learned from the American experience: "Another curious fact in this connection is that one great means used in Brazil to secure emancipation is the same that President Lincoln proposed, without avail, to the South."[1] By incorporating the spirit of the age and rejecting the path that proslavery had traced, the major planters in Brazil had accomplished a transition to free labor that preserved their power and wealth.

For the powerful and wealthy, the 1880s was a time of optimism. Reconstruction officially ended in 1877 when Ulysses S. Grant left office. By 1880, the economy had overcome the crisis inaugurated in 1873. As confidence resurged, employers sought to make employees work longer hours, adopted new managerial strategies to speed up production,

[1] *Boston Daily Advertiser*, May 17, 1888.

and acquired new technologies to replace skilled workers.[2] In rural areas, falling commodity prices and monopolistic practices enriched corporations and impoverished farmers.[3] The gap between rich and poor grew wider. In response, organizations such as the Knights of Labor sprang into action to protect producers and attack speculators.[4] Capital and the state coalesced to protect the privileged groups, using brute force against organized labor when they saw fit. Violent clashes became more common.[5]

Although coffee continued its relentless expansion in Brazil of the 1880s, the country was far from being a reign of peace and understanding. Competing projects on how emancipation should be enacted clashed in Parliament and on the streets.[6] A group composed mostly of members of the Liberal Party and new professional classes created the Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidão [Brazilian Antislavery Society] (SBCE) and the Associação Central Emancipadora [Central Emancipation Society] (ACE). In addition to slave emancipation, they wanted to implement broader social transformations, not least land reform. Another group, closer to the Conservative Party and the planters of the Paraíba Valley, wanted to sit back and wait for the Law of the Free Womb to run its course, avoiding any shakeup of the political system.[7] Yet another group, connected to the fazendeiros of the

[2] David Montgomery, *The Fall of the House of Labor: The Workplace, the State, and American Labor Activism, 1865-1925* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1987), 9-213; Sven Beckert, *The Monied Metropolis: New York City and the Consolidation of the Bourgeoisie, 1850-1900* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2001), 205-322.
[3] Steven Hahn, *The Roots of Southern Populism: Yeoman Farmers and the Transformation of the Georgia Upcountry, 1850-1890* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1983), 137-268; Jeffrey Ostler, *Prairie Populism: The Fate of Agrarian Radicalism in Kansas, Nebraska, and Iowa, 1880-1892* (Lawrence: University Press of Kansas, 1993), 12-90.
[4] Leon Fink, *Workingmen's Democracy: The Knights of Labor and American Politics* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1985); Roy Rosenzweig, *Eight Hours for What We Will: Workers and Leisure in an Industrial City, 1870-1920* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1983), 9-168.
[5] James R. Green, *Death in the Haymarket: The Story of Chicago, the First Labor Movement, and the Bombing That Divided Gilded Age America* (New York: Pantheon, 2006).
[6] Robert Edgar Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 121-182; Celso Thomas Castilho, *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship* (Pittsburgh: University of Pittsburgh Press, 2016), 105-191.
[7] Angela Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas: O Movimento Abolicionista Brasileiro, 1868-1888* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2015), 186-329.

Oeste Paulista and the Republican Party, wanted means to increase the size of the workforce, thus depressing wages and making slavery unnecessary. As the 1880s progressed, the extremes radicalized, repression hardened, slave escapes intensified, and the fazendeiros completed the transition from slavery to free labor on coffee plantations.[8]

The 1880s formed a defining moment for both Brazilian and American free labor promoters. Curiously, Henry Washington Hilliard, a former Alabama Whig and Brigadier General in the Confederate Army, helped reignite the discussion on slave emancipation in Brazil. Turned into a Republican after the Civil War, Hilliard was nominated Minister to Brazil in the late 1870s. When the Brazilian abolitionists approached him, he had no qualms about supporting their cause. Ironically, as American public opinion applauded Hilliard, slave-grown coffee from Brazil was inundating American markets, serving as fuel for overworked proletarians. Coffee enthusiasts in the United States, however, justified consumption of Brazilian coffee by pointing out that the most progressive Brazilian coffee planters were advancing toward free labor. Especially in the Oeste Paulista, American observers argued, the fazendeiros were employing capital from the coffee trade to mechanize, expand infrastructure, and attract immigrants.

As the fazendeiros grew richer, the Brazilian abolitionists gave the final push to emancipation, helping slaves to run away from their owners. Although frightened by the prospect of social revolution, the fazendeiros were ready to act. Relying on new technologies and government subsidies, they succeeded in transforming their plantations into agroindustrial enterprises moved by free hands. All the while, they pushed aside possibilities of more comprehensive reforms. As slavery withered and died, a few disillusioned activists

[8] Emília Viotti da Costa, *Da Senzala à Colônia* (São Paulo: Editora Unesp, 1998 [1966]), 489-517; Paula Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro: Aspectos Políticos* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2005 [1968]), 95-134.

denounced the failure of free labor to create social justice in Brazil. But neither the Brazilian fazendeiros nor American public opinion took heed. After all, for most free labor promoters, the transition from slave to free labor had never been about creating an egalitarian society.

Unlike the planters from the American South, who had insisted on preserving and expanding slavery, the richest slaveholders in Brazil had accepted the great structural transformation of the age: the relentless expansion of free labor. By associating with American capital and adapting the developmental model of the postwar United States to their own needs, the fazendeiros transformed their own class and, as a consequence, expanded their powers. The triumph of free labor in Brazil brought immediate results: booming agroindustry and expanding coffee yields. It also resulted in the brutal exploitation of an emerging rural proletariat. The fazendeiros' allies in the United States felt vindicated, however. Without much trouble, Brazil had accomplished what had cost blood and upheaval in the American South.[9]

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[9] However profitable and dynamic, slavery was not the only labor system available to plantation societies in the second half of the nineteenth century. The successful transition that the Brazilian fazendeiros and their American associates conducted in Brazilian coffee agriculture demonstrates that more efficient alternatives were available then. For the argument on the centrality of "capitalist slavery," see Dale W. Tomich, *Through the Prism of Slavery: Labor, Capital, and World Economy* (Lanham: Rowman and Littlefield, 2004); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, *Feitores do Corpo, Missionários da Mente: Senhores, Letrados e o Controle dos Escravos nas Américas, 1660-1860* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2004); Ricardo Salles, *E o Vale era o Escravo. Vassouras – Século XIX. Senhores e Escravos no Coração do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2008); Walter Johnson, *River of Dark Dreams: Slavery and Empire in the Cotton Kingdom* (Cambridge: Belknap Press, 2013); Rafael de Bivar Marquese, "Capitalismo, Escravidão e a Economia Cafeeira do Brasil no Longo Século XIX," *Saeculum* 29 (2013): 289-321; Joshua D. Rothman, *Flush Times and Fever Dreams: A Story of Capitalism and Slavery in the Age of Jackson* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 2014); *O Vale do Paraíba e o Império do Brasil nos Quadros da Segunda Escravidão*, eds. Mariana Muaze and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Faperj, 2015); *Escravidão e Capitalismo Histórico no Século XIX: Cuba, Brasil, Estados Unidos*, eds. Rafael de Bivar Marquese and Ricardo Salles (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira, 2016); Edward E. Baptist, *The Half Has Never Been Told: Slavery and the Making of American Capitalism* (New York: Basic Books, 2016); *Slavery's Capitalism: A New History of American Economic Development*, eds. Sven Beckert and Seth Rockman (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2016); Márcia Regina Berbel, Rafael de Bivar Marquese, and Tâmis Parron, *Slavery and Politics: Brazil and Cuba, 1790-1850* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2016); *The Politics of the Second Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016); *New Frontiers of Slavery*, ed. Dale W. Tomich (Albany: SUNY Press, 2016); Daniel Rood, *The Reinvention of Atlantic Slavery: Technology, Labor, Race, and Capitalism in the Greater Caribbean* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2017).

The Banquet and the Battle

Born in North Carolina, raised in South Carolina, and educated at South Carolina College, Henry Washington Hilliard set up as a lawyer in Montgomery, Alabama. He then joined the Whig Party, served as state representative, and was elected to the House of Representatives in 1845. Deeply frustrated by factionalism, he decided not to run again in the 1850s.[10] During the 1860 election, Hilliard supported the Constitutional Union Party. When Abraham Lincoln was elected, Hilliard wavered for a moment. But when the Confederate government gave him the mission to persuade Tennessee to secede, Hilliard fulfilled his duty obediently. In 1862, he became Brigadier General in the Confederate Army and fought under Braxton Bragg. Hilliard's service lasted only six months, however. Unfit for military duty, he spent the remaining war years writing a novel.[11]

After the Civil War, Hilliard resumed his law practice in Alabama and joined the Republican Party, becoming a so-called scalawag.[12] He ran again for the House in 1876, but experienced a bitter electoral defeat. Defeat bore fruits, however. Rutherford Hayes approached him with a diplomatic mission. "As a large number of Southern men had gone to Brazil at the close of the war," the newly elected President told Hilliard that he "might

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[10] For Hilliard's biography, see David I. Durham, *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times: Henry Washington Hilliard, 1808-1892* (Baton Rouge: Louisiana State University Press, 2008).

[11] The novel came out in 1865 with the title *De Vane: Story of Plebeians and Patricians*. According to David I. Durham, it was "a defense of Methodism presented through the story of a Virginian patrician who associates with Methodist plebeians in the Alabama backcountry and eventually is converted." *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times*, 148.

[12] According to Eric Foner, the scalawags "included men of prominence and rank outsiders, wartime Unionists and advocates of secession, entrepreneurs advocating a modernized New South and yeomen seeking to preserve semisubsistence agriculture. Their common characteristic was the conviction that they stood a greater chance of advancing their interests in a Republican South than by casting their lot with Reconstruction's opponents." Foner further notes that "many scalawags possessed considerable political experience; their ranks included prewar Congressmen, judges, and local officials. Most such man were former Whigs who viewed the Republican party as the 'legitimate successor' to Whiggery." *Reconstruction: America's Unfinished Revolution, 1863-1877* (New York: Harper and Row, 1988), 297-298.

render important service to the country by accepting the mission to Rio."[13] Hayes's politics of sectional appeasement included a sympathetic gesture toward the ex-Confederates who had migrated to Brazil. Ignored by Grant until 1876, distressed émigrés had been relying on individual charity. Hilliard received official instructions to use American Navy vessels to transport ex-Confederates who wished to return to the United States.[14]

In Brazil, Hilliard established close ties with members of the Liberal Party and American entrepreneur. In a letter to his superior, he painted a flattering portrait of his new friends.

> There is a strong party in this country favorable to liberal institutions; a party of progress; a party that will yet make itself felt in reconstructing the political system of Brazil. A gentleman of position, who is highly connected here, said to me some days since, "We should take our civilization from the United States and not from Europe." … Since my arrival I have observed with great interest the relations which our countrymen who are engaged in business here bear to the people and the Government of Brazil, and I am much gratified to know that they are regarded with respect and confidence. Their influence must be felt not only upon the commerce of the country but upon public opinion.[15]

Early in 1878, Hilliard rejoiced as Dom Pedro II substituted the Liberals for the Conservatives in the executive branch of government. But, as much as he admired the Liberals, Hilliard soon understood that there were rifts within the party: "Some of these leaders are extreme in their opinions; others are more moderate. But they all desire progress."[16] Hilliard, always a moderate in his country, would contribute to energizing the most progressive faction of Brazilian Liberalism.

Hilliard met Joaquim Nabuco, the son of Senator José Tomás Nabuco de Araújo, in Petrópolis: "Young, thoroughly educated, already acquainted with Europe, … of splendid

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[13] Henry Washington Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures at Home and Abroad* (New York: G.P. Putnam's Sons, 1892), 358.
[14] Durham, *A Southern Moderate in Radical Times*, 179.
[15] Henry Washington Hilliard to William Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, December 31, 1877, *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Forty-Fifth Congress*, 1878-79, Volume I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1878-1879), 63.
[16] Henry Washington Hilliard to William Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, November 4, 1878, *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives*, 1878-79, 130.

physique and captivating manners, … and a statesman of high promise, he bestowed attentions upon me which were appreciated. In the whole course of my life I had met no one whose future seemed brighter."[17] A founding member of the SBCE alongside André Pinto Rebouças, Nabuco had entered the Chamber of Deputies in 1878 and presented a bill to have slavery abolished by 1890. Despite being rejected, the project gained him great notoriety.[18]

On October 19, 1880, Nabuco wrote to Hilliard asking his "enlightened opinion upon the results which the immediate and total substitution of slave labor by free labor has produced, and still promises to produce, in the Southern States of the Union."[19] A movement drawing on a number of traditions, Brazilian abolitionism adopted arguments ranging from romantic sensibilities to geopolitical considerations.[20] Yet, the growing sophistication of free labor made the economic argument most prominent of all. Thus, Nabuco already had an answer to his question.

> There can be no doubt, after the late harvests, regarding the wisdom of emancipation as an economic measure for the reconstruction of the Southern States. Even Mr. Jefferson Davis has just acknowledged that the heritage of slave-holders has considerably augmented in the hands of free laborers, and that from this standpoint, abolition has been a great benefit to that section of territory where it threatened to become a catastrophe and permanent ruin.

The duty of the abolitionist movement, Nabuco informed Hilliard, was "to enlighten the opinion of the [Brazilian] agriculturists themselves, by the experience of free labor in other countries, and to demonstrate to the country that only with emancipation can it trust its

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[17] Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures*, 381.

[18] While some scholars see in this act the opening of the abolitionist propaganda in Brazil, Celso Thomas Castilho argues that Nabuco "entered electoral politics with a recognizable abolitionist mobilization in place in [his hometown of] Recife. It was a mobilization that he had helped energize almost a decade prior. … Certainly the beginning of his legislative career adds a very significant dimension to Brazilian abolitionism, but it did not instigate the movement." *Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazilian Political Citizenship*, 80.

[19] Joaquim Nabuco to Henry Washington Hilliard, Rio de Janeiro, October 19, 1880, *Cartas do Presidente Joaquim Nabuco e do Ministro Americano H. W. Hilliard sobre a Emancipação nos Estados-Unidos* (Rio de Janeiro: G. Leuzinger & Filho, 1880). For the English translation, see Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures*, 412-414.

[20] Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas*, 91-101.

future to agriculture." He thanked the American diplomat in advance for "a service rendered to a million and a half of human beings whose liberty is solely dependent upon their masters becoming convinced that free labor is infinitely superior in every respect to forced and unremunerated labor."[21]

Earlier, on September 19, 1880, Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, the president of the ACE, had published a study of the benefits of slave emancipation. Moreira, who had been a member of the Brazilian committee to the Centennial Exhibition, opened his study by emphasizing the "disgraceful position of the slave states of the American Union" in the antebellum period. But slave emancipation had changed the American South for the better. After 1865, textile mills cropped up in the region, "manufacturing the cotton which at the time of slavery was sent to Lowell or England." Agricultural output diversified and increased. And the freedman "now serves as a free worker, making 15 dollars, tripling his labor and improving his products." No crisis had resulted from emancipation in the United States as freedom "does not sterilize the soil, but fertilizes it; does not kill labor, but improves it; does not decrease production, but doubles it; does not degrade man, but ennobles him." Moreira concluded that Brazil would follow the same path after emancipation. To prove his assertion, he pointed out that since 1871, as the slave population declined in Brazil, coffee exports had doubled because "the machines came to save time, spare hands, decrease worker mortality, and increase the value of the product."[22]

Over seventy years old and having experienced great political troubles in his life, Hilliard did not hesitate to reinforce the Brazilian abolitionists' economic argument. On October 25, 1880, he sent an extensive reply to Nabuco. Accepting the role bestowed on

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[21] Joaquim Nabuco to Henry Washington Hilliard, Rio de Janeiro, October 19, 1880.
[22] Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, "Discurso Manifesto," *Associação Central Emancipadora, Boletim N. 1* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Primeiro de Janeiro, 1880).

him, Hilliard identified as "a native of the South, brought up and educated there, a slave-holder, representing for a number of years in Congress one of the largest and wealthiest planting districts and a section where slave labor was exclusively employed." For decades, Hilliard had heard "that it was impracticable to secure the industry requisite for success with free labor—contracts would be disregarded, disputes would spring up, and at critical times work would be abandoned, bringing irreparable disaster." History, however, proved all these predictions wrong: "Never were the States of the South so prosperous as they are to-day." Freedpeople worked in the cities as well as on the plantations and "the results are far more satisfactory than under the old system of compulsory labor." To support his assertion, Hilliard indicated that "the largest cotton crop ever made in the South, estimated at 6,000,000 bales, has been produced this year chiefly by the labor of freedmen."[23]

Hilliard exposed his distaste for Radical Reconstruction, complaining about "the anomalous spectacle … of colored freedmen suddenly elevated to office" and northern adventurers seeking "for their own advantage to control the freedmen." Still, the American South had been able not only to recover but also to expand production after a destructive war and years of occupation. If this were the case in his country, where sectionalism complicated everything, Hilliard believed that Brazil "need not hesitate to commit itself to the policy adopted in the United States. With the extinction of slavery, free labor will develop its immeasurable resources." Hence, he suggested that a period of "seven years might be fixed as the term in Brazil for holding the African race still in bondage."[24]

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[23] Henry Washington Hilliard to Joaquim Nabuco, Rio de Janeiro, October 25, 1880, *Cartas do Presidente Joaquim Nabuco e do Ministro Americano H. W. Hilliard*. For the English translation, see Hilliard, *Politics and Pen Pictures*, 414-426.

[24] Henry Washington Hilliard to Joaquim Nabuco, Rio de Janeiro, October 25, 1880.

Thrilled by Hilliard's support, the SBCE did not waste time, sending the letters to the principal newspapers of Rio de Janeiro and publishing them in the form of a pamphlet. All this noise excited Andrew Jackson Lamoureux, the editor of *The Rio News*, an English-language newspaper published in Brazil's capital city. A descendant of French Huguenots born in Iosco, Michigan, Lamoureux had entered Cornell University in 1870. In 1877, he accompanied two other Cornell graduates to Brazil. After working as a clerk at the United States Legation, he created his newspaper with the objective of reaching foreigners with business interests in Brazil.[25] Soon, Lamoureux identified with men like Rebouças and Moreira, describing them as "the small number of individuals who believe that the most productive soil is that worked by the proper owner; who wish to improve man by the earth and the earth by man; and who seek to distribute property among the masses as to render man completely free and independent."[26] In 1883, his printing office published Rebouças's magnus opus—*Agricultura Nacional: Estudos Economicos. Propaganda Abolicionista e Democrática*.[27]

In 1880, Lamoureux not only translated and republished Hilliard's and Nabuco's letters, but also forwarded the texts to American and British newspapers. A firebrand, he opined that, "instead of protracting the transition period for an indefinite time as in the law of 1871, or until 1890 as proposed by Deputy Joaquim Nabuco, or until 1887 as suggested by Minister Hilliard, or to any time in the future whether near or remote, we believe that the great evil should be abolished now and forever." For Lamoureux, Brazil could not afford to live one more day under the scourge of slavery: "The plain economic facts of the case teach that as long as slavery exists just so long will there be stagnation in industry, decadence in

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[25] "A. J. Lamoureux Dead; Funeral this Afternoon," *The Cornell Daily Sun*, February 27, 1928.
[26] "Brazilian Agriculture," *The Rio News*, July 5, 1879.
[27] André Pinto Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional: Estudos Economicos. Propaganda Abolicionista e Democrática, Setembro de 1874 a Setembro de 1883* (Rio de Janeiro: A. J. Lamoureux & Co., 1883).

business, uncertainty in enterprise, checks in national development, and that when it shall be abolished then and not until then will there come that true and permanent prosperity which the country so much needs."[28]

Whereas Lamoureux produced a radical response to Hilliard's initiative, a Brazilian planter who had been to the United States for the Centennial Exhibition tried to counteract the abolitionist argument. On November 5, 1880, the *Jornal do Commercio* published an open letter by Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, who told Hilliard that "I had the good fortune of traveling your country, admiring its greatness, being in touch with this exceptional race which founded, as I see it, the most important nation in the world." Paes Leme contended that, unlike the North and the West, which had advanced after the Civil War, the South still suffered the effects of emancipation: "Since 1864, a battle between the two races emerged, being the colored people encouraged by the infamous *carpetbaggers*[29] who still ruled in 1876. Property had to be defended by gunmen. Crimes and pauperism developed in a noticeable way." Through statistics, he argued that, because emancipation came suddenly, southern agriculture had declined after the war. In Brazil, he speculated, the consequences of freeing the slaves ahead of what the Law of the Free Womb determined would be even more devastating. Paes Leme wanted indefinite time to "organize labor in the nation so that, by enlarging the circle of manumissions, the transition can be made without a shock."[30]

Paes Leme's open letter emboldened the Brazilian abolitionists. On November 20, 1880, fifty of them came together for a banquet in homage to Hilliard. On the wall of the dining room, they hung a picture of Abraham Lincoln signing the Emancipation

[28] *The Rio News*, November 15, 1880.
[29] Original in English.
[30] Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, "A S. Ex. O muito honrado St. Henry Washington Hilliard, enviado extraordinario e ministro plenipotenciario da Uniao Americana, junto ao governo do Brasil," *Jornal do Commercio*, November 5, 1880.

Proclamation. Rebouças announced to the guests that they were in the presence of a great man: "The American Minister, the honorable Henry Washington Hilliard, once a slaveholder, once a southerner, committed an act of abnegation by advising the Brazilians to free themselves, as soon as possible, from the nefarious slavery, which caused the worse disgrace that his great and beloved nation ever suffered." Nabuco spoke after Rebouças, comparing Hilliard's role in Brazil of the 1880s to that of Benjamin Franklin in France of the 1780s. Hilliard's speech reinforced his initial position. "The experience of all nations," he uttered, "teaches us that no country can enjoy the highest prosperity and happiness attainable, where slavery exists." The abolitionists rejoiced.[31]

Reactionaries were outraged. Two days after the banquet, Antonio Moreira de Barros, who represented the interests of the coffee planters of the Paraíba Valley in the Chamber of Deputies, aroused his peers: "What does the clear and manifest intervention of a representative of another country in our entirely domestic issue mean?" Nabuco did not miss the chance to provoke. "You do not want to know what the foreigner thinks," he interrupted Barros, "but when the British government speaks loudly you know how to shut up." The Chamber of Deputies was in uproar. Representatives exchanged accusations while Barros cried that Hilliard's act contradicted the rules of diplomacy and challenged his assertions: "Mr. Paes Leme has demonstrated through uncontestable data the opposite of what the American Minister has argued."[32]

Attentive to decorum, Hilliard simply ignored Barros, but the plucky Lamoureux did not. He considered that Barros's "attack upon the American Minister, which was as weak as

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[31] *Banquete Offerecido ao Exm. Sr. Ministro Americano Henry Washington Hilliard a 20 de Novembro de 1880* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Primeiro de Janeiro, 1880).
[32] "Sessão Extraordinaria em 22 de Novembro de 1880," *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Camara dos Deputados, Terceiro Anno da Decima-Setima Legislatura*, Sessão de 1880, Tomo V, Prorrogação (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Nacional, 1880).

it was unwarranted, was simply a secondary consideration; but as it offered a tangible excuse for bringing the question before the government, it was seized upon with all the avidity that a drowning man grasps a straw."[33] Lamoureux celebrated when Prime Minister José Antonio Saraiva responded to Barros that what Hilliard had stated was "the expression of his private opinion without any official character."[34] Lamoureux laughed at "drowning man" Barros: "In declining to consider the matter Counselor Saraiva very effectively crushed one of the most childish ventures which the pro-slavery party has thus far undertaken."[35]

When it came to Paes Leme's open letter, Lamoureux wrote that he had "showed so much misplaced knowledge and so little familiarity with the real factors in the discussion that an answer was wholly unnecessary." But he would have one nonetheless. To the point that slave emancipation had brought economic decline to the American South, Lamoureux retorted that it was all nonsense.

> During that period [of Civil War] the production of cotton and sugar ceased, plantations were destroyed, railways were torn up, provisions were consumed even to the verge of starvation, all business enterprise was suspended, every port was blockaded, and enormous debts were contracted. … And yet all these sad results of a most destructive war Mr. Paes Leme ascribes to the immediate abolition of slavery—and that, too, in the face of repeated assertions of prominent Southern statesmen to the effect that the negro has developed into an orderly and industrious citizen.

Lamourex presented statistics showing that, in spite of a destructive war, the South produced thirty-one million bales of cotton in the decade following emancipation compared to thirty-two million in the decade preceding the conflict. From 1875 to 1880 alone, it had produced twenty-four million bales, far surpassing the average of antebellum years. By arguing that emancipation had ruined the American South, Paes Leme had made a fool of himself: "Such an assertion is simply puerile; it brands the whole argument as unworthy of serious

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33 *The Rio News*, December 5, 1880.
34 *The Rio News*, November 25, 1880.
35 *The Rio News*, December 5, 1880.

consideration." Lamoureux concluded that "it is the unanimous testimony of all well-informed men that the South was never more prosperous than today, and that this happy result is owing to the substitution of free for slave labor."[36]

The reactionaries had selected their spokesman poorly. After all, writing to publications such as *O Novo Mundo* after his stay in the United States, Paes Leme had sung the praises of free labor.[37] As Moreira reminded the Brazilian public, "Mr. Paes Leme became full of admiration to see the extensive estate of Mr. Sullivant in Burr Oak, where four square leagues of soil are cultivated, employing some 300 workers, making a yearly profit of 160 contos de réis from a total of 300 [contos de réis] invested." If troubled by the antislavery argument, Moreira poked, "the planters should address the distinguished agriculturalist whose name I just mentioned, and not the abolitionists."[38] In the end, Paes Leme's attempt to disprove Hilliard seemed quite absurd.

While Paes Leme and Barros were trounced in Brazil, Hilliard was applauded in his country. The *New York Times* celebrated that his actions had strengthened abolitionism in Brazil: "Deputy Nabuco … has called forth from Mr. Hilliard, the United States Minister, a long statement as to the industrial result of emancipation in this country, and his able and temperate letter, coming from a Southern man who was engaged in the rebellion, has greatly encouraged the friends of immediate emancipation in Brazil, while it has somewhat offended the Brazilian Bourbons."[39] The Philadelphia *North American* ridiculed Hilliard's foes, noting that "there are some very sensitive patriots in the Brazilian Chamber of Deputies." But they should not worry: "Much as we would like to see slavery abolished, not only in Brazil, but in

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36 "The Emancipation Question," *The Rio News*, December 15, 1880.
37 Pedro Dias Gordilho Paes Leme, "Um Brazileiro no Oeste Americano," *O Novo Mundo*, January 1877.
38 Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, "Discurso," *Associação Central Emancipadora, Boletim N. 4* (Rio de Janeiro: Typ. Primeiro de Janeiro, 1880).
39 "Emancipation in Brazil," *New York Times*, December 20, 1880.

every other country where it is practiced, it is not our policy to interfere under any circumstances with the internal administration of any foreign nation."[40]

No reproach to Hilliard came from the American government. And he received praise even in the South. The *Georgia Weekly Telegraph* explained that Hilliard would be retained in office by President-elect James Garfield as "his recent action on the slavery question has rather helped the influence with the present administration and is the best introduction he could have had to that which is to come."[41] Lamoureux was delighted with such a repercussion.

> The many friends of the American Minister, Hon. Henry W. Hilliard, will be pleased to learn that his course here with relation to the question of emancipation was warmly approved at home, not only by his friends but by President Hayes and his cabinet. Minister Hilliard had every reason to believe that the exercise of his private influence in behalf of the emancipation of slavery could not possibly offend a government which had just liberated four millions of slaves at so great a cost—and in that belief he adopted a course which reflects the highest credit upon him both as a man and as the representative of a great nation. In the United States the evils of slavery and the benefits of free labor have been practically and thoroughly tested.[42]

Old and homesick, Hilliard left Brazil on his own request in June 1881. Praised for his decisive support for the Brazilian abolitionist movement, he returned home accompanied by a sense of accomplishment. Hilliard had, at once, placed the Brazilian abolitionists under the spotlight and legitimized their contention that slave emancipation had been positive in the United States. The son of the Old South had fulfilled the Yankee promise of making antislavery international.

[40] *The North American*, December 25, 1880.
[41] *Georgia Weekly Telegraph*, February 25, 1881.
[42] *The Rio News*, March 24, 1881.

Fuel

In general, American public opinion agreed with Hilliard that, despite all troubles of Reconstruction, the economy of the American South advanced after slave emancipation.[43] Yet, the problem of slavery continued to be debated as Americans realized that some essential products in their daily lives still were produced by enslaved people. In a series of articles published in 1878 by *Scribner's Magazine*, naturalist Herbert Huntington Smith revealed to the American public "The Story of Coffee" in Brazil.[44] Born in Manliu, upstate New York, Smith had studied at Cornell and accompanied Charles Frederick Hartt on his expeditions to Brazil. Traveling the country in the mid 1870s, Smith had visited a plantation in the Paraíba Valley, belonging to a man who he called Sr. S.

Smith took great interest in the work of men, women, and children on the plantation. "The little blacks will be free in a few years," he noted in reference to the Law of the Free Womb, so the planter's "policy is to get as much work as possible from them, while he can."[45] As cruel as this attitude could seem to his readers, Smith was not scandalized. After all, free labor also had its forms of violence: "Do not blame this man harshly, you who keep weary girl clerks standing all day behind your counters; you who throw a married man out of employment, because you can get a bachelor at a dollar a week less. You and he are but following the common business course, considering human flesh and blood only for its marketable value."[46]

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[43] If little doubt remained about the benefits of slave emancipation for most northerners, according to Edward L. Ayers, "southerners often managed to persuade themselves … that the new era held out unprecedented promise for the region. People of both races hoped that emancipation had given the South a fresh start, a chance to catch up with the rest of the nation while avoiding the mistakes of the North." *The Promise of the New South Life After Reconstruction* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2007), viii.

[44] Smith's articles were published as a book one year later. Herbert Huntington Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast* (New York: C. Scribner's Sons, 1879).

[45] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 517.

[46] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 526.

Besides equating the exploitations of slavery with those of free labor, Smith pointed to several elements of rationality on the coffee plantation of Sr. S. "The negroes are kept under a rigid surveillance," he observed, "and the work is regulated as by machinery." At four in the morning all were awakened for work. Meals were "served in the field, with the slightest possible intermission from work." At seven in the afternoon, the slaves left the fields to do "household- and mill-work until nine o'clock; then the men and women are locked up in separate quarters, and left to sleep seven hours."[47] Precise labor management was coupled with efficient machinery: "Sr. S., ever ready to seize modern improvements, is adopting the new system of drying [coffee] by steam." Labor-saving technologies made the coffee plantation a modern business. "The large number of machines secures, not only nicety in the result," Smith added, "but a greater capacity for work, to meet the wants of an extensive plantation."[48]

Good labor management and technological improvement, however, could not overcome the immanent irrationality of slavery in the Paraíba Valley, according to Smith. On large plantations, with hundreds of slaves, "the planters work their negroes as they would never work their mules, yet complain that they reap no profits."[49] Reflecting on what Sr. S. had presented him, Smith remarked that "he is growing richer by unjust laws and unrighteous, tyrannical institutions; witness the neglected grounds of his poorer neighbors, and the smileless faces of his slaves."[50] The system was not only tyrannical, but also detrimental to the local economy as a whole.

> A great proportion of the population of the coffee districts consists of slaves; their food is furnished by the plantations, and their clothes are few and scanty. To a plantation like that of Sr. S., the railroad brings nothing but the machinery and tools, with the furniture of the master's house, and a few bales of cloth for the two hundred slaves. An equal population in

[47] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 526.
[48] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 520-522.
[49] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 470.
[50] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 529.

> the United States would necessitate shipments of coal, provisions, cloths, and a thousand articles of luxury; all this would be clear gain to a railroad, and no slight addition to the outgoing freights. No railroad, which depends for its prosperity on coffee alone, can afford to establish a low freight-tariff.[51]

Slavery concentrated wealth, precluded diversification and, worse yet, slowed down the expansion of the coffee economy. Observing the stagnant Paraíba Valley, Smith contended that "this want of growth is due, no doubt, to the ruinous system of cultivation, robbing the ground without enriching it; and to the high freight tariffs, and consequent uselessness of the interior lands."[52]

Whether they agreed with Smith or not, Americans continued to drink Brazilian coffee. Since the 1840s, Brazil had been furnishing between one-half and two-thirds of all coffee consumed in the United States each year. Americans had been consuming coffee produced by Brazilian slaves at home, work, and also war, as President Andrew Jackson made coffee part of the military ration in 1832. At the outbreak of the Civil War, American soldiers could not imagine fighting without the stimulant. "It was coffee at meals and between meals," a former Massachusetts artilleryman recalled, "and men going on guard or coming off guard drank it at all hours of the night."[53] By 1864, the Union government was buying forty million pounds of coffee to keep up morale in the Army. Brazil took advantage of the situation and coffee prices jumped from fourteen cents per pound in 1861 to forty-two cents per pound in 1865.[54]

While Union soldiers drank overpriced coffee, Confederates could not get it thanks to the Union naval blockade. Confederates thus tried to make whatever they had in hand

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[51] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 535-536.
[52] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 539.
[53] John D. Billings, *Hardtack and Coffee: The Unwritten Story of Army Life* (Boston: George M. Smith & Co, 1888), 130.
[54] Mark Pendergrast, *Uncommon Grounds: The History of Coffee and How It Transformed Our World* (New York: Basic Books, 2010), 46.

taste like coffee: nuts, sweet potato, rye, chicory, okra seed, melon seed, and even bark. As usual, advocates of secession tried to sugarcoat the desperate situation of their rebellion. "We have been favored, by a friend, with a sample of Cotton Seed Coffee," the *Charleston Courier* reported in January 1862. "The aroma is very like that of coffee, and its flavor is similar to that of coffee."[55] But soldiers could not be fooled, and did all they could to get the real thing, even if it meant trading with the enemy. A British officer who visited the Confederacy in 1863 observed that "the loss of coffee afflicts the Confederates even more than the loss of spirits."[56]

As coffee (or the lack of it) moved soldiers during the Civil War, an Englishman who had immigrated to New York City in the 1840s came up with an invention that advanced the coffee business. Working as a bookkeeper for a coffee mill, Jabez Burns patented an improved roaster, which replaced the small contrivances used up to that point to roast coffee over fire. The son of a Chartist and nephew of a Baptist preacher, Burns propagated a heroic version of his own invention.

> "Necessity is the mother of invention;" … such was the case during our civil war when so large a variety of articles was in demand, and so great was the necessity. Rifles and cannons, ships and monitors, clothing and equipment, transportation and provisions, rations, and not the least of these was coffee, which had to be supplied at short notice. It was under these circumstances that the writer's attention was called to the necessity of improving the method of roasting coffee.[57]

Burns's pretentiousness aside, his roaster indeed impacted the way American consumed coffee. Instead of buying green beans and then using popcorn pans to roast them at home, now consumers could buy coffee properly roasted in grocery stores. The Burns's Patent

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[55] "Cotton Seed Coffee," *The Charleston Courier*, January 28, 1862.
[56] Arthur James Lyon Fremantle, *Three Months in the Southern States: April-June, 1863* (Mobile: S. H. Goetzel, 1864), 41. See also Ashley Webb, "Coffee in the Civil War," Emerging Civil War, emergingcivilwar.com/.
[57] "Coffee: Quality, Modes of Preparation, &c. Number 3," *The Spice Mill*, October 1880.

Coffee Roaster was a great commercial success, reaching large and small towns across the country by the late 1870s.[58]

Burns further influenced the coffee trade by publishing a monthly publication entitled *The Spice Mill*. In 1880, he remarked that "our people are using many articles that they feel they could not get along without that never would have had a place, and never would have been missed, but for the tact and ingenuity displayed in the method of their introduction." Burns believed that industrial technology had given rise to mass production and wide distribution of goods, making coffee into an essential part of American life. "We do not intend to treat coffee as a useless article by any means," he continued, "but it never would have risen to the enormous consumption it has attained in this country but for the mechanical improvements to facilitate the manufacture and the convenient, attractive and enticing style in which much of it has been presented to the consumer."[59] Necessity was the mother of invention but inventions also created new necessities. Americans drank coffee because it was made available to them through new machines, packaging, and distribution.[60] As a New York wholesaler named Francis Beatty Thurber put it in 1881, "the revolution which has taken place in the coffee trade of the United States during the last twenty years is a striking confirmation of the principle that work can be done in the best and cheapest

[58] W. H. Ukers, *All About Coffee* (New York: The Tea and Coffee Trade Journal Company, 1922), 634-637.
[59] "Coffee: Quality, Modes of Preparation, &c. Number 5," *The Spice Mill*, December 1880.
[60] Michael F. Jimenez points to additional connections between industrialization and the coffee business in the United States: "The restructuring of industrial capitalism in this period spurred coffee consumption. A new phase of manufacturing with novel energy and production technologies led to an increasing homogenization of the working class as factory hands were deskilled and leveled. The resulting cultural unity and coherence of a large portion of the United States population served as the core of a national market enlarged and consolidated by two additional factors: first, a rise in discretionary in comes as a result of dramatic increases in agricultural productivity in the trans-Mississippi granary from the 1870s which reduced foodstuff prices, and, second, the greater, more efficient carrying capacity of the national and world-wide transportation system which substantially diminished transfer costs within the United States and globally, thereby affecting the demand for products such as coffee from abroad." "'From Plantation to Cup': Coffee and Capitalism in the United States, 1830-1930," *Coffee, Society, and Power in Latin America*, eds. William Roseberry, Lowell Gudmundson, and Mario Samper (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1995), 40-41.

manner on a large scale, where machinery is employed that is controlled by the best available skill."[61]

John Arbuckle, the son of a woolen mill owner from Pennsylvania, reaped great profits from the marriage between industry and coffee. In 1859, he started a wholesale grocery business in Pittsburgh. Specializing in coffee, Arbuckle acquired one of Burns's roasters and employed dozens of women to pack and label roasted coffee in one-pound paper bags commonly used for peanuts at the time. Sales spurted and Arbuckle soon acquired a machine capable of performing the work of five hundred human packers. In 1873, Arbuckle created a brand name for his packed coffee: Ariosa. Although the origin of the name was never explained, some speculated that "A" came from Arbuckle, "rio" from Rio de Janeiro, and "sa" from Santos. Whether true or false, the speculation connected Arbuckle to affordable Brazilian coffee. Packets of Ariosa coffee spread like wildfire. The brand soon became associated with the American West, where whole beans were not easy to find.[62]

Arbuckle was no self-made man, let alone an innovative genius. Others were packing coffee and selling it at the same time that he was building his company. What distinguished Arbuckle were his aggressive advertising campaigns and his early effort to vertically integrate the coffee business. In 1881, Arbuckle moved his headquarters from Pittsburgh to Brooklyn, New York, greatly expanding his operations in coffee and entering the sugar business. He now had over one hundred warehouses all over the country and had established offices in Rio de Janeiro and Santos. Arbuckle also owned a shipping fleet and a barrel factory. His

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[61] Francis Beatty Thurber, *Coffee: From Plantation to Cup. A Brief History of Coffee Production and Consumption* (New York: American Grocer Pub. Association, 1881), 22. During the 1870s, Thurber and his brother established H. K. & F. B. Thurber & Co. in New York City, a wholesale firm which dealt with all kinds of food. Thurber contributed to the monthly *American Grocer*, established in New York City in 1869.
[62] Ukers, *All about Coffee*, 521-526.

plant in Brooklyn had a stable with nearly two hundred horses, shops for repairing machines and wagons, a printing shop, a first-aid hospital, a powerhouse with twenty-six large steam boilers, and much more.[63]

Arbuckle's success attracted major entrepreneurs to the coffee business. An Irish immigrant who arrived in the United States in 1832, John Roach had made a fortune during the Civil War by manufacturing marine engines. He then bought out many of his competitors and, in 1871, acquired a shipyard in Chester, Pennsylvania. When, in 1875, the binational subsidy to the United States and Brazilian Steamship Company expired and the line was discontinued, Roach set out to rebuild the service. Hoping to repeat the formula that had made him rich, he sought a subsidy from the American government, arguing that the coffee trade with Brazil would benefit American businesses.

> The chief product which we buy from Brazil, coffee, is one that we must have, but cannot raise in any part of our own territory. It is not necessary for Brazil to send it to us. We must go and get it, and pay our gold for it, unless we can induce her to accept something else in exchange; and hitherto, even in the getting of it here we have unfortunately had to call upon English ships to carry it for us. As we increase in population our demand for coffee increases proportionately. Brazil wants, in turn, our bread, lard, ham, and other food, as well as clothing and all lines of manufactures.[64]

A Republican, Roach faced the opposition of the Democrats in the House of Representatives. Since the scandals of the Grant administration, favors to steamship and railroad companies had become synonymous with corruption. Roach, who had grown rich through government contracts, became a great target for Democrats trying to pose as enemies of greed and fraud.[65]

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[63] Ukers, *All about Coffee*, 521-526.
[64] John Roach, *The American Carrying Trade: An Address to Our Public Men and People Who Desire the Revival of Our Ocean Carrying Trade, and the Steady Development of the Resources and Industries of the United States; and Who Recognize the Need of Opening Up New Markets to Keep Pace with the Nation's Growth* (New York: H. B. Grose and Company, 1881), 70.
[65] Leonard Alexander Swann, *John Roach Maritime Entrepreneur: The Years as Naval Contractor, 1862-1886* (Annapolis: United States Naval Institute, 1966), 103-113.

Regardless of his failure to acquire a subsidy from the American government, Roach mustered powerful allies in Brazil. In September 1877, José Carlos Rodrigues described Roach as "one of the richest and most entrepreneurial industrialists of this country," who possessed "one of the best shipyards in this Republic, and who has sent to sea the magnificent steamers of the Pacific Line."[66] In November of the same year, Hilliard reported to the United States Department of State that he had done what he could "to influence the [Brazilian] government to entertain with favor the proposal submitted to it by our enterprising countrymen."[67] In 1878, the Brazilian government decided to subsidize Roach's line in 100,000 dollars yearly.

Roach launched the *City of Rio de Janeiro*, a large new steamer, on March 8, 1878. One month later, Roach launched the *City of Para* before a fifteen-thousand strong crowd, which included President Hayes, Secretary of War George W. McCarry, and Secretary of Interior Carl Schurz. When the first of Roach's steamer arrived in Rio de Janeiro, Dom Pedro II inspected it along with Hilliard.[68] On June 5, 1878, the *City of Rio de Janeiro* left Brazil carrying thirty-five thousand bags of coffee, the largest single coffee shipment to that date.[69] Yet, without a subsidy from the American government and facing competition from smaller vessels as well as from British merchants, Roach suffered great losses and shut down operations in 1880. Withal, one year later he joined railroad magnate Collis Potter Huntington to organize another line to Brazil.[70]

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[66] José Carlos Rodrigues, "Nova Linha de Paquetes," *O Novo Mundo*, September, 1877.
[67] Henry Washington Hilliard to William Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, November 6, 1877, *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives for the Third Session of the Forty-Sixth Congress*, 1880-81, Volume I (Washington: U.S. Government Printing Office, 1880-1881), 82.
[68] Henry Washington Hilliard to William Evarts, Rio de Janeiro, June 7, 1878, *Index to the Executive Documents of the House of Representatives*, 1878-79, 70.
[69] Swann, *John Roach Maritime Entrepreneur*, 99-102.
[70] Swann, *John Roach Maritime Entrepreneur*, 114-124.

Coffee importers found an expanding market in the United States as Temperance advocates were promoting the beverage as a remedy for alcoholism. "Yes, far better than the Bacchanalian cup of old," a coffee enthusiast wrote in 1872, "is this non-inebriating draught, since it may be indulged with impunity; for while it refreshes and stimulates, it does not stultify the mind."[71] During the 1870s, the Women's Christian Temperance Union established Temperance Coffee Houses all over the country. Coffee, for temperance activists, even had a heroic side to it. As the author of *The Temperance Reform and its Great Reformers* (1878) put it, "our American soldiers (during the late war) found that good food, good sleep, and good coffee were better than all the 'fire-water' of the rum-casks. A pilot on our wild Atlantic coast once told me that when he drank brandy he could not stand severe exposure as well as when he used only hot coffee."[72]

In 1880, *Harper's Weekly* reported on a temperance activist called Dr. Kennion, who preached "to the neglected and outcast population of New York," including people "from the very lowest orders of humanity." He had become quite popular because "in his efforts to reclaim the drunkard he soon found that something more was necessary than the mere advice to him not to drink. If he must not take whiskey, he must have something else, and Dr. Kennion gives him good warm coffee and nice fresh bread." "Coffee on Wheels," *Harper's Weekly*, August 20, 1880.

Burns, who had been a devout temperance crusader since a young age, used *The Spice Mill* to advance the cause. He went so far as propagating the myth that Brazil, the world's most important coffee producer, was a country free from alcoholism.

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[71] Robert Hewitt, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses* (New York: D. Appleton and Company, 1872), 10.
[72] W. H. Daniels, *The Temperance Reform and its Great Reformers: An Illustrate History* (New York: Nelson & Phillips, 1878), 556.

> It appears that in Brazil, where great quantities of coffee are used and where all the inhabitants take it many times a day, alcoholism is completely unknown. It is further stated that the immigrants arriving in that country, though beset with the passion for alcohol, contract little by little the habits of the Brazilians, acquiring their fondness for drinking coffee and their aversion of liquors; and as the children of these immigrants brought up with coffee from their early years never contract the fatal habits known to their parents, it would seem that the number of drunkards in the country is in inverse ratio to the amount of coffee consumed.[73]

Like most upper-class temperance advocates, Burns preached that workers suffered because of their own idleness, drunkenness, and dissipation.[74] An enemy of unions and socialists, he claimed that inequality was a natural and desirable aspect of life: "There always has been hewers of wood and drawers of water, and there always will be; and these very classes are a necessity to our highest civilization, for the good of all there must be work done. There must be minds to direct, and there must be concentrated capital, the judicious circulation of which is the wealth and health of every nation."[75] If the poor wanted to be useful members of society, Burns advised, they should just stop getting drunk and have more coffee.

For those who sought to extract the lifeblood of the working class, coffee acquired the status of a magic potion. They claimed, along with coffee merchants such as Thurber, that "it exhilarates, arouses, and keeps awake. It counteracts the stupor occasioned by fatigue, by disease, or by opium; … while it makes the brain more active, it soothes the body

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[73] "Use of Alcohol and Coffee in Brazil," *The Spice Mill*, November 1883.

[74] According to John J. Rumbarger, not all temperance advocates shared this conservative approach. Many contended that alcoholism was caused by poor working and living conditions, not vice-versa. Yet, as industrialization advanced and corporate capitalists (such as William E. Dodge) and their representatives (such as William M. Evarts) embraced the cause of temperance, it became another tool in class conflict. For them, "intemperance was dysfunctional in at least two respects. First, there was its obvious connection with industrial inefficiency. Second, and perhaps more important, was its connection to social instability. … Temperance advocates believed that American workers' own profligacy—manifested by drinking—dissipated their high wages, and thus left them with no reserves to set against downturns in the business cycle. In turn 'necessary' reductions in wages triggered in such workers discontent, which in turn let to strikes for higher wages. As this line of argument went, abstemious temperance, as an instance of frugality, would prepare workers for recessions, thereby eliminating the need to strike. This view of temperance presupposed a permanent class of proletarian wage earners, a nation foreign to popular thought, prohibitionist and otherwise, and foreign also to the idea that temperance functioned to provide a capitalist stake, or means of egress, from the laboring classes." *Profits, Power, and Prohibition: Alcohol Reform and the Industrializing of America, 1800-1930* (Albany: SUNY Press, 1989), 66-67.

[75] "Capital and Labor," *The Spice Mill*, July 1882.

generally, makes the change and waste of tissue slower, and the demand for food in consequence less."[76] Two characteristics determined the popularity of coffee, namely, "its refreshing, restoring, and exhilarating qualities and its non-inebriating influence." A beverage combining such essential requisites would naturally become "a sine qua non with multitudes, who, while they would seek the stimulant, would also avoid the penalty of the intoxicating draught. Coffee, therefore, is to be regarded as an auxiliary to temperance; since its use tends largely to supersede that of spirituous liquors."[77]

For native and immigrant workers engaged in the repetitive and exhausting tasks of factory labor, construction sites, or agroindustrial enterprises, enduring long working days, coffee promised to remove "all sense of fatigue and disposition to sleep." Better yet, "it also excites the vascular system, and renders more powerful the contractions of all the muscles, both voluntary and involuntary."[78] Coffee was associated to energy in the rapidly industrializing United States. And, at a time when men felt that proletarianization could undermine their manliness, coffee-energy became synonymous with masculinity.[79] As Thurber put it, "that coffee promotes sociability among men cannot be doubted any more than that its twin sister, the fragrant leaf of China and Japan, promotes sociability among women."[80]

Brazilian abolitionists quickly learned what purpose coffee served in the United States. Rebouças wrote in 1883 that Americans craved "a tonic which moral and hygiene

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[76] Thurber, *Coffee: From Plantation to Cup*, 172.
[77] Hewitt, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses*, 44.
[78] Hewitt, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses*, 84.
[79] Jackson Lears argues that in the Gilded Age the power of money led many Americans to fantasize about self-transformation, which often "took an inner alchemical change, a regeneration." "The language of rebirth," Lears adds, "had begun to refocus from soul to body." Pauperism was often linked to disease, femininity, and lack of energy; wealth to health, masculinity, and power. *Rebirth of a Nation: The Making of Modern America, 1877-1920* (New York: Harper Perennial, 2010), 36-37. Coffee consumption was part of the new search for bodily regeneration which Lears describes.
[80] Thurber, *Coffee: From Plantation to Cup*, 223.

proclaim as the best replacement for alcoholic beverages." He concurred with American temperance advocates that coffee made better workers and better men.

> The women of the United States have lately engaged in a bold campaign to abolish the sale of alcoholic beverages, which brutalize their children and husbands, and cause so many domestic scandals. May Brazilian coffee help the intelligent daughters of the North American Republic in their holy mission of extirpating from America the vice which degrades the Anglo-Saxon race!
> If it is necessary that this most imperfect being—man—have a vice, may this vice be coffee, which produces only a lucid drunkenness and a beautiful super-excitement of intellectual faculties. May they forsake the abuse of alcoholic beverages, which brutalize, degrade, and reduce man to a stupid, disgusting, ridiculous, and despicable being![81]

Rebouças rejoiced that "the most prosperous nation in the world is the one that buys the most Brazilian coffee. It is impossible to have a better costumer."[82] He thanked some of his close friends for informing the American public about the quality and effects of Brazilian coffee. "We shall remember that this promotion," he indicated, "started in 1876 by the venerable agronomist Mr. Nicolau Joaquim Moreira, then member of the Brazilian Committee to the International Exhibition of Philadelphia; subsequently, it was taken ahead on the pages of *O Novo Mundo* by Mr. José Carlos Rodrigues and his faithful collaborators."[83]

If, on the one hand, Rebouças was proud that Brazilian coffee helped American workers to free themselves from alcoholism and idleness, on the other, he thought it disgraceful that another, even greater evil subjected coffee workers in Brazil. But the question was not only a moral one: "It is necessary to apply *human* freedom, the foremost and most energetic agent of human progress, to the production and preparation of coffee; to provide capital and science to this industry so it can increase its *productive capacity*, active and efficaciously contributing to the wealth and prosperity of Brazil and, simultaneously, augmenting the wellbeing of all humankind."[84] Adapting American coffee enthusiasts'

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[81] Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional*, 38.
[82] Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional,* 43.
[83] Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional,* 25.
[84] Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional,* 76.

language of energy and regeneration, Rebouças declared that only free labor would realize Brazil's full potential in coffee production.

For their part, American observers were confident that, before long, Brazil would see its way clearly. One year after the Law of the Free Womb, an American coffee specialist indicated that, in Brazil, "the ultimate extinction of slavery generally will be accomplished when the existing slaves shall have passed away, since their children are born free. When the swift railroad shall have wholly superseded the slow mule conveyance, commerce will proportionally increase, because capitalists and free labor will yield a more profitable return."[85] Technology would form the shortest path to slave emancipation in Brazil. Thurber remarked that "the question of labor has for some time interested the planters of Brazil, and the problem they must solve is how to secure an abundance." He acknowledged that some Brazilian planters feared that emancipation would ruin their business, but he thought otherwise: "The power of machinery can be utilized, and history will record of its adaptation in Brazil a story similar to that it has written respecting the United States." According to Thurber, labor-saving machinery could augment production tenfold, thus making the use of free labor affordable. The good news, he concluded, was that "Brazil has already begun to use new machinery and adopt improved processes of cultivation and preparation upon the plantations."[86]

Herbert Huntington Smith was also hopeful about the Brazilian willingness to change, pointing out that "Brazil should have a certain credit above other slaveholding countries, present and past; for she alone has voluntarily set herself to getting rid of her

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[85] Hewitt, *Coffee: Its History, Cultivation, and Uses*, 60.
[86] Thurber, *Coffee: From Plantation to Cup*, 121-122.

shame."[87] American observers like Smith felt better believing that the more coffee they consumed, the faster Brazil would transition to free labor.

> Now, as I sip my morning coffee and pen these concluding lines, my thoughts go back to the bright hill-sides, the tired slaves, the busy Rio streets, the good and evil of this great industry. From great to small; it is a little matter, this cup of coffee, but the prosperity of a great empire depends on it. So here I drink to the health of Brazil, to her political and social and commercial welfare, to the downfall of evil and the growth of all good, all noble impulses that are buried in noble hearts. *Viva o Brasil!*[88]

By 1885, Burns was publishing articles which celebrated that "the time is not far distant … when slavery will become extinct in Brazil and the American continent be wholly freed from the blight of involuntary human servitude except in the punishment of crime."[89]

In the same way that they had no heavy conscience about using coffee as a means to exploit the proletarian masses in the United States, men like Burns, Thurber, Arbuckle, and Roach did not lose their sleep over making money out of sweat of enslaved men and women working on Brazilian plantations. Nonetheless, if asked, American coffee enthusiasts would confidently say that free labor could produce more and better coffee than slave labor. Like capitalists in general, they thought of themselves as a civilizing force, capable of expanding coffee agriculture in Brazil and industry in the United States through one simple formula—the expansion of free labor.

The Brazilian West

While American coffee enthusiasts advertised the benefits of the beverage, one specific region of Brazil was coming to dominate the global coffee market. As Burns observed in 1884, "within recent years, the coffees of this province were little known, and speculators usually passed them off under names indicative of coffees of greater repute. This

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[87] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 469.
[88] Smith, *Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast*, 540.
[89] "A Progressive Empire," *The Spice Mill*, October 1885.

has now changed, and the berries from the province of San Paulo, known in the trade as 'Santos,' can at present fight their own battles against competitors, and proclaim their origin with a warrant of success."[90]

São Paulo transformed the global coffee market, and coffee transformed São Paulo. By the mid 1880s, an American visitor to the provincial capital observed that "the San Paulo of today has an air of dignity and wealth. Many of the coffee-nobles of Brazil have palaces here." The railroad connecting the port of Santos to the interior crossed the provincial capital and permitted the fazendeiros to settle in the city. "San Paulo," the visitor continued, "is the center of a country abounding in picturesque scenery and great coffee plantations, the owners of which are among the richest people in the world."[91] The residence of the rich fazendeiros, São Paulo City had become a commercial hub and an administrative center.[92] It had eight different banks, ten railroad headquarters, ten insurance companies, a dozen steamship line agencies, in addition to electricity, gas, water, telegraph, and telephone companies.[93] An army of professionals and workers powered the city: from lawyers to coachmen, from engineers to bricklayers, from physicians to butchers. Factories produced

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[90] "Santos Coffee," *The Spice Mill*, May 1884.

[91] M. Mulhal, "The Highlands of São Paulo," *Littell's Living Age*, February 9, 1887. For how coffee provided the basis for the growth of São Paulo City, see Warren Dean, *The Industrialization of São Paulo, 1880-1945* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 1969).

[92] According to Warren Dean, thanks to the railroad and the telegraph, "the larger plantations were put in the hands of hired administrators. The richest planters came to own strings of estates, all supervised from their mansions in São Paulo [City]. The administrator mailed daily reports to the owner, in a form that appears to have been standardized." *Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System, 1820-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1976), 44.

[93] Anne G. Hanley explains that, "from 1880 on, banks, brokers, and two separate stock and bond exchanges arose to create complementary institutions that first helped improve the conditions under which the economy operated (liquidity) and then helped raise finance capital for the sorts of large-scale domestic enterprises that built São Paulo's industrial base (investment). Stimulated by economic expansion on the one hand and regulatory legislation on the other, these increasingly formal institutions channeled the seemingly limitless wealth generated by the robust coffee economy into local business and development projects. These businesses and projects would lay the groundwork for explosive regional development." *Native Capital: Financial Institutions and Economic Development in Sao Paulo, Brazil, 1850-1920* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2005), 20.

from cast iron and streetcars to soda and pasta. The streetcar crossed the city, taking people from their homes to work, shops, restaurants, libraries, parks, and other places.[94]

United States Consul General to Brazil Christopher Columbus Andrews got interested in São Paulo upon "hearing people speak of its capital as being the most American of any city in Brazil."[95] A native of New Hampshire, Andrews had reached the rank of Major General of the Union Army and served in occupied Texas during Reconstruction. In São Paulo, the first American he met was George Whitehill Chamberlain, who took him to the newly erected Presbyterian church. "Mr. Chamberlain, who has been a missionary in Brazil fifteen or twenty years, preached an extemporaneous sermon in the Portuguese language to a respectable and devout congregation of about two hundred, nearly all white Brazilians." The church-building could hold nearly a thousand worshippers. "Its ceiling is very high," Andrews continued, "and it has a new, fresh, and pleasant appearance. … It is of wood, and the material was brought from the United States."[96]

The next day, Chamberlain showed Andrews the Escola Americana, established in 1870, which now had one hundred and forty students. "It appeared to be a very well managed school," Andrews remarked. In the evening, he dined at Chamberlain's house with "a party of about thirty ladies and gentlemen who are residents of São Paulo." Andrews was pleased to learn that his compatriot had made a name for himself in the burgeoning city: "I would here say that Mr. Chamberlain is known in São Paulo as the *Padre Americano*, or

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[94] *Almanach da Provincia de São Paulo Administrativo, Commercial e Industrial para 1888* (São Paulo: Jorge Seckler & Comp., 1888), 199-286. For quotidian life in the city during by the late nineteenth century, see Maria Odila Leite da Silva Dias, *Power and Everyday Life: The Lives of Working Women in the Nineteenth Century Brazil* (Cambridge: Polity Press, 1995); Fraya Frehse, *O Tempo das Ruas na São Paulo de Fins do Império* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2005).
[95] Christopher Columbus Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects* (New York: D. Appleton, 1887), 137.
[96] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 146-147.

American priest. He is an energetic, active, and effective man, highly respected by all classes, and exerts a large influence."[97]

At 2,500 feet high, São Paulo City is located on the eastern edge of a plateau extending west to the interior. Downhill to the southeast is the seaport of Santos. Attentive to the growing importance of Santos to the coffee trade, in 1879, the Brazilian authorities commissioned the best engineer they could think of to develop an improvement plan for its harbor.[98] Having built a section of the Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad in the early 1860s and returned to the United States to serve as chief engineer of the Northern Pacific Railroad and president of the American Society of Civil Engineers, William Milnor Roberts was the chosen one.

Upon inspection, Roberts found that the commerce of Santos had recently gone through a major expansion. "Since the opening of the São Paulo railway in 1867," he noted, "deeper-draught steamers and sailing vessels have been patronizing this port mainly on account of the annually increasing quantities and superior quality of coffee brought in by the railway from the interior of the rich province of São Paulo." From 27,000 tons in 1867, coffee shipment had increased to 68,000 tons in 1878. Still, most of the coffee had to be carried on the heads and shoulders of stevedores. "These men labor hard," Roberts observed, "and do their work with energy; but the system involves a tax upon the producer, and upon the vessel, which a more modern arrangement would avoid."[99]

Roberts suggested a variety of improvements, seeking to secure a sufficient depth of water for large steamers, build T-Head piers and an inner quay, provide direct access to

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[97] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 147-148.
[98] On port improvements in nineteenth-century Brazil, see Cezar T. Honorato, "O Estado Imperial e a Modernização Portuária," *História Econômica da Independência e do Império*, eds. Tamás Szmrecsányi and José Roberto do Amaral Lapa (São Paulo: Hucitec/Edusp, 2002), 161-176.
[99] William Milnor Roberts, Port of Santos Report, 1879, William Milnor Roberts Papers, Box 6, Folder 26, Montana State University Library, Merrill G. Burlingame Special Collections.

trains, satisfy sanitary needs, and offer proper grounds for private contractors to establish warehouses near the harbor. He worked alongside coffee merchants to better attend to their needs: "At the office of the 'commission,' in Santos, every facility was afforded to all who were disposed to take an interest in the proposed improvement, to examine the plans, and to offer any suggestions that might occur to them."[100] Local figures approved Roberts's plan. In 1882, the Brazilian government authorized provincial officials to find means to execute it. The remodeling of the port would go on during the 1880s and 1890s, transforming Santos into the great coffee mart of the world.

As dynamic as the emporiums of Santos and São Paulo City had become, foreign visitors to the province were surprised to discover what existed beyond the narrow strip close to the ocean. As Andrews put it, "besides its seaport, Santos, and its capital, the city of São Paulo, [the province] contains several important business centers."[101] Unlike most Brazilian provinces, São Paulo stretched its enterprises deep into the interior, following a model which many people associated with the development of the western United States. In the early 1860s, Roberts had glimpsed the possibility of developing the interior of Brazil in the same way that the American Midwest had been developed. In 1879, he was glad to see the transformation of the Oeste Paulista.

> The city of São Paulo is 79 kilometers (49 miles) from Santos. It has become the center for a growing and already extensive railway system, which accommodates a considerable portion of the province. This system must continue to advance, and spread its branches farther into the interior, along with the augmenting population. There are now in operation in this province 1080 kilometers (669 miles) of finished lines, with other in progress and projected. Most of these lines have been extended into the coffee-growing regions, which, in consequence of the improved facilities of transportation thus afforded, have been cultivated to a much greater extent than they could have been without the railways.[102]

[100] Roberts, Port of Santos Report, 1879.
[101] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 137
[102] Roberts, Port of Santos Report, 1879.

By the mid 1880s, over 1,300 miles of railroads covered the province and the system continued to expand. Andrews rode the Paulista Railroad, the main trunk connecting São Paulo City to the Oeste Paulista, built with local capital from the coffee business.[103] He found the trip quite convenient: "The railway-car in which we went was comfortable and neat." Observing the scenery, Andrews thought it resembled "the western part of the United States, except for occasional banana-trees."[104]

A three-hour railroad journey to the northwest of São Paulo City took the traveler to Campinas, the heart of the coffee-producing Oeste Paulista. By the mid 1880s, Campinas had three daily newspapers, a water supply company, streetcars, gas lighting, theaters, six private schools, three newspapers, several clubs and associations, four banks, ten breweries, three hat factories, two steam-powered sawmills, four coach manufacturers, several shops, hotels, etc. More important, six foundries produced agricultural machinery and implements in Campinas.[105]

The largest factory in Campinas belonged to Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., which employed nearly two hundred workers. Besides producing his famous coffee-hulling machines, William Van Vleck Lidgerwood worked with local inventors to expand his supply. In October 1881, two Brazilian engineers announced that "the trustworthy house of Lidgerwood & Comp., whose norm has always been to offer the best possible service to agriculture, has just given us proof of their esteem for our invention, offering to manufacture and sell the Taunay-Telles machines, designed to dry coffee."[106] By the mid

[103] Flávio Azevedo Marques de Saes, *As Ferrovias de São Paulo, 1870-1940* (São Paulo: Editora Hucitec, 1981); William Summerhill, *Order against Progress: Government, Foreign Investment, and Railroads in Brazil, 1854-1913* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 2003).
[104] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 150-151.
[105] On the rapid urban growth of Campinas, Ulysses C. Semeghini, *Do Café à Indústria: Uma Cidade e seu Tempo* (Campinas: Editora da Unicamp, 1991); José Roberto do Amaral Lapa, *A Cidade: Os Cantos e os Antros: Campinas, 1850-1900* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1996).
[106] "Machinas de Secar Café Taunay-Telles," *Correio Paulistano*, October 14, 1880.

1880s, Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. had expanded into various sorts of products, manufacturing steam engines, turbines, waterwheels, sawmills, cotton mills, hydraulic pumps, plows, reapers, water pipes, faucets, fences, gates, sugar mills, distillers, corn threshers, bread-making machines, tobacco-cutting machines, bottling machines, packing machines, and much more.[107]

In his 1883 *Agricultura Nacional*, Rebouças declared that "we owe to the son of the great Republic, the tireless mechanical engineer William Van Vleck Lidgerwood, the beginning of all improvements introduced, in recent years, to the mechanisms of processing coffee." Rebouças, who had worked with Lidgerwood at the Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional [Auxiliary Society of National Industry] (SAIN), guaranteed that his coffee hullers were the best available in Brazil: "Numerous and various machines have been invented and privileged for the preparation of coffee, either in Brazil or in Europe and the United States; here, though, no one has been able yet to surmount, in more than twelve years of experience, the machines of William Van Vleck Lidgerwood."[108] In 1885, the Lidgerwood coffee huller got the highest prize at the Provincial Exposition of São Paulo. Although he had already received medals at exhibition in Amsterdam, Nice, and Antwerp, it was significant that Lidgerwood now won before a jury of fazendeiros.[109]

None other than the Brazilian monarch acknowledged Lidgerwood's contribution to Brazilian agriculture. In 1884, Dom Pedro II honored Lidgerwood with the title of Comendador of the Imperial Order of the Rose. Commenting on such achievement, Andrews noted that "his machinery is acknowledged in Brazil to have caused an important saving, not only of labor, but of life. The title of *commandador* [sic], conferred upon him by

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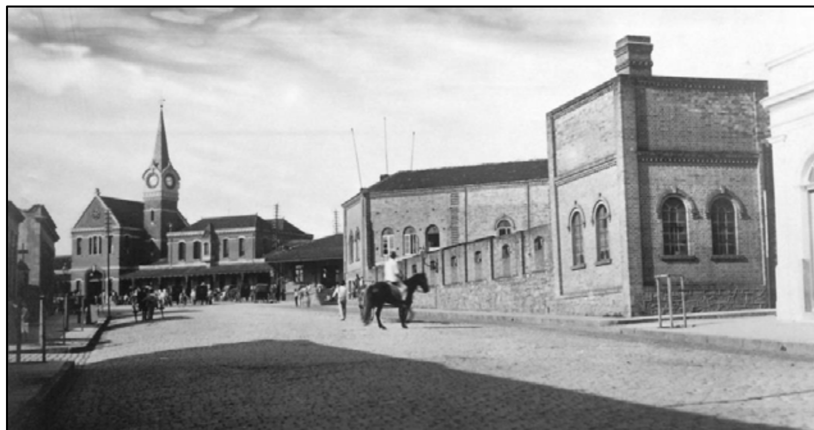
[107] "Machinas Lidgerwood," *A Província de São Paulo*, July 1, 1887.
[108] Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional*, 27, 133.
[109] "Exposição Provincial," *Correio Paulistano*, August 25, 1885.

the Brazilian Government, was certainly a very slight recognition of the great service he has rendered to the industry of the country."[110] When Dom Pedro II visited Campinas in 1886, he stopped by Lidgerwood's workshop, where he received the Brazilian coat of arms made of cast iron in that very location.[111]

Lidgerwood's importance to Campinas had increased to such an extent that, in 1885, his attorney petitioned the municipal council requesting the purchase of public grounds close to the train station. Lidgerwood was looking for a larger and more convenient location for his foundry, and he wanted it quickly. His attorney hoped that the local authorities would disregard the usual procedure for selling public property—i.e. public auction—and transfer it through private sale. "Now, to avoid false and misplaced modesty," the petitioner advanced, "it seems that the establishment of a new foundry and machine factory, considering all that it can offer, would not be an insignificant fact to the township."[112] Seeking to strengthen the position of Campinas as an industrial center, the municipal council conceded, and soon Lidgerwood opened his new foundry.[113]



"Lidgerwood Manufg. Company Limited. Campinas Railway Station. Showing L. M. Co. workshop on the Right," Campinas, 1901, Historic Speedwell Archive Room.

[110] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 246-247.
[111] Lapa, *A Cidade*, 91-93.
[112] Petição de John Sherrington, advogado de Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., à Câmara Municipal de Campinas, Campinas, June 20, 1885, Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Campinas.
[113] Petição de John Sherrington, advogado de Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., à Câmara Municipal de Campinas, Campinas, July 14, 1885, Arquivo da Câmara Municipal de Campinas.

In 1887, Lidgerwood opened an office in São Paulo City. Shortly after, he opened another foundry there. By then, Lidgerwood had resettled in London and expanded his business from agricultural machinery to hoisting engines, boilers, cableways, excavators, and other heavy machinery for mining, fishing, shipping, lumbering, and the construction of docks, dams, canals, railroads, bridges, and ships. By the 1900s, machines made by Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd. could be seen at work in major enterprises such as the Panama Canal, the New York City subway, a port on the Amazon River, railroads in Kentucky, coaling stations at the Baltic Sea, sugar-cane plantations in Cuba, and dams in Australia, South Africa, and California.[114]

Whereas Lidgerwood became a successful entrepreneur, the ex-Confederates scraped by in the Oeste Paulista. Riding the train northwest from Campinas, Andrews arrived at "the station where one stops who wishes to visit the American colony—the settlement of farmers who emigrated to Brazil from the Southern States of the United States soon after the civil war. They live on a tract of moderate but not first-rate fertility, surrounding the village of Santa Barbara, about ten miles south from the station."[115] Some five hundred ex-Confederates still lived there by the 1880s.

In their farms, the ex-Confederates grew corn, rice, bean, and potato. "I have rarely seen finer hogs than are to be found in this community," United States Consul H. Clay Armstrong remarked in 1886.[116] Yet, foodstuffs alone could not provide a comfortable life in

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[114] *The Lidgerwood Cableway. A Hoisting and Conveying Device employed in Construction of Canals, Dry Docks, Dams, Locks, Filter Beds, Piers, Log Handling, Fortifications, Open Pit Mining, Quarrying, Discharging Vessels, Etc. Coaling at Sea and Logging by Steam. Cane Hoisting and Lidgerwood Transfer* (1904), Lidgerwood Manufacturing Company, Unit 1, Folder 3, Shelf 3, Box 1, Historic Speedwell Archives Room, Morristown.
[115] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 159.
[116] H. Clay Armstrong, "Report of Consul-General Armstrong on the commerce and industries of Brazil in 1885," *Report upon the Commercial Relations of the United States with Foreign Countries for the Years 1884 and 1885* (Washington: Government Printing Office, 1886), 748-749.

the Oeste Paulista. Always so sanguine about life in Brazil, William Hutchinson Norris sounded rather gloomy in 1885, when he wrote to his son in Alabama that "the corn and cotton crop is poor, especially the corn crop. I know of but few farmers that will make more corn than it will require to rein them another year."[117] Although cotton prices were plummeting, it brought instant cash. According to Armstrong, the ex-Confederates' cotton had been integrated to the changing economy of the region.

> A portion of this crop is consigned to commission merchants in Santos, whence it is exported to Liverpool; the great bulk of it, however, is sold to the factories here, of which there are eight that purchase in whole or in part from this community. … These factories are owned mainly by Brazilians. One, called the Carioba Factory, was founded by Americans, but was afterwards sold to an English company. It is situated at the junction of the Quilombo and Piracicaba Rivers, two miles from the station of Santa Barbara. It employs from sixty to seventy hands, and turns out from 1,000 to 1,200 yards of cloth per clay. Only the coarser goods are as yet made. The efficient manager of this enterprise is Mr. W. P. Ralston, Jr., of Pennsylvania.[118]

As the textile industry of the Oeste Paulista developed, the ex-Confederates continued performing the task that the local elite had bestowed on them. Some of the factories they supplied had been set up by Lidgerwood: by 1884, his company had established no less than fifteen cotton mills in Brazil.[119] Meanwhile, William Pultney Ralston, a former agent of Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., had become a prominent manufacturer in the region.

In addition to cotton, some ex-Confederates cultivated sugarcane to make rum. Charles M. Hall of Columbus, Georgia, had the most successful distillery in the region. "This rum, or pinga, as it is now commonly called here," Armstrong observed, "is barreled and sent to the village of Santa Barbara and the city of Campinas, where it meets with a ready sale at an average price of $40 per pipe, equivalent to about 25 cents per gallon."[120] Hall was

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[117] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Santa Bárbara, September 6, 1885, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[118] Armstrong, "Report of Consul-General Armstrong," 749.
[119] *Almanak Administrativo, Mercantil e Industrial do Imperio do Brazil para 1884* (Rio de Janeiro: H. Laemmert & C., 1884), 185.
[120] Armstrong, "Report of Consul-General Armstrong," 750.

an exception, though. "Where the plow is used," Andrews reported on the sugarcane farms of Santa Bárbara, "farmers cultivate six or seven acres to the hand, and subsistence crops—corn, beans, etc.—enough to sustain the farm." The workforce was composed of family members as "labor, and very unreliable, costs forty cents per day for about ten hours' work, by one hand, or about ten dollars a month, food included."[121] Labor being dear, sugarcane, a very labor-intensive crop, did not pay what the ex-Confederates expected.

Even if reluctantly, the ex-Confederates had contributed to diversifying the Oeste Paulista. In 1885, Norris's son noted that "melons are generally planted early and watered by hand to come on soon – this crop is very remunerative – early melons bring prices ranging from 50c to 75, and good melons – (40 or 50 pounds) $2.00 to $2.50 a piece readily."[122] Armstrong explained the advantages that the new crop afforded the ex-Confederates: "Considering the small amount of time and labor … necessary to make this crop, the facilities now enjoyed for its prompt shipment to city markets, and the great public favor which these melons … have attained over all others grown in Brazil, this industry should and no doubt will be brought to a large development, and made to contribute no little to the prosperity of the community." Although lack of rain sometimes ruined crops, melons had "the advantage of bringing in money at a season of the year when it is often badly needed and can be profitably used in defraying the expense of gathering the cotton crop."[123] The fruit became so vital to the ex-Confederate community that, in 1896, they addressed desperate petitions to the São Paulo government after it banned melon sales because of a cholera epidemic.[124]

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[121] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 250.
[122] Robert Cicero Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Santa Bárbara, September 6, 1885, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[123] Armstrong, "Report of Consul-General Armstrong," 750.
[124] Dossiê Referente à Proibição da Venda de Melancias enviado pela Secretaria do Interior, 1896, Secretaria da Agricultura, AESP.

The ex-Confederates were not the only foreigners farming in the Oeste Paulista. The same year Andrews explored the region, a Dutch researcher named C. F. Van Delden Laërne visited farms and plantations there. Close to Santa Bárbara, he met a Swedish immigrant. "According to Mr. Magnussen a colonist can get on very well in Brazil," Laërne reported, "if he is willing to work briskly." After working for eleven years at a fazenda as a sharecropper, Magnussen had been able to acquire a farm which included eight thousand coffee trees. "Now he works his lands himself, with two of his sons and a daughter," Laërne continued, "besides one camarada [associate], an American, to whom he pays only one milreis per day with board." Very likely an ex-Confederate, the camarada helped the Swede maintain the coffee trees and grow foodstuffs: "According to Mr. Magnussen coffee-planting is not so profitable as the cultivation of provisions, which, moreover can more speedily and readily be disposed of at the neighboring market of Campinas."[125]

Magnussen was an exception, however. Most free workers in the Oeste Paulista worked for the fazendeiros. Laërne visited several fazendas which, while preserving slavery, experimented with free labor. At Joaquim Bonifácio do Amaral's Sete Quedas plantation in Campinas, he saw immigrants employed as sharecroppers, receiving "free lodging in stone houses with tiled roofs." At the Monte Alverne plantation in São Carlos, he saw slaves working alongside free Brazilians, who "keep and dress a small portion of the plantations, receiving an annual payment of 100 réis per tree." At the Montevideo plantation in Araras, each immigrant family received a house, pasture for three or four cattle, provision grounds, fruit-bearing coffee trees, and six hundred réis per alqueire (45-50 liters) of coffee they gathered. The Bom Retiro plantation in Amparo impressed Laërne.

[125] C. F. Van Delden Laërne, *Brazil and Java: Report on Coffee-Culture in America, Asia and Africa, to H. E. the Minister of the Colonies* (London: W. H. Allen, 1885), 355.

> With an eye to the ultimate substitution of slaves by colonists, the owner has had the old senzalas or slaves-quarters broken down, and handsome rows of cottages built on each side of the mansion house. These cottages, separated from the mansion house by the garden and a broad paved road, form a street of 38 houses, each with three or four rooms and a kitchen. Each house costs 1200 milreis, or rather more than 600 over and above the slave labour. Twelve of these cottages had still to be built, in order to quarter at a future time 50 families of colonists.

Laërne also visited the Santa Veridiana plantation in Casa Branca, which belonged to the richest fazendeiro of the Oeste Paulista, Antonio da Silva Prado. In 1882, Santa Veridiana employed forty-nine German and Italian families, amounting to over two hundred people. "They did not work here on parceria [sharecropping]," Laërne explained, "but for a settled sum or wages for picking." More precisely, six hundred réis per alqueire. Each family also received free housing, free schooling for their children, pasture for two animals, and provisional grounds. "Senhor Prado seems however in the beginning of 1883," Laërne proceeded, "to have had reason … to reduce the price [of the alqueire] from 600 réis to 500." Dissatisfied, more than half of the workers left the plantation.[126]

Immigrant dissatisfaction was an old problem in the Oeste Paulista. In 1857, the Ibicaba plantation in Limeira was shaken by an uprising and dozens of sharecroppers left. The immigrants who remained became a headache to the fazendeiros as they wanted to grow more foodstuffs than coffee.[127] Nonetheless, the experiment continued and, by the 1880s, native as well as foreign observers saw Ibicaba as the future of Brazilian agriculture. "The cultivation of coffee by free hands, by immigrants and settlers," Rebouças noted in 1883, "is an accomplished fact, since many years, in the province of S. Paulo. This distinguished province and Brazil owe such a great deed to Senator Nicolau Pereira de Campos Vergueiro, who established in 1847 on his Ibicaba plantation, a league and a half

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[126] Laërne, *Brazil and Java*, 354-364.

[127] On the conflicts around sharecropping in the Oeste Paulista, see Emília Viotti da Costa, *The Brazilian Empire: Myths and Histories*, Revised Edition (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2000), 94-124.

from the city of Limeira, the colony Senator Vergueiro."[128] The Senator's son, José Vergueiro, took over the property and, after the uprising, made adjustments to the sharecropping system. Laërne had the impression that "the colonists here were very well contented. In the landlord they saw not only their master but their friend."[129] To be safe, however, Vergueiro held on to his slaves, some four hundred of them.[130]

Andrews made sure to visit Ibicaba, located only half-an-hour by train from Santa Bárbara. There he met Chamberlain again. "The Rev. Mr. Chamberlain arrived from São Paulo before dinner," Andrews narrated, "and was received by Mr. Vergueiro as an old friend." The fazendeiro and the missionary "passed the evening in an animated and friendly conversation on religious and other questions."[131] This interaction made Andrews think that Vergueiro was a progressive man. His impression was strengthened when Vergueiro showed him the immigrant village, a brick-yard, a lumber-yard, a hospital, a chapel, warehouses, vegetable gardens, some virgin forest, and sprawling coffee fields, amounting to over one million fruit-bearing trees. What impressed Andrews most, however, was the machinery Vergueiro applied to coffee processing: "We first visited the mill, steam-engine, water-tanks, and machinery for cleaning the coffee; also the machinery for filling sacks. There was a large stock of superior coffee on hand, and the machinery and works for cleaning and preparing it were of a character calculated to excite wonder and admiration."[132]

Like other American observers, Andrews saw mechanization as a decisive step in the steady move of the fazendeiros toward free labor. The generalization of machinery in coffee processing, he understood, was forcing the sharecroppers to grow as much coffee as they

128 Rebouças, *Agricultura Nacional*, 115.
129 Laërne, *Brazil and Java*, 366.
130 Thomas H. Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land: Coffee and Society in São Paulo, 1886-1934* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1980), 72-74.
131 Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 157-165.
132 Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 153.

could if they were to have any cash. "The machinery for cleaning coffee and putting it in its most attractive condition for the market is expensive," Andrews noted. The newcomers could not afford to buy machines, and "many immigrant coffee farmers are consequently obliged to send their coffee to market in a crude condition, and to submit to a heavy deduction in price on that account. In other localities they can 'go to mill' with their crude coffee, and get it hulled at about half a cent per pound."[133]

Mechanization concentrated capital in the Oeste Paulista, making it ever more difficult for sharecroppers or small landowners to maintain some autonomy. Laërne understood this fact when he visited a small coffee plantation whose owner was a German named Detlef Brune, who also worked as manager at Ibicaba. Brune employed only free workers, a total of forty-eight adults and twenty-six minors.[134] Although Brune took his coffee to the machines in Ibicaba, he was setting up his own machinery. But now he found himself in debt: "Mr. Brune acknowledged that coffee-planting can yield no profit whatever if the planter works with borrowed capital."[135]

What Andrews and Laërne saw in the Oeste Paulista was that coffee production now required large investments, well beyond the means of the immigrants. Because the global market—and especially the American market—now demanded coffee processed by machines, the immigrants' options shrank: they could either submit to deductions by using

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[133] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 246.

[134] By the 1880s, acquiring slaves did not seem like a good option for farmers like Brune. As Robert Slenes puts it, "the high risks for small agriculturalists when they decided to direct their production to the market were evident. Given their meager resources, a bad harvest or falling prices could ruin them. When the small agriculturalist of the nineteenth century acquired slaves to use in commercial agriculture, he assumed particularly high risks (especially if he contracted debt to do so), because he immobilized resources in a productive 'machine' which could disappear at any moment, given their propensity to morbidity and mortality and the possibility of running away." "Senhores e Subalternos no Oeste Paulista," *História da Vida Privada no Brasil*, Volume 2, *Império: A Corte e a Modernidade Nacional*, ed. Luiz Felipe de Alencastro (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1997), 245.

[135] Laërne, *Brazil and Java*, 364.

the fazendeiros' machines, try to purchase their own and fall into debt like Brune, try their luck with mixed commercial farms like Magnussen and the ex-Confederates, or work for wages on the large fazendas. Needless to say, the fazendeiros welcomed the new means of concentrating capital with great joy.

After leaving Ibicaba, Andrews took the train to Jundiaí, whence he entered another branch of the São Paulo transportation network, the Ituana Railroad. On the train, he met the president of the railroad company, Rafael Tobias Aguiar Paes de Barros, the second Baron of Piracicaba, "who with his family was going to his plantation at Itu." Noticing that Andrews was observing the landscape, the fazendeiro informed him "that the soil in that neighborhood was called massapé, and that it was good for growing coffee, cotton, and cane."[136]

After a four-hour journey, Andrews arrived in Piracicaba, where he had another nice surprise: "Miss Watts had her school of young misses, mostly Brazilians, paraded in two lines in the front yard and on the steps, and as we passed up between them they shook hands with each of us and presented flowers."[137] After speeches and hurrahs at the Colégio Piracicabano, Martha Watts took Andrews on a tour of Piracicaba, a town which she was proud of.

> Since we came here the street has been leveled, and pavements laid, and street lamps placed at convenient distances, the old houses are undergoing repairs, and it is becoming one the promenades of the city. The city is improving generally, and has more inhabitants; before, only those remained in town who were obliged to, or who had no country house to go; but now parents stay in town to keep their children at school. One such case resulted in the starting of a soap and candle factory. The dry goods shops are enlarging their stocks and houses also. Thus you see that we have helped in the improvement of the place.[138]

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[136] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 165.
[137] Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 168.
[138] "Letter from Miss Watts – the School at Piracicaba, N. 4, October 1884," *Evangelizar e Civilizar: Cartas de Martha Watts, 1881-1908*, ed. Zuleica Mesquita (Piracicaba: Unimep, 2001), 213.

After seeing the town, Andrews rode on horseback to the Piracicaba River to visit the cotton-mill of Luiz de Queirós: "We there saw a new embroidery-machine doing the work which a hundred operatives would do by hand. The proprietor has a handsome new villa not far from the river, and from which there is a splendid view of the falls and rapids. … I should say the Piracicaba River is larger there than the Merrimack at Lowell."[139]

The influence of men like Queirós was growing in the Oeste Paulista. "Several American as well as English civil engineers have gained well-merited distinction by their services in Brazil," Andrews noted, "but the field now appears to be almost wholly occupied by native talent."[140] Andrews himself had ridden railroads designed by Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza. After the experience in the American Midwest, Paula Souza returned home to become chief engineer of the Ituana Railroad, building the line from Jundiaí to Piracicaba. In 1873, he became chief engineer of the Paulista Railroad, extending it from Campinas to Rio Claro. In the late 1870s and early 1880s, Paula Souza engaged in establishing a water supply system and creating a streetcar line in Campinas, surveying lands and designing turnpikes all over the Oeste Paulista, and further extending the railroad system, now from Rio Claro to São Carlos.[141]

But Paula Souza was just one of the several fazendeiros' sons who had returned from the United States and engaged in modernizing their province. Cornell graduates assumed prominent roles in São Paulo during the 1880s. Elias Fausto Pacheco Jordão taught at the Escola Americana and established a newspaper in the township of Itu before serving the provincial government as assistant engineer of Public Works and becoming superintendent

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139 Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 168.
140 Andrews, *Brazil, Its Conditions and Prospects*, 107.
141 Cristina de Campos, *Ferrovias e Saneamento em São Paulo: O Engenheiro Antonio Francisco de Paula Souza e a Construção da Rede de Infra-Estrutura Territorial e Urbana Paulista, 1870-1893* (Campinas: Pontes, 2010).

of the Ituana Railroad. José Tibiriçá Piratininga first worked at the Mogiana Railroad, then became provincial engineer of traffic, and by the late 1880s served as general inspector of the Ituana Navigation Company. Domingos Correia de Morais worked as assistant engineer of water works in São Paulo City and, in 1888, became president of the São Paulo Streetcar Company.[142]

Graduates of other American universities also worked on developing infrastructure in São Paulo. José Custódio Aves de Lima, a Syracuse graduate and former editor of the *Aurora Brazileira*, served as assistant engineer of Public Works and later worked as inspector at the Mogiana Railroad and the Sorocabana Railroad. Eduardo de Andrade Vilares, another Syracuse graduate, worked as assistant engineer at the Mogiana Railroad and superintendent of the Ituana Railroad.[143] Tomás de Aquino e Castro, who started his studies at Cornell but later transferred to the University of Cincinnati, became assistant engineer of Public Works.[144] Eugenio de Lacerda Franco, a Rensselaer graduate, worked as assistant engineer at the Paulista Railroad. Luiz Gonzaga da Silva Lima, another Rensselaer graduate, first worked as assistant engineer on the extension of the Paulista Railroad to São Carlos and later as chief engineer and general manager of the Bragantina Railroad.[145]

Besides working on transportation infrastructure, graduates from American universities returned to their families' fazendas to transform production. According to Laërne, Piratininga made systematic use of the plow on his land in Mogi Mirim, where "houses are being built for the reception of colonists."[146] Others engaged in commerce,

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[142] *The Ten-Year Book of Cornell University, Volume II, 1868-1888* (Ithaca: Andrus & Church, 1888).
[143] *Alumni Record and General Catalogue of Syracuse University, 1872-1910* (Syracuse: Alumni Association of Syracuse University, 1911).
[144] *University of Cincinnati: Catalogue of the Academic Department, 1890-1891* (Cincinnati: Office of the University, 1891).
[145] *Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, Troy N.Y., Annual Register, April 1897* (Troy: Wm. H. Young, 1897).
[146] Laërne, *Brazil and Java*, 362.

extractive industry, and manufacturing. Fernando de Albuquerque, a Lafayette graduate, partnered with an American classmate and established an agency in Santos to import agricultural machinery and railroad supplies from the United States.[147] A Cincinnati graduate, Joaquim da Silveira Melo, established a lumber company and a coffee cleaning mill in the township of Pirassununga.[148] Fernando Paes de Barros, a Syracuse graduate, established a steam-powered sawmill in the township of Itu. Antonio de Queirós Teles Neto, also a Syracuse graduate, established a cotton mill in the township of Jundiaí. Two other Syracuse graduates, Francisco Fernando Paes de Barros Jr. and Otaviano Abdon Pereira Mendes, entered a partnership to establish a cotton mill near Itu with five thousand spindles.[149]

The graduates of American universities were part of a complex structure which integrated coffee planters like Vergueiro, machine manufacturers like Lidgerwood, foreign engineers like Roberts, farmers like the ex-Confederates, missionaries like Chamberlain, and the mass of landless workers. Not all enjoyed the same influence or shared the same projects. But all contributed to remaking the Oeste Paulista. Visitors like Andrews saw precisely that when they explored the region. From Piracicaba, Andrews took the train back to São Paulo City and from there he returned to Rio de Janeiro. The fazendas, railroads, piers, machines, mills, schools, and cities he saw convinced him that the transition to free labor was coming to an end. All that was needed was a final push.

The Final Push

On May 31, 1883, Rebouças published an article entitled "The Province of S. Paulo after Emancipation" on the *Gazeta da Tarde*. He opened by stating that "no other province is

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[147] *Record of the Men of Lafayette: Brief Biographical Sketches of the Alumni of Lafayette College from Its Organization to the Present Time* (Easton: Skinner and Finch, 1879).
[148] *University of Cincinnati: Catalogue*.
[149] *Alumni Record and General Catalogue of Syracuse University*.

better prepared for immediate and uncompensated emancipation than the province of S. Paulo." Sprawling railroads, manufacturing enterprises, communities of foreigners, and other factors made it the perfect candidate to lead the way to free labor in Brazil. "On the day the [London] *Times* announces that the fertile territory of this rich province is free," Rebouças speculated, "thousands upon thousands of immigrants will take steamers to Santos." But, he regretted, São Paulo was hostage to a few mindless slaveholders: "We shall not deny that he who repels the immigrant is the planter; the master of cruelty; the despot of the lash, of the bullwhip, of the stick." Rebouças dreamed of the day São Paulo would overthrow these brutes and enter the modern age. He looked to the example of the former slave states of the United States to foresee the future of São Paulo.

> On the day after emancipation, the highlands of S. Paulo will follow the path of the Mississippi Valley after the war of freedom in the United States. The production of coffee will increase just like the production of cotton increased there. The purple and massapé soils, tilled by free men, will produce ten times more than now, when they are still watered by the tears and the sweat of miserable slaves. … The experience is accomplished in all the former states of the Mississippi Valley; despite the damages and losses caused by a horrific five-year war, its current prosperity cannot be compared to the nefarious years of the barbarous exploitation of the African.

Rebouças went so far as imagining that, "had the province of S. Paulo the courage to decree emancipation now, in a few years it would surpass, in wealth and prosperity, the richest states of the North American Republic."[150] For a moment, however, it seemed that São Paulo would fail him.

In 1884, the abolitionist movement had succeeded in pushing their agenda into the executive branch of government. Prime Minister Manoel Pinto de Souza Dantas, a Liberal from Bahia, presented a bill which would, among other things, free all slaves who reached the age of sixty without compensation, set prices for slaves to be freed by the government

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[150] André Pinto Rebouças, "A Provincia de S. Paulo depois da Abolição," *Gazeta da Tarde*, May 31, 1883.

emancipation fund, enlarge the same fund through a tax on property in slaves, and distribute public lands to ex-slaves.[151] Reactionary forces immediately cried foul. The opposition to Dantas became so rabid that Lamoureux drew a parallel to what had happened in the United States a few decades earlier.

> The similarity of arguments used just now by the defenders of slavery in this empire and those used by the pro-slavery party in the United States is so striking, that it would seem almost credible, that there is but one class of arguments for those who undertake the defense of slavery. … The protests of our planters' clubs are nothing more nor less than the threats of the pro-slavery party in the United States to break up the Union if their views were disregarded.[152]

After a vicious battle in the Parliament and the press, Dantas fell and Saraiva took his place. Known for his pragmatism, Saraiva submitted the original bill to a conservative overhaul: slaves who reached sixty would have to work three more years to compensate their masters; maximum slave values for government manumission were set above market prices; the emancipation fund was divided in thirds in order to free older slaves, reimburse planters willing to completely convert to free labor, and pay the fare for immigrants willing to work in plantations; and, last but not least, the government would fine people for aiding fugitive slaves. The final text of the law turned the fine into imprisonment.[153]

Saraiva stepped down before his bill was submitted to the Senate. Dom Pedro II named a Conservative from Bahia as the new Prime Minister. João Maurício Wanderley, the Baron of Cotegipe, ensured the ratification of the Law of the Sexagenarians. He also named Antonio da Silva Prado as Minister of Agriculture. "The new minister of agriculture is one of the most progressive planters of São Paulo and is a warm friend of a more liberal immigration policy," Lamoureux remarked in August 1885. "Unhappily, however, he is equally friendly to the converse policy of retaining slavery as long as possible and

[151] Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, 210-216.
[152] *The Rio News*, August 24, 1884.
[153] Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, 222-224.

indemnifying planters to the last penny."[154] On June 12, 1886, Prado presented the regulations of the already infamous Law of the Sexagenarians, adopting a draconian reading of the fugitive slave clause. He determined that not only those who helped fugitive slaves but also those who failed to report runaways to the authorities would be sent to jail. The abolitionists immediately organized demonstrations against the "Black Regulations."[155]

The most dramatic response to the fugitive slave clause emerged in Prado's own Oeste Paulista. With Luiz Gama's death in 1882, a man named Antonio Bento had become the leader of the São Paulo abolitionists. Unlike Gama, Bento was a white man, member of a planter family, a judge, a devout monarchist, and a zealot Catholic. But, just like Gama, he was an admirer of John Brown, and his tall and slender body, long beard, and courage rendered comparisons to the American abolitionist. Bento recruited a group of black and white activists who became known as the Caifazes. Like the followers of John Brown, these men repudiated any law that upheld slavery and were ready to use force. The Caifazes infiltrated fazendas, helped the slaves escape, and offered them asylum. In Santos, a Portuguese cook and an ex-slave organized a fugitive community to house the men and women who had followed the Cafaizes.[156]

The Oeste Paulista was in disarray. Confrontations between runaways and the police multiplied.[157] Some slaveholders became hysterical. But the Caifazes had urban professionals, manual workers, and even the sons of the fazendeiros on their side now. In July 1887, Lamoureux remarked that a new movement had "sprung into existence among the young men in various parts of the province, which is nothing less than assisting slaves to escape.

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[154] *The Rio News*, August 24, 1885.
[155] On repression to the abolitionist movement during the 1880s, see Alonso, *Flores, Votos e Balas*, 287-293.
[156] For the abolitionist movement in São Paulo, see Maria Helena P. T. Machado, *O Plano e o Pânico: Os Movimentos Sociais na Década da Abolição* (São Paulo: Edusp, 2010).
[157] Conrad, *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*, 250-251.

The two thousand odd fugitives in and about Santos are the results of their work, and hardly a day passes that they do not help others to escape." The activists, Lamoureux added, were "young men of position and influence, not to be scared by threats or police interference."[158]

However raucous, the reactionaries were few and powerless in São Paulo. Soon, the mass flights led the members of the Republican Party to turn their back on the defenders of slavery. Whereas republicans like Paula Souza had disavowed slavery long ago, until the mid 1880s party leader Manoel Ferraz de Campos Sales had been afraid of alienating slaveholders from his cause. Although Campos Sales supported the Dantas bill, he preached that slavery was an economic question which should be solved by society, and not the government. Now, facing a general uprising, he instructed Republican fazendeiros to free their slaves.[159]

To everyone's surprise, Prado had a sudden change of heart. In September 1887, he resigned his position as Minister of Agriculture and denounced in the Senate a petition from some Campinas fazendeiros who were asking for energetic measures against fugitive slaves. According to Lamoureux, Prado and his allies had realized that, "if the new order of things must come and free labor must be employed, then the quicker the change is made, the better. Waiting for an inevitable crisis is painfully trying business for a man of life and energy, and it is a losing business besides."[160]

In November 1887, Prado and Campos Sales gathered a group of twenty influential fazendeiros in São Paulo City to discuss how to rearrange labor in the midst of chaos. Campos Sales proposed immediate and unconditional freedom. To his disappointment, however, most fazendeiros followed Prado, who had proposed to pay salaries but under the

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[158] Andrew Jackson Lamoureux, *The Rio News*, July 15, 1887.
[159] On the changing attitudes of the São Paulo republicans in relation to slavery, see Antonio Carlos Galdino, "Campinas, Uma Cidade Republicana: Politica e Eleições no Oeste Paulista (1870-1889)" (PhD dissertation, Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 2006), 23-93.
[160] *The Rio News*, September 24, 1887.

condition that the freedpeople remain on the plantations they belonged for three more years. The fazendeiros also decided to approach Bento, offering to hire the slaves he had been sheltering. Bento, worried about holding onto thousands of refugees, did not object.[161]

Not all coffee planters in Brazil accepted the end of slavery, though. As 1888 approached, the Paraíba Valley still resisted. "The planters of the province of Rio de Janeiro seem determined to show their contempt for law and humanity," Lamoureux raged.[162] They clung as hard as they could to the status quo, arguing that the Law of the Sexagenarians should be the last word on slave emancipation in Brazil. Comparing the planters of Oeste Paulista to those of the Paraíba Valley, Lamoureux saw a split between two class attitudes: "The almost simultaneous action of the provinces of S. Paulo and Rio de Janeiro relative to the agricultural labour question will to most foreigners present a comparison of energy and conscious strength on the one side, to one of confessed weakness and timidness, strongly mixed with stubbornness on the other."[163]

While the Paraíba Valley stalled, the Oeste Paulista moved on. The fazendeiros found in Prado's younger brother, Martinho da Silva Prado Junior, the practical men they needed. A member of the Republican Party, Prado Junior was known as a progressive fazendeiro.[164] For decades, São Paulo provincial legislators had been discussing ways to encourage immigration, but most plans required the fazendeiros to take the risk of advancing money to immigrants and making them pay their debts. In 1885, Prado Junior proposed that

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[161] *The Rio News*, December 24, 1887.
[162] *The Rio News*, October 24, 1887.
[163] *The Rio News*, December 24, 1887.
[164] A biographer of the Prado family, Darrell E. Levi writes that Martinho Prado Junior, "a republican, represented the new, labor-starved, and relatively poor Ninth Assembly District [the Mogiana Region] in São Paulo's legislature, while his older brother Antonio, an imperial minister, represented the interests of São Paulo city in the Provincial Assembly and spoke for the already-prosperous, developed coffee regions. It was thus not surprising that differences occurred." *The Prados of São Paulo, Brazil: An Elite Family and Social Change, 1840-1930* (Athens: University of Georgia Press, 1987), 76.

the provincial government, now very affluent thanks to coffee, pay private companies for the transportation and the placement of immigrants. Lamoureux offered a candid analysis of the new scheme: "The government of the province being an oligarchy of planters, and these planters feeling that their prosperity depends upon a new class of laborers to take the place of the slave, their only object and desire is to turn the stream of European emigration this way and to use the resources and influence of the province for that purpose."[165]

Though the first contracting companies failed and accusations of corruption surfaced, Prado Junior soon came up with a corrective. In 1886, along with Nicolau de Souza Queirós and the Baron of Piracicaba, he created the Sociedade Promotora de Imigração [Society for the Promotion of Immigration] (SPI). The new association received full support from provincial president Antonio Queirós Teles, the Baron of Parnaíba, a fazendeiro from Jundiaí who had been experimenting with immigrant labor since the 1850s. The Minister of Agriculture—Prado Junior's older brother—also directed lavish resources to the SPI. With government money, Prado Junior published pamphlets and maps, built a hostel for the newcomers, contracted with the Paulista Railroad to transport the immigrants from Santos to the interior, and established a branch of the SPI in Genoa, Italy.[166]

Between 1887 and 1888, the SPI succeeded in bringing over 120,000 European immigrants to São Paulo, making the fazendeiros all but forget about the 100,000 slaves who had been working their lands and were now escaping. Of all immigrants reaching São Paulo, over three-fourths were Italian. Italy as a whole, and the agrarian south more acutely, had been suffering from economic stagnation and masses of peasants were struck by misery.[167]

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165 *The Rio News*, July 15, 1886.
166 Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro*, 95-134.
167 On the push factors influencing Italian migration, Mark I. Choate explains that "crushed under one of Europe's highest tax burdens, threatened by malaria, isolated by a lack of roads, with their vineyards devastated by phylloxera disease, many families found a better future abroad." *Emigrant Nation: The Making of Italy Abroad* (Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2008), 24.

Whereas Italians with a little money to spare preferred to migrate to the United States or Argentina instead of Brazil, free transportation proved to be enticing to the poorest members of Italian society.[168] As Prado Junior acknowledged, "only those individuals without resources, attacked by necessity in all its forms, emigrate to Brazil, and they do it by seeking free or reduced passage."[169]

Overnight, poor peasants from Italy became the rural proletariat of the Oeste Paulista. Lamoureux lamented that "neither the Sociedade Promotora de Imigração, nor the province of São Paulo, nor the Empire of Brazil wants immigrants which shall become citizens and small proprietors; they simply want laborers for the great plantations, a class to take the places made vacant by slave emancipation."[170] A supporter of the SPI addressed an angry response to Lamoureux, which nonetheless confirmed the plans of the fazendeiros.

> Too much is made of this citizenship, this proprietorship. I would like to take the consensus of opinion of the mothers of the half starved ones of Europe, ay, of those of New York and Chicago too, whether they would not sacrifice willingly all the doubtful pleasures of proprietorship and citizenship for the certainty of two good meals a day for their children, which this country offers to all who are willing to work. And as to the quality of the work to be done, and the contracts to be fulfilled, is there any farm-work much more pleasant and easy than the carrying on of an already formed coffee plantation in the province of São Paulo? I know of no family who has suffered in the work, not one.[171]

The fazendeiros' plan succeeded: by enlarging the pool of workers, they managed to depress wages in the Oeste Paulista. By April 1888, Lamoureux observed that "the large number of immigrant laborers which have settled in this country during the past year, and the large number of slaves liberated in São Paulo but kept on the plantations as paid laborers, has largely and suddenly increased the number of wage-earners."[172] A few months later, a

[168] On Italians' preference for the United States and Argentina, see Samuel L. Baily, *Immigrants in the Lands of Promise: Italians in Buenos Aires and New York City, 1870-1914* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1999).
[169] Martinho Prado Junior apud Beiguelman, *A Formação do Povo no Complexo Cafeeiro*, 112.
[170] *The Rio News*, July 15, 1886.
[171] Walter J. Hammond, "S. Paulo immigration Question," *The Rio News*, August 5, 1886.
[172] *The Rio News*, April 15, 1888.

member of the Chamber of Deputies indicated that the importation of workers served to "increase the competition among them and in that way salaries will be lowered by means of the law of supply and demand."[173]

In Brazil, immigrants and ex-slaves could aspire to very little beyond working for wages. "Desirable lands," Lamoureux regretted, "are held in large estates, and [Brazil's] provisions for the sale of its public lands to immigrants are illiberal and onerous."[174] Meanwhile, the government offered the fazendeiros all they asked for: "We have repeatedly called attention to the facts that the planters pay no [land] taxes, railways are built for their accommodation, immigrants are imported at public cost to labor for them, and finally the Treasury lends them money, at reduced interest."[175]

Speaking to the São Paulo Legislative Assembly in 1887, provincial president Parnaíba celebrated the new arrangements.

> The provincial legislator, based on practical knowledge, which is the science of life, correctly made use of the foreigner to serve the interests of the country; setting aside the utopias of the reformists, he legislated in accordance with our circumstances. Those who understand our economic life, who have followed the evolution of our agriculture, cannot fail to recognize that we owe to large property important improvements, as it has happened in our province. Without large property its territory would not be crossed by railroads now and its rivers would not be navigated. … The application of science to agriculture led to the recognition of the importance of preserving large property, because new processes which came to substitute primitive labor depend on large capital and intelligent management, which are unreachable to small enterprises.[176]

A wage system emerged on the fazendas. The care of a certain number of coffee trees through the annual cycle accounted for one-half to two-thirds of a workers' payment, and included weeding, replanting, preparing for harvest, and cleaning up after it. The harvest,

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[173] Cristiano da Luz, speech at the Chamber of Deputies, August 27, 1888, *Annaes do Parlamento Brazileiro, Camara dos Deputados, Terceira Sessão da Vigésima Legislatura, de 3 de Agosto a 1 de Setembro de 1888*, Volume IV (Rio de Janeiro: Imprensa Nacional, 1888), 321.

[174] *The Rio News*, January 24, 1888.

[175] *The Rio News*, August 24, 1888.

[176] *Relatório Apresentado à Assembléa Legislativa Provincial de São Paulo pelo Presidente da Província Barão do Parnahyba no Dia 17 de Janeiro de 1887* (São Paulo: Jorge Seckler & Comp., 1887), 120.

which required intensive labor and extended from May to August, paid a fixed sum for each alqueire of coffee picked. Occasional day labor for the fazendeiro in processing or transporting coffee and other odd jobs were less frequent, but could supplement the income. The workers received free housing in villages within the fazendas which were called colonias. Most workers were allowed to produce some food on provision grounds, a job that usually fell on women and took place outside harvest season.[177]

As much as Lamoureux objected to the means and ends of the fazendeiros, he could not deny that they would gain much by the new system. Like all other free labor promoters, he believed that "experience has proved over and over again that slave labor is the most expensive in world; and we are likely to see this proof capitally shown by the increase of agricultural production in S. Paulo, while Rio de Janeiro, completely controlled by the slaveholding influence, falls back day by day, until it has become almost a question of existence."[178] Lamoureux lamented that the planters of the Paraíba Valley could not see the writing on the wall. Meanwhile, the Oeste Paulista advanced on the basis of free labor.

> A steady stream of immigrants has been pouring into S. Paulo, the slaves have been liberated by hundreds and thousands, the coffee plantations are being largely and rapidly extended, the railways are prospering, new industries are springing up, the towns and cities of the province are increasing in population and trade, the freedmen—to everybody's surprise—are settling down contentedly on the plantations to the life of free, paid laborers, and everywhere are seen the signs of enterprise and prosperity.[179]

With such a system up and running, most fazendeiros welcomed emancipation. In March 1888, Cotegipe fell from power. With the support of Prado, who became Minister of Foreign Affairs, the new Cabinet and the Parliament took the definitive step. On May 13, 1888, Princess Regent Isabel—Dom Pedro was abroad, in Europe—signed the Golden Law freeing all Brazilian slaves unconditionally and without compensation. Blissful, Lamoureux

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[177] Holloway, *Immigrants on the Land*, 70-110.
[178] *The Rio News*, November 5, 1887.
[179] *The Rio News*, March 15, 1888.

wrote that "the work thus so happily accomplished on the 13th instant, was pre-eminently popular in character, and was forced to its conclusion by popular movements and influences." He thanked Bento, "the John Brown of Brazilian emancipation," and Prado, "a warm advocate of the substitution of free for slave labor."[180]

A Braver New World

As usual, change made discontents. Two ex-Confederates, James Ox Warne and John Jackson Clink, were responsible for turning lynching into a tool for the defense of slavery in São Paulo. In February 1888, they urged planters in the township of Penha do Rio do Peixe, fifty miles from Santa Bárbara, to take revenge on the local police chief, who had refused to act as a slave catcher. A mob broke into the police chief's house with the excuse that a runaway had been hiding there and assassinated him. Lamoureux could not hide his loathing.

> Two of the principal men in the crime are Americans, formerly of the Confederate Army, by name Dr. James O. Warne and John J. Klink, who incited the Brazilian planters to the deed by telling them they "had only cockroach blood," and that a revolution would have occurred before this in any other country. As these fire-eaters are naturalized Brazilians they will get no aid and sympathy from their own countrymen, who have seen enough bloodshed over the infamous institution of slavery.[181]

After condemning the act, Lamoureux reflected that it had contributed to clinching the question of emancipation in the Oeste Paulista. "From that moment," he wrote in July 1888, "the fate of slavery in S. Paulo was sealed. The sympathies of moderate men everywhere were irretrievably lost, and the government found it impossible to stem the tide of popular indignation against the authors and abettors of so monstrous a crime."[182]

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[180] *The Rio News*, May 15, 1888.
[181] *The Rio News*, February 24, 1888.
[182] *The Rio News*, July 15, 1888.

Not all ex-Confederates responded violently to the coming of emancipation in Brazil, but few were happy. Already by the early 1880s, James McFadden Gaston, then a famous surgeon in Campinas, had become terrified with "the evident tendency toward a revolution in Brazil." As abolitionism developed into a mass movement, Gaston feared that slave rebellion would threaten white people's lives in the Oeste Paulista. He "could not see that the Brazilian government would take the wise course of paying owners for their slaves and by using this means of freeing the negroes avoid civil war." Fearing another conflict of the magnitude of the American Civil War, Gaston had made up his mind. "It is to be hoped that they will stave off the issue [of emancipation]," he wrote to a relative in early 1883, "until we can get out of the country, which I am expecting to realize in March or April at the farthest."[183] Before the end of that year, Gaston returned to the United States. With the money and experience he had gathered in the Oeste Paulista, he opened a clinic in Atlanta.

In 1885, another ex-Confederate, George Matthews, made his way back. Norris, who had always been critical of Matthews, condemned his decision to leave Santa Bárbara. In regard to a neighbor who had left with Matthews, Norris wrote to his son that "he is not making anything in Florida. The last word I said to him when he left was 'show yourself a man,' you know what that means, I fear he did not. No man that is easily guided by others can ever make a man of himself."[184] Broke and displaced in Florida, Jane Matthews looked at her husband and realized that "he is still dissatisfied though, and says he intends going somewhere else when he sells his land here." But, she clarified, "we never had the least idea or wish to go back [to Brazil]."[185]

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[183] James McFadden Gaston Jr., "A Pathfinder of Yesterday: James McFadden Gaston, Patriot, Explorer, Scientist," James McFadden Gaston Papers, Subseries 2, Folder 19, SHC-CP.
[184] William Hutchinson Norris to Francis Johnson Norris, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, January 13-14, 1887, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[185] Jane Matthews to Imo, Santos, Florida, October 21, 1885, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.

Too proud to return, Norris preferred to face hardship in Brazil than give up his dream of patriarchy in the United States. When slave emancipation finally came, however, he reconsidered his situation. Writing a letter twelve days after the Golden Law had been signed, Norris cried that "this is the gloomiest period of my life." His dream of patriarchy, it became clear then, had always been connected to slavery. "I am nearly 88 years of age," he continued commiserating, "and not able to perform any labor and by the laws of Brazil all our Negroes are free, and I have no labor to make or attend to my farm. … What will become of my dependent children and grandchildren, I do not know, but I will not fret about it." In spite of his bravado, Norris could not help but fret: "I do not believe any man can farm here with free negro labor and make any money. I will not attempt it. I must try to make provision to live on. This whole country is in a demoralized condition."[186] Norris, who had already lived through a process of emancipation in his native country, had to suffer another one in his adopted land. He nonetheless remained in Santa Bárbara until he died in 1893.

From a completely different standpoint, Lamoureux and Rebouças also showed their discontentment with the postemancipation order. Fighting for land reform, they exposed the problem of proletarianization in São Paulo. Lamoureux pointed to the conditions at the immigrant hostel: "The poor over-crowded wretches are clamoring to be sent to the plantations of the interior, but as the demand for laborers has come to an end, they have been kept in the station at São Paulo, in the heat and discomfort of an over-crowded building."[187] The fazendeiros had formed a reserve army of labor which they could exploit at will. Rebouças, who had sung the praises of free labor after visiting the United States in the

[186] William H. Norris to Francis, Sitio New Alabama, Province of São Paulo, May 25, 1888, William H. Norris Family Papers, LPR191, ADAH.
[187] *Rio News*, January 28, 1889.

1870s, quickly became disappointed by what he saw in Brazil. "The province of S. Paulo is already saturated with laborers," he explained. "As great as the planters' resources are in that extraordinary region, it is necessary to confess that 150,000 immigrants, introduced from 1886 to 1888, have already produced a plethora of rural wage earners."[188]

It did not take long for working-class discontentment to surface. But the fazendeiros had the authorities on their side. As soon as immigrants spoke out at a Campinas plantation, in August 1889, a police force of thirty men was sent to brutally suppress discontentment. "A conflict ensued," Lamoureux accused, "which resulted in the killing of one and the wounding of three Italians."[189] And the immigrants were not the only victims. That same month, a police force marched to the township of Boituva, forty miles west of Itu, where freedpeople had settled in an abandoned farm. At the order of a local fazendeiro, the policemen kicked them out, killing two and wounding three. The authorities subsequently burned the houses and destroyed provisions. Five days later, the police assassinated eight ex-slaves twenty miles from there, in Tatuí. Rebouças was outraged: "It has been reported that on arrival they killed a couple of blacks and shot many others who, later, were found dead. Among the victims there are two children who were burned inside a barn!!!"[190] To Rebouças's and Lamoureux's despair, similar episodes became part of poor people's daily life in Brazil.

However disgruntled, Rebouças and Lamoureux admitted that the new system had maximized the potential of the coffee economy. In July 1888, Rebouças pointed out that "the numbers of the coffee trade surpass in millions those of 1887." Even the Paraíba Valley

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[188] André Pinto Rebouças, Alfredo d'Escragnolle Taunay, Carlos A. Raynsford, Wenceslau de Souza Guimarães, Henrique David de Sanson, and Luiz A. de Magalhães, "Difficuldades na Immigração," *A Immigração*, February 1889.
[189] *The Rio News*, August 26, 1889.
[190] André Pinto Rebouças, "Imposto Rural," *Revista de Engenharia*, September 14, 1889.

was transformed: "The Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, the export route of the proslavery region of the Empire, has not enough wagons or warehouses to keep up with the extraordinary coffee harvest."[191] In São Paulo, the Paulista Railroad reported in April 1889 that "not only was the passenger movement largely increased over the preceding year, which is proof of business activity and the possession of a fair amount of ready cash among the people, but the freight traffic, both in imports and exports, was also very largely expanded." Far from hurting the Oeste Paulista, emancipation had revitalized it. "The planter has had his new difficulties to contend with of course," Lamoureux observed, "but if the free laborer has increased trade in manufactured and other goods, and has added so considerably to the traffic of the railways—and all this without decreasing the exportable products of the country—then the general result must be considered good."[192]

American observers rejoiced to hear the news. As early as January 1888, Burns was predicting that slave emancipation in Brazil would cause no coffee famine. On the contrary, coffee production was expanding as the fazendeiros were taking the final step to fully rationalize production. Burns set his eyes on the transformation of the Oeste Paulista.

> In 1879, Dr. Martinho Prado [Junior] purchased land in the then almost unknown district of Ribeirao Preto for a coffee plantation. The land had a few coffee trees, but it was twenty leagues from the railway, and its resources were untried. He at once began clearing the land, procuring free labor for the service. Now eight years only have elapsed, and with the following results: A railway has reached that locality; the plantation possesses about 500,000 bearing trees, and a large number of new trees and the present coffee crop is estimated at from 60,000 to 70,000 arrobas. The same plantation, called "Albertina," has a capacity for about 600,000 trees more, and the same proprietor is now opening up another great plantation on the Mogy Guassu, near the station of Martinho Prado, on which it is expected that trees will be planted in the next two years.[193]

Lamoureux's countrymen did not share his criticism of the fazendeiros. Much to the contrary. Less than a week after Princess Isabel signed the Golden Law, a Minnesota

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[191] André Pinto Rebouças, "Pequena Propriedade VII," *Cidade do Rio*, July 7, 1888.
[192] *The Rio News*, April 15, 1889.
[193] "Coffee Cultivation," *The Spice Mill*, January 1888.

newspaper reported that "the Empire of Brazil has been fortunate in extinguishing the institution of slavery by peaceful methods and without disturbing the business condition of the empire." The *St. Paul Daily* applauded the fazendeiros, who, long since, "realizing that it was only a question of time when the institution of slavery would entirely disappear, at once began to set their houses in order for the change that was inevitable, and thus helped to speed it along. Last year a number of the largest slave owners in the Empire, including Minister [Antonio da Silva] Prado, manumitted their slaves." Although Brazilian emancipation had been unconditional, production was not suffering as "the coffee planters had already provided for the introduction of imported labor in sufficient numbers to take the place of the negroes who were expected to quit work when their freedom was gained."[194]

For American commentators, the heroes of emancipation in Brazil were neither Rebouças nor Nabuco, let alone Bento or the fugitive slaves. On June 30, the Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean* published a portrait of Prado, and placed him on center stage.

> Antonio da Silva Prado, Senator of the Empire from Sao Paulo, retired from the late Ministry in the spring of 1887 because his associates in the government would not second his proposal to hasten emancipation. He began agitating for immediate abolition in the province of Sao Paulo. The movement began by Antonio da Silva [Prado], his brother [Martinho Prado Junior], and a few neighboring planters setting free their slaves and making contracts with them as freemen. Among the largest coffee-planters in the province, the Prados and their neighbors saved their crop more successfully and economically than they had ever been able to do with slaves. Their example was contagious. The movement for immediate emancipation ran over the province as waves of religious excitement sometimes sweep over communities. During the fall of 1887 and the spring of 1888 more than one hundred thousand slaves were set free. … It was evident to every one that the movement for immediate abolition was irresistible, and that Parliament, which met early in May, would pass, almost without discussion, an unconditional act of emancipation.[195]

However tendentious, such a description exposed the awe with which Americans received the news of a group of slaveholders who had willingly transformed their class. Even observers from the Old South lauded the fazendeiros. In January 1889, the *Macon Telegraph*

[194] "Brazilian Emancipation," *St. Paul Daily Globe*, May 19, 1888.
[195] "Brazilian Statesmen," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, June 30, 1888.

reported that "the large crop of 8,000,000 bags of coffee has been secured, the freedmen working, it is true, a little sluggishly and picking negligently, many of them, yet the work has been performed." As an antidote to the (supposed) sluggishness of the ex-slaves, the shrewd fazendeiros had taken measures to "procure immigrants from Europe by the hundreds of thousands, and since August last Italian laborers are pouring into Brazil." The Georgia newspaper concluded that "the planters thus fully gain their point; whether the former slaves work with a will or not, they will have no lack of white labor as good or even more reliable."[196]

Reflecting on the broader meaning of slave emancipation, the Chicago *Daily Inter Ocean* indicated that "much the greater proportion of the coffee and sugar of the world now is grown by free labor, and it is beyond question that the production of these articles has increased vastly and their quality undergone improvement since the time, still within the memory of men who are not very old, when they were all but entirely the products of slave labor." The defenders of slavery had been wrong in relation to sugar in the Caribbean, cotton in the American South, and were now completely disproved by coffee in Brazil: "Already the tide of immigration is flowing with a hitherto unknown strength toward the free Empire. Foreign capital is seeking investment there. Machinery and enterprise are taking the formerly slave-cursed acres for their own. The empire which Dom Pedro transmits to his heirs will be more prosperous than that which he inherited."[197] In short, Brazilian emancipation had vindicated the free labor promoters.

The successful transition from slave to free labor in Brazil had been so momentous that the American Republican Party celebrated it in the platform for the 1888 presidential

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[196] "Brazil," *The Macon Telegraph*, January 7, 1889.
[197] "A False Prophet," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 21, 1889.

election. After evoking the names of Lincoln and Grant, the Republicans praised their Brazilian friends: "In the spirit of those great leaders and of our own devotion to human liberty, and with that hostility to all forms of despotism and oppression which is the fundamental idea of the Republican Party, we send fraternal congratulations to our fellow Americans of Brazil upon their great act of emancipation, which completed the abolition of slavery throughout the two American continents."[198]

The effort to promote free labor in the age of emancipation had been a well-planned collaboration connecting Brazil to the United States. It had emerged during the secession crisis, grown during the American Civil War, strengthened after the Emancipation Proclamation and the Law of the Free Womb, consolidated as Americans migrated to Brazil and Brazilians explored the United States, and triumphed in 1888. In both countries, the privileged classes gained much with the triumph of free labor: more railroads, more machines, more coffee, more cotton, more everything. In both countries, the working class, now free from human masters but bound to poverty, had no choice but continue to struggle.

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[198] "The Platform," *The Daily Inter Ocean*, July 02, 1888.

EPILOGUE

One year and a half after Princess Isabel signed the Golden Law, a coalition of generals, planters, and urban professionals overthrew the monarchy and established a republican regime in Brazil. Joaquim Nabuco immediately joined the ranks of the dissatisfied as the militarization of politics and the newfound power of money displeased his aristocratic sensibilities. But, as time wore on, he changed his mind and became a faithful servant of the republican government. From 1905 to 1910, Nabuco served as Brazilian Ambassador in Washington, D.C. In 1908, two decades after the Golden Law, he lectured at the University of Wisconsin. He did not talk about Brazil, however. The title of his presentation was "The Share of America in Civilization." In dialogue with authors such as W. T. Stead, who had published *The Americanization of the World: Or, The Trend of the Twentieth Century* six years earlier, Nabuco sought to explain what was the distinctive contribution of the United States to the modern world.

A system of spontaneous immigration, Nabuco told the audience in Wisconsin, was the quintessentially American innovation. In his words, "choosing one's own country is a right that would not be generally acknowledged before this country created it and made it acceptable to the world." Nabuco's abolitionist background came to the fore as he remarked that immigration was the antithesis of slavery: "Before the American spirit started immigration, the greatest human migration was the slave-trade, the covering of America by man-stealth with African slaves. The contrast between immigration and the slave-trade is enough to show what a regenerating part the American spirit has had in the march of civilization."[1]

[1] Joaquim Nabuco, "The Share of America in Civilization," *The American Historical Review* 15:1 (Oct. 1909): 57.

Although Europe did not admit human bondage in its own national territories, Nabuco proceeded, "slavery was her colonial policy; in the New World slavery marked the period of European colonization and continued as a legacy from the colonial times after the Independence." Nabuco acknowledged that the British had started the campaign against the slave trade. Yet they had failed to offer an adequate replacement for it. For Nabuco, "what killed the slave-trade and slavery was immigration." While slavery persisted in the southern states of the United States, the Yankee spirit perfected the system that eventually rendered slave labor obsolete. Civilization advanced because American society created a form of recruiting laborers much more efficient and humane than the slave trade. Therefore, Nabuco reiterated, "immigration, not slavery, represents the true American sap."[2]

The revolutionary force of spontaneous migration not only defeated slavery in North America but also transformed Europe. As Nabuco put it, the attraction of the United States "broke in Europe the old stratifications; created centrifugal forces. … It destroyed what remained of a dungeon-like character in the old national barriers, by making country a wholly voluntary allegiance; in a word, it upset forever the foundations of despotism, of practical serfdom, by rendering the people everywhere free to move away from it." Echoing some optimistic modernizers, Nabuco claimed that immigration bred cosmopolitanism. And he thanked the United States for it: "I consider immigration the greatest force in modern civilization, and there is no doubt that it is an American force."[3]

However fascinated by the openness of American society to newcomers, Nabuco rejected the naïve view of the United States as an egalitarian republic of smallholders and shopkeepers, where everyone had equal chances to succeed. He knew quite well that the

[2] Nabuco, "The Share of America in Civilization," 57.
[3] Nabuco, "The Share of America in Civilization," 58.

opening of the twentieth century marked a new era. He knew that the American dream had changed character.

> The idea of civilization has been up till now associated with individual initiative; in landed property, with the system of small estates, more than with the *latifundia*; in trade and industry, more with competition than with concentration. But there is evidently now in progress an evolution, in the sense of unification, that can be called American. Great nationalities, cosmopolitan trains, fast boats, aeroplanes, cables, wireless telegraph, Hague Conferences, all seem to announce that the new tendency of mankind, in every direction, is the "merger." In theory, centralization seems to assure the better service of so many millions of people, just as the cold storage assures their better feeding, by saving incalculable quantities of food which formerly would decay in the same day; but there are too many points to be considered in centralization, political and social, and only experience will shed any light over them. For the moment no one can say whether the new American political economy is or is not one of the great contributions of this country to civilization.[4]

Nabuco was unsure about what concentration of capital and political centralization would do to the modern world. But he was confident that the United States would play a central role in a global civilization of large-scale industry, powerful corporations, shortening distances, expanding empires, and constant scientific innovation. After all, he saw these changes as consequences of the Americanization of the world.

Seven years after Nabuco gave his lecture at the University of Wisconsin, George Scarborough Barnsley wrote about his own experience. Unlike most migrants of that time, he had left the United States. And he did it twice. After serving as assistant surgeon at the Eighth Regiment of the Georgia Confederate Cavalry during the American Civil War, Barnsley migrated to Brazil. He had frustrating experiences trying to cultivate cotton and eventually became a country doctor in the province of São Paulo. The routine of going from one fazenda to the next treating the fazendeiros and their dependents was exhausting and poorly remunerated.

Following some of his countrymen, who decided to return to the American South after slavery ended in Brazil, Barnsley tried a new beginning. But what he found in his native

[4] Nabuco, "The Share of America in Civilization," 62.

land disappointed him: "The trees seemed so much smaller apparently; through East Tennessee the country looked so desolate, and woebegone, while the railroad depots were mere shacks to ours in Brazil, which most always have a small flower garden, some trees or vines, an earthen jar or pot with good water to drink. My old home was as beautiful as ever, but it too looked shriveled up somehow." While living in Georgia, Barnsley was criminally charged for sharing his wine with a neighbor and fishing on Sundays. "The impression took hold of me," a weary Barnsley concluded, "that I had gotten into a country where people were prejudiced, narrow-minded, and selfish. I was glad to get back to Brazil where I could do as I pleased and [had] perfect freedom to think as it suited me."[5]

By the 1900s, Barnsley had moved back to Brazil and established a clinic on the outskirts of São Paulo City. Much had changed since Barnsley and his compatriots had first arrived. São Paulo City, which had less than thirty thousand inhabitants in the 1860s, had grown to nearly three hundred thousand people. All kinds of manufactures were at work in the new metropolis, "from glass tumblers and bottles etc. to mending an electrical motor. There are thousands of factory people and mechanics." Paved streets, streetcars, beautiful houses, and large flower gardens made daily life very pleasant for Barnsley. "If you have money in your pocket," he added, "you can buy pianos, pianolas, automobiles, Edison gramophones, and all kinds of machinery etc. If you have only moderate sums to spend there are the numerous cinematographs, theaters, musical concerts, galleries, football, ping-pong, four o'clock teas, regattas on the Tiete [River] or Santos, public and private parks, reading rooms with current literature in many languages."[6]

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[5] George Scarborough Barnsley, "Original of Reply to a Circular asking for Information of the ex-Confederates Emigrants, April 1915," George Scarborough Barnsley Papers, Subseries 3.1, Folder 25, Volume 6, SHC-CH.
[6] Barnsley, "Original of Reply to a Circular asking for Information of the ex-Confederates Emigrants."

The signs of an improving civilization were not restricted to the capital of the state, however. "This same change," Barnsley continued, "which in [the] last 25 years had been made [in the capital], has taken hold in the interior towns and villages wherever in contact with the railroad." The wealth of São Paulo was based on a modern economic complex extending deep into the hinterland.

> What was when we came a virgin forest, with savage indians, only partially known, is now dotted with populous thriving towns and cities, covered with a sea of coffee baring trees. Electricity is used for lighting towns, transportation, and power for manufactories, mills. Great cotton weaving factories are at work all over the state, railroads are made [in] every direction, and on the main are Pullman car etc. … The State which once imported rice from U.S. and India – now exports. The banana business is growing up to be a competitor of cotton and sugar. Fruits and vegetables of all kinds, of temperate and tropic climates, are in the markets all the year round. Scientific fishing on the coast furnishes great quantities of delicious fish, brought on ice or refrigerated air cars from Santos.

Barnsley looked around and saw that "all vestiges of old slavery times are gone, even to most of the negroes." Moreover, Italian immigrants offered a valuable contribution to the development of São Paulo. "The great changes in architecture, horticulture, vegetable and fruit culture, manufactures," were all encouraged by the newcomers., according to Barnsley "The foregoing," he wrapped up his description of his adopted homeland, "will enable to get at an opinion of the changes since the Republic got into existence, and the slavery [question was] settled forever."[7] Brazil too had entered the modern age.

Different backgrounds and life experiences notwithstanding, neither Nabuco nor Barnsley had difficulty in understanding what free labor had accomplished. Once the two largest slave societies in the western world, Brazil and the United States thrived after slavery was gone. By the early twentieth century, as the Old World plunged into a catastrophic war, the United States was about to become the richest and most powerful nation in history.

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[7] Barnsley, "Original of Reply to a Circular asking for Information of the ex-Confederates Emigrants."

Although far from American standards, Brazil—and especially the state of São Paulo—would soon boast the most advanced economy south of the equator.

In addition to transforming each one of these two nations, free labor had brought them together. In their relationship with Brazil, American free labor promoters were able to refashion their national image, at once vindicating the labor system triumphant after the Civil War and posing as an alternative to European empires. By engaging with the United States, Brazilian free labor promoters attracted capital and expertise to Brazil, which played a crucial role in modernizing the Brazilian economy. By the early twentieth century, the alliance that free labor promoters had forged between these two countries turned into profitable commercial ties as well as a stable diplomatic partnership. Americans and Brazilians had come a long way since the 1840s, when questions pertaining to the reproduction and expansion of slavery created thorny conflicts between them.

In spite of all changes, by the early twentieth century, the legacies of slavery were still vivid in the United States and Brazil. As hard as patriotic ideologues tried to exclude the problem from public debates, black intellectuals such as Machado de Assis and W. E. B. Du Bois made sure that the history of slavery continued to be discussed, influencing generations of students of these two countries. Moreover, in the countryside as well as the cities of Brazil and the United States, people of African descent continued to struggle for civil rights and decent conditions of life. They knew all too well that, although free labor had triumphed, racism and inequality persisted.

Nevertheless, chattel slavery as a social system was dead and gone in both countries. A new era opened for Brazil and the United States as massive contingents of people were set free and, at the same time, were kept destitute by those who concentrated capital and political power. Simultaneously, millions of human beings were leaving the Old World in

search for better opportunities or just survival. Of all nations in the New World, Brazil and the United States became their preferred destinations.

This was the era of "great nationalities, cosmopolitan trains, fast boats, aeroplanes, cables, wireless telegraph, Hague Conferences," which fascinated Nabuco. This was the era of "pianos, pianolas, automobiles, Edison gramophones, and all kinds of machinery," which mesmerized Barnsley. This brave new world had very little to do with the world of masters and slaves of the antebellum American South or monarchical Brazil. This new order would create its own challenges: total wars, hypernationalism, refugee crises, overproduction, explosive population growth, rural flight, consumerism, environmental degradation, among other things. These problems remain with us today because we still live in the world that free labor made.

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