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Dale Torston Graden, *From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900*

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Franco's book, yet he avoids delving into that important moment to explore the politics of identity and historical memory.

Ultimately, only two of the five chapters of this book deal directly with the so-called Aponte Rebellion. An initial general "background" chapter dealing with the transition to plantation society is, as usual, anchored on a Havana-centered archive and historiography, despite the fact that some of the events unfolded in the center and eastern regions. Two other chapters meant to flesh out social context focus on the institution of the militias and, more remarkably, on the still understudied *cabildos de nación*. These chapters constitute important entry points for future social and cultural histories. Given the importance that the author assigns to these institutions for networking (and conspiring), what happened to them in the aftermath of the repression? Finally, the book inexplicably lacks a chronology of events, and bibliographic references sometimes seem erratic.

Overall, Childs should be praised for redirecting the "Aponte Rebellion" into the general literature of African diaspora studies, but research into the still understudied local and Spanish Atlantic contexts of the time (including the Haitian, Dominican, and Spanish-American emigrations to the island, and the politics of the Cortes de Cádiz in Cuba) should not be overlooked. On the contrary, such research would provide an even richer ground for this and other African diaspora stories unfolding in the Atlantic world in the Age of Revolutions.

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From Slavery to Freedom in Brazil: Bahia, 1835-1900. By Dale Torston Graden. (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. xxvii + 297 pp. Illustrations, maps, tables, graph, glossary, archives, notes, index. \$24.95 paper).

Slavery and abolition are undeniably among the most important subjects of Brazilian historical studies. The history of slavery in Brazil dates to the early colonial period in the sixteenth century, while the abolition of slavery belongs largely to the period of the Brazilian Empire (1822-1889). As is well known, Brazil abolished slavery in 1888 and was the last western hemisphere nation to do so. Slavery and abolition during the Empire are intimately linked to national unity, and to the economic, political, and social history of the Empire. The present-day demands of Brazilians of color for greater social and economic inclusion almost certainly guarantee that the subjects of slavery and abolition will continue in the forefront of Brazilian historical studies.

The book under review focuses on aspects of the complex story of abolition, with special attention given to Bahia. The author, Dale Torston Graden, belongs to a group of revisionist historians who have been hard at work redirecting discussion of slavery and abolition away from elite actors—especially political actors—to the slaves themselves, who, in collaboration with free people of color (some of whom had been slaves) and certain allies found in elite groups, were able to forge a nation-wide movement of dissent and resistance to slavery that was fundamental to ending it. In this interpretation, the slaves themselves became the protagonists of their own liberation through acts of rebellion, resistance, flight to *quilombos* (fugitive slave communities), and also (this is emphasized by revisionists) because they succeeded in instilling fear in the minds of slave owners and authorities. For example, this fear is said to be one important reason for the 1850 Eusébio de Queiroz law that finally ended Brazilian participation in the international slave trade. Revisionists look at the enormous number of Africans brought to Brazil during the two decades leading up to the 1850 law, and see them as too numerous for the comfort of the free population and too ready to resist slavery. This is one example of how revisionists have forced reconsideration of the long established interpretation that mostly credits British pressure on Brazil for forcing passage of this famous law.

While this revisionist scholarship has been subject to criticism, mostly on the grounds that its claims are sometimes greater than the supporting evidence, it has definite strengths. Graden's research has focused on Bahia, which, along with Rio de Janeiro, was the principal port of entry for slaves for centuries. Bahia, however, has a special place in the production of Afro-Brazilian culture denied to Rio, and, some would argue, in the production of Brazilian culture. Furthermore, the book shows that Bahia was second to no province in forcing Brazil to take the road to abolition. In the years after 1850 until the establishment of a republic in 1889, Bahia provided leading figures associated with the making of abolition laws in the Brazilian parliament, or the legitimizing of abolition outside of parliament. The author is particularly interested in the latter and provides good discussions of the abolitionist contributions of individuals such as Bahian poet Castro Alves and the poet-lawyer Luís Gama, both famous in their lifetimes and since. Attention is also given to the less-well-known abolitionist journalist and playwright Eduardo Carigé, whose influence looms large in the book. Such individuals had provincial Bahian, but also national impact, as abolitionists.

Graden searches diligently for evidence of slave resistance, rebellion, and flight decade by decade and year by year. However, there are various abolitionist story lines. They are complex, varied, still incomplete, and filled with thorny issues. To begin, the sorting out of who did what has involved identifying and keeping track of slave or free African-born people who are fitted into a category different from slave or free Brazilian-born people of color. The effort to identify, and to mix and match categories of people based on criteria of color, legal status (slave or free), and culture (African or Afro-

Brazilian), can be difficult for both researchers and readers but, if done correctly, can be rewarding. An example is the chapter on Bahian *candomblé terreiros*, which were community centers for practice of African religion. Authorities frequently repressed *candomblé* centers because they saw them as subversive, or culturally threatening. How do they fit into the story of freedom, and how are they viewed by people of color born in Brazil? The outspoken abolitionist newspaper *O Alabama* was edited by a black journalist, but *O Alabama* attacked *candomblé* practice as "uncivilized" and "lascivious." Graden, however, provides a picture of *candomblé* centers as bringing together and contributing to overcoming longstanding differences separating Africans, slave and free, from native Brazilians of color, slave and free. He further deduces that these centers must have contributed to the cause of abolition. Use of some supporting evidence can be questioned, but the subject is surely worth pursuing.

The book includes a chapter on the aftermath to abolition. Among other things, it reinforces the view that little in the way of organized help was extended to freed persons after 1888. The author finds that one school opened in Salvador, a sorry contrast to the work of the Freedmen's Bureau in the United States that between 1865 and 1870 helped to set up more than 4,000 schools for former slaves. Can more in the way of organized help extended to former slaves be discovered in Bahia? With enough research, perhaps more will be found, and then the challenge will be to judge its social significance.

The book under review is the outgrowth of more than a decade of research and publication. It stands as an important contribution to a growing body of revisionist historical scholarship of which the author is a leading representative. Copious notes attest to the depth and extent of modern and contemporary historical scholarship of slavery and abolition in Brazil, and to the abundance of new Brazilian scholarship. There is also good use of archival sources.

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