

# The Call to Arms: Nabuco's Radicalized Abolitionism of 1885-1886<sup>1</sup>

*O chamado às armas: o abolicionismo radical de Nabuco em 1885-1886*

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## RESUMO

O papel de Nabuco no movimento abolicionista tem sido caracterizado de diferentes maneiras, em relação tanto às suas próprias visões políticas quanto ao seu significado no processo que levou ao fim da escravidão em 1888. Pesquisas sugerem que tanto as visões de Nabuco quanto o seu significado mudaram no contexto contingente da trajetória histórica do movimento. Uma das conjunturas mais críticas que demonstraram isso foi o ano transformador de 1885, em que o artigo se concentra. Conforme se demonstrará, a campanha abolicionista de pressão pública, iniciada por Nabuco e seus aliados naquele ano, mobilizaram um movimento nas ruas e nos campos que, por sua vez, remontariam à imprensa e ao parlamento para reverter a política da Coroa e forçar um fim legal à escravidão.

Palavras-chave: movimento abolicionista; Joaquim Nabuco; política parlamentar.

## ABSTRACT

Nabuco's role in the Abolitionist movement has been characterized in different ways, both in regard to his own political views and in regard to his significance in the process that led to slavery's end in 1888. Research suggests that both Nabuco's views and his significance changed within the contingent context of the historical path of the movement. One of the most critical conjunctures demonstrating this is the transformational year of 1885, upon which this article focuses. As will be shown, the Abolitionist campaign of public pressure, initiated by Nabuco and his allies that year, mobilized a movement in the streets and in the fields which, in turn, would reach back through press and parliament to reverse crown policy and compel a legal end to slavery.

Keywords: Abolitionist movement; Joaquim Nabuco; parliamentary politics.

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## THE CONTEXT OF 1885

Nabuco's role in the Abolitionist movement has been characterized in different ways, both in regard to his own political views and in regard to his significance in the process that ended slavery in Brazil. As common sense would suggest, preliminary research in the primary-source evidence suggests that both Nabuco's views and his significance changed within the contingent context of the historical path of the movement. One of the most critical conjunctures demonstrating this is the transformational year of 1885, upon which this presentation focuses.<sup>2</sup>

Something of the movement's political nature, context, and history up to that point must necessarily be recalled. Particularly given the recent trends towards vindication of the role of the captives themselves, it cannot be emphasized enough that this was a political movement, involving all classes, and one which was initiated and ended within a parliamentary context of cabinet administration, chamber debate, and legislation. The popular movement, in which the critical role of the slaves must be understood, was explicitly addressed towards a law ending slavery, passed within the formal institutions of a constitutional monarchy, and it was a movement that began in support of parliamentary speeches which raised the need for abolitionist reform in 1879, the more critical of which were those of Nabuco.<sup>3</sup>

Relationships between parliamentary figures, the press, and the street were not new in imperial history, but, by 1880, they had taken on new qualities. While in the past, parliamentary movements had used popular mobilization to press cabinets, the cities now, particularly Rio, had a distinct potential. As early as 1860, the Liberal successes in urban areas had made clear the relative independence of a growing urban middle class. By 1880, there was a range of wage-earning urban public which was alienated and willing to act, driven by the difficulties of a problematic economy and an apparently unresponsive political elite. This is indicated by the ephemeral but telling movement of the *vinetém* riots in 1880. It is useful to remember that these riots, involving a new tax on street-car users, brought out orators from the Republican party, support from deputies and senators of the reformist fraction of the Liberal party, politicized military officers, and that these mobilized elements in the middle class. It was, in essence, an indication of the potential for a new political urban coalition which would be critical to Abolitionism, although, as

far as one can tell, it still lacked notable representation from the urban working poor. More, in the orators, press, and parliamentary figures, the leadership in these riots and Abolitionism was often the same, most notably Nabuco and José do Patrocínio. Patrocínio was critical in covering and mobilizing the movement in the street, and this, of course, was his distinct role from the beginning to the end of the Abolitionist movement. The Abolitionist movement began, however, with Nabuco. As in the *vintém* riots, his role was that of inspiring orator. It was his speeches, which caught and stimulated wider attention, that began the process of mobilization with press notice in 1879. This, in turn, led to the 1880 formation of Abolitionist organizations among civilians (March, July, September) and army officers (June), as well as the foundation of the *Gazeta da Tarde* (July), the movement's key voice, soon dominated by Patrocínio.<sup>4</sup>

Between 1881 and 1884, one can characterize the movement's path as one of initial radicalization. The complete isolation and defeat of the chamber reformists by 1881 and Nabuco's decision to seek self-exile in London led to the movement's domination by Patrocínio and other urban militants, who deepened their commitment to ending slavery and organizing support by forming more Abolitionist organizations, mobilizing the urban working poor, and allying with, and inspiring, the independent movements in Ceará and São Paulo. As early as May 1883, the movement's organizers (André Rebouças, Patrocínio, João Clapp, and others), responding to a telling shift in cabinet attitudes towards abolitionism, decided to found the Abolitionist Confederation (1883), some also began illegal activity designed to support and shelter fugitive slaves. Nabuco's publication of *Abolicionismo* (Nov. 1883), the best-known indictment of slavery, provided the movement with a cogent analysis of the necessity of abolition and a host of related reforms. By early 1884, Ceará and then Amazonas had carried out provincial abolition. Within four years, the movement's strength had become undeniable. In constant correspondence with Rebouças, Nabuco announced his return in February and arrived in Rio in May.<sup>5</sup>

In June 1884, the emperor, seeking to promote gradualist abolitionism and to contain the popular movement which had pushed more radical solutions forward, brought the Liberal reformist, Manuel Dantas, to power. This may have been the emperor's second attempt to move abolitionism forward.

In 1878, some in the political elite thought that the monarch may well have brought the Liberals back into power (after ten years of political ostracism) in the hope of some progress on abolitionism, to which he was devoted. However, if that was the emperor's motive, he would be disappointed. After all, the majority of the Liberal party represented landholding, slaveholding elements which were aggressively opposed to even the gradualist abolitionism of the "Free Womb Law" of 1871. Thus, after the Liberals' return to power, they had consistently backed prime ministers who ignored the reformist minority on this issue. Now, in 1884, the emperor and the Liberal reformists, provided with the political context of a frightening and successful popular movement, could take up abolitionism, albeit in tamer fashion. They did so in the legislative project Dantas's cabinet put forward, one associated with the idea of the "liberation of the sexagenarians," which proposed freeing captives 60 or older.

The historical significance of the project was its failure. Although the cabinet had the support of the Abolitionist movement in the street and the emperor in council, its project, however toothless it seems to us, was defeated by two successive legislatures. It is critical to point out that each of these legislatures had a Liberal majority. Dantas lost because the Liberal majority was divided, with critical numbers allying with the Conservative minority to vote no confidence. While the reform itself seems outrageously limited nowadays, Abolitionist support was enthusiastic. Abolitionists supported it because it represented two very significant steps forward, both of which were radical within the political context of the time: first, it was associated with a cabinet supporting abolitionism after years of Liberal cabinets' refusal to move forward on the issue; second, the project, by freeing sixty-year-old captives, undercut the fundamental idea that people could be private property, like any other, and, thus, protected from State intervention. In a political regime traditionally dominated by, and representing, slaveholding interests, both were fundamental advances. By the same token, they produced a profound reaction, which bred the votes of no confidence, a reaction partly (and significantly) spurred by false charges that the cabinet could not or would not control movement violence in the streets. While the emperor had publicly and privately indicated his support for the cabinet and the reform, to the point where he had dissolved one legislature and allowed Dantas to oversee the

election of a second, the decision of the second made it clear to the emperor that the political support for the reform simply was not there. This led to the emperor's cautious decision to withdraw his support, and the consequent resignation of Dantas in May 1885.<sup>6</sup>

## NABUCO'S ROLE UNDER DANTAS AND SARAIVA

Nabuco had returned with the tide in 1884, and he had played a very significant role in the public campaign supporting Dantas. Nothing in this was more important than his own electoral campaign to return to the chamber in the elections, alluded to above. These were called in late 1884, after Dantas was first defeated by a chamber vote and quickly won the emperor's support for dissolution and new elections. The analysis of Nabuco's Recife campaign is best told by Celso Castilho's new work on Abolitionism in Recife. However, one must emphasize here that the campaign had a national significance because of Nabuco's recognized national leadership in the movement. Despite his self-imposed exile in Europe, there is no question that Nabuco's allies in Rio recognized and supported this role and the consequent importance of his hotly contested Pernambuco campaign. He had demonstrated, again, his great gifts as a propagandist by his press support for Dantas. More, his provincial campaign provided propaganda successes of its own. His first election's results were hotly contested in Recife, and, eventually, after his seat was officially denied him by his enemies in the chamber (May 1885), he had to wage a second local campaign in an 1885 by-election. Both campaigns furnished useful resonance within the movement, given the controversy surrounding his first campaign, the fraud involved in his denial, and the final 1885 triumph – they all served to mobilize movement and public opinion across the empire. However, the initial contestation of Nabuco's first election results prevented him from supporting Dantas in the chamber in the first half of 1885. It was only after Dantas's fall, in May 1885, that Nabuco, having finally won in his second campaign (June 1885), was allowed to take his seat. The significance of this was augmented by repression of the Abolitionists, on the rise as Dantas's star declined in 1885. Thus, Nabuco's 1885 victory led to the gathering of unprecedented crowds in the streets of Salvador and Rio, attesting to his popular support throughout the region and the nation, and

militants such as Patrocínio worked hard to take advantage of it to mobilize in the street. Once in the chamber itself, Nabuco was a key player in the debates against Dantas's successor, José Antônio Saraiva. Nabuco, then, may have come late, but he was particularly welcome by his allies. For, after Dantas, the Liberal party's majority and the new prime minister had turned on the movement, and Nabuco's gifts as Abolitionism's parliamentary paladin in the opposition were most appreciated.<sup>7</sup>

With Dantas's fall, Saraiva, the most noted political operator among the Liberal chiefs, perverted the Dantas reform into a piece of legislation so favorable to the slaveholding interests that he could both state that he supported reform and that he did so in a way that tranquilized the slaveholders. The tranquility was produced by the super valuation of the slaves' prices, with a small legislated decline year by year. The exaggerated valuation hindered slaves' purchase by Abolitionists; the graduated decline in price (and the little money set aside for purchase by the State) effectively delayed legal emancipation for years. The stipulation that sixty-year-old captives must work an additional three years to compensate their owners for their emancipation reaffirmed the sacred quality of slaveholders' private property. Despite rhetorical protest, even the Conservatives, by and large, voted to support this project. The Abolitionists, with Nabuco at their fore in the chamber and Dantas as their champion in the senate, hotly contested the project. Nonetheless, again, the majority was against the movement, and the majority won; with Conservative support, the perverted reform passed in the chamber (13 August 1885).<sup>8</sup>

Saraiva resigned after this triumph. He understood that it had been possible only because of the support of the Conservative minority; he also understood he could not govern with such unreliable allies and that he could not expect the Senate, under Conservative majority control, to pass the reform while he was prime minister. He, and the rest of the Liberal chieftains, understood that their capacity either to govern or to contain Abolitionism was nil; they were too divided as a party for either. Indeed, after the emperor accepted the resignation, he tried hard to find a Liberal chief willing to govern. Not one thought he could succeed where Saraiva feared defeat. In the end, the monarch was compelled to turn to the Conservatives.<sup>9</sup>

João Alfredo, the heir to the viscount do Rio Branco among the reformists in the Conservative party, had refused to support Dantas on abolition

when pressed by the emperor to do so. He had offered Conservative support for an abolitionist reform, instead. He had strengthened his party's claims in this regard by persuading the party's recognized chief, the baron de Cotegipe, to publicly announce his support for a Conservative abolitionist reform in late 1884. When the Liberals refused to govern, it was thus to Cotegipe that the emperor was forced to turn (20 August 1885). The baron pledged to pass the Saraiva reform in the senate, and he did so (28 September 1885). He then turned his face against any further abolitionist legislation in parliament, asked for and received the dissolution of the Liberal-dominated chamber, set about the election of a Conservative-dominated chamber, and turned his police and secret agents upon the movement, repressing it in town and country.<sup>10</sup>

It was in this context, the 1885 fall of Dantas, the reactionary opportunism of Saraiva, and the ferociously reactionary repression of Cotegipe, that the Abolitionist movement radicalized again. This time, Nabuco remained in Brazil, and became a key actor in that radicalization. It was a process, at times frankly revolutionary, that stretched from mid-1885 through to the beginnings of 1888 and the collapse of Cotegipe's administration and slavery's abolition. Here, we shall focus on Nabuco's role and his perception of that role, taking in 1885 and 1886, when that role effectively took on its definitive shape, leading to the triumphs of 1887 and 1888.<sup>11</sup>

## THE CALL TO ARMS, 1885-1886

In August 1885, with Cotegipe's ascent, Nabuco went into opposition to the cabinet along with most of his party, moderate and reformist alike. The prime minister presented his cabinet and his policies, including the abolitionist project, on 24 August. Nabuco responded immediately, and did so in a way qualitatively different than in previous parliamentary speeches: he condemned not only the Conservatives' ascent, but the monarchy itself. In an era of Abolitionist frustration and rage, an era in which Patrocínio reported the beginning of slave resistance in Campos, in an era in which the street militants talked of revolution, Nabuco's actions may seem tame. However, in a constitutional monarchy in which the decorum of the chamber was carefully observed and in which a direct comment upon the monarch was out of bounds, to condemn the monarchy and the emperor directly was a dramatic

break. More was to follow, as the Liberals lost their majority control of the chamber in the dissolution of 29 September 1885 and the clearly fraudulent elections of January 1886 – which returned an overwhelming Conservative bloc. Nabuco then proceeded to publish radical analyses of the monarch's position, the rout of the Abolitionists, and the electoral machinations of the regime.<sup>12</sup>

These pamphlets marked the emergence of Nabuco's radical transformation, in which he joined his movement in challenging the foundations of the political regime publicly. While others would carry out clandestine, illegal activity aimed at destabilizing slavery in the rural sector, Nabuco sought to destabilize the Conservative cabinet and to compel a radical reversal of crown policy. While he stayed within the limits of the law, he was fully aware of what others were doing and supported it privately. His own value to the movement was as its public champion and he had to stand just short of criminal behavior. Nonetheless, for a person of his background and tradition, it is difficult to overestimate the transformation his actions represented.<sup>13</sup>

Why would Nabuco take such a step? We have traced out the political context just above, and this would be explanation enough. However, there is more to understand; even political men are men. It is noteworthy that there is a clear personal aspect to this new radicalization, and it has to do with more than dashed political hopes. In the 1885 struggles in and out of parliament, Nabuco was also seeking and losing the great love of his youth. It is well known that he had fallen in love with Eufrásia Teixeira Leite while traveling to Europe for the first time in the 1870s. His early proposal of marriage fell afoul of Eufrásia's unwillingness to make a life in Brazil. While Nabuco's engagement with European life and letters was a marked, critical aspect of his life, by family tradition and personal ambition, he was committed to living and making a career in Brazil. Eufrásia, as the sole heiress of one of the noted Teixeira Leite brothers who dominated Vassouras coffee planting, had made a very cultivated life for herself in Paris, where she became adept at investment and the multiplication of her fortune. She had good reasons to refuse a permanent return to Brazil. Still, after the marriage failed to come off, in 1874, they remained in contact. In 1884, at the end of his European exile, they met again, and the relationship took fire. Eufrásia returned to Brazil after Nabuco did, and there, by April 1885, marriage became an issue again.<sup>14</sup>



Matters were terribly complicated by the fact that Eufrása's fortune was based upon slave labor and that her family was traditionally linked to the Conservatives. Indeed, one of her cousins was married to Cotegipe's minister of finance, Francisco Belisário Soares de Sousa, a grandee in the Conservative party by kin and capacity and the most successful finance minister of the era. While Nabuco's father had also married into the planter aristocracy, and was a noted champion of the abolitionist reform of 1871, that marriage had been made when he was part and parcel of the Conservative party, and his later abolitionism was far less threatening than his son's, being gradualist and pursued entirely in the highest circles of the imperial state, with the monarch's explicit support. Nabuco's position was thus quite different, and, in 1885, in the midst of a highly public Abolitionist campaign, he was clearly uncomfortable with the apparent contradiction between his private affections and his public position. Nonetheless, over the course of Eufrása's 1885 Brazilian stay, he pursued the lady with increasing determination. Indeed, in late 1885, towards the end of her visit, he delayed his return to campaign in Recife in the early 1886 election on account of a desire to stay on longer with her. Their relationship became fraught with considerable tension, as they sought to be together, as others intervened, and as politics undercut the idea of their union. Indeed, passionately in love by early December, they were then forced to part. There may have been hope of returning to Europe together after his election; instead, while Nabuco left in mid-December for Recife and fought the electoral campaign, Eufrása was forced, unexpectedly, to return to Europe in late December, earlier than planned, heartbroken, guilty, and desperate.<sup>15</sup>

In the early months of 1886, after Nabuco's electoral defeat in January and his subsequent, dramatic shift into radical opposition, his ardor for Eufrása strengthened, doubtless heated by their painful separation and his embittered solitude. He came to accuse her of abandoning him, and he made it clear that he would not join her in Europe again unless she agreed to marry. Eufrása, however, now refused him. She accepted that Nabuco had to make his career in Brazil; apparently, though, she remained unwilling to join him there. One imagines that, married, she might have felt she had to do so. Instead, she was determined to remain in Europe and dreamt of keeping their relationship as it was; enduring, passionate, but only periodic. Nabuco, having seen the loss of parliamentary reform under the monarch's protection, the

cynical reform of 1885, the triumph of the Conservatives, the loss of his seat in the chamber, and then having thrown himself into the unknown turbulence of radical opposition, needed more. He wanted to have her with him. After months of political conflict, personal anguish and accusations, solitude, and depression, Nabuco could bear it no longer. He broke off the amorous bond with Eufrásia with a strained, formal letter in April 1886, asking to return her letters and asking for his own.<sup>16</sup>

In a phrase, by April 1886, Nabuco had seen his prospects and hopes transformed on all fronts. When he had returned to Brazil in 1884, with the early successes of Abolitionism and, then, the ascent of Dantas, he was the celebrated chieftain of a victorious movement of parliamentary, popular reform that looked likely to triumph under the monarch's protection. He was also passionately involved with a woman he had pursued for years – a lady handsome, cultivated, and wealthy. Between 1885 and 1886, all of that went up in ashes, consumed in the heat and fire of the political struggle to which he had committed.

Nabuco was then between thirty-six and thirty-seven. His father, at that point in his own career, had been married nine years, was a key member of a provincial establishment, a protégé of the Conservatives' chief political strategist, and a figure in that party in his own right. While both father and son had been elected to the chamber at about the age of thirty, by the time the elder Nabuco was forty, he had risen to be a provincial president and, then, a cabinet minister. At forty-four, the elder Nabuco, like his father before him, had ascended to the Senate, the penultimate political honor. Only the Council of State, which he reached at fifty-three, remained. Nabuco's prospects in his late 30s were entirely different. In a world of patronage dominated by the emperor's personal decisions, he had publicly attacked and offended the emperor. In a partisan world dominated by party connections, he had repeatedly spurned and criticized most of the Liberal chieftains. In a political world dominated by slaveholding statesmen committed to protecting the private property of the planters, he had attacked slaveholding, such statesmen, and such an idea of private property. In a social world in which a private income was both necessary and common, and family was central, he had failed to marry the woman he loved, an heiress of great wealth.

The three pamphlets of opposition published in the first months of 1886 were acclaimed by his militant allies, but, after this calculated series of attacks and his failure with Eufrása, Nabuco's own path remained obscure to him. In the letter in which he broke off their amorous relations, he confessed to her that he did not know whether to return to Europe, to Recife, or to stay in Rio. By July 1886, having heard that a position in London was apparently impossible, and knowing that all other doors were closed to him, he took the advice of his Abolitionist allies and accepted a critical appointment to the staff of *O Paíz*, a radical daily associated with both the Republican and Abolitionist movements. There would be no retreat. He would sustain the movement as its chief, critical observer of the political world, hammering away at those in the political elite who had failed reform or fought it, and serving to mobilize public opinion in a period of sustained political repression and radical resistance.<sup>17</sup>

#### THE RADICALIZED STRATEGY OF 1886 AND ITS IMPACT

The strategy of the Abolitionist movement under the Dantas regime was to fight its repression, increase public support, and thus compel the crown and cabinet to reverse policy. The election of early January 1886 had routed Liberals out of the chamber nearly completely and thrown its Abolitionist fraction out entirely. In parliament, then, only the Senate housed Abolitionists or any other appreciable basis for resistance or attack within the traditional circle of the political elite. Dantas became its chief, and used his considerable political skill to mobilize it successfully, as will be seen. In terms of the traditional public political world, only the press remained open to the Abolitionists, and this was galvanized by the *Gazeta da Tarde*, *O Paiz*, and *Cidade do Rio*, with significant support from *The Rio News* and *A Revista Illustrada*. Over time, even the administration subsidized journal of record, the *Jornal do Commercio*, would carry information from the other papers to cover Abolitionist stories. As they had since 1880, the Abolitionists used the press to mobilize public opinion, orchestrate meetings and demonstrations, and carry out other forms of pressure upon the cabinet. Most of the Abolitionist chieftains, founders and members of the Abolitionist Confederation, also increased the clandestine, illegal aspects of the movement. The underground

railroad and the creation of urban fugitive communities increased dramatically. Most important, Abolitionist began to attack the socio-economic basis of slaveholding in the countryside. The *paulista* branch of the movement, under the charismatic leadership of Antonio Bento, extended urban clandestine activities of promoting flight and fugitive committees out to the rural sector itself, beginning a process of mobilizing plantation slaves to flee, offering them shelter and routing to the growing fugitive communities in the city of Sao Paulo and, especially, the port city of Santos. In the Province of Rio de Janeiro, the Abolitionist Carlos Lacerda was heavily involved in rural mobilization and violence in the Campos area, the traditional sugar zone. While in Lacerda's case, his activities led to a cane burning, urban violence and ferocious local and state repression, in Antonio Bento's case the success of his clandestine agents, the *caifas*, began a process of labor destabilization in the economically critical sector of coffee exports.<sup>18</sup>

In effect, Abolitionist tactics in the public political arena of the cities sought to embarrass and weaken the cabinet, to force its resignation. In the clandestine work done in the cities and the countryside, the Abolitionists sought to destabilize the slaveholding regime itself. For the most part, the strategy overall was undertaken to compel reform within the political structure by pressure upon crown and cabinet. The urban work was designed to obstruct the administration through attack, delegitimization, and disorder; the rural work was done to force policy change by making slavery impossible through resistance and flight. There were, of course, republicans (some Positivist, some not) who were interested in Abolition as part of a broad program to modernize Brazil, and they intended to bring down the monarchy itself as part of this. Even prominent leaders among the Abolitionists, Patrocínio and Rebouças, thought a republic would be the inevitable solution. However, as time would show, most of the men who began as Abolitionists placed that cause before all others; the fate of the political regime was secondary – the point was the end of slavery, and the strategy was designed to carry out parliamentary reform, not regime change.<sup>19</sup>

Nabuco, while well aware of the clandestine work, focused upon a radical journalism designed to delegitimize slavery and embarrass the regime. In his diary, he noted his efforts leading to the reform of the *pena de açoites* (the punishment of the lash) as the high point of this work. A summary of what

this was and what it was intended to be will serve both to illustrate this phase of Nabuco's career and to conclude this essay concerning his radicalization.

Nabuco and other radical journalists began to use cases of extraordinary cruelty to dramatize the inherent barbarity of slavery. Such pieces mobilized public opinion by arguing that slavery had no place in a moral or civilized nation; they also served to delegitimize slavery's defenders in the cabinet and parliament by associating them with such barbarism. In Nabuco's critical case, in mid-1886, several captives were accused of killing their overseer. In lieu of the death penalty, three of them were condemned to the *pena de açoites*, as was the common practice. In this punishment, an official had the condemned person stripped to the buttocks and whipped there in sets of 50 strokes, usually up to a total of 200 over a period of days, under medical supervision. In this case, the three men were given 300 strokes and, after they were returned to their owner's agent, they died. Nabuco publicized their fate in *O Paiz* and his friend and ally, Dantas, promptly used the article in the Senate to condemn slavery again, to accuse the cabinet of participation in barbarism, and to suggest that the deaths were the government's responsibility. Dantas made it clear that he was not interested in a reform of the penalty of the lash; rather, he wanted the abolition of Brazilian slavery, of which this was an integral part. The minister of justice, however, adroitly shifted the debate to the penalty itself and urged its reform, effectively compelling the Abolitionists to support such a project, while leaving slavery legislatively untouched. In two and a half months, the reform passed.<sup>20</sup>

The meaning of the case only makes sense in the politics of 1886. Nabuco published the account to condemn slavery and the cabinet which defended it. Dantas publicized Nabuco's article for the same reasons. He used it, in fact, as one of many weapons at a time when he was mobilizing parliamentary opinion against the cabinet's cynical position on abolitionist reform, in which it claimed to be reformist (because it carried forward the perverted reform of 1885) while repressing the Abolitionist movement and any further reform. This was the larger campaign the Abolitionists were fighting in the press and on the street. The parliamentary campaign waged by Dantas was so successful that he had actually recruited enough of the Senate to block the cabinet's agriculture budget, an unprecedented victory deeply embarrassing to the administration. Cotegipe had to break up the Senate coalition Dantas had put

together, and he had to vindicate his cabinet's position in parliament as a whole. To do so, he exerted all of the disciplinary finesse for which his party (and he) were famous. He also sought to take away a bit of the high moral ground of his Abolitionist opposition by supporting the reform of the penalty of the lash, thus taking that weapon away from his enemies. To those who pointed out the contradiction of his protecting slaveholding but supporting such a reform, he made it clear that the reform did not touch a slaveholder's right to do what he liked to his captives on his plantation; it simply reformed what the imperial state could do. The cabinet's manoeuvres worked. In October 1886, the reform was passed, with the cabinet's support. That same month, the cabinet enjoyed a vote of confidence by the parliament as a whole. The Abolitionists got what Cotegipe judged a meaningless reform; Cotegipe got the vindication of his government.<sup>21</sup>

Or so Cotegipe thought. The reform was dismissed by Cotegipe as a reform inconsequential to the slaveholder. This was not, however, how many others understood it. As was the case on so many critical points, the prime minister was apparently out of touch with the incendiary quality of the larger political and social milieu. Even during the debates on the reform, many of his parliamentary constituents questioned Cotegipe's support for the reform. For them and for the Abolitionists, the end of the official penalty of the lash was a mortal blow to slaveholding itself. Indeed, they stated as much explicitly, and more than one observer argued afterward that the reform was widely understood to affect not only public, state punishment, but plantation flogging, as well. Certainly, Nabuco thought so. In a private letter to his British abolitionist allies in 1887, he wrote

Last year I was not in Parliament, but in the daily press writing in the columns of *O Paiz* have done probably more for our cause than I could have done as a deputy. In fact it was through the press that we forced the Conservative Cabinet to pass the law abolishing flogging, which if we had judges and the laws with regard to slaves were reality, would amount practically to the end of slavery.<sup>22</sup>

It is curious that Nabuco himself seems to have misunderstood the actual meaning of the reform, which did not abolish flogging, only the state's administration of flogging as a punishment. In a larger sense, however, he understood the key issue very well, indeed. The real victory has more to do with a phrase in

the same letter, where he stated “Since it is not *lawful* to flog the slaves, I do not know how the masters could enforce their *rights* on them.”<sup>23</sup> The real victory had to do with the legitimacy of slavery. In effect, the press campaign, like the reform, were part and parcel of a successful Abolitionist movement which, over the course of 1886 and 1887, effectively delegitimized slavery in the cities and parliament and destabilized it in the rural sector. The reform itself was not as significant as the political and social perception of it across the monarchy, where observers saw it as part of a fatal, rapid decline in the moral and effective control of the captives by their masters. In the end, the Abolitionist campaign of public pressure, initiated by Nabuco and his allies in 1885 and 1886, helped mobilize a movement in the streets and in the fields which, in turn, would finally reach back into press and parliament to force Cotegipe's resignation and the ascent of João Alfredo, who put a legal end to slavery.<sup>24</sup>

## NOTES

<sup>1</sup> This article draws upon archival research made possible by the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the Fulbright-Hays Commission. Leslie Bethell invited the presentation of an earlier version of the article at a conference, “Joaquim Nabuco (1849-1910): Abolitionist, Intellectual, Statesman – On the Centenary of His Death,” held under the auspices of the Brazilian Embassy in London and the Institute for the Study of the Americas, University of London, in November 2010. The author wishes to thank all of these institutions for their support.

<sup>2</sup> For some of the most recent work on Nabuco, see the two anthologies of recent conferences in the States: ALBUQUERQUE, Severino (Ed.). *Joaquim Nabuco e Wisconsin: centenário da conferência na universidade: ensaios comemorativos*. (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-te-vi, 2010); JACKSON, K. David (Ed.) *Joaquim Nabuco em Yale: centenário das conferências na universidade: ensaios comemorativos* (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-te-vi, 2010). On Nabuco as an abolitionist, see the filial biography, the classic biography, and the most recent biography, all of which are based on extensive research: NABUCO, Carolina. *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1928), pt.II, chs.2-10; VIANA FILHO, Luiz. *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1952), 1a. pt., chs.6-10; ALONSO, Angela. *Joaquim Nabuco: os salões e as ruas* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2007), ch.4. For the debate on Nabuco's shifting political positions, see, e.g., GRAHAM, Richard. “Joaquim Nabuco, Conservative Historian.” *Luso-Brazilian Review*, v.17, n.1, p.1-16, Summer 1980; NOGUEIRA, Marco Aurélio. *As desventuras do liberalismo: Joaquim Nabuco, a monarquia e a república* (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1984), recently re-published; NEEDELL, Jeffrey D. “A Liberal Embraces Monarchy: Joaquim Nabuco and

Conservative Historiography". *The Americas*, v.48, n.2, p.159-179, Oct. 1991); and SALLES, Ricardo. *Joaquim Nabuco: um pensador do Império* (Rio de Janeiro: Topbooks, 2002). All of these focus on Nabuco's role in the national movement; for the critical context of Pernambuco Abolitionism, see CASTILHO, Celso Thomas. "Abolitionism Matters: The Politics of Antislavery in Pernambuco, Brazil, 1869-1888," (Unpub. Ph.D. diss., University of California, Berkeley, 2008).

<sup>3</sup> See a discussion of the historiography's trends and an analysis of the relationship between Abolitionism and the formal political context, see NEEDELL, Jeffrey D. "Brazilian Abolitionism, Its Historiography, and the Uses of Political History". *Journal of Latin American Studies*, v.42, n.2, p.231-261, May 2010.

<sup>4</sup> On the past political mobilization of the urban masses, see NEEDELL, Jeffrey D. *The Party of Order: The Conservatives, the State, and Slavery in the Brazilian Monarchy, 1831-1871*. (Stanford: Stanford Univ. Press, 2006), chs.2, 3, passim. On the shifting urban political terrain signaled by the election of 1860, see *ibid.*, p.209-214 and NABUCO, Joaquim. *Um estadista do Império: Nabuco de Araújo: sua vida suas opiniões, sua época*, 3 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, n.d. [1897-1899]), v.2, p.71-76. On the *Vintém* Riots, see *A Revista Ilustrada*, n.189, p.205 (1880); *The Rio News*, 5 Jan. 1880, 2; BERGSTRESSER, Rebecca. "The Movement for the Abolition of Slavery in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, 1880-1889," (Unpub. Ph.D. diss., Stanford University, 1973), p.18-22; cf. GRAHAM, Sandra Lauderdale. "The Vintem [sic] Riot and Political Culture: Rio de Janeiro 1880". *Hispanic American Historical Review*, [hereafter, *HAHR*] v.60, n.3, p.431-449, Aug. 1980. A *vintém* was a small unit of the currency. The riots had to do with the cabinet's deeply unpopular decision to raise revenue through taxing use of urban street cars by a *vintém*. The illustrations in the periodicals noted, as well as what we know about the degrees of poverty suggest that the rioters were largely salaried middle class people. Bergstresser's calculations ("The Movement," p.19) indicate that two-way fare in the cheap seats of a streetcar was one third the cost of keeping one workingman fed for the day. More likely, workingmen lived within walking distance of their work, in tenements. For a sense of the urban history of the poor in the era 1872-1904, see NEEDELL, Jeffrey D. "The *Revolta Contra Vacina* of 1904: The Revolt Against 'Modernization' in Belle-Époque Rio de Janeiro," *HAHR*, v.67, n.2, p.249-262, May 1987. On Patrocínio, see NABUCO, Joaquim. *Minha formação* (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1900), p.243-244; MORAES, Evaristo de. *A campanha Abolicionista (1879-1888)* (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro Freitas Bastos, Spicer, 1924), ch.3, passim, ch.13; ORICO, Osvaldo. *O tigre da Abolição* (Rio de Janeiro: Civilização Brasileira; MEC, 1977).

<sup>5</sup> On the organization of the movement, see MORAES, ch.3; DUQUE-ESTRADA, Osorio. *A Abolição (esboço histórico): 1831-1888* (Rio de Janeiro: Leite Ribeiro 7 Maurillo, 1918), p.83-128; and the classic scholarly account, CONRAD, Robert. *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery: 1850-1888* (Berkeley: Univ. of California, 1972), chs.9-13. André Rebouças's diary gives us critical dates in the movement's organization and propaganda and Nabuco's ongoing role in both, even when abroad; see, e.g., André Rebouças, dates for April and May,



diário 1883, DL464.2, Coleção André Rebouças, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro, (note that these were the month before and the month of parliament's annual opening); see, especially, 4 May, 5 May, 9 May, 10 May, 12 May, 14 May, 16 May, 6 June. On Nabuco's return, see Joaquim Nabuco, 24 February, 24 April 1884, in idem, *Diários*, 2 vols. (Rio de Janeiro: Bem-Te-Vi, 2005), v.1, p.262. On Nabuco's *Abolicionismo*, see NEEDELL, "A Liberal," p.163-165. On the Abolitionists' public use of Nabuco's arrival and anticipation of movement propaganda afterward, see André [Rebouças] to Meu Nabuco, Petropolis, 2 May 1884 in CPP12doc.234, Arquivo Joaquim Nabuco [hereafter, AJN].

<sup>6</sup> On the emperor's abolitionism and the perceptions of his role, see (on 1871), NEEDELL, *Party of Order*, chs.6,7; and (on 1878 and 1884) PEREIRA DA SILVA, *Memorias do meu tempo*, 2 vols (Rio de Janeiro: Garnier, 1895, 1896), v.2, p.272-276, 282; OTONI, Cristiano Benedito. *Autobiografia* (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1983 [c.1908]), p.200; MONTEIRO, Tobias. *Pesquisas e depoimentos para a historia* (Rio de Janeiro: Francisco Alves, 1913), p.64-68; MORAES, *A campanha*, p.52-55. On Dantas's significance, see Needell's resume and sources in "Brazilian Abolitionism," p.238-245.

<sup>7</sup> Nabuco's absence in Europe was attacked by some militants and publicly defended by others; see, e.g., the account in [Manuel Ernesto de Campos Porto] to Joaquim Nabuco, Rio, 25 April 1883, CPP318doc.6483, AJN; and his confidential response, Joaq. Nabuco to Meu caro Dr. Ubaldino do Amaral, London, 31 May 1883 (Particular), Cap84doc.1651, *ibid.* On the 1884 campaign, see Castilho, ch.4; note that the electoral speeches were reproduced and printed as propaganda afterward in NABUCO, Joaquim. *Campanha Abolicionista no Recife: 1884: discursos de Joaquim Nabuco*, 2.ed. (Recife: Fundaj/Massangana, 1988 [1885]. On Abolitionist support for Dantas and vice versa, as well as the significance of the elections of 1884 and 1885, see, also, the correspondence: Joaquim Nabuco to Meu querido Barão [Penedo], Rio, 23 July 1884, in NABUCO, Joaquim. *Cartas a amigos*, 2 vols. (São Paulo: Instit. Progresso, 1949), v.1, p.116f; same to same, Rio, 31 July 1884, in *ibid.*, 118; same to same, Rio, 1 Sept. [1884], in *ibid.*, 119; same to same, Recife, 14 Oct. 1884, in *ibid.*, 120; same to meu caro Rodolfo, Recife, 27 Oct. 1884, in *ibid.*, 121f; same to same, [Recife,] 2 Nov. 1884, in *ibid.*, 122f; same to Meu ilustre e saudoso Amigo [barão de Penedo], Recife 28 Oct. 1884, in *ibid.*, 123f; same to same, Pernambuco, 19 Dec. 1884, in *ibid.*, 125; same to same, [Recife,] 20 Dec. 1884, in *ibid.*, 125f; same to same, Pernambuco, 7 Jan. 1885, in *ibid.*, 127f; same to same, Rio, 29 Jan. 1885, in *ibid.*, 128f; same to Meu caro Amigo [João Clapp], Petrópolis, [8 May 1885, in *ibid.*, 135f; same to Meu caro Barão [de Penedo], Rio, 17 May 1885, in *ibid.*, 136f; same to same, Recife, 24 June 1885, in *ibid.*, 137f; S. de Barros Pimentel to Meu caro Nabuco, Recife, 19 Jan. 1885, CPP14doc.264, AJN; Joaq. Nabuco to Meu caro Barros, Mondego, 19 Jan. 1885, CAP4doc.73, *ibid.* On Nabuco's opposition after Dantas's fall, see the speeches: Joaquim Nabuco, Camara dos Deputados, 3 July 1885, in *Jornal do Commercio* [hereafter, *JC*], 4 July 1885, 2; Joaquim Nabuco, Camara dos Deputados, 24 July 1885, in *JC*, 25 July 1885, 2; Joaquim Nabuco, "Interpelação," Camara dos Deputados, 30 July 1885, in *JC*, 31 July 1885, p.2. On the significance of Dantas's fall, see NEEDELL, "Brazilian Abolitionism," p.245-248.

<sup>8</sup> On the Saraiva reform project, later passed by Cotegipe (see text, below), see NABUCO, Camara dos Deputados, 24 July 1885, in *JC*, 25 July 1885, 2; idem to Dear Mr. Allen, Rio de Janeiro, 6 August 1885, in NABUCO, Joaquim. *British Abolitionists and the End of Slavery in Brazil: Correspondence 1880-1905*, ed. Leslie Bethell and José Murilo de Carvalho (London: Instit. for the Study of the Americas, 2009), p.97-100; OTONI, p.220-223; DUQUE-ESTRADA, p.163-169, 179; MORAES, p.94-95.

<sup>9</sup> PEREIRA DA SILVA, v.2, p.298-300; OTONI, p.224.

<sup>10</sup> On João Alfredo's maneuvers, see MONTEIRO, p.180-183; on the emperor's turn to Cotegipe, see the citations in n9 above and MORAES, p.123, 128. On Cotegipe's shift to repression, see the resume in Evaristo de Moraes, "A escravidão. Da supressão do trafico á Lei Aurea". *Revista do Instituto Historico e Geographico Brasileiro*, tomo especial, Congresso Internacional de Historia da America, v.3 (1922), p.295.

<sup>11</sup> For a resume with useful citations of the phase 1885-1888, see NEEDELL, "Brazilian Abolitionism," p.245-258. The analysis there informs the contextual information in the following section of the text here.

<sup>12</sup> BARÃO DE COTEGIPE, Senado, 24 Aug. 1885, in *JC*, 25 Aug. 1885, 1; and idem, Camara dos Deputados, 24 Aug. 1885, *ibid.*, NABUCO, Joaqui, *ibid.* N.B.: Nabuco's lengthy, incendiary response to Cotegipe was summarized to the point of suppression in the *JC*, rather than quoted verbatim. Cf. NABUCO, Joaquim. "Discurso na apresentação do Ministério Cotegipe 24 de Agosto [de 1885], in NABUCO, Joaquim. *Discursos parlamentares [1879-1888]* (São Paulo: Instit. Progresso, 1949), p.236-255. On the Campos incidents, see PATROCÍNIO, José do. *Gazeta da Tarde* article of 19 Sept. 1885, in PATROCÍNIO, José do. *Campanha abolicionista: coletânea de artigos* (Rio de Janeiro: Biblioteca Nacional, 1996), p.108-109. On militants' revolutionary talk, Duque-Estrada (186) quotes Ciro de Azevedo, in 1886 arguing for "Conspiracy in the homes, revolution in the streets." Nabuco's celebrated radical pamphlets included, in order, *O erro do Imperador* (Rio de Janeiro: Leuzinger, 1886); *O eclipse do abolicionismo: segundo opusculo* (Rio de Janeiro: Leuzinger, 1886), and *Eleições liberaes e eleições conservadoras: terceiro opusculo* (Rio de Janeiro: Leuzinger, 1886). All were published in the early part of 1886, in rapid succession.

<sup>13</sup> The most significant illegal efforts in the rural sector were those associated with Antonio Bento; see PEREIRA DA SILVA, v.2, p.311 for context and NABUCO, *Minha formação*, p.227; CELSO, Afonso. *Oito anos de parlamento*, 2.ed. (Brasília: Senado Federal, 1981 [1901]), p.91; DUQUE-ESTRADA, p.216; MORAES, *A campanha*, p.261-276, 304-309; COSTA, Emilia Viotti da. *Da senzala à colônia*. 2.ed. (São Paulo: Ciências Humanas, 1982 [1966]), p.425, 430; CONRAD, p.242-247; and MACHADO, Maria Helena. *O plano e o pânico: os movimentos sociais na década da Abolição* (São Paulo: Edusp, 1994), ch.4, *passim*. The basic source is the memoir of one of Antonio Bento's followers; see ANDRADA, António Manuel Bueno de. "A Abolição em São Paulo," rpt. from *O Estado de S. Paulo*, 13 May 1918, in "Publicações: páginas esquecidas," *Revista do Arquivo Municipal*, 78 (June-July, 1941), p.261-272. For Nabuco's awareness of the clandestine work, see, e.g., Martinho

Prado Junior to Amigo Nabuco, São Paulo, 25 March 1886, Cpp328doc.6684, AJN; and Nabuco to Meu distinto Correligionario, Rio, 18 Oct. 1886, CAp5doc.91, *ibid.*

<sup>14</sup> Alonso's biography is the most updated and widely researched source for this celebrated romance, drawing on archival evidence and the popular and scholarly studies of it; see p.51-85, 121, 127, 152, 167-177, 197-208, *passim*. I first discussed this romance in NEEDELL, Jeffrey D. *A Tropical Belle Epoque: Elite Culture and Society in turn-of-the-Century Rio de Janeiro* (Cambridge: Cambridge Univ. Press, 1987), p.118-123. The particularities of my own interpretation here draw on the archived correspondence and published primary sources alone; for this paragraph, see Euphrasia to Meu bom amigo [Nabuco], Paris 4 July 1876, Cpp3doc.45, AJN; same to same, [Paris,] [April 1884], Cpp11doc.218, *ibid.*; NABUCO, 2 Apr. 1885, *Diários*, v.1, p.272. Eufrásia's family, Teixeira Leite, was of *mineiro* origin, and comprised entrepreneurs whose pioneering coffee plantations had flourished in the Paraíba Valley town of Vassouras by the mid-1800s, allowing them to branch out into finance. While mostly keeping to planting and finance, they were closely integrated with the right wing of the Conservative Party (the saquaremas). On their business, see STEIN, Stanley J. *Vassouras: A Brazilian Coffee County, 1850-1900: The Roles of Planter and Slave in a Plantation Society*, 2.ed. (Princeton: Princeton Univ. Press, 1985), chs.1, 5, *passim*; on their politics, see NEEDELL, *Party of Order*, p.101, 186f, 259.

<sup>15</sup> On the Teixeira Leite family, see n14. On Francisco Belisário, see NEEDELL, *Party of Order*, p.421n48 for references and NEEDELL, *Tropical Belle Epoque*, family tree on 118. Francisco Belisário's close relative was the most fearsome of Abolitionism's foes, Paulino [José Soares de Sousa], the Conservative party's parliamentary leader and head of its saquarema wing. Francisco Belisário's father and two of his uncles (Paulino's father and namesake, the viscount do Uruguai and the viscount de Itamarati) were chieftains in the party from which the Conservative Party evolved: the Party of Order. On Nabuco's father, see NABUCO, *Um estadista*, v.1, p.46-47; v.3, ch.8; and NABUCO, Carolina. *A vida de Joaquim Nabuco* (São Paulo: Cia. Ed. Nacional, 1928), ch.1. On the affair in 1885, see Nabuco, 28 Nov., 8 Dec., 9 Dec., 10 Dec. 1885 in NABUCO, *Diários*, v.1, p.277; [Euphrasia to Nabuco,] Tijuca, 8 Dec. 1885, Cpp15doc.292, AJN; same to same, Dakar, Bordo do Congo, 31 Dec. 1885, Cpp15doc.293, *ibid.*

<sup>16</sup> Euphrasia to Nabuco, Lisbon, Bordo do Congo, 5 January 1886, Cpp15doc.294, AJN; same to same, Paris, 15 January 1886, Cpp15doc.295, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris, 18 January 1886, Cpp5doc.296, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris, 19 January 1886, Cpp15doc.297, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris, 22 January 1886, Cpp15doc.298, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris 4 February 1886, Cpp15doc.300, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris, 13 February 1886, Cpp16doc.303, *ibid.*; same to same, Paris, 15 April 1886, Cpp16doc.316, *ibid.*, Joaquim Nabuco to [Euphrasia Teixeira Leite] Rio, 18 April 1886, CAp5doc.81 [this is not the original but, rather, a typescript, presumably by Carolina Nabuco, with the following editorial comments: title: (Ultima carta de Joaquim Nabuco a dona Eufrasia Teixeira Leite, segundo o texto já muito apagado existente no copiador de Joaquim Nabuco: with text of the letter following and, then, Á

primeira leitura o papel não havia ainda desintegrado, de modo que palavras hoje desaparecidas eram claras. As únicas que tivemos que adivinhar, foram “outras” de que só se vê o inicial (última palavra da primeira página). Em dúvida só ficam as duas últimas da 6ª linha da 2ª página (*nem desejo*) e borrão antes de coração que traduzimos como *o seu*.] I note several inconsequential differences between the version C. Nabuco published and this typescript, so I cite the published version: Joaquim Nabuco [to dona Eufrásia Teixeira Leite], Rio, 18 April 1886, in NABUCO, Joaquim. *Cartas a amigos*, v.1, p.146-148. Eufrásia's response is E. Teixeira Leite to [Nabuco], Paris 19 May 1886 [marked in pencil: resposta a carta de 18 Apr. 1886], CPp17doc.328, AJN.

<sup>17</sup> On his friends' views of the pamphlets, see, e.g., André [Rebouças] to Meu querido Nabuco, Petropolis, 2 March 1886, CPp16doc.306, AJN; J. Serra to Meu querido Nabuco, Friburgo, 21 March [1886], CPp16doc.313, *ibid.* On his self-perception in Apr. 1886, see Joaquim Nabuco [to dona Eufrásia Teixeira Leite], Rio, 18 Apr. 1886, in NABUCO, *Cartas a amigos*, v.1, p.146-148. On the lack of possibilities in London, see Penedo to Nabuco, London, 5 May 1886, CPp17doc.325, in AJN. On the advice regarding *O Paiz*, see A. Carlos Ferra. da Sa. to Meu caro Nabuco, [Recife,] 11 May 1886, CPp329doc6710, in *ibid.* Antonio Carlos referred to the opinions of others, as well.

<sup>18</sup> On the chamber electoral results, see PEREIRA DA SILVA, v.2, p.315 and MORAES, *A campanha*, p.143, 296. On Dantas' radicalization and increased movement significance, see DUQUE-ESTRADA, p.189; MORAES, *ibid.*, p.135. On Abolitionist repression and radicalization, see DUQUE-ESTRADA, p.187, 193-201, *passim*; MORAES, *A campanha*, p.148, 155-160. On the destabilization of the rural sector and *quilombos paulistas*, see the citations in n13, above. On the campaign of Carlos Lacerda in Campos, in the sugar lowlands of the Province of Rio de Janeiro, see *ibid.*, p.235-250 (N.B. that the origins of this Abolitionist organization date to 1884 and the first radical actions to March 1885). For Rio's noted quilombo in Leblon, see SILVA, Eduardo. *As camélias do Leblon e a abolição da escravatura: uma investigação de história cultural* (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 2003).

<sup>19</sup> In this period, Abolitionism superseded distinctions in political ideology, such that Nabuco, who remained a monarchist, however radical, and Republicans such as Quintino Bocaiuva and José do Patrocínio, were allied, even supporting each other for political office. See, e.g., DUQUE-ESTRADA, p.193-94n1. Rebouças, a monarchist, shifted away from support for the regime in early 1886, apparently in disappointment with Dantas's fall and the Conservative triumph (see André [Rebouças] to Meu querido Nabuco, Petropolis, 2 March 1886, CPp16doc.306, AJN). Yet, as is well known, with the abolition of slavery in 1888, both Rebouças and Patrocínio became passionately devoted to the monarchy. My sense of the overall strategy comes from studying the Abolitionists' actions; that this was a conscious strategy seems clear enough from these. However, Nabuco indicated his sense of the situation in private correspondence: “mas não ha abolicionismo politico ou parlamentar sem que exista no paiz, esse outro abolicionismo de acção popular, intransigente e immedate, que empurra os partidos e os governos para deante e conquista para o escravo, e

para isso todos os meios que foram moraes são legítimas, a liberdade a que elle tem o mesmo direito que o senhor. O abolicionismo politico e parlamentar não é senão o de locomotive, o freio o vapor que a move é o abolicionismo popular..." Nabuco to Meu distincto Correligionario, Rio de Janeiro, 18 Oct. 1887, Cap5doc.91, AJN.

<sup>20</sup> On Nabuco's awareness of the clandestine work, see the last citation in n19, above. Nabuco's role in *O Paiz* was much as suggested by the friends who urged him to take the position there; see the letter from Antonio Carlos Ferreira da Silva cited in n17, above. As period correspondence and the diary annex noted below indicate, Nabuco tried and failed to raise money for, *O Século*, a periodical that he would control; the *O Paiz* position was the best he could manage. On Nabuco's sense of this case's importance, see NABUCO, "Anos da minha vida, 1886," in "Anexo B," *Diários*, v.2, p.511. His sense of the significance of the case was clear at the time, as well; see Nabuco to Dear Mr. Allen, [London, Apr. 1887], in BETHELL and CARVALHO (Eds.) *Joaquim Nabuco*, p.116. For the case itself, see OTONI, *Autobiografia*, p.273-276; DUQUE-ESTRADA, *A abolição*, p.199; MORAES, *A campanha*, p.215-216; and CONRAD, *The Destruction*, p.237. While Moraes' and Conrad's appreciation of the actual law is closest to what it actually involved, only BROWN, Alexandra K. "A Black Mark on Our Legislation": Slavery, Punishment, and the Politics of Death in Nineteenth-Century Brazil". *Luso-Brazilian Review*, v.37, n.2, p.110n112, Winter 2000, has noted the difference between what the reform entailed and what the historiography has claimed (the latter generally asserts, incorrectly, that the reform made flogging of slaves illegal, while, in fact, the reform only made it illegal for the imperial government to flog slaves). Even Moraes, who did understand the distinction, elided it, by arguing that the magistracy could and did interpret the reform to impact private corporal punishment. My discussion of this case, here and below in the text, derives from NEEDELL, "Politics, Parliament, and the Penalty of the Lash," paper presented at the conference honoring Boris Fausto, Rethinking Brazilian History, Center for Latin American Studies, Stanford University, May 2010.

<sup>21</sup> On the political context summarized here, see the parliamentary record, i.e., DANTAS, *JC*, 31 July 1886, p.1; PRADO, Antonio, *ibid.*, 10 Aug. 1886, p.2, and contemporaries' accounts, e.g., PEREIRA DA SILVA, *Memorias*, v.2, p.318-320 and MORAES, *A campanha*, p.154-155. Dantas's victory against the cabinet was won in a Senate vote, which was irregular. As Pereira da Silva notes, while the Senate's vote could, therefore, not be considered critical to the cabinet's survival by constitutional practice or parliamentary tradition, such a vote did challenge the cabinet's public moral authority, which was critical to any cabinet's capacity to function politically (cf. NEEDELL, *The Party of Order*, p.72, 76, 243).

<sup>22</sup> Nabuco to Dear Mr. Allen, [London, April 1887], in BETHELL and CARVALHO (Eds.) *Joaquim Nabuco*, p.116.

<sup>23</sup> *Ibid.*

<sup>24</sup> On the debate over the flogging reform and its actual meaning and impact, see Dantas, et al., *JC*, 31 July 1886, p.1; Ignacio Martins, *ibid.*, 3 Aug. 1886, p.1; Ribeiro da Luz, et al., 21

Aug. 1886, p.1; Ignacio Martins, Cotegipe, et al., *ibid.*, 30 Sept. 1886, p.1; Ribeiro da Luz, et al., *ibid.*, p.2; Silveira da Motta, et al., *ibid.*, 1 Oct. 1886, p.1; Ignacio Martins, et al., *ibid.*, 5 Oct. 1886, p.1; 14 Oct. 1886, p.2. For contemporaries' views afterward, see Pereira da Silva, *Memorias*, v.2, p.311; OTONI, *Autobiographia*, p.276; and MORAES, *A campanha*, p.215-216. I should note that Pereira da Silva writes of the general milieu of the agricultural sector due to Abolitionist propaganda by mid 1886, even before this controversial case; Otoni and Moraes write explicitly of the 1887 impact of the reform within this milieu. On Cotegipe, this administration of Cotegipe, and the ascent of João Alfredo, see NEEDELL, "Brazilian Abolitionism," p.246n27, 249-256.