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## Master-Slave Rituals of Power at a Gold Mine in Nineteenth Century Brazil

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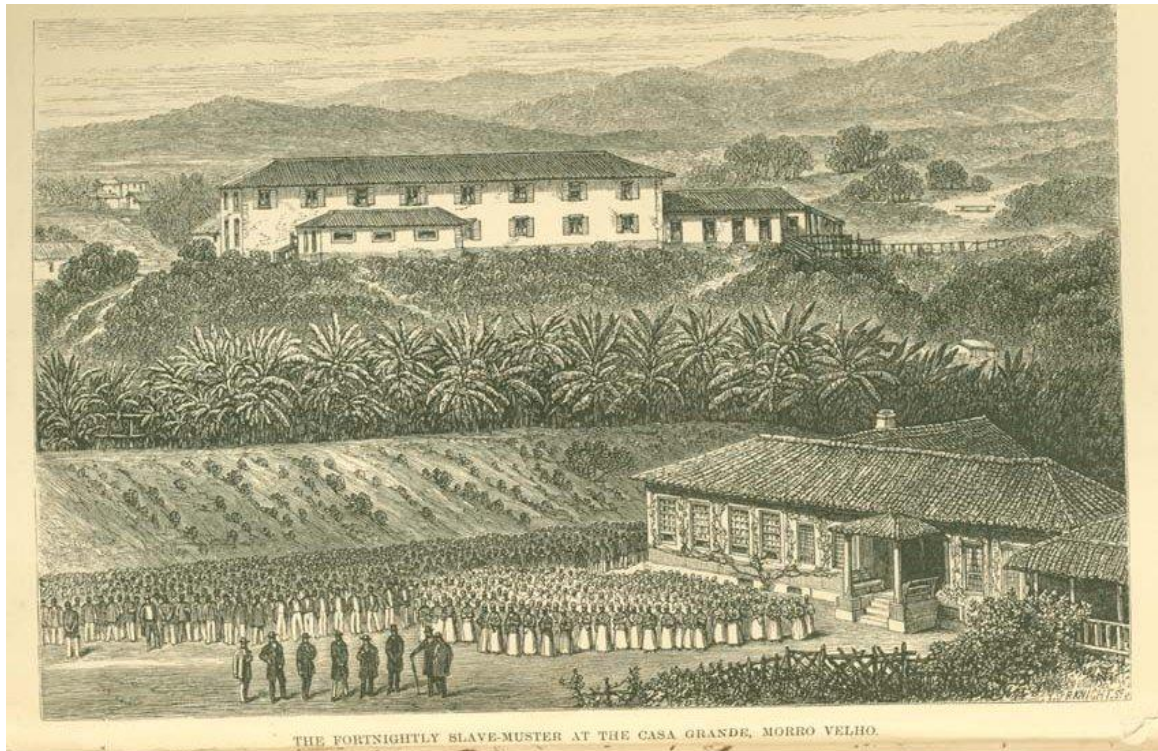
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**Fig. 1. The *Revista* in 1867.**

**From Richard F. Burton, *Explorations of the Highlands of Brazil*,  
Tinsley Brothers, London, 1869.**

Master-Slave Rituals of Power at a Gold Mine in Nineteenth Century Brazil

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### "Very Fit for a Photograph"

In 1867 renowned British explorer and author Richard Burton traveled to the town of Morro Velho in Minas Gerais, Brazil to pay a visit to his countrymen working a gold mine in the tropics. During Burton's stay for several months at the British owned St. John D'el Rey Mining Company he investigated the use of slave labor in an industrial setting, stating in a letter to the chairman of the company J. D. Powles that he had "carefully looked into the conditions of the Blacks."<sup>1</sup> In particular, Burton took special delight in

describing "a peculiar sight, and very fit for a photograph" when nearly 1,500 slaves lined up in columns separated by sex in front of the Casa Grande (big house) on Sundays.<sup>2</sup> The slaves who toiled at the mine received a special issue of clothing that they wore for a ceremony called the Revista (review). While Burton did not have a camera with him to capture the "peculiar sight," he did make a sketch of the elaborate ceremony (see figure I). The mining company apparently agreed with Burton's statement that the Revista was "very fit for a photograph" and took a picture of the ceremony in the early 1880s (see figure II).<sup>3</sup>

At the ceremony Burton observed, the slaves received public recognition from the superintendent and overseers and medals and merit stripes of a "broad red band"--for what mining records vaguely described as "good conduct"--to adorn their distinctive Sunday Revista clothing.<sup>4</sup> The mining company never stated what it meant by "good conduct" because it privileged them to define the ambiguous, capricious, and authoritarian nature of slavery at the mine. Had the mining company clearly stated what it meant by "good conduct," all slaves could have theoretically worked to fulfill the qualifications, and thus be entitled to their freedom. Despite the arbitrary process, those slaves who demonstrated "good conduct" received a series of medals and merit stripes over a period of five to ten years that could earn them their freedom. The Revista ceremony comprised the central device used by the British company to discipline the large slave labor force that numbered nearly 1,700 at its height in the late 1860s. For the slaves at the mine, the Revista represented an opportunity to earn their freedom--an opportunity reaffirmed every time the Revista took place and by the fact that emancipated slaves often continued to work at the mine as wage laborers.<sup>5</sup>

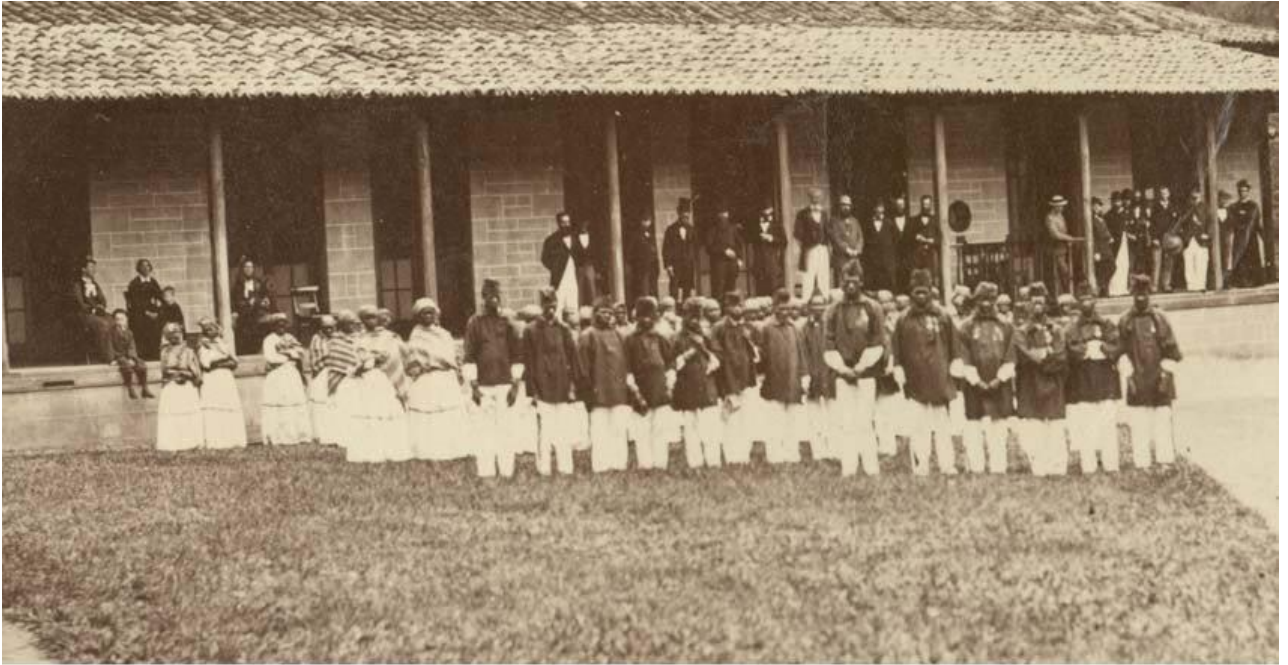
Sundays were not limited to the Revista manumission ceremony. As a day "free" from work, Sunday consisted of a series of activities and rituals for slaves that decisively shaped and influenced master-slave relations at the mine whether through greater independence in socializing with family and friends, tending to provision grounds,

traveling beyond the confines of the mine, attending religious services, receiving payments for over-time wages, or performing dances. Although the Sunday ceremonies and activities had diverse purposes and functions, they all contained ritualistic and rehearsed elements whereby masters sought to assert dominion over slaves and slaves schemed to subvert the authority of masters. Sundays served to strengthen hierarchical social relations by providing paternalistic rewards for slave behavior that conformed to the pattern set by the master. At the same time, however, the very slaves who best exemplified "good conduct" weakened the chains of their bondage through carving out independence from master control. Examining the activities, ceremonies, and rituals at Morro Velho on Sunday provides a lens to focus on the contentious arenas that governed master-slave relations in Brazil during the nineteenth century and explore the world masters and slaves made together, and the worlds they made apart.

### **"Relations between Master and Slave are Modified by Public Opinion"**

The St. John mining company began operations in Minas Gerais at the city of São João d'el Rei in 1830. In 1834 the British company transferred their activities to a richer and more profitable lode at the town of Morro Velho, located 160 miles north across the mountain range. The establishment of the mine represented part of a larger wave of British investment in Brazil during the nineteenth century. Although the construction of railways stands out among British investments, mining remained a lucrative industry despite the passing of the "gold boom" in the previous century. The rich lode at the Morro Velho mine continued to produce a wealth of gold during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. By World War I, Morro Velho had become the deepest mine in the world, and when mineral extraction ended in 1934, the mine shaft extended 2,453 meters (8,051 feet) below the earth's surface. The depth of the mine corresponded directly to the wealth of the St. John. Of all British investments in Latin America during the nineteenth century, no other company equaled the St. John in average yearly profits.<sup>6</sup>





**Fig. 2. Revista manumission ceremony in the 1880s.**  
From St John d'el Rey Mining Company Photo Album No. 8,  
St John d'el Rey Mining Company Archive.  
*Courtesy of Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.*



**Fig. 3. African nation dancing (congada) in 1868.**  
From St John d'el Rey Mining Company Photo Album No. 8,  
St John d'el Rey Mining Company Archive.  
*Courtesy of Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin.*

While financial capital and advanced technology, not to mention favorable geological factors, account for the economic success of the British mining company, a productive labor regime proved equally important in determining net profits. By 1867 the labor force at the Morro Velho mine had grown to nearly 1,700 slaves, the majority of those rented from other slaveowners. According to historians Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins, who have studied in detail the demographics of slavery in Minas Gerais, "the Saint John del Rey may well have been the all-time largest slave-based enterprise" in the province.<sup>7</sup> Scholar Robert Conrad is surely correct in suggesting that the mining company represented the largest single British slaveholding organization in Brazil. From a comparative perspective, only South Carolina rice planter Joshua Ward owned more than one thousand slaves at the time of the 1860 census in the United States. Because of the difficulty of recruiting a permanent and disciplined free labor force in Minas Gerais, slave labor constituted an essential factor in determining the company's economic success.<sup>8</sup>

The employment of manumission, rewards, and privileges by slaveowners to discipline and fashion labor regimes by rewarding certain types of behavior, and thereby punishing others, constituted a fundamental element of slavery in the Americas. The possibility that the average slave through hard work and good behavior could obtain certain privileges, special treatment, and possibly even freedom became forged into an instrument of social control for slaveowners and fueled aspirations for liberation among slaves. While numerous slaveowners employed a vast array of incentives as tools for disciplining slaves, and many slaves used the incentives and limited freedoms to take greater control over their own lives, the degree of pageantry and ceremony in setting aside a special day, assigning an elaborate wardrobe, and awarding medals and ribbons remains distinct among the rituals that governed master-slave relations throughout the Americas. The forces, individuals, and events that fostered the elaborate Sunday ceremonies at Morro Velho stemmed from multiple factors--demographic, political, international, and

social--that clipped the St. John's authority and empowered slaves, to quote Eric Hobsbawm's brilliant phrase, to "'work the system' to . . . their minimum disadvantage."<sup>9</sup>

After the commencement of operations in 1830, the St. John rapidly expanded the work force at the mine by purchasing and renting slaves on a massive scale. In 1845 the Board of Directors reached an agreement with the recently liquidated Cata Branca Brazilian company to hire 385 slaves for fourteen years. Nine years later the St. John hired 150 slaves from the National Brazilian Company, and in December of the same year hired an additional 480 slaves. From 1848 to 1871, the slave labor force at the mine constantly numbered over one thousand bondsmen and bondswomen. In response to the overwhelming demographic majority of slave laborers at Morro Velho until the 1880s, coupled with the incompatibility of employing numerous feitores (overseers) in underground mining (amazingly only 3 in 1850 according to a St. John source), the company crafted a policy that sought to conserve physical force in favor of individual incentives, honors, and privileges awarded to slaves on Sundays. The policy provided St. John slaves with tangible reasons to think twice about joining and organizing the risky, overwhelmingly unsuccessful, and brutally suppressed insurrectionary movements and conspiracies "occasionally. . . talked about" in the province of Minas Gerais, ominously portending, according to mine superintendent Charles Herring, "that the blacks intended, on a certain day, to rise."<sup>10</sup> Although there is no evidence to suggest slaves at Morro Velho organized and engaged in collective acts of violent resistance to destroy slavery, the real and immediate threat of such possible action, magnified by the slaves demographic superiority, served to earn them privileges, concessions, and awards on Sundays that starkly revealed master inability to emasculate laborers at the mine.<sup>11</sup>

In addition to demographics and fear of slave rebellion, abolitionist politics in England worked to place limitations on master control over slaves at Morro Velho. In 1807, Parliament abolished the British slave trade and in 1833 slavery ended in the British colonies. In Brazil, the British navy intercepted slave-trading ships, freed slaves,

and even broke off diplomatic relations over the slave question. The clear contradiction between Great Britain's official position on slavery and the mining company's employment of slave labor did not go unnoticed in England. In 1839 the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society sent an agent to Brazil to investigate "the condition of the slaves employed by British Mining Companies in that country."<sup>12</sup> Charles Herring, who served as superintendent of the mine at Morro Velho from 1830 to 1846, became one of the first individuals to testify before the House of Lords Select Committee on the Slave Trade in 1849. Following Herring's testimony, a series of articles in the English press as diverse as the Daily News, the Mining Journal, the Morning Post, and the Anti-Slavery Reporter appeared criticizing the St. John's labor practices that "forced slaves to work over-time" resulting in high mortality rates.<sup>13</sup> A letter to the editor of the Daily News on 13 November 1849 summed up British abolitionists' indignation over the activities at Morro Velho by stating that the company represented a "monstrous incongruity of British subjects possessing slaves, hiring them--in fact purchasing them--when Her Majesty's government is endeavoring by every means, to abolish slavery!"<sup>14</sup>

In 1849 the board of directors decided "to answer the criticisms. . . in the English press" by sending an "independent" commission to Morro Velho "to examine that state of the Negroes--their hours of labour, clothing, food lodging, and any particular connected with them."<sup>15</sup> The following year the commission, headed by medical doctor Thomas Walker, wrote a fifty-page Circular to calm troubled stockholders by assuring them of the "humane and generous. . . measures already adopted. . . to render them [the slaves] as contented and happy as men can be expected to be, whose lot is to earn their bread by the sweat of their brow. . . by reason of their inferior position in which it has pleased Providence to permit them to be placed."<sup>16</sup> Walker's report attempted to reassure stockholders that "however great a philanthropist [abolitionist] might be, no one can deny [the] strong evidence of [the slaves'] general content and happiness. . . when hundreds of them are diverting themselves. . . on Sundays." Walker concluded his



assessment of the treatment of slaves at the mine by stating Sundays demonstrated "that it is possible for a state of felicity to be combined with that of slavery."<sup>17</sup> As a public company that held annual stockholder meetings and attracted the attention of abolitionists and members of Parliament alike, public opinion, newspaper reports, and politics directly shaped master-slave relations at the mine. Burton did not overstate the point when he wrote: "the relations between master and slave are modified by public opinion."<sup>18</sup> Indeed, slaves at the mine could learn of abolitionist ideology and networks crisscrossing the Atlantic world as apparently ex-Morro Velho slave Agostinho had who made his way to the House of Lords to describe his horrifying experience during the middle passage.<sup>19</sup>

### **"Masters of their Own Time" on a "Day of their Own"**

Sundays at the mine began with the call for slaves to line up in front of the Casa Grande for the Revista ceremony at "eight o'clock in the morning." If "the heavy damp fogs" had rolled over the hills, as often happened in May and June, the slaves slept in until the assembly would occur at "a quarter before nine o'clock."<sup>20</sup> According to Burton, at the weekly Revista "slaves answered to the roll-call made by the heads of the respective departments." After counting all the slaves, "the superintendent, followed by the Manager and Assistant Manager of the Blacks, and the two medical officers, walk[ed] down the companies and minutely inspect[ed] each individual."<sup>21</sup> The practice of lining up slaves for inspection formed a part of organizing production for enterprises with a large slave population in Brazil. In 1847, Francisco Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, an influential coffee planter of the Paraíba Valley in the province of Rio de Janeiro, described a similar process on his plantation that occurred in the morning before the work day began.<sup>22</sup> The assembly of slaves in front of the Casa Grande constituted an impressive spectacle and the most vivid illustration of the large size of the slave population because it provided the only opportunity when males, females, and children could all collectively gather. The nature of industrial slavery required a highly varied

labor regime with slaves working at numerous individualized tasks such as miners, borers, strikers, surface laborers, carpenters, masons, but rarely in large work gangs common to plantation slavery.<sup>23</sup> The desire by the superintendent and officials of the St. John to impose a form of military order on Sunday by arranging the slaves into companies separated by sex and age (most clearly expressed in Burton's illustration, figure I) revealed their need to assert and redefine master authority on a day free from the quotidian process delineating master-slave relations through work. The ceremony and military assembly of the slaves projected a reassuring and idealized image back to the mining company of stability, order, and progress for British entrepreneurs residing far beyond the edges of empire in the interior of Brazil.

When the biannual Revista ceremony occurred to award manumissions, the mining company took considerable steps to provide an elaborate presentation. The manumissions ceremony took place on Christmas and, quite appropriately, St. John's Day in June.<sup>24</sup> Owing to the seasonal change in temperature, "in the hot season [Christmas] the Revista" occurred "before mass and in the cold season [St. John's Day] after it." Mine Superintendent James Gordon acknowledged the special significance the holidays had for the slaves: "St. John's Day and Christmas Day are both well known and observed by the Blacks as great holidays. On this account, they are desirable days for conferring this boon."<sup>25</sup> When important visitors came to the mine, such as "The Right Reverend the Lord Bishop of the Falkland Islands" in January 1874, the superintendent delayed the Christmas manumission Revista so "his Lordship could be present" to observe the "neat uniform clothing, and bright distinguishing candidates' dress for good conduct [that] formed a very pretty and pleasing sight." The Bishop's daughter participated in the ceremony, the mine superintendent reported, with "the medals having been attached to their jackets by Miss Starling."<sup>26</sup>

According to Burton's description and illustration of the St. John's Day manumission in June, slaves lined up in front of the Casa Grande that was "red tiled,

painted with official yellow, vine-grown and fronted by a verandah." The house offered little aesthetic appeal for Burton. He complained that "the only pretty part of the Casa Grande is the outside. Its terreiro, or compound, is a flat space laid out with good gravel walks and with attempts at turf--an Anglo-tropical lawn."<sup>27</sup> On the "Anglo-tropical lawn," nicely groomed by the "elderly and less robust," stood all of the slaves employed at the mine.<sup>28</sup> The board of directors and company officials at the mine emphasized in instructions for the Revista that all slaves should participate in the ceremony as recipients of awards or, as the majority, in the form of spectators so "that it may be calculated to exercise a salutary influence on all present."<sup>29</sup> Managing director John Hockin advised mine superintendent Pearson Morrison that "[i]f these people are constantly reminded of the boon offered to them as a reward for persistent good conduct, by seeing their comrades decorated, freed, or otherwise advance on the list, it is much more likely to influence the whole body for good than if these assemblages are held at distant and uncertain periods."<sup>30</sup> Mine superintendent James Gordon claimed that making "the proceeding as solemn and impressive as practicable" resulted in "great interest manifested in the proceeding, and the marked attention by the whole Blacks. . . to every sentence on the subject. . . affording good evidence of how eager the Blacks watched the benefits thus being conferred on their companions."<sup>31</sup> Gordon correctly identified the slaves' deep interest in the Revista, but he could only reconcile their eager participation as a response to the rehearsed, solemn, and formal nature of the ceremony. As with slaveholders through history, Gordon took security and comfort by not admitting what he really knew: slaves had an agenda independent from their masters that almost always placed liberation at the top of the list.

At Christmas in 1848, Isodro, Pantalião, Pequeno Capitão, and Maciano Tacquerill heard the mine superintendent call out their names to be placed on the "nominations list" for emancipation.<sup>32</sup> Originally the duration from nomination to the manumission list to emancipation had been ten years. In 1865 the St. John reduced the

probationary period from nomination to emancipation to seven years, and in 1878 again to five years.<sup>33</sup> The reduction in the probationary period from ten to seven to five years resembled similar lengths for manumission agreements that allowed slaves by custom prior to 1871, and thereafter sanctioned with legal authority by the Free Womb Law, the ability to make contracts with their masters to purchase their own freedom.<sup>34</sup> Equally significant, the routine length for emancipation agreements in the second half of the nineteenth century declined from seven to five years for the period 1850-1880, and then to five years and less for 1880-1888, indicating that activities at Morro Velho reflected wider trends in Brazilian slavery.<sup>35</sup>

In addition to the reduction in the probationary period, beginning in 1859 the number of slaves placed on the manumission list every year doubled from ten to twenty individuals.<sup>36</sup> The increase in nominees and reduction of the probationary period are especially significant because in 1865 "the Board observe[d] that some difficulty has been experienced in finding persons possessing the necessary qualifications" to be placed on the nominations list. Over time what mining officials originally designated as an award to recognize "good conduct," became transformed to "stimulate and encourage" good behavior, "even at the risk . . . of making the test of qualification less stringent."<sup>37</sup> The shift from awarding good conduct to inducing good behavior reflects the slaves' ability to assimilate a paternalistic privilege into a customary right that commanded respect from masters.<sup>38</sup> The fact the board of directors made changes to the nominations list without any apparent meritorious reasons for doing so may reveal an attempt to channel an increase in resistance and self-assertion by slaves into reformist avenues during the last decades of Brazilian slavery.<sup>39</sup>

Once placed on the nomination list and if the slave continued to conform to the "good conduct" criteria established by the mining company, at each subsequent biannual Revista the individual would once again be recognized by the superintendent who would announce how much time remained before freedom. During the probationary period from

nomination to freedom, slaves received a series of commemorative ribbons and medals that marked their progress toward liberty. According to Burton, men received "badges and stripes of distinction" to adorn their Revista clothing.<sup>40</sup> For the women, "the first year's badge [was] a broad red band round the white hem, and replaced by narrow red stripes, one for each year, till the mystic number seven gives freedom."<sup>41</sup> A black-and-white photograph of the Revista from the early 1880s depicts female slaves, behind and to the left of the males, with a band that runs at about knee-height around their skirts (Figure II). In 1852 the superintendent began to award medals at the Revista that would be worn by the slaves during the ceremony. The board of directors created a special die in London to cast the medals that bore the "Morro Velho stamp."<sup>42</sup> Nominees such as Galdino, Gonçalo, Braz Bolema, and Thomé de Freitas who "had attained five years good conduct on their probationary period towards freedom had silver medals conferred on them" in 1874 to signify their approaching emancipation date. The climax of the ceremony occurred when the slaves who "had become entitled to that great boon for good conduct," heard their letters of liberty "read audibly to all the blacks present."<sup>43</sup> According to superintendent James Gordon, the reading of the manumission letters resulted in "the marked attention given by the whole Blacks in the Terreiro to every sentence uttered on the subject."<sup>44</sup>

Just as the Revista ceremony through nominating individuals for manumissions, awarding ribbons and medals, and finally granting emancipation could be wielded by the St. John as a disciplinary tool to fashion slave labor, so could the threat of ineligibility from the nominations list discourage undesirable conduct. According to superintendent Pearson Morrison, "comparatively few slaves had been removed from the list for misconduct, and these have been the vices (unhappily too common amongst this class of person) of intemperance, encouraging that vice in others by providing them clandestinely with spirits, or theft." Any "misconduct" or "crimes" by a "candidate of freedom" resulted in the slave receiving a "sentence to lose so much of his time" accumulated

toward emancipation.<sup>45</sup> Punishments consisted of "increasing the period of probation for misconduct" and even possible removal from the nominations list.<sup>46</sup>

Elsewhere in Brazil the threat of revoking freedom for misconduct also occurred for slaves who worked to purchase their freedom through a manumission agreement with their master for reasons similar to those stated by the St. John, such as "ingratitude," "disobedience," "ungratefulness" and "poor conduct."<sup>47</sup> The Free Womb Law of 1871 emancipating children born to slave mothers abolished the long-held prerogative of masters to rescind and/or alter emancipation agreements.<sup>48</sup> The law's influence on the right of slaveowners to annul manumission contracts between masters and slaves must be considered minimal, at best. Although masters had the legal right to revoke contracts of freedom with slaves prior to 1871, studies of manumission indicate it rarely occurred. The combined investigations of historians Mary Karasch, Silvia Lara, Peter Eisenberg, Sidney Chalhoub, and Stuart B. Schwartz on manumissions reveal that out of 4,971 letters of liberty examined, only 21 were rescinded.<sup>49</sup> In short, the Free Womb Law merely codified existing practices of manumission that legitimized the slaves' transformation of a privilege bestowed by masters into a right to obtain freedom. While St. John sources indicate that some slaves had their probationary period extended to achieve emancipation for unruly behavior, and the company threatened to remove slaves from the nominations list, as with the uncommon rescinding of manumission agreements studied by historians, "comparatively few [slaves] had been removed from" the nominations list at Morro Velho. Even when "a candidate for freedom" committed a "crime," a "second opportunity [was] granted" before the slave would be permanently removed from the list.<sup>50</sup> The remarkably rare revocation of freedom and the infrequent altering of terms to earn freedom, despite the legal authority of masters to do so, reveals once again how slaves altered the asymmetrical reciprocity that governed master-slave relations by transforming privileges into rights that served to chip away at slaveholder dominion.



The manumission of slaves through the Revista paved a stable but narrow path for the protracted transition to a wage labor regime at the mine that coincided with worldwide trends of replacing bound labor with wage labor. By the 1860s, only Cuba, Puerto Rico, Brazil, and the United States still employed slave labor in the Americas, and the Revolutions of 1830 and 1848 had already dealt the final blow to most forms of serfdom throughout Europe.<sup>51</sup> Neither the worldwide freeing of bound labor nor the capitalistic profit-driven motive of the board of directors, however, resulted in any inherent inclination for wage labor. Slave labor solved the constant problem of recruiting and maintaining a steady labor force that mine superintendent Charles Herring complained about when he remarked that "34 native labourers" left their jobs despite the fact that "wages on the whole had been raised for these people."<sup>52</sup> In 1847 the board of directors proposed to replace all Brazilian wage laborers with slaves "so that it should be possible . . . at a future time to carry on all the workings by Negroes, with merely English underground Agents to direct them."<sup>53</sup>

The slaves' determination to become free men and women, combined with the inability of British citizens in Brazil to purchase slaves as a result of the Aberdeen Act of 1845, the effective abolition of the Atlantic slave trade to Brazil in 1850, and abolitionists' harassment, resulted in the St. John quickly reversing its earlier position on the preference of slave labor over wage labor.<sup>54</sup> The constant problem of attracting a permanent wage labor force likely informed managing director John Hockin's thoughts when he advised "that in selecting candidates for emancipation, regard should to a certain extent be had to the probability of the individuals chosen being likely to continue to work for the Company as freemen."<sup>55</sup> Mine superintendent James Gordon wrote in 1859 that, "the reward of freedom placed before the candidates who had entered upon the ten years' course has tended to settle and strengthen these candidates in the cultivation of good habits" as free laborers.<sup>56</sup> According to the board minutes of the mining company in 1860, "of 53 blacks emancipated since 1845, 7 have since died. That of the remaining 46,

43 were at the close of the last year working for the Company as freemen."<sup>57</sup> Nearly twenty years later, mine superintendent Pearson Morrison reaffirmed the vital role of the Revista ceremony in the gradual transition to a wage labor system by asserting "the directors have been encouraged in this course by the results of the past [manumissions], and intend to continue. . . to extend the privilege until every well conducted slave becomes a free labourer."<sup>58</sup> Until recently the chief protagonists in most histories of the transition from slave labor to wage labor have been structural transformations, and specifically the rise of industrial capitalism. But personal acts by slaves--in response to structural forces and as a product of structural forces--played a decisive role in demonstrating to masters the feasibility of capitalist labor-relations that provided vital encouragement for the conservative authors of societal transformation.<sup>59</sup>

In addition to the military-like assembly, inspection, and counting of slaves that formed part of the Sunday activities at the mine, the Revista ceremony also included the payment of overtime wages in what British Officials described as the "zinc currency of the company" on the "Anglo-tropical lawn" in front of the Casa Grande.<sup>60</sup> According to both the 1851 Annual Report and Burton, beginning at the end of June 1847 "permission was granted" for slaves "to bore overtime to the extent of one hole per man, per week."<sup>61</sup> When British abolitionists launched their attack against the labor practices of the St. John, they charged coercive techniques explained the overtime work: "The slaves work twelve [hours] underground; four of these hours are termed 'overtime,' but although the superintendent would wish to make it appear that they work 'overtime' of their own free will. . . the contrary is the case."<sup>62</sup> The board of directors responded to the charges by stating that "there is not one word of truth in this, but that on the contrary, they [slaves] rejoiced when the permission was granted to bore overtime."<sup>63</sup> British abolitionists correctly identified the use of coercion in overtime work--slave labor, after all, is a coercive labor relation. The designation and payment of overtime labor in the modern era has provided an effective tool for management in coercively squeezing extra hours out of

workers whose normal pay does not adequately address basic material and financial needs and subverting progressive labor regulations that supposedly place daily and weekly limits on labor hours. Outrage over slavery, however, caused British abolitionists to ignore what the extra earnings from overtime labor could mean for slaves, and how the extra wages could shape master-slave relationships at the mine.

St. John sources indicate slaves regularly received overtime wages and used their earnings to improve their situation. From 1847 until abolition, the Morro Velho Estate Mining Account contained the entry "Rewards and Overtime" that varied in total yearly amount from £654 to £4577.<sup>64</sup> Overtime wages presented a dilemma for mine directors because on the one hand cash incentives stimulated and encouraged productivity, but at the same time, the earnings empowered slaves in multiple ways. The St. John realized that the amassing of overtime earnings could undermine their authority, and slaves within the community could possibly emerge as leaders as a result of their relatively deep pockets.<sup>65</sup> In order to combat this possible tendency the board of directors sought to rotate overtime laborers: "The same men [overtime slave laborers], however, are not constantly employed, as they are changed about in order to distribute the money as equally as possible."<sup>66</sup> The intention of rotating overtime privileges did not so much reflect the egalitarian spirit of the mine superintendent in distributing the money equally among the slaves, as much as an effort to undermine slave attempts at self-purchase.

The right of slaves to amass a pecúlio (savings) to buy their freedom had its origin in Roman Law and became recognized by custom throughout Brazil, although it only received legal authority, as with manumission agreements, on the promulgation of the Free Womb Law of 1871.<sup>67</sup> If the slaves at Morro Velho utilized their pecúlio--amassed through overtime work--to attain freedom, they would challenge the Revista ceremony as the only avenue to liberation and undermine the disciplinary power it symbolized. In order to maintain the legitimacy of the Revista ceremony while at the same time employ overtime wages as an incentive for slaves, the directors of the company often combined

self-purchase with the criteria of "good conduct" when awarding letters of manumission. When mine superintendent James Gordon wrote in 1859 that "twenty-nine of the company's people have had letters of freedom granted them; thirteen of these quite gratuitously, and the remaining sixteen by partial nominal purchase," he described how the St. John fused the Revista and partial self-purchase into a single manumission process.<sup>68</sup> Twenty years later slaves at Morro Velho continued to gain their freedom through overtime wages, or more accurately according to the British Consul at Rio de Janeiro, by "ransoming themselves wholly or in part" with their own labor.<sup>69</sup> Overtime wages became synonymous with, and an indication of, "good conduct." By combining partial self-purchase with the Revista ceremony, the mining company effectively maintained the power of using manumissions as a disciplinary mechanism, and even succeeded in recovering some of the costs of employing such a strategy. For slaves at the mine, overtime wages enabled them to work for their own liberation and in the process influence the terms of what the St. John had to define as "good conduct."

When Burton witnessed the Revista, he took more interest in describing the slaves' Sunday clothing than the awarding of ribbons, medals, payment for overtime wages, and granting of freedom. He declared: "I never saw Negroes so well dressed."<sup>70</sup> According to Burton's description and the photograph (figure II) of the Revista from the 1880s, the women wore "white cotton petticoats. . . cotton shawls striped blue and white, and a bright kerchief, generally scarlet, bound round with wool."<sup>71</sup> During the cold season, in addition to the attire described by Burton, the women put on a "spencer"--a close-fitting waist-length jacket--covered by a "cape of red cloth."<sup>72</sup> The men wore "tail less coats of a blue serge, bound with red cuffs and collars, white waistcoats, overalls with red stripes down the streams, and the usual bonnets."<sup>73</sup> The men also received "a patent black leather waist belt" to wrap around their waist and secure their pants, buckled by "a brass plate, with the words 'Morro Velho' on it."<sup>74</sup> And to top off the Revista wardrobe, a red Turkish or Glengarry cap adorned the heads of the male slaves. The slave

children who attended the Revista were "clad in the same decent comfortable way" that Burton claimed offered a "great contrast. . . to the negrolings that sprawl about the land."<sup>75</sup>

The British company invested considerable time and money in this special wardrobe because they believed "clothes of a superior description will. . . produce a more permanent impression than money."<sup>76</sup> A week or two before the ceremony, the superintendent would issue an order to the "sewing department"--worked by the "weakly and convalescent women, girls of sufficient age," pregnant women "taken from their ordinary work" during "their sixth or seventh month. . . if the medical officer thinks it necessary," and crippled slaves injured as a result of the dangerous work conditions at the mine--to make a Revista outfit.<sup>77</sup> The Revista clothing represented a suit of liberty, and the medals and ribbons that adorned the wardrobe would demonstrate by their pomp for all to see that freedom could be achieved through "good conduct."

Despite the extravagant nature of the clothing and its symbolic importance, slaves eagerly took off the wardrobe after the ceremony. Mining company officials and Burton both, somewhat disappointedly, noticed that "again, many Negroes were ashamed to wear the Revista clothing, and purchase[d] for themselves suits that English mechanics need not be ashamed of."<sup>78</sup> Probably with overtime wages and passes to leave the mine, slaves traveled ten miles to the town of Sabará where they purchased cloth and finished clothes to "adorn themselves to such an extent," in the words of a mining official, "as might be envied by many of the labouring classes in England."<sup>79</sup> The slaves' decision to devote what limited "free time" and precious capital they had in clothing themselves reveals a silent and heroic testimony to control their own lives. By working to clothe themselves, the slaves strove to break free from the exploitative relationship that exchanged work, sweat, and skill for the master's beneficence. The effort to dress themselves with their own clothing rather than the Revista wardrobe had particular symbolic importance. The Revista occurred on Sunday, a day that theoretically should have been free from the

master's authority. To the slaves, taking off the Revista attire and putting on their own clothing marked the beginning of their day. The Revista clothing, while representing a suit of liberty that displayed progress toward freedom, was nonetheless, worn only by slaves, and thus symbolized slavery. The sense of shame felt by slaves about the Revista outfit not only poignantly revealed the resentment they expressed over the Sunday wardrobe, but more importantly, how they consciously strove to construct their own sense of pride. Shame as an emotion is most clearly defined by its antithesis: pride. The slaves' proud commitment to decide for themselves what style of clothes with which to clad their bodies--bodies that were the property of their master--reveals a strong conviction to break the chains of dependence that slavery embodied.<sup>80</sup>

After the Revista ceremony ended and the slaves changed into the clothes they preferred, "the day," wrote Burton, became "their own."<sup>81</sup> Mining officials claimed that after the Revista on Sunday slaves were "masters of their own time."<sup>82</sup> Some slaves, "the most indolent ones," according to the St. John, choose to "luxuriate in the sun or by a fire" and "dispose of the remainder of the day as they fe[l]t inclined."<sup>83</sup> Burton described a relaxing scene: "The idle and dissolute will keep the day holy in African fashion, lie in the sun, smoke, and if they can, drink and smoke hemp."<sup>84</sup> Slaves walked freely through the mining establishment, taking advantage of their limited time away from work to visit with friends, family, and lovers. Many used their passes to leave the mine, earned through "good conduct," to go to the towns of Morro Velho and Sabará "where they purchase[d] their tobacco, spirits, and any other article they may be in want of," according to J. Smith, "Manager of the Negroes."<sup>85</sup> Other slaves traveled on Sunday to establish and affirm family and community networks that extended beyond the confines of the mine.

Many slaves--"the industrious and intelligent" according to chief mining agent Thomas Treolar--devoted their Sunday independence to tending their "gardens, pigs, poultry, and etc."<sup>86</sup> The mine superintendent at Morro Velho awarded the privilege to



cultivate gardens and raise pigs and poultry as an incentive for slaves and would take away the privilege as a form of punishment. For the St. John, provision grounds partially relieved the company of the costly expense of providing food for more than one thousand slaves that often came from the town of Sabará ten miles away.<sup>87</sup> At the mine, "a very great proportion of the blacks had gardens or roças (larger pieces of ground) in which they raised fruits and vegetables, and kept pigs and poultry."<sup>88</sup> For the slaves, provision grounds and animal husbandry offered the opportunity to vary their monotonous and often inadequate diet, and to market some of their yield. In 1850, J. Smith estimated that "there are now at this time upwards of 200 pigs on the establishment belonging to Negroes."<sup>89</sup> Slaves could buy a piglet for about two milreis that could then be marketed in six months for sixteen to eighteen milreis. The slaves sold pigs to other slaves at the mine, in the nearby town market on Sunday, and even to the Englishmen who worked at the mine.<sup>90</sup> Thomas Walker, who headed the "independent" commission investigating labor practices at the mine, noticed that slaves "always have a good market for their poultry and eggs" and butchered the pigs themselves to earn "still more when they cut it up into small pieces to sell."<sup>91</sup> With the money from provision ground yields and the sale of pigs and chickens, slaves could buy goods such as clothing and add savings to their pecúlio for freedom. While provision grounds relieved the mining company to some extent of one of the most significant costs of maintaining a slave labor regime (i. e. food that kept slaves alive), many slaves received their freedom at the Revista through a combination of good behavior and partial self-purchase. As with overtime wages, slaves likely used earnings derived from provision grounds to circumvent the paternalistic Revista manumission ceremony as the only avenue for liberation by converting the small plots of land into liberty gardens that provided yields of emancipation.<sup>92</sup>

As the Lord's Day, Sunday provided the opportunity for slaves to meet collectively for religious worship. The mining company apparently did not believe Protestantism crucial to developing a strong work-ethic among the slaves, as some

historians have suggested, and initially allowed them to attend Catholic masses at Sabará despite a Protestant chapel being located on the mine's premises. Anglican church services at the mine represented the clearest indication of the multiple ways the British at Morro Velho attempted to divorce themselves from a Brazilian culture so intrinsically woven with Catholicism. The board of directors hired Charles Wright in 1851 from Trinity College at the University of Cambridge with an annual salary of £300 to provide religious services for British employees and family members at the mine.<sup>93</sup> In 1843 superintendent Charles Herring, as a result of "[a]n English miner happening unfortunately to meet with his death," set aside a piece of land near the mine for "a very neat cemetery with a gothic porch, on a conspicuous elevation," to bury his fellow countrymen as they could not associate religiously with Brazilian Catholics even after death while six feet under.<sup>94</sup> In 1867, after a successful lobbying campaign by the company's directors, the British parliament passed a bill solemnizing baptisms, marriages, and burials at Morro Velho just as if they had been performed in a British parish. The aversion St. John British employees expressed to any religious association with Brazilians, especially of African ancestry, likely increased when an ex-Confederate from Tennessee looking for security in what he hoped would continue to be a slaveholder's world, took up the chaplain's position at the mine in the 1870s.<sup>95</sup> While there is no indication that the Anglican church specifically prevented Brazilians from becoming parishioners, the "Register of Baptisms" clearly stated, "For members of the Church of England & other European residents on the Establishment of the St. John d'el Rey Gold Mining Company at Morro Velho." Unsurprisingly, of the 255 baptisms recorded at the mine between March 1851 and July 1868, Thomas Buzza may represent the sole non-European member of the Church by reason of his surname and being 32 years of age.<sup>96</sup>

In analyzing the role of religion in the life of slaves at the mine, historian Marshall Eakin suggests "one powerful assimilating force was the imposition of Roman Catholicism on the slave population."<sup>97</sup> The statement negates the slaves' ability to

fashion their own religious beliefs and interpretations of what had been imposed on them. Further, even the notion of a qualified "imposition" will not suffice because sixty-six percent of African-born slaves who labored at the mine could trace their geographic ancestry to the Kingdom of Kongo and the Portuguese colony of Angola that represented the only two Catholic countries in Central Africa.<sup>98</sup> Thus, what may be regarded as a radical imposition of a belief system, might actually represent the ability of Morro Velho slaves to construct a limited sense of continuity and exhibit greater religious control over their own salvation while wearing the shackles of slavery. The common appearance of Angolan and Kongolese ethnicity among African and Afro-Brazilian Catholic lay brotherhoods that served an essential function in the operation of churches by raising money, building chapels, organizing processions on holy days for their patron saints, leading prayers and rituals, collecting alms, and burying and praying for the dead, likely indicates religious traditions slaves took with them and transformed when they crossed the Atlantic.<sup>99</sup> Despite the difficulties in precisely determining ethnicity, geographic ancestry, and the religious beliefs of slaves imported into Brazil, and specifically those at Morro Velho, other scholars have shown that Africans and Afro-Brazilians constructed a religious system that was neither exclusively Catholic nor "African", orthodox nor syncretic, but rather a convergence of Old and New World beliefs that spoke directly to their divergent African and American experiences.<sup>100</sup>

Examining Sunday religious practices at the mine with attention to the active participation by slaves provides insights into their spiritual world. Before 1850, slaves "were obliged to go to the parish church in the village," according to Thomas Walker, where "many took the opportunity of procuring spirituous liquors, and committing other irregularities;. . . but these opportunities have now been taken away by the performance of divine service within the establishment." The company erected "a small chapel" for the slaves and free Brazilians at the mine sometime after 1850 where a local priest, selected and paid for by the superintendent, administered services on Sunday. The priest lived at

the mine and "every day" provided "religious instruction to children, teaching them the Catechism and Prayers."<sup>101</sup> The decision to construct a church and hire a priest did not reflect a new-found interest in the spiritual well-being of the slaves by the mining company, as much as a need to control the slave population and the independence that traveling to town afforded. Equally revealing, given the expense of building a chapel and hiring a Catholic priest, it is somewhat surprising that neither the St. John company nor the Anglican minister mentioned any attempts to convert the slaves to Protestantism. The explanation probably rests not only with British desires to separate themselves from the slaves and Catholicism, but just as importantly, the slaves' desire to separate themselves from the master and profess a religion that they had made their own. While Burton clearly exaggerated when he remarked that Sundays and Saint's days comprised "nearly a third of the year," the frequency of Catholic holidays would have theoretically provided slaves with days off from working in the mine and thus greater independence from master control.<sup>102</sup> In addition, the musical performances at the mine's Protestant services that Burton found characteristic "of the country church in Great Britain generally, suggesting the question, why should men who cannot sing a song, sing psalms and hymns?" may have provided an additional reason for slaves to prefer Catholicism to the Anglican Church. In contrast, services at the slaves' church were much more lively as the "singing was better in time and tune, and there was more fervour than in the rival establishment."<sup>103</sup> Exploring the slaves' religious beliefs at Morro Velho remains difficult because the St. John records almost exclusively focus on the issue of control and Burton provides only crude anecdotal remarks about laziness and musical abilities that constitute the staples of racial stereotypes throughout the Americas. But the centrality of religion in the history of slavery in the Americas and its featured role in the construction of community identity provides every reason to safely suggest that Morro Velho slaves' could tailor a belief system to address their own needs in order to empower themselves spiritually.

In addition to the collective fraternity expressed through religious worship, slaves at the mine took advantage of Sunday to celebrate their cultural heritages. The formation of fraternal organizations known as African "nations" that adopted names to reflect their shared ethnicity, often rooted in a specific geographic location in Africa, comprised a common feature of slave societies throughout Latin America.<sup>104</sup> African "nations" normally thrived in urban areas as mutual-aid societies by providing loans, schooling, housing, burials for members, and even purchasing the freedom of slaves. When the House of Lords Select Committee on the Slave Trade asked Morro Velho mine superintendent Charles Herring about the function of enabling slaves to form nations he responded: "It is for the purpose of preserving peace on the establishment. [Otherwise] They [the slaves] would be able to league together."<sup>105</sup> While the "nations" may have militated against a broad sense of racial or class solidarity among slaves by dividing the population ethnically, Africans and Afro-Brazilians could employ these institutions, which complemented the hierarchical structuring of both Brazilian and African society, to collectively embrace their diverse cultures. Although the formation of African nations primarily represented an urban phenomenon, evidence from the St. John sources, albeit scattered and lacking detail, indicates these societies played a vital role in contributing to a sense of community among slaves at the mine. According to chief mining agent Tomas Treoloar, slaves chose "kings and queens to watch over the interests and welfare of their respective nations."<sup>106</sup> On Sunday afternoons following the Revista ceremony and Catholic mass, and on special holidays by the light of a "large bonfire," slaves performed their "native dances."<sup>107</sup> According to mining officials at Morro Velho, "hundreds of [slaves] diverted themselves with their national dances". . . "which required no slight bodily exertion as must be acknowledged by everyone who has ever witnessed them."<sup>108</sup> The mining company, unfortunately, did not provide a description of the dances or list the nations that performed them. The slaves at Morro Velho most likely danced lundu,

batuque, capoeira, bamboula, guachambo, jardinera, and dança de velhos, commonly performed in nineteenth-century Brazil.<sup>109</sup>

A photograph (figure III) provides a fascinating visual image of a dance at the mine during the 1880s. The picture shows one individual at the center with a wooden sword, surrounded by others--some with swords--facing toward him, watched by what appears to represent some privileged group seated and holding scepters, with the mine superintendents looking on from the portico. Burton witnessed a theatrical dance called the congada while he stayed at the mine that may describe the photo taken in the 1880s.<sup>110</sup> The congada dances commemorated the Kingdom of Kongo battles with rival African nations and the Portuguese that undoubtedly varied from continent to continent, region to region, and surely over time. The congadas of Brazil consisted of three common motifs: (1) the coronation of the queen and king of Kongo; (2) a procession of ambassadors from rival nations to pay homage to the king and queen; and (3) the reenactment of battle scenes.<sup>111</sup> Historian Linda Heywood has traced the origins of the congada ceremony to the special relationship between the Lisbon and Kongoese monarchs during the long rein of Kongo's King Alfonso (1509-1542). By the eighteenth century performances that dramatized the crowning of the king of Kongo were enacted in Portugal, Kongo, and Brazil spread by the Catholic lay brotherhoods of Our Lady of the Rosary on all three continents.<sup>112</sup> European travelers to other Latin American slave societies often commented on similar dances and ceremonies they observed. Frederika Bremer, for example, who wrote in great detail on her experiences in Cuba, briefly mentioned a "congo dance" performed by slaves on Sunday at a sugar plantation.<sup>113</sup> Congada dances appear to have been particularly pronounced in Brazil that likely reflected the dominant patterns of the trans-Atlantic slave trade. The Kongo remained a constant source for slaves imported to Southern Brazil, especially in the nineteenth century when the region represented one-fourth to one-third of the human cargo arriving in Rio de Janeiro.



Among the geographic origin of African-born slaves at the mine, Kongolese outnumbered all others and comprised twenty-five percent of the entire population.<sup>114</sup>

Burton described the congada he observed at the mine as a "score of men promenading through the settlement, came to the Casa Grande . . . . All were armed with sword and shield except for the king; who, in sign of his dignity, carried his sceptre stout and useful stick." The king declared "orders for a slave hunt" to his loyal subjects and "to put to death recreant ministers and warriors." Once the prisoners had been captured, "his majesty freely used his staff, threshing everybody right regally. . . varied by allusions to the Superintendent and his guests."<sup>115</sup> The slaves at the mine tactfully substituted the usual rival African nation or Portuguese colonizer who played the role of the antagonist in the ceremony with the mine superintendent. The congada could have been performed at any of numerous locations at the mine, but according to both the photograph and Burton, the slaves returned to the Casa Grande. The "allusions to the superintendent and his guests" (in the actual presence of the superintendent and his guests at the Casa Grande), represented a powerful symbolic and public contestation of power that would not have carried the same direct refutation of authority had it not been witnessed by those it ridiculed.

Slaves understood all too well superintendent James Gordon's statement requiring their presence at the Revista ceremony, whether they received awards and recognition or not, so "that it may be calculated to exercise a salutary influence on all present."<sup>116</sup> In public and rehearsed displays of power, the distinction between active participant and passive observer becomes blurred. For ritualized displays of power to have efficacy in shaping relations among ruler and ruled, superordinate and subordinate, patron and client, employer and employee, and master and slave as in the case of Morro Velho, both groups must participate to one degree or another. Slaves returned to the Casa Grande, not in the Revista wardrobe that they wore earlier in the day by order of the superintendent, and not to receive master bestowed awards, but "dressed as they fondly imagined" in Kongolese

style, according to Burton, to display to the superintendent and others the crowning of their own king and queen and the enslavement of their enemies.<sup>117</sup> Although the dance described by Burton did not result in a radical change in master-slave relations at the mine, we should not underestimate its importance. Oppressed people who can construct--in this case perform--an image or identity to counter their subordination contain within themselves a politically dangerous potential to draw upon if the correct scenario should present itself to translate ideas into action. The fact that many similar events were banned and regulated throughout Brazil as a result of the large assemblage of slaves the dances encouraged and the ideas such performances could inspire, vividly demonstrates the struggle for enslaved men and women to shape and influence their own lives. And, no less revealing, masters' respect of such desires.<sup>118</sup>

After the Sunday dances, the sun descended behind the surrounding mountains and cast a long shadow over the mine, thus ending the slaves' only day "free" from work. As a day characterized by activities other than toiling for the master and events such as the Revista, relaxing away from work with family and friends, tending to provision grounds, religious services, wearing clothes of their own choosing, traveling to town, and the ability to reaffirm ties with their African heritages through dance and ceremony, Sunday, undoubtedly, had special meaning for slaves. As they retired to their quarters around 8:30 P. M. "to the signal being given by beating on an iron plate" and savored what remained of Sunday, slaves surely wished the day would not end.<sup>119</sup> The next morning they would be forced to rise at 5:00 A. M. to begin the long week of working from sunup to sundown until a brief respite from the brutality of slavery would come on the following Sunday.<sup>120</sup> The weekly work routine for slaves at the mine remained essentially unchanged from the 1830s until the 1870s and the Revista ceremony continued to function as the central disciplinary device employed at the mine.

**"Serious Dissatisfaction, if not Insurrectionary Movements among the Slaves"**

In the late 1870s, the mining company became embroiled in a court case that radically and permanently changed master-slave relations at Morro Velho. In 1845 the board of directors had reached an agreement with the recently liquidated Cata Branca Brazilian company to hire 385 slaves for fourteen years. The contract signed in London detailing the transaction specified that "all of the said Negroes. . . shall at the end of the said term of fourteen years be and become absolutely free and emancipated."<sup>121</sup> But in 1859, after fourteen years of service, the St. John did not grant the Cata Branca slaves their duly entitled freedom. The breach of the contract and the illegal enslavement of more than three hundred individuals went unnoticed for nearly twenty years. The mining company took special precautions to insure that the Cata Branca slaves did not learn of the freedom clause during the period 1845-59 and especially after the contract had expired. Only in 1879, when abolitionists led by Joaquim Nabuco took up the cause, did the flagrant violation of the contract become known. Shortly thereafter, judicial authorities promptly investigated the case and liberated the slaves.<sup>122</sup>

If the mining company had granted the Cata Branca slaves their freedom as stipulated in the 1845 contract, it would have undermined their authority and the stability provided by the Sunday Revista manumission policy. In 1859 when the Board discussed freeing the Cata Branca slaves, chairman John Dinston Powles reported that "he considered that the emancipation of the Negroes, which had been contemplated to take place at the end of the agreement was a measure wholly inadvisable, in every point of view, and particularly with reference to the welfare of the Negroes themselves." The Board clearly stated its opposition to the wholesale manumission of the Cata Branca slaves in favor of the Revista ceremony because the "system of making emancipation the reward of good conduct . . . was the safe and prudent one, and the only one likely to do any real good."<sup>123</sup> As a result, "the Cata Branca slaves. . . participated equally with the Company's [slaves] in a liberal scale of gratuitous emancipation for good conduct" that by 1879 had freed 87 Cata Branca slaves.<sup>124</sup> The mining company feared that the liberation

of the Cata Branca slaves would demonstrate to others at the mine that there existed other roads to freedom beside the Revista ceremony. Thus, in order to maintain the legitimacy of the Revista as a disciplinary weapon, not to mention retain hundreds of unpaid laborers, the Cata Branca slaves became integrated with and treated in the same manner as the company's slaves.

The shocking news of a British company enslaving technically free people became an international cause célèbre that quickly circulated through the press in Brazil, Great Britain, and elsewhere. In France, the Revue des deux mondes smugly pointed out the contradiction the illegal enslavement revealed between Great Britain's policy on slavery and the actions of British citizens in Brazil: "Given the current circumstances, what is particularly ironic, is that the company, its directors, and stockholders all belong to that English nationality which has been so critical of Brazil every time the question of slavery has been raised!"<sup>125</sup> The judicial authority investigating the case at the municipality of Sabará wasted no time in handing down a decision after the abolitionist press had created a frenzy of excitement. On 14 October 1879, district judge Frederico Augusto Alvares da Silvas issued a verdict stating that the Cata Branca slaves shall "be declared free from the beginning of 1860, and that they be paid the wages due from . . . 1860 up to the date of" freedom.<sup>126</sup> The remaining 123 living slaves immediately received their letters of emancipation.

José Antonio Alonzo de Brito, the chief of police of the province of Minas Gerais, sent "a sufficient detachment of the police force" to Morro Velho "under the orders of a military delegate" to liberate the slaves. The show of force likely had two purposes: first, to ensure that the mining company freed the slaves; and second, to maintain order for fear that the emancipation of 123 slaves might inspire violent protest among other bondsmen and bondswomen at Morro Velho. The superintendent of the mine, Pearson Morrison, met the police force and then "gave orders for those who were to be freed to assemble on the lawn of the Casa Grande." After the Cata Branca slaves had gathered in front of the

superintendent's house, Morrison "read the order for the execution of the sentence, and the slaves of the Cata Branca Company [were] declared free."<sup>127</sup> Morrison's actions of lining up the Cata Branca slaves and then reading the declaration of freedom suggests an attempt to preserve the legitimacy of the Revista ceremony for the others at the mine who witnessed the liberation of 123 slaves.

The mining company feared the "indiscriminate emancipation of large numbers of slaves of all characters" would "create serious dissatisfaction, if not insurrectionary movements among the slaves in the neighbourhood."<sup>128</sup> After the Cata Branca case, Pearson Morrison sought to maintain whatever authority the Revista retained by "augmenting the number to be freed annually" and increasing the number of ceremonies to control the remaining slaves at Morro Velho while the mining company took steps toward a complete transition to wage labor.<sup>129</sup> The liberation of 123 slaves hastened the demise of slavery at Morro Velho by delegitimizing the Revista ceremony that had functioned for forty years as the central device to maintain order over a large slave population. As a result, the British mining company which held as many as 1,700 individuals in bondage in 1867 and possibly represented the largest slaveholder in the most populous slave province in Brazil, liberated all the remaining slaves who worked its gold mines by 1882.<sup>130</sup> The Cata Branca case destroyed the rules and regulations master and slaves had constructed through custom and tradition based upon asymmetrical reciprocity that exchanged "good conduct" for freedom.

Forced to defend their labor practices, the St. John pointed self-congratulatory to the Revista ceremony to claim they had "acted in no mercenary manner in the matter of the slaves under their control." Rather, according to Pearson Morrison, the company had "at a sacrifice of many thousands of pounds, freely given freedom to the best conducted, and therefore, in a money point of view, the most valuable of them, as soon as they [slaves] had qualified themselves by a persistent course of good conduct, to become industrious, well-conducted, free labourers."<sup>131</sup> The statement reveals the contradictions

of the entire slave labor regime at Morro Velho. The system of slavery could only be validated by slaves becoming freedmen. Thus, slavery had to be sanctioned by, paradoxically, granting slaves freedom on a routine and customary basis. The Cata Branca case revealed the horrific aspect of slavery that made laborers subject to the whim of their master and demolished the legitimacy of the Revista ceremony in shaping master-slave relations at the mine.

Although a sensational court case dramatically contributed to the end of slavery at Morro Velho, St. John sources are noticeably silent on any significant changes in mining operations as a result of the transition to wage labor. Stockholders continued to receive substantial dividend checks and mineral extraction from the mine showed no conspicuous irregularities after emancipation. Apparently, enough freed slaves continued to work and live at the mine, where they had developed their own sense of community, that the company did not suffer a debilitating labor crisis.<sup>132</sup> To compensate for the freed slaves who chose to leave the mine and find a new employer, board member Frederick Tendron traveled to Brazil in hope of hiring Canadian, Italian, and Chinese miners but found that "the Cata Branca business. . . unsettled" laborers and prevented some from signing on.<sup>133</sup> The radical changes that occurred at Morro Velho in the later 1880s resulted not from the end of slavery, but rather the mine collapse of 10 November 1886 that paralyzed production for nearly ten years.<sup>134</sup>

While St. John records leave us with little indication of the importance of liberation for slaves, the men and women who toiled at the mine, conformed to the "good conduct" standards to be manumitted through the Revista ceremony, and creatively drew upon cultural resources to empower themselves, demonstrate that aspirations for freedom from master dominion burned strongly in their minds. The St. John did not describe what liberation meant to slaves because it did not concern them. Slaves at the mine understood quite clearly that their labor, above all, interested their master. Through an adept combination of analyzing master strength and vulnerability, slaves carved out and

expanded a circumscribed independence by simultaneously drawing closer to master authority through "good conduct" and by constructing barriers that effectively distanced themselves from master control. The ceremonies, activities, and rituals at the mine on Sunday displayed in bold strokes the unstable and grossly uneven terrain upon which masters and slaves crafted a culture together, and where they designed their own culture, on their own terms, to define their own identity.

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<sup>1</sup>Richard Burton to Chairman J. D. Powles, Morro Velho, 5 July 1867, St. John d'el Rey Mining Company Archive, Nettie Lee Benson Latin American Collection, University of Texas at Austin (hereafter SJDRMC-BLAC), Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1. Burton's letter was read to the Board of Directors on 16 Oct. 1867, Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 4, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>2</sup>Richard F. Burton, Explorations of the Highlands of Brazil (London: Tinsley Brothers, 1869), 1: 236.

<sup>3</sup>Ibid.

<sup>4</sup>Ibid; St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, Circular to the Proprietors of the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, (hereafter Circular) (London: R. Clay, 1850), 10, 16-17; Saint John d'el Rey Mining Company, Limited, Annual Report (hereafter cited as AR) (London: R. Clay, Sons, and Taylor, 1851), 7; AR (1875), 72; John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 1 Aug. 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1; and Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 12 and 20 July 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>5</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:236; AR, (1867), 37; Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 15 Feb. 1860, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>6</sup>Entry for 3 Dec. 1834, Book of Abstracts of title deeds for Morro Velho property, vol. 1, pp. 24-5, SJDRMC-BLAC; Bernard A. Hollowood, The Story of Morro Velho (London: St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, Ltd., 1955), 22; Marshall C. Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil: The St. John d'el Rey Mining Company and the Morro Velho Gold Mine, 1830-1960 (Durham: Duke University Press, 1989), 24; Alan K. Manchester, British Preeminence in Brazil: Its Rise and Decline (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1933); Richard Graham, Britain and the Onset of Modernization in Brazil, 1850-1914 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1968); Peter Rivière, Absent-minded Imperialism: Britain and the Expansion of Empire in Nineteenth-Century Brazil (London: Tauris Academic Studies, 1995); T. A. Rickard, "The Deepest Mine," Mining and Scientific Press 121 (Oct. 1920), 477-8; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 49, fn.

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81; Douglas Cole Libby, Trabalho escravo e capital estrangeiro no Brasil: O caso de Morro Velho (Belo Horizonte: Editora Itatiaia, 1984), 33.

<sup>7</sup>AR, (1867), 37; Burton, Explorations, 1:273; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 172; and Libby, Trabalho Escravo, 87; Amilcar Martins Filho and Roberto B. Martins, "Slavery in a Nonexport Economy: Nineteenth-Century Minas Gerais Revisited," Hispanic American Historical Review, 63:3 (Aug. 1983), 541.

<sup>8</sup>Robert Conrad, The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888 (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972), 14; Charles Joyner, Down by the Riverside: A South Carolina Slave Community (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1984), 34.

<sup>9</sup>For studies of manumission in Brazil, see Stuart B. Schwartz, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Bahia, 1684-1745," Hispanic American Historical Review 54:4 (Nov. 1974), 603-635; Kátia M. de Queirós Mattoso, "A propósito de cartas de alforria na Bahia, 1779-1850," Anais de historia 4 (1972), 23-55; Mary C. Karasch, Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808-1850 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1987), 335-69; Robert Wayne Slenes "The Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888" (Ph. D. diss., Stanford University, 1975), 484-574; James Patrick Kierman, "The Manumission of Slaves in Colonial Brazil: Paraty, 1789-1822" (Ph. D. diss., New York University, 1976); Kathleen Joan Higgins, "The Slave Society in Eighteenth-Century Sabará: A Community Study in Colonial Brazil" (Ph. D. diss., Yale University, 1987), 191-257; Donald Ramos, "Community, Control and Acculturation: A Case Study in Eighteenth-Century Brazil," The Americas 42:4 (1986), 419-51; Peter L. Eisenberg, "Ficando livre: As alforrias em Campinas no século XIX," Estudos econômicos, 17:2 (May-Aug., 1987), 175-216; and Mieko Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery: Salvador, Brazil, 1808-1888," Hispanic American Historical Review 73:3 (Aug. 1993), 361-391; Eric Hobsbawm, "Peasants and Politics," Journal of Peasant Studies, 1:1 (1973), 13.

<sup>10</sup>Agreement between the Cata Branca Brazilian Company and the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, 27 June 1845, SJDRMC-BLAC; Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 3 Mar. and 8 Dec. 1854, SJDRMC-BLAC; ARs (1848-82); Circular, 33; Great Britain, House of Lords, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Consider the Best Means which Great Britain can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade," Sessional Papers, 1849-50, Slave Trade, 24 May 1849, vol. 9, par. 2490, p. 170.

<sup>11</sup>In a similar vein, historians have shown how slaves could threaten to runaway during peak times of production as means of obtaining concessions from masters over family control, provision grounds, socializing, and even freedom. See Gerald W. Mullin, Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1972), 107; John Thornton, Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1680 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1992), 275-8; William W. Freehling, The Reintegration of American History: Slavery and the Civil War (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 19; T. Stephen Whitman, The Price of



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Freedom; Slavery and Manumission in Baltimore and Early National Maryland (Lexington: University Press of Kentucky, 1997), 66-7, 73-4; James Sidbury, Ploughshares into Swords: Race Rebellion and Identity in Gabriel's Virginia, 1730-1810 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 197; and Stuart B. Schwartz, "Resistance and Accommodation in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: The Slaves' View of Slavery," Hispanic American Historical Review 57:1 (Feb., 1977), 69-81.

<sup>12</sup>Leslie Bethell, The Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade: Britain, Brazil and the Slave Trade Question, 1807-1869 (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1970); Graham, Britain and the Onset of Modernization, 160-86; "Slaveholding Mining Companies," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:47 (Nov. 1849), 168.

<sup>13</sup>Great Britain, House of Lords, "Report from the Select Committee . . .," par. 2372-2514, pp. 164-171; The articles that appeared in the Daily News, Mining Journal, and the Morning Post in 1849 were reprinted in the British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society's publication the Anti-Slavery Reporter. See "Slaveholding Mining Companies," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:47 (Nov. 1849), 165-8; "St. John Del Rey Mining Company," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:47 (Nov. 1849), 172-3; "The Slaves of the St. John Del Rey Mines," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:48 (Dec. 1849), 188-9; and "The St. John Del Rey Mining Company," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:48 (Dec. 1849), 181-3.

<sup>14</sup>Letter reprinted in "The Slaves of the St. John Del Rey Mines," Anti-Slavery Reporter n. s., 9:48 (Dec. 1849), 189.

<sup>15</sup>Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 2, 8 and 30 Nov. 1849, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>16</sup>Circular, 17, 11.

<sup>17</sup>Ibid., 33.

<sup>18</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:271.

<sup>19</sup>Great Britain, House of Lords, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Consider the Best Means which Great Britain can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade," Sessional Papers, 1849-50, Slave Trade, 24 May 1849, vol. 9, par. 2353-2371, pp. 162-3. Unfortunately Agostinho was not asked and did not describe slavery at Morro Velho or how he obtained his freedom.

<sup>20</sup>Circular, 19

<sup>21</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:237

<sup>22</sup>Francisco Peixoto de Lacerda Werneck, Memória sobre a fundação de uma fazenda na provincia do Rio de Janeiro (1847; reprint with an introduction by Eduardo Silva, Rio de Janeiro: Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa, 1985), 61. Also see Warren Dean for the same in São Paulo province, Rio Claro: A Brazilian Plantation System (Stanford: Stanford

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University Press, 1976), 65. A similar process is described by Charles Joyner for the South Carolina rice fields where tasks were assigned each morning, Down by the Riverside, 43; and Peter Kolchin for Russian serfs on Sundays, Unfree Labor: American Slavery and Russian Serfdom (Cambridge, Mass.: Belknap Press of Harvard University Press, 1987), 69.

<sup>23</sup>Public Records Office, Foreign Office (hereafter PRO-FO), 131/18, fols. 235-9.

<sup>24</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Oct. 1859; John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 22 Sept. 1877, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>25</sup>AR (1851), 59.

<sup>26</sup>AR (1875), 72.

<sup>27</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1: 197-8.

<sup>28</sup>AR (1851), 66.

<sup>29</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 1 Dec. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1. Also see John Hockin to Thomas Walker, London, 8 July 1858, John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 1 Aug. 1859, and John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 22 Sept. 1877, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1, and Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 203 for the emphasis on the ceremonial aspect of the Revista.

<sup>30</sup>John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 22 Sept. 1877, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1

<sup>31</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Aug. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>32</sup>Circular, 16-7.

<sup>33</sup>John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 23 Oct. 1865; John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 23 Sept. 1878, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>34</sup>"Lei no. 2040 de 28 de setembro 1871," Coleção das leis do imperio do Brasil, 31:1 (1871), art. 4, sec. 2. Conrad provides an English translation of the Law of the Free Womb in Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 305-9. Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, "Silences of the Law: Customary Law and Positive Law on the Manumission of Slaves in 19th Century Brazil," History and Anthropology, 1:2 (1985), 429; Sandra Lauderdale-Graham, "Slavery's Impasse: Slave Prostitutes, Small-Time Mistresses, and the Brazilian Law of 1871," Comparative Studies in Society and History, 33:4 (October 1991), 692-3; Martha Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children: Emancipation and Female Space in Debates on the 'Free Womb' Law, Rio de Janeiro, 1871," Journal of Latin American

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Studies, 28:3 (October 1996), 568; Sidney Chalhoub, "Slaves, Freedmen and the Politics of Freedom in Brazil: The Experience of Blacks in the City of Rio," Slavery & Abolition, 10:3 (1989), 70-74; Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity in Urban Slavery," 379, fn. 55; and Slenes, "Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery," 508.

<sup>35</sup> Conrad, Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 205; Slenes, "Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery," 510; and Eisenberg, "Ficando livre," 206-8. It should be stressed that no definite time limitations were imposed by the state on such manumission agreements between masters and slaves.

<sup>36</sup>Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 12 July 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>37</sup>John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 23 Oct. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>38</sup>Eugene D. Genovese adeptly describes how certain privileges bestowed to slaves such as garden plots and holidays became transformed into rights, Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made (New York: Vintage, 1974), 30-31, 314-5, 535-85, esp. 539, 569, 575. Emília Viotti da Costa explores the battle between master-awarded privileges and slaves' rights within the context of an extensive slave revolt, Crowns of Glory Tears of Blood: The Demerara Slave Rebellion of 1823 (New York: Oxford University Press, 1994), 84-5.

<sup>39</sup>Emília Viotti da Costa, Da senzala à colônia, (São Paulo: Difusão Européia do Livro, 1966), 307 and Warren Dean Rio Claro, 134, were among the first historians to emphasize the active role of slaves in the abolition process. For recent interpretations see the excellent studies by Hebe Maria Mattos de Castro, Das cores do silêncio: Os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista, Brasil século XIX (Rio de Janeiro: Arquivo Nacional, 1995); and Sidney Chalhoub, Visões da liberdade: Uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na corte (São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990) that cast slaves as the central protagonists of abolition.

<sup>40</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:276. Dean asserts that the arrival of an absentee master at a plantation was sometimes marked by individual gifts that included "ribbons, buckles, and the like." Rio Claro, 65.

<sup>41</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:236.

<sup>42</sup>Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 2, 13 Apr. 1852, SJDRMC-BLAC; James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Aug. 1865; John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 23 Oct. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1; Burton, Explorations, 1:236.

<sup>43</sup>AR (1875), 72, emphasis in original.

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<sup>44</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Aug. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>45</sup>Memorandum by Pearson Morrison, Morro Velho, n. d. [1879-82?], SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>46</sup>John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 23 Sept. 1878, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>47</sup>Dean, Rio Claro, 72-4; Ramos, "Community, Control and Acculturation," 431-2; Chalhoub, Visões, 137; Schwartz, "Manumission of Slaves," 625; Judy Bieber Freitas, "Slavery and Social Life: Attempts to Reduce Free People to Slavery in the Sertão Mineiro, Brazil, 1850-1871," Journal of Latin American Studies 26:3 (Oct. 1994), 615-17; and Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 360-1, fn. 79.

<sup>48</sup>Lei no. 2040 de 28 de setembro 1871," art. 4, sec. 9; Manuela Carneiro da Cunha, "Silences of the Law," 438; Dean, Rio Claro, 72.

<sup>49</sup>Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 353, 360-1, fn. 79; Silvia Hunold Lara, Campos da violência: Escravos e senhores na capitania do Rio de Janeiro, 1750-1808 (Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1988), 264-8; Eisenberg, "Ficando livre," 176; Chalhoub, Visões, 137; and Schwartz, "Manumission of Slaves," 600, 625. Nishida's analysis of 3,516 letters of liberty does not mention one revocation, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 361-91. Dean does not state the total number of letters of liberty he consulted, but found three revocations, Rio Claro, 72-74. A. J. R. Russell-Wood, while not conducting a systematic study of manumission, mentions one re-enslavement in 1795 by the Carmelite monastery of Salvador. "Colonial Brazil," in Neither Slave nor Free: The Freedman of African Descent in the Slave Societies of the New World, eds. David W. Cohen and Jack P. Greene (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1972), 91-92.

<sup>50</sup>Memorandum by Pearson Morrison, Morro Velho, n.d. [1879-82?], SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>51</sup>Steve Hahn, "Class and State in Postemancipation Societies: Southern Planters in Comparative Perspective," American Historical Review 95:1 (Feb. 1990), 75-98.

<sup>52</sup>AR, (1844), 34.

<sup>53</sup>Circular, 11.

<sup>54</sup>St. John d'el Rey Mining Company to the Earl of Aberdeen, London, 17 June 1843, Letter Book no. 4, pp. 49-54, SJDRMC-BLAC; Bethell, Abolition of the Brazilian Slave Trade, 242-95, 327-63; Graham, Britain and the Onset of Modernization, 163-4; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 33-4.

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<sup>55</sup>John Hockin to Thomas Walker, London, 8 June 1857, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>56</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Oct. 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>57</sup>Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 15 Feb. 1860, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>58</sup>Memorandum by Pearson Morrison, Morro Velho, n. d. [1879-82?], SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>59</sup>Eric Williams, Capitalism & Slavery (1944; reprint, London: Andre Deutsch, 1964) remains the classic and still influential work; Mattos de Castro, Das cores do silêncio; and Chalhoub, Visões da liberdade, highlight the ways freed men and women as wage laborers, often working side-by-side with slaves, contributed to the destruction of slavery.

<sup>60</sup>PRO-FO, 131/18, fol. 102.

<sup>61</sup>Quote from AR (1851), 64; Burton, Explorations, 1:274.

<sup>62</sup>"The Slaves of the St. John Del Rey Mines," Anti-Slavery Reporter, n. s., 9:48 (Dec. 1849), 188.

<sup>63</sup>AR (1851), 64.

<sup>64</sup>ARs (1851-88).

<sup>65</sup>See Charles B. Dew's detailed discussion on the role of slaves Sam Williams and Henry Towles as leaders of the Buffalo Forge ironworks in Virginia, Bond of Iron: Master and Slave at Buffalo Forge (New York: W. W. Norton & Company, 1994), 171-91.

<sup>66</sup>Circular, 37.

<sup>67</sup>"Lei no. 2040 de 28 de setembro 1871," art. 4; Carniero da Cunha, "Silences of the Law," 430; Lauderdale-Graham, "Slavery's Impasse," 692; Chalhoub, "Slaves, Freedmen and the Politics of Freedom," 70-74; Abreu, "Slave Mothers and Freed Children," 568; and Slenes, "Demography and Economics of Brazilian Slavery," 508.

<sup>68</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 31 Oct. 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>69</sup>PRO-FO, 131/18, fol. 410.

<sup>70</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:276.

<sup>71</sup>Ibid. 1:236.

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<sup>72</sup>AR (1851), 59.

<sup>73</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:236.

<sup>74</sup>AR (1851), 59.

<sup>75</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:236.

<sup>76</sup>Circular, 17.

<sup>77</sup> AR (1851), 69; Circular, 16-17.

<sup>78</sup>Circular, 48; AR (1851), 61; Burton, Explorations, 1:237.

<sup>79</sup>Circular, 32; AR (1851), 61; Burton, Explorations, 1:196.

<sup>80</sup>Karl Marx--surprising to some--understood the revolutionary implications of shame: "You look at me with a smile and ask: What is gained by that? No revolution is made out of shame. I reply: Shame is already a revolution of a kind. . . Shame is a kind of anger that is turned inward. And if a whole nation really experienced a sense of shame, it would be like a lion crouching ready to spring." "Letters from the *Deutsch-Französische Jahrbücher*," in Karl Marx, Friedrich Engels--Collected Works (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1976), 3:133; Charles Dew describes a similar symbolic importance of slaves buying material goods for themselves with their overtime wages, Bond of Iron, esp. 116.

<sup>81</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:237.

<sup>82</sup>Circular, 31.

<sup>83</sup>Ibid., 36, 45.

<sup>84</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:237.

<sup>85</sup>Circular, 46.

<sup>86</sup>Ibid., 36. Sidney Mintz was the first to study slave provision grounds in detail and remains the authority on the subject, see in particular Caribbean Transformations (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1975), 180-213. Several recent studies and a useful literature survey can be found in a special issue of Slavery & Abolition entitled "The Slaves' Economy: Independent Production by Slaves in the Americas," 12:1 (May 1991). The most thorough study for Brazil is B. J. Barickman, "A Bit of Land Which They Call Roça: Slave Provision Grounds in the Bahian Recôncavo, 1780-1860," Hispanic American Historical Review 74:4 (Nov. 1994), 649-87.

<sup>87</sup>Circular, 32; AR (1845), 33.

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<sup>88</sup>AR (1851), 61. Barickman suggests that "[a]lthough in some English-speaking parts of the Caribbean contemporaries distinguished between gardens, yards, and provision grounds, no comparable distinction appears in Brazilian sources." As a result, he uses the term roça as an equivalent for all three. The St. John distinction of gardens and roças likely reflects their British nationality. "A Bit of Land," 650, fn. 3.

<sup>89</sup>Circular, 46.

<sup>90</sup>Ibid., 32.

<sup>91</sup>AR (1851), 61.

<sup>92</sup>Rebecca Scott argues that in Cuba "the key to self-purchase was often the pig" because slaves "were allowed to raise pigs on the plantation, and could feed those pigs with their own crops, with part of their ration of corn, or on plantation refuse and forage, the animal was in effect a form of savings and investment." Slave Emancipation in Cuba: The Transition to Free Labor, 1860-1899 (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1985), 150.

<sup>93</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:227. On the Protestant work-ethic and slavery see Michael Greenberg, "Slavery and the Protestant Ethic," Southern Studies 15:3 (1976), 209-39; AR (1852), 10-11; Morro Velho Church, Register Book, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>94</sup>AR (1844), 34.

<sup>95</sup>Great Britain, House of Commons, "A Bill Intituled, an Act to Legalize Certain Marriages Solemnized at Morro Velho in Brazil," Sessional Papers 4 (1867), 439-40; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 243.

<sup>96</sup>Morro Velho Church, Register Book, Register of Baptisms, Thomas Buzza, 24 March 1851, entry no. 172, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>97</sup>Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 201.

<sup>98</sup>Ibid., 174; Linda M. Heywood, "The Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," Slavery & Abolition 20:1 (April, 1999), 14; John K. Thornton, "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas," The Americas 44:2 (Oct. 1988), 262-71; Idem, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," American Historical Review 96:4 (Oct. 1991), 1105-08.

<sup>99</sup>Heywood, "Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," 19; Elizabeth W. Kiddy, "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the Brotherhoods of the Rosary of Minas Gerais, 1700-1830," The Americas 56:2 (Oct., 1999), 238-43; João José Reis, Slave Rebellion in Brazil: The Muslim Uprising of 1835 in Bahia, trans. Arthur Brakel (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986), 149-51, 153; Idem, "Différences et résistances: Les noirs à Bahia sous l'esclavage," Cahiers d' études africaines 32:1 (1992), 19, 21; Patricia

A. Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil: Their Role in Colonial Society," The Americas 39:1 (July, 1982), 46, 49; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," Hispanic American Historical Review 54:4 (Nov., 1974), 582-3; Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 84-5, 358-9. See the numerous documents reprinted by Robert C. Smith on an Angolan brotherhood, "Manuscritos da igreja de Nossa Senhora do Rosario dos homens pretos do Recife," Arquivos (Recife) 4-10: 7-20 (Dec. 1951), 53-120; Idem, "Décadas do Roasrio do pretos: Documetos da irmandade," Arquivos (Recife) 4-10: 7-20 (Dec. 1951), 143-70. The Catholic lay brotherhoods of Brazil did not draw members exclusively from Kongoleses and Angolans, of course, but a wide variety of African ethnicities. In addition, it would be incorrect to confidently label all slaves funneled into the Atlantic slave trade from these regions as Catholic based on data that reported, in most cases, only ports of embarkation and often reflected imprecise European characterizations of African religion and culture. Philip D. Morgan provides an elaborate critique of studies that trace African ethnicity in the New World based almost exclusively on these two points. Morgan neglects that Africanists have always faced these problems, and despite the limitations of sources, as with all sources, they have been able to overcome them through rigorous and ingenious methodologies. "The Cultural Implications of the Atlantic Slave Trade: African Regional Origins, American Destinations and New World Developments," Slavery & Abolition 18:1 (April, 1997), 122-145.

<sup>100</sup>Heywood "Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," 10, 19-21; Kiddy, "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the Brotherhoods of the Rosary of Minas Gerais," 249-51; Thornton, Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 235-71; William B. Taylor addresses the historical problems of syncretism as an analytical category for understanding the interweaving of conflicting and complementary religious systems, Magistrates of the Sacred: Priests and Parishioners in Eighteenth-Century Mexico (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1996), 51-62.

<sup>101</sup>AR (1851), 68.

<sup>102</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:267. Linda Heywood's observation that the "main reason why African folk Christianity thrived in Portugal stemmed from the church's practice of honouring saints, including non-white ones," would apply equally to Brazil. "Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," 10.

<sup>103</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:227-9.

<sup>104</sup>For Brazil see Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil," 39-68; Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," 567-602; Reis, "Différences et résistances," 15-34; Nishida, "Manumission and Ethnicity," 369-74, 385; and Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 82-88, 298, 358-9. For Cuba see Fernando Ortiz, "Los Cabildos Afro-Cubanos," Revista Bimestre Cubana 16 (Enero-Febrero, 1921), 5-39; Pedro Deschamps Chapeaux, El negro en la economía habanera del siglo XIX (Havana: Instituto Cubano del Libro, 1971), 31-46; Aline Helg, Our Rightful Share: The Afro-Cuban Struggle for Equality, 1886-1912 (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1995), 29-36;



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Robert Paquette, Sugar is Made with Blood: The Conspiracy of La Escalera and the Conflict between Empires over Slavery in Cuba (Middletown, Conn.: Wesleyan University Press, 1988), 108-109, 125-127; and Philip Anthony Howard, "Culture, Nationalism, and Liberation: The Afro-Cuban Mutual Aid Societies in the Nineteenth Century" (Ph.D. diss., Indiana University, 1988), 49-102. For Argentina see George Reid Andrews, The Afro-Argentines of Buenos Aires, 1800-1900 (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1980), 142-67. And for Peru see Frederick P. Bowser The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524-1650 (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1974), 248-51; and Christine Hünefeldt Paying the Price of Freedom: Family and Labour among Lima's Slaves, 1800-1854, trans. Alexandra Stern (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1994), 100-105.

<sup>105</sup>Great Britain, House of Lords, "Report from the Select Committee of the House of Lords, Appointed to Consider the Best Means which Great Britain can Adopt for the Final Extinction of the African Slave Trade," Sessional Papers, 1849-50, Slave Trade, 24 May 1849, vol. 9, par. 2493, p. 171.

<sup>106</sup>Circular, 39.

<sup>107</sup>Ibid., 22; AR (1851), 67.

<sup>108</sup>Circular, 33; AR (1851), 67.

<sup>109</sup> See Karasch's discussion of slave dances in the city of Rio de Janeiro during the first half of the nineteenth century, Slave Life in Rio, 241-9.

<sup>110</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:237-8.

<sup>111</sup>Roger Bastide, "As congadas do sul do Brasil," Provincia de São Pedro 10 (1947), 167-9; Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 247-9; Alfredo João Rabaçal As congadas no Brasil (São Paulo: Secretaria de Cultura, Ciência e Tecnologia, Conselho Estadual de Cultura, 1976); and Mulvey, "Slave Confraternities in Brazil," 46; Heywood "Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," 20-21; Kiddy, "Ethnic and Racial Identity in the Brotherhoods of the Rosary of Minas Gerais," 249-51.

<sup>112</sup>Heywood "Angolan-Afro-Brazilian Cultural Connections," 12-21.

<sup>113</sup>Frederika Bremer, The Homes of the New World; Impressions of America, trans. Mary Howitt (1853; reprint, New York: Johnson Reprint Company, 1968), 2:348-9; also see Robert Francis Jameson, Letters from Havana during the Year 1820 (London: John Miller, 1820), 21-22; and the numerous traveler accounts quoted in Robert Dirks, The Black Saturnalia: Conflict and its Ritual Expression on British West Indian Slave Plantations (Gainesville: University of Florida Press, 1987), 1-8, 167-84.

<sup>114</sup>Karasch, Slave Life in Rio, 14-21; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 174.

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<sup>115</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1:237-8.

<sup>116</sup>James Gordon to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 1 Dec. 1865, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>117</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1: 238.

<sup>118</sup>Some of the works that have influenced my thoughts on ritualized displays of power include, M. M. Bakhtin, Rabelais and His World, trans. Helene Iwolsky (Cambridge, Mass.: MIT Press, 1968); Clifford Geertz, The Interpretation of Cultures (New York: Pantheon, 1973); Genovese, Roll, Jordan, Roll; Natalie Zemon Davis, Society and Culture in Early Modern France (Palo Alto: Stanford University Press, 1975), 124-51; Michel Foucault, Discipline and Punish: The Birth of the Prison, trans. Alan Sheridan (New York: Pantheon, 1977); Pierre Bourdieu, Outline of a Theory of Practice, trans. R. Nice (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1977); Victor W. Turner, The Anthropology of Performance (New York: PAJ Publications, 1986); James C. Scott, Domination and the Arts of Resistance: Hidden Transcripts (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1990); and Sherry B. Ortner, "Resistance and the Problem of Ethnographic Refusal," Comparative Studies in Society and History 37:1 (1995), 173-193.

<sup>119</sup>AR (1851), 67.

<sup>120</sup>Burton, Explorations, 1: 274-5.

<sup>121</sup>Agreement between the Cata Branca Brazilian Company and the St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, 27 June 1845, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>122</sup>John Hockin to James Gordon, London, 1 Aug. 1859; James Gordon to John Hocking, Morro Velho, 2 July 1869, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1; Joaquim Nabuco denounced the St. John and quoted from the contract in a speech before the Brazilian parliament on 26 Aug. 1879, Brazil, Congresso, Câmara dos Deputados, Anais, 17th Legislature (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Nacional, 1879), 4, 182-185; Nabuco then gave a copy of the contract to the Rio News which reprinted the document, "Illegal Slavery," 5 Sept. 1879, p. 1, cols. 2-5.

<sup>123</sup>Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 3, 18 May 1859, SJDRMC-BLAC.

<sup>124</sup>St. John d'el Rey Mining Company, Limited, Memorandum by the Company (London: n.p., Nov., 1881), 4, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>125</sup>Paul Bérenger, "Le Brésil en 1879," Revue des deux mondes 37:1 (Jan.-Feb. 1880), 441.

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<sup>126</sup>The Rio News first announced the decision on 5 Nov. 1879, p. 2 col. 1; and then reprinted the decision under the title "The Judgment in Favor of the Catta Branca Blacks," 5 Dec. 1879, p. 1, cols. 3-5 [quote, col. 3]; PRO-FO, 131/18, fol. 156.

<sup>127</sup>Fonseca to José Antonio Alonzo de Brito, Ouro Preto, 12 Dec. 1879, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>128</sup>Memorandum by the Company, 4.

<sup>129</sup> Pearson Morrison to John Hockin, Morro Velho, 4 Jan. 1880, and 2 Jan. 1881, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>130</sup>The South American Journal and Brazil and River Plate Mail (London), 3 Aug. 1882, 2; Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 4, 18 Oct. 1882, SJDRMC-BLAC; Eakin, British Enterprise in Brazil, 36.

<sup>131</sup>Memorandum by Pearson Morrison, Morro Velho, n.d.. [1879-82?], SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1.

<sup>132</sup>ARs (1882-86); Fonseca to José Antonio Alonzo de Brito, Ouro Preto, 12 Dec. 1879; John Hockin to Pearson Morrison, London, 23 Jan. 1880, SJDRMC-BLAC, Series 5, Morro Velho Mine, Box 1; and The South American Journal and Brazil and River Plate Mail (London), 3 Aug. 1882, 2.

<sup>133</sup>Frederick Tendron to Pearson Morrison, Rio de Janeiro, 2 June 1880, SJDRMC-BLAC, Report on Tendron's visit to Morro Velho, MS 8; Minutes of Board Meetings, vol. 4, 6 Oct. 1880, 16 Mar. 1881, 6 Apr. 1881, 4 May 1881, SJDRMC-BLAC; PRO-FO, 13/548, fol. 171.

<sup>134</sup>AR (1887); Eakin provides a detailed account of the mine collapse and the rebuilding process, British Enterprise in Brazil, 41-6.