

## CONTENTS

<i>Notes on Orthography and Currency</i>		xi
Introduction		1
<b>PART I: A NEW WORLD UNCHAINED</b>		15
1 Distant Slave Empires		17
2 The Enemy of My Enemy		51
3 A Hemispheric Battle		93
<b>PART II: THE WORLD THAT FREE LABOR MADE</b>		129
4 Into the Coffee Kingdom		131
5 Brave New World		171
6 The Triumph of Free Labor		219
Epilogue		265
<i>Acknowledgments</i>		271
<i>Abbreviations and Archival Collections Consulted</i>		277
<i>Notes</i>		285
<i>Index</i>		351

# Introduction

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

—KARL MARX AND FRIEDRICH ENGELS, 1848

SLAVE LABOR WAS central to the making of the modern world. It gave Europeans the means to occupy and develop the Americas. The trade in slaves helped merchants accumulate capital that was reinvested in agriculture, industry, and infrastructure. Slave plantations produced the sugar, cotton, and coffee that propelled the industrial revolution in the North Atlantic countries. As the nineteenth century progressed, slaveholders acquired new lands and more slaves. They deployed the powers of the state to build sprawling inland empires and protect their property. The power of the lash ensured that enslaved people would keep working until their deaths.

The United States and Brazil, the two major independent slave societies in the Western world, were the main beneficiaries of the expansion of slavery. By the 1850s, at the apex of the system, the former enslaved approximately four million people, the latter nearly two million. Slavery fueled the economies of both countries, producing valuable agricultural commodities for the global market. Slaveholders wielded great political power in both states, occupying key positions in their central as well as local governments. Whereas societies like Haiti and Jamaica experienced economic decline after emancipation, American and Brazilian elites grew richer and more powerful by exploiting enslaved Africans and their descendants.

Its efficiency and profitability notwithstanding, slavery eventually collapsed in these two countries. The United States, shaken by a bloody separatist war and the mass flight of enslaved people from Southern plantations, led the way in the mid-1860s. Brazil, agitated by a mass abolitionist movement that included free and enslaved people, followed suit in the late 1880s. But neither of these two societies was caught off guard. On the contrary, as slavery unraveled in the western hemisphere, Americans and Brazilians came together to stimulate and direct this transformation. This book traces how a cosmopolitan group of antislavery reformers connected these two emancipation processes to boost capitalist development in both countries. It argues that modern capitalism emerged not from the remaking of slavery in the nineteenth century but from its unmaking. Between the 1850s and the 1880s, American and Brazilian antislavery reformers succeeded in creating economic systems that surpassed anything that slave societies had ever created.

---

The crisis of slavery in the Western world was intertwined with the expansion of industrial capitalism. Previously restricted to a few regions of the North Atlantic, such as the textile-producing centers of Lancashire and New England, industrial capitalism began to expand by the middle of the nineteenth century. Railroads reached into the interior of continents, and steamships crossed oceans, transporting countless human beings and commodities. Nation-states at once regulated their economies, protecting certain industries and building infrastructure, and tore down barriers to the movement of capital, labor, and goods. Pressured by labor shortages or workers' demands, trying to catch up with domestic or international competitors, or simply enthusiastic about the newest inventions, entrepreneurs applied science and technology to production. As time went by, steel, fertilizers, the assembly line, streetcars, petroleum, telegraphy, harvesters, futures markets, electricity, and many other innovations revolutionized the global economy.

Of course, the rise of industrial capitalism was not a story of unmitigated prosperity. Periodic busts—the most dramatic being the long depression beginning in 1873—were constitutive parts of this capitalist boom. In the long run, however, crises led to more innovation and greater growth. For developing countries disadvantaged by Great Britain's free-trade policies, periods of recession offered a valuable opportunity to refashion national economies and create new international networks. Economic nationalism and new forms of

cosmopolitanism sprang up at the expense of British interests in the second half of the nineteenth century.

Perhaps more important, a highly unstable economic system made an almost inexhaustible workforce available to the owners of capital. Having their livelihoods constantly disrupted by boom and bust cycles, massive contingents of working people entered the ranks of the proletariat. Although uneven and protracted, proletarianization was a global phenomenon that accelerated as the nineteenth century progressed. New technologies, integrating markets, changing legislation, expanding credit mechanisms, demographic pressures, recurrent wars, and environmental degradation combined with periodic economic collapses to dissolve traditional communities. As the historian E. P. Thompson puts it, “The experience of immiseration came upon them in a hundred different forms.”<sup>1</sup> And so immiserated human beings had no choice but to search wherever they could go for someone who would pay for the labor power contained in their arms and legs.

A group of American and Brazilian reformers sought to make their societies compatible with and integrated into the brave new world opening before their eyes. These men were bourgeois modernizers, determined to swiftly develop productive forces within their countries and simultaneously speed up the flow of commodities, capital, ideas, and human beings across international borders. They were immersed in what the historian Eric Hobsbawm describes as “the drama of Progress, that key word of the age: massive, enlightened, sure of itself, self-satisfied but above all inevitable.”<sup>2</sup>

Living in the richest and most expansive slave societies in the Western world, these modernizers singled out slavery as the main impediment to the full development of their countries. Unimpressed by the slaveholders’ achievements, they argued that slave labor was backward and irrational. Fearlessly, they insisted that the downfall of slavery and the triumph of free labor in the form of the wage system would lead to the emergence of unparalleled agroindustrial empires. These changes, they believed, would promote investment, attract immigrants, and encourage innovation. The new order would redistribute labor and capital in more rational ways. For these reformers, antislavery was not a romantic quest to free an oppressed race; it was rather a modernizing project that would build strong nation-states and prosperous capitalist economies.

The modernizers pointed to several problems that made slavery into a burden in the age of industrial capitalism. They often compared slave societies with free societies. The United States was a case in point: Brazilian as well as American antislavery reformers used the census, travel narratives, and even

the writings of Southern proslavery ideologues to demonstrate that, in the antebellum period, the free North was superior to the slave South in manufacturing output, population growth rates, transportation and urban infrastructure, literacy levels, educational facilities, number of registered patents, and more. Even in agriculture, the enterprise that Southerners were most proud of, the North displayed advantages. Antislavery reformers pointed out that the free states were well ahead in the number of farms, improved acreage, average value per acre, value of farming implements and machinery, productivity per acre, productivity per worker, and total agricultural output.<sup>3</sup>

To claim, like many proslavery ideologues did, that slavery was indispensable to produce the commodities that made the world go round seemed ludicrous to these modernizers. They understood capitalism as a system whose main feature is constant change and adaptation. They argued that alternative fibers could replace cotton, alternative stimulants could replace coffee, and alternative sweeteners could replace cane sugar. More important, they believed that wage earners could replace slaves in plantation agriculture, producing even more cotton, coffee, and sugar than slave labor produced. Their goal was not to uproot plantation agriculture in Brazil or the United States but to make it more dynamic and efficient, while better integrating agricultural commodities into national and global networks of trade, production, and consumption.

As for the apparently declining postemancipation Caribbean, the antislavery reformers were confident that vast, diverse, and autonomous countries such as Brazil and the United States would not suffer the fate of colonial islands. In fact, these modernizers contended that it was slavery that made plantation areas play the role of colonial societies, sacrificing their own development to supply manufacturers—especially the British—with cheap agricultural commodities. Antislavery reformers lamented that slaveholders were attached to the power of human muscle, unable to take full advantage of the mechanical advancements of the age. They understood that although planters could (and sometimes did) adopt industrial technology on their plantations, they had little incentive to save the labor of enslaved people, who received no wages and held no formal rights. Worse, slave societies were unable to invent and produce the technologies they needed, having to constantly import machines and implements from free-labor societies. In short, the modernizers saw slavery as a counterproductive embarrassment.

American and Brazilian antislavery reformers felt that the institution of slavery held their enterprises and their societies back in an age of progress. They argued that slavery had to be eliminated so that industrial capitalism

could flourish in plantation areas. Surveying the problem of slavery in the British West Indies, the historian Thomas Holt writes that “while historians might conclude retrospectively that slavery was logically compatible with capitalism, the men who fashioned the emancipation law completely rejected that notion.”<sup>4</sup> The same was true for the men who forged the process of emancipation in the United States and Brazil.

*American Mirror* traces how, as the problem of slavery shook their countries, American and Brazilian antislavery reformers acted concertedly to turn upheaval into opportunity. This transnational modernizing collaboration crossed four decades, beginning in the 1850s, when the United States was about to erupt into a destructive conflict over the extension of slavery, and triumphing in the late 1880s, when Brazil completed its gradual emancipation process. In addition to famous antislavery activists, like John Greenleaf Whittier and André Pinto Rebouças, this reform movement included broader social forces that opposed slavery, bringing together businessmen, diplomats, engineers, journalists, lawyers, merchants, missionaries, planters, poets, politicians, scientists, students, and teachers.

However diverse their backgrounds, the main characters in this book shared important attributes. They belonged to ascending national bourgeoisies, having much of their training, businesses, and political activities connected to growing urban centers such as New York, Rio de Janeiro, Chicago, and São Paulo. They nonetheless maintained ties to the rural world, seeking to export to plantation areas the expertise and technology developed in the cities. In the United States, they usually supported the Republican Party. In Brazil, most were dissidents within the Liberal Party, and some were members of the Republican Party. Most of these antislavery reformers were entrepreneurs of some sort: they devised infrastructural projects, produced agricultural commodities, engaged in foreign commerce, managed factories, published periodicals, and established private schools. They were also brokers, connecting people with shared interests and similar ideas across the hemisphere. This book traces their trajectory and influence. It shows how, by building networks between the United States and Brazil in the age of emancipation, they triumphed where proslavery advocates failed.

---

A new wave of scholarship posits that by the middle decades of the nineteenth century American slaveholders had risen as modern capitalists and powerful

policy makers. Southern proslavery advocates apparently found no match for their influence at home and abroad. Slaveholders' success in covering the Mississippi Valley with cotton plantations and influencing the American government, some historians claim, served as a model for planter elites elsewhere.<sup>5</sup> When scholars look at the second largest slave society in the Western world, they argue that the success of American slaveholders reassured Brazilian planters that unfree labor would indefinitely expand. Powerful Brazilians thus embraced the strategies and worldviews of the slave South.<sup>6</sup> Proslavery forces emerge from this scholarship as hemispheric hegemon.

*American Mirror* challenges the argument that proslavery advocates offered viable projects of national development or international cooperation. The analysis of US-Brazilian relations demonstrates that, among several other frustrations, powerful Southerners utterly failed to attract the most obvious partner to the proslavery cause. The argument that slave labor was the basis of modern civilization, and that without it the United States and Brazil could not produce their main staples, did little to allure Brazilian planters, who had been experimenting with free labor since at least the 1840s. Moreover, Brazilians understood that the cotton-producing American South had little to offer them in terms of products, technology, and expertise. Further souring this relationship, Southern proslavery expansionists treated Brazil as an inferior society available for manipulation and conquest in the decades leading to the American Civil War and during the conflict. Not surprisingly, Brazilian elites kept their distance from the slave South.

Antislavery Northerners, on the other hand, succeeded in befriending slaveholding Brazil. Frustrated by the reactionary stands of Southern cotton planters before and after the secession crisis, Northerners found in the Brazilian slave society a new chance to vindicate their vision of gradual emancipation. Thus, the same people who attacked and ultimately crushed slavery in North America took a constructive approach to the process of slave emancipation in Brazil. Recognizing an opportunity to form profitable alliances, reform-minded Brazilians—a group that included wealthy slaveholders—did not hesitate to welcome Northern influence. It was clear to anyone willing to see it then that the free North was at the forefront of innovation. The Brazilian elite understood that whereas Southern slaveholders were desperately fighting for a lost cause, Northern antislavery reformers were shaping the future in their own image.

In addition to addressing the failure of proslavery projects, this book engages with the growing historiography on the abolitionist struggle in the

western hemisphere. Questions pertaining to the broadening of the public sphere, the strengthening of republicanism, the emergence of social movements, and the advancement of civil and political rights occupy the most recent works on antislavery in Brazil and the United States. Scholars propose that the campaign against slavery in these countries was a constitutive part of a Western phenomenon inaugurated by the political revolutions of the late eighteenth century and advanced by nineteenth-century popular struggles. They further argue that the fight against slavery anticipated trends that would give rise to the discourse on human rights.<sup>7</sup>

Although a valuable contribution to the study of political change, this scholarship overlooks the importance of antislavery movements to the making of capitalism. *American Mirror* contends that the struggle against slavery in the United States and Brazil was a constitutive part of “the drama of Progress.” The need to expand markets, build infrastructure, integrate the countryside with the city, spread technical education, and set up industrial enterprises animated the antislavery reformers. The most consequential legacy of antislavery in the western hemisphere was an economic order based on the exploitation of wage earners. Whereas democratic participation and human rights remained distant aspirations for millions of impoverished people in their countries, American and Brazilian antislavery reformers succeeded in expanding capitalist production and trade.

This book also contributes to discussions of American foreign relations in the period extending from the Civil War to the Spanish-American War. For decades, the so-called Wisconsin School set the tone of the debate, arguing that overproduction in the post-Civil War era inexorably led Americans to aggressive commercial expansion and imperialist intervention abroad.<sup>8</sup> In response, a new wave of works proposes that the road to imperial expansion was not predetermined. Scholars now argue that uncertainty and improvisation marked American actions in the global arena during the second half of the nineteenth century. Americans demonstrated a pungent anxiety about their marginal role in a globalizing order and found themselves playing by the rules of stronger powers, especially Great Britain. Unable to defeat the Old World empires, scholars conclude, the United States increasingly became more similar to them. As time wore on, Americans embraced an Anglo-Saxon identity that distanced themselves from Latin America.<sup>9</sup>

The current approach to foreign relations tends to obscure Americans’ role in refashioning capitalism in Latin America and Latin Americans’ creative

appropriation of American capital and expertise. This book incorporates a Latin American perspective into the making of American foreign relations. And it does so by examining how class interests aligned across national borders. It shows that the demands and interests of the Brazilian planters helped shape the ascent of the United States to global power in the late nineteenth century. By advancing the modernizing projects of the Brazilian elite, American antislavery reformers were able to forcefully challenge European empires and strengthen capitalist enterprises at both ends of the hemisphere.

---

Situated at the intersection of studies on proslavery politics, abolitionism, and foreign relations, *American Mirror* proposes that antislavery reformers engaged in a transnational process of class formation, which tied seemingly disparate groups such as manufacturers in the American North and planters in the Brazilian southeast. In addition to expanding markets for their products abroad, these groups collaborated in the search for new ways to control and exploit the working masses. The great transformation that these modernizers brought about in the late nineteenth-century world was the widening of the divide between a cosmopolitan coalition of owners of capital and a growing class of impoverished workers.

By investigating how the American North engaged with the Brazilian slave society, this book shows that antislavery laid the groundwork for a long-term and highly profitable partnership between capitalists from the most powerful countries of the western hemisphere. However influential Americans became among Brazilian elites, the United States established neither a formal nor an informal colonial relationship with Brazil during the nineteenth century. And precisely because they did not have the upper hand in their relationship with Brazil, Americans learned invaluable lessons in capitalist expansion. Together, American and Brazilian antislavery reformers elaborated newly efficient forms of labor exploitation in Brazil's coffee regions, making Brazilian coffee planters all the more powerful. In the process, American manufacturers acquired an avid consumer for their products, and American merchants secured a reliable supplier of cheap coffee.

American influence also helped Brazil in its long effort to counter British imperialism and limit its reliance on British capital. Shrewdly, antislavery Northerners presented themselves as a benign alternative to British abolitionists, who had long been flexing their imperial muscle against Brazil's

interests.<sup>10</sup> Instead of patrolling the Brazilian seacoast with warships and imposing invasive treaties on Brazil, as Great Britain had done for decades, the American North offered technology and expertise that would ease Brazilian planters' reliance on slave labor. Working alongside Brazilian reformers, Northerners were able to portray the United States as a modernizing force and challenge the overbearing influence of the British Empire in the western hemisphere.

---

Free labor in the form of the wage system was not the natural or inevitable replacement for slave labor. The working poor in the nineteenth century tried to push freedom well beyond the point that elites wanted it to go, seeking to acquire land, tools, or anything that would give them a high degree of independence. This tendency contradicted projects to build expansive trade networks, large-scale commercial agriculture, and advanced industrial enterprises. Thus, in reaction to the workers' struggle for self-sufficiency, other forms of unfree labor, like peonage and convict labor, were tested in communities of ex-slaves in the Americas and expanded in Africa, Asia, and Eastern Europe throughout the nineteenth century.<sup>11</sup>

Yet despite persisting pockets of unfree labor that endure today, wage labor eventually became the fulcrum of capitalism, spreading from the cities to the countryside, from the center to the periphery, conquering all branches of the global economy. For half a century after the historian Eric Williams published his seminal *Capitalism and Slavery* (1944), some remarkable studies sought to explain why the battle against slavery gave rise to a mode of production based on wage labor. Either by engendering new forms of labor discipline, imposing urban interests on rural societies, encouraging inland and overseas migrations of formally free workers, or liberating capital and commodity flows, the dismantling of slavery resulted in a labor system that forces the majority of humanity to sell their labor power to a minority who owns plantations, mines, factories, or other productive facilities. Far from representing the ultimate salvation of the working class, the wage system serves well the interests of powerful capitalists.<sup>12</sup>

Because of their agricultural might, long dependence on slave labor, and aspirations to develop and integrate vast territories, the United States and Brazil became prime testing grounds for the deployment of formally free workers—white and black, native-born and immigrant—to advance capitalist enterprises. As antislavery reformers from these two countries came together,

the question became how to make the slaves' cause into the capitalists' cause. Hence, their transnational antislavery struggle went hand in hand with projects to concentrate capital, develop infrastructure, privatize natural resources, strengthen corporations, foster domestic and international commerce, regulate labor migration, and defeat working-class movements. In the end, antislavery reformers contributed to making the free poor and freedpeople into wage earners and building capitalist enterprises that slave societies could not have dreamed of creating.

Drawing on the scholarly tradition initiated by Eric Williams, this book examines how the transition from slave to free labor advanced capitalist relations of production in the United States and Brazil. Antislavery reformers did not envision free labor as self-reliance and small proprietorship. These modernizers took advantage of the crises of emancipation in the largest slave societies of the Western world to advance an economic system based on the concentration of capital in the hands of very few and the destitution of the working masses. With a few exceptions (who usually saw the problem too late), the antislavery reformers who appear in *American Mirror* were not concerned about the well-being of slaves, proletarians, or any member of the working class. The central argument of this book is that these bourgeois modernizers, in their struggle against slavery, were in fact making, normalizing, and entrenching free labor in the form of the wage system.

---

Born in the coffee-growing region of São Paulo to a planter family, José Custódio Alves de Lima studied at Syracuse University in New York during the 1870s. In 1878, he wrote that “the American Union is a mirror in which the Brazilian must look if he wants to contribute his part to the material development of the country.”<sup>13</sup> The mirror metaphor comes in handy when exploring relations between the United States and Brazil in the second half of the nineteenth century. For Northerners, Brazil became a mirror of what the American South could have been if only cotton planters had accepted the supremacy of free labor and had embraced gradual emancipation. For Brazilians, the American North and its extension to the American West became a mirror of what Brazil could become if coffee planters made the right choices, phasing out slavery while modernizing and diversifying the economy.

The mirrors in this story also offer a reflection on transnational history. Auspiciously, the transnational approach has already entered the academic

mainstream. This trend has revitalized the discipline, and excellent studies have been published during the last two decades. Yet, with few exceptions, transnational historians, while emphasizing exchange and mobility, give little thought to broader processes simultaneously shaping the lives of different societies around the globe. In other words, transnational studies are very effective at describing the circulation of people, commodities, ideas, and technologies, but rarely discuss structural changes such as the emergence of the modern state or the consolidation of the capitalist mode of production.

Seeking to understand structural changes as well as mobility and exchange, this book draws on works that have applied the principles of political economy to transnational analyses. According to Richard Franklin Bensel, political economy “is a combination of *economy* and *state policy*,” forming “a dynamic organizing structure within society that shapes the potential replication of social groups and activities, and thus determines the developmental trajectory of the nation.”<sup>14</sup> The most successful works of transnational history show that, under capitalism, the *economy* engenders a global market, recruits highly mobile workers and experts, and creates industrial centers along with suppliers of raw materials. They further demonstrate that, in the modern world, *state policy* continuously responds to the policies of other states and the pressures of international movements and institutions. As a result, the *transnational political economy* emerges as a dynamic organizing structure within a connecting world that shapes the potential replication of—national and international—social groups and activities, and thus entangles the developmental trajectories of different nations.<sup>15</sup>

---

This book is divided into two parts. Part I moves from the height of proslavery expansionism in the United States, in the 1840s, to the beginning of gradual emancipation in Brazil, in the early 1870s. Chapter 1 discusses how proslavery Southerners’ foreign policy alienated the Brazilian elite and ruined any possibility of a proslavery alliance emerging. Antislavery Northerners, on the other hand, succeeded in bringing Brazilian society closer to the Union by portraying Brazilian slaveholders as progressive planters willing to phase out slavery and modernize their economy. Chapter 2 shows how shared anti-British sentiments created an alliance between Brazilian Liberals and American Republicans during the American Civil War. Whereas American diplomats took the Brazilian side in the geopolitical imbroglios of the time, American

entrepreneurs invested in transportation infrastructure in Brazil and the two countries established steamship communication. Chapter 3 focuses on the influence of Massachusetts intellectuals on Brazil in the late 1860s. Relying on friendly antislavery figures from the American North and attentive to what had happened to the American South, the Brazilian political elite embraced a project of conservative modernization.

Part II extends from the beginning of Reconstruction in the United States, in the late 1860s, to the remaking of labor on the Brazilian coffee plantations after the Golden Law, in the late 1880s. Chapter 4 examines three groups of Americans who settled in the Oeste Paulista, the fastest growing coffee-producing region of Brazil, after the American Civil War. They were ex-Confederates who took up mixed commercial farming, manufacturers from the American North who established industrial enterprises, and Protestant missionaries who built private schools for the planters' children. All of them contributed to the modernizing projects of the local elite. Chapter 5 reconstructs the trajectories of Brazilian men who visited, studied in, or worked in the United States during the 1870s. Enjoying the hospitality of Northern capitalists, Brazilian observers celebrated the consolidation of wage labor and bought into Liberal Republican projects to favor big capital in North America. Chapter 6 addresses the seemingly contradictory connections between an expanding market for slave-grown Brazilian coffee in the United States and the American contribution to slave emancipation in Brazil. Whereas the coffee trade became a most lucrative enterprise for American businessmen and the temperance movement used coffee to discipline the working class in American cities, Brazilian planters used money from the coffee trade to improve their plantations and complete the transition to wage labor.

---

Neither in the United States, where slave emancipation happened suddenly and violently, nor in Brazil, where all the major industries relied on slave labor until emancipation came, did the demise of slavery create a profound crisis. On the contrary, thanks to the work of antislavery reformers, the postemancipation history of these two countries was one of immediate and continuous economic advancement. From the outbreak of the secession crisis in the United States to the signing of the Golden Law in Brazil, American and Brazilian antislavery reformers worked side by side to create economic systems based on industrial technology, scientific expertise, and wage labor. They did not wait for slavery

to crumble, but intentionally replaced it with a more dynamic and efficient mode of production. The accomplishments of this transnational group of modernizers confirmed what Karl Marx and Friedrich Engels had already seen in 1848, when they wrote that “the bourgeoisie cannot exist without constantly revolutionizing the instruments of production, and thereby the relations of production, and with them the whole relations of society.”<sup>16</sup>

## INDEX

Page numbers in italics refer to figures and tables.

- Aberdeen Act, 21, 25–26, 52
- abolition. *See* slave emancipation
- abolitionism, 6–7; Brazilian opponents of, 123–124, 126, 226, 253; British imperialist, 8–9, 25–26, 49, 80; economic argument of, 223–224, 228; as social movement in Brazil, 94–95, 119, 122, 132, 144, 186, 312n122, 313n129, 341n18; Southern enemies of, 20, 55, 259
- abolitionists: Black Regulations opposed by, 253–254; Brazilian radical, 101, 116–122, 124, 140, 143, 312n119; British, 20, 22, 53, 295n117; ex-Confederates' hatred of, 160; Northern, 18, 25, 93, 202; US minister and Brazilian, 220, 224
- ACE, Associação Central Emancipadora (Central Emancipation Society), 220, 223
- activists: antislavery, 5, 94, 119–120, 254; disillusioned, 220; labor, 106, 183; temperance, 234
- Africa: American enterprise in, 243; American slave ship in, 26–27; American Colonization Society and, 54, 297n10; Brazilian slaveholders on, 205–206; compulsory labor in, 9; Confederate plans for, 55; *emancipados* from, 52, 59; racist ideas about, 230; shipments to, 19–20, 23
- Agassiz, Elizabeth, 97, 218; Brazilian politician and, 99; on Brazilian slavery, 101–102, 103; on Lincoln's assassination, 107; on the Paraguayan War, 115
- Agassiz, Louis, 94–95, 218, 306n9; on the Amazon, 99–100, 103–104; on Brazilian slavery, 100–102, 103; Cornell professor and, 198–199; on the Paraguayan War, 113–115; scientific expedition led by, 96–99
- Agricultura Nacional* (Rebouças), 225, 241
- agroindustry, 3, 181, 220–221, 252, 258, 263
- Alabama: Confederate commander from, 55; diplomats from, 221, 243; ex-Confederates from, 131, 141–142, 156, 159–160; missionaries from, 168; postwar, 158
- Alagoas, 81, 99
- Alencar, José Martiniano de, 38–39, 47, 123, 126
- Alley, John B., 87–89
- Almeida, Miguel Calmon du Pin e (Marquis of Abrantes), 54–55
- Almeida Prado, Bento de, 200, 203, 203, 251
- Alonso, Angela, 105, 312n119
- Alves de Lima, José Custódio, 10, 204–206, 212
- Amaral, Joaquim Bonifácio do, 136, 144, 247
- Amaral family, 145
- Amazon: Brazilian anxieties about, 32–33; Brazilian control of, 30, 34–36; Northern commercial interest in, 43–45, 104–105; opening of, 93, 102–103, 114; project to colonize ex-slaves in, 53–55; proposed treaty to open, 33–34; scientific expedition to, 97–100; Southern plan to take over, 27–29, 31, 45

- Amazon Navigation and Commerce Company, 97
- Amazonas, 99, 122
- American Anti-Slavery Society, 93
- American Civil War: Brazilian abolitionists on, 119–122; Brazilian Conservatives on, 123–125; British interventionism during, 51–53, 58–60; emancipation during, 104–107, 109–110; US-Brazilian relations during, 55–62, 87–92
- American Colonization Society, 54
- American Historical Review* (periodical), 265
- American Iron Works Co., 196, 212
- The Americanization of the World* (Stead), 265
- American Missionary* (periodical), 118
- American Naval Observatory, 18, 27
- American Seaman's Friend Society, 37
- American Society of Civil Engineers, 239
- Amparo, 133, 151, 247
- Andrade Figueira, Domingos de, 126
- Andrews, Christopher Columbus: on coffee agriculture, 247–249; in Piracicaba, 249–250; in Santa Bárbara, 243, 245; in São Paulo City, 239–241
- Angelis, Pedro de, 34–36, 43
- Anglo-Brazilian Times* (periodical), 137, 139
- Anhaia, Luiz Antonio de, 153
- antebellum period: domesticity in, 160, 318n35, 323n131; North and South in, 3–4, 127, 295n122; postwar cotton production surpassing, 227; proslavery laws in, 101; slave management in, 137–138; Southern backwardness in, 223
- antislavery: Brazilian Liberals, 91–92, 116–117, 119, 305n156; collaboration, 18–19, 128; economic development and, 67, 69, 86, 88, 127, 185; language and background, 177; legacies of, 7, 173, 198, 334n128, 339n224; measures of the Union, 104, 121; narratives of the Paraguayan War, 111, 114–115; Northerners' approach to Brazil, 36, 44–46, 50, 52–53, 84, 94–95, 116
- antislavery reformers, 5, 53, 122, 153, 218; accomplishments of, 2, 7–8, 12–13, 19, 46, 69, 92, 199, 237–238, 252, 258, 269; on American society, 89–90, 121, 127, 173, 185, 188–189, 217, 236; on Brazilian society, 43–44, 66–67, 95, 110, 228, 248; disillusioned, 261; on mechanization, 147, 205; on slavery and free labor, 3–4, 10–11, 217, 220–221, 257, 263
- Aquino e Castro, Tomás de, 200, 202–203, 251
- Araraquara, 133, 135, 148, 206
- Arbuckle, John, 231–232, 237
- Argentina, 18, 112, 256
- Armstrong, Henry Clay, 243, 245
- Army, Brazil: Corps of Engineers, 99; in Paraguay, 123–124, 310n72; riot put down by, 79; slave recruitment for, 109–110, 313n136
- Army, United States: British insult to, 58; coffee consumption in, 81, 144; freedmen in, 104, 109–110
- Associação Central Emancipadora. *See* ACE
- Asunción, 112–113, 115
- Atlantic and Great Western Railroad, 69
- Atlantic Monthly* (periodical), 93, 99
- Atlantic Telegraph Company, 175
- Aubertin, John James, 134–135, 147
- Auchincloss, William S., 171
- Aurora Brasileira* (periodical), 201, 204
- Aurora Brasileira* (periodical), 204–206, 212, 251
- Auxiliary Society of National Industry. *See* SAIN
- Ayers, Edward L., 342n44
- backwardness: of Brazilian agriculture, 67, 138, 155, 183, 202; of slavery, 3, 144, 180, 204–205, 303n126; of the South, 84, 223
- Bagby, William Buck, 167–169
- Bahia: abolitionists from, 120–121; Confederate raiders in, 56–57; politicians from, 116, 123, 141, 253
- Baldwin Locomotive Works, 65–66, 70, 182, 196, 216
- Bancroft, George, 96, 218
- bankers. *See* financiers

- Baptists, 167–168
- Barbosa, Rui, 120–121
- Barnsley, George Scarborough: on  
ex-Confederate settlements, 142–143,  
144; medical practice of, 161–162; on  
postemancipation Brazil, 267–268
- Baron of Bom Retiro. *See* Couto Ferraz,  
Luís Pedreira do
- Baron of Cotegipe. *See* Wanderley, João  
Maurício
- Baron of Limeira. *See* Souza Queiroz,  
Vicente de
- Baron of Mauá. *See* Souza, Irineu Evange-  
lista de
- Baron of Piracicaba. *See* Paes de Barros,  
Antonio
- Baron of Piracicaba (second). *See* Paes de  
Barros, Rafael Tobias de Aguiar
- Barros, Antonio Moreira de, 226
- Barros, Maria Rafaela Aguiar de, 186
- Bazar Volante* (periodical), 108
- Beattie, Peter M., 310n72
- Beckert, Sven, 177, 224, 331n55, 341n25
- Belgium, 55, 59, 135, 199
- Belém, 43, 234
- Bensel, Richard Franklin, 11
- Bento, Antonio, 253–255, 258
- Bethell, Leslie, 26
- BFASS, British and Foreign Anti-Slavery  
Society, 118–119
- Bierrenbach brothers, 150
- Bismarck, Otto von, 82
- Blackett, R. J. M., 309n58
- Blackford, Alexander Latimer, 163
- Black Regulations, 253
- Bleecker Street Horsecar Company, 73
- Bocaiuva, Quintino Antonio Ferreira de  
Souza: ex-Confederate immigration  
opposed by, 140–141; on opening the  
Amazon, 103; Republican Club orga-  
nized by, 121
- Bolivia: Brazilian interests in, 34, 36; filibus-  
tering in, 32–33; river navigation in, 30;  
Southern expedition to, 28
- Bond, J. B., 60
- bondes/bonds*. *See* streetcars
- Boonton Iron Works, 197
- Boston: capitalists, 329n14; intellectual circle  
in, 306n9; lecture on Brazil in, 49–50;  
scientific expedition organized in, 96–98;  
support for steamship line in, 87
- Boston Board of Trade, 87
- Boston Daily Advertiser* (periodical), 98,  
111–112, 219
- Boston Mercantile Library Association,  
49, 96
- Botanical Garden Rail Road Co., 73–80, 182
- Bowen, William, 142–143
- Bragantina Railroad, 251
- Branner, John Casper, 66, 246
- Brazil: The Amazons and the Coast* (Smith),  
228
- Brazil and the Brazilians* (Kidder and  
Fletcher), 65, 100, 146; positive portrayal  
of Brazil in, 39–41, 114, 117; reception of,  
44–46, 48–50
- Brazilian Antislavery Society. *See* SBCE
- Brazilian Coffee* (Moreira), 209
- British and Foreign Anti-Slavery Society.  
*See* BFASS
- British Empire. *See* Great Britain
- Brown University, 36
- Brown, John, 25, 120, 122, 254, 258
- Buchanan, James, 22–24, 46
- Buffalo, New York, 196, 211
- Burkhardt, Jacques, 97
- Burns, Jabez: on Brazilian emancipation,  
237; coffee roaster invented by, 230–231;  
praise for *fazendeiros* from, 261–262; as  
temperance advocate, 234
- Burns's Patent Coffee Roaster, 230
- Burr Oak Farm, 213, 214, 227
- Caffé do Brazil, 209, 210
- Caifazes, 254, 255, 262
- Calhoun, John C., 17, 19–23, 46
- California, 35, 92, 243; agriculture in, 210,  
213, 215, 338n205

- Campinas, 133; coffee machinery in, 132, 149–154, 171, 201; ex-Confederates in, 136, 144, 162, 182, 259–260; fugitive slaves in, 254; plantation in, 136, 247; railroad to, 148; school in, 165–166, 168–169; students from, 206; urban growth of, 241–243, 242, 250
- Campinas Agricultural Club, 152
- Campinas Railway Station, 242
- Campos Sales, Manoel Ferraz de: on emancipation, 184; machinery promoted by, 149–150; praise for ex-Confederates from, 155; school supported by, 165, 167; transition to free labor led by, 254–255
- canals, 64, 90, 160, 195, 197; Erie, 196, 211; Panama, 185, 243
- Capitalism and Slavery* (Williams), 9
- capitalism: antislavery and, 7, 185; coffee and, 237–238, 342n53; corporate, 192, 234; industrial, 2–5, 196–197, 285n3; in the Oeste Paulista, 252, 258; slave emancipation and, 126–127; transnational political economy of, 11; US-Latin American relations and, 7–8; wage labor and, 9–10
- capitalist: development, 83, 93–95, 104, 122, 173, 190, 199–200, 205; expansion, 2, 8–10, 79–80; exploitation, 188, 195, 224, 331n71; power, 127, 133, 153, 170, 173, 185, 198, 217; production, 7, 11, 163; system, 92, 258, 269, 338n210
- capitalists, 171, 183, 197–198, 243; Brazilian admiration for American, 175–177, 191; on coffee, 234–235, 237; involved in the slave trade, 23–24; partnership between American and Brazilian, 8, 153, 221; in the postemancipation South, 179; Southerners' failure as, 5, 18–19
- Capivari, 206
- Caribbean, 4, 17, 263, 339n224
- Carioba factory, 159, 243, 246
- carpetbaggers, 177, 225
- Cartas do Solitário* (Tavares Bastos), 82, 87–88, 99–100, 117
- Carvalho Moreira, Francisco Inácio de, 32–33
- Casa Branca, 133, 151, 247
- Castilho, Celso Thomas, 313n129, 341n18
- Castro Alves, Antonio Frederico de, 119–120
- Centennial Exhibition (1876), 172, 198, 207–210, 210, 218, 223, 225, 336n176
- Central Emancipation Society. *See* ACE
- Ceylon, 144, 152
- Ceylon Observer* (periodical), 159
- Chamberlain, George Whitehill: elite friends of, 239; as English teacher, 174; *fazendeiro* and, 248; missionaries supported by, 164–165, 168–169; school established by, 163–164
- Chamber of Deputies, Brazil: debate on emancipation in, 116–118, 123, 126, 226–228; debate on immigration in, 257; steamship line bill in, 84, 86–87, 89–90
- chargé d'affaires, United States, 61, 91, 112, 132
- Charleston Courier* (periodical), 81
- Charleston Mercury* (periodical), 45, 48
- Chase, Salmon P., 60
- Cheyenne, Wyoming, 212
- Chicago, 5, 192, 211
- Chillicothe, Missouri, 187–189
- Chillicothe-Brunswick Railroad, 187
- Choate, Mark I., 347n164
- Christianity, 102, 109, 122, 230
- Christie, William Dougal, 58–62, 91
- Christie affair, 59–62, 72, 85–86, 91, 298n31
- Cincinnati, 43, 192
- City of Para* (steamship), 233
- City of Rio de Janeiro* (steamship), 233
- Civil War. *See* American Civil War
- Clark, Christopher, 332n82
- Clink, John Jackson, 259
- Cobb, Howell, 48
- Cobden, Richard, 177
- coffee: consumption in the United States, 81, 144, 209–210, 210, 230–232; immigrant labor in, 247–249, 255–258, 294n94, 348n174; machinery, 145–153, 209, 237, 241, 248–249; plantation in Minas Gerais, 102, 103; plantations in the Oeste Paulista, 40–42, 41, 136, 144, 149, 157–159, 247–248,

- 251; plantation in the Paraíba Valley, 229; production after emancipation, 180–181, 257, 260–263; quality of, 181–182; as temperance beverage, 234–236, 235, 343n69, 343n74; trade, 48–49, 80–81, 85, 91, 232–234, 239–240, 264, 342n53, 349n197
- Coffee: From Plantation to Cup* (Thurber), 233
- Colégio Dom Pedro II, 98
- Colégio Internacional, 165–166, 168, 182
- Colégio Piracicabano, 168–170, 249–250
- colonists/*colonos* (rural immigrants): from Europe, 41, 42, 44, 136, 145, 197, 205, 215, 247–248, 251, 257; from the South, 141–143, 201, 243
- colonization: as European expansion, 266; as European immigration, 40, 197, 294n90; as ex-Confederate immigration, 142–143; projects for the Amazon, 35, 53–55, 297n10
- Columbia University, 206
- Companhia Ferry, 69–73, 71, 83
- Companhia de Navegação e Comércio do Amazonas (Amazon Navigation and Commerce Company), 97
- Confederacy, 51, 81, 107, 117, 197, 308n48; emigration after the collapse of, 131–132; failure to make Brazil client of, 18, 36, 49, 56, 298n21; as force of backwardness, 83–84; proslavery foundations of, 55–56, 296n127
- Confederate: Army, 135, 142, 159, 220, 221, 243, 267; raiders, 51–52, 55–57, 60; response to emancipation, 106; tropical Manifest Destiny, 291n46
- Confederate migration to Brazil. *See* ex-Confederates
- Congress, United States: Brazilian abolitionists and, 118; corruption of, 207; pressure on Brazil from, 28; steamship line bill in, 43, 87–89
- Conrad, Robert Edgar, 330n43
- Conservative Party, Brazil, 47, 105, 172, 220, 222; abolitionists and, 119, 122, 312n119; Law of the Free Womb devised by, 94–95, 123, 128; Law of the Sexagenarians devised by, 253; slave recruitment opposed by, 109–110; slave trade terminated by, 26
- consuls, United States, 19, 57, 60, 239, 243
- contractors, 80, 63–66, 148, 240
- Cooper, Edward, 175
- Cooper Institute, 113, 194, 199
- Corliss Steam Engines Co., 195, 207
- corn: cultivated by ex-Confederates, 153, 155, 160–161, 243, 245; production in United States, 191–192, 213, 214
- Cornell Daily Sun* (periodical), 251
- Cornell University, 199–204, 225, 229, 250–252
- Corning, Erastus, 74
- Correio da Tarde* (periodical), 47
- Correio Mercantil* (periodical), 38–39, 47, 49, 82
- Correio Paulistano* (periodical), 138, 155, 164, 183–184
- cosmopolitanism: British interests and, 2–3; of capitalists, 8; of Cobdenites, 329n23; of freemasons, 107–108; immigration and, 266; of liberals, 82, 303n116
- Costa, Emília Viotti da, 42
- cotton: cultivated by ex-Confederates, 141–142, 153–160, 243, 245, 323n118; cultivation encouraged in Brazil, 134–137, 139–140; in the postemancipation South, 178–179, 179, 216–217, 223–227, 341n25
- Council of State, Brazil, 24, 34–35, 109, 111, 135
- Coutinho, João Martins da Silva, 99, 211–213, 217
- Couto Ferraz, Luís Pedreira do (Baron of Bom Retiro), 211
- Cribelli, Teresa, 147, 300n66, 301n97, 322n110
- Cronon, William, 192, 333n91
- CSS *Alabama*, 56, 60
- CSS *Florida*, 57, 60–61
- CSS *Sumter*, 55
- Cuba: American threat to, 32, 35; coffee machinery in, 146; slave emancipation in, 339n224; slavery in, 124, 290n12, 304n140, 310n74

- Dagama, João Fernandes, 167  
*Daily Age* (periodical), 102  
*Daily Inter Ocean* (periodical), 262–263  
Dakota Territory, 175, 176  
Dalrymple, Oliver, 175, 176  
Daniels, William H., 236  
Dantas, Manoel Pinto de Souza, 141, 143, 154, 253  
Darwin, Charles, 95, 100  
Daunt, Richard Gumbleton, 136  
Davis, Alfonso B., 22–24  
Davis, David Brion, 339n224  
Davis, George N., 83, 85–88  
Davis, Jefferson, 104–105  
Dean, Warren, 238  
De Bow, J. D. B., 45, 48  
*De Bow's Review* (periodical), 127, 136  
Deere, John, 190–191, 212, 333n91  
*De la démocratie en Amérique* (Tocqueville), 81, 186  
Department of State, United States: aggression to Brazil supported by, 24–25; pro-slavery expansionism supported by, 28, 32–33; report on steamship line to, 232; slave trade condoned by, 19  
Des Moines, Iowa, 212  
*Diário de Pernambuco* (periodical), 60  
*Diário do Rio de Janeiro* (periodical), 47, 100, 105, 107  
*Diário de São Paulo* (periodical), 138, 149, 164  
diplomacy: American aggressive, 24; Brazilian need of aggressive, 25, 36; break between Brazilian and British, 59–60; British abolitionist, 21, 58–59; Civil War, 52, 55; embarrassment for American, 43; lesson in, 54; Paraguayan War, 112–113; setbacks of Brazilian, 33  
diplomats, 5; American entrepreneur and Brazilian, 70; Brazilian elite and American, 37; at the Centennial Exhibition, 208; Confederate raiders and Union, 55; on emancipation in Brazil, 127–128, 223, 226; on opening the Amazon, 27–28, 33, 43; Paraguayan War and American, 112–113; pressure from British, 52; quarrel between British and American, 58–60, 72; on the slave trade, 23, 27  
diversification: ex-Confederates' contribution to, 247; *fazendeiros'* project of, 132–134, 162; of the postemancipation South, 178–179, 223; precluded by slavery, 229  
Dominican Republic, 51, 62, 89  
Dom Pedro II, 22, 54, 72, 91, 163, 222, 258; American entrepreneurs and, 37–38, 74, 146, 233, 241–242; gradual emancipation plans of, 119, 121, 122–124, 253, 263; Massachusetts intellectuals and, 94–95, 96–98, 100–101, 113–115, 163; Paraguayan War policies of, 109, 110, 116; reparation to, 57; slave trade opposed by, 26; territory defended by, 32; treaty refused by, 33–34, 46, 48–49; in the United States, 207–208, 210–212, 216–218  
Dom Pedro Segundo Railroad, 62–69, 80, 83, 85, 98, 193, 196, 239  
Douglass, Frederick, 194  
Downs, Gregory P., 310n74  
Doyle, Don H., 55, 315n151  
Drescher, Seymour, 334n128  
Du Bois, W. E. B., 269  
Dunn, Ballard S., 135–137  
Dutch Empire, 117, 247, 339n224  
  
Ecuador, 30  
education: advancement of Brazilian, 40; at American universities, 199–206, 334n134; excellence of American, 86–87; at missionary schools, 163–172; precluded by slavery, 187; reform, 184; for slave children, 181; technical, 7; trip to Europe for, 193  
Egypt, 134  
*elemento servil* (servile element), 122, 313n130  
Ellison, Andrew, 63, 83  
*emancipados* (liberated Africans), 52, 59  
emancipation. *See* slave emancipation

- Emancipation Proclamation (1863): at abolitionist banquet, 226; Brazilians on, 104–106, 109–110, 123, 308n48; Europeans on, 106, 309n58
- Emerson, Ralph Waldo, 218, 306n9
- Engelberg, Johan Conrad, 150–151
- Engels, Friedrich, 1, 13
- engineers, 5, 52, 86, 172, 197–198; American-trained Brazilian, 250–252; Army, 99, 211; from Brazil in the United States, 185–193, 193–198; harbor redesigned by, 238–239; Jackson & Sharp, 78, 171; mechanical, 146, 150, 153, 241; railroad, 37, 63–69, 83, 134, 162
- engineering: Brazilian students of, 199–206, 203, 335n141; bridge, 196; in Europe, 186; excellence in railroad, 69, 70, 148; military, 193
- entrepreneurs, 5, 52–53, 172, 174, 250; agent of Northern, 18; in the Amazon, 30; Brazilian admiration for American, 68–69, 83; coffee, 232, 238; competition between American and British, 62, 63, 70, 72; *fazendeiros* as, 184–185; influence of Northern, 73, 79–80, 222, 243, 245; railroad, 64–65, 67, 69; school supported by, 165; steamship, 43, 60, 90–92, 232–233; streetcar, 73–74
- Escola Americana, 163–164, 168, 174, 239, 250
- Espíritas (Spiritists), 121
- Espírito Santo, 26, 141
- Europe: in comparison to the United States, 64, 190, 194–196, 198, 212, 222; immigration from, 40–42, 139, 181, 197, 215, 255–256, 263, 266, 268, 321n89, 348n174; imperialist policies of, 39, 51–53, 60, 62, 85, 88–89, 269, 327n201
- ex-Confederates, 131–133, 316n7; on Brazilian abolitionism, 259–260; Brazilian plans for, 138–141, 156; dependent condition of, 156–159, 222; in the Doce, 141–142; medical practice of, 161–162; missionaries and, 164–165, 167–168; mixed commercial farms of, 154–156, 243, 245, 247, 252; proslavery views of, 137–138, 143, 160–161, 317n30; in the Ribeira, 142–143, 161; in Santa Bárbara, 143–144, 154–162, 201, 323n118; in Santarém, 142; welcomed by Brazilians, 135–136
- ex-slaves: abolitionist movement led by, 120, 173; brutalization of, 260–261; colonization scheme for, 53–54; compulsory labor of, 9; continued work of, 180–181, 206, 223–224, 255–258, 262–263; rights of, 94, 177–178
- factories, 134, 158, 170, 192, 211–212, 232, 244; American agricultural implement, 146, 149, 191, 212–213; in Campinas, 132, 151, 201, 241–243, 242; in Piracicaba, 250; in São Paulo City, 238, 243, 267–268; slave, 20; textile, 153–154, 159, 179, 243, 245; work in, 9, 235–236, 319n68, 342n53
- fazendeiros* (São Paulo coffee planters): American education favored by, 164–165, 168–170, 201–202, 206; ex-Confederates and, 135–136, 138–139, 153–163; machinery adopted by, 144–146, 149–153, 209, 241; railroad built by, 147–148; as readers of *O Novo Mundo*, 183–185; in São Paulo City, 238; on slave labor, 132–134; transition to free labor implemented by, 220–221, 247–249, 254–258, 260–264. *See also* planters
- Fernandes, Florestan, 258
- Ferreira, Felix, 107
- ferries, 52, 69–73, 71, 79, 83, 176, 182
- Field, Cyrus West, 175
- filibustering: American entrepreneurs opposed to, 65, 100; Brazilian fears of, 32–33, 35, 43; Confederate raiding as, 56–57; expeditions to Latin America, 17; failures of, 36
- financiers, 36, 97, 131, 199, 233, 344n85
- Fleche, Andre M., 308n42
- Fleiss, Carlos, 73
- Fletcher, James Cooley, 18, 36–37; American entrepreneurs and, 65, 73–74, 146; as author of *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 39–46, 48, 293n85, 294n89; Brazilian

- Fletcher, James Cooley (*continued*)  
abolitionists and, 117–118; Brazilian journalist and, 174, 182; Brazilian war effort defended by, 113–115; exhibition organized by, 38–39; lectures on Brazil delivered by, 39, 45, 49–50; as member of scientific expedition, 95–98, 306n9; missionary defended by, 163; opening of the Amazon supported by, 100, 103–104; steamship line promoted by, 86–90
- Flint, Charles R., 233
- Florida affair, 57–58, 60–62
- Foner, Eric, 221, 340n11
- Fonseca, Manoel Pinto da, 20–21
- Forte affair, 59–60
- France: canal projected by, 185; in comparison to the United States, 198; education in, 199; immigrants from, 82; imperialism of, 29, 62; neutrality of, 55; science in, 99; subsidies for steamships in, 233; support for the Union in, 106
- Frank Leslie's *Illustrated Newspaper* (periodical), 174, 208
- Franklin, Benjamin, 100, 120, 209, 226
- freedmen/freedpeople. *See* ex-slaves
- Freedmen's Bureau, 94
- Freedmen's Inquiry Commission, 109
- free labor: advanced by Americans in Brazil, 19, 50, 69, 92, 132, 170; as basis of development, 67, 127, 206, 210, 236–237; experiments in Brazil, 6, 40–43, 144–145, 294n94; in the Gilded Age, 172–173, 175–177, 188–192, 198, 216, 331n55; immigration and, 138–140, 156, 197, 215; machinery and, 132, 145–147, 152–153, 247–249; in the postemancipation South, 178–179, 187–188, 216–217, 223–224, 227–228; as replacement for slavery, 9–10; superior to slavery, 3–5, 45, 84, 121, 208, 215, 223, 303n126; system in coffee agriculture, 260–264; transition to, 123, 184–185, 219–221, 252–257, 322n110, 348n174; world made by, 265–270. *See also* wage labor
- Free Soil Party, 36, 93
- Friends' Intelligencer* (periodical), 208
- O Futuro* (periodical), 173
- Gama, Luiz, 120–121, 173, 253–254
- Garfield, James, 228
- Garnett, Charles F. M., 63
- Garrison, Cornelius K., 92
- Garrison, William Lloyd, 48, 118
- Gaston, James McFadden: on coffee machinery, 145; immigration to Brazil promoted by, 135–137; medical practice of, 162; resettled in Atlanta, 259
- Gazeta de Campinas* (periodical): on coffee machinery, 151–152, 154; on emancipation, 184; on schools, 164–165
- Gazeta de Piracicaba* (periodical), 169
- Gazeta da Tarde* (periodical), 252
- Geology and Physical Geography of Brazil* (Hartt), 199
- Georgia: ex-Confederates from, 142, 245; ex-Confederates resettled in, 259, 267; postwar, 158; secessionist leader, 48; views on Brazilian emancipation in, 263
- Georgia Weekly Telegraph* (periodical), 228
- Germany: engineering in, 186, 199; immigrants from, 40–42, 82–83, 145, 169, 205, 247–249, 332n82; manufacturers from, 150; merchant family from, 73; subsidy for steamships in, 233; support for the Union in, 106
- Gibbon, Lardner, 28–30
- Gilded Age, 171, 173, 219, 325n155, 329n14, 343n74
- Glymph, Thavolia, 323n131, 324n142
- Golden Law (1888), 12, 219, 258, 260–262, 265
- Graden, Dale T., 290n12
- Graham, Richard, 298n31
- Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, 301n99
- Grant, Ulysses S.: ex-Confederates and, 222; Dom Pedro II and, 207, 210; Frederick Douglass and, 194; opposition to, 177–178, 207, 216, 232
- Grant Locomotive Works, 197

- Great Britain: antislavery pressure from, 8–9, 17–18, 19, 21, 25–26, 33, 59–60, 226, 291n37, 298n31; challenged by Americans in Brazil, 60–62, 64–65, 69–70, 72, 74–75, 79–80, 85–87, 302n106, 322n111; clash between the Union and, 51–53, 58–59, 62, 299n45; in comparison to American expansionists, 29; cotton cultivation fostered by, 134; economic interests of, 2–4; end to impositions from, 88–92, 304n140; investments in Brazil from, 62–63; proslavery Southerners and, 20, 23, 295n117; trade with Brazil, 44, 232–233
- Great Railroad Strike (1877), 182, 331n55
- Greeley, Horace, 177
- Greenough, Charles B., 92, 222; cartoon portraying, 76–77; praise for, 78–79, 182; streetcars of, 73–75
- Gunter, Charles Grandison, 141, 143
- Guyatt, Nicholas, 297n10
- Hahn, Steven, 125, 158, 261, 314n144, 324n134, 337n191
- Haiti, 1, 19, 104–105
- Hall, Charles M., 245
- Hamilton, Charles James, 23
- Hammond, James Henry, 32
- Hammond, William J., 162
- Hanley, Anne G., 344n85
- Hargrave, H., 115
- Harper's Weekly* (periodical): as model for *O Novo Mundo*, 174; on the Paraguayan War, 113–115; on railroads, 92, 148; on temperance, 234, 235
- Harrah, Charles J., 193–194
- Hartt, Charles Frederick, 97, 198–201, 229
- Harvard Museum of Comparative Zoology, 198–199
- Harvard University, 94, 95, 97–98, 308n38
- Hastings, Lansford Warren, 142–143
- Hayes, Rutherford, 221–222, 233
- Hecht, Susanna B., 291n46
- Herndon, William Lewis, 28–30
- Herring, George C., 325n155, 327n200
- Hilliard, Henry Washington: Brazilian abolitionists and, 222–226; frustrated political career of, 221; praise for, 227–228; on steamship line, 232–233; on streetcars, 79
- Hobsbawm, Eric, 3, 303n116
- Holt, Thomas, 5
- Homestead Act (1862), 181, 215
- Hopkins, A. G., 327n201
- House of Representatives, United States, 19, 221; corruption of, 207; Democratic control of, 232; steamship line bill in, 88–89
- Howell, John Beatty, 164
- human rights, 7, 173, 334n128
- Huntington, Collis Potter, 233
- Ibicaba plantation: free labor experiment at, 40–42, 41, 144–145, 294n94; machinery used at, 136; as model for the future, 248–249
- Iguape, 133, 142
- Ilidro da Silva, Carlos, 134, 139
- Illinois, 189–191, 211–213, 250, 333n91
- immigrants: in the American West, 67, 215; in coffee agriculture, 40–43, 144–145, 154, 247–249, 294n94, 348n174; contribution to São Paulo of, 268; effect of coffee on, 234; ex-Confederate, 138–143; means to attract, 3, 252, 255–256, 321n89; public lands for, 181; as replacement for slaves, 205; as rural proletariat, 256–257, 260–261, 263; Yankees and, 81–82
- immigration: to the Amazon, 27; American system of, 215; as antithesis of slavery, 265–266; benefits of ex-Confederate, 138–140; encouraged by Dom Pedro II, 208; opposition to ex-Confederate, 140–141; São Paulo system of, 255–256, 263; from the South, 135–136
- Imperial Institute of Agriculture, 153
- Imperial Institute of Fine Arts, 98
- Imperial Museum, 38, 98
- Imperial Order of the Rose, 241
- Imperial Petroleum Works, 212

- imperialism: Brazilian, 33, 95, 109–110, 112, 116; British, 8–9, 52, 80, 88, 92, 104, 327n201; clash between Brazilian and Southern, 17–18, 36; European, 52–53, 62; Southern proslavery, 29–30, 32–33
- Imprensa Evangélica* (periodical), 165
- India, 37, 134, 268
- Indiana, 18, 36–37, 50
- industrialists. *See* manufacturers
- Instituto do Novo Mundo, 184
- International Immigration Society. *See* SII
- Irish, 82, 136, 139, 232
- Isabel (Princess), 22, 219, 258, 262, 265
- Italy: immigrants from, 169, 205, 247, 256, 260, 263; independence of, 55; push factors in, 347n164; support for the Union in, 106; tourism industry in, 196
- Itu, 133; cotton cultivation in, 134–135; cotton mill in, 153, 246; graduates of American universities in, 250–251; school in, 184; students from, 200, 206
- Ituana Navigation Company, 250
- Ituana Railroad, 249–251
- Jackson & Sharp Co. Delaware Car Works, 66, 78, 171, 196, 216
- Jackson, Andrew, 81
- James, O. C., 148
- James, William, 97
- Jaú, 133, 136
- Jefferson, Thomas, 19, 100
- Jervis, John B., 183
- Jimenez, Michael F., 342n53
- Johnson, Andrew, 94, 104, 209
- Johnson, Walter, 293n72
- Jornal do Commercio* (periodical): on Christie affair, 61; on the Emancipation Proclamation, 105–106; on ferry line, 72, 74; on Lincoln's assassination, 107; on the postemancipation South, 225; purchase of, 185; on US-Brazilian trade, 47
- journalists, 5, 123, 140, 172; on American enterprise in Brazil, 79; on emancipation, 121; from Brazil in the United States, 174–185; on the Paraguayan War, 113–114
- A Journey in Brazil* (Agassiz and Agassiz), 102, 103, 115
- Jundiá, 133; cotton mill in, 246, 251; ex-Confederates in, 154; *fazendeiro* from, 255–256; railroad to, 147–148, 249; students from, 206
- Karlsruhe, 186, 190
- Karp, Matthew, 291n36
- Kennion, Dr., 234, 235
- Kentucky, 84, 168, 191–192, 217
- Keokuk, Des Moines and Minnesota Railroad, 64
- Keyes, Julia, 141, 144
- Kidder, Daniel Parish, 39, 41
- Kirkendall, Andrew J., 312n122, 335n141
- Klein, Herbert S., 349n197
- Knights of Labor, 219
- Lacerda Franco, Eugenio de, 251
- Laërne, C. F. Van Delden, 247–249, 251
- Lafayette College, 204, 251
- Lamoureux, Andrew Jackson: on abolitionist radicalization, 254; on emancipation, 225–227, 257–258; on immigration, 255–257; on proletarianization, 260–261; on proslavery reactions, 253, 255, 259; US minister and, 228
- Land-Grant College Act (1862), 199, 202, 334n134
- Lane, Christopher B., 63
- Lane, Edward, 165–166, 168
- Langley, W. C., 179
- Latin America, 185; American attitudes toward, 7–8, 170, 327n201; American influence on, 133–134, 322n111, 325n163, 327n200; British power in, 51, 62; filibusters' threat to, 56–57; Southern expansion to, 29; Southern trade with, 295n122
- Law of 1850 (slave trade), 26–27, 49
- Law of the Free Womb (1871), 122–128, 181, 330n43; agricultural improvement and,

- 205, 223, 237; *fazendeiros'* response to, 132, 144; as means to contain agitation, 95; waiting for results of, 220, 226
- Law of Patents (1830), 150
- Law of the Sexagenarians (1885), 253, 255
- lawyers, 5, 36, 221; abolitionist, 120, 173; manufacturers and, 150, 242; in São Paulo City, 238; school supported by, 165
- Lears, Jackson, 343n74
- Lee, Robert E., 94, 135
- Leopold I (King of the Belgians), 59
- Levi, Darrell E., 347n161
- Liberal Party, Brazil, 5, 81, 94, 98, 119, 135; American Republicans and, 52–53, 87–92, 305n156; on emancipation, 116, 122–123, 220, 308n48; *fazendeiros* in, 40, 145; as force of progress, 222; railroad construction fostered by, 62–64, 68; slave recruitment supported by, 109; slave trade opposed by, 26
- Liberator* (periodical), 48, 118
- Lidgerwood, John H., 195
- Lidgerwood, William Van Vleck: Brooklyn factory of, 244; in Campinas, 149–153, 201, 241–243; as chargé d'affaires, 61, 112; coffee agriculture improved by, 209, 252; cotton cultivation fostered by, 153; global influence of, 243; mills set up by, 153, 159, 245; New Jersey estate of, 197; in New York City, 194–195; sense of mission of, 146–147; on steamship line, 91
- Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd.: in Campinas, 151, 242; excellence of, 152–153, 193, 209; growth of, 241–243, 244; mills set up by, 153, 159, 245
- Limpo de Abreu, Antonio Paulino, 33–34
- Limeira, 133; coffee machinery in, 149; in comparison to Tennessee towns, 191; ex-Confederates in, 154; model plantation in, 40, 136, 248; railroad to, 148
- Lincoln, Abraham, 53, 88, 202, 215, 263; assassination of, 91, 94, 107–109, 108, 117; Brazilian admiration for, 82, 120–122, 209; Brazilians hopeful about, 61; election of, 48, 221; Emancipation Proclamation and, 49, 104–107, 226, 264; gradual emancipation plans of, 124–125, 219
- Lippincott's Monthly Magazine* (periodical), 115, 208
- Littell's Living Age* (periodical), 44
- Liverpool, 92, 243
- locomotives, 37, 162; Brazilian preference for American, 65–66, 83, 85–86, 182, 204, 216; superior quality of American, 69, 194–197
- London: Amazon richer than, 29; American entrepreneur in, 243; discussion on the Civil War in, 106; Philadelphia exhibition better than, 198; plan to send Brazilians to, 72
- Longfellow, Henry Wadsworth, 96, 218, 306n9
- López, Francisco Solano, 109–110, 110–113, 115–116, 119, 123, 313n136
- Lorena, 120, 133, 163
- Louisiana, 48, 179, 210, 217
- Lowell, Massachusetts, 174, 195–196, 223, 250
- Lowell Carpet Mills, 196
- Luna, Francisco Vidal, 349n197
- McClellan, George B., 58, 113
- McCrary, George W., 233
- McCulloch, Hugh, 233
- McCurry, Stephanie, 104, 296n127, 317n30, 318n35
- McDaniel, W. Caleb, 315n151
- Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria, 129, 269
- Mac-Hardy, William, 150–151
- machinery, 4, 171, 182, 202, 204, 217, 231, 241; American agricultural, 83, 90, 193, 206, 212, 216, 302n106, 314n150, 325n155; in the American West, 190–192, 211–213; coffee, 37, 145–147, 149–153, 209, 229; cotton, 140; high costs of, 159, 248–249; industrial, 174–175, 195–196, 250; railroad, 66; slave labor and, 132, 185, 205, 223, 237, 322n110
- McMahon, Martin Thomas, 113

- Macon Telegraph* (periodical), 263  
McPherson, James, 285n3, 314n150  
Maggor, Noam, 329n14  
Manchester Cotton Supply Association. *See* MCSA  
MCSA  
manufacturers: ads published by, 151, 182, 204; agricultural machinery, 212, 322n101, 333n91; benefits of steamship line to, 233; British, 4, 23, 134; in Campinas, 150, 241; competition between American and British, 66, 85; effect of wage labor on, 190–191; models for Brazilian, 216; Northern, 8, 12, 37–39; in the Oeste Paulista, 132, 151–153, 209, 241, 245, 252; in São Paulo City, 238; streetcar, 195  
Marquese, Rafael de Bivar, 295n117, 308–309n48  
Marquis of Abrantes. *See* Almeida, Miguel Calmon du Pin e  
Marquis of São Vicente. *See* Pimenta Bueno, José Antonio  
Martius, Carl Friedrich Philipp von, 95  
Marx, Karl, 1, 13, 106  
*Mary E. Smith* (ship), 26–27  
Massachusetts, 87, 174, 210; in comparison to São Paulo, 201; intellectuals, 93, 96–97, 102, 113, 218; textile mills in, 195–196; wage labor in, 332n82  
Massachusetts Agricultural College, 204  
Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 196  
Mato Grosso, 28, 111, 133  
Matthews, George: dependent condition of, 157–158; initial satisfaction of, 156; neighbor's criticism of, 160; resettled in Florida, 259–260  
Matthews, Jane, 157–158, 160, 259–260  
Matthews, Joel E., 131  
Maury, Matthew Fontaine: anti-Brazilian texts of, 30; Brazilian critics of, 34–36; Brazilian fears of, 29–30, 47, 55–56, 65, 97; expansionist agenda of, 27–28, 31, 32–33, 291n46, 293n72; Northern condemnation of, 43, 100  
May, Samuel Joseph, 202  
MCSA, Manchester Cotton Supply Association, 134  
Meade, Richard Kidder, 46–50, 60  
meatpacking, 192, 211  
mechanization, 204, 248, 249, 252, 257, 303n126, 314n150, 334n134. *See also* machinery  
medical doctors: ex-Confederate, 133, 156, 161–162, 170, 259, 267; Irish, 136; school supported by, 165  
Mendes, Otaviano Abdon Pereira, 251  
*O Mercantil* (periodical), 22, 24  
merchants, 1, 5, 37, 111, 182, 233; benefits of steamship line to, 44, 90; coffee, 8, 42, 145, 240; German family of, 73; involved in the slave trade, 18–20, 23; Northern, 60, 83; rum, 142; Southern, 48, 81, 295n122  
*Merchant's Magazine* (periodical), 39  
Meriwether, Robert, 135–137  
*Methodist Quarterly Review* (periodical), 45  
Methodists, 39, 168, 236, 340n10  
Mexican War, 17, 33, 36  
Mexico: American aggressions against, 24, 28–29, 32, 35–36; in comparison to Brazil, 39–40; French invasion of, 51, 62  
Midwest, United States: Deere & Co. in, 190; development of, 67, 240, 322n101; railroads in, 64, 181  
mills: American cotton, 171, 195–196, 223; Brazilian cotton, 138, 153–154, 243, 245, 246, 250, 251; Brazilian demand for, 147; coffee, 249, 251; corn, 212; manufactured by Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., 241; saw-, 138, 241, 251; steel, 196; woolen, 231  
Minas Gerais, 63, 102, 103, 133  
minister of agriculture, commerce, and public works, Brazil: American entrepreneur and, 83; Black Regulations implemented by, 253; immigration promoted by, 135, 139, 141, 154, 256; naturalists supported by, 98; on opening the Amazon, 97  
minister to Brazil, United States: Brazilian abolitionists and, 127–128, 222–226;

- Brazilian sovereignty attacked by, 19–25;  
colonization project devised by, 53–54,  
297n10; Confederate raiders and, 55, 57;  
diplomatic relations broken by, 112–113;  
incompetence of, 43, 60; proslavery  
treaty offered by, 33–34, 46–47; quarrel  
between British minister and, 58–60; on  
steamship line, 84–85, 232
- minister of foreign affairs, Brazil: on Chris-  
tie affair, 59, 61; on colonization of ex-  
slaves, 54–55; conflict between US minis-  
ter and, 22, 24; *Florida* affair settled by,  
57; on proslavery treaty, 33; report on  
Southern expansionism to, 29; on slave  
emancipation, 258; on the slave trade, 26
- minister of justice, Brazil, 21, 124
- minister to Washington, Brazil, 29, 32, 70
- missionaries, 5, 12, 37; abolitionists and, 118;  
*fazendeiros* and, 248; influence on São  
Paulo City of, 239; network of American,  
174; schools established by, 163–170, 201,  
325n163, 327n200
- Mississippi River, 27, 92, 115, 191, 216, 293n72
- Mississippi Valley, 6, 20, 27, 172, 217, 252
- Missouri, 64, 84, 180, 186–187, 250
- Missouri Compromise, 17
- Mobile Medical College, 161
- modernization, 94, 131, 172, 258, 264, 269,  
285n2, 300n66, 312n119, 314n144, 338n210;  
conservative, 12, 95, 125, 314n145
- modernizers: agricultural, 40, 145, 205; *fa-  
zendeiros* as, 184; Liberal, 92; optimistic,  
266; on slavery, 3–4, 8, 10, 180
- Mogiana Railroad, 250–251
- Mogi Mirim, 133, 251
- Moline, Illinois, 190–191, 212–213
- Monroe, James, 60
- Monroe Doctrine, 52, 88, 100
- Montezuma, Francisco Gê Acayaba de  
(Viscount of Jequitinhonha), 116–117
- Morais, Domingos Correia de, 203, 250–251
- Morais Antas, João Batista de Castro, 34,  
36, 43
- Morais Barros, Ana Maria de, 169
- Morais Barros, Manoel de, 168–170
- Morais Barros, Prudente José de, 167–170
- Moreira, Nicolau Joaquim, 147, 183, 212, 225;  
on coffee, 152, 209, 236; on emancipation,  
223–224, 227; on immigration, 215
- Morgan Expedition, 199
- Morristown, New Jersey, 146, 197, 242
- A Morte de Lincoln* (Ferreira), 107
- Morton, George Nash, 165–168, 182, 184
- Nabuco, Joaquim: abolitionist activism of,  
226, 341n18; on American contributions  
to civilization, 265–267; emancipation  
date proposed by, 225; US minister and,  
222–224, 227
- Nabuco de Araújo, José Tomás, 109, 122, 222
- Napoleon III, 51, 82
- Nashville, 191
- Natchez, Mississippi, 216–217
- Nation* (periodical), 182
- National Era* (periodical), 44, 46
- National Intelligencer* (periodical), 30
- naturalists, 95–98, 198–199, 228–230
- Navy, Brazil, 37, 57, 82; conflict between US  
minister and, 21; patrol of the slave trade,  
26; port shut down by, 109; US minister  
barred by, 112–113
- Navy, United States: ex-Confederates trans-  
ported by, 222; filibustering condoned  
by, 32–33; insult to, 22–23; slave trade  
condoned by, 19
- Needell, Jeffrey, 308n48
- New England, 2, 172
- New Granada, 30
- New Jersey: Brazilian engineer in, 197;  
factory in, 146; manufacturer from, 91,  
132, 209, 243; missionary from, 164
- Newman, Annie, 168
- Newman, Junius, 168
- New Mexico, 35, 142
- New Orleans: Brazilians in, 141, 216–217;  
editor based in, 45; ex-Confederate from,  
135; port of, 179
- New World, 39, 64, 106, 173, 197, 266, 269

- New York (state), 74, 146, 179, 199, 229;  
Brazilian engineer in, 195–196; Brazilian students in, 10, 200–206; coffee-packing in, 232; in comparison to Virginia, 121; factory in, 244; public schools in, 163; train station in, 175
- New York City, 50, 176, 186; anti-abolitionist riots in, 53; books from, 184; Brazilian engineer in, 194–195; coffee consumption in, 230–231, 234, 235; as commercial center, 92; Dom Pedro II in, 207; elite, 177, 183; ferryboats from, 70; filibustering expedition organized in, 43; immigration agent in, 140–141; steamship company based in, 90; steamship line from Rio de Janeiro to, 84; streetcars from, 74; subway construction in, 243; value of coffee in, 91
- New York Cooper Institute, 113, 194, 199
- New York Courier and Enquirer* (periodical), 53
- New York Daily Tribune* (periodical), 47, 233
- New York Evangelist* (periodical), 208
- New York Herald* (periodical): on the Amazon, 100, 103; on American enterprises in Brazil, 64, 147; on Dom Pedro II, 207; on the Paraguayan War, 111–112
- New York Historical Society, 39, 44, 49
- New York Times* (periodical): on American enterprises in Brazil, 51, 64–65, 69–70; on Brazilian abolitionists, 227; on Brazilian slavery, 49; building, 174; on Christie affair, 58; on the Paraguayan War, 110–112, 114
- New York Tribune* (periodical), 46, 177
- Nienkamp, Paul, 334–335n134
- Ninkovich, Frank, 302n106
- Niterói, 70–72
- Niterói Abolitionist Society, 73
- Norris, Robert, 159, 161, 245, 259
- Norris, William Hutchinson: on emancipation, 259–260; pessimism of, 243; pro-slavery views of, 160; thriving farm of, 159
- North, United States: antislavery foreign policy of, 43, 95, 120; Brazilian admiration for, 80, 83; carpetbaggers from, 177; in the Civil War, 106, 115, 121, 174; commercial interests of, 29–30; in comparison to the South, 4, 6, 127, 216, 223, 225, 285n3, 314n150; cotton manufacturing in, 179; development model of, 175, 185, 187–188, 217; reception of *Brazil and the Brazilians* in, 45; slavery and, 160; trade with, 49; transnational business network of, 79; victory of, 89
- North American* (periodical), 227
- North Carolina, 33, 137, 158
- Northern Pacific Railroad, 69, 194, 239
- O Novo Mundo* (periodical): ads published in, 182, 195; on American development, 174–176; American universities promoted by, 199–201, 204; on coffee, 236; on emancipation, 179–181, 227; illustrations of, 175, 176, 179, 180, 214; readers of, 183–184, 194; on Reconstruction, 177–179; on São Paulo, 184–185
- Novelty Iron Works, 70
- O'Brien, Thomas, 322n111, 325n163, 327n200
- Ocean Steam Navigation and the Ocean Post* (Rainey), 44
- Oeste Paulista: abolitionist agitation in, 253–255, 259–260; American schools in, 164–170, 182; coffee production in, 132–134, 144, 209, 238, 261–264, 349n197; Cornell students from, 200–201, 203, 206, 336n168; immigration to, 40–43, 139, 144–145, 154, 247–249, 252, 255–258, 260–261, 263, 268, 294n94, 348n174; industrialization and urbanization of, 149–152, 159, 241–245, 246, 250–252, 267–268, 344n85; mixed commercial farming in, 153–156, 243, 245, 247, 325n155, 346n126; railroads in, 147–148, 148, 239, 249–251, 261; readers of *O Novo Mundo* in, 183–185
- Ohio, 43, 64, 163, 192
- Ohio River, 67, 69
- Ohio Teacher* (periodical), 43
- oil (petroleum), 2, 131, 196–197, 210, 212, 325n155
- O'Kelly, James, 207, 211, 212, 216

- Old World, 7, 29, 62, 88, 106, 133, 269, 299n45, 327n201
- Omaha, 211
- On the Origin of Species* (Darwin), 95
- Otoni, Cristiano Benedito, 63, 65, 83, 89, 183
- Otoni, Teófilo, 69, 89, 91
- Pacheco Jordão, Elias Fausto, 200–202, 209, 250
- Pacheco Jordão, José Nabor, 251
- Pacheco Jordão family, 169, 209
- Pacific Coast, 30, 92, 172, 181
- Pacific Railroad Act (1862), 181
- Paes de Barros, Antonio (Baron of Piracicaba), 135, 153, 184, 186, 255
- Paes de Barros, Carlos, 200, 202, 203, 251
- Paes de Barros, Fernando, 251
- Paes de Barros, Francisco Fernando, Jr., 251
- Paes de Barros, Rafael Tobias de Aguiar (Baron of Piracicaba), 249
- Paes de Barros family, 209
- Paes Leme, Pedro Dias Gordilho: on American agriculture, 212–214, 216; on Chicago stockyards, 211; on immigration, 215; on the postemancipation South, 225–227
- Pallen, Marc-William, 329n23
- Paludan, Phillip Shaw, 308n38
- Panama, 185, 243
- Panic of 1873, 171, 219
- Pará, 43, 60, 70, 99, 234
- Paraguayan War, 94–95; American views on, 111–116; antislavery reform and, 119, 123–124, 313n136; recruiting slaves for, 109–110; US-Brazilian relations during, 112–113
- Paraíba Valley, 123, 211, 215, 220; class attitudes of, 255; coffee machinery in, 146; as competitor of the Oeste Paulista, 144; mob violence in, 163; plantation in, 229; railroad in, 63; slaveholding interests of, 105, 125–126, 205–206, 226
- Paraná, 142, 193
- Paraguá, João Lustosa da Cunha, 91
- Paranhos, José Maria da Silva (Viscount of Rio Branco): gradual emancipation bill of, 123–127, 172, 181; on the slave trade, 26–27; Southern diplomat and, 34
- Paris Universal Exposition (1878), 152
- Parliament, Brazil: debates on the Amazon in, 97, 102; debates on emancipation in, 117–119, 124–127, 253; fear of Southerners in, 24–26; report on immigration to, 139; steamship line bill in, 84–91
- Parron, Tâmis, 295n117
- Partridge, James R., 128
- patriarchal values: of Brazilian planters, 66–67, 169; of ex-Confederates, 137, 156, 260; of Southerners, 318n35, 323n131, 324n142
- Paula Souza, Antonio Francisco de (father): ex-Confederates and, 135–136, 139–141, 170; naturalists and, 98–99; on steamship line, 89–90; on trip to the United States, 186
- Paula Souza, Antonio Francisco de (son), 185–186; on American development, 193; infrastructural works implemented by, 250, 254; in the Midwest and Upper South, 190–192; work experience in American railroads of, 187–190, 332n90
- Paula Souza family, 185–186, 189, 209
- Paulista Railroad, 134, 147–148, 148, 240, 250–251, 256, 261
- PCUS, Presbyterian Church in the United States, 165
- PCUSA, Presbyterian Church in the United States of America, 163, 165, 167–168
- Pennsylvania: in comparison to São Paulo, 184; in comparison to Virginia, 121; manufacturer from, 153, 245; missionary from, 163; railroads in, 64; shipyard in, 232–233; steel and oil industries in, 196–197, 212; strike in, 176; universities in, 204
- Pereira de Souza, Pedro Luiz, 98
- Pernambuco, 57, 109, 122
- Pernambuco Law School, 81, 200

- Peru: river navigation in, 28, 30; Southerners' interest in, 32–33, 34, 36; Spanish attack on, 51, 62, 89
- Pessoa de Melo, Urbano Sabino, 25
- Petrópolis, 58, 222
- Philadelphia: Centennial Exhibition, 172, 198, 207–210, 210; demonstration of machinery in, 216; locomotives produced in, 65–66, 70; manufacturers based in, 182; railroader from, 64; shipyard in, 196
- Philadelphia Bulletin* (periodical), 80
- Phillips, Wendell, 218
- Phrenological Journal and Science of Health* (periodical), 207
- physicians. *See* medical doctors
- Pimenta Bueno, José Antonio (Marquis of São Vicente), 109, 119, 124
- Pinto de Campos, Joaquim, 127
- Piracicaba, 133; cotton mill in, 153–154, 246; *fazendeiro* from, 164; school in, 168–170; students from, 206; urban growth of, 249–250
- Piratininga, José Tibiriçá, 203, 250–251
- Pisani, Donald J., 338n205
- Pittsburgh, 196, 212, 231
- Plata, South America, 33, 94, 109–110, 111–112, 115–116, 123
- planters: advice to coffee, 181–182; antislavery Northerners and Brazilian, 8–9, 40–43, 50, 95, 102; benefits of steamship line to, 91; bourgeois dimensions of, 258; emancipation and interests of, 124, 184, 208, 223–224, 237, 255; expansionist plans of Southern, 29, 32; former cotton, 131, 135, 141–142, 159; machinery used by, 149, 209; missionaries and, 164–165, 168–170; in the Paraíba Valley, 66–67, 206–207, 229, 254, 336n168; postemancipation plans of, 156, 252; in postemancipation São Paulo, 260–263; in the postemancipation South, 178, 217; in São Paulo City, 238; slavery as burden to, 84, 152–153, 205; slave trade and Southern, 20; sons of, 120, 173, 185–186, 200, 206, 250–251; Southern and Brazilian, 5–6, 18, 47, 119, 125, 219, 221, 314n144. *See also fazendeiros*
- Pletcher, David M., 302n106
- plows, 147, 181, 205, 216; in the Amazon, 29; in the American West, 175, 213, 215, 333n91; applied to coffee cultivation, 185, 251; Brazilian interest in American, 86; from Newark, 38; produced by Deere & Co., 190–191, 212; produced by Lidgerwood Mfg. Co. Ltd., 241; produced by Semple, Birge & Co., 212; in the South, 216–217; used by ex-Confederates, 153, 155–156, 245
- Poems Written during the Progress of the Abolition Question in the United States* (Whittier), 93
- poets, 5, 93, 101, 107, 119–120
- Porpoise* (ship), 20–21
- Porter Manufacturing Company, 206
- Portugal, 19, 21, 27, 199
- Portuguese immigrants, 20, 145, 163, 205, 327n197
- Positivism, 121, 167
- postemancipation: Caribbean, 4; development of capitalism, 12, 221; São Paulo, 260–261; South, 191, 223, 342n44; United States, 173
- Prado, Antonio da Silva: Black Regulations implemented by, 253; emancipation supported by, 258; immigration supported by, 256; plantation of, 247–248; transition to free labor led by, 254–255, 262
- Prado, Eduardo, 164
- Prado family, 169, 347n161
- Prado, José, 200
- Prado Junior, Martinho da Silva: American praise for, 261–262; Italian immigration promoted by, 255–256, 347n161
- Presbyterians, 36, 107, 163, 165, 167–168, 174, 239
- Presbyterian Church in the United States. *See* PCUS

- Presbyterian Church in the United States of America. *See* PCUSA
- Price, Edward, 63–64
- Primeira* (ferryboat), 70–71
- prime minister, Brazil, 123–124, 181, 226, 253
- Princeton Theological Seminary, 36, 164
- proletarianization, 3, 6, 10, 144, 189, 221, 236, 256, 258, 260, 331n55
- proslavery: Brazilian rejection of Southern, 6, 19, 34, 36, 47, 56–57, 143, 298n21, 319n64; enemy of Brazil, 25; expansionism, 17, 32, 100, 113, 293n72; foundations of the Confederacy, 55, 296n127; Northern response to Southern, 40, 46, 50, 65, 80, 101, 104; predictions proved wrong, 263; reaction in Brazil, 105; responses to *Brazil and the Brazilians*, 45–46; threat to Brazil, 22–23, 295n117; views of ex-Confederates, 137–138, 160, 317n30; weak kind of, 313n135
- Protestantism, 164, 174, 327n200
- A Província de São Paulo* (periodical), 166–167
- provincial presidents: American missionaries and, 163; coffee agriculture fostered by, 149, 152, 209; Confederate raiders and, 55–56; ex-Confederates and, 134–135, 154; immigration fostered by, 255–257
- Pruyn, John V. L., 88
- Pullman Palace Car Works, 198, 216
- Queiroz Teles, Antonio de, 255–257
- Queiroz Teles Neto, Antonio de, 200, 251
- The Question of Labor and Capital* (Jervis), 183
- Quirino dos Santos, Francisco, 164
- Radical Club, 120–121
- Railroad Gazette* (periodical), 65
- railroads, 2, 68, 98, 148, 162, 172–173, 227, 242, 243, 249; in the Amazon, 29; American development and, 174–175, 191–192, 211, 213, 217, 332n90, 337n191, 338n205; Brazilian development and, 40, 44, 66–69, 82, 90, 131, 184–185, 201, 206, 252, 268, 300n66; built by Americans in Brazil, 37, 63–65, 69–70, 80, 83, 85–86, 148, 182, 194, 233; coffee and, 147–148, 166–167, 237–240, 257, 258, 261–262, 321n89; free labor and, 173, 187, 237, 264; immigration and, 140, 181, 215, 256; incentives to, 197, 232; managed by Brazilian engineers, 250–251; materials for, 65–66, 196; racism in, 195; steamship line and, 92, 166; unsustainable, 229; work on, 157–158, 182–183, 188–190, 193, 202
- Railway World* (periodical), 66
- Rainey, Thomas: Brazilian admiration for, 83, 182; ferry line managed by, 70–73, 71, 79, 92; steamship line projected by, 43–44; US minister and, 60
- Ralston, William Pultney, 153–154, 159, 165, 170, 245, 246
- Rangel Pestana, Francisco, 164, 166, 173
- reactionaries: Brazilian, 105–106, 123, 125–126, 226–227, 253, 254; Southern, 6, 219
- Rebouças, André Pinto, 5, 222, 225, 262; abolitionist event organized by, 226; on American development, 195–198; American racism experienced by, 193–195; on coffee, 236, 241; on cotton, 153; education project presented by, 205; on free labor in São Paulo, 248, 252; plowing school created by, 147; on proletarianization, 260–261
- Rebouças, Antonio Pereira, 24–25, 193
- Recife, 234, 341n18
- Reconstruction, 131, 221, 228; accomplishments of, 178; end of, 171, 219; opposition to, 177, 207–208, 224, 336n176
- Rensselaer Polytechnic Institute, 204, 251
- A Republica* (periodical), 121
- republicanism, 7, 105, 113
- Republicans, Brazil, 5; on coffee machinery, 149; on free labor, 184; school supported by, 164–168; transition to free labor coordinated by, 220, 254–255

- Republicans, United States, 5, 17, 36, 171;  
Brazilian Liberals and, 52–53, 87–92,  
296–297n140; Brazilian students on,  
201–202; Great Britain and, 299n45,  
327n201; Liberal faction of, 172, 177–178,  
329n23; on opening the Amazon, 100; on  
the Paraguayan War, 114; praise for *fazen-  
deiros* from, 263–264; on proslavery di-  
plomacy, 46–47; Radical faction of, 93,  
177; in the South, 221, 340n11; on steam-  
ship line, 87–88, 232
- Revista Illustrada* (periodical), 75, 76–77, 78
- Revista Industrial* (periodical), 182–184
- Richmond, 58, 117
- Rio Branco Law. *See* Law of the Free  
Womb
- Rio Claro, 133; in comparison to Tennessee  
towns, 191; *fazendeiro* from, 156, 185, 201;  
railroad to, 148; school in, 167
- Rio de Janeiro (city): abolitionist agitation  
in, 121–122, 127–128, 226; agent of North-  
ern interests in, 36–39, 43, 88–89; diplo-  
matic tensions in, 18–27, 33–34, 46–48,  
51–52, 58–62, 112; ferry line in, 69–73; nat-  
uralists in, 97–98, 100–101; steamship line  
from New York to, 84–92, 233–234;  
streetcars in, 73–80
- Rio de Janeiro (province): American enter-  
prises in, 62–69, 70–73, 74–80, 83, 147,  
182, 301n99; coffee agriculture in, 66–67,  
229, 255, 349n197. *See also* Paraíba Valley
- Rio News* (periodical), 225
- river navigation: on the Amazon, 30, 34–36,  
97, 102; on the Cumberland, 191; freedom  
of, 82; in Missouri, 187; Northern interest  
in, 43, 99–100, 103–104; in São Paulo,  
138, 250, 257; Southern attempt to open,  
28–29, 33
- Roach, John, 232–234, 237
- Roberts, Harvey & Co., 64, 80
- Roberts, William Milnor, 64–65; Brazilian  
admiration for, 68–69, 83; harbor rede-  
signed by, 239–240, 252; New York office  
of, 194; railroad built by, 65–67, 79, 92, 98
- Rockford, Rock Island, & St. Louis Rail-  
road, 189
- Rodrigues, Jaime, 291n37
- Rodrigues, José Carlos, 173; on American  
development, 174–176; American tech-  
nology promoted by, 182; at the Centen-  
nial Exhibition, 208–210; as coffee pro-  
moter, 236; on emancipation, 178–181,  
183; engineer hosted by, 194–195, 197;  
*fazendeiros* and, 183–185; Liberal Republi-  
cans and, 177–178, 331n55; on steamship  
line, 232; students mentored by, 199–200,  
203
- Rodrigues, Paulo, 20–21
- Rodrigues dos Santos, Gabriel José, 25
- Royal Navy, 18, 19, 59
- rum (*aguardente, cachaça, pinga*), 19–20,  
142, 236, 245
- Rumbarger, John J., 343n69
- Russell, John, 58–59, 61
- Rydell, Robert W., 336n176
- Saião Lobato, Francisco de Paula Negreiros  
de, 124–125
- SAIN, Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria  
Nacional (Auxiliary Society of National  
Industry), 153, 193–194, 223; agricultural  
machinery promoted by, 146–147, 152,  
209, 241, 322n110; education project pre-  
sented at, 205; support for steamship line  
at, 91
- Saint Domingue. *See* Haiti
- St. Louis, Missouri, 180, 186, 189, 212
- St. Louis and Iron Mountain Railroad, 64
- St. Paul Daily Globe* (periodical), 262
- Salles, Ricardo, 308n48
- Salvador, 56–57, 61, 234
- Santa Bárbara, 133; cotton mill in, 159, 243,  
245, 246; ex-Confederates in, 154–162,  
243, 245, 247, 259–260, 323n118; mission-  
aries in, 164–165, 167–168
- Santos, 133, 234, 268; coffee exports through,  
149, 151, 209, 231–232, 238, 263, 264; cotton  
exports through, 243; fugitive slaves in,

- 254; immigrant arrivals in, 252, 256; machinery imports through, 251; port improvement in, 239–240; railroad to, 65–66, 147–148; students from, 206
- São Carlos, 133, 148, 152, 247
- São Luís, 55–56
- São Paulo City, 133; abolitionist agitation in, 120–121; in comparison to Nashville, 191; cotton near, 134; graduates of American universities in, 250–251; manufacturer in, 243; meeting of *fazendeiros* in, 254–255; meeting of missionaries in, 168–169; railroad to, 147; school in, 163–164, 239; textile mill in, 246; university project for, 166–167; urban growth of, 238, 267–268, 344n85
- São Paulo (province): economic diversification of, 134–135, 138–140, 153–156, 238–243, 245, 246, 247, 267–268; graduates of American universities in, 250–251; mechanized coffee agriculture in, 145–153, 248–249; missionary schools in, 163–170, 239; progressive character of, 40–42, 183–185, 201, 206, 252, 255, 257–258, 261–263; students from, 200–206. *See also* Oeste Paulista
- São Paulo Law School, 81, 166, 200
- São Paulo Legislative Assembly, 134, 257
- São Paulo Railway Co. *See* Paulista Railroad
- São Paulo Streetcar Company, 251
- Saraiva, José Antonio, 226, 253
- Saturday Evening Post* (periodical), 44
- SBC, Southern Baptist Convention, 167–168
- SBCE, Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidão (Brazilian Antislavery Society), 220, 222, 225
- scalawags, 221, 340n11
- Schmidt, Detlef Brune, 249, 346n126
- schools: agricultural, 90, 134, 147; in Campinas, 165–166, 241; in Itu, 184; law, 81, 200, 312n122; in Piracicaba, 168–170, 249–250; in Rio Claro, 167; in Rio de Janeiro, 72, 193; in Santa Bárbara, 168, 157–158; in São Paulo City, 163–164, 239; in the United States, 127, 171, 187, 215–216
- Schurz, Carl, 177, 233
- Scientific American* (periodical), 204, 244
- Scientific Results of a Journey in Brazil* (Agassiz), 199
- Scribner's Magazine* (periodical), 228
- Scully, William, 139
- secession crisis, 6, 36, 114, 221, 264; cotton trade during, 134; failed proslavery alliance during, 18, 49–50; neutrality in regard to, 52; Northern development during, 62–63; religious schism caused by, 165
- secessionists, 48, 52, 160, 173
- secretary of the interior, United States, 233
- secretary of state, United States: on colonization of ex-slaves, 53–54; guarantees to Brazil from, 57; on proslavery coalition, 17; report on Christie affair to, 58–59, 61–62; report on Davis affair to, 22–23; report on the slave trade to, 19–20
- secretary of the treasury, United States, 60, 233
- secretary of war, United States, 233
- Semana Illustrada* (periodical), 74–75, 98
- Semmes, Raphael, 55–57, 65
- Semple, Birge & Co., 212
- Senate, Brazil: condolences from, 117; debate on emancipation in, 116, 253–254; steamship line bill in, 91
- Senate, United States: condolences to, 117; proslavery expansionism in, 35; proslavery treaty inquiry in, 46–47; segregation question in, 194
- senators: antislavery, 116–118, 122; ex-Confederates and, 141; expansionist, 35; former Alabama state, 159; free labor experiment devised by, 40, 248, 294n94; involved in the slave trade, 24; proslavery, 32, 205–206; proslavery treaty questioned by, 46–47; on steamship line, 91; turned against slavery, 262

- Serra do Mar, 63–66, 69, 83
- Sete Quedas plantation, 136, 145, 154, 247
- Seward, William Henry: assassination attempt against, 90–91, 107; on colonization of ex-slaves, 53–54; guarantees to Brazil from, 57; report on Christie affair to, 58–59, 61–62
- Sexton, Jay, 299n45, 304n140, 327n201
- sharecropping: in coffee production, 40–42, 145, 247–248; in cotton production, 132, 138–139, 154
- Shaw, H. A., 135–137
- SII, Sociedade Internacional de Imigração (International Immigration Society), 140
- Silva Campos, Martinho Álvares da, 68–69, 89
- Silva Lima, Luiz Gonzaga da, 251
- Silva Lisboa, Bento da, 22
- Silva Neto, Antonio da, 121–122
- Silveira da Mota, José Inácio, 116–118
- Silveira Melo, Joaquim da, 251
- Sinha, Manisha, 331n71
- slave emancipation: capitalist development and, 10, 12–13, 67, 126–127, 179–181, 314n144; immigration and, 139–141, 252, 256; legislation on, 94, 116–117, 119, 124, 220, 253, 294n89; Northern views on Brazilian, 6, 42–43, 49, 95, 101–102, 114, 117–118, 208, 227–228; outcome of, in Brazil, 205, 219, 237, 258, 261–264, 349n197; outcome of, in the United States, 124–125, 178–179, 186–188, 216–217, 223–224, 227, 342n44; reactions against, 48, 123, 126, 225–226, 255, 259–260, 296n127; war and, 109–110. *See also* Emancipation Proclamation
- slave labor: backwardness of, 3–4, 6, 84, 144, 152–153, 186, 204–206; in comparison to free labor, 41, 45, 178, 187, 217, 222–224, 227, 263; demise of, 334n128, 339n224; expansionism and, 29, 346n146; machinery and, 132, 145; prospect of using, 137; replacement for, 9, 42, 139, 254–258, 266
- slave rebellion: caused by the Emancipation Proclamation, 104–105; ex-Confederates' fear of, 156, 259; in the Oeste Paulista, 220, 253–254; Virginians' fear of, 19–20
- slave trade, 18, 35, 119; American participation in, 20–21, 290n12, 291n36; Brazilian termination of, 26–27, 44, 49, 123, 132, 291n37; British actions against, 21, 26, 52, 59; Confederate plan to restore, 55; domestic, 144, 253; replaced by immigration, 265–266; US minister's attack on, 23–25; Virginians' opposition to, 19–20
- slavery: comparative views on, 40, 44–46, 83–84, 263, 294n89, 313n135; expansion of, 1, 28–30, 32, 112, 291n46, 293n72; problem of, in Brazil, 67, 101, 123–124, 144, 183, 186, 203, 205–206, 225, 229–230, 303n126; problem of, in the United States, 120–121, 126–127, 187–188, 202, 223, 285n3, 314n150; proposed alliance in defense of, 17, 34, 46–50, 55–56, 295n117; second, 346n146
- Slenes, Robert, 346n126
- Slotkin, Richard, 338n210
- Smith, Herbert Huntington, 228–230, 233, 237
- Soares de Souza, Paulino José (son), 126
- Soares de Souza, Paulino José (Viscount of Uruguay), 29, 33, 35–36
- socialists, 106, 176, 234
- Sociedade Auxiliadora da Indústria Nacional. *See* SAIN
- Sociedade Brasileira Contra a Escravidão. *See* SBCE
- Sociedade Internacional de Imigração. *See* SII
- Sociedade Promotora de Imigração. *See* SPI
- Society for the Promotion of Immigration. *See* SPI
- Sorber, Nathan, 334n134
- Sorocaba, 133, 134–136, 246
- Sorocabana Railroad, 251
- South, United States: attempt to resuscitate, 143; Brazilian detractor of, 83–84; in the Civil War, 89, 121; in comparison to Brazil, 40, 44–45, 49, 119, 219; in comparison to the North, 3–4, 6, 126–127, 216, 223, 285n3, 314n150; emancipation crisis in, 104–106,

- 116–117, 123–126, 158; ex-Confederates’ emigration from, 135–138, 140–141; postemancipation recovery of, 177–179, 187–188, 191–192, 216–217, 222–227, 324n134, 341n25, 342n44; postwar racial conflict in, 94, 131–132, 158, 160; proslavery foreign policy of, 19, 25–26, 29–34, 46–48, 55–57, 291n36, 291n46, 295n117, 298n21
- South America, 39, 98, 174, 325n155; anti-Brazilian feelings in, 33; Brazilian imperialism in, 18, 36, 112; British intervention in, 52; proslavery Southerners on, 29–30, 31; trade between the United States and, 44, 65, 88, 111, 116; train to, 210
- South Carolina, 32, 135, 137, 221, 318n35
- Southern Baptist Convention. *See* SBC
- Southern Quarterly Review* (periodical), 32
- Souza, Irineu Evangelista de (Baron of Mauá), 30
- Souza Barros, José de, 206
- Souza Barros, Luiz Antonio de, 164, 200, 202, 206
- Souza Filho, Clemente Falcão de, 166
- Souza Queiroz, Antonio de, 154, 159, 209, 246
- Souza Queiroz, Luiz Vicente de, 154, 246, 250
- Souza Queiroz, Nicolau de, 255
- Souza Queiroz, Vicente de (Baron of Limeira), 149, 154
- Souza Queiroz family, 159, 209
- Spain, 19, 27, 51, 62
- Spanish-American Republics, 34–35, 48, 55
- Speedwell Iron Works, 146
- SPL, Sociedade Promotora de Imigração (Society for the Promotion of Immigration), 255–256
- Spice Mill* (periodical), 231, 234, 237, 238, 261
- Staten Island, 70, 176
- Stead, W. T., 265
- steamships, 2, 40, 82–83, 146, 166, 202; on the Amazon, 29–30, 32–33; benefits of line of, 43–44, 47, 89–92, 98, 199; British, 70; coffee trade advanced by, 80–81, 85, 91, 232–234; immigrants arriving on, 140, 252; in the North, 195–196, 198, 211; in São Paulo, 138, 238–240; in the South, 191, 216; subsidy for line of, 52, 84–88, 304n140; US Navy, 37
- Stephenson, John, 195
- Stirp, Johan Josef, 150
- streetcars, 2; in Campinas, 241, 250; in New Orleans, 217; in New York City, 195; in Rio de Janeiro, 52, 73–80, 182, 301n97, 301n99; in São Paulo City, 238, 250–251, 268
- students, 5, 167, 171; as antislavery activists, 120–121, 173, 312n122; at the Centennial Exhibition, 208; at the Colégio Internacional, 165–166; at the Colégio Piracicabano, 169–170, 327n197; at Columbia, 206; at Cornell, 200–203, 203, 211; at the Escola Americana, 164; at Harvard, 97; at the Massachusetts Institute of Technology, 196; at Syracuse, 204–206
- Suffolk Mills, 196
- sugar, 1, 4, 17, 66, 263; cultivated by ex-Confederate, 154, 245; in the Oeste Paulista, 132, 139, 249, 268; plantations in Louisiana, 210, 217; trade, 232
- Sullivant, M. L., 213, 227
- Summerhill, William R., 62, 321n89
- Sumner, Charles, 177, 306n9
- Swiss, 40, 42, 96, 145, 154, 199
- Syracuse University, 204, 251
- Tatuí, 133; cotton mill in, 246; ex-Confederates in, 161–162; ex-slaves brutalized in, 261; students from, 206
- Tavares Bastos, Aureliano Candido, 81, 104, 183, 305n156; abolitionist campaign led by, 117–120, 124, 308n48, 312n119; on American society, 82–83, 127; ex-Confederate immigration encouraged by, 140; missionary defended by, 163; opening the Amazon proposed by, 97, 99–100, 103; on slavery, 83–84; steamship line promoted by, 84–92, 199

- Teixeira de Macedo, Sérgio, 29–30, 32  
temperance, 12, 234–237, 235, 343n69  
Temperance Coffee Houses, 234  
*The Temperance Reform and Its Great Reformers* (Daniels), 236  
Tennessee: Brazilian engineer in, 191; desolation of, 267; ex-Confederate from, 142; lecture on Brazil in, 45; missionary from, 168; proslavery leaders from, 18, 27, 33  
Thayer Expedition, 97–99, 102, 162, 186, 199  
Thompson, E. P., 3, 319n68  
Thurber, Francis Beatty, 231, 233, 235, 237  
Thurber, Horace K., 233  
technology: American development and, 172, 187–188, 191–192, 219, 231, 334n134, 342n53; applied to coffee agriculture, 134, 149, 153, 229; Brazilian demand for American, 9, 37, 39, 66, 92, 182, 204, 206; transition to free labor advanced by, 4–5, 12, 205, 216, 220, 237, 252, 258, 336n168, 346n146  
telegraph, 2, 166, 172, 175, 197, 215, 238, 266  
Texas, 18, 28, 35, 36, 137, 142  
Tietê, 134, 204, 206  
*Times* (periodical), 106, 252  
tobacco, 17, 19, 154, 159, 241  
Tocqueville, Alexis de, 81, 186  
Topik, Steven, 231, 321n89  
Torres Homem, Francisco de Sales, 109–110  
transcontinental/Pacific railroad, 64, 92  
transnational history, 10–11, 95, 258  
treaties: Brazil-Ecuador, 30; Brazil-Great Britain, 9, 21, 23, 49, 59; Brazil-New Granada, 30; Brazil-Peru, 30; Brazil-US, 28, 33–34, 43; Brazil-Venezuela, 30; of San Idelfonso, 34  
Tremont Mills, 195  
*Trent* affair, 51, 58  
Trousdale, William, 33–34, 43, 50  
  
unfree labor, 6, 9, 66, 183, 215, 229, 287n11  
*Union* (periodical), 30  
Union Army. *See* Army, United States  
  
Union Theological Seminary, 163  
United States and Brazilian Steamship Company, 90, 92, 97–98, 104, 140, 174, 186, 199, 232–234  
University of Cincinnati, 204, 251  
University of Coimbra, 199  
Uruguay, 18, 109, 112, 115  
USS *City of Pittsburg*, 37  
USS *Raritan*, 21  
USS *Wachusett*, 57, 61  
USS *Wasp*, 112–113  
  
Vail, Stephen, 146–147  
*O Valle do Amazonas* (Tavares Bastos), 100, 103  
Vanderbilt, Cornelius, 85, 92, 176  
Vasconcelos, Augusto Cezar de, 203, 251  
Vasconcelos, Bernardo Pereira de, 205  
Vergueiro, José: coffee machinery employed by, 145–146, 249; ex-Confederates and, 136, 154, 170; free labor experiments of, 144–145, 248, 252  
Vergueiro, Luiz, 41  
Vergueiro, Nicolau Pereira de Campos, 40, 248, 294n94  
Vergueiro family, 40–43, 145, 209  
*A Vida Fluminense* (periodical), 71–73  
Vieira Bueno, Francisco de Assis: in Buffalo and Chicago, 211; on corn agriculture, 213; at Cornell, 201–203, 203; in Pittsburgh and St. Louis, 212; on sugar agriculture, 217  
Vilela, Francisco Teixeira, 157  
Virginia: in comparison to New York and Pennsylvania, 121; governor of, 25; missionary from, 165; opposition to the slave trade in, 19–20; proslavery leaders from, 27–28, 46; railroader from, 63; slavery in, 202  
Virginia and Tennessee Railroad, 53  
Viscount of Jequitinhonha. *See* Montezuma, Francisco Gê Acayaba de  
Viscount of Rio Branco. *See* Paranhos, José Maria da Silva

- Viscount of Uruguay. *See* Soares de Souza, Paulino José
- Voices of Freedom* (Whittier), 93
- wage labor: American development and, 127, 172, 185, 188, 192–193, 195, 198, 332n82; antislavery and, 3–4, 7, 121, 173, 183, 206, 228; in coffee agriculture, 42, 132, 153, 184, 237, 256–257, 260, 262, 348n174; as replacement for slavery, 9–10, 124, 181, 205, 217, 221, 230, 249, 268–269, 334n128; virtuous circle of, 190–191, 215. *See also* free labor
- Walker, Robert Porter, 146, 150–151
- Wanderley, João Maurício (Baron of Cotegipe), 253
- Warne, James Ox, 259
- Washburn, Charles Ames, 112–113
- Washington, George, 38, 84, 100, 209
- Watts, Martha, 168–170, 249–250
- Webb, James Watson: colonization scheme devised by, 53–54, 297n10; Confederate raiders and, 55, 57; diplomatic relations broken by, 112–113; praise for, 60–62; quarrel between British minister and, 58–60; steamship line projected by, 84–87, 88
- Weinstein, Barbara, 144, 294n89, 294n94, 303n126, 313n135, 348n174
- West, United States: agricultural expansion to, 197; coffee consumption in, 231; in comparison to São Paulo, 191, 240–241; development of, 67, 192, 215, 329n14; immigrants in, 181, 215; Lincoln as son of, 121; manufacturing in, 190–191, 211–212; mechanized farms in, 174–175, 176, 212–213, 214, 215; native populations of, 110–111; railroad construction in, 188–190, 332n90; surveys of, 200; transportation system of, 210–211
- West Indies, 1, 5, 32, 57, 165
- Western world, 1–3, 6, 10, 17, 80, 127, 173, 198, 208, 219, 269, 296n127, 304n140
- Whig Party, United States, 43, 53, 221
- Whitaker, João Guilherme de Aguiar, 155–156, 185, 201
- Whitaker, Orville, 158–159
- White, Richard, 332n90
- Whitman, Walt, 15
- Whittier, John Greenleaf, 5, 93–95, 96, 101, 112–113, 218
- William Cramp & Sons, 196
- Williams, Eric, 9–10
- Wilson, Henry, 46
- Wise, Henry A.: in Brazilian memory, 34, 47, 65; on Brazilian politicians, 23; conflict between Brazilians and, 21–22, 24–25; instructions to, 17; on the slave trade, 19–20
- Woman's Missionary Society, 168–169
- Woman's Christian Temperance Union, 234
- workshops, 190, 195, 200, 212, 242, 242
- Yankee(s), 73, 75, 82, 83, 176–177, 197; anti-slavery, 45, 55–56, 132, 156, 187; Brazilian admiration for, 65, 81, 207; immigrants and, 81–82, 197, 266; streetcars, 74, 78–79; tunnel, 210
- O Ypiranga* (periodical), 187
- Zorzetto, Alessandra Ferreira, 323n118
- Zunz, Olivier, 322n101
- Zurich, 186, 190