

all the evidence remaining. As a result assertions apparently based on "hard data" such as — "The Leislerians captured 78% of the voters who wed between 1676 and 1685 and 61% of those who took spouses between 1686 and 1695" — only barely conceals a reliance on a certain kind of impressionistic history wherein numbers and percentages of people and groups represent only more or less accurate estimates of some "total universe," to use the language of computer technology.

Professor Burrows' study of "Military Experience and the Origins of Federalism and Anti-Federalism" presents more of the same kind of problem, except that here "the sample" is not the total of what evidence remains for the historian to pick over but only a small part of the total. The result, as Professor Main has noted in his critique, does not make for confident generalization and is suggestive only.

In olden days scholars held to the belief that papers presented at conferences represented work in progress, work as yet incomplete and therefore unsuitable for publication. In this time of scarce resources perhaps we need to resurrect such beliefs.

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ROBERT CONRAD. — *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery, 1850-1888*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1972.

The last ten years have witnessed renewed interest in the dynamics of the abolition of slavery in Brazil. This has been one aspect of the general resurgence of scholarly concern with slavery and race relations in Latin America — renewed concern due, in no small measure, to the increasing tensions within the society of the United States. Brazil, in particular, has received extensive attention from North American social scientists because of the vast numbers of slaves imported, the centrality of slavery to its socio-economic development, and the myth of racial democracy.

With this study, Robert Conrad has made a significant contribution to our understanding of one aspect of the larger question of the nature of race relations in Brazil. While seeking to avoid many of the controversies which are raging over slavery in the United States, he has delineated and analysed the process of abolition in Brazil. While dealing with the great complexities of this process, Conrad has interwoven a subtheme comparing developments in Brazil with those in the United States.

The study is divided chronologically into two periods — 1850-1879 and 1879-1888. It begins with a brief discussion of the socio-economic significance of slavery, but is primarily concerned with an analysis of the key modifications in the status of that institution — the end of the slave trade and the Rio Branco Law. The general treatment of slavery can be characterized as belonging to the revisionist school which disputes the Tannenbaum thesis. While the author does not elaborate fully his perspective of the nature of slavery, preferring to deal with this topic in a forthcoming monograph, it clearly permeates the study. It is, for example, essential to his view that the end of the slave trade doomed slavery "to eventual extinction" since Brazil, unlike the United States, was unable to satisfy its labour needs by slave births. It is also implicit in his treatment of the internal slave trade which is portrayed as having had a disastrous impact on the slave family and having sealed the fate of slavery by creating a regional imbalance

between the traditional sugarzone and the thriving coffee-producing area of the centre-south. This view is also central to his assertion that corporal punishment was "the key to the slave system" (p. 238).

While these assumptions may be proved valid, it is important to be aware that they are still open to debate. What they illustrate is the need for more research into the demographic history of Brazil during the nineteenth century. Conrad and others, most notable Carl Degler and Philip Curtin, use the ratio of imported slaves to total slave or black population as an indicator of the nature of slavery. Despite the use of population estimates and the 1872 census, it is not clear that the Brazilian slave could not reproduce himself in sufficient numbers to fulfill labour needs. An extreme, perhaps ideal, case can serve to indicate that there was nothing inherent in the system to preclude this from happening. The ex-Jesuit royal estate of Santa Cruz in 1791 had a slave population of 1,342 divided into households headed almost exclusively by married couples or widowed individuals. Furthermore, almost four of every ten slaves were under sixteen years of age. If our understanding of the processes of demographic growth is still incomplete, so is our comprehension of the nature of the slave family. Contemporary evidence from either abolitionist or slavocrat is not reliable since both groups had a stake in arguing the non-existence of the slave family. These are crucial arguments central to an analysis of slavery and deserving of further study.

If there is room for debate concerning the implicit and explicit assumptions about the nature of slavery, Conrad's treatment of the dynamics of the abolition process is admirable. He skilfully describes the impact of foreign developments such as the U.S. Civil War, changes in the slave code in Spain's few remaining colonies, and most importantly, the English commitment to ending slavery in Brazil. These combined with Dom Pedro II's initial enthusiasm for reform and an increasingly active group of individuals including law students in Recife and São Paulo and Liberal Party politicians culminated in the 1871 passage of the Rio Branco Law which freed all slave children born after the passage of the law either at age eight or twenty-one.

The enactment of this compromise by a Conservative Ministry reveals the basic nature of the abolition process in Brazil. The bitter struggle leading to its enactment is used by Conrad to show that the major protagonists had become the Northeast, increasingly less dependent on slavery, and the coffee zone. Moreover, the debate revealed that most influential Brazilians were concerned with the availability of cheap labour, stability and the protection of property rights. The Rio Branco law reflected these by guaranteeing that slavery would only end gradually; thereby eliminating the threat of a social revolution. Nothing was done to educate the liberated children or to provide them with the means to compete in an increasingly complex society.

Though the law had the positive result of legitimizing emancipation as a national goal, it also had the short-term effect of defusing abolition as an issue. The second part of this study traces the abolition movement from this nadir to its resurgence as a national issue culminating in the collapse of slavery in parts of the coffee-zone in 1887 and its abolition the following year. As described by Conrad, the primary pressures during this second period are internal as the domestic slave trade increased the dichotomy between the area dependent on slavery and the exporting regions. Conrad's analysis of this process constitutes the major contribution of this study.

The author convincingly argues that the abolitionist movement spread from the Northeast, especially Ceará, to other areas of Brazil until the coffee-producing

state of São Paulo finally capitulated. The often-heard claim that the residents of São Paulo were early adherents to the movement is refuted. Conrad contends that slavery there was defended until the abolitionist movement turned from a peaceful to a violent stage. At that point, the cost and difficulties of maintaining slavery became excessive. Unlike their slave-holding brethren in Rio de Janeiro and Minas Gerais, where slaves were the major possessions of an indebted landowning élite, the coffee-growers of São Paulo had both the capital and flexibility to realize that cheap labour was the essential factor rather than the status of the worker.

Between the victories of the abolitionist forces in Ceará in 1881 and the capitulation of São Paulo in 1887, there were victories in other areas of Brazil. The example of Rio Grande do Sul reaffirms the essentially conservative transition to a free labour system and the concern for a ready supply of cheap labour. Under mounting pressures, slaveowners in that province turned to granting manumissions in return for the promise of labour for a fixed period.

The complicated path of the movement for abolition is constantly related to purely economic forces (especially pp. 121-25). For Conrad, the conflict is between those for whom slavery was not profitable or necessary and those for whom it was — between those willing and able to adopt alternative labour forms and those whose wealth and status were so dependent on slavery that they could not. His exclusivistic view of basic motivations raises questions — the critical role of the military in not enforcing orders, the rural-urban attitudinal dichotomy, as well as the role of the schools of higher learning need to be explained in greater detail than they are. Similarly the explanation that the leadership of the movement was provided in large measure by “the middle and upper levels of society and talented upstarts” not because they were “pursuing the interests of their social classes” but because they had the ability to deal with the governing élite at their own level begs the question (p. 174). The abolitionist leadership might well have been examined from a psycho-historical perspective — individual motivations need to be analysed at a different level than group motivations, and economic motives would then be viewed as only one of a range of alternative explanations.

This need to go beyond broad economic explanations is also very significant in terms of Conrad's description of the spark which reignited the abolitionist movement. The decision of the slave importing provinces to stop the internal trade in late 1880 in order to prevent sectional imbalances is emphasized by Conrad as a key development since the closing of this market forced down the price of slaves in the exporting areas. Slavery thus became even more unprofitable in these areas and unexpectedly encouraged local abolition movements. But this fails to explain the renewed abolitionist sentiment in Pernambuco and Ceará which preceded the end of the slave trade.

If the focus on economic motivation seems too narrow, the author's treatment of the major protagonists and their positions is perceptive and even-handed. Using a wide range of sources, particularly contemporary newspapers, polemical literature, diplomatic correspondence, and legislative records, Conrad provides an excellent description of the political infighting leading to the liberation of the elderly in 1885, the end of corporal punishment in 1888, the conversion of São Paulo in 1887 and then the final push to abolition in 1888. One of the most salient points made by the author is his description of abolition as only one of the goals of the leaders of the movement. There existed wide difference between the goals of men such as José do Patrocínio, Joaquim Nabuco, and André Rebouças and those of the governing élite. These leaders viewed abolition as part of a

larger program calling for a major reorganization of society based on "rural democracy," financial reforms, and expanded political participation and educational opportunities. As this significant contribution to our knowledge of slavery and its demise in Brazil shows, abolition was a battle won by those anxious for major changes in Brazilian society but the final victory belonged to the entrenched landowning élite. While abolition freed the slave, the failure to enact any major supplementary legislation severely limited the impact of this newly gained freedom. Furthermore, abolition and the tensions which had developed during the conflict leading to its passage led to a heightened racism in the society.

With this study, Robert Conrad has appreciably increased our knowledge of the process by which slavery was abolished in Brazil. His analysis of the regional shift in slaveholding and consequently attitudes toward slavery and especially the conversion of São Paulo to a free labour system will give this study a prominent position in the historiography of slavery in Brazil.

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HENRY C. WILKINSON. — *Bermuda from Sail to Steam; A History of the Island from 1784 to 1901*. 2 vols. London: Oxford University Press, 1973.

Bermuda has more than its share of the fascination common to all small islands. Warmed by the 'ocean river' of the Gulf Stream, it is the most northerly coral atoll in the world, a fragment of the tropics in the latitudes of winter snow and ice. Virtually the nearest of the Americas to Europe's westermost outposts, the Azores, and almost equidistant from Virginia, the Bahamas, and Nova Scotia, it has always been a stopping place for European westward voyages; a natural naval base. Situated where the northerly current meets the westerly winds, it was also an obvious seamark and turning point for sailing ships returning from Caribbean and American plantation colonies alike. Discovered by the English in 1609, Bermuda became the second English colony in America, the smallest of those microcosms in which the fortunate first settlers and their descendants sought to reproduce the polity of rural England (including in due course the ideals of 1643 and 1688) on the backs first of indentured labourers and later, Negro slaves. Too small for large plantations, Bermuda lived by the sea and shipbuilding, its primacy based on the self-oiling, aromatic indigenous cedar, and the rakish Bermudian sloop.

Henry C. Wilkinson is the foremost of those who have brought Bermuda's fascinating history to the attention of a wider world. For more than forty years this wealthy retired doctor — living in a charming waterfront house built by a Bermudian privateer — has monopolised the subject, both by the finality of his *dicta* and the virtual control of the archive sources in Hamilton. As long ago as 1933, in *The Adventurers of Bermuda* he told with vivid detail and almost Churchillian style of English Bermuda's first 75 years, when the miniature archipelago — like so many emergent colonies — was ruled by a chartered company. In 1950 came forth *Bermuda in the Old Empire*, which carried the story forward to 1784, when by the author's account the island colony was left practically an orphan by the independence of the Thirteen Colonies of the mainland.

For almost a quarter century rumour continually reported that Dr. Wilkinson was labouring at bringing Bermuda's history up to date, thus completing a definitive work. However, now that *Bermuda from Sail to Steam* is available at last, it