Black Kings, Cabanos, and the Guarda Negra

Reflections on Popular Royalism in Nineteenth-Century Brazil[1]

Reis negros, cabanos, e a Guarda Negra

Reflexões sobre o monarquismo popular no Brasil oitocentista

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Abstract Examining three instances of popular royalism in late-colonial and imperial Brazil, this article argues that popular royalism constituted an important, if not always acknowledged, element of popular politics. Popular support for the monarchy and the efforts of members of the lower classes to associate with kings and emperors were frequently perceived as radical challenges to those who held power. Based on the work of scholars who have examined Brazilian popular culture and politics, archival sources, newspapers, and foreigners' observations, this article focuses on the late-colonial custom of electing black kings in brotherhoods (and other indications of Afro-Brazilian understandings of monarchy), the 1832-1835 Cabanos Rebellion in Pernambuco, and

1 The following abbreviations are used in the notes: AFCRB (Arquivo da Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa), AHEx (Arquivo Histórico do Exército), AHMI (Arquivo Histórico do Museu Imperial), APAl (Arquivo Público de Alagoas), APEPe (Arquivo Público do Estado de Pernambuco), BN/SM (Biblioteca Nacional, Seção de Manuscritos), BPBL (Biblioteca Pública Benedito Leite), NARS (United States, National Archives and Records Service), PRO/FO (Great Britain, Public Record Office, Foreign Office).

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the wave of popular support for the Brazilian monarchy that swept the country in the eighteen months between slavery's abolition (13 May 1888) and the republic's proclamation (15 November 1889). Each of these episodes demonstrates how popular understandings of monarchy frequently framed radical claims.
Keywords Brazilian empire, popular royalism, popular politics

Resumo Analisando três casos de monarquismo popular no final da Colônia e no Império brasileiro, este artigo sustenta que o monarquismo popular constituía um elemento importante, embora nem sempre reconhecido, da política popular. O apoio popular à monarquia e os esforços dos integrantes das classes baixas para se associarem aos reis e aos imperadores eram, com frequência, vistos como ameaças radicais aos detentores do poder. Baseado nos trabalhos de estudiosos da cultura e da política popular brasileira, manuscritos, periódicos e observações de estrangeiros, este artigo focaliza no costume, do final da época colonial, das irmandades negras em eleger reis (e outros indícios de visões afro-brasileiras da monarquia), na Revolta dos Cabanos em Pernambuco (1832-1835), e na onda do apoio popular à monarquia que varreu o Brasil nos dezoito meses entre a Abolição da escravidão (13 de maio de 1888) e a proclamação da República (15 de novembro de 1889). Cada um desses episódios demonstra como a compreensão popular da monarquia com frequência estruturava demandas radicais.
Palavras-chave império brasileiro, monarquismo popular, política popular

Popular royalism — the theme of this *dossiê* — poses distinct problems for understanding nineteenth-century Brazilian history. Anglo-American loyalism and Spanish-American popular royalism's historical significance derives primarily from their rejection of republicanism. The first republican histories of independence echoed patriots' disdain for the members of the lower classes (and those of the elite) who failed to embrace the new, modern institutions and clung to monarchy. Misled

by priests, willfully blind to their own interests, even congenitally incapable of comprehending republicanism and the emerging nation-state, these popular monarchists were reprobates to be repressed or to be tarred and feathered and driven from the community. Historians engaged in legitimizing the new nation-states echoed frustrated patriots and reached deep into their vocabularies to castigate royalists, popular or elite (Echeverrí, 2016; Straka, 2007). In these respects, they were no different from the Brazilian empire's defenders and apologists, who had equally strong words for lower-class republicans. The Marquis of Barbacena lamented in 1827 that the province of Bahia was inundated with propaganda: "Death to the Emperor who is a tyrant, death to the Portuguese who are our enemies, and establish a republic like the others on the American continent", proclaimed the members of clubs composed of what he judged the "most despicable rabble ... the most criminal in the world".[2] Francisco Adolfo Varnhagen, whose mid-century history of Brazil is considered the empire's "official" history, expresses as much disdain for the defeated republican movements of 1789, 1798, and 1817 as any of his republican contemporaries mustered against royalists.[3] If Spanish- and Anglo-America popular royalism was a reasonable and rational political choice for some of the lower classes, one that grew out of their social, economic, and political experiences and one that is readily understandable in the face of elites' embrace of republicanism, Portuguese-American popular royalism assumed slightly different, although equally oppositional, meanings.

Brazilian society lacked the institutional bases that undergirded Andean popular royalism, notably the somewhat autonomous Indian peasant communities that generated the Indian royalism analyzed by Marcela Echeverrí (2016) and that also provided a model for the royalist slaves whom she analyzes (see also Serulnikov, 2013, p.31-34; Saether, 2005, p.68-74; Thibaud, 2003, p.107-124). To be sure, Indian

2 Marquis of Barbacena to Pedro I, Salvador, 3 Sep. 1827, AHMI, II-POB-04.09.1827 Hor.c 1-20.

3 Francisco Adolpho Varnhagen. *História geral do Brazil* ..., 2 vols. Rio de Janeiro: E. & H. Laemmert, 1854-1857. vol. 2, p.281-282, p.292-295, p.373-374.

communities with a modicum of autonomy existed on the plantation economy's margins (Almeida, 2003) but, with a few exceptions (one of which I discuss in this article), they were insignificant to nineteenth-century Brazilian political and social development. The colonial institutions that provided some spaces for Afro-Brazilians — Catholic lay brotherhoods and black militia units — were generally insufficient to nurture an enduring popular royalism, although there are some hints of this dynamic. Nor, given the relatively short and small-scale independence war (and the fact that it pitted two groups of constitutional monarchists against each other), were there opportunities for the emergence of autonomous popular royalist forces like José Tomás Boves's *llaneros* (Thibaud, 2003, p.149-214).

Recent scholarship on independence and the Brazilian empire has demonstrated that the popular classes actively participated in the struggles surrounding the Brazilian state's creation and that they similarly engaged in imperial politics (Ribeiro, 2002; Basile, 2009, p.62-72; Alonso, 2015; Castilho, 2016; Kraay, 2006; 2015). Such popular politics sometimes took royalist or monarchist forms that authorities judged inappropriate, for popular understandings of monarchy prompted (often radical) claims on the state or demands for significant change. The first section of this article examines scattered examples of independence-era popular monarchism to revisit cultural historians' somewhat speculative assertions about the popular Afro-Brazilian understandings of the imperial regime. The second focuses on the restorationist movement of the 1830s in rural Pernambuco and Alagoas. Under the banner of restoring Pedro I to the throne that he had abdicated on 7 April 1831, rural folk launched an insurrection, the so-called Cabanos War, which proved extremely difficult to repress. A third instance of popular royalism is the apparently enthusiastic support for the imperial family in the late 1880s, particularly after slavery's abolition (13 May 1888), in which Emperor Pedro II and the heir to the throne, Princess Isabel, played what appeared to be leading roles. Brief outbreaks of anti-republican violence in the immediate aftermath of the monarchy's overthrow

(15 November 1889) prompted the new regime to move aggressively against these Afro-Brazilian popular royalists.

In each of these sections, I demonstrate that royalism formed an important strand of popular politics, that members of the lower classes acted politically using a royalist idiom that enabled them to make demands on the imperial state. I make no claim that the popular royalists discussed in this article were more representative of the Brazilian lower classes, than, for example, the pardo man, José Dias, who regularly declaimed in Salvador against the recently abdicated Pedro I and his successor, the young Pedro II, calling on his audience to fight for federalism and a republic (Reis, 2012, p.313). Rather, my goal is to demonstrate that, for many, royalism offered an ideological framework to express popular political demands. Much of this went beyond what was acceptable to those in power or, in the case of the 1888-1889 popular support for the monarchy, to the republicans who would soon gain power.

Black kings and other "inappropriate" popular royalism

Like other regimes, the Brazilian empire sought to foster the image of popular support in its civic ritual (Kraay, 2013). Accounts of the emperors' birthday celebrations and their travels throughout the far-flung empire regularly include references to the *povo*'s (common people's) presence, their cheers at appropriate points, and their lively support for the monarchy. In 1843, Salvador's *Correio Mercantil* declared that the emperor's birthday "was and always will be ... one of its most auspicious days, which the povo awaits with anticipation to let loose the generous sentiments that overflow in its heart". Popular "joy" had been accompanied by "all of the disorder of its ecstasy, disorder with no harmful results — a true poetry of the people, who in this way demonstrates its true feelings".[4] After Pedro II's 1859 visit to Bahia, the future Baron of

4 O Dia 2 de Dezembro, *Correio Mercantil*, Salvador, 5 Dec. 1843.

Cotegipe remarked that the journey had been a great political success: "the population was fanatic — may God preserve their love for the monarchy", he added.[5]

Much of this can be dismissed as wishful thinking on the part of men like Cotegipe, as propaganda, or even as the legacy of old-regime conventions about how "festival books" — descriptions of rituals — were written (they prescribed a clear, but subordinate role for the povo). Sometimes such accounts reported what ought to have happened, rather than what actually did. After the institution of press freedom in the late 1820s, opposition newspapers usually described far less popular enthusiasm on days of national festivity than did pro-government periodicals and, ultimately, official civic ritual accounts can tell us relatively little about popular attitudes toward the monarchy. The Bahian populace may have loved its monarch in 1859, but organizers of the visit were less sure, and João Nepomuceno da Silva, a satirical poet, condemned the efforts to exclude the lower classes from Pedro II's landing at the navy yard: "And the great navy yard fills with people / Blacks don't enter, for they have no monarch / Nor do the poor, for they have no king" (cited in Querino, 1955, p.225). Likewise, in unguarded moments, conservative monarchists might express their disdain for the povo: the 1843 *Correio Mercantil* report concluded that "bread and circuses was always their motto".[6]

Historian Ronaldo Pereira de Jesus has forcefully argued that the predominant attitude on the part of most of Rio de Janeiro's population toward the monarchy was one of "indifference," punctuated by "pragmatic and personalist approaches to the emperor" (2009, p.38); in other words, people knew how to deploy monarchist rhetoric strategically when they sought favor from the crown. The emperors' custom

5 João Mauricio Wanderley to Francisco Inácio de Carvalho Moreira, Salvador, 12 Dec. 1859. In: PINHO, 1937, p.659, n. 1.

6 O Dia 2 de Dezembro, *Correio Mercantil*, Salvador, 5 Dec. 1843.

of holding regular audiences which any of their subjects could attend to present their concerns and the practice of petitioning the monarch facilitated such pragmatic appeals. During his 1826 visit to Salvador, Pedro I received some 1200 petitions and spent literally days ruling on the requests.[7] A steady stream of people made their way to the São Cristóvão palace on Rio de Janeiro's outskirts for the weekly audiences during which Pedro II received his citizens (Barman, 1999, p.180-182; Silva, 1993, p.71-80).

Nonetheless, scattered evidence suggests popular understandings of the Brazilian monarchy that go beyond pragmatism, even if they do not reach the level of imperial propaganda's unconditional love. I begin with a few anecdotes, many of which I have already discussed in other works: In 1824, José Vicente de Santana, a cashiered lieutenant from Salvador's black militia battalion who had long resided in Rio de Janeiro, proposed to raise a company of black Bahian swordsmen to defend Pedro I against attacks from the Portuguese (at the time, rumors flew that the Portuguese were planning to invade).[8] A few months later, Santana appeared at the palace as secretary to Manoel Alvarez (or Abreu) Lima, the ambassador "of the Emperor of Benin of the Kings of Africa"; eventually there was an exchange of gifts between the Brazilian emperor and his African counterparts, who were thus the first monarchs to recognize Brazil's independence.[9]

A few years later, the justice of the peace of Salvador's Brotas parish reported worriedly to the provincial president about a looming "catastrophe" in a nearby district outside of his jurisdiction. Tolerant local authorities had let "pretos" hold a celebration, at which there were "banners, parties, and shouts of 'Long live our Lord Dom João and our Lord

7 Entries of 3, 6, 10, and 11 March 1826, Diario, AHMI, I-POB-28.02.1826 PI.B.do.

8 Petition of José Vicente de Santana to Pedro I, ca. 1824, AHEx, Requerimentos, JZ-173-4911.

9 Henry Chamberlain to George Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 29 Jan. 1825, PRO/FO 13, v. 8, fols. 109r-110r; FAZENDA, 1923, p.473; SOARES, 2014, p.255-256; KRAAY, 2006, p.303-304; GUIZELIN, 2015.

Dom Pedro', which were contained after much difficulty. There were so many people that in one day they killed and ate an ox, and much more, and there were people of various colors".[10] On 7 September 1841, Salvador celebrated Emperor Pedro II's coronation, which had taken place in Rio de Janeiro in July. The *Correio Mercantil* reported that the celebrations were a great success, but this conservative newspaper lamented that the otherwise "beautiful festivities" had been marred by "tumultuous and numerous African dances [*batuques*] ... by day and sometimes until late at night". So many of these took place that they appeared to be an "integral part of the festival program", and a foreign visitor might mistake the city for "an African settlement". No small number of people had complained to the editor about this, notably on 10 September when a fireworks display at Campo Grande Square had to compete with a five-hundred strong batuque on nearby Piedade Square.[11]

A proposal for a black imperial bodyguard; an African diplomatic mission in imperial Rio de Janeiro; a festive, multi-racial, apparently patriotic barbecue; and an African celebration alongside the coronation festivities — all are but minor incidents, yet they provide opportunities to consider dimensions of Afro-Brazilian popular royalism that go beyond the often artificially-constructed popular royalism of civic rituals and raise questions about Jesus's indifference. Lilia Moritz Schwarcz suggests that a "rich imaginary about monarchy" flourished on the margins of civic rituals and in popular festivals. "The great civic holidays," she continues, "adapted to the forms of popular processions [*cortejos*] and gained new adornments and meanings" (Schwarcz, 1999, p.248, 257, 260; see also p.19-21). Noting the frequency with which quilombos were led by what authorities called "kings" and "queens", João José Reis has suggested that there was a "monarchist mentality" among Afro-Brazilians, "recreated from African understandings of leadership,

10 Justice of the Peace to President, Brotas, Salvador, 28 Aug. 1829; In: REIS; SILVA, 1989, p.129. See also: KRAAY, 2001a, p.80.

11 *Correio Mercantil*, Salvador, 30 Sep. 1841. See also REIS, 2002, p.124-127.

reinforced in a colony and later a country governed by crowned heads" (Reis, 1995-1996, p.32; see also Souza, 1998, p.230-233). The batuques that allegedly marred Salvador's coronation festivities are an example of the new meanings to which Schwarcz refers, while Afro-Brazilian brotherhoods' annual elections of black kings and queens represent a public and legitimate popular monarchism parallel to what Reis observes in quilombos. Martha Abreu goes further and links the evolution of Rio de Janeiro's Divino Espírito Santo festival (Pentecost), which featured the annual election of a child emperor, to the monarchy's rise and fall. She cites folklorist Luís da Câmara Cascudo's claim that José Bonifácio de Andrada e Silva, Pedro I's key advisor at the time of independence, recommended that the new ruler adopt the title of emperor, for the povo was more familiar with it than with the title of king (Câmara Cascudo, n.d., p.356; Abreu, 1999, p.46-47, p.385-386).

Late-colonial royal ritual often included the participation of Afro-Brazilians, who sometimes staged "embassies" and "courts [*reinados*] of Kongo", performances that celebrated the Kongo's conversion to Christianity as the foundation of a black Catholic community. These were closely related to black brotherhoods' annual election of kings and queens, which became widespread in the eighteenth century and persisted until well into the nineteenth (Souza, 2002, p.18-19, 297; Kiddy, 2002; Mac Cord, 2003; Lara, 2007, p.180-192; Soares, 2011, p.138-142, p.174-176, p.183-221; Fromont, 2013). Authorities often condemned the "blacks' courts" as one of the "many pernicious abuses" that, according to the viceroy in 1728, pervaded Brazil; a priest commented in 1771 that, once a slave had served as king, he was no good for anything (Lara, 2007, p.214; Kiddy, 2005, p.78, p.98).[12] The black kings and queens reportedly enjoyed considerable respect from their subjects and contested elections sometimes reached the police's ears, but in 1813 Rio de Janeiro's intendant judged it better not to adjudicate two pretenders' competing claims to the title among the "Cassange nation" (Farias;

12 Consulta, Conselho Ultramarino, 25 Jan. 1729. *Documentos Históricos,* n. 90, 1950. p.175.

Soares; Gomes, 2005, p.54-56). By the 1820s, Jean-Baptiste Debret reported that electing kings and queens had been prohibited in Rio de Janeiro and could only be seen in other provinces.[13] Imperial civic ritual, furthermore, did not retain spaces for Afro-Brazilian performances of monarchy; as a liberal regime, the empire put an end to such colonial corporate representations of subaltern groups in the body politic.

Liberal elimination of corporate privileges in the 1820s and 1830s posed considerable difficulty for men like José Vicente de Santana and his fellow officers in the segregated militia. His proposal for a black bodyguard likely met with bemusement on the part of war ministry officials when they annotated and filed it, but it was consistent with the black militia's firm support for the imperial regime in the 1820s. Having fought for independence, Bahia's black officers envisaged themselves as the emperor's loyal supporters. They were the last line of defense against the 1824 radical-liberal Periquitos' Revolt in Salvador and they loyally did their duty as the city's police later in the decade when army battalions were fighting in the Cisplatine War (1826-1828). Shocked by the militia's abrupt abolition in 1831 and the institution of a liberal, color-blind National Guard (in which no former black militia officers won election to the officer posts), black officers called on the empire to recognize their corporate privileges, however framing this request within liberal rhetoric. Eventually they joined the quasi-republican Sabinada Rebellion (1837-1838), which restored the segregated militia and the officers to their posts. Many suffered severely in the repression, but a tradition of black military service to the crown endured and some of the surviving black militia officers (or their sons) played leading roles in the mobilization of the black Zuavo companies in Bahia at the outset

13 Jean-Baptiste Debret. *Viagem pitoresca e histórica ao Brasil*. 3 vols. in 2. Translated by Sérgio Milliet. São Paulo: Livraria Martins and Editora da Universidade de São Paulo, 1972, vol. 2, p.219. He adds that his illustration of a king and queen of the Rosário brotherhood collecting alms was from Rio Grande do Sul. Kiddy provides evidence for reinados' persistence in Minas Gerais. KIDDY, 2005, p.147-148, p.185.

of the Paraguayan War in 1865. Soon after the initial Allied invasion of Paraguay in mid-1866, however, Brazilian commanders abolished the segregated units (Kraay, 2001b; 2003; 2012).

Ambassador Lima was the last in a long line of West African diplomats who passed through Bahia en route to Lisbon. Returning from the Portuguese capital, he became trapped in Salvador during the independence war. From there, he dictated several letters to Pedro I, describing troop and ship movements and conditions in the city; Portuguese authorities eventually jailed him as a spy. Upon the patriot victory, he traveled to Rio de Janeiro to meet with the new emperor.[14] To judge by the British minister's remark that Lima was considered "stupid and incomprehensible", many did not take him seriously,[15] but his association with black militia officers like Santana suggests a mutual recognition of status. In Bahia, Lima relied on one Captain Francisco Durão Sampaio to write his correspondence; Sampaio may also have been a black militia officer.[16]

Like his predecessors, Pedro I knew the importance of maintaining cordial relations with the African rulers who controlled the supply of slaves, but he also knew that black kings posed a symbolic threat to Brazilian slave society's social hierarchies. Between 1750 and 1812, no less than seven African diplomatic missions passed through Brazil en route to Portugal, and Silvia Hunold Lara has analyzed the difficulties that colonial governors faced in appropriately welcoming them and in facilitating their journeys to Lisbon. Receiving Africans with too much pomp and circumstance threatened the social order of slavery and governors sought to subordinate the ambassadors' reception to regularly scheduled civic or religious ceremonies that exalted the Portuguese

14 Manoel Abreu Lima to Pedro I, Salvador, 9 Feb., 1 April, and 23 May 1823, BN/SM, II-33, 28, 054; and 7 July 1823, Salvador, BN/SM, II-33, 29, 1.

15 Chamberlain to Canning, Rio de Janeiro, 29 Jan. 1825, PRO/FO 13, v. 8, fol. 110r.

16 Lima to Pedro, Salvador, 7 July 1823, BN/SM, II-33, 29, 1.

monarchy (Lara, 2007, p.192-202).[17] There is only one bit of evidence for how these embassies were received among the populace. The pardo soldier, Luiz Gonzaga das Virgens e Veiga, wrote in his diary about the arrival of "two ambassadors from Dahomey sent to Lisbon by their king" who stopped in Bahia in 1795 and, perhaps disapprovingly, added: "They were not received as such".[18] If this is an indication of popular monarchism that recognized equality among African and European kings, it comes from an unlikely source: in 1798, Gonzaga was arrested for writing and posting the proclamations that revealed the republican Tailors' Conspiracy, a crime for which he paid with his life.

The barbecue and the coronation batuques are more difficult to elucidate. The justice of the peace found nothing redeeming in the patriotic and monarchist cheers: "This is how revolts begin", he declared. Complaints about batuques and other popular celebrations were common in nineteenth-century Salvador, as were disagreements among local authorities about whether (or under what circumstances) such festivals should be tolerated (Reis, 2002, p.121-129, p.138-139; Reis, 2015, p.1-31). The justice of the peace likely objected less to the revelers' cheers than to the fact that they celebrated monarchy independently. What connection the batuques had to the coronation is difficult to determine; they were common on Sundays and holidays, so Africans might simply have taken advantage of the extended holiday that they enjoyed in honor of Pedro II. But their scale and their timing may indicate a reworking of the concept of monarchy in ways that the *Correio Mercantil* could not accept or perhaps not even comprehend, much as Schwarcz has suggested. What is clear, though, is that this newspaper saw no place for African culture in (or even alongside) Brazilian civic rituals and that, just like the justice of the peace, it would not deign to comment further on the celebrants' motives.

17 Prince-Regent João declined to receive the 1810-1812 embassies and negotiated with them from Rio de Janeiro. SOARES, 2014, p.240-241.

18 Entry of 28 May 1795, Luiz Gonzaga's Notebooks, *Anais do Arquivo Público do Estado da Bahia,* n. 36, 1959. p.465.

In each of these episodes, lower-class Afro-Brazilian monarchism went beyond what was acceptable as black men and women imagined a greater role for themselves in the new monarchy. None of these incidents led to the untoward consequences that some feared, but the concerns about them may represent something similar to Miguel Angel Centeno's assessment of Latin American nationalisms: he argues that state-building elites were reluctant to foster identification with the state, for a too-fervent nationalism could lead to unwelcome popular demands (2002, p.31, p.201). We may also see them as manifestations of a sort of radical-popular monarchism, a political engagement of members of the lower classes that, in contrast to James Sanders's "American republican modernity," spoke in a monarchist idiom (2014). Many saw radical potential in associating themselves with the monarchy to claim a new place for themselves in society. In these senses, popular monarchism could subvert the imperial order.

The cabanos

From 1832 to 1835, an insurgency swept through the forests in the borderlands of Alagoas and Pernambuco. The rebels — Indians, runaway slaves, and mixed-race peasants — proclaimed themselves to be fighting for the restoration of Pedro I to the throne. The former emperor, now living in Europe and going by the title of the Duque of Bragança, had abdicated in favor of his five-year-old son, Pedro II, rather than bow to the demands of a diverse opposition coalition that wanted him to appoint a ministry amenable to liberal legislators. The alliance between radical liberals (Exaltados) and moderates that had led to the abdication quickly unraveled as the Moderados seized power and sought to implement a series of reforms. By early 1832, conservatives, known in Rio de Janeiro as Caramurus, had rallied around the twin banners of opposition to Moderado constitutional reforms and calls for Pedro I to return. Caramurus and Exaltados sometimes tactically allied against Moderados and both had few compunctions about mobilizing members of the lower classes (Basile, 2009; Barman, 1988, p.160-216). In October

1833, struggling to explain the political situation, the British minister remarked that the "chief strength" of the "party of the Ex-Emperor" lay not "among the more reputable and substantial part of the community, but with the worthless and inconstant rabble of the streets of Rio de Janeiro, persons without character or property, mulattoes and free blacks, with the lower class of small shopkeepers and journalists".[19] Caramuru restorationism's principal weakness was Pedro I's lack of interest in returning to Brazil; he rebuffed their overtures and devoted his efforts to placing his daughter on the Portuguese throne as a constitutional monarch (his absolutist brother, Miguel, had usurped her throne) (Lustosa, 2006, p.304-325; Macaulay, 1986, p.254-305).

Calls to repair the "insult perpetrated against our beloved Emperor ... on the always execrable day of 7 April" resonated among the lower classes in the interior of what is today considered Brazil's Northeast and shaped the Cabanos' rebellion.[20] Marcus Carvalho and Jeffrey Mosher both emphasize that it grew out of intra-elite conflicts in Pernambuco and that patron-client networks brought the lower classes into this movement (Carvalho, 2009, p.150-158; 2011, p.170-176; Mosher, 2008, p.113-118). The defeats of the 1817 republican rebellion and the 1824 Confederação do Equador, both of which had drawn considerable support from sectors of the provincial elite, secured the position of conservative elite factions. The abdication overturned these political alignments and men associated with the defeated rebellions (often now much less radical) came to power. The Indian village of Jacuípe, one of several in Alagoas and Pernambuco whose land grants had rewarded services against the Dutch or the fugitive slaves at Palmares in the seventeenth century, had provided manpower to the royal and imperial forces in 1817 and 1824; it now faced a hostile government (Dantas, 2015, p.52-54). An elite-led restorationist rebellion in Recife in April 1832

19 H. S. Fox to Viscount Palmerston, Rio de Janeiro, 19 Oct. 1833, PRO/FO 13, vol. 99, fol. 108r-v.

20 Proclamation of Joaquim Pinto Madeira, Crato, 2 Jan. 1832, APEPe, PJ 1, fol. 3r. This proclamation was intercepted in Santo Antão on 15 Feb. 1832.

drew considerable support from planters in southern Pernambuco and Alagoas: they mobilized their clients and reached out to Jacuípe. Up to this point, as Carvalho notes, this was a typical nineteenth-century revolt in which political outs took up arms against the new power-holders. However, the lower-class mobilization soon escaped elite control, most restorationist planters quickly abandoned the field, and the Cabanos came under the leadership of Vicente Ferreira de Paula, a former army sergeant, reportedly the son of a priest and a slave woman. The insurgents included Indians, displaced small farmers and squatters (mostly people of mixed race), and runaway slaves who had long sought shelter in the region's rugged forested hills. This was what Pernambuco's commander of arms judged to be the "restoration's vanguard", frustrated at their unwillingness to accept a proffered amnesty in late 1833.[21]

Social and economic issues underlay the Cabanos' movement. Expanding sugar plantations were displacing squatters and encroaching on Indian village lands, while planters who worried about slavery's end saw Indian labor as an alternative. Military recruitment threatened communities' manpower resources. The Jacuípe Indians lived and worked in forests that had been reserved under the colonial regime for the production of naval timber but had lost their protection with liberal reforms. Emphasizing these underlying causes leads historian Luiz Sávio de Almeida to downplay the Cabanos' royalism and to suggest that they, and particularly the Jacuípe Indians, sought out the alliance with restorationists to further their material interests (2008, p.49-52, p.153, p.213). However, this approach does not do sufficient justice to the appeal of restoring Pedro I. The first emperor and the absolutism of which his critics accused him symbolized to the Cabanos a time before the growing threats to their way of life (Carvalho, 1996, p.58-63).

Liberal authorities might dismiss the Cabanos as bands of "bandits," guilty of "robberies, rapes, and murders" or lament the lack of "good

21 José Joaquim Coelho to Vicente Pires de Figueredo Camargo, Recife, 19 Dec. 1833, APAl, Comando das Armas.

education and good customs in our povos," which impeded civilization's advance, but they had to take the rebels seriously.[22] Vicente de Paula's movement maintained only tenuous connections to Caramurus and restorationists elsewhere in Brazil, but a forged document that announced Pedro's intention to return prompted the Cabanos to launch an attack toward the port of Barra Grande in August 1833 (they were unable to hold the town) (Freitas, 1982, p.125; Andrade, 1965, p.81-82). The Caramurus suffered a major defeat in Rio de Janeiro in December 1833 when the Moderado government closed their newspapers and associations; this prompted fears that their more adventurous leaders were seeking passage to Pernambuco or Alagoas to take leadership of the Cabanos (orders to arrest them went out from Pernambuco's provincial government).[23]

Better coordination between the Alagoas and Pernambuco provincial governments, along with more effective counterinsurgency tactics, contained the Cabanos and reduced the areas under their control in 1834 (Andrade, 1965, p.105-157). Many surrendered. The former emperor's death on 24 September 1834, known throughout Brazil by the end of the year, made a restoration impossible, but the Cabanos were not completely defeated. Vicente de Paula and a small group of his followers (mostly *papa-méis* or fugitive slaves) founded a community, Riacho do Mato, in an isolated location where they maintained their autonomy until 1850 when he was arrested and imprisoned on Fernando de Noronha. By this time, much of the formerly forested region in which the Cabanos had operated had been turned into sugar and cotton plantations, and two military colonies, one on each side of the Pernambuco-Alagoas border, announced the new order (Oliveira, 2015).

22 Sebastião Jozé Muniz Albuquerque to Manoel Zeferino dos Santos, Flores, 10 Sep. 1833, APEPe, JP 7, fol. 114r; Bruno Camello Cav.te Pessoa to President of Pernambuco, São Mateus, 22 Nov. 1833, APEPe, JP 7, fol. 274r.

23 Manoel de Carvalho Paes d'Andrade to Justice of the Peace of Una, Recife, 27 Jan. 1834, APEPe, OG 41, fol. 2r.

The Cabanos remain a historiographical problem. Décio Freitas dismissed them as an example of "alienated social protest", while Manuel Correia de Andrade judged them "sui generis", potentially revolutionary but ultimately reactionary to the point of fanaticism (Freitas 1982, p.119-20; Andrade, 1965, p.199-201). Unfortunately, no systematic expositions of Cabano ideology have survived, but they railed against "Jacobin Carbonaros", while proclaiming their love for "Our Lord Dom Pedro I" and the "Holy Religion that we defend".[24] Ultimately, their actions spoke louder than their (few) words. They fought against factions of landowners who coveted their lands and were taking advantage of the post-1831 political realignment to expand their holdings; some of these landowners did so directly by leading their clients into battle against the Cabanos (Carvalho, 2011, p.179-182, p.191-196).

In this sense, restorationism may be incidental to the movement's larger meaning, but popular support for the monarchy coexisted with deep hostility toward those who held power locally or nationally in some of the other rebellions of these years. Minas Gerais Caramurus mobilized lower-class followers in the December 1831 restorationist revolt in Ouro Preto, which soon turned into a more radical movement than the leaders had intended (Gonçalves, 2008, p.56-78). The Balaiada (Maranhão, 1838-1841) mobilized many of the same classes of people who joined the Cabanos; the rebels regularly proclaimed their loyalty to the young Pedro II and to the constitution which they saw as usurped by conservatives and Portuguese (Assunção, 2011). The middle-class leaders of the Sabinada Rebellion quickly modified their initial proclamation of independence to last only until Pedro II came of age (expected in 1843). The republic and its opponents both celebrated Pedro II's birthday (2 December 1837), while the Sabinada's enemies mocked the concept of a temporary republic (Souza, 1987, p.72, 158-170; Kraay, 1992, p.505-507). The latter two movements took place in a different

24 See the documents written by Vicente Ferreira de Paula. In: ANDRADE, 1965, p.207, p.208.

context from that of the Cabanos; the 1837 Regresso had brought more conservative groups to power and threatened to undo the previous years' liberal reforms.

The popular monarchy and resistance to the republic, 1888-1890

During the final eighteen months of Brazil's imperial regime, the monarchy enjoyed unprecedented popularity among Afro-Brazilians. This derived primarily from the imperial family's perceived importance in slavery's abolition, which came on 13 May 1888. As Angela Alonso and Celso Castilho have recently argued, abolitionism was a large-scale social movement that mobilized broad sectors of society (Alonso, 2015; Castilho, 2016). It came after the 1881 electoral reform reduced the number of voters by 90 percent, thereby foreclosing this avenue for political participation to many of the free poor (Graham, 1990, p.182-206). It was generally held that the monarchy was sympathetic to abolition, and Princess Isabel's actions as regent (removing the anti-abolitionist prime minister, the Baron of Cotegipe) cleared the way for the law of 13 May 1888. As impending abolition threatened traditional social hierarchies, racial rhetoric proliferated in Brazil's public sphere (Azevedo, 1987; Albuquerque, 2009, p.34-39). Post-abolition popular monarchism manifested itself in diverse ways, ranging from the Guarda Negra (Black Guard), whose members vigorously and sometimes violently defended Princess Isabel, to more pacific demonstrations as popular groups turned the official civic rituals of 1888 into lively demonstrations of support for Pedro II. The republic's proclamation was met, not by an apolitical populace, but with violence and protests that were quickly repressed.[25]

Pedro II returned to Brazil in late August 1888 to great popular enthusiasm (he had gone abroad to seek medical treatment and, in his

25 The material on Rio de Janeiro in the next paragraphs is drawn from KRAAY, 2013, p.346-358.

absence, slavery had ended). Popular festivities overwhelmed the official ceremonies to welcome him back and continued into September, merging with the independence-day celebrations on the 7th. Among the hundreds of societies, corporations, and municipalities that designated commissions to congratulate the emperor were Africans. The Sociedade Vida Nova União da Nação Cabinda (New Life Union of the Cabinda Nation Society) announced a march to the palace to demonstrate their "profound love and recognition of the father of the August Redeemer of the black race".[26] The presentation of "a popular album", containing over 9,000 signatures, to congratulate the emperor on his birthday (2 December) turned into a massive procession that involved scores of associations, ranging from workers' groups to Afro-Brazilian carnival societies. The *Jornal do Commercio*'s cronista commented that the formal presentation at the downtown palace "did not take place ... with the regular pomp and the prescribed etiquette of official ceremonies", but judged it a sincere demonstration of affection for the imperial family.[27] The republican journalist, Raul Pompéia, by contrast, described a palace "invaded by an immense mob ... mostly men of color" and claimed that the police had to force some of these "citizens" to don shirts before going in.[28]

Among these popular monarchists was Dom Obá II (Cândido da Fonseca Galvão), an honorary army alferes and self-styled African ruler, who had decorated his uniform with "excessively African feathers"; he led the crowd in cheers (presumably to the emperor) from the palace windows.[29] Military authorities later arrested him for dishonoring the uniform. Thanks to Eduardo Silva's biography, Obá is now understood

26 *Cidade do Rio*, 19 Sep. 1888. FARIAS; SOARES; GOMES, 2005, p.19; GOMES, 1991, p.84.

27 A semana, *Jornal do Commercio* (Rio de Janeiro), 9 Dec. 1888.

28 POMPÉIA, Raul. *Crônicas do Rio*. MOREIRA, Virgílio Moretzsohn (org.). Rio de Janeiro: Prefeitura da Cidade do Rio de Janeiro, 1996, p.61-62.

29 POMPÉIA, *Crônicas*, p.61-62; Chronica, *O Mequetrefe* (Rio de Janeiro), Dec. 1888.

to exemplify Afro-Brazilian street culture and its strong ties to the monarchy (Silva, 1993).[30] Recent research casts doubt on the validity of Obá's claims of African royalty and of distinguished combat service in the Paraguayan War, but does not call into question his monarchism, expressed in numerous newspaper articles (Castilho, 2016, p.142-143; Kraay, 2012, p.157-160); already in 1874, he was known for having "written many articles in defense of monarchy and the Conservative government".[31] His later writings were more critical of Brazilian society (Silva, 1993, p.107-111, p.115-118).

None of the reports on 2 December 1888's celebrations mention the Guarda Negra, reportedly founded in late September by the Afro-Brazilian abolitionist journalist who converted from republicanism to monarchism late in the abolitionist campaign, José do Patrocínio. Critics dismissed the Guarda as thugs and capoeiras whom the government paid to harass republicans. By contrast, Patrocínio's *Cidade do Rio* called the "Guarda Redentora [Redeeming Guard]" an association of "all the thankful freedmen who, on 13 May, ceased to be *things* to begin to become *men*".[32] While little is known about it as an institution, historians now see the Guarda as a legitimate expression of black political activism (Ricci, 1990; Soares, 1999, p.251-264; Gomes, 1991; Trochim, 1988; Albuquerque, 2009, p.183-194; Domingues, 2014, p.255-258). However, as Petrônio Domingues has recently shown, the Guarda's monarchism (and its particular defense of Princess Isabel) was not the sole Afro-Brazilian political position; it competed with black republican associations (2014, p.261-264; see also Ricci, 1990, p.129-133).

The Guarda gained considerable notoriety when its members disrupted a 30 December 1888 republican meeting, at which Antônio da Silva Jardim, one of the most vocal republican propagandists, was

30 By contrast, R. Jesus suggests that Obá was an exceptional figure, particularly in his self-assured relationship with Pedro II. JESUS, 2009, p.81, p.88.

31 *A Nação*, Rio de Janeiro, 23 March 1874. I thank Lisa Earl Castillo for sharing this source.

32 *Cidade do Rio*, 5 Jan. 1889; In: RICCI, 1990, p.105.

scheduled to speak. Armed republicans drew their pistols and drove off the Guarda, while the police did not interfere (Gomes, 1991, p.77-80; Ricci, 1990, p.125-129; Trochim, 1988, p.292-293).[33] André Rebouças, the firmly monarchist Afro-Brazilian abolitionist who had no sympathy for the Guarda, described the incident as a "savage conflict between capoeiras and slavocrat republicans".[34] Silva Jardim's speaking tours were regularly disrupted by what he described as armed black thugs or freedmen.[35] In mid-1889, editors of a Rio de Janeiro republican newspaper lamented the "tyrannical oppression by the lower class that, under the name of Guarda Negra, has tried brutally to stop street sales" by harassing its newsboys.[36]

Silva Jardim shadowed the Count of Eu's June 1889 tour of the northern provinces, seeking to counter imperial propaganda. Violence broke out in Salvador on the 15th, when a group of "three or four hundred negroes" broke up the welcoming reception prepared by republican students and teachers from the medical school. Historian Braz do Amaral, who witnessed these events, claimed that the attackers were "meatcutters from the Ribeira slaughterhouse, whale butchers, and porters from the docks", all occupations dominated by black men, and that carts with stones and firewood had been conveniently parked along the route that Silva Jardim would take. The republican later described a narrow escape from an encounter with a knife-wielding mulatto thug bent on killing him. Amaral blamed the police for instigating the riot, while consuls noted that the authorities turned a blind eye to this violence and only made a show of restoring order after the republicans had been dispersed. Silva Jardim's secretary blamed the Guarda Negra, which he

33 SILVA JARDIM, Antonio. *Memorias e viagens:* campanhas de um propagandista (1887-1890). Lisbon: Nacional, 1892, p.227-236.

34 REBOUÇAS, André. *Diario e notas autobiográficas*. FLORES, Ana; VERÍSSIMO, Inácio José (orgs.). Rio de Janeiro: José Olympio, 1938, p.319.

35 SILVA JARDIM, Antonio. *Memorias e viagens*, p.195, p.197-200, p.226, p.289, p.292-305, p.310.

36 Redação to Rui Barbosa, Rio de Janeiro, 19 July 1889, AFCRB, CR 1580.3/30(1).

called a creature of the government. The U.S. consul heard cheers to Princess Isabel and the Crown compete with shouts of "Death to the monarchy" and "Out with the foreign prince." Later that day, he added, soldiers and others reportedly accosted people suspected of republican proclivities on streetcars and threatened to kill the "stupid republicans".[37]

In Rio de Janeiro, Rui Barbosa condemned the Bahian monarchists, "whose base pedigree reveals itself in the insignificance of its agents", a sharp contrast to the respectable students who "personify the democratic reaction". "The only paladin of monarchy mentioned by name" was "the criminal Macaco Beleza [Monkey Beauty]".[38] This was the nickname of Manoel Benício dos Passos, an illiterate but outspoken Afro-Brazilian who had been deeply involved in the abolitionist movement and was reportedly seen weeping with joy on 13 May 1888 (Fraga Filho, 2016, p.61-62, 76). Wlamyra Albuquerque sees him as a Bahian counterpart to Dom Obá II, for he combined "fidelity to the monarchy with prestige in the black community" (Albuquerque, 2009, p.155).

Other manifestations of Afro-Brazilian popular royalism took more peaceful forms, but were no less unwelcome to republicans. They saw impending anarchy in a planned parade of "men of color" who sought to present their respects to Princess Isabel on 13 May 1889 in Rio de Janeiro. Rua do Ouvidor merchants spurned the paraders by failing to illuminate the street's gaslight arches and "upper class" youth standing guard at the *Diário de Notícias*'s offices scuffled with the marchers. Some even accused the black abolitionists of promoting "race war" (Kraay,

37 AMARAL, Braz do. Memoria historica sobre a proclamação da Republica na Bahia. *Revista do Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia*, vol. 11, n. 30, p.12-20, 1904. p.14; SILVA JARDIM, Antonio. *Memorias e viagens*, p.344-347 (his recollection), p.360-362 (his secretary's recollection); Consul to Secretary of State, Salvador, 19 June 1889, NARS T-331, roll 5; Consul to Principal Secretary of State for Foreign Affairs, Salvador, 15 June 1889 (copy), PRO/FO 13, vol. 662, fols. 666r-670r. On this episode, see also Albuquerque (2009, p.142-163).

38 Rui Barbosa, Anarquia pelo rei, *Diario de Noticias* (Rio de Janeiro), 27 Jun. 1889. In *Obras completas de Rui Barbosa*, vol. 16, tomo 3: *Queda do Império: Diário de Notícias*. Rio de Janeiro: Ministério da Educação e Saúde, 1947, p.402-403.

2013, p.355-356), while Silva Jardim suggested that the publication of these accusations had intimidated the freedmen into abandoning their murderous plans.[39]

In an oft-cited outburst, the *Diário de Notícias*'s editor, Rui Barbosa, declared in March 1889 that "the grotesque African idols of the slave quarters ... have given way to the fetishism of court idolatry, worthy of a nation of unwitting freedpeople".[40] This was a time of deep uncertainty when former masters and former slaves struggled over the terms of labor relations, when some planter interests held out for compensation (they were partially mollified by generous issues of agricultural credit), when Pedro II seemed incapable of governing effectively, and when many doubted Princess Isabel's capacity to rule. Afro-Brazilians feared a regime change, especially when republicanism drew new support from those who had opposed or worked to delay abolition. In Bahia, Amaral claimed that "republicans' enemies spread rumors among the povo that the Republic would not only revoke the law of 13 May, reenslaving freedpeople, but also that, after it[s proclamation], men of color would not hold civil or military office, as happens in North America". Small wonder that those who believed this firmly supported the monarchy.[41]

The lively popular support for the monarchy in 1888-1889 contrasted sharply with most republicans' perception that, as Minister of the Interior Aristides Lobo put it three days after the 15 November 1889 coup, Rio de Janeiro's povo had watched stupefied, "like dumb beasts [*bestializados*]" (Carvalho, 1999, p.9). Amaral noted something similar in Bahia on 17 November, when the battalions that had proclaimed the republic marched from their barracks into Salvador's center: "The povo

39 SILVA JARDIM, Antonio. *Memorias e viagens*, p.368-369.

40 *Diario de Noticias*, Rio de Janeiro, 19 March 1889. ALBUQUERQUE, 2009, p.184; GOMES, 1991, p.86; CHALHOUB, 1990, p.180.

41 AMARAL, Braz do. Memoria historica sobre a proclamação da Republica na Bahia p.31. Nevertheless, there are some indications of ex-slave republicanism in Bahia. BRITO, 2003, p.131, p.157-158, p.269-271.

watched all of this mute and indifferent, as if it were not its future that was changing".[42]

In fact, the previous night had seen considerable anti-republican violence, in which Macaco Beleza played a prominent role. News of the coup in Rio de Janeiro reached Salvador late in the day on the 15th. Commander of Arms Hermes Ernesto da Fonseca (ironically the brother of Deodoro da Fonseca, titular leader of the coup) immediately wired the capital to advise the emperor of his continued loyalty. Republicans in Bahia had been taken by surprise and the provincial president convened a meeting of leading citizens, all of whom pledged their loyalty to the empire.[43] On the night of 16-17 November, after an army battalion pronounced in favor of the republic, "bands of negroes promenaded the streets all over the town, shouting 'Long Live Monarchy' and 'Down with the Republic', firing off revolvers and muskets and breaking window glass of houses occupied by students and others who were known to have republican ideas". Amaral admitted that some of those involved in the violence may have had "monarchical beliefs" but blamed most of it on "the dregs of the city, the petty thieves, scoundrels, and vagrants who appear as if by magic whenever there are no police to persecute them" and described Macaco Beleza as "a degenerate alcoholic with a grotesque nickname".[44] When it became clear on the 17th that the coup had succeeded in Rio de Janeiro, Salvador's garrison proclaimed the new regime (Hermes had an abrupt change of heart), and most of those who had protested loyalty to the emperor on the 16th now cooperated with swearing in the republican government on the 18th. Outside the government palace, "a large crowd, of Negroes chiefly", gathered, but it dispersed in "a general stampede" when a shot was fired.[45]

42 AMARAL, Braz do. Memoria historica sobre a proclamação da Republica na Bahia, p.35.

43 AMARAL, Braz do. Memoria historica sobre a proclamação da Republica na Bahia, p.20-30.

44 AMARAL, Braz do. Memoria historica sobre a proclamação da Republica na Bahia, p.32.

45 Consul to Envoy to Rio de Janeiro, Salvador, 19 Nov. 1889, PRO/FO 13, vol. 662, fols. 76v-77r, 79r.

Similar monarchist demonstrations took place in São Luiz, Maranhão, on 16 and 17 November. As in Bahia, provincial authorities were reluctant to accept the new regime and the army battalion commander hesitated to commit himself for two days. During that time, according to a republican army captain, José Lourenço da Silva Milanez, large numbers of "May freedmen", in other words, those freed on 13 May 1888, threatened *O Globo*, the republican newspaper, and prevented republicans from reaching the city council building on the 16th to proclaim the new regime. On the 17th, "two to three thousand" freedmen paraded through the streets cheering the monarchy; some attacked the newspaper's offices and shots were exchanged between troops and the demonstrators, most of whom were armed with only clubs and stones. Casualties amounted to two dead and "many wounded". Before this incident, a monarchist rally had included a speech by "a black man known by the name of 'Capenga' [cripple]", who may have been a Maranhense Macaco Beleza. None of the witnesses whom Milanez consulted had been able to hear what Capenga said and the captain blamed the freedmen's protests on the machinations of monarchist politicians.[46] The army battalion proclaimed the republic on the 18th, but later mutinies demonstrated continued support for the monarchy (Castro, 2004, p.309; Janotti, 1986, p.17-18; Jesus, 2012, p.136-138).

In Rio de Janeiro, on 2 December 1889, a year after the enthusiastic popular album presentation to Pedro II, a curious demonstration took place. There was of course no celebration for the former emperor's birthday, but Dom Obá II led a crowd to the downtown palace, where they shouted cheers before they were dispersed. Four days later, the government stripped him of his military rank (Silva, 1993, p.1-2; Kraay, 2013, p.362-363). A few weeks later, artillery soldiers stationed in São Cristóvão mutinied in defense of a corporal who had quarreled with a sergeant. They drove officers out of the barracks, hoisted the imperial

46 Joze Lourenço da S.ª Milanez, "Republica no Maranhão, de 15 a 18 de Novembro," BPBL, ms. 869, p.26, p.32, p.37-38, p.48-50, p.55-56, p.65-67.

flag, cheered the monarchy, and sought support from other units. Although the mutiny was quickly suppressed, republican officials feared the worst; they deported prominent imperial politicians and banned members of the imperial family from returning to Brazil. Most newspapers drew a veil of silence over the soldiers' monarchism; only the *Tribuna Liberal* (the old imperial Liberal Party organ) reported the cheers to the emperor, but this was soon accepted as true by *The Rio News* and other foreign observers (Castro, 2004, p.303-307; Kraay, 2013, p.363).

Popular monarchism also lingered in Bahia. During the celebrations of independence in Bahia on 2 July 1890, some "rabble-rousers" insulted and tore the republican flag and tried to stone Deodoro's portrait in the town of Valença. In September 1892, Macaco Beleza "was arrested for making speeches in the street in favor of monarchy. His friends resisted" and only a reinforced police patrol could take him to prison. A few days later, the Sixteenth Infantry's "patriotic officers" called for vigilance against monarchist manifestations.[47] Such indications of residual popular support for the monarchy — evidence that some of the povo had not passively accepted the new regime — justified the republican crackdowns on the lower classes. In Rio de Janeiro, a quick and brutally effective police campaign against capoeiras resulted in the deportation of more than 400 of them to Fernando de Noronha as of mid-December 1889 (Assunção, 2005, p.93-95); Macaco Beleza eventually shared this fate (Fraga Filho, 2016, p.242).

While some continue to deny this popular monarchism or suggest that it was misdirected — after all, an empire that maintained slavery longer than any other country in the Americas can hardly have had Afro-Brazilian interests in mind (Chalhoub, 1996, p.180-185) — it should not be so easily dismissed. Republicans certainly took it very seriously, even if they often exaggerated the threat that it posed; they effectively destroyed the popular movements of the late empire (Guimarães, 2013). Like the Cabanos, the Guarda Negra left little documentation,

47 Estado da Bahia, *Diario de Pernambuco*, Recife, 16 July 1890; Provincial Notes, *The Rio News*, 13 Sep. 1892; Contra a monarchia, *Jornal de Noticias*, Salvador, 12 Sep. 1892.

and most of what we know about it comes from the pens of its many enemies. This is, of course, a perennial problem for the students of popular politics, but it is no justification for not taking these people seriously.

Popular royalism has not yet received the attention that it merits in nineteenth-century Brazilian history, thanks to what John Gledhill has called the "tendency to ignore 'popular movements' that appeared to be reactionary by traditional Left standards" (2012, p.9). Historians' contortions to characterize the Cabanos are a case in point. Rather, we should recognize the deeply subversive appeal of associating with a powerful monarch who embodied ideals of justice and munificence and who stood above local power holders and elites. This view underlay the ubiquitous belief among slaves throughout the Americas that the king had decreed their freedom, but that local officials or masters were hiding the document (Klooster, 2014; Miki, 2018, p.70, p.73). But it also underlay Lt. José Vicente de Santana's proposal for a black imperial bodyguard and his association with the African ambassador. Even things as seemingly insignificant as overly enthusiastic popular celebration of the monarchy, whether in the barbecue, in coronation batuques, or in the civic rituals of late 1888 — could be deeply subversive acts; critics certainly perceived them that way. And, of course, taking up arms in defense of a monarch or roughing up republicans do not need to be justified as political acts, even if contemporaries (and some later scholars) blamed them on unthinking thugs or on a benighted povo manipulated by others.

The cases considered in this article do not exhaust the scope of Brazilian popular royalism. Indigenous leaders on Brazil's frontiers cultivated close ties with monarchs (Miki, 2018, p.86-92). In the late 1880s, a traveler deep in the interior of Maranhão met an Indian who inquired about Pedro II and considered himself "an acquaintance and protégé of the emperor," for he had been received at court during a visit to Rio de Janeiro.[48] While the far-reaching monarchist plot that Jacobinos saw

48 LAMBERG, Mauricio. *O Brazil ilustrado com gravuras vertido do alemão por Luiz de Castro*. Rio de Janeiro, Lombaerts, 1896, p.180.

in Canudos was a figment of their fertile imagination, it is clear that Antônio Conselheiro preached against the new regime and lauded the monarchy (Levine, 1992). So did leaders in the Contestado Rebellion of the 1910s (Diacon, 1991, p.115-118). Monarchy held a powerful appeal to the rural poor buffeted by traumatic social and economic change. The reactions to these two movements, the violence against indigenous people who stood in the way of expanding frontiers, and the reactions to the popular monarchists analyzed in this article tellingly underscore the degree to which popular monarchism threatened both the imperial and the republican orders.

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