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Emiliano F.B. Mundrucu: Inter-American revolutionary and abolitionist (1791–1863)

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Abstract:

This article explores transnational dialogues between peoples of colour in Brazil, Spanish-speaking South America, Haiti, and North America on issues relating to revolution, abolitionism, diplomacy and civil rights in the nineteenth century. By focusing on Emiliano Felipe Benício Mundrucu (1791–1863), a Brazilian pardo who travelled and lived in Brazil, Venezuela, Haiti and the United States, this paper discusses the unique socio-economic, racial, and political perspectives that educated, polyglot and unusually well-travelled peoples of colour brought to debates on abolition, civil rights and broader hemispheric-wide questions of black identity in this period. It also explores their involvement in transnational revolutionary activity in the early nineteenth century, discussing how Mundrucu, along with other Brazilian secessionists, solicited the help of the young, radical republics of Haiti and Gran Colombia to challenge the Brazilian monarchy in Rio de Janeiro and establish a federalist republic in the north east of the country.

Keywords: abolitionism; Brazil; pardo; Pernambuco; Haitianism; Boston

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In July 1824, amidst an imperial navy bombardment of the city of Recife, northeastern Brazil, a secessionist pardo military captain evoked the memory of the long-dead black Haitian monarch, Henri Christophe. Facing defeat, he rallied his pardo battalion, shouting:

> Thus I imitate Christophe,
> That immortal Haitian
> Hey! I imitate his people
> Oh, my sovereign people![1]

By eulogising Christophe, Emiliano Felipe Benício Mundrucu forever etched his name into the annals of Brazilian history as another example of the dreaded spectre of so-called 'Haitianism.'[2] In contemporary Brazilian historiography, Mundrucu's name is typically associated with Haitianism and more broadly with the Confederação do Equador, a short-lived and ultimately unsuccessful breakaway coalition of secessionist northeastern Brazilian states that was defeated by imperial forces in 1824. Mundrucu's travels beyond Brazil after 1824 have largely escaped mention in the scholarship, except in passing. Several historians, including Carvalho, Fitz, Reis and Dos Gomes Santos, primarily relying on secondary scholarship and nineteenth-century travel diaries, have noted Mundrucu's sporadic presence in Venezuela, Haiti, and the United States between 1824 and 1863.[3] Up until now, however, the full dimensions and significance of Mundrucu's presence in these countries has yet to be pieced together.

Primary source evidence from the United States, Venezuela and Brazil, including archival documents, newspapers, library resources, and even Masonic registries, reveal a remarkable and unique story. Born in Recife, Brazil, in 1791, Mundrucu initially distinguished himself in the Brazilian military, rising to the rank of captain in a pardo battalion. Ultimately, his association with firebrand Brazilian

republicanism put him at odds with the Portuguese monarchy, forcing him to flee Brazil when the Confederação do Equador failed. However, his experiment with republicanism did not end there. He briefly spent time in two young South American and Caribbean republics between 1824 and 1826, enlisting in the Venezuelan army and travelling to Haiti. Thereafter, Mundrucu settled in Boston, although he did travel back to Brazil on several occasions.

Mundrucu's contribution to abolitionism, most prominently in the United States, is without a doubt his defining legacy. His life, set between two landmark events in the nineteenth century – the outbreak of the Haitian Revolution in 1791 and the US Emancipation Act in 1863 – was profoundly shaped by abolitionism in the Americas. By the time he died in Boston in September 1863, Mundrucu was widely considered a prominent figure in black northeastern abolitionist circles. In The Liberator, a widely-distributed anti-slavery newspaper, he was remembered as "enterprising and public-spirited," a man "highly esteemed by those who knew him, especially by his colored fellow-citizens."[4] A product of the revolutionary fervour emanating from northeast Brazil in the first-half of the nineteenth century, and inspired by black nationalism in Haiti and Bolivarian republicanism, Mundrucu brought unique experience and perspective to the US abolitionist movement, as well as to debates about desegregation and citizenship in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Apart from his involvement in Boston's abolitionist societies, Mundrucu was also an integral member of the city's poor and marginalised black community, lobbying against segregation in schools and on public transport, as well as for citizenship for African Americans. He was married twice, first to a Haitian immigrant and then to a black Bostonian woman. Mundrucu's social network also comprised a number of prominent black Bostonian families, including the Scottrons, the Harpers, and the Nells. In the city, he worked as a second-hand clothes trader, a job which barely made ends meet. Mundrucu remained poor and had to declare bankruptcy on at least one occasion. This was a far cry from his military career in

Brazil where, after being pardoned for his involvement in the Confederação do Equador, he reportedly governed a fort in Rio de Janeiro and was even invited to Emperor Don Pedro II's coronation. Indeed, despite his low socio-economic standing, Mundrucu was a seasoned traveller. This was facilitated by his involvement in inter-American Freemason networks, as well as his fluency in English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese, at a time in which his citizenship status was unclear.

Scholarship focusing on free peoples of colour (mulattoes, pardos, gente de côr, gens de couleur) as a distinct, albeit divided and diverse, socio-political and economic class is growing, but there remains significant room for development. Landers, Lasso, Sanders, Helg, Ferrer, Azevedo, Marquese et al, Mattos, and Dubois, among others, have made significant headway in disentangling the specific interests of, and roles played by, free peoples of colour from those of slaves in Cuba, Brazil, Colombia and Haiti.[5] Furthermore, Lindsay et al have brought renewed focus on biography and individual experiences in the field of black Atlantic studies.[6] The inclusion of Mundrucu's story in the historical narrative can offer unique perspectives on the inter-American connections within dialogues on abolitionism and citizenship in the nineteenth century Atlantic world.

Pernambucan rebel, Atlantic revolutionary

Between 1817 and 1824, northeast Brazil was a hotbed of secessionism. Long-standing tensions between Pernambuco and the royal court in Rio de Janeiro over taxes and regional influence came to a head. Up until the Royal family arrived in Rio de Janeiro in 1807, the possibility of a divided independence between the northeastern provinces – controlled by Recife – and the southern provinces – administered by Rio de Janeiro – remained very real. However, the Braganza's decision to flee Portugal and set up the Kingdom's temporary throne in Rio de Janeiro effectively ensured the South's dominance. To add insult

to injury, the Crown increased its already crippling export taxes for merchants in the northeast to pay for the installation of the royal court in Rio de Janeiro. Tensions reached a breaking point in 1817 and again in 1824 when Pernambucan political and military elites rebelled against the Crown's authority. Mundrucu established himself at the core of Pernambuco's rebels during this period and was perhaps the most radical of all of them.[7]

The 1817 Pernambucan Revolt and the 1824 Confederação do Equador secessionist movement were driven by a mix of strong regional identity, as well as French Enlightenment ideas, such as republicanism and constitutionalism, which had diffused into Brazil. Pernambuco's Freemasons, priests, and a group of intellectuals educated at University of Coimbra in Portugal were the primary revolutionary instigators.[8] This included Hipólito da Costa, José da Natividade Saldanha, Manuel de Carvalho Pais de Andrade, and Frei Caneca, all firebrand republicans who historian Amy Caldwell de Farias describes as the "inheritors and interpreters of the so-called Radical Enlightenment."[9] Mundrucu, on the other hand, had a purely military role in the rebellions, serving as an Ensign aide-de-camp in 1817 and later as a military captain in 1824.[10] The Pernambucan rebels' intention was to form a breakaway confederation of independent states comprising Pernambuco, Ceará and Rio Grande do Norte. Bolívar's newly-founded Gran Colombia served as the primary federalist model for the rebels; however, they also drew inspiration from the United States and Haiti.

Although the Pernambucan rebels were inspired by regional models of statehood, the 1817 and 1824 rebellions were ultimately triggered by domestic factors, principally racial tensions, and anti-Portuguese sentiment. The 1817 revolt was sparked by a brawl between black soldiers and a Portuguese individual who had publicly insulted Brazil.[11] The 1824 rebellion, on the other hand, was sparked by the dissolution of the Constitutional Assembly as well as deep frustration among the city's republican political elite over the highly-centralised regime enshrined in the 1824 constitution.[12] Rumours that Pedro

I wanted to hand Brazil, which had won independence in 1822, back to his father, João VI, King of Portugal, also stirred up fears.[13] When Pedro I dissolved the Constitutional Assembly in 1823, the northeast, led by a town council in Fortaleza, Ceará, rebelled and declared the Emperor dethroned. In Pernambuco, Carvalho created the Confederação do Equador in 1824 and was declared president of the "Republic of Pernambuco."[14]

Despite popular local support, both the 1817 and 1824 rebellions were utter failures. Heavily outnumbered by imperial soldiers and outgunned by an imperial navy blockade, both secessionist experiments lasted a matter of days. The rebel Pernambucans hoped, perhaps naively, that Bahia would join the secessionist cause. The rebels also appear to have overestimated the support of several foreign powers, most notably the United States and Britain. Carvalho had reportedly ordered steamboats and gunboats from the United States and Britain, which failed to arrive. When General Francisco de Lima e Silva bombarded the city on 24 July 1824, the "democratic spirit of the Pernambucans" gave way to general chaos.[15] Most rebel troops abandoned Recife as gunfire echoed across the city walls. Pockets of resistance continued, however, and Mundrucu, Saldanha, and other rebels escaped north; Carvalho, on the other hand, escaped to Britain.[16]

There were a number of vested diplomatic interests in the 1824 rebellion. Lord Thomas Cochrane, the infamous British naval officer and later mercenary, was unofficially commissioned by London and Rio de Janeiro to provide naval support to Pedro I. He initially led the naval blockade and bombardment of Recife. According to Cochrane, the 1824 rebellion was "a project fostered (…) by Americans resident in the city [of Recife]."[17] Joseph Ray, the former US Consul to Pernambuco, was widely known to sympathise with the rebel cause, and was later accused of helping Mundrucu escape on-board a US vessel.[18] In addition, James Hamilton Bennett, US Consul to Pernambuco in 1824, was accused of helping Saldanha escape to Philadelphia.[19] Yet, Britain also had a hand in aiding the rebels. In the wake of the

failed rebellion, a political firestorm threatened to undermine British-Brazilian relations. Brazilian authorities demanded to know why Carvalho had been received on board a British navy ship and granted asylum in the UK.[20] British Foreign Secretary, George Canning, claimed that Carvalho was a combatant in a "civil war," and therefore protected as an asylum seeker by Britain's Alien Act (1705).[21]

With the help of US and British diplomatic intervention, the core group of Pernambucan rebels survived to fight another day. Carvalho was safe in London and Mundrucu and Saldanha were on their way to the United States. Bewildered Brazilian authorities, complaining to Canning, could only stand by and decry Carvalho and the other Pernambucan rebels' plans to "infest" the Brazilian coast with foreign ships from the United States and Haiti.[22] Although no doubt layered in diplomatic hyperbole, the rebels did in fact intend to continue fighting. Turning to the statesman whose federalist project had initially inspired the Confederação do Equador, Mundrucu and Saldanha sought Simón Bolívar's support for Pernambuco's independence.

Relations between the nascent South American republics and Brazil were anything but cordial. The Brazilian government viewed the Spanish American republics with contempt. When compared to other South American states, Brazil had a larger territory, population, and natural resources. Above all, its centralised monarchy was more stable and, therefore, could counter-balance Spanish America's fragmented and belligerent republics. On the other hand, Bolívar distrusted Brazil on the grounds that it still maintained diplomatic ties with Spain. When a Brazilian officer annexed the Chiquitos region of Bolivia in 1825, Bolívar flirted with the idea of occupying Brazil.[23] Brazil also shunned the 1826 Panama Congress after officials from the United Provinces of the Río de la Plata tried to induce Bolívar into taking part in the war against Brazil, march on Rio de Janeiro, dethrone Pedro I, and proclaim a republic.[24]

Yet, although Brazil in this period has been referred to as "um país isolado"[25] in South America, the Pernambucan rebels' overtures to Bolívar suggest dialogues between Brazilian and Venezuelan revolutionaries did still occur, albeit outside of official diplomatic circles. Furthermore, by sending Mundrucu as an envoy, the Pernambucan rebels also attempted to reach out to Haitian authorities, who were largely isolated from regional affairs during this period. Between 1824 and 1825, Mundrucu travelled between the United States and Haiti, most likely to seek President Jean-Pierre Boyer's support for the Confederação. Very little is known about Mundrucu's time in Haiti, in part due to the current state of historical records in the country. Years later, Mundrucu would claim that he had tried and failed to find employment in the country.[26] By March 1825, Carvalho's situation in London had become desperate, exacerbated by Saldanha, who had made his way from Boston to Paris. Saldanha's presence there alarmed both French and British authorities and brought further unwanted attention to the already conspicuous Carvalho. A letter from the French Chief of Police, Franchet Desperey, to the French Ambassador in London, Jules de Polignac, described Saldanha, also categorised as a "pardo," as "one of the world's most brazen revolutionaries," whose goal was to allegedly kill off Brazil's white population.[27] Subsequently expelled from France, Saldanha joined Carvalho in London where the two fugitives started planning a naval expedition against the Brazilian monarchy.[28] Carvalho looked to Manuel José Hurtado, Colombian envoy to Great Britain, for support. Hurtado was unable to commit any firm support for their cause but suggested that the rebels lead a secret envoy to Bolívar himself. [29] Saldanha left for Venezuela in May 1825; Mundrucu joined him in late 1826.

Mundrucu arrived in Puerto Cabello, Venezuela in October 1826. Without any steady income for almost two years, his plight had become desperate and he likely knew that his military training and experience could secure him a job in the country. Through the Masonic contacts he had established in Boston, Mundrucu was received by a certain Dr. Forsyth, co-owner of a foreign company in Caracas, who

welcomed him into his home, lent him clothes, and even secured him a loan from a local merchant.[30] Within a month, however, Forsyth's business had been dissolved, and Mundrucu left without a patron.[31] Mundrucu then very quickly turned to Venezuelan president, José Antonio Páez, who reportedly received him with "civility" and "flattery," and asked to be naturalised as a Venezuelan citizen.[32] Once again, Mundrucu's Masonic connections likely facilitated this meeting.

Although he was received well in Venezuela, Mundrucu soon shared Saldanha's frustration with the lack of progress made on behalf of the so-called 'Republic of Pernambuco.' Bolívar was absent, consolidating his victories in Peru, when the two Pernambucans were in Caracas. According to Brazilian historian Argeu Guimarães, Saldanha eventually met with Bolívar in Bogotá, probably in late 1826; it is unclear whether Mundrucu was present at this meeting. This happened around the same time Bolívar was hastily returning to Venezuela to deal with La Cosiata rebellion, a Venezuelan separatist movement led by Páez. Needless to say, Saldanha and Mundrucu could not have chosen a worse time to ask Bolívar to support their campaign against Pedro I. His Gran Colombia breaking apart, and lacking the materials and morale to carry out another long campaign, especially against one of Britain's allies, Bolívar could offer no support to the Pernambucan revolutionaries. Even though he despised Pedro I and the Brazilian monarchy, he had always opposed throwing himself into war against the Emperor, be it La Plata or Pernambuco. Saldanha slipped into depression and lived in Bogotá until his death in 1832.[33]

During La Cosiata rebellion, Páez was accused of inciting pardos to revolt against the government in Bogotá. Páez's support among llaneros, indigenous peoples, and runaway slaves, posed a serious threat to Bolívar's authority.[34] Pardos in Barinas, the heart of llanero territory, caused panic in Bogotá's Senate. There, government ministers debated moving the Barinas Department capital because a large population of "gente de color" was allegedly conspiring with the Haitian government to incite revolution.[35] This

made Bolívar increasingly weary of the threat of what he termed "pardocracia," or the domination of pardos.[36]

In an atmosphere of growing suspicion towards pardos and Bolívar's increasingly reactionary and authoritarian approach to Páez, the political climate had probably grown too hostile for Mundrucu who left Venezuela for New York sometime in October 1827.[37] Later accounts suggest that Mundrucu's association with Páez had become too precarious, and that he fled Venezuela because he "distrusted the sincerity of Bolívar."[38] One can only infer that Mundrucu no longer saw Bolívar as a sincere advocate of liberalism and republicanism ready to liberate Brazil from its imperial yoke. In 1828, Bolívar proclaimed himself dictator for life.[39] Pernambuco's secessionist dream may have been dead, but Mundrucu's military career was far from over.

Following Pedro I's abdication in 1831, Brazil's regency period (1831–1840) was marked by a mix of liberalism and a staunch defence of monarchy, influenced by regents like Pedro de Araújo Lima and Bernardo Pereira de Vasconcelos, both University of Coimbra graduates.[40] In this liberal political environment, and after the 1835 proclamation of an amnesty for all political crimes, Mundrucu returned to Brazil.[41] Facing financial uncertainty in the United States, Mundrucu desperately needed his military pension reinstated and so his decision to return to Brazil in 1837 was likely pragmatic. Initially, his return was met with considerable opposition. One anonymous writer vehemently protested Mundrucu's nomination as Commander of Recife's Fortaleza do Brum in 1837, recalling his brief command of the same fort in 1824 as a frightening time "when no one felt safe in their sleep."[42] Nevertheless, Mundrucu seems to have retained his nomination and pension. Thereafter, he appears to have fully re-established his military career in Brazil.

According to later testimonies written in the United States, Mundrucu was promoted from Major to General in Brazil, and put in charge of the Forte da Praia Vermelha in Rio de Janeiro.[43] However, there is

no evidence in Brazilian military records to suggest that he was promoted because he was still only referred to as "Major Mundrucu."[44] Promotions aside, conditions in Brazil were still amenable to Mundrucu's professional and political advancement. In 1840, he was awarded the illustrious Ordem Militar de São Bento de Avis, and his second wife, Harriet Mundrucu, later claimed that she and her husband were present at Pedro II's coronation ceremony in 1841.[45]

Mundrucu's military career had gone full circle. After fighting against the monarchy in 1817 and 1824, liberal reforms in the 1830s gave political exiles like Mundrucu and Carvalho the opportunity to reintegrate into the Brazilian government and military. Although his anti-monarchism and revolutionary spirit were perhaps tamed, he remained committed to abolitionism. After returning permanently to the United States in 1840, his revolutionary energy was subsequently directed at the fight against slavery and racial discrimination in the United States.

Abolitionist and civil rights campaigner

From the very beginning, Mundrucu's revolutionary agenda had taken on a clear racial focus. As a pardo military captain in Recife, he allegedly eulogised former Haitian monarch Henri Christophe and prepared to attack loyalist whites in the city with his pardo battalion. His subsequent attempt to find employment in Haiti likely confirms some level of truth behind allegations of his supposed Haitianist sympathies. Nevertheless, the term 'Haitianism' was a misleading politically, and emotionally-charged term at the time. It evoked fear and panic among whites, but was also used to denigrate the reputation of prominent and successful free peoples of colour. For white authorities and white society, references to Haiti almost immediately evoked memories of widespread violence, retribution, destruction, and anarchy. For peoples of colour like Mundrucu, it likely symbolised a more equitable society, free of slavery.

Unfortunately, we do not know what Mundrucu thought of Haiti or how radical his abolitionist views were. Mundrucu's alleged praise of Henri Christophe, whose monarchical tendencies were at glaring odds with the Pernambucan rebels' republican cause, is perplexing. However, Mundrucu was not the only Brazilian pardo rebel accused of praising Christophe. During the 1824 Periquitos Revolt in Bahia, Antônio Pereira Rebouças, the pardo secretary of the Government of Sergipe, was also accused of shouting, "Long live the King of Haiti!"[46] Furthermore, in a revolt in 1823, Pedro da Silva Pedroso, another radical Pernambucan soldier, allegedly declared himself the "Pardo of Recife" and was praised as "another Christophe."[47] Rebels like Mundrucu seemingly overlooked or were unaware of Christophe's alleged authoritarianism and controversial corvée forced labour system. Rather, Christophe's key role in safeguarding Haiti's hard-fought liberty from slavery and independence from France, as well as his military prowess, likely shaped their admiration for the Haitian monarch.[48]

Historians João José Reis and Flávio Dos Santos Gomes have suggested that the brevity of Mundrucu's stay in Haiti in 1825 likely hints at his disappointment with the realities of a "post-revolutionary country struggling to survive."[49] Whether this harsh reality convinced Mundrucu to seek a more moderate path to end slavery remains unclear. What we do know is that like any man in his late thirties during that period, he naturally became increasingly more concerned about settling down and starting a family. Returning to Boston from Venezuela in 1827, Mundrucu quickly integrated into the city's marginalised black community.[50] He and his family later experienced several instances of first-hand racial discrimination in the United States that would encourage Mundrucu to start actively engaging in abolitionist and civil rights circles. He brought a unique, inter-American perspective to emancipationist and civil rights movements in Boston, which did not go unnoticed by both US and foreign activists, abolitionists, and travel writers at the time. Mundrucu's anti-slavery activities also later extended to Brazil, making him one of the country's earliest abolitionists.

Although Mundrucu identified transnationally with peoples of colour, his own ethnic background is not entirely clear. Records suggest that his father may have been a priest[51] who owned property and slaves. No records on his mother have been identified but she was most likely a woman of colour, perhaps even a slave. His surname, "Mundrucu," or often "Mundurucu," also suggests ties to the indigenous "Munduruku" people of the Amazon basin. Despite these uncertainties, Mundrucu was categorised in Brazilian and Venezuelan documents as a "pardo," or someone of multiracial origins (African, white or indigenous), and in US documents as a "mulatto."

There are few records on Mundrucu's first two years in Boston other than those relating to his marriage to Ann Mary Perot in May 1828.[52] Perot (née Flamaut) was a seasoned member of the Haitian diaspora living in Boston, and well-connected with the wider black Bostonian community. By marrying Perot, Mundrucu quickly established himself within the city's Haitian black community. Having been married twice, Perot was also relatively well-off with her deceased husbands' inheritances. Like her, both her first two husbands were part of a Haitian diaspora that had arrived before 1800.[53]

Mundrucu's marriage to Perot was short-lived and their relationship was likely exacerbated by an incident in 1830 that brought the Brazilian to the attention of the wider community. In March 1830, a fire broke out in a building owned by Perot in North Square, Boston.[54] Mundrucu, along with his business partner, Joseph Bautista, leased part of the first floor from Perot for their clothing business. Investigations concluded that the fire, which claimed three lives and destroyed the interior of the wooden building, had started in Mundrucu and Bautista's shop.[55] Among the casualties was Perot's son, Henry, who succumbed to the flames. The fire was serious enough to be reported in several newspapers in Boston, New York, Philadelphia, and Baltimore. Mundrucu, described as a former "Colonel in the Brazilian service," escaped unharmed.[56]

Mundrucu's marriage did not last long after the fire, and records attest that Mundrucu remarried in February 1831.[57] That year he married Harriet Mundrucu (née Jerdine), a black Bostonian woman. Little is known about Harriet except that she was born in 1800 into an Episcopalian family and witnessed parts of the War of 1812.[58] However, like her husband she was categorised as a "mulatto," and therefore, was also a target of racial discrimination.[59]

Mundrucu settled in Boston at a crucial period in the city and country's abolitionist movement. By the 1830s, Boston was at the vanguard of a more radical, grassroots abolitionist movement, which had shifted away from gradualist, white-dominated abolitionist circles in Pennsylvania. The mass action strategy that defined this so-called 'second wave' of abolitionism – also referred to as 'Garrisonian abolitionism' – attracted both white and black activists, men and women, united against slavery and racial discrimination. As Richard Newman argues, the abolitionist cause became a "movement of all Americans," not just whites.[60] Public speeches, multiple anti-slavery societies, mass pamphleteering, petitions, and a flurry of abolitionist newspaper publications formed the backbone of effective campaigning and attracted over ten thousand citizen-abolitionists in a matter of years.[61] Black abolitionists like David Walker were at a forefront of these transformations. Walker's An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World set the tone for a universalist, hostile, and more race-conscious strategy for defeating slavery and racial discrimination, not only in the United States, but across the Americas. After Walker's untimely death in 1830, black and white activists and abolitionists like William Nell, James Barbadoes, Maria Stewart, Frederick Douglass, Garrison, and David and Lydia Maria Child continued to lead Boston's anti-slavery movement. Moreover, from the 1830s onwards, Boston's abolitionist movement became remarkably internationalized with US, British, and of course Brazilian, activists all involved.

In this environment, Mundrucu quickly integrated himself into abolitionist circles, joining several activist groups. By 1833, Mundrucu was already being praised by William Lloyd Garrison for his commitment to the "rescue of the whole colored race from servitude and degradation."[62] That same year, he joined the New England Anti-Slavery Society, a decision likely influenced by an incident of racial discrimination against Mundrucu's family that captured the public attention, both locally and internationally.[63] In November 1832, Harriet, along with her new-born child, were travelling with Mundrucu on one of his business trips. On board a steamboat from New Bedford to Nantucket, Mundrucu tried to settle Harriet, who was unwell at the time, into the after, or superior cabin. The captain of the ship, Edward Barker, refused to allow Harriet to enter this cabin saying that "she a'n't a lady; she is a nigger."[64] Underlining the racial segregation on the boat, Barker reiterated that "I don't allow any niggers in the cabin."[65] Instead, Barker directed the couple to the forward, or inferior, cabin. When Mundrucu refused, he, his wife, and their baby were set ashore. Not before their horse fell overboard, however, and had to be rescued by Mundrucu and several bystanders.[66]

Mundrucu sued Barker for a breach of contract and for damages in what The Liberator described as "a case of some interest."[67] Mundrucu appealed to the jury to consider the Captain's actions as a "violation of humanity" for refusing to allow his sick wife into the after cabin. After convening for several hours, the jury returned a guilty verdict, with damages assessed at $125.[68] However, when Barker appealed to the Supreme Court, the ruling was overturned.[69] Although a minor incident at first, the case soon attracted widespread coverage in numerous newspapers across the northeastern United States, becoming a notable example of the fight against segregation on public transport. It even caught the attention of readers in Britain, where interest in racism and segregation in the United States was growing.[70]

Edward Abdy, an English anti-slavery campaigner, used Mundrucu's story to condemn Boston's "aristocracy of the skin."[71] Having personally met Mundrucu in 1835, Abdy's account is the longest and most valuable available to historians. Abdy portrayed the Brazilian as magnanimous and an undeserving victim of racial prejudice. He deplored how Mundrucu, "a man who is fit for any society anywhere," could be "insulted by the lowest blackguard, for no other reason than that Nature gave him a brown complexion."[72] Commenting on the incident, Lydia Maria Child, a prominent US abolitionist and women's rights activist, struggled to understand how such a "shrewd, enterprising and respectable character" could suffer "almost every species of indignity on account of his color."[73]

In his conversations with Abdy, Mundrucu noted that racial discrimination in the United States surpassed "anything is his country."[74] Mundrucu presumably made similar comments to David Child, another prominent US abolitionist and husband of Lydia Maria Child. In his The Despotism of Freedom, David Child uses Mundrucu's story to denounce conditions for free blacks in the United States as far worse than in Brazil. He recounts how Mundrucu, after only just arriving in Boston, had been forced to vacate his boarding house because a group of men from "the most enlightened nations" refused to stay in the accommodation as long as "the nigger" remained.[75] As Child notes, this treatment did not befit a man who had been forced to flee his country because of his "republican principles" and his "efforts to establish a free government for his country."[76] Child's reference to "enlightened nations" was a deft criticism of the hypocrisy he saw in the United States's alleged exceptionalism. For abolitionists like Child, the fact that Brazil was supposedly far more tolerant towards its black population even though it was governed by a monarch was embarrassing to the US constitutional republic, whose citizens prided themselves on their egalitarian traditions yet still marginalized black Americans.[77] Prominent abolitionists like Frederick Douglass also highlighted these contradictions. "Protestant and democratic America," he noted, "would do well to learn a lesson of justice and liberty from Catholic and despotic Brazil."[78]

Comparing conditions for slaves and free peoples of colour in the United States and Brazil was not an uncommon campaigning strategy at the time, and Mundrucu may have influenced US abolitionist perspectives on this issue. As Celia Maria Marinho de Azevedo shows, conditions for slaves and free blacks in the United States were widely considered to be far worse than in Brazil.[79] These opinions were partly informed by foreigners travelling to Brazil, and presumably also by Brazilians like Mundrucu and later André Rebouças travelling to the United States.[80] Apart from Mundrucu, other free blacks in Brazil bemoaned the plight of their counterparts in the United States. In the 1830s, Francisco Gê Acayaba Montezuma, a moderate Brazilian *pardo*, cited David Walker's An Appeal to the Colored Citizens of the World to criticise racial discrimination in the United States, and thereby defend Brazil's constitutional monarchy. Although Brazil's 1824 constitution was progressive in its recognition of free blacks and pardos as citizens equal before the law, racial discrimination still posed a major obstacle to their upward social mobility.

By the time Mundrucu returned to Brazil in 1835 after being pardoned by the Brazilian government, a strong anti-racist movement led by free black and pardo publications had emerged in the country.[81] Newspapers like *O Homen de Côr* and *O Crioulinho* publicly decried discrimination and racial hierarchy in the country. However, as Azevedo notes, these publications primarily focused on securing civil and political rights for free peoples of colour. They did not challenge the institution of slavery, and anti-slavery publications only emerged in Brazil after slave trade was abolished in 1850. Rather, as Marquese *et al* argue, the free blacks and *pardos* whose interests these publications represented were primarily concerned with obtaining government and military positions, promotions, and ensuring their own social mobility.[82] Going one step further, Rafael Marquese *et al* suggest that the 1824 constitution aimed to divide free peoples of colour from slaves, and thus maintain internal stability and prevent any possible Haiti-style revolt against whites.[83] They also suggest that the 1824 constitution envisioned a method of

social control that would encourage free black and *pardo* citizens to uphold social order rather than challenge it.[84]

Like Montezuma and moderate Brazilians of colour, Mundrucu appears to have supported the 1824 constitution. In 1837, the Regency government nominated Mundrucu to serve as commander of Pernambuco's Fortaleza do Brum, but this decision faced stiff opposition from Pernambucan authorities and military officials. Critics questioned Mundrucu's suitability, citing his involvement in the Confederação do Equador, and his alleged lack of qualifications and military training.[85] Responding to this criticism, Mundrucu wrote and published a letter to his detractors challenging them to admit that they only opposed his appointment because of their racial prejudice. Furthermore, he lamented that even though the 1824 constitution "seeks to abolish class and colour prejudices (...) in this province [Pernambuco], and not in any others, they still reign."[86]

It is intriguing, yet somewhat unsurprising, that Mundrucu makes no mention of slavery in his 1837 letter. After all, this period coincided with a surge in the number of slaves arriving in Pernambuco from approximately 2,000 annually between 1831 and 1836 to almost 6,000 between 1837 and 1840.[87] As has already been discussed, most articles written by Brazilian free blacks or *pardos* during this period avoided the issue of slavery and instead focused on civil and political rights issues. Hebe Mattos argues that this was due to their underlying belief in the absolute right of property, including the ownership of slaves. Indeed, according to Mattos, the vast majority of Brazilian *pardos* owned or at least wanted to own slaves. Even though Mundrucu's involvement in anti-slavery societies in the US at the time suggest that he held vastly different opinions on this issue, records indicate that his father was a slave owner.

1837 was a busy year for the Mundrucu family, and they travelled at least twice between Boston and Brazil. On one trip, Mundrucu returned to Brazil to settle his recently-deceased father's estate.[88] According to Harriet, he immediately emancipated his father's "many slaves" and provided for them.[89] A

shipping log in mid-1837 recorded Mundrucu leaving Brazil with Harriet, three children, and a slave, suggesting that he may have taken one of his father's former slaves to the United States.[90] What became of this former slave is entirely mystifying but he or she may have been adopted by the Mundrucus.[91] This intriguing account highlights some of the paradoxes of Brazil's contemporary racial status quo: Mundrucu, a man of colour actively engaged in US abolitionist circles, travels back to Brazil to emancipate his father's slaves. Yet, as has already been discussed, Mundrucu's situation was likely not unique owing to the large number of pardos like his father who reportedly owned slaves. Nevertheless, his decision to emancipate his father's slaves, travel with one of them to the United States, and possibly adopt them, was remarkable. With Brazil's abolitionist community virtually non-existent until the 1850s and 1860s, public criticism of slavery was almost unheard of, and this was likely Mundrucu's way of defying the status quo.[92]

Upon returning to Boston, Mundrucu accelerated his involvement in the campaign for abolition and desegregation. In the 1840s, the segregation of "colored" and white school children was a much-debated issue in Boston. On one hand, integrationists proposed closing the Abiel Smith School, Boston's public school maintained exclusively for blacks, until the Massachusetts School Committee agreed to integrated public schools. Meanwhile, their opponents opposed integration and wanted to maintain Boston's black schools in order to protect black identity.[93] Mundrucu joined a handful of integrationists who opposed the appointment of Thomas Paul Smith, a leader of those opposed to integration, as principal of the Smith School.[94] Thomas Paul was a black nationalist who believed in the rights of people of colour to educate their children separately, and to therefore have control of the African American future.[95] Many integrationists like Mundrucu, themselves parents of children in under-funded institutions like the Smith School, saw segregation in schools as just another barrier to becoming full citizens.[96] Conditions in

Brazil, where free primary education was unsegregated and free to all citizens, black or white, likely influenced Mundrucu's pro-integrationist stance in the United States.[97]

Integrationists had the backing of Charles Sumner who argued that segregation did irreparable damage to both white and black children. When Sumner delivered his "Crime against Kansas" speech in 1856 to denounce the westward expansion of slavery and was subsequently beaten unconscious by Preston Brooks, Mundrucu, along with other Bostonians of colour, wrote to sympathise with the US senator and anti-slavery advocate. They deplored the "injustice which had for two centuries upon the continent, ground our progenitors and ourselves under the hoof of slavery."[98]

Towards the end of his life, Mundrucu was firmly part of a northern intelligentsia, which was familiar with international discourses on nation and race.[99] Northern black elites framed their protest to slavery, racial discrimination, and white supremacy in discourses of American nationalism and universal black identity to challenge the concept of the United States as a white republic.[100] Their efforts bore fruit when Lincoln announced the Emancipation Proclamation on 1 January 1863. Mundrucu, flanked by Frederick Douglass, celebrated the announcement at a meeting of the Union Progressive Association (UPA), a predominantly black abolitionist group, in Boston. There, Boston's anti-slavery activists recognised Mundrucu's contribution to the cause, electing him vice-president of the UPA, which was headed by William Cooper Nell, integrationist and founder of New England Freedom Association.[101] Standing shoulder-to-shoulder with the likes of Douglass and Nell, it is remarkable that Mundrucu's contribution to the US abolitionist movement has up until now gone unnoticed.

Freemason and inter-American citizen

Mundrucu was well connected in international organisations like the Freemasons and benefitted from the array of languages he spoke. He and his family travelled extensively, transcending national boundaries,

even though they remained marginalised in the societies they lived in, either because of race, political beliefs, and/or socioeconomic standing. Although a Brazilian national, Mundrucu engaged in discourses on US citizenship at a time in which African Americans were denied equal rights.

Mundrucu's long history with the Freemasons in northeast Brazil facilitated his movements between Boston, Venezuela, and Haiti during a time in which he was effectively rendered stateless and hunted by the Brazilian government. Without a passport, Masonic intercessions were vital conduits for his movements between North and South America, as well as the Caribbean. Personal acquaintances also proved very useful in Mundrucu's most difficult moments. His relationship with US consul, Joseph Ray, who presumably vouched for his liberal and republican convictions and secured him safe passage to the United States, was crucial to his survival beyond 1824. In the absence of proper documentation, Freemasons like Mundrucu could circumscribe proto-immigration systems.

In September 1825, Mundrucu registered with the Columbian Lodge in Massachusetts, probably after returning from Haiti. Remarkably, he was "initiated," "passed," and "raised" to a Master Mason all on the same day, in a process that took the average Freemason initiate months, if not years to complete.[102] Although unusual, this was not unheard of and sometimes exceptions were made for individuals like Mundrucu who were only passing through a particular port of call. Already familiar with Masonic principles and practices in Pernambuco, Mundrucu might have been able to skip the Columbian Lodge's initiation processes.

Freemasonry had strong roots in Pernambuco throughout the nineteenth century, and particularly active in the lead up to the 1817 and 1824 revolutions. For example, during the 1817 rebellion, Freemasons occupied the entire provisional Pernambucan government, and during the Confederação do Equador, Freemasonry glued together various political elements. Mundrucu fostered his first Masonic links in Pernambuco's revolutionary environment, later strengthening them in Boston and Venezuela. His

decision to join a Freemason lodge in Massachusetts was likely key to securing him safe passage to Venezuela and facilitating his initial introductions to prominent figures like Páez, also a Freemason.

With at least eighteen Masonic lodges in Gran Colombia at the time, the region offered numerous opportunities for Freemasons like Mundrucu. Dr. Forsyth, likely a Freemason himself, welcomed and initially hosted a desperate Mundrucu in his home. However, the political climate was growing increasingly hostile towards Freemasons and their activities. In 1826, Miguel Santana, a Caraqueño priest, condemned Freemasonry as a foreign and undesired element in Venezuelan society, incompatible with Catholicism.[103] Attacks on Freemasonry culminated in 1828, when Bolívar, after a failed attempt on his life, targeted Freemasons by banning all secret societies, a move not all that dissimilar from that made by Pedro I in 1822, when he outlawed Freemasonry in Brazil. Mundrucu's Masonic affiliation, along with his skin colour, therefore, may have further fuelled suspicion, leading to his hasty flight back to the United States in 1827.

In Boston, Mundrucu's engagement with various Prince Hall Freemasons was key to consolidating his own black identity, as well as his commitment to abolitionism and the early civil rights movement. Mundrucu's social networks included several Prince Hall Freemasons like John Perot (Ann Mary's second son), Primus Hall, and William Cooper Nell, all members of a class of African American men that had come to dominate African American Masonic orders.[104] Walker argues that free African Americans adopted the symbols, rituals, languages and structures of Freemasonry to articulate their communal identity, racial solidarity, and national belonging. Denied full political rights, Freemasonry was thus a means by which racially marginalised sectors of society could engage in a collective dialectic on the meaning of American democracy. In the wider Atlantic world, Freemasonry established a zone of cultural contact between marginalised subjects dispersed in the African diaspora. Freemasons like Mundrucu

embodied this transnational culture of political and intellectual fraternity between African Americans and black South Americans.[105]

Likely through his Masonic networks, Mundrucu also engaged in debates on citizenship for black Americans at a time in which his own nationality was dubious. By declaring himself a citizen of the "Republic of Pernambuco" in 1824 and fighting for independence from Brazil, he effectively forfeited his Brazilian citizenship.[106] When that "Republic" ceased to exist, he renounced all ties to Pernambuco and reportedly naturalised as a Venezuelan citizen in 1826, only to find himself back in the United States within a year. At first glance, Mundrucu, either by choice or circumstance, appears to have not initially identified strongly with any particular state. Rather, his movements underline his commitment to broader, hemispheric, liberal and republican ideals that surpassed national boundaries. However, when he married Harriet and had children, their citizenship, or lack thereof, became a cause for concern.

It is not clear whether Mundrucu ever naturalised as a US citizen, but he fiercely engaged in debates on citizenship for African Americans. This was likely influenced by his experiences in Brazil, where free blacks and pardos were recognised as citizens under the constitution. The Dred Scott Decision of 1857 struck a fundamental blow to African American citizenship aspirations, rendering them personae non gratae, who had never been, and could never be, US citizens. Even though states in the Antebellum North frequently extended citizenship to their free black residents at their own discretion, the status of free blacks in the United States actually deteriorated throughout the nineteenth century.[107] Voicing his protest to the Dred Scott decision, Mundrucu, as Vice-President, and other members of the Convention of the Colored Citizens of Massachusetts, including William Wells Brown, wrote to the state to recommend "a defiant attitude towards the Dred Scott decision" and asked the state government to imprison "any man who comes into Massachusetts claiming any of our citizens as slaves."[108] Other signatories to the letter included Mundrucu's son-in-law, Jeremiah Harvey, one of the secretaries of the Convention.

At the time, African Americans were dubious citizens – they were denied passports and instead issued certificates that identified them as US nationals. Theoretically, they could still travel and would be extended the same protection by foreign governments as those travelling on official passports. However, African Americans and other peoples of colour must have faced greater scrutiny and tighter controls.[109] After Mundrucu's reintegration into Brazilian society in 1837, his family likely travelled on Brazilian passports. In the middle decades of the nineteenth century any man over twenty-five (twenty-one if married), Catholic, freeborn, and even with a relatively low annual income, had basic political rights in Brazil and could vote in elections for the Chamber of Deputies.[110] The 1824 Constitution granted citizenship to all those born in Brazil and automatically to any woman who married a Brazilian man. Even foreign freed slaves, like all other foreigners, could become Brazilian citizens.[111] A free woman of colour like Harriet, married to a Brazilian soldier, was therefore unlikely to encounter serious obstacles to naturalisation. Evidence suggests that Mundrucu's Brazilian citizenship later extended to his children who were most likely also denied US citizenship, or at least passports, until the Civil Rights Act of 1866.[112]

Mundrucu's precarious citizenship status and passport issues, though obstacles, were overcome, and likely reinforced his transnational identity. Born into relative poverty in northeastern Brazil, he died a poor man in the northeastern United States. He left Harriet and his children a very meagre estate valued at $597, including some furniture, clothes, a small collection of books, and stock in trade, all of very little value.[113] Although his possessions spoke of no great financial wealth, the collection of books reflected his remarkable international interests, particularly history and literature. They included a three-volume History of Washington, a Bible, *The Memories of Napoleon Bonaparte, Uncle Tom's Cabin,* two volumes on the History of the Russian War, and a set of Shakespeare's works.[114] Apparently Mundrucu also showed a particular interest in European politics. Back in 1832, Mundrucu deftly criticised the hypocrisy of US support for Polish independence from Russia in the 1831–1832 Polish-Russian War, while white

America remained oblivious to the suppression of its own people of colour. Chiding Captain Barker, he exclaimed: "You Americans talk about the Poles! You are a great deal more Russian than the Russians."[115]

Conclusion: An Inter-American dialogue

Up until now, scholars have yet to explore the full dimensions of Mundrucu's inter-American engagement in abolitionism, republicanism, as well as dialogues on segregation and citizenship. Up until now, US and Brazilian historians have been unable to piece together various periods of Mundrucu's life, which only reiterates the need for greater dialogue between these two historical schools. By 1863, Mundrucu and his wife were well respected by their fellow Bostonians, black and white. Both were honoured in their respective obituaries, in which they were remembered as generous, public-spirited and unusually well-travelled.[116] Even though the Mundrucu name was lost after the death of Mundrucu's only son, Theodore, the two Mundrucu daughters married into influential black families. Amelia and Lois Mundrucu married two Scottron brothers, Thomas and James. Along with their brother, Samuel R. Scottron, engineer and founder of the New York-based Cuban Anti-Slavery Society, the Scottrons were an influential activist middle-class black family based in Massachusetts and New York. James fought in the Union's "Colored Infantry" in the latter part of the US Civil War, and like his brothers, was heavily involved in Freemasonry.[117] Their father, Samuel J. Scottron, was Grand Master of the Grand Lodge of New York.[118] Aside from the Scottrons, records also suggest ties between the Mundrucus and the family of Frances Ellen Watkins Harper, writer, poet, and nineteenth-century abolitionist stalwart. Theodore Mundrucu's widow, Emily, was Frances Harper's niece.[119]

Even though they failed, the 1817 and 1824 rebellions baptised Mundrucu into a complex network of international relations, diplomatic networks, secretive societies, and abolitionist circles. After 1824,

Mundrucu frequently found himself at the crossroads of a number of political and social developments in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world. He never permanently returned to Brazil, nor could he, along with thousands of marginalised free peoples of colour, fully integrate himself into northeastern US society. His frequent international travels and mastery of languages – English, French, Spanish, and Portuguese – distinguished Mundrucu from his colleagues and associates, even in an immigration hub like Boston.

Along with the other Confederação do Equador veterans like Saldanha and Carvalho, Mundrucu's revolutionary activities post-1824 indicate that, despite strained or entirely absent diplomatic relations between Brazil, the Bolivarian republics, and Haiti, an early dialogue between regional revolutionary figures in these states did occur. The Pernambucan rebels looked to Haiti, the emerging South American republics, as well as the United States, for ideological inspiration and military assistance in their war against the Brazilian monarchy. Further research into these early connections, which often went on outside of official diplomatic policymaking circles, is required. For example, it is still unclear if Brazilian authorities communicated directly with Gran Colombian authorities or Bolívar himself about the activities of revolutionaries like Mundrucu and Saldanha inside Colombian and Venezuelan territory, and documents in the Brazilian Ministry of Foreign Relations archives at the Palace of Itamaraty might reveal whether this exacerbated tensions between the two opposing states. Likewise, very little has surfaced yet on Mundrucu's time in Venezuela and Haiti, and future research in Venezuelan and Haitian archives might reveal further information.

From his early and very radical flirtations with Haitianism in Brazil, Mundrucu developed into a stalwart of a highly-politicised, peaceful, and importantly, successful campaign against slavery in the United States. The international scope of his engagement with race, slavery and abolition must have been an invaluable asset to abolitionists in North America. Further work focused on the contribution of transnational figures – and particularly black South Americans – like Mundrucu to the US abolitionist and

civil rights movements could provide new perspectives on this period. Similarly, there is considerable scope to build on the scholarship of Azevedo, Marquese et al, and Mattos to explore the specific interests of free peoples of colour in civil rights and anti-racism discourses, as well as the roles they played in abolitionist campaigns, not only in Brazil, but also in the United States and the wider Americas. Further discussion on how these dialogues were inter-connected across the Atlantic world during this period is also required. Mundrucu was likely only one of many remarkable transnational figures during this period and there is considerable scope to include similar stories. Men of colour like Mundrucu – former soldiers, literate, polyglots and well-travelled – were uniquely positioned to pioneer transnational political, diplomatic, racial, and ideological dialogues between fragmented, and not yet fully-integrated regions in the nineteenth-century Atlantic world.

Notes

[1] de Carvalho, Liberdade, 197.

[2] I use the same spelling attested by Mundrucu's own signature. The following variations exist: Mondrucu, Mundurucu, Mundrucú and Mondreu.

[3] de Carvalho, Liberdade; Fitz, Our Sister Republics; Reis and Santos, "Repercussions."

[4] The Liberator (25 September 1863), 155.

[5] Landers, Atlantic Creoles; Lasso, "Threatening Pardos"; Sanders, "'Citizens of Free People'"; Helg, "Simón Bolívar"; Ferrer, Insurgent Cuba; Azevedo, "A Recusa"; Marquese and Parron, Revolta Escrava; Mattos, Escravidão e Cidadania; Dubois, A Colony of Citizens.

[6] Lindsay and Sweet, eds. Biography and the Black Atlantic.

[7] Cabral de Mello, A Outra Independência, 27–30.

[8] Ibid.

[9] Caldwell de Farias, "Activist in Exile," 50.

[10] Chacon, Da Confederação do Equador, 40.

[11] Mosher, Political Struggle, 23.

[12] Plinio, "The 1824 Confederation," 7.

[13] Cabral de Mello, Um Imenso Portugal, 58–60.

[14] Ibid.

[15] Cochrane, Narrative of Services, 159.

[16] Leite, Pernambuco 1824, 101.

[17] Cochrane, Narrative of Services, 159.

[18] Fitz, "A stalwart motor," 55.

[19] Muniz, "O Poeta da Confederação," 424.

[20] The Times (2 November 1824), 2; The National Archives, UK (Hereafter TNA): Foreign Office, 128/2, f. 44; TNA: Admiralty, Navy, Royal Marines and Coast Guard, 51/3501: Journal of the Proceedings of HMS Tweed, 1 July 1824-1829 February 1831; TNA: Foreign Office, 128/2, f. 47.

[21] TNA: Foreign Office, 128/2, f. 47.

[22] Guimarães, Bolívar e o Brasil, 218.

[23] Bushnell, El Libertador, 163.

[24] Golin, A Fronteira: Os Tratados de Limites, 114; Bushnell, El Libertador, xxxv.

[25] Bethell, "Brazil and 'Latin America'," 461.

[26] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 136.

[27] Chacon, Da Confederação do Equador, 51.

[28] Guimarães, Vida e Morte, 119.

[29] Caldwell de Farias, Mergulho no Letes, 145.

[30] El Colombiano (11 November 1826), 1; details on Forsyth's business are available in El Colombiano (8 November 1826), 1.

[31] El Colombiano (8 November 1826), 1

[32] "Manifiesto," Chacon, Confederação do Equador, 198–199

[33] Guimarães, Vida e Morte, 158; for further information on Saldanha's death, see Caldwell de Farias, "Activist in Exile."

[34] The demonym given to people from Los Llanos, vast grassland plains stretching across southern and central Venezuela and Colombia.

[35] Ardila, "Colombia y Haití," 87–88.

[36] Helg, "Simón Bolívar;" Lasso, "Threatening Pardos," 118.

[37] Evening Post (9 January 1828), 2.

[38] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 136.

[39] Fischer, "Bolívar in Haiti."

[40] Barman, Citizen Emperor, 59.

[41] Williams, Dom Pedro the Magnanimous, 58.

[42] Today the Forte de São João Batista do Brum; Diário de Pernambuco (20 February 1837), 2.

[43] Boston Evening Journal (9 February 1885), 3.

[44] Diário do Rio de Janeiro (19 June 1840), 1.

[45] Boston Evening Journal (9 February 1885), 3.

[46] Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro: Série Guerra, IG 105, f. 119: "Alerta."

[47] Cabral de Mello, Frei Caneca, 29.

[48] Dubois, Avengers, 303.

[49] Reis and Santos, "Repercussions," 293.

[50] National Archives of the United States: M575, Roll 6: "Copies of Lists of Passengers Arriving at Miscellaneous Ports," (1820–1873).

[51] Reis and Santos, "Repercussions," 292.

[52] "Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620–1988."

[53] Leonard, "Growing together," 275–276.

[54] Boston Courier (8 March 1830), 1.

[55] Philadelphia Enquirer (10 March 1830), 2.

[56] Boston Courier (8 March 1830), 1; Baltimore Patriot (10 March 1830), 2; Philadelphia Inquirer (10 March 1830), 2.

[57] "Massachusetts, Town and Vital Records, 1620–1988."

[58] Boston Evening Journal (9 February 1885), 3.

[59] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 137.

[60] Newman, The Transformation of American Abolitionism, 12.

[61] Ibid., 153.

[62] The Liberator (13 April 1833), 58.

[63] The Abolitionist or Record of the New-England Anti-Slavery Society (December 1833), 15.

[64] Child, An Appeal, 205.

[65] Ibid.

[66] New York Spectator (24 October 1833), 4.

[67] The Liberator (26 October 1833), 172.

[68] Daily National Intelligencer (22 October 1833), 3.

[69] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 139.

[70] Leeds Times (14 November 1835), 2.

[71] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 133.

[72] Ibid.

[73] Child, An Appeal, 204.

[74] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 138.

[75] Child, The Despotism of Freedom, 8.

[76] Ibid., 9.

[77] Azevedo, Abolicionismo, 160.

[78] Douglass, "Citizenship and the Spirit of Caste," 212.

[79] Azevedo, Abolicionismo, 37.

[80] Ibid., 154.

[81] Abdy, Journal of a Residence, 138–40.

[82] Marquese and Parron, "Revolta Escrava," 35.

[83] Marquese et al, Slavery and Politics, 265–266.

[84] Marquese and Parron, "Revolta Escrava," 38–39.

[85] Diário de Pernambuco (20 February 1837), 2.

[86] Mundrucu, "Publicação do Major Emeliano Felippe Benicio Mundrucú," 2.

[87] Marquese et al, Slavery and Politics, 168.

[88] Boston Evening Journal (9 February 1885), 3.

[89] Ibid.

[90] Diário do Rio de Janeiro (27 July 1837), 4.

[91] I suspect that this slave was adopted by Harriet and Emiliano and was the Henry J.S. Mundrucu who died of "brain fever" in 1850 at the age of fifteen.

[92] See Bethell and Carvalho, Joaquim Nabuco.

[93] Hancock, “The Elusive Boundaries,” 115–156.

[94] Clark Jones, et al, “Petition to Boston School Board.”

[95] Hancock, “The Elusive Boundaries,” 126.

[96] Ibid., 115, 126.

[97] Bettine de Almeida and Sánchez, “Black's educational law,” 248.

[98] Grover and da Silva, “Historic Resource Study,” 168.

[99] Rael, Black Identity, 4, 6.

[100] Ibid., 5–6.

[101] Salem Observer (3 January 1863), 2; Pohlmann, African American Political Thought, 19.

[102] Massachusetts Grand Lodge of Masons Membership Cards 1733–1990. New England Historic Genealogical Society, Boston, MA.

[103] Saldanha, “Discurso Teológico-Político,” 1.

[104] Buchalter Stapp, Afro-Americans in Antebellum Boston, 140; Muraskin, Middle Class Blacks, 41.

[105] Walker, A Noble Fight, 4.

[106] “Manifiesto,” Chacon, Confederação do Equador, 195.

[107] Glenn, Unequal Freedom, 33, 36.

[108] The Liberator (13 August 1858), 132.

[109] Robertson, The Passport in America, 12, 131.

[110] Bethell, “Politics in Brazil,” 5–6.

[111] Lesser, Immigration, 28; Chalhoub, “Precariedade estrutural,” 40.

[112] Jornal do Commercio (28 January 1837), 4; Diário do Rio de Janeiro (27 July 1837), 4; Ship records register Mundrucu with his wife and two children in January and then three children in July. For country of origin, see: http://app.bostonathenaeum.org/BosBlack/viewLetter.asp?clientLetter=m (6 July 2013)

[113] Massachusetts Archives, Suffolk County Probate Records (1863–1864), vol. 301, Probate Docket Number: 44890 (Microfilm), fs. 116–117.

[114] Stapp, Afro-Americans, 134–135.

[115] Child, An Appeal, 220.

[116] Boston Evening Journal (9 February 1885), 3; The Liberator (16 September 1863), 155.

[117] New York State Archives, Cultural Education Center, Albany, New York; New York Civil War Muster Roll Abstracts, 1861-1900; Archive Collection B0807-85/2/2-3.

[118] New York Tribune (17 January 1865), 2.

[119] The Freeman, An Illustrated, Colored Newspaper (4 March 1911), 2.

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