

Index

Page numbers in *italics* indicate an illustration, and in **bold** indicate a table or chart.

- abduction, 30, 38, 49–53, 148–152, 165–167
 - of children, 150
 - of free people, 155
 - prosecutions of, 51–52
- O Abolicionista* (newspaper), 13
- abolition, 1, 8, 50, 134–135, 287
 - anniversary of, 4–5, 416–417
 - benefits of, 321–322
 - capitalism, driven by, 5
 - cities and, 191, 245–247
 - and citizenship, 4–5, 22, 36, 210, 290, 318
 - decadence as consequence of, 284–285
 - economic effects of, 225
 - enslaved peoples' contribution to, 5, 16–18, 31, 252–253, 277–278, 364
 - Free Womb Law (Rio Branco Law/*Lei do Ventre Livre*, 1871), 12–13, 54, 55, 178, 247, 271, 321
 - gradualist impact of, 281–282, 360
 - and gender, 109
 - implementation of, 10
 - and independence, 9–10
 - Law 581 (1850), 10
 - law of November 7, 1831, 41, 42, 134
 - Lei Áurea* (Golden Law, 1888), 16
 - as nonlinear process, 18, 177–178
 - opposition to, 12, 15, 280
 - origins of, 8–9
 - responsibility for, 16–18
 - royal support for, 15
 - Sexagenarian Law (1885), 13–14
 - and slave trafficking economy, 10
 - as support for military recruitment, 137–138
 - in United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, 135
 - in Uruguay, 50, 130, 135
 - in USA, 11
- abolitionism, 13, 209, 210, 256, 262
 - in armed forces, 14
 - in Bahia, 277–278
 - Black, 252–253, 277–278
 - discrediting of, 263
 - vs. emancipationism, 281–282
 - increasing support for, 277–278
 - opposition to, 270
 - press support for, 241–242, 245–246, 248, 253–254, 289–290, 320–323
 - in Recife, 245–247
 - resistance to, 248, 271, 281, 282–283
 - Sociedade Brasileira contra a Escravidão (Brazilian Anti-Slavery Society), 13
 - sugar industry's strategic support for, 277
- Abreu, Limpo de, 149, 150
- Abreu, Martha, 31
- Academia de Letras, 285
- Academia Imperial de Belas Artes (AIBA, Imperial Academy of the Arts), 341, 343, 347, 360
- adoption, 371–372

- advertisements
 for manumission fees, 247
 for runaway slaves, 245
 for wet nurses, 113
- affection, 20, 108–109, 123–125, 126
- Africa, 317, 329–337, 404–405
 Angola, 65
 Benin, 74, 76
 Christianity in, 330
 land ownership in, 335
 law and legal systems, 335
 musical representations of, 404, 410
 Pan-Africanism, 329, 330, 403
 Pernambuco, journey to, 64
 racism in, 334, 335
 Republic of Transvaal, 334, 335
 royalty, 76
 slavery in, 332, 334
 South Africa, 332–336
 West Central Africa, 69, 70
- African people
 emancipation of, 43
 enslaved, 8, 100, 101
 children and young people, 49, 58–59, 60–63
 preference for, 101
 “liberated,” 43, 44, 62, 81
 possession of freedom, determination of, 41
- Afro-descendants
see Black people.
- afterlife of slavery, 2, 26–29, 30, 32, 192
 scholarship of, 2–7
- agency, 2, 17
 in abolition, 16
 of Black people, 28, 364, 366–367, 416–417
 legal, 11, 37, 46, 47, 48, 60–63, 81, 293
 political, 398, 406, 409–411, 413–414
 of enslaved people, 17, 178, 277
 suppression of, 31
 of women, 365, 366
see also autonomy.
- Agostinha (enslaved wet nurse), 125
- Agostinho (natural son of Manoel Gonsalves), 81
- Agostinho de tal, 61
- Agostini, Angelo, 360
- agriculture
 artistic representation of, 349, 351
avoura branca (“white farming”), 233
 democratization of, 326
 export crops, 84
 by freed people, 230–231, 232–234
 mass production in, 84
meação (sharecropping), 232–233
parceira (partnership), 232, 233–234
 post-abolition, 326–327
 in post-emancipation period, 224, 225, 228–229, 362–363
 small-holdings, 221, 228
 subsistence, 221, 233, 236
- Aguirre, President Astanasio, 128, 155
- AIBA (Academia Imperial de Belas Artes, Imperial Academy of the Arts), 341, 347, 360
- Albuquerque, Manoel Pereira Tavares de Mello e, 35, 36, 47
- Albuquerque, Wlamyra, 27
- Alfredo, João, 15
- Almeida, Clarindo de, 305, 306
- Almeida, Elisa Constança de, 92
- Alonso, Angela, 246
- Alves, Agostinho José, 291
- Alves, Castro, 345
- Alves, Clarindo, 303
- Alves, Sinerio, 308
- Amazonas, 13
- Ambrosina (enslaved wet nurse), 126
- Andrada e Silva, José Bonifácio de, 9
- Andrade, Flávio José de, 291
- Andrews, George Reid, 5
- Angola, 65
- Anselmo (enslaved person), 104
- anti-Black racism, 125, 242, 255–261, 262, 263
- anti-racism, 251–252
- Antonil, André João, 221
- APERJ (Arquivo Publico do Estado do Rio de Janeiro), 365
- Aramaré, Viscount de (Costa Pinto, Manoel da), 266, 270, 276–277, 280–281, 284
- Araújo Filho, José Tomás Nabuco de, 12
- archives, 313
 Arquivo Publico do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (APERJ), 365
 civil registries, 364
 communities, recorded in, 188
 diaries, 315, 316
 editing of, 319–320
 and historiography, 19
 inventories, post-mortem, 90, 91, 95, 99, 100

- archives (cont.)
 legal
 paternity suits, 368, 370, 380–381, 383–386
 re-enslavement, 36, 152
 letters, 375–377
 of manumission, 365
meia-siza (tax on sale of slaves) records, 365–366
 microhistories, 18, 19, 368
 property registries, 364
 Rebouças, Antonio Pereira, 315, 319–320
 silences of, 19, 128, 159, 200, 267
 ways of reading, 216, 232, 364–366, 368
 wet nursing in, 120
see also press.
- Arcozelo, Viscountess of (Werneck, Maria Isabel de Lacerda), 105, 125
- Argentina, 129, 140, 155, 156
 Buenos Aires, 132
- armed forces
 abolitionists in, 14
 enslaved people in, 11, 50, 137–138
 Gaucho troops, 53
- Arquivo Publico do Estado do Rio de Janeiro (APERJ), 365
- Artigas, General José, 132, 133
- artworks, 355–360
see also Brocos y Gómez, Modesto.
- Assis Bueno, Dona Teresa, 381–383
 Assis Bueno, Francisco, 381, 383, 384–385
 Assis Bueno, José, 381–386
 Assis Júnior, A. de, 69
- Associação de Socorros Mútuos Auxílio Operário (The Worker's Relief Mutual Aid Society), 291
- Assunção, Joaquina Mathilde de, 86, 87, 88
- asylum, 133
- Atapus, 78
- autonomy
 bodily, 181
 economic, 221, 230–231
 of enslaved people, 97, 106
 of freed people, 232, 236–237
 lack of, 169, 230
 of women, 164, 169, 171, 179, 268
see also agency.
- Avellar, Antônia Ribeiro de, 87
- Azara, Feliz de, 133
- Azevedo, Arthur, 353
- Azevedo, Candido Alves de, 218
- Azevedo, Celia, 6
- Azevedo, Domingas Maria de, 218
- Azevedo, Elciene, 277
- Azevedo, João Guedes de, 296
- Azevedo, Thales de, 269
- babies, abandoned/orphaned, 114–115, 173
- baby wheels, 114–115, 173
- Bahia, 24, 270, 271, 272, 277–278
- Bahiana, João da, 418
- Bahiana, Sinhô da, 418
- baptism, 44, 51, 61, 62, 63
- Baquaqua, Mohammah Gardo, 77–78
- Barbosa, Antoinio Rodrigues, 122
- Barbosa, Rui, 276, 282
- Barra de Serinhaém, 70–71
- Baú, João (enslaved African boy), 80
- Beecher, Stowe, Harriet, *Uncle Tom's Cabin*, 254
- Benin, 64
- Berbel, Márcia, 242, 243
- Berlin, Ira, 17, 185
- Bernarda (enslaved wet nurse), 123–125
- Bernardelli, Henrique, 361
- Bernardelli, Rodolpho, 361
- Bernardo Guimarães, 323
- Bilac, Olavo, 353
- Black organizations, 287–314
 activities of, 294–296, 300–301
 Centro Tipográfico Treze de Maio (13th of May Typographical Center), 291
 Club Republicano dos Homens de Cor (Republican Club of Men of Color), 290, 308–311, 312–314
 education by, 296–297
 funding of, 295
 Guarda Negra (Black Guard), 290, 301–306, 307–308, 311–312
 legal status of, 292
 Liga dos Homens de Cor (League of Colored Men), 290, 291–296, 312
 monarchist, 303, 311–312
 networks of, 310
 objectives of, 302–303, 308
 premises of, 294
 press reporting on, 293–294, 300, 303–304, 305–306, 308–309
 reported violence of, 303–304, 305–306, 312
 republican, 308–311, 312–314

- Sociedade Cooperativa da Raça Negra (Cooperative Society for the Black Race), 290, 291, 296–301
- Sociedade Familiar de Dança Prazer da Violeta (Violeta's Pleasure Family Dance Society), 288–289, 291
- Sociedade Recreativa e Instrutiva (Recreational and Instructive Society), 291
- Black people, 21–22, 31
- abolition, contribution to, 5, 31, 252–253, 277–278, 364
 - agency of, 17, 28, 178, 277, 364, 366–367
 - activist, 398, 406, 409–411, 413–414, 416–417
 - legal, 11, 37, 46, 47, 48, 60–63, 81, 293
 - suppression of, 31
 - and class, 251–252, 258
 - communities, 217
 - see also* maroons; plantations.
 - free, 8, 27, 195
 - and historiography, 29–30, 252–253
 - housing, 187, 188
 - musicians, 395, 417–418
 - political activism of, 5, 31, 277–278, 364
 - in public life, 252–253, 258–260
 - in Recife, 195, 242
 - representations of, 187–188, 268, 347–348, 350, 362–363, 372, 394, 398, 400, 404, 407, 410, 417, 419
 - in artworks, 356–360
 - polysemic, 413–414
 - rights of, 22, 40
 - in Rio de Janeiro, 287
 - women
 - redemption produced by, 366
 - representations of, 347–348, 350, 356–357, 358–359, 363, 366–367
 - sexualization of, 268–269
 - tias Baianas* (Bahian Aunts), 287
- blackface, 389, 398, 402, 406, 407, 412, 414
- Blackness, 260, 262–263
- anti-Black racism, 125, 242, 255–261, 262, 263
 - and culture, 108–109, 389, 393, 395, 417–418
 - erased through whitening, 25, 342, 354–355
 - and gender, 268–269, 287
 - representations of, 347–348, 350, 356–357, 358–359, 363, 366–367
 - identities of, 395, 398, 410
 - and immigration policies, 347
 - minstrelsy, 389, 407, 414
 - and the press, 255–258, 263, 289, 310
 - representations of, 187–188, 268, 347–348, 357, 362–363, 372, 394, 398, 400, 404, 407, 410, 417, 419
 - and gender, 347–348, 350, 356–357, 358–359, 363, 366–367
 - polysemic, 413–414
 - stereotypes of, 406
 - subjectivities of, 28, 318, 328–329, 331, 336
- Black people
- women
 - see also* wet nurses.
- Boa Vista, Baron of, 62, 63, 80
- Boas, Franz, 3
- bodies
- autonomy of, 181
 - commodified, 110
 - women's, 115, 178–182
- Boherer, Felipe Rodrigues, 418
- Bolivia, 140
- borders, national
- Brazil–Uruguay, 130–133
 - mobility of enslaved people across, 133–134, 136, 139, 143–145
 - trafficking across, 49–50
- Brazil, 253, 254
- beaches, 78, 79
 - constitution, 22, 35, 318–319
 - Constitutional Assembly, 9
 - Council of State, 144–145
 - Dutch occupation of, 244, 253
 - governance, 186
 - censuses, 188
 - patrimonial, 20
 - racial exclusion from, 251
 - and Great Britain, 134, 146–147, 149–150, 157–158
 - harbors, 58, 59
 - natural, 79
 - independence, 8, 9–10, 315
 - international position of, 145–148
 - liberalism, 22
 - as nation
 - character, formation of, 368–369
 - narratives of, 157–158

- Brazil (cont.)
 unity, illusive, 28
patria, slavery as sin against, 25
 population, 8
 slavery, corrosive effect on, 24–26
 state-formation, 20, 23, 28, 157–158, 368–369
 treaties for extradition of escaped slaves, 139–140, 141–142
 and Uruguay
 border with, 50, 131–133
 diplomatic negotiations between, 152–153
 invasion of, 128, 130, 155
 treaties imposed on, 139
see also economy; law and legal systems; modernization.
- Brazilian Bar Institute (Instituto dos Advogados Brasileiros, IAB), 48
 breastfeeding, 111–112, 117, 118, 174
see also wet-nursing.
- Britain *see* Great Britain.
- Brito, Jailton, 280
- Broca, José Brito, 417
- Brocos y Gómez, Modesto, 341, 342, 344, 348–351, 355, 364
Alegria, libertação dos escravos (*Happiness, the Liberation of Slaves*), 362
- Black peasantry, representations of, 362–363
- Cascata na Barreira do Soberbo* (*Waterfall at Barreira do Soberbo*), 362
- Crioula de Diamantina/Mulatinha* (*Black Woman of Diamantina/Young Mulata*), 351, 352
- Las cuarto edades/Las Estaciones* (*The Four Ages/The Seasons*), 349, 349
- Dedo de Deus*, 362
- Engenho de Mandioca* (*Manioc Mill*), 349, 350, 351, 355, 362
- La família* (*The Family*), 349
- Mandinga*, 358, 358–359
- Mangueira* (*Mango Tree*), 362
- Marcolina, ex-escrava da Barreira* (*Marcolina, Ex-Slave of Barreira*), 363
- Paineira* (*Silk Floss Tree*), 362
- post-emancipation, experience of, 359–365
- A questão do ensino de Bellas Artes*, 343, 347
- Recanto do Soberbo* (*Soberbo Retreat*), 362
- Redenção de Cã* (*The Redemption of Ham*), 32, 341–344, 343, 346–348, 367
- Black agency in, 364, 366–367
- Black protagonists in, 357
- composition, 347–348, 352–353
- inspiration for, 346–347, 359–360
- models for, 346
- racist reputation of, 355–356
- reception, 353
- women of color, centered in, 356–357
- Retórica dos Pintores*, 343
- travel of, 347, 351, 360–363
- Viaje a Marte*, 347
- Vista da senzala da Barreira do Soberbo* (*View of the Slave Quarters of Barreira do Soberbo*), 363
- Brody, Jennifer, 356
- Brooks, Tim, 402
- brutality, 4, 204, 205, 206–207, 209
- Bueno, Fernando Pereira, 347
- Burns, E. Bradford, 356
- Burnside, John, 95
- Cabo, 62
- Cachoeiro de Itapemirim, 230–232
- californias* (raids), 147, 154
- Calógeras, João Batista, 156
- Camarão, Felipe, 253
- Camilo (enslaved African boy), 60–63, 77–78, 81
- Caminha, Adolpho, 353
- Campo Belo, Baroness of (Correia e Castro, Eufrásia), 92, 95
- Campofiorito, Quirino, 359
- Campos, Antonio Ribeiro de, 219–220
- Candido, Antônio, 369
- Canot, Theodore, 72
- Capel, Selma Fernandes, 342, 344
- capitalism, 2
 abolition, driver for, 5
 of coffee economy, 26
 slavery as logic of, 4
- Capivary, Baron of (Ribeiro de Avellar, Joaquim), 92, 94
- Caratti, Jonatas, 51

- Cardim, Dr. Manoel Henrique, 201, 202–204, 209
- Cardoso, Ciro Flamarion, 220–221
- Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 4
- Cardoso, Hermínio José, 165
- Carlos, Arthur, 254
- Carmo de Cantagalo, 213
- Carneiro, Maria Elizabeth Ribeiro, 115
- cartes-de-visite*, 119–120, 120
- Carvalho, Marcus, 6, 27
- Casal, Aires de, 79
- Castilho, Celso, 31, 198
- Castro, Antônio Barros de, 220
- Castro, Theophilo Dias de, 254
- Catholicism, 330
- Catuama, 60, 74, 80
- Caulfield, Sueann, 27
- causality, 17
- Ceará, 13
- Celso, Afonso, 303, 312
- Centro Tipográfico Treze de Maio (13th of May Typographical Center), 291
- Cerqueira, Tenente Coronel Pedro Ozorio de, 205, 206–207
- Cerrito, 50
- Cezar, João Baptista, 67, 75, 76–77
- Chalhoub, Sidney, 6, 19, 243, 271
- Chasteen, John, 356
- Chaterjee, Partha, 190
- childcare *see* wet nurses; wet-nursing.
- children
- abandoned/orphaned, 114–115, 173
 - abduction of, 150
 - African, 43
 - enslavement of, 58–59, 60–63
 - circulation of, 370–371
 - crioulos* (Brazilian born slaves), 71, 101
 - death of, 72–73, 75
 - of enslaved women, 173
 - enslavement of, 12–13
 - in Africa, 58–59, 60–63
 - benefits to slave traders, 68–73
 - crias da casa*, 371
 - as descendants of trafficked people, 42, 101
 - illegal, 39, 49, 50, 58–59, 60–63
 - moleques*, 68–69
 - numbers of, 69
 - taxation on, 64
 - family connections, lack of, 101–102
 - in *feitorias* (slave outposts), 75–77
 - free, 48, 49
 - guardianship of, 372–373
 - illegitimate, recognition of, 267, 373
 - labor of, 372–373
 - mixed-race, 27
 - mothers, separation from, 104, 110, 111, 113, 114–115, 124, 126
 - photographic portraits of, 119
 - of priests, 266
 - scarifications, lack of, 71, 73
 - on slave ships, 71–72
 - see also filhos de criação* (children by upbringing); inheritance; wet nursing.
- Chor Maio, Marcos, 344
- Chude-Sokei, Louis, 403, 404, 406, 407
- churches, 186
- Cidade do Rio* (newspaper), 289–290, 292, 294, 302, 303, 333
- Cisplatine Province, 132
- Cisplatine War (1825), 132, 133
- cities, 184–185
 - and abolition, 191, 245–247
 - afterlife of slavery in, 192
 - freedom, spaces of, 191
 - and gender, 191, 192
 - growth of, 193–194
 - historiography of, 185, 188–193
 - inequalities in, 192
 - and liberalism, 192, 194, 212
 - and mobility, 27, 196
 - modernity of, 185–193, 198
 - paradigms of, 188–190
 - and progress, 189
 - rurality, connections to, 192, 196, 211
 - see also* Porto Alegre; Recife; Rio de Janeiro; São Paulo.
- citizenship, 20, 27
 - and abolition, 210, 290
 - definitions of, 141, 243
 - of freed people, 36
 - and gender, 22, 191
 - limitations of, 19, 20, 400
 - and literacy, 243
 - and race, 291
 - racialized exclusion from, 22, 318
 - and rights, 16
 - threats to, 151
- city, slave, concept of, 185, 212
- civil registration
 - of enslaved people, 12, 14, 54–55, 225

- civil registration (cont.)
 revolt against, 53
 civil rights *see* rights.
- Clapp, João, 13, 303
- class, 21, 25
 Black people and, 251–252, 258
 consciousness, 31
 differentiation, 122
 elite
 self-representation of, 119
 slaveholding, 10, 84, 85, 92
 slavery, support for, 9
 wet nurses, use of, 111, 112–113, 118
 family and, 61
 formation, 301
 identities, 292
 in Recife, 195, 197
 working, 196, 300
- clientelism, 273, 275
- Climaco de Espirito Santo, José, 208–209
- Club Republicano dos Homens de Cor
 (Republican Club of Men of Color),
 290, 308–311, 312–314
- co-dependency, 371, 382
- coffee economy, 8, 10, 230–232, 236, 326
 abolition, opposition to, 12, 15
 abolition, support for, 15
 capitalism of, 26
 enslaved workforce in, 88, 271
 export value of, 88
 in Paraíba Valley, 84–85
 partnership farming in, 233–234
 plantations, 122
- Collaço, Felipe Neri, 31, 241–242, 243,
 247, 261–262
 biography, 248–249, 258–260
 criticism, response to, 260–261
O Homen, political positioning of,
 250–251
 racism, experience of, 259–260
- colonialism, 329–337
- colonos* (partner plantation workers), 233
- color, 258–259
 and identities, 168
 in paternity suits, 385
 and subjectivities, 250–253
 terminology of, 265
- commerce, 9
 markers of, 186
 markets, 220, 221
 participation in, 31, 220–223
 in Recife, 194–195
see also agriculture; coffee economy;
 sugar economy.
- commodification, of bodies, 110
- communications, 189
 letters, 165–166
 railroads, 168, 198
 telegraph, 186
see also press; print culture.
- communities, 27
 archives of, 188
 Black, 217
 of enslaved people, 88, 93, 96–99, 101,
 102, 103, 277
 of freed people, 231
 fugitive slave (maroons, *quilombos*), 2,
 13, 97, 188, 198, 199, 206, 221, 307,
 323
 of peasantry, 217
 plantation, 96–107
see also networks.
- compensation, for loss of enslaved people,
 137, 280, 285
- complaints, 44, 51, 130, 136
 diplomatic, 150, 151, 152–153, 154, 155,
 156, 158
 by enslaved people, 47, 163, 167,
 169–172
 by plantation owners, 224
 by slaveholders, 137, 138, 142, 221
- Conceição do Arroio, 43, 46
- Conceição, Anísia Maria da, 183, 200–204,
 209
- Conceição, Antonia Maria da, 200,
 201–202, 203, 204
- Conceição, Dona Lauriana Rosa da, 374
- concubinage, 379, 380, 381, 383–384
- Conduru, Roberto, 343, 357–359
- Congo, Manoel, 44–45, 93
- Congo, Maria and Joaquim (enslaved
 African children), 61–63, 81
- Congo, Narciso (enslaved African minor),
 62–63
- Congress of Vienna, 9
- Congresso Operário de Beneficência
 (Worker's Beneficence Congress),
 299
- Conrad, Robert, 14, 271
- Conservative Party, 12, 249, 257
- O Constitucional* (newspaper), 118
- Cook, Will Marion, 403

- Corrêa, Alexandre, 227
- Correia e Castro, Eufrásia (Baroness of Campo Belo), 92, 95
- Costa Pinto Junior, Antonio da, 270
- Costa Pinto, João Gabriel da, 267
- Costa Pinto, L.A. da, 28
- Costa Pinto, Major Francisco Antônio da (Count of Sergimirim), 267, 270
- Costa Pinto, Manoel da (Viscount de Aramaré), 266, 270, 276–277, 280–281, 284
- Costa Pinto, Manuel Lopes da, 270
- Costa, Domingos Gonçalves da, 218
- Costa, Emilia Viotti da, 4, 14
- Costa, Laurindo José da, 148, 149, 155
- Cotegipe, Baron of (Vanderlei, João Maurício), 14–15
- cotton industry, 326–327
- Cowper, Augustus, 70–71, 72–73, 78, 79–80
- crime
 - flight, assistance with, 14
 - forgery, of enslavement documentation, 44
 - murder, 126, 207–209
 - reducing free person to slavery, 35–36, 41, 44, 45
 - sexual violence, 179, 180, 202, 203, 268–269
 - see also* flight.
- crioulos* (Brazilian born slaves), 71, 408
- cruelty, 204, 205, 206–207, 209
- Cruz, José Rodrigues da, 87
- Cuba, 11
- culture, 2
 - Blackness and, 108–109, 389, 393, 395, 417–418
 - institutions of, 186
 - transnational exchanges of, 393
 - see also* music; print culture; songs; visual art.
- Cunha, Antônio Luís Pereira da (Marquis of Inhambupe), 134
- Cunha, Euclides da, 192
- Curse of Ham (Old Testament story), 342, 344–346, 347
- Custódia (enslaved wet nurse), 122, 123
- Custódio (enslaved person, Guaribú), 101
- Daniel Domingues da Silva, 58
- Dantas, Manoel Pinto de Sousa, 276, 280, 281
- Dantas, Monica, 40
- Dantas, Rodolfo, 280
- Davis, Mike, 189
- death
 - of children, 75
 - during Middle Passage, 65, 67, 72–73, 74
 - murder, 126, 207–209
 - suicide, 337
- deflowerment suits, 202–203
- Degler, Carl, 4
- democracy
 - racial, 3, 20, 21, 109, 355
 - rural, 326
 - voting rights, 243, 263, 335
- dependency, 20, 184, 192, 197
- domestic, 196, 383, 386
- enforced, 18
- intimate, 211
- and motherhood, 268
- and slavery, 197, 285, 387
- and women, 164, 175
- Derby, Orville, 274, 284
- diaries, 315, 316
- Diário da Manhã* (newspaper), 224
- Diário de Notícias* (newspaper), 293, 295, 300, 303
- Diário de Pernambuco* (newspaper), 247, 249
- Diário de Rio Claro* (newspaper), 308
- Dias, Henrique, 253
- Dias, Henriqueta Josepha, 362, 364
- Dias, Maria Odila Leite, 109
- Dina (enslaved woman), 381–384
- discipline, 206–207, 208, 209, 335
- violent, 204, 209
- disorder, social, 2, 11, 93, 225, 305–306
 - against civil registration, 53
 - Farroupilha Revolution (1835–1845), 50, 135, 147
 - specter of, 45–46, 227, 281
- displacement, 163, 164, 165, 171, 178, 217, 223, 235
- do Valle, Manoel, 201–203
- Drescher, Seymour, 5
- Drummond, Luíz de, 202–203, 209
- du Bois, W.E.B., 407
- Dumont, Santos, 416
- Dunbar, Paul L., 403
- Duque Estrada, Gonzaga, 351

- economy, 2
- coffee, 8, 10, 230–232, 236, 326
 - abolition, opposition to, 12, 15
 - abolition, support for, 15
 - capitalism of, 26
 - enslaved workforce in, 88, 271
 - export value of, 88
 - in Paraíba Valley, 84–85
 - partnership farming in, 233–234
 - plantations, 122
 - among enslaved/freed people, 220–221, 230–231
 - fluctuations, 11
 - mining, 2, 84, 351
 - among peasantry, 220
 - sugar
 - abolition, strategic support for, 280
 - abolitionism, resistance to, 248
 - enslaved laborers in, 61, 78, 194, 205, 244, 245
 - exports, 266, 270
 - modernization of, 326
 - plantations, 269–270
- Ecuador, 140
- education, 186, 272, 372
- Black organizations, offered by, 295, 296–297
 - of enslaved laborers, 270–271
 - of *filhos de criação* (children by upbringing), 375–376
 - of freed people, 311
 - lack of, 311, 334, 335
 - racial prejudice in, 259–260, 297–299, 322
 - see also* AIBA; ENBA; literacy.
- Elkins, Stanley, 4
- Elliot, William, 201
- Eltis, David, 58, 64, 68
- emancipation, 20, 23, 211
- avoidance/prevention of, 45–46
 - completion of, 13
 - gradual, 11–13
 - through *Lei Aurea* (Golden Law, 1888), 16
 - of newly arrived Africans, 43
 - of slaves over 60 (Sexagenarian Law), 13–14
 - state funds for, 246
 - see also* post-emancipation.
- emancipationism, 280
- vs.* abolitionism, 281–282
 - sugar industry's strategic support for, 280
- emotion, 20, 122, 125–126
- empires, agrarian, 91–96
- employment
- Black organizations' support for, 296–297
 - see also* agriculture; commerce; labor.
- ENBA (Escola Nacional de Belas Artes), 341, 342, 343, 353, 360
- enslaved laborers
- see also* children; flight; wet nurses.
- enslaved people
- abolition, contribution to, 5, 16–18, 31, 252–253, 277–278, 364
 - African, 8, 100, 101
 - preference for, 101
 - agency of, 17, 178, 277
 - in armed forces, 11, 50, 137–138
 - asylum for, 133
 - autonomy of, 97, 106
 - Brazil, formative influence on, 4
 - in coffee economy, 88, 271
 - commercial activity of, 220–223
 - communities of, 88, 93, 96–99, 101, 102, 103, 277
 - concealment of, 137, 138
 - crioulos* (Brazilian born slaves), 71, 100, 101, 390, 411
 - demographics of, 10, 63, 100, 271
 - age, 69, 100, 101, 283
 - gender, 98, 101
 - discipline of, 204, 206–207, 208, 209
 - as dowry, 123
 - and education, 270–271
 - family structures of, 88, 89, 98–107, 103
 - freed people, socialization with, 221
 - geographical distribution of, 50, 91–96, 94, 104–107, 123–125, 163, 245
 - housing of, 88, 93, 96, 102
 - humanity, recognition of, 4
 - land, grants of parcels of, 221
 - languages, spoken by, 69, 88
 - lawsuits
 - cruelty, 206–207
 - deflowerment, 202–203
 - freedom, 11, 37, 46, 47, 48, 60–63, 81
 - habeas corpus, 213–215
 - legal status of, 12, 178–179
 - marriage between, 100, 101
 - in mining economy, 2, 84, 351
 - mobility of, 104–107, 163

- across national borders, 133–134, 136, 139
- wet nurses, 123–125
- networks of, 88, 89, 98–99
- numbers of, 1, 8, 67, 85, 131
 - declining, 363–364
 - illegally trafficked, 42, 85
 - in Pernambuco, 245
 - slaveholding concentrations of, 91–96, 94
 - in Uruguay, 50, 132
- in post-mortem inventories, 99
- prices of, 10, 114
- productivity of, 14, 98, 102, 195
- purchase deeds of, 172
- representation of, 187–188
- reproduction of, 40, 179–180
- resistance of, 2, 11, 13, 17, 99
 - family as form of, 89
 - female, 109
- savings, right to, 12
- selection of, 63–64
- skills of, 114, 194, 365
- slaveholders, negotiations with, 205
- slaveholders, relationships with, 4, 97
 - affective bonds in, 108–109, 123–125, 126
 - contexts of, 90
 - domestic, 110–111
 - dominance in, 109, 125
 - post-abolition, 284–285
 - power inequalities in, 99
 - and slave family, 89
 - violence in, 126
- state registration of, 12, 14, 225
- in sugar economy, 61, 78, 194, 205, 244, 245
- testimonies, lack of, 19
- violence against, 20, 166
 - sexual, 179, 180, 202, 203, 268–269
- women, 21, 96, 98, 100
 - bodies of, 178–182
 - sexuality of, 179–180
 - silencing of, 126
- enslavement, 46
 - of children, 12–13, 58–59
 - benefits to slave traders, 68–73
 - crias da casa*, 371
 - as descendants of trafficked people, 42, 101
 - illegal, 39, 49, 50, 60–63
 - moleques*, 68–69
 - numbers of, 69
 - profitability of, 63–65
 - documentation, forged, 44
 - of free people, 35–36, 51
 - through abduction, 49–53, 155, 165–167
 - criminalized, 38–41
 - prosecutions for, 54
 - and gender, 49, 98, 101, 172–173
 - illegal, 39–40
 - of children, 39, 60–63
 - fears of, 53–54
 - good faith defense for, 45
 - increase of, following 1831 law, 42
 - legal collusion with, 55–56
 - legalization of, 54
 - punishments for, 54
 - tolerance of, in legal system, 27
 - of Indigenous people, 39
 - legal definition of, 41
 - re-enslavement, 39, 46–49, 152, 195, 226–227
 - silencing of stories of, 243
 - as violation of personhood, 40
- enslavers, illegal
 - acquittals of, 54, 55
 - convictions of, 54
 - prosecutions of, 54
- equalities, 257
 - formal, 21
 - lack of, 20, 27, 89, 99, 192, 211
- escape *see* flight.
- Escola Nacional de Belas Artes (ENBA), 341, 342, 343, 353, 360
- Esperança (freed person, Recife), 183, 207–209
- Espírito Santo Castro, Antonio Luiz do, 291, 292–293, 294
- Espírito Santo province, 232–236
- Espírito Santo, Benedicta do, 175–177
- eugenics, 25, 354–355
- examinations, medical-legal, 181–182, 202, 207
- Expilly, Charles, 119, 121
- Expilly, Martha, 119, 127
- expropriation, 144
- Facchinetti, Nicolau Antonio, 361
 - family, 2, 20, 25, 231
 - artistic representation of, 351

- family (cont.)
 and class, 61
 among enslaved people, 88, 89–90, 96,
 98–107, 176–177
 generation of, 103
 mobility of, 105–106
 resilience, 104
 stability of, 102–104
 formation, 26
 freedom and, 23
 and inequality, 27
 lack of, for children, 101–102
 order of, 117, 118, 120
 patriarchal, 368–369, 371, 386–387
 redemption of, 352–353
 resistance, form of, 89
 slaveholders, relationships with, 89,
 108–109
 for wet nurses, 123–125
 variable forms of, 369
see also fathers/fatherhood; *filhos de*
criação (children by upbringing);
 inheritance; mothers/motherhood;
 paternity; wet nurses.
- Faria, Sheila, 227
- Farias, Major Henrique Lins de Noronha,
 61
- Farroupilha Revolution (1835–1845), 50,
 135, 147
- fathers/fatherhood, 266–267, 373,
 377–379, 386–387
- Faustina (abducted free person), 51–52
- Fávero, Flaminio, 385
- favor, 20, 275, 413
 domestic labor as, 169, 176
 freedom as, 271
 as protection, 169, 172, 177, 275
 recognition of children as, 27, 373
 vs. rights, 253
- Fazenda Barreira do Soberbo (Guapimirim),
 360–363, 361, 364–365
- fazendas see* plantations.
- feitorias* (slave outposts), 64, 74, 75–77
- Felisberta (enslaved wet nurse), 123–125
- Felisbino (enslaved person, Recife),
 208–209
- Felizarda (enslaved person, Guaribú), 101
- Ferguson, James, 190
- Fernandes, Florestan, 4, 26
- Ferreira, Antônio José, 312
- Figuera, Andrade, 280
- filhos de criação* (children by upbringing),
 370, 371–373
 family, position in, 386–387
 free status of, 376, 381
 and gender, 385
 paternity claims of, 377–378
 surrender of, 374
- filiation, status of, 379, 380, 381, 384
- Fischer, Brodwyn, 27
- flight, 2, 13, 14, 30, 62, 97, 172, 178
 assistance, criminalized, 14
 to free-soil territories, 130, 133–134
 fugitives, 14, 142, 163, 168, 169
 communities of, 188, 198, 199, 323
 return of, 133, 134, 139–140
 treaties for extradition of, 139–140,
 141–142
 punishment for, 206
 via railroads, 168
 support networks for, 206, 256
 transnational, 37
- Florentino, Manolo, 69, 72
- Flores, Venancio, 128, 152, 154
- Fonseca, Claudia, 375
- Forbes, Lieutenant R. N., 71–72, 73
- forgery, of enslavement documentation, 44
- Fox, Douglas, 188
- França, Ernesto Ferreira, 213
- France, 141
- Francisca (enslaved person, Guaribú), 101
- fraternity, 250
- free people, enslavement of
 through abduction, 49–53, 165–167
 criminalized, 35–36, 38–41
 prosecutions for, 54
 release from, 54
 Uruguayans, 51
- free soil, 30, 37, 130, 140–141, 143–145
- Free Womb Law (Rio Branco Law/*Lei do*
Ventre Livre, 1871), 12–13, 54, 55,
 178, 247, 271, 321
 gradualist impact of, 281–282, 360
- freed people, 31
 agriculture by, 232–234
 autonomy of, 232, 236–237
 citizenship of, 36
 commercial activity of, 220–223
 communities of, 231
 conditionally freed, 55
 economic autonomy of, 221, 230–231
 education, 311

- enslaved people, socialization with, 221
 labor conditions, negotiations of, 228–229
 land bequests to, 217–220
 migration of, 323
 mobility of, 236–237, 323
 murder of, 207–209
 obligations of, 43
 re-enslavement of, 46–49, 213, 226–227
 rights of, 36, 319
 as slaveholders, 25, 90, 371
 and social disorder, 225
 stigmatization of, 243, 283
 women, 371
- freedom, 5
 through border-crossing, 143–145
 cities as spaces of, 191
 and definition of (il)legal enslavement, 41
 evidence of, 168
 expectations of, 231
 and favor, 12, 271, 280, 281
 gender, 48–49, 164
 for illegally trafficked Africans, 135
 legal possession of, 47–48
 of “liberated Africans,” 10
 limitations of, 23, 39, 195, 210–211
 conditionality, 46, 48
 manumission as restitution of, 49
 meanings of, 18, 20, 23, 177, 183, 215, 236
 paths to, 10–11, 18, 204
 for women, 164, 169
 see also abolition; emancipation; flight; manumission.
 possession of, 41
 precarious, 19, 37, 46
 and race, 197
 rights to, 45
 United Provinces decree of, 133–134
 see also emancipation; flight; manumission.
- freedom lawsuits, 11, 37, 47, 81
 of Camilo (enslaved African), 60–63
 failed, 48
 victims’ testimony in, 46
- freedom letters, 122–123, 125, 168, 169, 204, 283
- Freitas, Anacleto Alves de, 308, 309, 312–313
- Freitas, Francisco Alves de, 308
- Freitas, José Manuel de, 206
- Freitas, Octavio de, 188
- Freyre, Gilberto, 19–20, 21, 26, 192
 Casa Grande e Senzala, 3–4
 on children of priests, 266
 criticism of, 28
 on familial relationships, 108–109, 197, 368–369
 on Recife, 198, 199, 212
 on Teodoro Sampaio, 264–265, 285–286
 on sexual violence, 268–269
- Frontino, Manoel, 296
- Galvão, Rafaella Valença de Andrade, 31
- Gama, Luiz, 254
- Gates, Henry Louis, 356
- Gaucho separatist movement, 50
- Gazeta da Tarde* (newspaper), 306, 307, 308, 312
- Gazeta de Notícias* (newspaper), 293, 300, 304
- Gazeta do Povo* (newspaper), 227
- gender
 and abolition, 109
 and Blackness, 268–269, 287, 366
 representations of, 347–348, 350, 356–357, 358–359, 363, 366–367
 and citizenship, 22, 191
 and enslavement, 49, 98, 101, 172–173
 and *filhos de criação* (children by upbringing), 385
 and freedom, 48–49, 164
 and labor, 195
 and mobility, 164
 norms, 169
 and political rights, 252
 and subjectivities, 20–21
 and urbanity, 191, 192
- General José Artigas, 133
- Gilroy, Paul, 392, 395
- O Globo* (newspaper), 254
- Godoy, José Geraldo de, 43
- Goiana, 61
- Góis Júnior, Inocêncio Marques de Araújo, 282
- Golroy, Paul, 336
- Gomes, Assindino, 291, 296
- Gomes, Flávio, 31, 301
- Gomes, Rodolpho, 308
- Gómez, Modesto Brocos y *see* Brocos y Gómez, Modesto.
- Gonçalves, Amélia, 230–231

- Gonsalves, Manoel, 61, 81
- Gordon, Robert, 134
- Gorender, Jacob, 220
- Goulart, Felipe Ferreira, 93
- Graham, Sandra Lauderdale, 109
- gratitude, 376
- Great Britain, 9
 - Aberdeen Act (Slave Suppression Act, 1845), 10, 146
 - antislavery naval patrols, 71, 74–75
 - Brazil, commercial interests in, 9
 - Brazil, diplomatic relations with, 134, 146–147, 149–150, 157–158
 - independence, recognition of, 9
 - invasions of, 132
 - slavery, laws on, 10, 140–141, 146
 - South Africa, colonization of, 332–336
- Grenfell Hill, Pascoe, 72
- Grinberg, Keila, 27, 30
- Guanabara, Baron of (Oliveira Roxo, José Gonçalves de), 96
- Guarda Negra (Black Guard), 290, 294, 301–306, 307–308, 311–312
- Guaribú plantation, 86, 86–89
- Guaribú, Baron of (Ribeiro de Avellar, Claudio Gomes)
 - agrarian empire of, 91, 92, 95
 - enslaved laborers, bequeathed by, 87, 96, 99–100, 102, 105–106
 - post-mortem inventory, 86, 94, 95
- Guerra Grande (Paraguyan War, 1846–70)
 - see Paraguyan War.
- Guerra Grande (Uruguayan Civil War, 1839–1851), 50, 128, 136–139
- Guilherme (enslaved person), 183, 204–207
- Guimarães, Francisco (Vagalume), 417
- habitus, slavocratic, 85, 110, 111, 118, 284–285
 - domestic perpetuation of, 118
 - politics of favor, 124
 - reproduction of, 114, 120, 121, 126
- Harms, Robert, 72
- Herrera, Juan José, 154–155
- hierarchies, 3
 - of interdependence, 197–198
 - of labor, 109
 - patriarchal, 195
- historiography
 - archives and, 19
 - Black people's construction of, 29
 - Brazilian, 5, 6–7, 29
 - of enslaved/freed people' economic practices, 220–221
 - of international relations, 130–131
 - of Paraguyan War (1864–1870), 156–159
 - of post-emancipation, 217, 227, 231–232
 - of print culture, 247–248
 - of race, 29–30, 242–243
 - of race relations, 4
 - slavery, silence on, 156–159
 - social agency focus of, 317
 - of subjectivity, 317–318
 - translations of, 7
 - transnational, 3–7
 - urban, 185, 188–193
 - USA, 3
- Holanda, Sérgio Buarque de, 192, 369
- O Homem* (newspaper), 241–242, 243–244, 245–246, 249, 261–262
- abolitionism, 253–254
- “The Illustrious Men of Color,” 251
- “men of color” subjectivity, construction of, 250–253
- political positioning of, 250–251
- press opposition to, 255–258
- honor, 121, 179–180, 204, 259, 381
- housing
 - of Black people, 187, 188
 - of enslaved people, 93, 96, 102
 - mocambos* (shacks/shantytowns), 188, 198, 199, 323
 - senzalas* (slave quarters), 88, 93, 96, 97, 98, 101, 102, 103, 277
 - sobrados* (townhouses), 197
- humor, 399, 402, 410–412
- IAB (Instituto dos Advogados Brasileiro, Brazilian Bar Institute), 48
- Ianni, Octavio, 4
- identities
 - abolition, disrupted by, 297
 - affirmation of, 410
 - ambiguous, 174, 175–177, 181
 - Black, 395, 398, 410
 - class, 292
 - and color, 168
 - racial, 21–22, 265, 267, 269, 274–275, 292
 - social, 164
- IGHBa (Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia), 264

- Ilha, Benedicta Maria da (aka Ovídia, enslaved woman), 163–182
 body of, 178–182
 fugitive slave, suspected, 168
 identity, 174, 175–177, 181
 as mother, 173, 174
 narrative of enslavement, 165–167, 172–173
 origin story as free woman, 169–172
 as wet nurse, 172
 illegitimacy, 61, 267, 269, 373, 374, 377–379
 immigration
 anti-black policies, 347
 white European, 364
 Indigenous people, 22, 39, 84, 253
 inequalities, 20
 familial, 27
 power, 89, 99, 211
 urban, 192
 informality, 192
 Inhambupe, Marquis of (Cunha, Antônio Luís Pereira da), 134
 inheritance, 87
 by children of enslaved people, 381–382
 enslaved people as, 61, 88, 96, 218
filhos de criação (children by upbringing) and, 374, 377
 freed people, slaveholders' bequests to, 217–220
 of land, 87, 222
 manumission as, 218, 219, 371
 Instituto dos Advogados Brasileiros (Brazilian Bar Institute, IAB), 48
 Instituto Geográfico e Histórico da Bahia (IGHBa), 264
 international relations, 145–148
 Brazil–Britain, 134, 146–147, 149–150, 157–158
 Brazil–Uruguay, 130–131
 historiography of, 130–131
 intimacies, 27, 184, 192
 social, 197–198
 unequal, 196, 197, 210
 of wet nurse role, 110
 inventories, post-mortem, 90, 91, 95, 99, 100
 Irmandade de Nossa Senhora do Rosário e São Benedito (Catholic brotherhood), 291, 312
 Isabel (Princess Imperial of Brazil), 15, 16, 284, 303
 Jaguaribe Filho, Domingos, 295
 Jaú, 381
 Jiménez, José Sousa, 347
 Johnson, George W., 413–414
 Johnson, James Weldon, 407
 Jonas (enslaved person, Jaú), 381
Jornal de Campos (newspaper), 224, 225, 226
Jornal do Comércio (newspaper), 227
 José Maria (enslaved person, Guaribú), 101
 Juárez, Benito, 253
 Kaye, Anthony, 106
 kidnapping *see* abduction.
 kinship *see* family.
 Klein, Herbert, 6, 58, 59
 Koster, Henry, 185
 labor, 31
 child, 372–373
 conditions of, 110, 230, 231
 negotiation of, 228–229
 domestic, 109, 169, 170–171, 187
 washerwomen/laundresses, 171, 175, 187
see also wet nurses.
 free, 194, 195, 228
 and gender, 195
meação (sharecropping), 232–233
parceira (partnership), 232, 233–234
 and racism, 259–260
 semi-free, 195
 shortages, 225, 228–229, 272
 subsistence, 362
 in USA, 323
 wages, 194, 230
 of women, 170–171, 187, 195
 washerwomen/laundresses, 171, 175, 187
see also wet nurses.
see also agriculture; commerce; plantations.
 labor relations, 31, 232–234
 Lacerda, João Batista de, 354–355
 Lacerda, Quintino de, 307
 Laet, Carlos de, 346
 Lage, Lana, 227
 Lamas, Andrés, 139, 145–146, 149, 151
 land, 31
 access to, 216–220, 230, 231, 236, 322
 “Brazilian system,” 221

- land (cont.)
 grants of parcels of, 221
 inheritance of, 87, 217–220
 ownership, 199
 in Africa, 335
 agrarian empires, 91–96
 by Brazilians, in Uruguay, 136, 142–144, 152–154
 concentrated, 84
 democratization of, 326
 by freed people, 230–231
 sesmarias, 86, 87, 94
- Landes, Ruth, 21
- Lane, Kristin, 356
- language
 of enslaved laborers, 69, 88
 racial, 163, 167, 201, 243
- Lanna, Ana Lúcia Duarte, 233
- law and legal systems, 27
 asymmetrical, 42
 Black peoples' roles in, 293
 Civil Code (1916), 377, 379
 commercial activity of enslaved people,
 regulation of, 222–223
 convictions, 51–52, 54
 Criminal Code, 38–41, 55
 article 179, 35, 36, 38, 41, 49, 250
 cruelty lawsuits, 206–207
 deflowerment suits, 202–203
 Eusebio de Queiroz Law, 57
 Free Womb Law (Rio Branco Law/*Lei do
 Ventre Livre*, 1871), 12–13, 54, 55, 178, 247, 271, 321
 gradualist impact of, 281–282, 360
 freedom suits, 11, 37, 47, 81
 failed, 48
 of Camilo (enslaved African), 60–63
 victims' testimony in, 46
 habeas corpus suits, 213–215
 illegal enslavement, collusion with, 55–56
 illegal enslavement, punishments for, 54
 and illegitimacy, 377–379
 in Africa, 335
 Law 581 (1850), 10
Lei Áurea (Golden Law, 1888), 15–16
 Louisiana (Livingston) Code, 40–41
 municipal regulations, 222–223
 November 7, 1831 (abolition), 41, 42, 134
 and paternity, 368, 370, 377–379, 380–381, 383–387
 Philippine Code/Ordinances, 38, 39, 112
 policing, 9, 10, 214, 260, 303
 proof, burden of, 45
 prosecutions, 51–52, 54, 207–209
 failed, 43–45
 Sexagenarian Law (1885), 13–14, 256
 witnesses, 209, 380, 383–385
- Law, Robin, 78
- legislation *see* law and legal systems.
- legitimacy, 61, 267, 269, 353, 373, 374, 377–379
 of *filhos de criação* (children by
 upbringing), 370
- Lei do Ventre Livre* *see* Free Womb Law.
- Leite, José Roberto Teixeira, 355
- Leite, Miriam Moreira, 173
- Leme, Caetana Rosa de, 93
- Lemos Magalhães, Francisco José de, 296
- Leopoldina (enslaved woman), 365
- Lepkowski, Tadeusz, 220
- Levine, Robert, 5
- Lewin, Linda, 378
- Liberal Party, 201, 256, 275–276, 292–293, 312
 abolition, views on, 257, 280
 emancipation, views on, 11
O Homem, support for, 255
 Saraiva in, 129, 276
- liberalism, 22–23
- Liceu de Artes e Ofícios, 299
- Lidgerwood, John, 324, 325
- Liga de Lavoura and Comércio (League of
 Agriculture and Commerce), 282
- Liga dos Homens de Cor (League of Colored
 Men), 290, 291–296, 312
- Lima, Arnaldo do Rosário, 276
- Lima, Heloisa, 343
- Lima, Henrique Espada, 19
- Lima, Ignácio de Araújo, 254, 310
- Lisboa, José Francisco de Azevedo, 63–64, 74
- literacy, 195, 197, 201, 243, 247–248, 334
- Lobo, Elias, 253
- Lopes Vieira, Adelina Amelia, 350
- Lotierzo, Tatiana, 342, 344
- Lourenço Marques (Maputo), 331, 332
- Lovejoy, Paul, 78
- Luanda, 65
- A Luz* (newspaper), 248, 254
- lynching, 335, 398

- Macedo, Buarque de, 275
- Machado de Assis, Joaquim Maria, 1, 254
- Machado, Maria Helena, 6, 30, 126, 268, 277, 372
- Machado, Oliveira, 226
- Machado, Paulo Vicente, 232, 235
- Maciel Pinheiro, Luiz Ferreira, 46
- Maciel, Manoel Silveira, 167
- A Mãe de Família* (newspaper), 118
- Magalhães, Geraldo, 409
- Magé, 363–364
- Maia, Capitolina Moreira, 279
- Maia, Joaquim Fernandez, 54
- Malhei, Agostinho Marques Perdigão, 49
- Malheiro, Perdigão, 345
- malungos* (slave shipmates), 61, 62
- Mamigonia, Beatriz, 27
- Mann, Kirstin, 190
- Manuel, Fuão, 170
- manumission, 4, 8, 11, 23, 122–123
 - archives, 365
 - conditional, 13, 46, 48, 55, 218, 219
 - debated, 36
 - documents of, 142, 283
 - falsified, 45
 - possession of, 48, 54
 - slaveholders' control of, 271
 - for wet nurses, 125
 - as domestic matter, 279
 - fundraising for, 247
 - as gift of slaveholder, 277, 279, 280–281
 - following military service, 137
 - negotiations for, 276–279
 - obligatory, 247
 - of prostituted slaves, 180
 - purchase of, 272, 275
 - rates of, 35
 - as restitution of freedom, 49
 - revokable, 39, 46
 - as right, 277
 - through Sexagenarian Law, 14
 - voluntary, 205, 207, 211
 - wills, specified in, 218, 219, 371
- Maranhão, Sebastião Rufino dos Santos, 213, 215
- Marcellino Ferreira, D., 150
- Marcolina (freed woman), 363, 365
- Marcus Carvalho, 376
- Mariano, José, 204, 206, 255–257
- maroon communities (*quilombos*), 2, 13, 97, 188, 198, 199, 206, 221, 307, 323
- Marques, João Pedro, 16–17
- Marquese, Rafael, 84, 242, 243
- marriage
 - between enslaved laborers, 100, 101
 - forced, 381
 - interracial, 249, 353
 - polygamy, 373
- Marta, Segundina, 148
- Martins, Jorge Fortunato, 296
- Martins, Robson, 31
- Martyr, Deocleciano, 308, 309, 313
- Mascarenhas, Sebastião, 292–293
- masters *see* slaveholders.
- Mata Mineira, 233
- matriculation
 - of enslaved people, 12, 14, 54–55, 225
 - revolt against, 53
- Matson, Captain Henry James, 64, 69
- Mattos, Hebe, 5, 6, 32, 228
 - on silencing, 243, 297
- Mattos, Ilmar, 118
- meação* (sharecropping), 232–233
- Meade, Teresa, 356
- Medeiros, Senator Viriato de, 273
- Mello, Augusto Xavier de Souza Coelho, 308
- Meneses, Rodrigo Otávio Langgaard de, 346
- Menezes, José Ferreira de, 254
- Mercês, Geraldo das, 291
- Middle Passage
 - length of voyages, 64–68
 - mortality rates, 64, 65, 67, 72–73, 74, 80
 - overcrowding, 72–73, 74, 82
 - recovery from, 77
- migration, 196, 232
 - of freed people, 323
 - immigration
 - anti-black policies, 347
 - white European, 364
 - seasonal, 234–235
- Miller, Joseph, 50, 69
- Minas Gerais, 15, 233, 234, 235
- mining economy, 2, 84, 351
- minstrelsy, 389, 407, 414
- Mintz, Sidney, 220
- Miranda, Francisca Xavier Rodrigues de, 200

- Miranda, Francisco Rodrigues de, 200
- Miranda, João Rodrigues de, 200
- Miranda, Joaquim Euclides de, 312
- Miranda, Julio Antonio de, 289
- mobility, 23
- of enslaved people, 104–107, 163
 - across national borders, 133–134, 136, 139
 - wet nurses, 123–125
 - of formerly enslaved people, 164, 223–224, 230–231
 - of freed people, 234–237, 323
 - and gender, 164
 - immigration
 - anti-black policies, 347
 - white European, 364
 - migration, 196, 232
 - of freed people, 323
 - seasonal, 234–235
 - social, 27, 201
 - urban, 27, 196
 - of women, 165, 171
- mocambos* (shacks/shantytowns), 188, 198, 199, 323
- modernity, 184–185, 190
- exclusion from, 336
 - transnational, 190
 - urban, 185–193, 198
- modernization
- agrarian, 270, 326
 - vs. slavery, 22–23, 25
- moleques* (enslaved children), 68–69
- monarchism, 328
- Black organizations for, 303, 311–312
 - see also* republicanism.
- Monjola, Julia (enslaved wet nurse), 119, 127
- Moraes, Evaristo de, 309
- Moreno, Alessandra, 371
- mortality rates
- among enslaved people, 80
 - of Middle Passage, 64, 65, 67, 72–73, 74, 80
- mothers/motherhood, 30, 103–104, 117, 118, 373
- amas secas* (nannies), 110
- children, separation from, 104, 110, 111, 113, 114–115, 124, 126
 - and enslavement, 12–13, 357
 - sale of, 365
 - slaveholders' rights over, 12
 - to *filhos de criação* (children by upbringing), 372, 375
 - silencing of, 110, 111, 173, 174
- Mott, Maria Lúcia, 173
- Muaze, Mariana, 26, 30, 372
- Muniz Dias da Cruz, Bráulio, 165–166, 167–169
- music
- by Black people, 395
 - see also* Neves, Eduardo das; Williams, Bert.
 - cakewalk, 404, 407, 414
 - minstrelsy, 389, 407, 414
 - and racism, 397
 - ragtime, 402, 403, 404, 407, 412
 - recordings, 389, 392, 413
 - Neves, Eduardo das, 411–413, 418
 - Williams, Bert, 402–403, 405–406
 - representations of Africa in, 404, 410
 - in USA, 392
 - see also* songs.
- Nabuco, Joaquim, 1, 2, 13, 28, 31
- O Abolicionismo*, 24, 25
 - abolitionism of, 15, 24–28
 - cruelty, exposure of, 204
 - election to parliament, 204
 - Um estadista do Império*, 129
 - on Paraguayan War (1864–1870), 155, 156–157
- names
- change of, 380
 - loss of, 61, 63
- Nascimento, Abdias do, 28–31, 355
- O Negro Revoltado*, 28
- Nazário (enslaved person, Guaribú), 102, 104
- Nepomuceno, Alberto, *Suite Brezilienne*, 391
- Neto, General Antonio de Souza, 153
- networks
- of Black organizations, 310
 - of Black people, 242
 - of enslaved laborers, 88, 89, 98–99
 - support, for flight, 206, 256
- Neves, Eduardo das (Dudu), 31, 389–392, 395–396, 397, 398–400, 407–419
- activism, 398, 409–411, 413–414, 416–417
 - A canoa virada (The Capsized Canoe)*, 416–417

- “O Crioulo,” 408
 fame of, 399–400
 humor, use of, 399, 410–412, 414–416
 legacy and reputation, 417–419
 “Pai João,” 412
 “pega na chaleira,” 413
 performance career, 408–409, 414–416, 418–419
 racism, experience of, 398, 417
 recordings, 411–413, 418
 “Roda Yáya,” 411
A sentença da viúva alegre (The Sentence of the Happy Widow), 414–416
 song styles of, 409–410
 gargalhadas (laughing songs), 413–414
 lundus, 409, 411–413
 sambas, 417–418
 slave songs, 410
 songbooks, 408, 409
 Mistérios do Violão, 408, 411
 Trovador da Malandragem, 408, 411
 “Tasty *Lundu*,” 412
 newspapers *see* press.
 Nobre, Maria Duarte, 52
 Noronha, Manoel Marques, 51–52
O Novo Mundo (newspaper), 320–323, 326–328
 Nunes Cabral, Dona Regina, 374, 375–377, 380
 Nunes Cabral, Dona Teresa, 374
 Nunes Cabral, Gustavo, 373–381
 Nunes Cabral, Sabino, 374, 380

 Oliveira Roxo, José Gonçalves de (Baron of Guanabara), 96
 Oliveira Veado, Francisco Paula de, 296
 Oliveira, Benjamim de, 414, 415
 Oliveira, Caetano Alves de, 122–123
 Oliveira, Francisco Antonio de, 65, 67
 Oliveira, Joaquim Álvares de, 36
 Oliveira, José Ramos de, 79–80
 Oliveira, Manoel Justiniano de, 296
 organizations, Black *see* Black organizations.
 Oribe, Manuel, 136–137
 orphanages, 114–115, 173, 199
 Ovídia, enslaved woman (aka Ilha, Benedicta Maria da), 163–182
 body of, 178–182
 fugitive slave, suspected, 168
 identity, 174, 175–177, 181
 as mother, 173, 174
 narrative of enslavement, 165–167, 172–173
 origin story as free woman, 169–172
 as wet nurse, 172

 Paixão do Carmo, Domingas da, 266, 267, 268, 270, 276, 278–279, 284
 Paixão, Vitor Gustavo da, 312
 Palmerston, Lord, 52
 Pan-Africanism, 329, 330, 403
 Paraguay, 128
 Paraguayan War (1864–1870), 11, 30, 53, 128–129, 155, 156–159
 Paraíba Valley, 10–11, 83–85, 122, 165
 agrarian empires, 91–96
 categories of slaveholders in, 90–96
 Paranhos Junior, José Maria da Silva (Baron of Rio Branco), 12, 157, 271
 Paranhos, José Maria da Silva, 142–143
parceira (partnership), 232, 233–234
 Parlagreco, Carlo, 346
 paternalism, 20, 27, 273, 277, 282, 369, 372
 paternity, 266–267, 373
 laws on, 377–379, 386–387
A Patria (newspaper), 310
 patriarchy, 109, 195
 familial, 368–369, 371, 386–387
 patrimonialism, 20, 22, 25, 26, 373
 Patrocínio, José do, 13, 254, 277–278, 290, 312
 Estevão da Silva, support for, 299
 and Guarda Negra, 303, 304–305, 311–312
 in Liga dos Homens de Cor, 291, 292–294, 312
 Paty do Alferes, Baron of (Werneck, Francisco Peixoto de Lacerda), 92, 94
 Pau Grande sesmaria, 86, 87
 Paula, José Joaquim de, 44–45
 Paula, Manoel de, 226
 Paull, E.T., *A warmin’ up in dixie*, 390
 Pavidó, Jeronymo Mizisur Nogueira, 213
 peasantry
 communities of, 217
 economic practices of, 220
 itinerant, 216–217
 in post-emancipation period, 362–363
 Pedro I (Emperor of Brazil), 134, 316

- Pedro II (Emperor of Brazil), 15, 249, 284, 311, 321, 328
 exile, 328
- Peixoto, President Marechal Floriano, 313
- Pelotas, 148
- Pereira, José Clemente, 38
- Pereria, José Martins Souza Coelho, 308
- Pernambuco, 24, 27, 58–59, 77–82, 194, 244, 246
 Africa, accessibility from, 64
 enslaved people in, 245
 Ginásio Pernambucano, 249
 slave landings in, 59
- Perory, 61
- Peru, 140
- Pestana, Joaquim Maximiano, 202–203
- Petiz, Silmei de Sant'Ana, 49
- photography, 119–122
- Pimenta da Cunha, Arnaldo, 268
- Pinheiro da Silva Moraes, Fernando, 164, 166–167, 170, 171–173
- Pinheiro, Captain Fernando, 165
- Pinheiro, Fernanda Domingos, 39
- Pinho, Antonio Pedro Francisco, 35
- Pinto, Ana Flávia Magalhães, 31, 250, 254
- Pinto, Antonio da Costa, 121
- Pinto, Carolina, 316
- Pinto, João José de Andrade, 213
- plantations, 58, 62
 abandoned, 228, 230
 abolitionism, strategic support for, 277
 “big houses,” 85, 92, 93
 dependency of, 285
filhos de criação in, 380, 381
 intimacy within, 368
 labor in, 110, 270
 and sexuality, 268
- coffee, 85, 92, 122
- communities within, 96–107
- Guaribú, 86, 86–89, 99–107
- and illegal slave trade, 79–80, 81–82
- mobility of enslaved people in, 104–107
- owners of, 59, 60
 complaints, 224
 and illegal slave trade, 78–80
 political power of, 81, 85
 post-mortem inventories of, 86
 power relations within, 97–98
 smuggled captives held at, 60, 61, 77
 sugar, 61, 78, 266, 269–270
- policing, 9, 10, 214, 260, 303, 305
- Porfíria (enslaved free person), 35–36, 47, 48
- Porto Alegre, 35, 43, 44, 418–419
- Porto de Galinhas, 62, 80
- portraits, 119
 of children, 119
 of wet nurses, 119–122
- Portugal, 8, 9, 39, 69
 and United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, 133–134
 and Uruguay, 131, 132
- possession
 of freedom, 41
 legal definition of, 47–48, 55
 as property, 47
- post-abolition, 16, 24–29, 215–216, 217, 327, 352, 360, 393–400
- agriculture, 326–327
- anxieties in, 224–227
- historiography of, 217, 227, 301
- immigration, 347
- inequalities in, 21–22
- labor, 227–236
- labor in, 227–229
- nostalgia in, 372
- slave songs, 393–394
- in the USA, 327
see also Black organizations.
- post-emancipation, 32, 200, 215–216, 327, 352, 359–365
- abolitionism, discrediting of, 263
- agriculture, 224, 225
- agriculture in, 362–363
- anxieties in, 224–227
- historiography of, 217, 227, 231–232
- labor in, 229, 232–233
- race in, 353, 359
- in the USA, 326, 327
- poverty, 25, 170, 176, 197, 212, 221, 305
- power, 20
 inequalities, 89, 211
 patriarchal, 109
 political, 92
 relational, 21, 27, 192, 197
 and autonomy, 97–98
 in Recife, 199–200, 211–212
- Prado Júnior, Caio, 4
- Prazeres, Heitor dos, 287
- Prazeres, Martinho dos, 296
- press, 186

- abolitionist, 241–242, 245–246, 248,
289–290, 320–323
- advertisements, 113, 245, 247
- anti-Black positions of, 255–258
- Black, 263, 310
- Black absence from, 289
- post-emancipation, coverage of, 224–227
- republicanism, reporting on, 306–308
- priests, 266, 268
- print culture, 247–249
- and abolitionism, 360
- advertisements, 113, 245, 247
- Black people and, 248
- cartes-de-visite*, 119–120, 120
- historiography, 247–248
- maps, 188
- photography, 119–122
- postcards, 187–188
- racist iconography in, 398
- sheet music, 412
- see also* press.
- productivity, 14, 98, 102, 195
- progress, 186
- urbanity of, 189
- property
- enslaved people as, 178, 180
- expropriation, 144
- possessions as, 47
- rights, 16
- see also* land.
- prostitution, 180
- protection
- favor as, 169, 172, 177, 275
- in labor market, 195
- value of, to women, 169
- A Provincia* (newspaper), 255–258, 262
- public life
- Black people in, 252–253, 258–260
- racial policing of, 260
- public space, 197, 198
- women in, 169, 187, 191
- punishment, 207, 208, 209, 335
- for illegal enslavement, 54
- violent, 204, 206–207, 209
- Queiroz, Eusébio de, 144
- quilombos* (maroon communities), 2, 13, 97,
188, 198, 199, 206, 221, 307, 323
- race
- and breastfeeding, 111–112, 118, 174
- consciousness, 31, 207–209, 255, 263
- historiography of, 29–30, 242–243
- identities of, 21–22, 265, 267, 269,
274–275, 292
- Black, 395, 398, 410
- “improvement,” via miscegenation, 25,
342, 346, 353–355
- policies on, 29
- politicizing of, 292
- and slavery, 8, 100, 101, 141
- as basis for abduction, 30, 38, 49–53,
148–152, 155, 165–167
- terminology of, 163, 167, 201
- see also* Blackness; Whiteness.
- race relations, 3, 4, 410–412
- racial categories, 163, 167, 201, 243, 292,
385–386
- racial democracy, 3, 20, 21, 109, 355
- racial science, 342, 346, 353–354, 394
- racial silencing, 242–244, 257, 258, 261,
262–263, 315
- breaking of, 317
- racism, 21–22, 23, 243
- acceptability of, 257
- in Africa, 334, 335
- anti-Black, 125, 242, 255–261, 262, 263
- in artworks, 355–356
- downplaying of, 273–274
- in education, 259–260, 297–299
- in employment, 296–297
- eugenicist, 25
- experiences of, 200–209, 259–260,
273–274, 276, 320, 323–325, 398,
417
- iconography of, 398
- in immigration policies, 347
- and labor, 259–260
- and legal freedom, 27
- in music, 397
- opposition to, 251–252
- pan-American, 396–398
- silencing of experience of, 319–320
- railroads, 168, 198
- Ramos, José de Oliveira, 67, 79–80
- Rangel, Izabel da Silva, 218
- Real, Regina, 359
- rebellion, 17
- Rebouças Filho, Antônio Pereira, 316, 325,
326
- Rebouças, André, 13, 15, 32, 271, 315,
316–317

- Rebouças, André (cont.)
 Africa, writings on, 329–337
 Black subjectivity of, 328–329, 331, 336
 death, 337
 editing of father's papers, 319–320
 and Guarda Negra, 303
 letters, 328–337
 melancholy of, 329
 monarchism, 328
 “New Propaganda – Dressing
 300,000,000 African Negroes,” 332
O Novo Mundo, contributions to,
 326–328
O Problema da África, 329
 racism, experience of, 320, 323–325
 religious views of, 330, 336
 USA, visit to, 320, 323–325
- Rebouças, Antonio Pereira, 252–253,
 315–316, 326
 archives of, 315, 319–320
- Rebouças, José Pereira, 271, 316
- Rebouças, Manoel Maurício, 316
- Recife, 27, 60, 184–185, 193–200, 244–248
 abolitionism in, 245–247
 Arraial, 201, 202, 203
 Arsenal de Marinha, 62
 Black population, 242
 Boa Vista, 200, 204, 205
 census in, 188
 class in, 195, 197
 commerce in, 194–195
 demography, 195–196
 development of, 193–194
 freedom in, 210–211
 housing, 187
 judicial system, criticism of, 208–209
 literacy in, 248
 maps of, 188
 mobility in, 196
mocambos (shacks/shantytowns), 199
 modernity of, 185–193, 198, 212
 population, 193, 194
 postcards of, 187–188
 public life, exclusion from, 251
 slave landings at, 65, 67
 slavery in, 194, 195, 198
 social heterogeneity of, 196–197
 social intimacy in, 197–198
 sugar economy, 194, 205
 topography, 193, 196
- Recôncavo Baiano, 266, 270, 272, 273, 277
- redemption, 352–353, 357, 366
- re-enslavement, 39, 46–49, 195, 226–227
- registration, 53
 of enslaved people, 12, 14, 54–55, 225
- Reis Junior, J. M., 359
- Reis, João José, 6
- relationality
 of power, 21, 27, 192, 197
 and autonomy, 97–98
 in Recife, 199–200, 211–212
 of slavery, 20
- relationships
 informal, 20
 interracial, 368–369
 sexual, 20
 concubinage, 379, 380, 381, 383–384
 slaveholder-slave, 4, 97
 affective bonds in, 108–109, 123–125,
 126
 after abolition, 284–285
 contexts of, 90
 domestic, 110–111
 dominance in, 109, 125
 familial, 108–109, 123–125
 power inequalities in, 99
 and slave family, 89
 violent, 126
see also family; marriage.
- religion, 186, 359
 baptism, 44, 51, 61, 62, 63
 Christianity, in Africa, 330
 Curse of Ham, 342, 344–346
 priests, 266, 268
- religious brotherhoods, 2, 249, 291, 312
- representations
 of Africa, in music, 404, 410
 of Black people, 268, 347–348, 362–363,
 372, 394, 398, 400, 404, 407, 410,
 417, 419
 in artworks, 357–360
 polysemic, 413–414
 women, 350, 356–357, 358–359,
 366–367
 of enslaved people, 187–188
- A Republica Federativa* (newspaper), 248
- republicanism, 226–227, 303–304, 305,
 328
 Black organizations for, 312–314
 Black support for, 306–310
 demonstrations, 307
see also monarchism.

- resistance, of enslaved laborers, 2, 11, 13,
17, 99
female, 109
slave family as, 89
violent, 13
- Ressurreição, João Baptista da, 203
- Restall, Matthew, 356
- revolt, 2, 11, 53, 93
- Ribeiro de Avellar, Claudio Gomes (Baron of Guaribú)
agrarian empire of, 91, 92, 95
enslaved laborers, bequeathed by, 87, 96,
99–100, 102, 105–106
post-mortem inventory, 86, 94, 95
- Ribeiro de Avellar, Joaquim (Baron of Capivary), 92, 94
- Ribeiro de Avellar, Joaquim (Viscount of Ubá), 123–125
- Ribeiro de Avellar, Mariana (Viscountess of Ubá), 123–125
- Ribeiro, Luís Gomes, 86, 87–89, 91, 92, 95, 101
- Ribeiro, Luiz Antonio, 296
- rights
of Black people, 40
citizenship and, 16
civil, 318
constitutional, 250
discourse of, 250
of enslaved laborers
legal, 12
vs. favor, 253
of freed people, 319
restriction of, 36
to freedom, 45
and gender, 252
maternal, 119–122
property, 16
of slaveholders, 12
voting, 243, 263, 335
- Rio Branco Law *see* Free Womb Law.
- Rio Branco, Baron of (Paranhos Junior, José Maria da Silva), 12, 157, 271
- Rio de Janeiro, 15, 24, 31, 170–172
Cidade Nova, 287–288, 294, 299
Colégio São Salvador, 271
Escola Central (Escola Politécnica), 271
Radical Club, 45
- Rio Grande do Sul, 42–43, 49, 50, 149,
151–153
- Rio, João do, 359, 417
- O Rio-Grandense* (newspaper), 149
- Rio-Grandense Republic, 147
- Rios, Ana Maria Lugão, 216–217
- Rivera, José Frutuoso, 136–137
- Rocha, Antonio Ladislau de Figueredo, 44
- Rochêdo, Joaquim de Mattos Alcantilado, 60
- Roda de Expostos (orphanage), 114–115
- Rodrigues, José Carlos, 320, 323, 324, 325, 328
- Rodrigues, Nina, 359
- Rogers, Alex, 403
- Romualdo (enslaved African, Guaribú), 101, 103–104
- Rosa, Juan, 30, 148
- Rosa, Juana, 148
- Rouède, Emilio, 302, 306
- Rousseau, Jean-Jacques, 117
- Rufina (abducted and enslaved woman), 30, 52, 148, 149
- rurality
artistic representation of, 349, 351
urban space, connections to, 192, 196, 211
see also agriculture; plantations.
- SAAP (Society to Aid Agriculture in Pernambuco), 248
- Sabino (enslaved person), 167
- Sacramento, Paulino, 414
- Sadlier, Darlene Joy, 356
- Sagastume, José Vasquez, 151
- Saint-Hilaire, Augustin, 133
- Salga, José Vaz, 248
- Salles, Ricardo, 26
- Sampaio, Ezequiel, 270, 272, 276–277, 279
- Sampaio, Father Manoel Fernandes, 266, 267, 268, 271
- Sampaio, Joaquim Fernandes, 267
- Sampaio, José Teodoro, 267
- Sampaio, Martinho, 270, 272
- Sampaio, Matias, 270, 272, 279, 280–281, 284
- Sampaio, Teodoro, 264–286
Academia de Letras, rejected by, 285
biographies of, 268
birth, 266
Costa Pinto family, connections with, 275
death, 267
Dom Pedro II, meeting with, 284
early life, 269–270

- Sampaio, Teodoro (cont.)
 education, 270–271, 272
 on elderly slaves, 283
 on emancipationism, 281–282
 on end of slavery, 284–285
 engineering career, 272–273, 275–276,
 279, 284
 family of, 266–268
 marriage, 279
 purchases manumission of brothers, 272,
 275, 276–279
 racial identity of, 269, 274–275
 as *pardo*, 265, 267
 racism, downplaying of, 273–274
 racism, experience of, 273–274, 276
- Santa Rosa, Antonio Honorato de, 291, 295
- Santos Gomes, Flávio dos, 97
- Santos Guterres, Nicolau dos, 43
- Santos, Ana Cândida dos, 235
- Santos, Antônio dos, 87
- Santos, Gabriel Monteiro dos, 235, 236
- São João do Principe, 175
- São José dos Campos, 165
- São José, Anna Joaquina de, 92
- São Paulo, 15, 24, 307–308, 310
- Saraiva, José Antonio, 128, 129, 152–153,
 156, 276
- savings, enslaved peoples' right to, 12
- Scarborough, William Kauffman, 91
- scarifications, 71, 73
- Schneider, L., 157
- schools *see* education.
- Schwarcz, Lilia, 344
- Scott, Dred, 141
- Scott, Rebecca, 5, 6
- second slavery, 22, 84, 91
- segregation, 196
- seigniorialism, 244, 277, 279, 282
- self-purchase, 12, 13
- senzalas* (slave quarters), 88, 93, 96, 97, 98,
 101, 102, 103, 277
- Serapio, João, 150
- Sergimirim, Count of (Costa Pinto, Major
 Francisco Antônio da), 267, 270
- servants, domestic, 116
- sesmarias* (land allocations), 86, 87, 94
- Severino (freed person), 201, 202, 203
- sexual relationships, 20
- sexual violence, 179, 180, 202, 203, 268–269
- sexuality
 of enslaved women, 179–180
 and honor, 202–203
 interracial, 410–412
 Whiteness and, 411
- sexualization, of Black women, 268–269
- Seyferth, Giralda, 342, 356
- sharecropping (*meação*), 232–233
- Sheila Faria, 371
- Shipp, J. A., 403
- ships/boats, slave, 65–68, 67, 80
 Camões, 74–75
 capture of, 60, 62, 70–71, 72, 74–75, 76,
 146
 cargo, related to slave trade, 68
 deaths on board, 72–73
 Eugenia, 80
 Fair Rosamond, 74–75
 Feiticeira, 78
 Formiga, 65, 68
 Jovem Marie, 65
 landing of, 59
 Leal Portuense, 80
 Maria Gertrudes, 65
 Mariquinhas, 74
 Novo Despique, 65
 Oriente Africano, 65
 overloading of, 65, 70–71, 74, 82
 São José, 74
 Sete de Abril, 138
 smaller, 58, 71–72, 73–74
 speeds of, 64, 65
 Triunfo, 72
 Veloz, 74–75
 see also Middle Passage.
- Sierra Leone, 75, 76
- silence
 archival, 19, 159, 200, 267
 historiographic, 156–159
 racial, 242–244, 256, 257, 258, 261,
 262–263, 315
 breaking of, 250, 317
- silencing
 of enslaved women, 126
 of enslavement stories, 243
 of experiences of racism, 319–320
 of mothers/motherhood, 110, 111, 173,
 174
- Silva Jardim, Antônio da, 309, 313
- Silva, Antonio Candido da, 67, 75
- Silva, Daniel Domingues da, 68
- Silva, Estevão Roberto da, 296, 297–300
- Silva, Ezequiel Alves da, 312

- Silva, Florinda Maria da, 122
 Silva, Mizael Gomes da, 296
 Silva, Pinto da Fonseca e, 68
 Silva, Ricardo Caíres, 77
 Silva, Thomaz José da, 312
 Silveira Martins, Gaspar, 44–45
 Sinha, Manisha, 17
 Sinimbu, Cansansão de, 149
 Sinimbu, João Lins Vieira Cansanção de, 272, 273, 276
 Siqueira e Silva, Lourenço Izidro de, 296
 Siqueira, Herculina de, 207–209
 Skidmore, Thomas, 355
 slave city, concept of, 185, 212
 slave family *see* family.
 slave hunters, 206
 slave landings, 42–43, 58, 67, 77–78
 clandestine, 59, 78, 80
 slave neighborhoods, 106–107
 slave purchase, 10
 slave raids, 147–148, 154
 slave ships *see* ships/boats, slave.
 slave soil, 37
 slave songs, 388–389, 390, 391, 393–395, 410
 lundus, 399, 411–413
 political value of, 394, 395
 post-abolition, 393–394
 publication of, 389
 slave trade
 Atlantic, 10, 57–59
 see also Middle Passage.
 in children, 27, 60–63, 71–72
 in Africa, 58–59
 benefits to slave traders, 68–73
 illegal, 39, 49, 50
 profitability of, 63–65
 of children
 taxation on, 64
 domestic, 10, 11, 42, 246, 256, 272
 geography of, 57
 illegal, 27
 earnings from, 80
 economic importance of, 57
 operation of, 57–58, 59–60
 plantation owners, role in, 78–80, 81–82, 85, 100
 prosecutions of, 30
 tolerance of, 22–23, 63
 volume of, 9–10, 135, 149–150
 inter-provincial, 246, 256, 272
 mortality rates, 64, 65, 67, 72–73, 74, 80
 policing of, 9, 10
 in Río de la Plata region, 131–133
 supply side, 70
 slave traders, 65, 67
 plantation owners as, 78–80
 slave trafficking, 10, 42, 57
 through abduction of free people, 148–152
 criminalization of, 41–46, 135
 suppression of, 151–152
 transnational, 49–50
 slaveholders, 87, 94
 abolition, strategic support for, 280
 agrarian empires of, 90–96, 99–100
 arrests of, 43
 authority of, superseded, 247
 bequests to freed people, 217–220
 Brazilian, in Uruguay, 137
 categories of, 91
 children, rights over, 12
 compensation for, 137, 280, 285
 female, 21, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93, 95
 and wet-nursing, 111
 wills of, 371
 former slaves as, 90
 freed people as, 25, 125
 “good,” 123
 locations of, 10
 and manumission
 documents, control of, 271
 as gift, 277, 279, 280–281
 voluntary, 205, 207, 211
 political power of, 92
 prosecutions of, 207–209
 failed, 43–45
 sexual violence of, 180
 slaveholder-slave relationships, 4, 97
 affective bonds in, 108–109, 123–125, 126
 contexts of, 90
 domestic, 110–111
 dominance in, 109, 125
 post-abolition, 284–285
 power inequalities in, 99
 and slave family, 89
 violence in, 126, 180
 slavery
 in Africa, 332, 334
 afterlife of, 2–7, 28–29, 30, 32, 192
 Brazil, defining feature of, 1

- slavery (cont.)
- Brazil, formative influence on, 2–3, 4
 - Curse of Ham as justification for, 344–346
 - domination, ideology of, 109
 - effacement of, 186
 - enduring legitimacy of, 245
 - frontiers of, 37, 177
 - historical overview, 8–16
 - patria*, sin against, 25
 - and race, 8, 100, 101
 - as basis for abduction, 30, 38, 49–53, 148–152, 155, 165–167
 - reducing a free person to, crime of, 35–36, 41, 44, 45
 - second, 22, 84, 91
 - slaveholders' ambivalence about, 205
 - spectrum of, 18
 - stigma, 319
 - see also* abolition; emancipation; wet-nursing, forced.
- slaves *see* enslaved people.
- slaving frontier, 147
- slavocratic habitus, 85, 110, 111, 118, 284–285
- domestic perpetuation of, 118
 - politics of favor, 124
 - reproduction of, 114, 120, 121, 126
- Slenes, Robert, 6
- Soares, Caetano Alberto, 49
- Soares, Luiz Carlos, 115
- sociability, 98, 221, 289
- see also* Black organizations; networks.
- Sociedade Beneficente dos Artistas do Arsenal da Marinha da Corte (Beneficent Society for Rio's Navy Artisans), 299
- Sociedade Cooperativa da Raça Negra (Cooperative Society for the Black Race), 290, 291, 296–301
- Sociedade Familiar de Dança Prazer da Violeta (Violeta's Pleasure Family Dance Society), 288–289, 291
- Sociedade Recreativa e Instrutiva (Recreational and Instructive Society), 291
- Society for Agriculture, Commerce and Industry of the Province of Bahia, 270
- Society to Aid Agriculture in Pernambuco (SAAP), 248
- solidarity, racial, 242, 250, 259
- Sollors, Werner, 356
- Somerset, James, 140
- songbooks, 408, 409
- songs
- coon songs, 402, 403, 414
 - gargalhadadas* (laughing songs), 413–414
 - recordings, 389, 392, 413
 - Neves, Eduardo das, 411–413, 418
 - Williams, Bert, 402–403, 405–406
 - slave, 388–389, 390, 391, 393–395, 410
 - lundus*, 399, 411–413
 - political value of, 394, 395
 - post-abolition, 393–394
 - publication of, 389
 - on slave past, 416
- Souza Coelho, José Pedro Ferreira de, 308
- Souza, Paulino José Soares de (1st Viscount of Uruguai), 52, 139, 148
- space
- freedom and, 191
 - public, 197, 198, 211
 - women in, 169, 187, 191
 - rural, 349, 351
 - rural-urban connections, 192, 196, 211
 - of slavery, 230
 - see also* housing; urban space.
- Spain, 131, 132
- Spitzer, Leo, 329
- state registration, 53
- of enslaved people, 12, 14, 54–55, 225
- state-formation, 2, 28, 37, 157–158, 368–369
- Stepan, Nancy Leys, 356
- stigma, 243, 283, 319
- Strangford, Lord (Percy Smythe), 134
- subjectivities, 20
- Black, 28, 318, 328–329, 331, 336
 - gendered, 20–21
 - historiography of, 317–318
 - of “men of color,” 250–253
 - racial, 21–22, 257, 259, 262, 315
- suffrage, 243, 263, 335
- sugar economy
- abolition, strategic support for, 280
 - abolitionism, resistance to, 248
 - enslaved laborers in, 61, 78, 194, 205, 244, 245
 - exports, 266, 270
 - modernization of, 326
 - plantations, 269–270

- Tannenbaum, Frank, *Slave and Citizen*, 4–5
- Taunay, Alfredo, 331, 334, 335, 336
- Tavares Júnior, João José, 296
- Tavares, José Miguel de, 180
- taxation, 12, 64, 365–366
- Telles, Correia, 47
- Teresópolis, 361, 362
- terminology
 of color, 167, 265
 racial, 163, 167, 201, 243
- Thereza (enslaved African, Guaribú), 101, 103–104
- Thornton, Edward, 155
- Tinhorã, José Ramos, 414
- Tollenare, Louis François de, 63–65, 79
- Tolstoy, Leon, 331
- Tomich, Dale, 84
- Torres, Captain Manoel Pereira, 213, 214–215
- Tosta, Manuel Vieira, 143–144
- Tramandai, 42–43
- treaties, 9
 Brazil–Uruguay (1851), 139–140, 141–142, 146
 Treaty of Madrid (1750), 131
 Treaty of San Ildefonso (1777), 132
- Tribuna Liberal* (newspaper), 306
- Trouillot, Michel Rolph, 318
- Tupper, Manoel Fernandes, 296
- Ubá, Viscount of (Ribeiro de Avellar, Joaquim), 123–125
- Ubá, Viscountess of (Ribeiro de Avellar, Mariana), 123–125
- Umbelina (enslaved woman), 374
- Una river, 74
- A União* (journal), 258, 262
- União Operária (Worker's Union), 299
- United Kingdom *see* Great Britain.
- United Provinces of the Río de la Plata, 132, 133–134
- United States of America (USA), 254, 317, 326
 abolition in, 11
 Brazilian press accounts of, 320–323
 Civil War, 321
 and free soil, 141
 Freedmen's Bureau, 322
 Harlem, 403
 historiography of, 3
 music industry, 392
 Rebouças, André, visit to, 320, 323–325
 urban space, 184–185
 and abolition, 245–247
 afterlife of slavery in, 192
 freedom, spaces of, 191
 and gender, 191, 192
 growth of, 193–194
 historiography of, 185, 188–193
 inequalities in, 192
 and mobility, 196
 modernity of, 185–193, 198
 paradigms of, 188–190
 and progress, 189
 rurality, connections to, 192, 196, 211
 see also Porto Alegre; Recife; Rio de Janeiro; São Paulo.
- Uruguay, 49, 50
 abduction in, 148–152
 abolition in, 130, 137
 Blancos, 136–139
 Brazil
 border with, 131–133
 treaties imposed by, 139
 Brazil's invasion of, 128, 130
 Colorados, 129, 136–139, 152
 Montevideo, 132, 133
 origins of, 132
 slave raids, 147–148
 slavery in, 135–136
 USA *see* United States of America.
- vagrancy, 195, 214, 225, 323
- Valencia Villa, Carlos, 69
- Valle Porto, Manoel Wenceslau do, 296
- Vanderlei, João Maurício (Baron of Cotegipe), 14–15
- Vasconcelos, Bernardo Pereira de, 38, 40
- Vassouras, 85, 90, 91–96, 94
- Venceslau (enslaved person, Guaribú), 102
- Venezuela, 140
- Ventura Santos, Ricardo, 344
- Vereker, Henry, 149, 150
- Vianna, Antônio Joaquim Barbosa, 185–193
- Vieira, João Pedro Dias, 153
- violence
 anti-monarchist, 305
 Black organizations, reported of, 303–304, 305–306, 312
 toward enslaved people, 20, 166, 204–209

- violence (cont.)
 murder, 126, 207–209
 sexual, 179, 180, 202, 203, 268–269
 intimate, 20, 179, 180, 202, 203,
 268–269
 lynching, 335, 398
 monarchist-republican, 310–311
 as punishment, 204, 209
 in resistance, 13
 sexual, 179, 180, 202, 203, 268–269
 in slaveholder-slave relationships, 126,
 180
 virginity, 202–203
 visual art, 355–360
see also Brocos y Gómez, Modesto.
 Vitorina (enslaved wet nurse), 121
 voting rights, 243, 263, 335
- wages, 194, 230
 Walden, Howard de, 150
 Walker, George, 400–402, 401, 403–405
Abyssinia, 403, 404
Bandanna Land, 403
In Dahomey, 403, 404
 Wansuit, Eugênio, 307
 wars
 Cisplatine War (1825), 132, 133
 Guerra Grande (Uruguayan Civil War,
 1839–1851), 128, 136–139
 Paraguayan War (1864–1870), 11, 30,
 53, 128–129, 155, 156
 Washington, Booker T., 406
 Weber, Max, 140
 Weinstein, Barbara, 6
 Werneck, Ana Joaquina de São José, 92
 Werneck, Francisco Peixoto de Lacerda
 (Baron of Paty do Alferes), 92, 94
 Werneck, Maria Isabel de Lacerda
 (Viscountess of Arcozelo), 105, 125
 wet nurses, 108, 109–111, 120, 125–126,
 170, 171
 ambiguous position of, 121, 122
 clothing of, 121
 freedom letters and manumission,
 122–123, 125
 guidance on selection of, 115–116
 intimacy of role of, 110, 121
 lending of, 123–125
 orphanages, work at, 114–115, 173
 photographic portraits of, 119–122
 pregnancies of, 124
 rental of, 172
 separation from own children, 110, 111,
 113, 124, 126
 sexuality, exploitation of, 180
 skills of, 114
 slaveholder family, affective ties to,
 123–125
 trade in, 110, 113–114
 working conditions of, 110
 wet-nursing, 30, 108, 112
 costs of, 114
 criticism of, 117–118, 126, 174
 demand for, 173
 regulation of, 114
 White, Graham, 388
 White, Shane, 388
 whiteface, 414
 Whiteness, 257, 261, 274
 of print culture, assumed, 247–248
 and sexuality, 411
 whitening, 25, 342, 346, 354–355
 White people
 “advocates,” criticism of, 28
 immigrant, 364
 women, 118, 411
 Williams, Bert, 31, 389, 395–396, 396,
 398–407, 401
 activism, 398, 406
 blackface, use of, 402, 406, 407
 Broadway musicals of, 403–405
Abyssinia, 403, 404
Bandanna Land, 403
In Dahomey, 403, 404
 critical response to, 406–407
Darktown Poker Club, 405
 fame of, 399–400
How? Fried, 405
 humor, use of, 399, 402, 405–406
 legacy, 419
Nobody, 405
 racism, experience of, 398
 recordings, 402–403, 405–406
*You Can’t Do Nothing till Martin Gets
 Here*, 405
You Will Never Need a Doctor No More,
 405
 in Ziegfeld Follies, 405–406
 Williams, Daryle, 31
 Williams, Eric, 4
 women, 30–31
 agency of, 365, 366

- autonomy of, 164, 169, 268
 development of, 171
 lack of, 169
 and property, 179
 Black
 redemption produced by, 366
 representations of, 347–348, 350,
 356–357, 358–359, 366–367
 sexualization of, 268–269
 tias Baianas (Bahian Aunts), 287
 bodies of, 115
 dependency of, 164, 175
 enslaved, 21, 63, 96, 98, 100
 self-expression of, 126–127
 sexuality of, 179–180
 silencing of, 126
 free, 48–49, 164
 freed, 371
 and honor, 179–180, 202–203

 labor of, 187, 195
 washerwomen/laundresses, 171, 175,
 187
 see also wet nurses.
 mixed race, 411
 mobility of, 165, 171
 protection, value of, 169
 in public space, 169, 187, 191
 regulation of, 181–183
 slaveholders, 86, 87, 88, 92, 93,
 95
 and wet-nursing, 111
 wills of, 371
 White, 118, 411
 see also mothers/motherhood.
- Xavier, Manoel Francisco, 92, 93

 Zetirry, Arrigo de, 227–229

