

**From African Man to Brazilian Beast:
The Destruction of Black Gender in
Eighteen and Nineteenth Century Rural, Brazilian Slavery**

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Brazilian slavery, as it existed in rural settings upon *engenhos* (sugar mills) and coffee plantations, was an institution that held various implications for the enslaved men and women of African descent. In various regards, the gender constructs of the larger Brazilian society were upheld by masters, predominantly white Brazilians, even within the institution of black slavery on plantations. Likewise, slaves attempted in multiple ways to maintain a culture predicated on preexisting gender norms of both African and Brazilian society. These notions are especially evident in the labor assigned to slaves based upon sex, in certain assumptions held regarding male and female slaves, and in various aspects of the slave's limited social life. However, these same slaves also had their gender identities destroyed, especially when compared to the ideals of gender employed by white Brazilian society. Epitomizing this fact are the punishments assigned to slaves, the legal view of slaves as individuals without rights, the sexual exploitation of female slaves, and the facts and notions inherent in the very institution of slavery. Thus, while African and Brazilian gender norms were often upheld by masters and slaves alike, compulsory emasculation and defeminization remained an inescapable and debilitating reality for the rural slave in eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil.

Historian Mary Karasch asserts that within the institution of slavery, specifically in the frontier and rural parts of Brazil, most women participated in occupations deemed to be feminine by the broader Brazilian culture.¹ Furthermore, she claims that these female-dominated jobs included child care, food and clothing production, and domestic service.² For instance, in early nineteenth century Goiás, slave women, in addition to being agricultural laborers in the *engenhos*, commonly functioned as *cozinheras* (cooks), charged with feeding entire plantations.³ Karasch refers to the labor forced upon black slave women by their masters, work deemed to be culturally appropriate and physically manageable for enslaved females. The presence of Brazilian gender norms within the context of rural slavery is further supported by sources from eighteenth and nineteenth century Brazil.

In a document written in the late nineteenth century by the French wife of a Brazilian man, the author, commenting on the life of slaves on a *fazenda* (plantation) in the province of Rio de Janeiro, noted the domestic duties of female slaves. She observed that, upon entering the "darkies'" kitchen, she "saw two negresses having before them

¹ David Barry Gaspar and Darlene Clark Hine, ed., *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington, In: Indiana University Press, 1996), 85.

² *Ibid.*, 85.

³ *Ibid.*, 87.

two immense caldrons.”⁴ The author emphasized these female domestic duties in a patronizing and positive manner indicative of a liberal view of slavery within a post-independence Brazilian society, which was moving closer toward abolition. While the author’s prejudice, also possibly influenced by post-Enlightenment French ideals, was apparent, her observations were accurate, insightful, and reinforced by other descriptions of the gendered labor of female slaves. Henry Koster, a British resident of Pernambuco, wrote in 1815 about the cultural enforcement of gender roles upon slaves in their adolescence, specifically on a Benedictine plantation.⁵ He asserted that “when they arrive at the age of ten and twelve years, the girls spin thread for making the coarse cotton cloth of the country.”⁶ Koster, employed by a British religious organization, favorably noted this gendered practice of slavery. Similarly, the impact of Brazilian concepts of gender within the institution of slavery, evidenced in this paternalistic account of a nurturing slave system, can be seen in accounts pertaining to older slave women as well.

British consul H. Augustus Cowper wrote several accounts, addressed to the Earl of Aberdeen, concerning slavery in Pernambuco in the mid-nineteenth century. In a dispatch dated August 4, 1843, Cowper wrote that on the *engenho* of Colonel Gaspar de Menezes Vasconcellos Drummond, all of the domestic slaves were females. Likewise, in accordance with the benevolence of this master, Cowper stated that female slaves who work in the fields were not allowed to work “after the fifth month of pregnancy” and then were given “light domestic occupations for twelve months after her child is born.”⁷ However, this notion was contradicted by statements given in an 1871 speech by Senator Cristiano Benedito Ottoni of Minas Gerais. In this speech, Senator Ottoni attributed the high mortality rate among rural slave children to the fact that pregnant and nursing black women were not relieved from their work duties, thus resulting in abnormal fetal development and a reduced flow of milk in nursing mothers.⁸

At the time of Ottoni’s speech the Free Birth Law of 1871, which liberated newborn children of slave women, was still under debate. This fact shows the potential for bias in an account written by a senator with abolitionist ideals and thus, a potential exaggeration of certain claims. However, neither Ottoni’s personal observance of slave conditions nor the high mortality rate of slave children can be denied. While his speech showed a destruction of traditional Brazilian gender constructs within slavery, an idea that will be discussed later in this paper, it also had ramifications concerning the maintenance of female gender norms in rural Brazilian slavery. Similarly, as an official for a British government that had long since abolished slavery, Cowper’s description of a comparatively lenient treatment of female slaves based on gender seems to carry certain

⁴ Adèle Toussaint-Samson, *A Parisian in Brazil* (Boston: James H. Earle, 1891) quoted in Robert Edgar Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire: A Documentary History of Black Slavery in Brazil* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton University Press, 1983), 84.

⁵ The Benedictine Order is a Roman Catholic monastic order that traces its spiritual founding to St. Benedict. Benedictine monks first arrived in Brazil, from Portugal, in the sixteenth century.

⁶ Henry Koster, *Travels in Brazil in the years from 1809, to 1815* (Philadelphia: M. Carey & Son, 1817), 2:218.

⁷ *Class B. Correspondences with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc. Relative to the Slave Trade, 1843* (London, 1844) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 73.

⁸ C.B. Ottoni, *A emancipação dos escravos* (Rio de Janeiro: Typographia Perseverança, 1871) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 100.

validity and informative qualities. Cowper actively sought out sinister examples of slavery in order to condemn the institution and thus perhaps had less incentive to falsify a report that, especially in the view of Brazilian society in the 1840s, gave evidence of a supposedly benign slavery in line with liberal ideas. Regardless of which account is most credible and indicative of the general state of rural Brazilian slavery, the idea of treating women slaves based on sexual norms and commonly held Brazilian beliefs clearly existed. These reports, either reluctantly or enthusiastically, showed that black slave women oftentimes performed tasks, received treatment, or were perceived by their masters based upon their sex and the concepts of gender prevalent in a patriarchal Brazilian society.

Similarly, male slaves also were assigned labor deemed, according to Brazilian gender constructs, to be appropriate for the male sex. For instance, plantation work specific to male slaves was described in an account written by an Italian Jesuit in 1711. Father João Antônio Andreoni attested that while both men and women engaged in some form of agricultural work, “only the male slaves make use of the axe to cut down the forests.”⁹ Andreoni emphasized the physical strength of slaves, which he related to their masculinity. There is little question that a perceived frailty of females, and notions of the brute strength of African males, influenced the nature of duties assigned to slaves.¹⁰ Rural slave labor was described by a native of the northern province of Maranhão in a book on Brazilian slavery from the mid-nineteenth century. While based upon childhood recollections of a reform-minded individual, these accounts of arduous work, lasting approximately twelve hours a day, indicated a form of work that would have been deemed only fit for males.¹¹ A similar gender influenced division of labor is shown in a Bahian sugar planter’s registry of slaves written in 1872.

Dr. Francisco Moreira de Carvalho, the Bahian planter, listed his male slaves in various male oriented occupations, including butcher, mason, shepherd, stableman, carpenter, and herdsman.¹² Most indicative of the maintenance of Brazilian gender norms, within the context of slavery, was the role of a male slave as overseer, as evidenced in this registry.¹³ Charged with the responsibility of maintaining order amongst fellow slaves, the male overseer essentially had the most masculine power afforded to a slave. This occupation was only assigned to male slaves, presumably those who displayed the most masculine characteristics, essentially due to ideas concerning gender, prevalent within the patriarchal Brazilian culture of the nineteenth century. Through assigned labor, masters enforced certain gender roles upon their slaves.

Likewise, to a large degree, slaves also attempted to maintain a semblance of gender normality, according to both the African and Brazilian cultural contexts, within the limited social practices they were permitted to enjoy. In the previously mentioned account written by a Frenchwoman in Rio de Janeiro, there was a description of a *batuco*, a dance and musical celebration of African origins. During this dance, an appointed king,

⁹ André João Antonil, *Cultura e opulência do Brasil por suas drogas e minas* (São Paulo: Companhia Melhoramentos, 1922) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 56.

¹⁰ *Ibid.*, 56.

¹¹ F.A. Brandão, Júnior, *A escravatura no Brasil precedida d’um artigo sobre a agricultura e colonização no Maranhão* (Brussels: H. Thiry-Vern Buggenhoudt, 1865) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 97.

¹² Coleção Subaé. Lata 551, Document 29, Instituto Histórico e Geográfico Brasileiro quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 102-107

¹³ *Ibid.*, 103.

“a negro of high stature,” commanded the various actions of the celebration and did so while being “armed with a long white wand,” a clear symbol of masculine power and authority.¹⁴ Along with this traditional male position, there were distinct roles for women to play in the dance. The Frenchwoman attested that “the negresses walked harmoniously, keeping time in waving their handkerchiefs and in giving themselves up to a most accentuated movement of the hips.”¹⁵ Author Katia M. De Queirós Mattoso also noted retention of traditional Brazilian and African gender norms within slave’s religious festivals, including the appointment of a king and queen during these celebrations.¹⁶

Oftentimes, slaves reasserted gender norms prevalent in their own African culture using the Catholic faith imposed on them by their masters and white, Brazilian society. In Henry Koster’s account from 1817, the author interestingly noted that slaves practicing Catholicism sometimes painted depictions of Our Lady of the Rosary, Mary, “with a black face and hands.”¹⁷ The connotation is striking; in a context of slavery where familial bonds were either non-existent or tenuous, black slaves attempted to symbolically recreate the role of the black woman as mother within the Virgin Mary, the Christian epitome of motherhood and feminine virtue. While written with Christian bias, this source demonstrated a crucial aspect of the construction of gender in Brazilian slave communities. Considering the composition of the traditional African family and the familial structures and demographics of slavery, especially an overall shortage of women until later in the nineteenth century, this apparent desire to reify the notion of black motherhood was entirely understandable. Evidence shows that many West African nations, those predominantly affected by the slave trade, had polygynous and matrifocal structures, essentially meaning that there was a strong maternal influence on children and a prominent “mother-child unit.”¹⁸ In these societies, the mother was the center of her household, as the father, responsible for many different wives and children, was largely marginal to the daily functions of individual households. Thus, black slaves attempted to maintain traditional gender conceptions in accordance to Brazilian and Catholic notions of womanhood and motherhood, West African matrifocal family structures, and the demographics of the enslaved population.

Examples of the labor and social lives of slaves show a tendency on the part of white masters and black slaves to maintain gender constructs prevalent in both Brazilian and African life. However, within rural Brazilian slavery, the preservation of traditional gender roles was not as prominent, or powerfully demonstrated, as the destruction of male and female gender identity. This is evident in the legal status of slaves, which was described in an essay from 1866 by Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, a prominent Brazilian legal historian. Significantly, this essay demonstrated how masters could legally and physically punish slaves. While not being able to “excessively” punish slaves in accordance with liberal laws imposed in the 1824 Constitution of Brazil, Malheiro

¹⁴ Adèle Toussaint-Samson, *A Parisian in Brazil* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 85.

¹⁵ *Ibid.*, 85.

¹⁶ Katia M. De Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil 1550-1888*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick: Rutgers University Press, 1994), 101.

¹⁷ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2:200.

¹⁸ Gasper, *More Than Chattel*, 11.

asserted that masters could “punish them moderately, as fathers may punish their children and teachers their students.”¹⁹

What seemingly escaped Malheiro, even though he recognized the fact that slaves were legally reduced to objects, was the infantilizing and emasculating nature of slavery embedded in the very language of these laws. In the majority of cases, especially up until the latter part of the nineteenth century, slaves were predominantly adult men. Granting masters the paternalistic right to punish and treat mature men as children showed the utter destruction of ideals of masculinity, and accompanying notions of power, within the male, black slave. Alfred Russel Wallace, a colleague of Charles Darwin, noted on his travel to an *engenho* that the master “attends to his slaves just as he would to a large family of children.”²⁰ Furthermore, Wallace seemed to have grasped the implications of this treatment, asking if it can “be right to keep a number of our fellow-creatures in a state of adult infancy,--of unthinking childhood?”²¹ To the master, the answer was a definitive affirmative because gendered subjugation, especially the emasculation of males, was a key component of Brazilian slavery.

Similarly, punishments were not always moderate, and instances of brutal castigation often confirmed a desire on the part of slave masters to destroy the gender identities of their property. In 1843, British Consul H. Augustus Cowper wrote to the Earl of Aberdeen about Colonel Antonio Francisco de Rego Barros, a master who allegedly punished female slaves with “the injection of pepper vinegar into the vagina” or, if it was a wayward male slave, “emasculat[ion].”²² Likewise, Cowper related an instance where a male slave had his genitalia cut away with a razor and another where the inability of two male slaves to follow orders from their master “caused the poor fellows to be castrated.”²³ While these reports came from an individual who made no attempt to hide his disdain for slavery, his allegations were substantiated by other reports.

In a book from 1758, Father Manoel Ribeiro Rocha, a resident of Bahia, spoke of punishment being excessive “if the slave is beaten . . . about the private parts.”²⁴ Likewise, he admonished slave owners who would beat their slaves “on the irregular parts of the body.”²⁵ It can be assumed that this Catholic priest would not have gone out of his way to decry a practice unless it was evidently in existence, a fact that can especially be assumed considering sparse legislation barring cruel punishment in colonial Brazilian society existed. The intent of punishment involving mutilation of the slave’s genitalia is clear: in physically destroying or marring the organ specific to the slave’s sex, the master sought to mentally, physically, and emotionally obliterate the slave’s individual identity by removing a key element of personhood, sexual identity. Likewise,

¹⁹ Agostinho Marques Perdigão Malheiro, *Escravidão no Brasil: Ensaio histórico-jurídico-social*, 2 vols. 2nd ed. (São Paulo: Edições Cultura, 1944) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 238.

²⁰ Alfred Russel Wallace, *A Narrative of Travels on the Amazon and Rio Negro, with an Account of the Native Tribes, and Observations on the Climate, Geology, and Natural History of the Amazon Valley*, ed. G.T.B. (New York: Greenwood Publishers, 1969), 83.

²¹ *Ibid.*, 83.

²² *Class B. Correspondence with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 74.

²³ *Ibid.*, 74.

²⁴ Manoel Ribeiro Rocha, *Ethiope resgatado, empenhado, sustentado, corregido, instruido, e liberado* (Lisbon: Na Oficina Patriarcal de Francisco Luiz Ameno, 1758) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 296.

²⁵ *Ibid.*, 296.

by mutilating the sex organ of the male or female slave, the master also eliminated a crucial aspect of the sexual identity of the slave, the ability to reproduce and fulfill the traditional gender role of mother or father.

Similar notions of a denial of traditional African and Brazilian gender constructs within rural Brazilian slavery were evidenced in the sexual exploitation of female slaves. A court case occurring from 1882-1884, involving a twelve year old slave girl, Honorata, and her master, Henriques Ferreira Pontes, showed how females had the characteristics associated with their sex taken from them within the context of slavery. Essentially, in this case, Pontes did not deny having deflowered Honorata and formed his defense on the claim that the court had no power in a case involving a master taking the virginity of his slave.²⁶ Interestingly, Judge Vasconcelos initially ruled in favor of Honorata because he believed “slaves possess so much personal honor” and “honor or virginity is of interest to the peace of the community . . . the family, of society, and of public morality.”²⁷ Just as elite white women in the broader Brazilian society possessed honor and a virginity to protect and uphold, the Court of Recife initially ruled that Honorata, and presumably all female black slaves, did also. However, this decision would not be upheld, and the final verdict of the court shows an immense denial of slave womanhood and virtue.

On May 11, 1883, a court headed by Freitas Henriques ruled against Honorata, thus supporting the appeal of her master, Pontes. Henriques based his ruling on the fact that legally, slaves could not instigate allegations or testify against their master, and he also did not feel that there was sufficient proof that Honorata was a minor. Likewise, slaves could not provide witness testimony against their master, and the primary witness in the case was a male slave who corroborated Honorata’s story.²⁸ Essentially, Pontes was acquitted because slaves had no legal rights and, even though the final ruling was by an apparently pro-abolition judge, the power dynamic between master and slave fundamentally made “the rape or molestation of slave women . . . legal behavior.”²⁹

The female slave, depending on the whims of her master, could very easily have her womanhood stripped away. The case powerfully showed this as Honorata had her virginity, and apparently honor, forcibly taken from her, thus robbing her of the very qualities which defined the ideal woman within Brazilian society. She had no control over her womanhood; instead, the master decided when, where, and how often, through rape and domination, she would become property, instead of a woman. Likewise, this case also had implications for Tiburcio, the male slave who corroborated Honorata’s testimony. As a slave, Tiburcio was unable to aid Honorata through any means, especially legally. The result of this was emasculation of the male slave, an utter inability to protect female slaves, even mothers, wives, or daughters. These enslaved blacks of African origin came from polygynous societies, where patriarchal authority and male privilege were essential and defining characteristics.³⁰ Likewise, these slaves lived in a Brazilian society where the husband was the legal *cabeça de casal* (head of household), therefore possessing his household and its members literally and

²⁶ *O Direito* (Rio de Janeiro) 35 (1884) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 275.

²⁷ *Ibid.*, 276-277.

²⁸ *Ibid.*, 279.

²⁹ *Ibid.*, 274, 280.

³⁰ Gaspar, *More Than Chattel*, 12.

metaphorically.³¹ However, the male slave, while being both culturally African and living physically in the Brazilian nation, could not fully function as a man in either sense.

Oftentimes, the inherent nature of the Brazilian slave system, regardless of intent or will of a specific master, resulted in emasculation or defeminization. In general, male slaves vastly outnumbered female slaves throughout much of Brazilian history, specifically in frontier and rural regions. Figures of slaves in the state of Goiás from the nineteenth century show a lack of female slaves until the latter part of the century. Likewise, these statistics are supported by a medical report from the province of Rio de Janeiro showing a ratio of approximately 1.6 male slaves for every enslaved female. This disproportion, which was alleviated by the halting of the Brazilian international slave trade in 1851 and overall resettlement of the white population to rural areas, had emasculating implications.³² Historian James Sweet asserts that the sex imbalance obviously hindered the reproductive prospects of African slaves in Brazil and undoubtedly strengthened their feeling of being socially dead.³³ As shown by demographics, and further evidenced by the social realities of slavery such as intense labor, males had fewer opportunities for marriage or other sustained, masculine relations with females. Similarly, an inordinately high rate of child mortality occurred, due in large part to the intense labor suffered by pregnant female slaves, as attested to by Senator Ottoni in 1871, and conditions of squalor conducive to disease.³⁴ The report compiled by German doctor Reinhold Teuscher in 1853, showed that on the five coffee plantations under his medical control, there was a mortality rate of five percent over a five year period. Over sixty-five percent of these mortalities were children.³⁵

To the female slave, the fact that there was an overwhelming chance her child would die in infancy represented a distinct lack of womanhood, both within a Catholic Brazilian society emphasizing motherhood and a matrifocal African culture. Furthermore, in 1711, the Italian Jesuit advising sugar planters on the appropriate treatment of slaves lamented, “slave women deliberately attempt to abort themselves so that the children inside their bodies will not be made to suffer what they have suffered.”³⁶ Likewise, infanticide was not uncommon, as noted by Archduke Maximilian on an 1860 visit to Bahia. Maximilian claimed that these “child-murders” occurred “in order to revenge themselves on their cruel masters, and to rob him of valuable capital.”³⁷ Historian Robert Conrad agrees with the Austrian Archduke’s assertion but also claimed that these children’s lives were taken so that they could forever leave the misery of slavery.³⁸ All three men have specific biases and Jesuit priest João Antônio Andreoni’s perhaps is one most considerate of slaves. However, both his and Conrad’s hypothesis

³¹ Muriel Nazzari, *Dissapperance of the Dowry: Women, Families, and Social Change in São Paulo, Brazil (1600-1900)* (Stanford: Stanford University Press, 1991), 25.

³² Gaspar, *More Than Chattel*, 81.

³³ James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship, and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), 38-39.

³⁴ Ottoni, *A emancipação dos escravos* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 100.

³⁵ Reinhold Teuscher, *Algumas observações sobre a estadística sanitaria dos escravos em fazendas de café. These apresentada á faculdade de Medicina do Rio de Janeiro e publicamente sustentada aos 22 de Julio de 1853* (Rio de Janeiro: Villeneuve e Comp., 1853) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 88.

³⁶ Antonil, *Cultura e opulencia do Brasil* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 60.

³⁷ Maximilian I, *Recollections of My Life, 3 vols.* (London: Richard Bentley, 1868) quoted in Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 198.

³⁸ Conrad, *Children of God’s Fire*, 360.

that women aborted or murdered their children out of compassion and unwillingness to subject them to slavery seems most accurate considering the mental toll of slavery upon its victims. This female response to slavery shows the further seizure of their womanhood: if the physical conditions of slavery, work and disease, did not rob the female slave of her child, the mental anguish and suffering often did. In either respect, it is clear that in slavery, the woman, to a large degree, could not fulfill the Brazilian and African cultural female role of motherhood.

Upon arrival from Africa, before Brazilian independence, black slaves were branded with the Portuguese royal seal in the same manner that cattle would have been.³⁹ The implication here is clear: slaves were property, things with no legal personality. As such, they no longer existed as people and certainly not as men or women. Even while masters employed slaves in certain gender related roles, jobs such as cook, nurse, or nanny for the female, and overseer, cattle herder, or forester for the male, the view of the slave as without personhood was clear. At every possible instance, through law, whippings, rape, castration, or vaginal mutilation, the slave was shown that their gender was not something over which they had possession. In small instances, such as the celebration of religious festivals, these traditional gender norms were maintained by slaves. However, the majority of attempts to regain control of gender and sexual identity, such as legal allegations, escape, rebellion, or even *banzo*, the slow suicide of starvation, ended in the slave receiving further rebukes of emasculation, defeminization, or even death.⁴⁰ Essentially, within the context of rural slavery in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries, Brazilian law, slave demographics, the inherent mental and physical condition accompanying enslavement, and the malicious inclinations of the master served to transform “the African man into the American beast.”⁴¹

³⁹ Koster, *Travels in Brazil*, 2:198.

⁴⁰ Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil*, 135

⁴¹ *Class B. Correspondence with Spain, Portugal, Brazil, etc* quoted in Conrad, *Children of God's Fire*, 76

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Brazil at the Dawn of the Eighteenth Century (Classic Histories from the Portuguese-Speaking World in Translation). Andr   Jo  o Antonil. 5.0 out of 5 stars 1. Paperback. \$24.95 Prime.   Licentious Liberty would be a useful addition to the readings in a course on slavery or colonial Brazil or on gender in colonial Latin America.   David McCreery, Journal of Latin American Studies.    Focusing on Sabar  , one of the principal mining towns, she draws a compelling portrait of the disorderly society generated by dispersed placer gold production.   Hendrik Kraay, Latin American Research Review.    This book is a careful examination of how slavery worked in one of the societies of the New World most influenced by that institution.    Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.   Journal of Southern History, Feb. 1995.   Slave Hair and African American Culture in the Eighteenth and Nineteenth Centuries.   Journal of Southern History, Feb. 1995. Download. Review: White, Shane and Graham White.   The authors suggest that although such hairstyles are known to have existed in Africa at the time, in West Africa (the area from which most slaves came or could trace their ancestry) men  s hair would be quite short, while the women would carefully shape their longer hairstyles.   Hair It Is: Examining the Experiences of Black Women with Natural Hair. By Tabora Johnson. READ PAPER.

Interest in the nature of Brazilian slavery has increased dramatically during the last ten years. In part this interest has been stimulated by the desire of North American social scientists to examine what was initially viewed to be the striking differences between patterns of race relations and slavery as they developed in the United States and Brazil.   Resistance and Acculturation in Eighteenth-Century Brazil: The Slaves   View of Slavery,   Hispanic American Historical Review 57: 1(February 1977), p. 71. 10 The sources used in the compilation of this table include baptismal records covering the same period. Livros de Batismos, Cods.   Some of the most prominent men in Vila Rica came from humble backgrounds.