



SLAVE SUBJECTIVITIES IN THE IBERIAN WORLDS (15th- 20th CENTURIES)

BOOK OF ABSTRACTS

Slave Subjectivities in the Iberian World

International Conference

2nd-4th July 2018

Instituto de Ciências Sociais
Universidade de Lisboa



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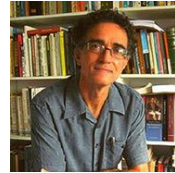


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KEYNOTE SPEAKERS

João José dos Reis
Universidade Federal da Bahia



Protagonismo escravo, da negociação ao conflito

Nesta apresentação se discutirá a historiografia da escravidão no Brasil nas últimas décadas, destacando o protagonismo (agência, subjetividade) do escravo enquanto perspectiva interpretativa e metodológica. Temas como negociação, resistência e conflito, o continuum escravidão e liberdade, identidades étnicas, religiosidade e a incorporação da África na narrativa, a economia dos escravos e libertos, entre outros, serão abordados. Resultados de pesquisas já publicados ou investigações em andamento do próprio palestrante ilustrarão alguns aspectos da sua fala.

João José dos Reis has a degree in History from the Universidade Católica do Salvador (1974). Professor João José dos Reis also studied Social Sciences at the Universidade Federal da Bahia (1971-75). He obtained both his Masters (1977) and his PhD (1982) degrees in History at the University of Minnesota.

He was visiting professor at the Universities of Michigan (Ann Arbor), Princeton, Brandeis, Texas (Austin) and at the École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales. He was visiting scholar at the University of London, at the Center for Advanced Studies in the Behavioral

Sciences (Stanford) and at the National Humanities Center (Research Triangle, NC), among others. He is full professor at the History Department of the Universidade Federal da Bahia. He was member of the History Advisory Committee of the CNPq on several occasions, a center which he integrates as Researcher 1A. Professor João José dos Reis received the Comenda do Mérito Científico from the Ministry of Science and Technology in the class of Comendador (2004) and Grã Cruz (2010) and he is an Honorary Foreign Member of the American Historical Association.

His book *A morte é uma festa* received the Best Book Jabuti prize in 1992, and the American Association Haring prize in 1997, among others. In 2010 he received the Robertson prize for best article in the Hispanic American Historical Review, in 2012 the Casa de las Américas prize from the Instituto Casa de las Americas (Cuba) and in 2017 the Machado de Assis prize, from the Academia Brasileira das Letras.

He is the author of several books, among which: *Negociação e Conflito: A Resistência Negra no Brasil Escravista* (1989), *A Morte é uma Festa: Ritos Fúnebres e Revolta Popular no Brasil do Século XIX* (1992), *Liberdade por um Fio: História dos Quilombos no Brasil* (1996); *Rebelião Escrava no Brasil: a História do Levante dos Malês* (1835) (2003); *Domingos Sodré, um sacerdote africano: escravidão, liberdade e candomblé na Bahia do século XIX* (2008).

Michelle McKinley
University of Oregon School of Law



Free children of Enslaved mothers in Latin America

My presentation focuses on the status of quasi-emancipation. Most Limeño slaves occupied an ambiguous terrain between slavery and freedom. Urban slaves were overwhelmingly mobile to maximize their day-wage earnings. They often lived in spaces separate from their owners. This semi-autonomous existence potentially created confusion over identity, condition, and status. This presentation focuses on the *performance* of freedom in a slave society. I discuss Maria Albina's protracted lawsuit (1683-1706) to determine her status, to declare her six children and grandchildren free, and to procure payment for the personal services rendered while she served as a domestic slave (*donada*) in one of Lima's Carmelite convents for over twenty years. My discussion considers enslaved women's ambivalent association with religious enclosure, the continued reliance on slave labor inside Lima's vast religious institutions, and the tensions of elite religious women who held slaves despite renouncing property ownership as part of their vows. It also illuminates the relationships between freed children and enslaved mothers, and the impact of mixed status on social mobility. Finally, the discussion is situated within work that examines the blurred and ambiguous terrain between slavery and freedom traveled by many slaves, and their use of courts to expedite and finally attain freedom.

Michelle McKinley is the Bernard B. Kliks Professor of Law at Law School, University of Oregon. She teaches Immigration Law and Policy, Public International Law, International Criminal Law, and Refugee & Asylum Law. Professor McKinley attended Harvard Law School, where she was Executive Editor of the Harvard Human Rights Journal and graduated cum laude in 1995. Professor McKinley also holds a Masters Degree in Social Anthropology from Oxford University.

McKinley has extensively published work on public international law, Latin American legal history, and the law of slavery. Her articles appear in the Law and History Review; Slavery & Abolition; Journal of Family History, Berkeley Journal of Gender, Law & Justice; Identities: Global Studies in Culture and Power; Yale Journal of Law and the Humanities, and Unbound: Harvard Law Journal of the Legal Left, among others. She has been granted fellowships for her research from the American Council of Learned Societies, the National Science Foundation, the National Endowment for the Humanities, the American Philosophical Society, and the Newberry Library. She was awarded the Surrency Prize in 2011 for her article, "Fractional Freedoms: Legal Activism & Ecclesiastical Courts in Colonial Lima, 1593-1700." In 2014, she was a fellow in residence at Princeton University's Program in Law and Public Affairs, where she completed a book on enslaved women in colonial Latin America using courts to litigate their claims to liberty.

Prior to joining the academy, Professor McKinley was the former Managing Director of Cultural Survival, an advocacy and research organization dedicated to indigenous peoples. She is also the founder, and former director, of the Amazonian Peoples' Resources Initiative, a community based reproductive rights organization in Peru, where she worked for nine years as an advocate for global health and human rights.

ABSTRACTS

SESSION 1: Different sources, dispersed spaces

Henrique Dias e o Império português: narrativa, subjetividade e memória

Hebe Mattos
Universidade Federal Fluminense

Desde a organização de *Escravidão e Subjetividades* (Open Edition 2016), com Myram Cottias, o impacto da experiência da escravidão e de sua memória na construção de subjetividades negras no mundo Atlântico tornou-se minha principal pauta de pesquisa. Venho trabalhando com narrativas negras em primeira pessoa desde 2004. Henrique Dias, o líder das tropas negras na restauração pernambucana é um dos poucos casos de negros, provavelmente ex-escravo, que deixou documentos escritos em primeira pessoa no Brasil colonial, basicamente duas cartas assinadas e pedidos de mercês ao Conselho Ultramarino. Já tenho alguns textos sobre o personagem, com destaque para o artigo *Black Troops and Hierarchies of Color in the Atlantic World: the case of Henrique Dias*, Luso Brazilian Review, 2008, sem enfatizar, entretanto, a problemática da subjetividade nesses documentos. A comunicação irá revisita-los e a história de suas leituras pela historiografia, para discutir se

correspondências e pedidos de mercês, produzidos no contexto do Império português do século 17, podem servir de fonte para discutir subjetividades sulbaternizadas no contexto colonial atlântico como problema histórico.

Hebe Mattos is director of the Memory of Slavery Project at Laboratório de História Oral e Imagem (LABHOI) of Universidade Universidade Federal Fluminense (UFF) and Universidade Federal de Juiz de Fora (UFJF) in Brazil. Her research is about the building of Slavery and Race in Brazil through the analysis of selected personal narratives. The range of narratives extends from seventeenth--century letters of Henrique Dias, a black soldier in the war against the Dutch, to contemporary oral--history life narratives of the political leadership of the Brazilian new quilombos. In collaboration with Martha Abreu, her work has resulted in the production of four documentary films, joined in a DVD collection called Present Pasts. The audiovisual interviews are open to public consultation at LABHOI/UFF.

Slave Loyalty and Disloyalty on the Sixteenth-Century East Asian Trade Route.

James Fujitani
Azusa Pacific University

In the mid-sixteenth century, prior to the founding of Macau, the Portuguese traded illegally along the coastline of Fujian and Zhejiang. For labor, they often relied on local Chinese sailors and on slaves.

What was it like to be a slave aboard these ships? This paper examines a report found in the *Pi Yu Za Ji* 璧餘雜集, compiled by the Ming commander Zhu Wan 朱訥. In 1548, Zhu Wan's fleets raided the islands near Ningbo, which had become

smuggling hotspots. During the operation, they captured a Portuguese ship. Three people from the ship were interrogated: the navigator and two slaves, likely of Southeast Asian and Indian descent. The report describes three crimes to which they confessed--three incidents in which they had assaulted Chinese merchants.

The key point to note is that the slaves apparently took much personal responsibility for the crimes. In order to justify themselves, they could have claimed innocence by saying that they had been forced to participate against their will. But they did not. Rather, they justified themselves by claiming that the murdered Chinese merchants had cheated them. This suggests that, at least to some extent, they saw themselves as partners of the Portuguese in their smuggling activities.

James Fujitani is Associate Professor at the Azusa Pacific University. He studies Early Modern relations between Europe and East Asia. In 2016, he published an article on the 1517 Portuguese Embassy to Ming China, in the *Journal of World History*. He also published an article on the sixteenth-century Jesuit mission to Japan, in the *Journal of Ecclesiastical History*. At this time, his chief project is a monograph on the afore-mentioned Portuguese embassy and the reasons for its failure. He is also finishing an article on the first Western hospital in Japan, founded in 1557.

**“Una tristeza grande que se apodera de su entendimiento
(aunque poco)”: A nostalgia como doença de escravos em
Cuba do século XVIII**

Isabela Fraga
University of Chicago

Este trabalho explora possíveis concepções de subjetividades escravas a partir do diagnóstico de *nostalgia* (ou melancolia) proposto pelo cirurgião espanhol Francisco Barrera y Domingo em seu manual médico *Reflexiones Histórico Físico Naturales Médico Chirúrgicas* (1798), escrito quando este exercia sua profissão em Cuba no final do século XVIII. A ideia central é que o mesmo capital financeiro responsável pela mercantilização de escravos africanos no trajeto pela Middle Passage e pela “morte social” desses indivíduos – para usar a expressão de Orlando Patterson – também lhes conferiu humanidade por meio de uma epistemologia médica que lhes atribuía uma mente (ou espírito, ou alma) capaz de reagir a violências e à própria escravidão. Além do diagnóstico em si, proponho também que o *tratamento* para nostalgia recomendado por Barrera y Domingo passa por uma atribuição mútua de humanidade entre escravos e amos, uma vez que inclui demonstrações de afeto e arrependimento por parte do amo e a necessidade de apreciação desses gestos por parte do escravo. Por fim, argumento que é justamente pelo fato de escravos africanos serem investimentos financeiros, segundo a lógica colonial, que suas vidas e seu trabalho são alvo de práticas e epistemologias médicas que lhes confere autonomia e subjetividade.

Isabela Fraga is a PhD student at the University of Chicago. Her project explores conceptions of slave humanity, autonomy, and subjectivity in medical-scientific discourses on slavery and race throughout the late-eighteenth and nineteenth centuries Brazil and Caribbean.

SESSION 2: Brotherhoods as a field of analysis

Black brotherhoods and religious subjectivities in the early modern Iberian world

Miguel A. Valerio
Washington University

Starting in the late medieval period, Blacks began establishing religious confraternities in the Iberian Peninsula, a practice they continued in the Americas. Confraternities were governed by charters written by Blacks themselves or on their behalf. Thus, charters (called *compromissos* in Portuguese and *reglas* in Spanish) are one of the few texts we have in the Iberian world that represent black subjectivities. Through the analysis of *compromissos* and *reglas* from Portugal, Spain, and Brazil, in this paper, I analyze how these documents represent a certain brand of black religious subjectivity. I argue that these documents represent African values (such as communal identity, solidarity in illness and other times of need, and dignified death) that Afro-Iberians found compatible with Christian ones, and therefore, adapted to confraternities. Thus, the Afro-Christian subjectivity these documents represent is truly African and truly rooted in medieval Christian values. I further argue that this collective subjectivity represents how Blacks preserved Africans value systems at the same time they adapted to and expanded Christianity.

Dr. Valerio's research focuses on cultural connections in the early modern Iberian Atlantic. Concretely, his dissertation focused on how sub-Saharan Africans and their descendants formed religious confraternities and participated in public festivals in the early modern Iberian Atlantic from the fifteenth to the eighteenth century, concentrating on the urban centers of Seville, Barcelona, Valencia, Madrid, Lisbon, Mexico City, and Bahia, Brazil. Through the analysis of lesser-known texts and archival documents written in Spanish and Portuguese, as well as Latin, Catalan, and Valencian, he argued that through these corporations and festival performances, Blacks preserved and adapted their African cultural heritage in diaspora, garnering and exercising cultural agency, and more importantly, forging their own narratives and performance of identity and citizenship. His next research project will focus on funerary practices among black confraternities in the early modern Iberian Atlantic. The project will cover a broader geographic and temporal expanse than the dissertation and will make the first forays into this aspect of Afro-Iberian culture, that, like most black culture, has received very little scholarly attention. By focusing on confraternal mortuary practices and highlighting how these corporations functioned as kinship networks he will expand on the varied strategies Afro-Iberians employed to forge their own narratives and perform identity and citizenship.

La cofradía de negros de San Benito de Palermo

Jesús Tellez Rubio

Consejo Superior de Investigaciones Científicas

La Cofradía de Negros de San Benito de Palermo estaba ubicada en el Convento de San Francisco el Grande de Madrid, sus ordenanzas fueron aprobadas en 1747 y su extinción ordenada en 1767. El estudio de dicha hermandad se basa en las

ordenanzas sobre las que se constituye la cofradía y el expediente abierto por el Consejo de Castilla. A través de éste se puede seguir el azaroso proceso que lleva a la clausura de la hermandad, y asimismo afloran las aspiraciones de los cofrades, todos ellos negros y en su mayor parte esclavos, de mantener en activo su asociación.

El cierre de la mencionada cofradía de negros puede ser entendido en el contexto del programa ilustrado de Carlos III que busca reorganizar las cofradías del Reino de España. Desde el gobierno se impulsan medidas de control social como la restricción de la mendicidad o la reorganización administrativa de la capital. En esta misma línea, si los mendigos eran vistos con recelo por ser fácilmente instrumentalizables, es fácil deducir que un grupo minoritario definido por su etnia y por su adscripción al estrato inferior de la sociedad, sería también visto por las autoridades como potencialmente sedicioso.

El estudio de la madrileña “hermandad de nacionales” de San Benito de Palermo, en cuanto que ejemplo último de este tipo de asociacionismo entre negros y libertos en la España Moderna, nos dará pie para comparar su estructura y ordenanzas con las de otras cofradías del mismo tipo en el Portugal del siglo XVIII.

Jesus Tellez Rubio is a member of the project CORPI developed at the Centro de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales del CSIC, which principal investigator is Mercedes García-Arenal. Within the scope of this project, he is writing a doctoral dissertation under the coordination of James Amelang (UAM) and Fernando Rodríguez Mediano (CCHS-CSIC) on the representation of black people in the visual arts of Modern Spain, analysing the significance and characterization of all sorts of characters: Balthasar in the Epiphany, slaves and servants, portraits, allegories, saints, etc... A part of his investigation is focused on black confraternities in Modern Spain and the depiction of black saints.

Pelo fim do “cativeiro injusto”: a atuação litigiosa das irmandades dos “homens pretos” de Lisboa (sécs. XVIII-XIX)

Fernanda Pinheiro

Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-
Brasileira

Tendo em conta a larga utilização dos escravos em Lisboa, fica fácil apreender o impacto provocado pela legislação pombalina que extinguiu o tráfico para o Reino, libertou o ventre cativo e os escravos de quarta geração residentes em Portugal. Juntos, os Alvarás de 1761 e 1773 significaram a ruptura dos meios de renovação e reprodução da escravidão, embora o sistema não tenha sido abolido. Esperava-se, com isso, impulsionar a substituição do trabalho escravo pelo trabalho livre, mas os dispositivos legais não produziram de imediato tal efeito. Casos de contrabando e de manutenção indevida em cativeiro foram recorrentes e denunciados pelas confrarias dos “homens pretos”. Amparadas pelo direito especial que lhes conferia o poder de representação jurídica, estando atentas à promulgação da referida legislação e fiscalizando sua aplicação, essas associações superaram o debate acerca das condições de um “mau cativeiro” e começaram uma discussão mais aprofundada a respeito da existência de cativeiros ilegais, ou “cativeiros injustos”. Entre suas estratégias de combate, analiso a atuação dos oficiais das irmandades na Justiça. Em prol da liberdade, eles acionaram diferentes Juízos da Casa da Suplicação de Lisboa, nos quais moveram ações cíveis cuja finalidade era impor e, quando possível, estender a aplicação das referidas leis positivas.

Fernanda Pinheiro holds a PhD in Social History from the State University of Campinas (Unicamp). She is Adjunct Professor A of the Institute of Humanities and Letters of the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab). Dr. Pinheiro's research focuses on subjects related to slavery in the Iberian world, namely the daily instability of the freedom of the freed and free of color people. Currently, she coordinates the research project entitled "Between Slavery and Freedom: Indians on the Western Frontier of Portuguese America", funded by CNPq (National Council for Scientific and Technological Development). This research concentrates on the exploitation of indigenous labor, its different working arrangements and its legal status.

“Pública Notícia”: Black Brotherhoods and Corporate Subjectivity in Eighteenth-Century Brazil

Lisa Voigt
Ohio State University

Na relação das exéquias para a morte de Dom João V em São João del-Rei, Minas Gerais, o autor anónimo descreve os escravos que lamentaram a morte do rei “pouco inteligentes da pública utilidade, e que não sabem pesar a ruína do cetro na balança do entendimento” (*Monumento do Agradecimento...Relação fiel das Reais Exéquias...* Lisboa, 1751, 227). Mas em outra relação de festas de Minas Gerais - *Triunfo Eucharístico, Exemplar da Christandade Lusitana na pública exaltação da Fé na solemne Trasladação do Diviníssimo Sacramento...* Lisboa, 1733) - os membros da Irmandade da Nossa Senhora do Rosário dos Pretos souberam bem a “utilidade pública” que prestaram não só através da nova rua que construíram para o percurso da procissão, mas também

através da publicação da relação da festa mesma. Como se lê na portada do *Triunfo Eucharístico*, foi “Dedicado á Soberana Senhora do Rosário pelos irmãos pretos da sua irmandade, e a instancia dos mesmos exposto á *publica noticia* por Simam Ferreira Machado.” Este trabalho investiga esta noção do “público” - o que Joanna Brooks chamara um “black counter-public” em “The Early American Public Sphere and the Emergence of a Black Print Counterpublic” (2005) - expressada através das festas, as irmandades negras, e a imprensa. Frente a escassez de “escritos de escravizados na primeira pessoa,” explicada no *call for papers* desta conferência, este trabalho propõe que escritos *coletivos*, como o *Triunfo Eucharístico* e os compromissos das irmandades negras, talvez sejam os registos onde melhor se pode encontrar as “subjetividades escravas” dos mundos ibéricos modernos.

Lisa Voigt is a Professor in the Department of Spanish and Portuguese at The Ohio State University, where she focuses on the literatures and cultures of colonial Latin America, the Spanish and Portuguese empires, and the early modern Atlantic world. This proposal is related to her second book, *Spectacular Wealth: The Festivals of Colonial South American Mining Towns* (University of Texas Press, 2016). She hopes to expand the argument proposed in one of her chapters about the the Irmandade do Rosário’s sponsorship of the Triunfo Eucharístico’s publication by contextualizing it with other brotherhood documents and festival participation. Her next book project also focuses on festivals and is tentatively entitled “Performing Global Cultures in Early Modern Portugal,” which she began to research while on Fulbright, FLAD, and Gulbenkian fellowships in Lisbon in 2015-16. She is also working on a collaborative book project with Elio Brancaforte (Tulane) and Stephanie Leitch (Florida State University) about copied illustrations in early modern European travel narratives.

SESSION 3: Courts: an Iberian specificity?

"Courting Freedom: The Wetnurse Speaks"

Lisa Surwillo
Stanford University

The enslaved in the Caribbean regularly used the courts; the freedom suits authored by Cuban women during the brief First Spanish Republic (1873) constitute a unique set of documents, including narrations by the enslaved of their life stories. These narratives were impactful as they pushed against both the concept of abolition as a generous gift from a white Republic and a vision of enslaved resistance as an armed uprising by men.

In the suit I will present at the conference, Nazaria, a 44 year-old woman from Mantanzas, Cuba argued that she had been falsely enslaved and forced to work as a wetnurse for over half of her life. In addition to her freedom, Nazaria demanded the right to sue the Spanish woman whose physical abuse (forced lactation) illustrated her degradation in terms of normative European identity categories of domesticity and motherhood. She pointedly did not engage with the sexual vulnerability that female slaves generally represented in Atlantic (specifically Anglophone) abolitionist rhetoric, but instead a particular woman-to-woman violence: Nazaria was forced to physically "mother" her owner's children and thus facilitate that woman's return to her reproductive life while suppressing her own fertility.

Nazaria, like other petitioners, are central to a larger master narrative about fiction, biography and tales of women's lives told in a way that could shift our understanding of the place of gender in abolitionist discourse today and, in the past, served to effectuate political change and push the boundaries of legal personhood in the latter half of the nineteenth century.

Lisa Surwillo is a scholar of Spanish literature at Stanford University, where she is Associate Professor and Department Director. Her research interests are grounded in the nineteenth-century Spanish empire and include the question of personhood, as expressed in the period-defining questions of intellectual property and abolition (the subjects of my first two books). Her current project is a study of two dozen freedom suits authored by enslaved women in Cuba during the First Spanish Republic. In literary terms, she will examine the composition of these complex texts that expressed a version of the enslaved's life that keenly responded to the expectations of a Spanish Republican readership. In political and legal terms, her argument will demonstrate that these powerfully moving petitions (sent to the President in Madrid) influenced metropolitan ideas of Republicanism.

Comparative Enslaved Experiences and Manumission Strategies: Enslaved and Freed Asian, Indigenous, and Afro-Iberian People, 1565-1690

Leo Garofalo
Connecticut College

In crossroad cities and ports that also offered royal courts for litigation and appeal, enslaved and freed Asian, indigenous, and Afro-Iberian individuals and families struggled to shape their lives and leave records of their wishes and accomplishments.

From 1565 to 1690, tremendous diversity marked the social composition of cities like Seville, Madrid, Manila, and Lima. Within the same household or the same artisan's workshop, enslaved "indios chinos," "indios de guerra" from Chile, and black Europeans (Afro-Iberians) might labor and live side by side. Their participation in the daily religious and economic lives in these places left traces in the archival records such as court cases, censuses, contracts, and last wills and testaments as well as in the records of the inquisition and ecclesiastical investigations. An approximation of the "voices" and actions of the enslaved can be derived from a careful reading of these sources. The paper discusses this assertion and what these "voices" demanded. In particular, how did these individuals—or small family units—undertake to secure release from bondage? To remain free once emancipated? And to claim and defend honor and status, at times by holding enslaved people in their own right. The strategies for manumission and survival once "free" varied for these three groups despite their close proximity and similar social positions within Iberian, Ibero-American, and Manila societies. The paper seeks patterns among these efforts and illustrative cases that reveal the contours of these lesser-known diasporas and the fears and aspirations of those moving through them.

Leo J. Garofalo is Associate Professor of History and former Director of the Center for the Comparative Study of Race and Ethnicity at Connecticut College. A.B. from Brown and Ph.D. from Wisconsin. He researches market and ritual activities in multi-ethnic Andean cities and black Europeans' seafaring and soldiering. To treat these themes, he co-edited *Documenting Latin America: Gender, Race, and Empire* (2010), *Afro-Latino Voices: Narratives from the Early Modern Ibero-Atlantic World, 1550-1812* (2009, 2015), and *Mas allá de la dominación y la resistencia* (2006). He just completed a book manuscript: *Drinking, Divines, and Markets: Marking Race and*

Ethnicity in Colonial Peru. In Peru and at the John Carter Brown Library, he has been researching enslaved “indios chinos” in 16th- and 17th-century Peru and Spain. As a Humanities Institute Fellow at the University of Connecticut, he worked on a book, “Forging a Place in the Spanish Empire: Black European Sailors, Soldiers, and Traders to the Americas”.

Do Índico a Lisboa: fragmentos de vida e subjetividades de escravos provenientes do império asiático português (séculos XVI e XVII)

Patricia Souza de Faria
Universidade Federal Rural do Rio de Janeiro

O objetivo desta comunicação é analisar fragmentos da história de vida de homens e mulheres que foram escravizados no contexto da presença lusa no Oriente. Uma parte desses escravos foi transportada de Goa (que se tornou centro dos domínios asiáticos portugueses e importante mercado de escravos) para Lisboa.

Desejamos perscrutar fragmentos da história de vida de tais populações, a fim de captar elementos de sua vida cotidiana, sentimentos e crenças religiosas. Tais populações escravizadas não escreveram memórias sobre suas vidas, mas deixaram traços de sua existência nos arquivos. Em alguns processos da Inquisição (de Goa e de Lisboa) há referências a suas crenças e expectativas de vida. Nos sumários matrimoniais da “Câmara Eclesiástica de Lisboa”, constam informações sobre o local de origem dos escravos, quando chegaram à cidade de Lisboa, suas redes de sociabilidade e seus arranjos matrimoniais.

Contudo, a reconstituição das trajetórias de vida dos escravos caracteriza-se pela incompletude, pelo carácter fragmentário,

em decorrência da própria natureza dos arquivos – que, por sua vez, reverberam a distribuição desigual de poder que vigorou nas sociedades, conforme Clare Anderson, em *Subaltern Lives*. Ademais, escravos foram retirados de suas terras de origem, compelidos a cruzar fronteiras geográficas e culturais, a forjar novos vínculos interpessoais durante a travessia marítima e nas novas sociedades, conforme Chaterjee e Aisha Finch. Assim, desejamos refletir sobre as potencialidades e os limites das fontes inquisitoriais e eclesiásticas, em busca de repensarmos as palavras, as ações e as subjetividades de escravos provenientes do Índico e que foram transportados para Lisboa.

Patricia Souza de Faria is Associate Professor at the Department of History and International Relations and of the Post-graduation programme in History at the UFRRJ. Her main research topics are: Portuguese Asian Empire, the Catholic missions and the Inquisition in the early modern period. During the past years, she has worked on two projects: "Cristãos da terra nas malhas do Santo Ofício: disciplinamento, heterodoxias e mobilidades culturais no Oriente" and "Cativos asiáticos nas malhas do Santo Ofício: disciplinamento, hierarquias e mobilidades culturais entre Portugal e o Oriente (séc. XVI-XVII)". In 2015 and 2016, she was a postdoctoral researcher at the Universidade de Évora (CAPES fellowship) and a researcher at the Centre des Recherches Historiques (École des Hautes Études en Sciences Sociales). Her current research interests are focused on the circulation of slaves in the Asian Portuguese Empire, with a particular attention of the slaves arriving to Portugal from the Indic and Pacific. She aims at understanding the everyday life, feelings and religious beliefs of the mentioned slaves.

SESSION 4: Identities and Identifications

Mariana Vitória e Gregório, ou o «defeito do mulatismo»

Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro
Instituto de Ciências Sociais – ULisboa

Mariana Vitória e Gregório, filhos de um solicitador e de um mercador de lã de Lisboa, levados pela «mútua inclinação», tinham ajustado casar, tendo-se comprometido por esponsais em 1781. Defrontaram-se, porém, com a feroz oposição do pai de Gregório, que recorreu a todos os tribunais para impedir o casamento do filho. O argumento principal que invocou foi o «defeito de mulatismo» de Mariana, comprovado pelas testemunhas que declaravam que seu avô fora um «homem pardo» e «um miserável escravo e como tal arrematado em Praça pública». Os destinos dos dois pretendidos nubentes foram depois delimitados pelas múltiplas alegações de um processo que subiu da Relação de Lisboa para o Desembargo do Paço. Nele se debateu, não apenas os percursos familiares de cada um dos envolvidos, como as implicações da legislação de 1773 que proibia a invocação da condição de «liberto». Terá sido a última ou umas das últimas vezes que a questão foi debatida em sede judicial em Portugal.

Nuno Gonçalo Monteiro is Researcher and Professor at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon. Visiting professor at universities in France, Spain and Brazil, he has conducted around two hundred presentations and conferences in different countries. He coordinated several international research projects, among with *Political communication in Portuguese intercontinental monarchy*

(1580-1808): *Kingdom, Atlantic and Brazil* (2010-2013), published as *Um reino e as suas repúblicas no Atlântico* (Rio de Janeiro, 2017). He has published more than one hundred and fifty titles, including co-authorship of best-seller *History of Portugal* (8^aed., 2017), coordination of volume 2 of *The History of Private Life in Portugal* (2011), and co-editing of *Poder y movilidad social en la Península Ibérica (siglos XV-XIX)* (Madrid, 2006).

Being a hand: plantation workers in São Tomé

Marta Macedo

Instituto de Ciências Sociais – ULisboa

This paper deals with workers experiences and self-representations in the plantations of São Tomé from 1850 to World War I. The making of this specific plantations system, firstly the coffee *fazendas* and then cocoa *roças*, coincided with the changing labor regimes, from slavery to indenture. The transformation of São Tomé into the first cocoa producer in the world coincided with this transformation.

Even if historians recognize that empires had important labor histories and are certainly aware of how central labor was for the lives of plantation migrant worker, they tend to take labor for granted, and pay little attention to its problematic nature and its wider implications. By looking at the materiality of labor I want to discuss, for instance, how race operates, gets instilled and entrenched and to assess the place of violence in this imperial history. I'm particularly interested in looking at the outcomes of the standardization practices of labor control and management. Besides being crucial for the consolidation and expansion the first plantations, standard methods and

procedures to explore people also contributed to shape workers' subjectivities. In the absence of first-person narratives of slaves and indenture workers, I will make use of the colonial archives to examine the everyday lives of plantation laborers.

Marta Macedo is, since August 2017, postdoctoral researcher at the Institute of Social Sciences of the University of Lisbon, affiliated with the ERC Project COLOUR (The colour of labour: racialized lives of migrants), coordinated by Cristiana Bastos. Her current research project focuses on the relation between techno-scientific practices and the construction of the European colonial projects during the nineteenth and twentieth centuries. More specifically this work deals with the circulation of coffee and cocoa plantation systems (Brazil, São Tomé, Belgium Congo and Cameroon), mixing approaches from history of science and technology, race and labor history, history of capitalism and global history.

Work and Identity in the Case of Elena/o de Céspedes

Sophia Blea Nuñez
Princeton University

Elena/o de Céspedes was born into slavery in Alhama, Spain around 1546, was freed, practiced several trades, married twice, bore a son, and in 1587 was charged by the corregidor with sodomy and then by the Inquisition with bigamy, disrespect for matrimony, and entering a diabolical pact. In self-defense, Céspedes claimed to be a hermaphrodite, not a woman pretending to be a man to marry another woman, María del Caño. Céspedes bolstered this claim by citing medical texts and appealing to his expertise as a surgeon, the latest of Céspedes' many trades—yet the physical exams conducted by other

physicians, surgeons, and midwives before and several times during the trial proved conflicting. Ultimately, Céspedes was sentenced to two hundred lashes and ten years' unpaid labor in the Hospital del Rey in Toledo, in women's clothing. However, Céspedes drew so much attention that the crowds of onlookers and patients eager to be cured by her interfered with the hospital's normal operation until Céspedes was transferred to one, then another more distant hospital. This punishment returned Céspedes to a state of forced labor while taking advantage of the skills he learned during freedom. In this presentation, I analyze how Céspedes articulated her relationship toward work and identity, considering issues of gendered titles, work and mobility, work and authority, and racialized work. In doing so, I consider how Céspedes' itinerant life and many jobs allowed Céspedes greater leeway to reconfigure his identity, yet did not prevent suspicion of his gender and racial background.

Sophia Blea Nuñez's research interests include reading culture and book history, medieval and Golden-Age literature, gender and sexuality studies, the Inquisition, race, and representations of moriscos and conversos. In her dissertation, *Bodies and Books in the Early Modern Hispanic World*, she examines the conceptual and practical links between books – *cuerpos de libros* – and human bodies, which she argues are deeper and more significant than is generally acknowledged. By studying the frequent metaphors of books as bodies, ideals and practices of libraries, and writings about human bodies, she seeks to illuminate book culture and the struggles to construct identity, particularly minority identities, as legible on the body. This presentation connects to her third chapter, where she discusses the foibles of reading and writing the ambiguous body and how concepts of racial and religious difference invoked culturally-specific notions of gender. The chapter centers on the "lieutenant nun"

Catalina/Antonio de Erauso and the mixed-race former slave-turned-surgeon Elena/o de Céspedes.

SESSION 5: Identities and Identifications 2

Diálogos em língua mina no Brasil escravista

Ivana Stolze Lima

Fundação Casa de Rui Barbosa

O projeto de uma história social das línguas africanas no Brasil, ao qual venho me dedicando nos últimos anos, procura focalizar os dilemas, escolhas e possibilidades de comunicação e interação linguística que se apresentaram aos africanos escravizados. Como suas línguas maternas puderam ser usadas, como lançaram mão de línguas gerais comuns e compartilhadas, como fizeram uso das línguas correntes e dominantes em diferentes épocas e lugares - fossem essas as línguas americanas, europeias ou africanas são questões que compõem o horizonte da investigação. De forma mais específica, focalizarei o uso da então chamada "língua mina" (línguas do grupo Gbe) a partir de um registro produzido em Vila Rica, Minas Gerais por Antonio da Costa Peixoto, (*Alguns Apontamentos da Língua Mina com as palavras portuguesas correspondentes*, de 1731 e *Obra Nova da Língua Geral de Mina*, de 1741). A proposta será buscar práticas dialógicas que estiveram na base da elaboração desses documentos, e que revelariam, subjacentes ao seu declarado autor, experiências das comunidades linguísticas ali envolvidas. Cotejando a obra com ampla documentação do contexto em que foi produzida, bem como do diálogo com a já consolidada historiografia sobre os africanos minas, buscarei indícios sobre os (e as) possíveis informantes de Peixoto, e sobre as relações que manteve com os africanos escravizados falantes dessa língua mina. Sob essa perspectiva, observamos as marcas da

dura e ao mesmo tempo negociada experiência da escravidão: a casa, a cozinha, o quintal, a venda, a circulação do ouro, os locais de trabalho, um ou outro exemplo de lazer, que aparecem em meio à fuga, tortura, repressão e morte.

Ivana Stoltze Lima in the last 15 years has devoted herself to different research projects which intend to bring the linguistic dimension into the reflection on Brazil's social history. Her most solid experience is concerned with 19th century Brazil, about which she published *Cores, marcas e falas. Sentidos de mestiçagem no Império* (Rio de Janeiro, Arquivo Nacional, 2003), as well as articles and book chapters. Based on interdisciplinary seminars, Dr. Lima has organized two books, *História Social da Língua Nacional* (2008) and *História Social da Língua Nacional 2: Diáspora Africana* (2014). Currently, Dr. Lima is developing the project "Knowledge, record and use of African languages in Brazil: the language from Angola and the Mina language", supported by the CPNq.

The Nagô's Qur'an: Slavery and the teaching of Arabic in the 1830s Bahia

Michel Kabalan
Universidade do Porto

In the year 1835, a big revolt took place among the Nagô slaves in the area of Bahia northeast of Rio de Janeiro capital of the recently independent Brazil (1822). The Nagô's revolt itself was one landmark in the history of Slave rebellions in the Americas and it has been studied at some length by different historians between Portuguese, French and English. According to João José Reis (1995), Nagôs were Muslim slaves brought from West Africa and the Sahel to be settled mostly in the regions of Bahia

and Minas Gerais, Brazil. After the revolts, several amulets in Arabic and excerpts from the Qur'an were recovered among the dead Nagôs.

But while reconstructing the historical context of the Nagô's revolt, little is understood about the usefulness and the need of teaching Arabic among Muslim slaves in Bahia in the early 19th century Brazil. Thus, my paper will study the Nagô's Qur'an excerpts in their materiality and content (Reis, 2003). I try to highlight the choice and the usage of the 28 copied short Suras in Arabic while reflecting on their possible religious and ideological relevance for the Nagô's self perception. Then I will reflect on the intimate link between studying Arabic as a tool to copy and later read the Qur'an. Thus, the teaching of Arabic for religious purposes among the Nagôs becomes an essential part of a "theology of liberation" *avant la lettre*.

Finally, I will try to show how the study of the Nagô's Suras as religious artifacts infer and create a social identity for the Nagô ethnic group.

Michel Kabalan was born in Zahleh (Lebanon), 1980. He graduated from AUB in 2002 with a BS in Biology and in 2006 with an MA in Philosophy (thesis entitled: A Critique of Cultural Essentialism in Contemporary Arab Thought). His main focus was the study of contemporary Arab thinkers from Taha Hussein to Mohammad Abed Al-Jabiri along with Analytical philosophy. He worked as assistant to the director of the Anis Makdisi Program in Literature (AMPL) at AUB in the academic year 2004/2005 and he was a regular contributor to the Lebanese daily Al-Nahar between 2001 and 2006. Since 2010, he is writing his doctoral thesis on Butrus al-Bustani's "Da'irat al-Maaref" in the department of Near Eastern Studies at the Freie Universität Berlin, Germany. In 2011, he became an integrated researcher at SMELPS (Seminário Medieval de Literatura, Pensamento e Sociedade) and at the Instituto de Filosofia Universidade do Porto, Portugal where he lectures the seminars

“Medieval Arabic Philosophy” and “Contemporary Arab Philosophy”.
He is fluent in Arabic, French, English, Portuguese and German.

As vozes do escravo nas obras de ficção de Luís Gama e Maria Firmina dos Reis (Brasil Império)

Sébastien Rozeaux
Université Toulouse II Jean Jaurès

O escravo é um personagem muito marginal na produção literária brasileira em meados do século 19. Raros são os literatos que tal como Gonçalves Dias ousam descrever o Rio de Janeiro como uma cidade “negra”. Os principais homens de letras preferem ressaltar as raízes europeias ou as míticas origens “indianistas” da nação brasileira nas suas obras.

Poucos autores se afastaram deste caminho traçado pela crítica e história literária desde o seu nascimento, nos anos 1840. Bem por isso, Maria Firmina dos Reis (1825-1917) e Luís Gama (1830-1882) são poetas cuja obra ficou à margem do panteão das Letras Pátrias durante a época imperial. Ambos nasceram de união ilegítima e são mestiços. Ambos denunciaram através de suas obras o cativeiro dos Africanos, a instituição servil ainda vigente até 1888 e as condições de vida dos escravos e libertos no Brasil.

A escritora maranhense escreveu o romance *Ursula* (1859), o primeiro romance abolicionista. Ela é filha de escrava e mobiliza suas lembranças de criança como fonte de inspiração nesta obra, cujos personagens principais são escravos africanos que foram desterrados antes de serem vendidos no Brasil.

Luís Gama foi escravizado aos dez anos e libertou-se com 17. Apesar disto, estudou direito e se tornou um famoso advogado, militante republicano e abolicionista. Suas *Trovas* (1859)

inspiram-se na “musa da Guiné” e também mobilizam as memórias familiares para denunciar o cativo, o mau tratamento dos escravos (denunciando assim a suposta mansidão dos escravistas brasileiros), mas também a corrupção e a mediocridade da “boa sociedade” brasileira.

São, portanto, várias as leituras que podem se fazer dessas obras: narrativas de uma história pessoal e/ou familiar, obras literárias que se libertam do cânon estético vigente, obras em prol do abolicionismo e de forma mais geral discursos políticos críticos da sociedade e do regime imperial. Tais interpretações remetem também à questão muito instigante do uso de fontes literárias pelos historiadores, o que supõe a definição prévia de uma metodologia rigorosa, com o fim de escapar à armadilha da reificação do texto literário nas obras de cunho histórico.

Sébastien Rozeaux is adjunct professor of early modern and modern history at the Université de Toulouse Jean Jaurès and member of the FRAMESPA lab. In 2012 he defended his PhD dissertation, titled *A Gênese de um “Grande Monumento Nacional”: Literatura e Meio Literário no Brasil no Período Imperial (1822-1880)*. The topic of the slavery and the slaves has been approached in his dissertation and in some publications such as - «L’identité refoulée? Les écrivains d’origine métisse au temps du Brésil impérial (1822-1889)», in S. Capanema, Q. Deluermoz, M. Molin, M. Redon (dir.), *Du transfert culturel au métissage. Concepts, acteurs, pratiques*. Rennes, Presses universitaires de Rennes, coll. Histoire, 2015, p.297-313; «Les horizons troubles de la politique de « colonisation » au Brésil : réflexions sur l’identité de la nation brésilienne à travers le prisme de la question migratoire (1850-1889) », *Espace populations sociétés* [En ligne], 2014/2-3 | 2015, mis en ligne le 01 décembre 2014, consulté le 06 février 2015; and «Être femme de lettres au Brésil à l’époque impériale (1822-1889): le statut social d’une ‘minorité’ porteuse d’une voix dissonante dans l’espace public », *Nuevo Mundo Mundos Nuevos* [Online].

SESSION 6: Spirituality and Religiosity

Interpreting Religion and Freedom in the Early Modern Caribbean

Fernanda Bretones
Vanderbilt University

This paper uses a court case produced in Cuba in the mid-eighteenth century to examine enslaved individuals' perceptions of religious conversion and baptism. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, slaves who escaped from British, Dutch, French, or Danish colonies in the Caribbean often found refuge in Spanish territories. If the fugitive slaves claimed the desire to convert and be part of the Catholic community as the reason for their escape, then they were entitled to protection by the Church and by colonial officials, and granted the right to stay in the Spanish colony. Previous scholarship has shown that enslaved people around the Caribbean not only knew about the possibility opened to them through Spain's religious sanctuary, but also acted on that knowledge to their benefit, often escaping to Spanish colonies in search of religious protection. Seldom, however, have historians been able to access enslaved fugitives' own understanding regarding religious sanctuary. Through the analysis of testimonies given by fugitives from Jamaica who claimed sanctuary in Santiago de Cuba, this paper shows how legal records can serve as a precious source from which to examine slave subjectivities.

Fernanda Bretones is a PhD candidate at Vanderbilt University (Nashville, TN, USA) and a historian of Afro-Latin America,

particularly the Spanish Caribbean. She holds a B.A. in History from the Pontifícia Universidade Católica de São Paulo (Brazil), a Master's in Social History from the University of São Paulo (Brazil), and has been the recipient of grants from FAPESP (Fundação de Auxílio à Pesquisa do Estado de São Paulo), the Tinker Foundation, the Conference on Latin American History, Lapidus-Omohundro, and Vanderbilt University. Her current research focuses on slavery, law, and empire in the early modern Caribbean.

Nuns, Whores, and Healers: Spiritual Testimony in the Afro-Iberian Atlantic

Nick Rinehart
Harvard University

Historians of slavery and scholars of African diasporic literature have long puzzled over a profound conundrum: Why is it that enslaved people in the United States produced an enormous body of testimonial texts—so-called “slave narratives”—whereas no comparable representative corpus exists from Latin America or the Caribbean? Framing racial slavery in the Iberian Atlantic as marked by archival silence relative to the Anglo-American context, however, belies the historical contingencies that produced vastly different regimes of enslavement. My paper works around this dilemma by suggesting that the institutional particularities of Iberian colonial slavery—particularly the centrality of the Catholic Church—provided alternative and often surprising ways for enslaved (and formerly enslaved) African women to produce testimonial writings.

This paper focuses on two texts from the early modern Afro-Iberian world: the visionary diaries of Úrsula de Jesus, a formerly enslaved *donada* at a Lima convent, taken down

between 1650 and 1661; and the hagiography of Teresa de Santo Domingo, a Guinean Catholic nun in eighteenth century Spain, published in 1752. The paper makes two broad arguments. Contrary to some scholarly presumptions that enslaved peoples' spiritual activities enabled them to inhabit an immanent temporality apart from or beyond their bondage, I argue that these visionary texts compel us to understand how these women's religious lives were indelibly contoured by their enslavement, and vice versa. Moreover, I suggest that *The Souls of Purgatory* and *Black Bride of Christ*, respectively, foreground forms of feminine visionary or mystical experience—what Fred Moten might call “mysticism in the flesh”—that also resonate with genres of Black women's spiritual autobiography in the postbellum period.

Ultimately, these texts afford scholars of the Afro-Atlantic world a deeper understanding of enslaved consciousness and subjectivity, especially as it intersects with women's gendered and spiritual labor in Europe and the Americas. If, as Herman Bennett writes, “Representations of blackness [in Latin America] invariably locate the focus on the exteriority of the slave's experience... at the expense of any serious examination of slave life and culture,” then centering the visionary testimonies of de Jesús and de Santo Domingo might help us glimpse precisely that unheralded interiority.

Nick Rinehart holds a B.A. in Comparative Literature from the Harvard College (2014). He is a PhD candidate in English, Secondary Field in African and African American Studies at Harvard University. He has published as a co-editor *American Literature in the World: An Anthology from Anne Bradstreet to Octavia Butler*. Ed. Wai Chee Dimock, with Jordan Brower, Edgar Garcia, Kyle Hutzler, New York: Columbia UP. He is also the author of several refereed articles and book chapters, such as “Native Sons; or, How ‘Bigger’ Was Born Again,” *Journal of American Studies* (forthcoming) and “The Man

That was a Thing: Reconsidering Human Commodification in Slavery.” *Journal of Social History: Societies & Cultures*, 50(1): 28-50 (2016).

The Trafficked Philosophy of the mystical Rosa, the Egyptian

Joana Serrado
Universidade do Porto

Rosa Maria Egipcíaca (The Egyptian) was an enslaved woman from Brazil, brought from West Africa at the age of nine. She later became a nun under the direction of a Franciscan priest, and found a Recollection house herself. The major and only source remaining of Rosa and her theological teaching is through her condemnation in the proceedings of inquisition. There and in the one against her confessor are revealed through witness and memory how Rosa Maria was perceived in engaging in bodily and mental healing rituals, saving men and women before and in the afterlife.

The historical anthropologist Luíz Mott and most recently the performance theorist Rachel Spaulding have devoted major studies to this religious woman who is believed to be the first black slave writer from Brazil. Both point out the possibility of the crossing of early modern Catholicism and Candomblé from Yoruba traditions.

In this paper, I would like to reflect upon diverse themes that constitute the general theme of ‘slave subjectivities’.

- the process of inquisition as a memory of archive for the ‘slave subjectivity’ and test this textual artifact as a product of negotiating ideas.

- The ‘poaching’ or trafficking tactics that are used back and forth from the mystical and scholastic tradition.
- Mystical practices and teachings of healing which put at stake or/ enhance her role as black and woman (thus the Egyptian title, following the hermitic tradition of the mothers of the Church).

This paper is part of the ongoing project *Atlantic Women Ideas*. Atlantic Women Ideas is an interdisciplinary project that crosses the boundaries of periods, medieval and early modern, continents and literary genres. This project argues that Atlantic becomes the liquid unifier between an emerging philosophical culture – the Portuguese – where religious women who had access to more means and resources, from their mystical experiential knowledge became philosophers and thinkers in their own right. Such work contributes for the visibility of theology, feminism, and *life-writing* as academic disciplinary fields, while promotes public awareness to the history of the neglected women’s ideas.

Joana Serrado is currently a postdoc in Philosophy at the Univ. of Porto. Previously she held a postdoc at the Univ. of Oxford in Mysticism, and a visiting lectureship at Catholic College of the Univ. of Cambridge, and Fulbright Fellow at Harvard Divinity School in 2010. Her Phd defended in 2014 in the Netherlands was on the notion of Anxiousness (*ancias*) on the Portuguese mystic Joana de Jesus. Her publications cross over early modern mystical women, medical humanities, conceptual history, religious anarchism and philosophical feminism.

Slave Subjectivity, Spanish Spirituality, and Subversion on Hispaniola in the 1790s

Charlton Yingling
University of Louisville

The Haitian Revolution was of cosmological scale, yet scholarship underexplores Afro-Catholicism within the Spanish military operations in French Saint-Domingue in the 1790s. These self-liberated slaves who had been owned by French planters used the hegemonic supernatural idiom of Christianity to explain their rebellion against the secularizing French Revolution to the satisfaction of new Spanish allies. How did these deliberately hide the African diversity and influence of *Vodou* within their ranks? How did they manipulate reductionist categories of “black” to their advantage? In this paper I explain how Spain’s “Black Auxiliaries” developed a *strategic essentialism* by using ideas from postcolonial theorist Gayatri Chakravorty Spivak.

I explore how this fighting force, the most powerful of the early Haitian Revolution, wielded professions of royalism and religiosity to extract gains for their community through this intelligibility in Spanish cultural registers. My paper is based on archival sources in the Dominican Republic, Spain, Haiti, and the Vatican. The written records left by these insurgents offer a unique window into how slaves in neighboring colonies understood that Spanish Catholicism had a long history of offering sanctuary and subsistence to runaways in exchange for their spirituality and support, and how they used Spanish terms to critique French depravity.

This paper explores adaptations in extant African spiritualities with specific cultural ties to Kongo or Angola (regions from which perhaps half of the island’s populace came) that had long

experienced Portuguese evangelism. This paper investigates how they wielded Catholic familiarity to obtain material ‘blessings’ of guns, cash, food, and uniforms from Spanish officials. Their acts of faith facilitated upward mobility and set a new standard for black piety in Spanish Santo Domingo across the remainder of the Haitian Revolution.

Charlton W. Yingling is Assistant Professor of History at the University of Louisville. In 2016 he received his Ph.D. in History from the University of South Carolina. He completed an M.A. in Latin American Studies from Vanderbilt University in 2009 and a B.A. in History from Marshall University in 2006. He has conducted research in Haiti, the Dominican Republic, Spain, the Vatican, the United Kingdom, and the United States. His articles appear in *History Workshop Journal*, *Early American Studies*, *Atlantic Studies*, and *Sociales*. *Free Communities of Color and the Revolutionary Caribbean*, a book that he co-edited, will be published by Routledge in 2018. He has contributed to the *Oxford Bibliographies in Latin American Studies*, the *Oxford Dictionary of Caribbean and Afro-Latin American Biography*, the *Oxford African American National Biography Project*, the *Oxford Encyclopedia of the Modern World*. His work has been funded by the Ministry of Culture and Education of Spain, the Conference on Latin American History, the Bilinski Foundation, the Academy of American Franciscan History, the Harvard University Atlantic History Seminar, and the John Carter Brown Library, among others.

SESSION 7: Intimacy, Conjuality, Maternity

Honor Negro, subjetividades, intimidades, e intelectualidad afro-descendiente en Venezuela, 1770-1800

Evelynne Laurent-Perrault
University of California Santa Barbara

El 3 de octubre de 1777, Dominga Josefa Mexía, mujer libre, casada con Juan Nicolás Porras, esclavo de don Joseph Machado compareció ante una autoridad civil y pidió que la ayudaran a que su esposo cambiase de dueño por un precio justo. Dominga se quejó de que entre otras faltas, Machado no había asistido a su esposo desde que se habían casado, hacían ya más de catorce años.

El 16 de septiembre de 1799, Concepción Ybarra, mujer esclavizada y perteneciente a Juan Manuel Yrrazábal acudió ante una autoridad civil y solicitó ayuda para que tanto ella como su esposo cambiaran de dueño, debido al maltrato que estaban recibiendo y el escaso tiempo que encontraban para llevar vida “maridable”.

Miles de casos similares a estos reposan en los archivos ibero-americanos y aún cuando estos documentos y su contenido fueron mediados por el protocolo de los espacios legales, la interlocución de las autoridades y del escribano, éstos representan herramientas esenciales en el proceso de explorar no sólo las subjetividades e intimidades vividas por estos actores sociales, sino también aproximarnos a los análisis, ideas y estrategias que concebían mientras trataban de salir de la contradicción de ser individuos subyugados a la violencia de ser percibidos como mercancías sin civilización, cultura,

espiritualidad, ni religión. A través de una lectura cautelosa y metodológica, este ensayo busca rescatar voces, sensibilidades e intelectos de mujeres esclavizadas que hicieron uso de la ley como estrategia de negociación y resistencia.

Evelynne Laurent-Perrault is an assistant professor in the History department at the University of California Santa Barbara. She has received her PhD from the University of New York. She is also a graduate in Biology from the Central University of Venezuela. Dr. Laurent-Perrault is the founder of the Arturo Schomburg Annual Symposium that has been held for more than twenty years in the Taller Puertorriqueño, in Philadelphia (USA). She has received several scholarships, including the one awarded by the Ford Foundation, the Margaret Brown grant for research on the history of women and a Post-doctoral scholarship of the Research Institute of the African Diaspora in the Americas and the Caribbean (IRADAC), attached to the University of Graduate Studies of the City of New York (CUNY Graduate Center). Dr. Laurent-Perrault's research focuses on the subjectivities of enslaved people and free afro-descendants during the colonial period as well as on their intellectual contributions to the political debates of the end of the colonial period.

“Diz a preta mina...”: relações conjugais e de gênero a partir dos processos de divórcio abertos por escravas e libertas africanas – Rio de Janeiro, século XIX

Juliana Farias

Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-Brasileira

Embora o casamento católico fosse considerado uma instituição “totalmente indissolúvel” no século XIX, a Igreja reconhecia que por “muitas causas se pode fazer a separação dos consortes,

quanto ao toro ou quanto à habitação, por tempo certo ou incerto”. Só que esses divórcios autorizavam apenas a separação dos corpos e, quando concedidos perpetuamente, a divisão de bens na esfera civil. Mesmo legalmente afastado, o casal não podia contrair novas núpcias: recomendava-se aos cônjuges divorciados que continuassem vivendo “castamente como casados”. Nem por isso as mulheres desistiam de desfazer suas relações conjugais. Em diversas cidades brasileiras elas apareciam como as principais autoras dos pedidos de divórcio, incluindo muitas escravas e libertas.

Nesta comunicação, pretendo examinar um conjunto de ações de divórcio abertas no Juízo Eclesiástico do Rio de Janeiro, entre os anos de 1830 e 1870, por escravas e libertas africanas procedentes da Costa da Mina contra seus maridos, quase sempre também pretos minas. Nesses jogos de acusação e defesa, será possível observar como cônjuges, parentes, vizinhos e amigos do casal – quase sempre também africanos ou crioulos – *falavam* (alguns através de advogados ou procuradores) sobre casamento, divórcio, papeis e “modelos de conduta” femininos e mesmo sobre trabalho e liberdade. Também buscarei avaliar em que medida as motivações desses homens e mulheres se aproximavam – ou se afastavam – daquelas feitas por cônjuges de outras cores, origens e condições sociais. Como as minas *reagiam* aos padrões de gênero impostos pelas leis eclesiásticas e pela própria sociedade? E o que os encontros e as disputas conjugais revelavam sobre as formas de identificação desses africanos e africanas?

Juliana Farias is Assistant Professor at Universidade da Integração Internacional da Lusofonia Afro-brasileira (UNILAB) – Malês/Bahia-Brazil Campus. Currently, she is developing a research project entitled “Among signares and nharas: Gender, slavery, and freedom in Senegambia (1750-1880)”, where she continues her studies on African women, gender, commerce and slavery. In this project, Dr. Farias

seeks to understand not only the meanings that captivity and freedom had for the great African female dealers on the Western coast, as well as to look into the daily relationships and conflicts between these women and their prisoners. Based on a comparative approach, she has been trying to explain the similarities and differences between their life trajectories, mainly in their quality as “slave-trading women”, in different times and places in the then called Senegambia, a region in the African continent where the presence of different European nations was already felt, between 1750 and 1880. In that path, and by reducing the analysis scale, Dr. Faria favours the towns of Saint-Louis and Gorée, both French-colonised areas, in today’s Senegal, and the municipalities of Bissau and Cacheu, in the territories known as Portuguese Guinea. Despite the convergences that may be noted between signares and nharas in these regions, the diverse contexts in which they lived and acted, with specifically colonial disputes and occupations, have been essential to understand the trade and slavery dynamics in which they were involved.

Trabajo, cuidados y amor: testimonios de esclavas en el Río de la Plata, 1810-1850

Magdalena Candiotti
CONICET-UBA

En 1820, Francisca Sebastiana de Araujo “de clase Morena” escribió al Comandante de Armas de Buenos Aires solicitando su libertad. Alegaba que diversos militares de alto rango (primero Eustoquio Díaz Velez y luego Martín Miguel de Güemes) le habían otorgado cartas de libertad, a lo largo de las campañas en las que había acompañado al teniente Don Antonio Porobio, su amo. En su solicitud explicaba que había servido a Porobio, “en una palabra en un todo”. Uno de los testigos en el

juicio apoyaba que Francisca era libre “no solamente por las relaciones que había tenido con ella (Porobio) sino por los muchos servicios y sacrificios que por él había hecho en las campañas de la vanda (sic) Oriental y del Perú”. Los expedientes judiciales están repletos de descripciones de la vida cotidiana, las tareas y las complejas relaciones tejidas, en condiciones de desigualdad, pero también de negociación, entre amos y esclavos. A partir de la selección de un conjunto de causas donde trabajo y afectos son discutidos, medidos y tasados daremos cuenta de algunos de los modos en los que el producto, el lugar, el tiempo, el valor y el cuerpo de las esclavas era pensado por ellas, por sus amos y por los funcionarios judiciales y gubernamentales.

La ponencia (parte de una indagación más amplia sobre esclavitud y abolición en el Río de la Plata y sobre los usos de la justicia por los esclavizados) busca indagar – sin pretender generalizar - cómo podía ser experimentada la esclavitud por estas mujeres esclavas, cómo pensarían la relación entre el valor que generaban y su condición esclava, y cómo entenderían la intimidad compartida, las jerarquías internas y la violencia en el espacio doméstico.

Magdalena Candiotti is a researcher at CONICET-UBA, Inst. Ravignani, Argentina. Her current research project, “Slavery and abolition in Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. Compared perspectives on the erosion process of the slave-supporting institution during the first republican decades (1810-1853)”, seeks to understand the process of discredit, erosion and abolition of slavery in the post-colonial La Plata River, by combining the analysis of the changes in the social and “moral sensitivity” of the elites and of the enslaved towards that institution, concerning the changes in the practices of slavery, resistance and quest for freedom unfolded by several people in the provinces of Buenos Aires and Santa Fe. Among its main research lines, we are investigating the spread of laws, regulations and

reflections on slavery and its purpose; we will reflect on its logics and points of view of slaves, Africans and free people of African ascent and we are investigating the struggles of the enslaved in several domains (such as justice, where we investigate freedom requests, lawsuits for abuse, selling letter, illegal slavery, re-slavery, requests for fair price, etc.). We are also analysing strategies, such as buying freedoms and setting up negotiations to gain free manumissions (of several types). Finally, more risky, but in a way more immediate strategies are pursued, such as the incorporation in armies (an option available to males).

SESSION 8: Forms of Resistance

Memory and justice as resistance strategies of three Japanese (16th and 17th c.)

Rômulo Ehalt
Keio University

In 1997, historian Michael Craton classified resistance to slavery in two categories: collective – mass desertion, rebellions, *quilombos* etc. – and individual – breaking tools, running away, suicide etc. However, after twenty years, research on slavery has deeply revised these definitions. I will discuss the cases of three Japanese men who resisted to slavery in different regions: Mexico, Spain and Macau. First, I will discuss the process of Thomas Felipe, a Japanese who accompanied ambassador Hasekura Tsunenaga to Europe and stayed in Spain, where his employer tried to forcefully enslave him by branding his face. Next, I will talk about Gaspar Fernandes, a Japanese arrested in Mexico in 1599 who, although has been discussed in recent investigations, still has a lot to reveal on how subaltern laborers were perceived in colonial societies. Finally, I will discuss the history of Damião de Lima, a Japanese man based in Macau who attempted at recreating his trajectory in the ultimate register of his life by elaborating a biography free from the stain of slavery. I will show how these individuals used legal channels to resist the social label of slavery and recreate their memory, in order to contribute to the discussion of resistance forms to early modern slavery. Concomitantly, I will show how the investigation of colonial slavery in Asia indicates a complex matrix of historical

definitions and projects that quickly reveals the insufficiency of models and interpretations mainly based on the analysis of slavery in the Americas for the understanding of early modern slavery.

Rômulo da Silva Ehalt obtained his PhD in March 2018 with the thesis “Jesuits and the Problem of Slavery in Early Modern Japan”, focused on the theological and political arguments used by Jesuit missionaries to justify the enslavement of Japanese and Koreans in the 16th and 17th centuries. Recently, his focus is on the history of Jesuits and slavery in Asia, specially the history of Catholic moral theology and casuistry, as well as Christianity as a political ideology in the early modern period. He is investigating the theological and political arguments used to justify the enslavement of Chinese in the same period in Macau; the library of the College of Saint Paul of Goa, mid-16th century, and the confrontation of moral problems in Portuguese Asia; and classical Roman elements used as political allegories in the procession celebrating the canonization of Loyola and Xavier in the city of Porto in 1622.

Spectres of the Womb: Pregnancy, Childbirth and Slavery in Nineteenth-Century Brazil

Cassia Roth
University of Edinburgh

Enslaved women’s reproductive capabilities underpinned the institution of slavery across the Americas. Women’s ability—or lack thereof—to conceive, bear, and raise children to productive age informed import numbers, plantation regimes, and abolitionist legislation. In Brazil, as with most Atlantic slave societies, the enslaved population reproduced itself through

imports and not natural growth, with a few regional and temporal exceptions. Yet after the definitive end to the country's slave trade in 1850, slave-owners hoped to promote the biological increase of their slaves through enslaved women's wombs. They became increasingly preoccupied with what they believed was the heightened practice of enslaved fertility control as a concerted attack on the institution of slavery. In fact, slave-owners viewed the possibility of 'reproductive resistance' as a serious threat worthy of repression.

Despite the centrality of reproduction to the history of slavery in the latter half of the nineteenth century, scholarship has overlooked enslaved women's own reproductive practices, outcomes, and experiences. The lack of sources that detail how enslaved women felt about their reproductive capabilities is one reason for this dearth in scholarship. This paper explores medical dissertations, clinical reports, and bills of sales and inventories from early to mid-nineteenth-century Rio de Janeiro city and state, arguing that the high maternal and infant mortality that physicians saw in their enslaved patients intersected with abolitionists' use of the Roman concept of *partus sequiter ventrum* to create the framework of gradual abolition. And while historians may have trouble finding enslaved women's own voices and reproductive subjectivities in these pages, reading the silences to which elites responded demonstrates the centrality of their bodily experiences to the demise of slavery in Brazil.

Cassia Roth received her PhD in Latin American History with a Concentration in Gender Studies from the University of California, Los Angeles (UCLA) in 2016. She is currently a Marie Skłodowska-Curie Postdoctoral Research Fellow in the School of History, Classics, and Archaeology at the University of Edinburgh in Scotland. Before that, she was a Fulbright Postdoctoral Scholar at the Fundação Oswaldo Cruz in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil. Her book manuscript, *A*

Miscarriage of Justice: Reproduction, Medicine, and the Law in Early Twentieth-Century Brazil (under review with Stanford University Press), examines reproductive health in relation to legal and medical policy in Brazil. Her work has appeared in the *Journal of Women's History*, *Slavery & Abolition*, *História, Ciência, Saúde – Manguinhos*, the *Hispanic American Historical Review*, and with Oxford University Press. She is currently working on a project titled “Birthing Abolition: Reproduction and the Gradual End of Slavery in Brazil.” She has taught Latin American and gender history at UCLA, Occidental College in Los Angeles, and the University of Edinburgh. She is also a contributing writer and editor with the medical and gender history blog *Nursing Clio*. Her research has been supported by the Fulbright Foundation, the National Science Foundation (NSF), the Woodrow Wilson Foundation, the American Historical Association, the Coordinating Council for Women in History, UCLA, and the European Union.

Re-constructing the experiences of US fugitive slaves in northeastern Mexico, c.1800-1860

Thomas Mareite
Leiden University

This proposed paper aims at exploring different perspectives and conditions of study of the settlement experiences of escaped slaves from the US Cotton States in the northeastern borderlands of Mexico (Texas, New Leon, Coahuila and Tamaulipas) between 1800 and 1860.

By contrast with the US northern states and Canada, where abolitionist committees and networks collected a large amount of slave narratives, the virtual lack of such organized structures along with the absence of a distinctive abolitionist culture and memory in the US-Mexico borderlands complicates the task of

accessing to the voices of fugitives from slavery. In particular, the scarcity of such direct documentation left in the form of (auto)biographical narratives accounts for the difficulty historians face in grasping their motives for flight, their assistance networks as well as their settlement experiences in Mexico as refugees from slavery. It also challenges the link frequently established by scholars between slave flight, freedom and written tradition in 19th century North America.

This contribution intends nonetheless to expose to what extent a reconstruction, though necessarily fragmentary, of the experiences of US escaped slaves in Mexican soil can be achieved. It will argue that, by reading *against the grain* a range of alternative (and more indirect) sources produced by surrounding institutions and social outsiders, historians can assess the significance of cross-border flight as a mode of slave resistance and shed light on the subjectivities of ‘runaways’ escaping to Mexico. It will therefore introduce the advantages and limitations of relying on sources such as WPA interviews, ‘runaway’ slave advertisements, newspaper articles, chronicles, municipal archives and military records.

Thomas Mareite is a PhD candidate at Leiden University. His research focuses on slavery, abolition and slave resistance in Latin America (especially in Chile and Mexico) in the 18th and 19th centuries. He currently writes a dissertation on escaped slaves from the US South settling across the Mexican border between 1800 and 1860.

SESSION 9: Political conscientiousness and negotiation

Palmares e Cucaú: projeções centro-africanas nas matas de Pernambuco

Silvia Hunold Lara
Universidade de Campinas

Em 1677 uma grande expedição militar invadiu os Palmares, uma rede de mocambos que havia se formado desde meados do século XVII nas matas de Pernambuco, no nordeste do Estado do Brasil. Muitos membros da linhagem governante dos mocambos foram presos ou mortos e o rei Gana Zumba firmou um acordo de paz com as autoridades coloniais pernambucanas, em junho de 1678. Os termos previam, dentre outras cláusulas, a devolução dos escravos fugidos a seus antigos senhores, o assentamento dos sobreviventes em uma aldeia, em Cucaú, e a concessão de alforria para os nascidos nos Palmares.

O texto desse acordo é o ponto de partida para a análise dos significados das escolhas feitas pelos governantes de Palmares durante as negociações e do modo como projetavam viver ao voltar à "obediência" do monarca português. A população escravizada em Pernambuco era majoritariamente centro-africana e os habitantes de Palmares, desde seu início, foram identificados como "gente de Angola". Assim, as tradições políticas centro-africanas e as relações entre os reinos Ambundo e as autoridades coloniais no Reino de Angola são utilizados para compreender os elementos negociados em 1678 e, especialmente, o ponto de vista dos governantes dos Palmares.

Tal procedimento permite não apenas pensar as alternativas que se abriam para os escravizados que conseguiam fugir e permanecer longo tempo fora da escravidão, como também refletir sobre a importância dos condicionantes culturais na abordagem das subjetividades escravas.

Silvia Hunold Lara studies the history of slavery in Brazil during the 17th and 18th centuries. She has observed the relations between landlords and slaves in a sugar region during the second half of the 18th century (in *Campos de Violência*, Rio de Janeiro, Paz e Terra, 1988) and the connections between slavery, culture and politics in the 18th century Portuguese America (*Fragmentos setecentistas*. São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 2007). She has organized a commented edition of *Ordenações Filipinas*, livro V (São Paulo, Companhia das Letras, 1999) and a repertory of the *Legislação sobre Escravos Africanos na América Portuguesa* (published in José Andrés-Gallego, coord. *Nuevas Aportaciones a la Historia Jurídica de Iberoamérica*, Madrid, 2000, Cd-Rom). In the present time, she is finishing a book on the history of Palmares, the largest and longest settlement in the history of Brazil of slaves who managed to escape. At the same time, she has been studying the processes of enslavement of the Africans in the context of the Atlantic traffic in the region of Angola during the 17th century.

Iguais, porém diferentes: ideias de liberdade entre os escravos da Conjuração Baiana de 1798

Patrícia Valim
Universidade Federal da Bahia

Durante as investigações da Conjuração Baiana de 1798, *sedição dos mulatos* nos termos dos desembargadores do Tribunal da Relação da Bahia, um grupo de homens notáveis da

capitania da Bahia fez, em seus próprios termos, *pronta-entrega de escravos*. Dos onze escravos entregues à justiça, dez eram pardos nascidos na Bahia e um escravo era africano. O escravo crioulo Antônio foi envenenado a mando de seu dono, o senhor de Engenho, Traficante de escravos e Ajudante de Ordens do Governo Caetano Maurício Machado. Os dez cativos sabiam ler, escrever, recitavam máximas francesas e davam vivas à Bonaparte durante as reuniões nas casas de seus senhores. Durante os depoimentos culpavam os homens livres e pobres pelo crime de sedição ao tempo em que a maioria deles livrou os senhores de escravos de qualquer culpa e revelou o desejo de liberdade para eles e não para os escravos africanos. Seus depoimentos, portanto, são reveladores do peso das identidades políticas regionais profundamente marcadas pelas assimetrias do escravismo que organizavam o viver em colônia e, por isso, fundamentaram as condições gerais da nova ordem política que se projetou na crise do Antigo Regime, naquele conflituoso final de século. É o objetivo desta comunicação.

Patricia Valim holds a Masters' degree in Social History (2007) and a PhD in Economic History (2013), both from the Universidade de São Paulo. She has worked as a postdoctoral researcher at the UFBA, thanks to a CAPES/PNPD fellowship (2013-2015). She has taught for eight years in the degrees of History, Pedagogy and Social Service at private IES in São Paulo. Currently, she is adjunct professor II of Colonial Brazil History at the Department of History, Universidade Federal da Bahia (UFBA). She has focused her interests mainly in the History of Bahia; production, circulation and consumption in colonial Brazil; insurgent conjectures and political culture in colonial Brazil; colonial administration; Bahia's conjure of 1798; and fights over the political independence of Bahia. She is doing her research on the weight of regional political identities deeply marked by the asymmetries of slavery that organized the living in a colony, and as such created the general conditions of the new political order that projected itself in several revolts during the Ancient Regime and in the

figths for the independence of Brazil that took place in Bahia, especially during the Revolta dos Periquitos, in 1824.

Senhores negros nas senzalas do Brasil: A história dos escravos senhores de escravos, 1790-1850

Robson Pedrosa da Costa
Universidade Federal de Pernambuco

O objetivo deste estudo é analisar uma prática ainda pouco investigada na historiografia sobre o Mundo Ibérico: a posse de escravos por escravos. Nosso estudo sobre a Ordem Beneditina do Brasil demonstrou que esta instituição permitiu e até estimulou esta prática entre seus cativos. Como resultado dessa política, ao longo dos séculos XVIII e XIX vários escravos se tornaram senhores, construindo um universo senhorial peculiar no interior das fazendas e engenhos dos beneditinos. Longe do olhar vigilante dos monges (pois as propriedades eram administradas por escravos-feitores), os cativos usufruíam de ampla liberdade, realizando seus batuques, suas festas religiosas, praticando o concubinato, o curandeirismo e outras atividades condenadas pelos religiosos. Essa autonomia contribuiu para a construção de um poder senhorial paralelo, formando-se uma hierarquia singular entre a escravaria beneditina. O poder material e imaterial desses escravos-senhores era repassado para seus descendentes em forma de herança, costume este respeitado pelos beneditinos. Entre os escravos-senhores, o caso mais intrigante é a do feitor Nicolau, que possuía nove escravos, entre outros bens. Além disso, era casado com uma mulher livre, outro fator que nos leva a refletir acerca da complexidade das hierarquias sociais no interior das senzalas brasileiras. Algumas fontes nos ajudam a compreender

como estes escravos se percebiam enquanto senhores, em um mundo em que muitos homens livres não possuíam condições materiais de adquirir cativos. Por tudo isso, consideramos que este estudo vem a contribuir para trazer à luz novos olhares sobre a sociedade escravista, evidenciando as subjetividades escravas em suas múltiplas faces.

Robson Pedrosa Costa finished his PhD in 2013 at the Universidade Federal de Pernambuco (Brazil). In his dissertation he presented the results of his research on slaves who belonged to the Order of Saint Benedict in Pernambuco. Among his main conclusions, he highlighted the presence of slave owners in the four rural properties from this Order. Currently, he has been gathering unpublished sources on how the Benedictine Engenho's work in the 19th century, in order to have a better understanding of the dynamics of rural workers who participated as suppliers of sugar cane to the Monastery. He has found many nominal lists that show the participation of free farmers, freedmen and even slaves from the Olinda's monastery. These and other documents show the impossibility of understanding the internal dynamics of these properties based on the old polarization "free work"/"slave work", as the two forces were not part of a same paternalist manorial universe.

