

Proceedings of the Seventh Annual Gilder Lehrman Center International Conference at Yale University

## **Repairing the Past: Confronting the Legacies of Slavery, Genocide, & Caste**

October 27-29, 2005  
Yale University  
New Haven, Connecticut

### *“Remanescentes de Quilombos”: Memory of Slavery, Historical Justice, and Citizenship in Contemporary Brazil*

Hebe Mattos, Fluminense Federal University, Brazil

Available online at [www.yale.edu/glc/justice/mattos.pdf](http://www.yale.edu/glc/justice/mattos.pdf)

In 1988, Brazil commemorated 100 years since the final abolition of slavery in the country, while in the same year approving a new constitution that concluded a slow process of redemocratization, after 20 years of military dictatorship (1964-1984). In this context, the story has yet to be written of the approval of Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act of the 1988 Brazilian Constitution, which recognizes the land title of the “remaining members of the *quilombos*”, and ensures them title deeds granted by the Brazilian State<sup>1</sup>. One hundred years later, with the approval of this constitutional provision, the memory of slavery and the right to property once again intersected, in new disputes about possible reparations by Brazilian society to descendents of slaves.

The legal act of definitive abolition of slavery in Brazil was achieved through a law signed by the Crown Princess on May 13, 1888 (Áurea Law), which simply declared that slavery was abolished in Brazil and revoked the contrary provisions. Upon passage of this law, and for

some years after, the ex-slave-owners continued to organize politically to demand compensation for the loss of their slave property. There was almost no discussion of forms of reparations for the ex-slaves, but in the final months of the monarchy<sup>2</sup>, the issue of “rural democracy”, with the discussion of projects that include some type of access to land for the recently freed, was proposed by abolitionist sectors as a necessary complement to the abolition of slavery<sup>3</sup>.

Based on a literal interpretation of the Article approved in the new Brazilian constitution, however, only descendents of slaves who escaped long ago and took refuge in settlements historically known as “quilombos”, should be given reparations. Why?

To understand this turn of events one must consider the strengthening of a new afro-descendent social movement in Brazil -the self-styled “black movements” - over the 1980s, and the revision that new black activists proposed in terms of the public memory of slavery and abolition. The image of the white princess liberating submissive and well-treated slaves by decree, which was disseminated for decades in Brazilian textbooks, came to be contrasted with the image of a cruel and violent system in which black slaves resisted, especially by escaping and establishing quilombos. In this process of inversion, Zumbi dos Palmares, the last leader of the great Brazilian quilombo of the 17<sup>th</sup> century, displaced the Princess as the true hero of the afro-descendent Brazilian population. Since then, the date of November 20<sup>th</sup>, which marks the death of Zumbi, has been made a holiday in some Brazilian cities. A statue in his honor was erected in Rio de Janeiro during the same period<sup>4</sup>.

Academic research in the social history of slavery was also influenced by this context. Coming from a perspective that proposes to treat the slave as a social actor key to the historical understanding of Brazilian society, a profound historiographic revision has taken place in Brazil in this area. Countless researchers have been studying slave demographics, culture, family

relations and sociability. The actions and choices of enslaved Africans in Brazil were increasingly perceived as essential to the historical comprehension of the society that had enslaved them. Such factors ranged from their strategies for family organization, formation of religious organizations for obtaining manumission, to the different ways they were integrated into the labor force<sup>5</sup>.

The combination of these two movements resulted in a significant shift in the more recent images of slavery and abolition in Brazil, with an impact on textbooks, and with the emergence of the figure of the slave as protagonist in the abolitionist process as well, through legal actions in pursuit of freedom (freedom lawsuits), day-to-day acts of rebellion by slaves, and the widespread collective escapes in the 1880s, events which preceded and lent support to the legal act of abolition<sup>6</sup>. In this context, some isolated rural black communities achieved a certain notoriety as possible descendents of *quilombolas*. The approval of the article about the land title rights of the “*quilombo* communities” thus capped an entire process of historical revision and political mobilization, which linked the affirmation of a black identity in Brazil with the dissemination of a memory of the struggle of slaves against slavery.

However, the majority of the many black rural communities spread throughout the country, characterized by conflicts over recognition of the traditional possession of collective lands - then largely identified as “*terras de preto*” (negro lands)<sup>7</sup> - would not likely be associated with the classical historical idea of the *quilombo*. In fact, some of them, in cases studied by anthropologists or historians in the 1970s and 80s, had origin stories involving donations by their former owners in the context of abolition, in a narrative heavily based on a paternalistic ethic<sup>8</sup>.

The practical application of Article 68 proved, therefore, to be extremely complex and initially led to profound divisions among anthropologists and historians<sup>9</sup>. From an academic and

legal point of view, a contribution to resolving the controversy was made by a document proposing an operational definition of the expression “remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos” (“remaining members of quilombo communities”) contained in Article 68 of the Constitution, drafted by a working group created for this purpose by the Brazilian Anthropology Association (ABA)<sup>10</sup>. Jurists and anthropologists, and particularly the Brazilian Anthropology Association, played an important role in this discussion, by redefining the word “quilombo” for the purposes of the regulation of the legal provision, taking into account the self-attribution based on a common origin and formation in the slave-based system<sup>11</sup>. According to Decree 4887, dated Nov. 20, 2003, which regulates Article 68 of the Constitution, in legal terms “the characterization of remaining members of *quilombos* will be attested through the self-definition of the community itself”, understood as “ethno-racial groups, according to criteria of self-attribution, with its own historical trajectory, characterized by specific territorial relations, with the presumption of black ancestry related to the historical resistance and oppression endured”.

The slow pace of the process of granting land title to the “communities of quilombos” is a strong indication of the continuing controversy around this definition. Despite this, currently 170 communities are formally categorized as “communities of quilombos” in the Afro-Brazilian Communities Information System (SICAB) on the website of the Fundação Cultural Palmares, and 70 of them have already been granted land title<sup>12</sup>. A survey by the Center of Applied Geography and Cartography (CIGA) at the University of Brasilia (UNB), published in 2005, identifies about 2228 quilombo territories spread throughout the country<sup>13</sup>.

The New *Quilombos*:

If they are not necessarily descendents of old runaway slave settlements, hidden in the forest since the time of monarchy in Brazil, then where did the new *quilombos* come from? They clearly have a recent origin in the new demands for collective land title rights, presented by traditional settlers and squatters, with the help of new allies since the 1980s, in which the Land Pastoral of the Catholic Church, the Brazilian Anthropology Association (ABA) and some other actors in post-redemocratized Brazilian civil society play a special role. This movement resulted in the emergence of a new quilombola (member of a quilombo) identity after the approval of Article 68 of the Constitution<sup>14</sup>. On the other hand, there is clearly roots in the remote past as well, firmly anchored in the formation of a black peasantry, consisting of freed slaves and their descendents in the context of disintegration of slavery and its abolition of Brazil, which allowed these groups to define themselves as quilombolas.

In the states of Maranhão and Pará there is a significant proportion of new quilombos. There are 34 in Pará and 35 in Maranhão registered in the SICAB of Fundação Palmares and 642 and 294, respectively, according to the map of quilombola lands of the University of Brasília<sup>15</sup>. The proliferation of settlements of runaway slaves, called *mocambos*, along the border between Maranhão and Pará, as well as in the waterfalls of the upper Trombetas river, made these areas preferred targets for repression by the provincial authorities of Pará in the second half of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, in the context of disintegration of the slave-based order in the region. According to Flávio Gomes, “quilombolas, indigenous groups and later settlers and peasants established their own boundaries there, a process characterized by countless struggles, alliances and conflicts”<sup>16</sup>. These territories, which also attracted free peasants, in general freed slaves and their descendents, continued to serve as an option for survival for the last slaves from the region after abolition. Especially in the new *quilombos* of the Upper Trombetas, the memory of the old

*mocambos* proved constitutive of the identity of the groups and the territories claimed today generally correspond to the old areas of *mocambos*<sup>17</sup>.

Old slave plantations and their slave communities are historically at the roots of the formation of the majority of the “negro lands” in Maranhão<sup>18</sup>, but the role of the open frontier in the expansion of the *mocambos* tends to predominate today in the public memory of the new *quilombos* over the paternalistic narratives that emphasized inheritance, purchase or donation of land on the part of the old slave-owners, before or immediately after abolition of slavery, which had previously predominated<sup>19</sup>. In fact, historical research tends to confirm that both phenomenon (an open frontier and collective negotiation with the old masters) intersected in the process of disintegration of slave-based society in Maranhão and continued to co-exist as options for black peasants after abolition<sup>20</sup>.

Also in the backlands, or *sertão*, of the Northeast, there was high concentration of new *quilombos* and, at least the first of them identified as such, the Quilombo do Rio das Rãs, in Bahia, has already been the focus of intense historical and anthropological research<sup>21</sup>. The map of the territories of the *quilombo* communities produced by the University of Brasília referred to the 396 communities in the state, most of them in the backlands (*sertão*). Twenty six of them are registered in the Afro-Brazilian Communities Information System (SICAB) of Fundação Palmares. In fact, the research on the Quilombo do Rio das Rãs points to a black peasantry, made up of freed slaves and their descendants since the end of the 18<sup>th</sup> century, who went to the region in search of access to land on which they would settle through a range of traditional forms of land occupation, which were only threatened in the mid 20<sup>th</sup> century. It is no accident that around two thirds of the 105 *quilombo* communities which still have no land title and who participated in the Socio-Economic Questionnaire produced by the Fundação Palmares in 2003, declared to

have obtained their lands through purchase or inheritance, even if they were not able to produce deeds to prove it.

In the South and Southeast of Brazil, the importance of urbanization made the new quilombos smaller and more rare, but many still exist<sup>22</sup>.

In Rio de Janeiro, the most in-depth historical and anthropological research strongly suggests that the new *quilombos* are directly linked to the last generation of African slaves, estimated at around one million people who were brought to Brazil because of the demand of the coffee expansion, the principal Brazilian export product in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, scattered from the coastal ports to the many commercial plantations of the region. There is a concentration of communities in the coastal areas, reproducing the map of clandestine unloading of slaves after 1831<sup>23</sup>, the date of the first Brazilian law prohibiting the Atlantic slave trade. Such communities also exist in the old coffee producing regions, often disputing the property of the old plantations where their ancestors served as slaves<sup>24</sup>. In at least two of the communities identified in the old coffee plantation areas (Cafundós and São José da Serra da Serra) it was possible to reconstruct genealogies back to the African slaves who reached the region in the 19<sup>th</sup> century<sup>25</sup>.

Many *quilombos* in the South and Southeast of Brazil seems to have a similar origin in this last generation of African slaves<sup>26</sup>. The migrations of family groups over the 20<sup>th</sup> century in search of access to land for subsistence production also determined the location of many of the new quilombos in the South and Southeast of Brazil. They are especially found in old regions of the open agricultural frontier, where there were occasional mentions of historical runaway slave settlements, but to where the last freed slaves also went, immediately before and after abolition, in pursuit of access to land. This appeared to be the case especially for some communities from the state of Espírito Santo<sup>27</sup>.

In fact, it appears that after more than 100 years, the possibility of providing land to the descendents of the last slaves, emancipated in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, could become a reality. The family lineage, their own names that repeat in each generation or become surnames, the family relations as a reference for belonging to the community - practices common to old slave communities in 19<sup>th</sup> century Brazil - appear as regular features in more than one community identified<sup>28</sup>. And here the new *quilombos* lent visibility to a black peasantry formed in the process of disintegration of slavery in Brazil and its aftermath, which survived the intense urbanization process that Brazilian society underwent over the last 50 years. As the remaining descendents of the last slaves and their peasant status<sup>29</sup>, the growth in historical studies about these communities could make important contributions to the study of 19<sup>th</sup> century Brazil, and especially the options of the last freed slaves in the post emancipation period.

### Memories of Slavery

The project Memories of Slavery of the Oral History and Image Laboratory of the Fluminense Federal University brought together and analyzed the set of interviews of descendents of slaves, including members of some new *quilombolas* communities. The results illustrate the possibilities of historical research with the collective memory that these communities maintain. The project, which gave rise to a book and a DVD, sought to explore the narrative coincidences produced in different studies of oral history with descendents of Brazilian slaves born in the first decades of the 20<sup>th</sup> century, with an emphasis on the old coffee producing areas of the Southeast region of the country (Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, São Paulo and Espírito Santo) where most of the slaves were concentrated on the even of the final abolition of slavery. An attempt was made to identify in the collected material stories passed down from



parents to children, transmitted through the generations within black peasant families from the old coffee producing regions of the Southeast<sup>30</sup>. The comments below are based on this work.

All constructed based on stories that parents and grandparents told, the period of captivity was defined by capture in Africa, followed by the loss of freedom and subjection to the master's will, achieved principally through violence carried out on the body of the slave. This narrative emerged in relation to a memory of the Atlantic slave trade, with different historical references to the structure of the illegal slave trade and also to the internal domestic slave trade that followed. In the narratives, the impact of the internal slave trade in terms of separating slave families is a striking historical reference.

In these narratives, however, in most cases the parents or grandparents of the narrators weren't subject, for various reasons, to those conditions attributed generically to the status of slave. As part of the more firmly rooted slave community, they were organized in complex family relations and had specific relations with their masters, and defined themselves as exceptions to the context of violence characteristic of the slave period.

This represents, on the one hand, an historical characteristic of the groups studied. The fact that the families which were more well-structured and deeply rooted on the plantations remained in the old coffee producing regions after abolition is an extensively studied historical phenomenon, and in fact represented some practical differentiation in conditions that were experienced under slavery, as recognized in the narratives studied. On the other hand, reporting the more degrading situations and more brutal experiences under slavery as involving third parties is a practice that probably is simply recovering, as an archetype, real experiences that

practically all slaves were to some extent subject to. The many “cases” narrated, reporting torture and humiliations of generic slaves, represented ways found to speak the unspeakable.

Also, the recurrent information that a grandfather or grandmother, as ex-slaves, simply refused to talk about their time as slaves, is also a narrative aspect worthy of consideration. The absence of genealogical memory of slavery in most black Brazilian families and the voluntary silences, reported by many of those who referred directly to slave ancestors, has an obvious significance that cannot be neglected – it shows the difficulties of constructing a socially positive identity on the foundations of experiences of slavery<sup>31</sup>.

In this regard, it is the common patterns of reference to slavery, which are incredibly similar in the diverse range of interviews analyzed, which must be emphasized. In fact, a certain periodization of the process of abolition of slavery, interlinking the private and generational time of family memory with the public time of the abolitionist process, appears as a first avenue to pursue in reconstructing the narrative coincidences found.

As a rule, the ancestors of the narrators appear as classified in the narratives as part of three different generations: those who arrived through the Atlantic slave trade – the Africans; their Brazilian-born children – still as slaves or from “free wombs”; and their grandchildren born after abolition. An important influence on the family memory was the impact of legal measures which had a profound effect on the day-to-day relations between masters and slaves and between slaves themselves in the 19<sup>th</sup> century. These include the prohibition of the African slave trade (1850) and the Law of the Free Womb (1871), measures which oddly are given little prominence in the public commemorations of the abolitionist calendar created after the Áurea Law and the advent of the Republican period.

But although most interviews studied had been given between 1888 and 1994, the age range of the narrators initially resulted in a memory that combined some readings of the abolitionist process, constructed during the 19<sup>th</sup> century, with a particular process of framing of this memory, which could be easily identified with the educational and regulatory efforts of the authoritarian Vargas Era, especially the *Estado Novo* (New State).

In two spheres (politics and labour), the mark of discontinuity in the narratives analyzed generally appears in reference to the experience to the passage from rural to urban in the 1930s-1950s, and/or to an experience of breakdown or weakening of the political power of the plantation owners at the local level during this same period. There are some cases of both experiences throughout all the material analyzed, and they appear as associated directly with the figures of Princess Isabel and President Getúlio Vargas. Ângela de Castro Gomes, in an article we wrote together, highlighted the “narrative coincidence” between this formulation and some aspects of the political culture disseminated by the *Estado Novo* in relation to the historical readings of the meanings of abolition<sup>32</sup>.

In this same article, I argued that these statements need to be analyzed beyond their character as a simple reproduction of the political culture disseminated by the state. They become intelligible to the extent that they refer to widespread structures of periodization that are referenced to the family life of the narrators.

In recent decades, the contact of these black peasants with the researchers who sought them out, the beginning of the processes of identification and demarcation of the “negro lands” as quilombo communities, and the new public portrayal of the meanings of slavery in schools and media, again had an impact on collective memory. In this new context, narratives of escapes emerged in the statements. In the community of São José da Serra, in a series of statements from

one of the oldest residents, after contact with Fundação Palmares and recognition as a quilombo community, the previously little noted grandfather who came as a runaway from one plantation to another seeking the protection of the plantation owner, emerged as a hero, and the plantation owner who gave him refuge was seen as a sponsor of quilombos. The “Ferraz Farm” was also the “Ferraz Quilombo”<sup>33</sup>. In the new generations, new interpretations emerged for cultural practices with origins in the period of slavery, such as *jongo* and *caxambu* - circle dances and songs to the sound of drums – which were transformed into symbolic capital for the affirmation of the quilombola identity and as a source of income in the context of ethno-tourism<sup>34</sup>.

In each case, the narrators dialogued with the family tradition inherited from their parents and grandparents to understand the present time in which the interview was conducted. As a result, they produced an exercise in periodization, a kind of “dialogue between times”, able to organize a vision of the past, give meaning to the present and produce references for the future.

#### Historical Justice and Citizenship

*Negro no cativo/ Passou tanto trabalho/ Ganhou sua liberdade/ No dia 13 de maio.*  
(Negro in captivity/ Worked so hard/ Won his liberty/ On May 13<sup>th</sup>.) These are the lyrics of a *jongo* sung even today in some rural black communities in Rio de Janeiro. It’s not difficult to find among the elderly in these communities those who say they are grandchildren of a “May thirteenth-er” and who can tell us stories of the “slavery time”, as the grandparents had told them. This meeting clearly illustrates what little significance there is, from a historical perspective, in the hundred and sixteen years that separate Brazil of the 21<sup>st</sup> century from a time in which Brazilians were divided between free citizens (from a wide variety of backgrounds and about whom color was rarely mentioned) and slaves (all of them descendents of Africans, often

with their color or origin recorded in their very name – José Preto, Antônio Pardo, Maria Crioula, etc.)<sup>35</sup>.

The silence regarding color as a symbol of citizenship was an experience constructed in the anti-racist struggles of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, which combated the then dominant hierarchies of color within the free population of colonial society<sup>36</sup>. The a-racial slavery affirmed in Brazil from that point on had its merits. It became impossible in Brazil to have explicit segregationist policies, but it did not prevent the public adoption of racist projects of “whitening”, at a time in which such discourses had the status of scientific knowledge in western thought<sup>37</sup>. Over the 20<sup>th</sup> century, not even overcoming scientific racism, and the construction of the idea of racial democracy and the newfound glorification of racial intermixing, nor the critique of the hypocrisy inherent in these ideas by intellectual sectors and black movements, managed to overcome the hierarchical interpretations of designations of color which had for so long been a fixture of Brazilian society. They also did not change the recourse to silence as the most common form of coexistence with them in formal situations of equality.

This is the base that lends historical consistency to the discussion omnipresent in Brazil since the approval of the 1988 Constitution about policies for reparations and affirmative actions based on the self-identification as a black. As in the 19<sup>th</sup> century, to say one is black is essentially to assume the memory of slavery inscribed in the skin of millions of Brazilians. It was from this process that the new quilombos emerged, almost always occupied by descendents of the last slaves, freed in 1888 or in the preceding decades. Their inhabitants, identified first as blacks and later as quilombolas have in the last 15 years become collective political subjects who are demanding policies of reparations from the Brazilian state.

---

<sup>1</sup> The full text of Article 68 of the Temporary Constitutional Provisions Act establishes that “Final ownership shall be recognized for the remaining members of the *quilombos* who are occupying their lands and the State shall grant

---

them the respective title deeds [“Aos remanescentes das comunidades dos quilombos que estejam ocupando suas terras é reconhecida a propriedade definitiva, devendo o Estado emitir-lhes os títulos respectivos”].

<sup>2</sup> The Republic was proclaimed in Brazil in November 15, 1889.

<sup>3</sup> Cf. Claudia Andrade dos Santos. “Projetos Sociais Abolicionistas: Rupturas ou Continuísmo?” In: Aarão Reis Filho, Daniel (ed.). *Intelectuais, História e Política (séculos XIX e XX)*. Rio de Janeiro, 7 Letras, 2000.

<sup>4</sup> Cf. Soares, Mariza. “Nos atalhos da memória – Monumento a Zumbi”. In: Knauss, Paulo (ed). *Cidade Vaidosa. Imagens urbanas do Rio de Janeiro*. Rio de Janeiro: Sette letras, 1999.

<sup>5</sup> Cf. Schwartz, Stuart. *Slaves, Peasants, and Rebels. Reconsidering Brazilian Slavery*. Urbana and Chicago, University of Illinois Press, 1992.

<sup>6</sup> Cf. Reis, J.J and Silva, E. *Negociação e Conflito. A Resistência Negra no Brasil Escravista*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1989; Azevedo, Célia. *Onda negra medo branco: o negro no imaginário das elites. Século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: Paz e Terra, 1987; Chalhoub, S. *Visões da liberdade: uma história das últimas décadas da escravidão na Corte*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1990.

<sup>7</sup> About this issue, cf. Almeida, Alfredo Wagner Berno de “Terras de Preto. Terras de Santo. Terra de Índio” In: Habette, J. and Castro, E. M. (eds.) *Cadernos NAEA, UFPA, 1989*; Almeida, Alfredo Wagner Berno de (ed.). *Terras de Preto no Maranhão: Quebrando o mito do isolamento*. São Luís: Centro de Cultura Negra do Maranhão (CCN-MA) and Sociedade Maranhense de Direitos Humanos (SMDH), 2002.

<sup>8</sup> Cf. Soares, Luiz Eduardo. *Campesinato: ideologia e política*. Rio de Janeiro. Zahar Editores S.A., 1981; Slenes, Robert W. “Histórias do Cafundó”. In: VOGT, Carlos and FRY, Peter *Cafundó. A África no Brasil*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras and Editora da UNICAMP, 1996.

<sup>9</sup> On this issue, cf. Richard Price “Reinventando a História dos Quilombos. Rasuras e Confabulações”. In: *Afro-Ásia*, 23 (1999), 239-265. See also *Cultural Survival Quarterly* - Volume 25 n. 4, Cambridge, 2002., dossier *Marrons in the Américas*, especially the article by Jean François Verlan.

<sup>10</sup> Document prepared by the Seminário das Comunidades Remanescentes de Quilombos, organized by Fundação Palmares of the Ministry of Culture (MINC), which responsible for identification of the “quilombo lands”, held in Brasília on October 25 and 27, 1994.

<sup>11</sup> Cf. O’Dwyer, Eliane Cantarino (ed.) *Terra de Quilombo*. (Apresentação, 1-2). Published by the Associação Brasileira de Antropologia (ABA), Rio de Janeiro, 1995. Regarding the concept of resemantization, see also Almeida, Alfredo Wagner B. de “Quilombos: sematologia face a novas identidades” In PVN (ed.) *Frechal: Terra de Preto - Quilombo Reconhecido como Reserva Extrativista*. São Luís, SMDDH, CCN, 1996; Gomes, Flávio S. “Ainda sobre os quilombos: repensando a construção de símbolos de identidade étnica no Brasil” In Almeida, M.H.T. , Fry, P. and Reis, E. (eds.) *Política e cultura: visões do passado e perspectivas contemporâneas*. São Paulo, ANPOCS/HICITEC, 1996; and also O’Dwyer , Eliane Cantarino (ed.) *Quilombos. Identidade étnica e territorialidade*, Rio de Janeiro: Editora FGV, 2002.

<sup>12</sup> Cf. Sistema de Informações das Comunidades afro-brasileiras (SICAB) on the website of Fundação Cultural Palmares of the Ministry of Culture ([www.palmares.gov.br](http://www.palmares.gov.br), accessed on 03/09/2005).

<sup>13</sup> Cf. Segundo Cadastro Municipal dos territórios Quilombolas do Brasil, <http://www.unb.br/acs/unbagencia/ag0505-18.htm>

<sup>14</sup> Cf. O’Dwyer, Eliane C. (ed.) *Quilombos identidade étnica e territorialidade ... Op. Cit. and Mattos, Hebe. “Marcas da Escravidão. Memória do Cativo, Racialização e Cidadania na História do Brasil”*. *Dissertation presented as partial completion of the requirements of the competition for Full Professor in History of Brazil*. Niterói, Universidade Federal Fluminense, 2004.

<sup>15</sup> Cf. notes 13 and 14.

<sup>16</sup> Cf. Gomes, Flávio S. *Experiências Atlânticas. Ensaio e Pesquisas sobre a escravidão e o pós-emancipação no Brasil*. Passo Fundo, FPF, 2003, p. 89.

<sup>17</sup> Cf. Funes, Eurípedes. *Comunidades Remanescentes dos Mocambos do Alto Trombetas*. Comissão Pro Índio de São Paulo, December 2000. <http://www.quilombo.org.br/quilombo/doc/ComunidadesRemanescentes.doc>), on 9/9/2005 and Funes, Eurípedes. *Nasci nas matas, nunca tive senhor: história e memória dos mocambos do baixo Amazonas*. Doctoral Dissertation – FFLCH/USP, São Paulo, 1995.

<sup>18</sup> C. Assunção, Mathias Rohrig. *A Guerra dos Bem-te-vis. A Balaiada na Memória Oral*. São Luís, MA, SIOGE, 1988.

<sup>19</sup> Cf. Soares, Luís Eduardo. *Campesinato: ideologia e política...op. cit* and “Os quilombos e as novas etnias” In: O’Dwyer, Eliane C. *Quilombos identidade étnica e territorialidade... op. cit*.

<sup>20</sup> Cf., especially, Gomes, Flávio S. *Experiências Atlânticas... op. cit.*, chap 3 and 4.

---

<sup>21</sup> The process of political mobilization in the construction of quilombola identity in Rio das Rãs has been studied from different perspectives in two Doctorate Dissertations: “A Formação da Identidade Quilombola dos Negros de Rio das Rãs” by René Marc, Doctorate in History, Salvador, UFBA, 1999 and “Rio das Rãs. Terre de Noirs” by François Véran, Doctorate in Anthropology, EHESS, Paris, 2000.

<sup>22</sup> Forty one communities are registered in the Afro-Brazilian Communities Information System (SICAB) of Fundação Palmares for the South and Southeast regions of Brazil.

<sup>23</sup> This is the case, for example, with the communities of Manginhos, Rasa, Marambaia, Bracuí and Campinho da Independência, in Rio de Janeiro, all in areas of old clandestine ports for unloading slaves. Cf. Rios, Ana Lugão and Mattos, Hebe. *Memórias do Cativo. Família, Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição*. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2005, part II, chap. 4.

<sup>24</sup> This is the case for the communities of São José da Serra and Quatis, in Rio de Janeiro, and Cafundós in São Paulo among many others. Cf. Rios, Ana Lugão and Mattos, Hebe. *Memórias do Cativo...op.cit.*, part II, chap. 4; Slenes, Robert W. “Histórias do Cafundó”. In: VOGT, Carlos and FRY, Peter *Cafundó. A África no Brasil. ...Op. Cit.*

<sup>25</sup> Cf. Rios, Ana Lugão and Mattos, Hebe. *Memórias do Cativo. Trabalho, Família e Cidadania no Pós-Abolição... Op. Cit.* Part II, chap. 4. and Slenes, Robert W. “Histórias do Cafundó”. ... Op Cit.

<sup>26</sup> Cf. Barcellos, Daisy Macedo et al. *Comunidade Negra de Morro Alto. Historicidade, Identidade e Territorialidade*. Porto Alegre, UFRGS Editora, 2004 and Slenes, Robert W. “Histórias do Cafundó”. ... Op Cit..

<sup>27</sup> This is the case for, among others, the quilombo of Laudêncio. Cf. Martins, Robson Luis M. *Os Caminhos da Liberdade: abolicionistas, escravos e senhores na Província do Espírito Santo 1884-1888*. História - Universidade Estadual de Campinas, 1997 and Oliveira, Osvaldo Martins de. “Quilombo do Laudêncio, município de São Mateus (ES)” In: O’Dwyer, Eliane C. (ed.) *Quilombos identidade étnica e territorialidade. ...Op. Cit.*

<sup>28</sup> On the role of kinship and names, in Brazilian slave communities of the 19<sup>th</sup> century, cf. Slenes, Robert. *Na Senzala, uma flor*. Rio de Janeiro, Nova Fronteira, 1998 and Rios, Ana Lugão. “Família e Transição. Famílias Negras em Paraíba do Sul, 1872-1920”. *Masters Thesis in History*, Niterói, UFF, 1990; about the idea of lineage and the role of names in contemporary quilombo communities, cf., among others, Slenes, Robert W. “Histórias do Cafundó”. In: VOGT, Carlos and FRY, Peter *Cafundó. A África no Brasil. ...Op. Cit.*; Barcellos, Dayse Macedo et al. *Comunidade Negra de Morro Alto... Op. Cit.*; Mattos, Hebe. “Marcas da Escravidão. .. Op. Cit.

<sup>29</sup> On the last slaves, the historiography of post-emancipation in Brazil and the development of a “peasant project”, cf., Rios, Ana Lugão and Mattos, Hebe. “O pós-abolição como problema histórico: balanços e perspectivas.” In: *Topoi. Revista de História*, Rio de Janeiro: Programa de Pós-Graduação em História da UFRJ, Volume 5, Número 8, Jan-June, 2004. See also, Machado, Maria Helena. *O Plano e o Pânico*. Os movimentos sociais na década da abolição. Rio de Janeiro: UFRJ/EDUSP, 1994; Mattos, Hebe. *Das Cores do Silêncio. Os significados da liberdade no sudeste escravista – Brasil. Século XIX*. Rio de Janeiro: National Archives, 1995; Rios, Ana Lugão. “My Mother was a Slave, not me! Black Peasantry and Local Politics in Southeast Brazil, c. 1870-1940”. *PHD Dissertation in History*. University of Minnesota, 2001; and Gomes, Flávio S.. *Experiências Atlânticas... Op. Cit.*

<sup>30</sup> The collection *Memórias do Cativo* of the Laboratório de História Oral e Imagem of the Fluminense Federal University - LABHOI-UFF ([www.historia.uff.br/labhoi/homemc.htm](http://www.historia.uff.br/labhoi/homemc.htm)) holds interviews conducted by Ana Lugão Rios (PHD, University of Minnesota, 2001, *op. cit.*), by Robson Martins (Doctorate, UNICAMP, ongoing) and by research assistants and researchers from the LABHOI team. The collection also holds a copy of the transcription of states of descendants of slaves, residing in rural areas of the State of São Paulo, from the collection of the project *Memória da Escravidão em Famílias Negras de São Paulo*, coordinated by Maria de Lourdes Janoti and Sueli Robles in 1987 (Centro de Apoio a Pesquisa Sérgio Buarque de Holanda – USP – boxes 1 to 16). O livro *Memórias do Cativo. Família, Trabalho e Cidadania no Pós- Abolição* (by Ana Lugão Rios and Hebe Mattos, Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 2005) and the DVD based on it titled *Memórias do Cativo* are the principal analytic results of the project.

<sup>31</sup> Cf. Pollack, Michael. “Memória, esquecimento e silêncio” In: *Estudos Históricos*. Rio de Janeiro, vol. 2, nº 3, pp. 3-15, 1989; and “Memória e Identidade Social”. In: *Estudos Históricos*. Rio de Janeiro: FGV, vol. 5, nº 10, pp. 200-21, 1992.

<sup>32</sup> Cf. Mattos, Hebe and Gomes, Ângela de Castro. *Sobre Apropriações e Circularidades: memória do cativo e política cultural na era Vargas*. Oral History. São Paulo, vol. 1, nº 1S, pp.121-144, 1998.

<sup>33</sup> Cf. Interviews with Manoel Seabra, from the Community of São José da Serra, Catálogo de História Oral, Acervo Memórias do Cativo, LABHOI-UFF, 1998, 2003, 2004 and 2005; and DVD *Memórias do Cativo* (LABHOI-UFF, 2005).

---

<sup>34</sup> Cf. Conference and Interview with Antônio Nascimento Fernandes, Community of São José da Serra, Catálogo de História Oral, Projeto Memórias do Cativoiro, LABHOI-UFF, 2003; Rios, Ana Lugao and Mattos, Hebe. *Memórias do Cativoiro...* op.cit, part II, chap. 4; DVD Memórias do Cativoiro, LABHOI-UFF, 2005.

<sup>35</sup> Cf. – 723,419 slaves were freed, out of a total Brazilian population of more than 10 million persons Report from the Ministry of Agriculture, May 14, 1888, p. 24, apud. Conrad, Robert. *Os últimos anos da escravatura no Brasil*. Rio de Janeiro, Civilização Brasileira, 1972, p. 359.

<sup>36</sup> Cf. Mattos, Hebe. *Escravidão e Cidadania no Brasil Monárquico*. Rio de Janeiro, Jorge Zahar Editor, 200<sup>o</sup>.

<sup>37</sup> Cf. Schwarcz, Lilia. *O espetáculo das raças. Cientistas, instituições e questão racial no Brasil, 1870-1930*. São Paulo: Companhia das Letras, 1993.