

Slavery and Post-Abolition in Ceará: memories and trajectories of liberated populations in the city of Redemption

Arilson dos Santos Gomes*

Abstract: Redemption, located in the Region of the Baturité Massif, is considered the symbol city of abolition in the State of Ceará. In the municipality, the liberation of the enslaved occurred in 1883, five years before the Aurea Law of 1888. From the investigations about the descendants of freedpeople in the region, and through the use of oral sources, in the light of the concepts of memory and collective memory (HALBWACHS, 1990; POLLAK, 1989), thematic and life histories were conducted (ALBERTI, 2005). The intention was to assist in understanding the possible destinies of the liberated populations, in Redemption, after abolition.

Keywords: Redemption; Memory of slavery and post-abolition; Afrodescendants.

Initial considerations

The City of Redemption — which, in its foundation (1868), was called Vila de Acarape — it is situated in the Region of the Massif of Baturité and is located 55km from the capital Fortaleza. In this city, considered a symbol of abolition in the State of Ceará, “[...] is recorrenin its territory the spatial allusion to the historical events that took place in the city, the main one being the liberation of the enslaved in 1883, anticipating in five years the Aurea Law of 1888.” The location “[...] differs, since the city does notthe just ‘Contains’but ‘account your past’ in a particular language.” (MACIEL, 2017, p. 191). As stated in the lyrics of the official anthem of the city: “[...] of thy soil rose, overlooking. An invincible handful of heroes. I’m off this loud- healer’ We do not want slaves among us [...]” (OFFICIAL HYMN OF REDEMPTION, authorship Vital Bizarria).¹

* Doctor in History (PUCRS), professor at the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (UNILAB). Permanent member of the Interdisciplinary Master in Humanities (MIH-UNILAB). This work is the result of *the Project Of abolition to the new diaspora: history, memory and experiences of the Brazilian and African black populations in Acarape and Redenção – Ceará*, linked to the Pro-Rector of Research and Graduate Studies (PROPPG) of Unilab. The research included the performance of the scholarship holders Sabino Chimuco Samuel and Talia Alves, and were carried out with the support of the Institutional Program of Scientific Initiation Scholarship PIBIC/Unilab (2018-2019). I thank the reviewers of the Historical Critical Journal for the suggestions and criticisms of the first version of this text.

¹ The year of composition of the city anthem was not located. But it was probably composed a few

It is worth mentioning that, before the official constructions, the actions undertaken by the liberators of Ceará, in the nineteenth century, were not so liberal, since the enslaver received the value of the slave paid by the emancipation fund. And for the enslaved, "[...] freedom was tied to certain conditions, such as serving as servants to their former enslavers" (FUNES, 2003, p. 103).

Moreover, there is a strong official influence in the elaboration of an imaginary without racism and without prejudice in the city, as mayor Manuel Bandeira said, on the occasion of the 147th anniversary of his emancipation in 2015. According to Bandeira, "[...] today (the city) welcomes different races, cultures and ethnicities. The city grew, took a giant leap through the University of International Integration of Afro-Brazilian Lusophony (Unilab), a postcard for Brazil and the world." (MACIEL, 2017, p. 190).²

In addition to these perspectives of the past are the references of today, observed in the daily redencionista and scattered by the monuments and sights of the city. Redemption commemorates the pioneering of abolition, conquered by abolitionist heroes and liberating societies, but by time, brings the silencing of the effective participation of black populations in the struggle for their freedom.

Black identity, once elaborated by the stigma of oppressive ideologies, today is resignified by the ideologies of social movements in an assertive manner to resistance against oppression. With regard to symbolic representations, in the city of Redemption there are two monuments directly related to black populations: one called "Negro Liberto" and another, "Black Naked". In both representations, next to the monumentalized black bodies, the broken currents are visualized. In the first, stands out the traditional image of an enslaved breaking the chains. In the second, the figure of a black woman, kneeling, docile, with broken chains and thanking the heavens for their freedom. In common, representations symbolize a freedom granted, passive, without protagonisms.³ These monuments are destitutive of what the representatives

decades after abolition. Vital Bizarria, author of the hymn, was a poet from Ceará. Born in Tauá on April 28, 1875, he died in Fortaleza on October 2, 1947. He was a municipal official (AZEVEDO, 2005).

² Originated from a 2008 bill, founded in 2010, and starting its academic activities in 2011, Unilab is a federal public institution based in the city of Redenção, Ceará. Because it is a university full of symbolism, "[...] the city of Redemption was chosen precisely because it was the first Brazilian city to abolish slavery in 1883." Also dealing with unilab symbolism, the Malês Campus in Bahia is located in São Francisco do Conde, a municipality that concentrates the highest percentage of black population in the country, according to IBGE (BARROS; NOGUEIRA, 2015, p. 126). It is noteworthy that the institution emerges in the context of policies to promote racial equality from the impulses of the black movement to affirmative actions and ethnic-racial education (RIBEIRO, 2014).

³ The monument has as characteristic the link to the power of perpetuation, voluntary or involuntary,

of black movements proclaim in line with an assertive, cative identity, and in counterpoint to the stigmas of yesteryear. Black identity is understood as a cultural, political, and social construct (GOMES, 2005).

In this work, identity, being and being in the world, aware of the experiences as a subject are fundamental aspects. In view of this, the question is: what would have been the destinies of the populations liberated in Redemption after abolition? It is noteworthy that clashes and disputes over memory represent an essential element to understand the issue.

This situation will be problematized through relevant bibliography and the use of the book "Buying and Selling Slaves" of Redemption, in the theoretical light of the concept of "memory." This concept is related to the experiences of the subjects that were made possible by oral history (ALBERTI, 2005). In addition, interviews were conducted themes and life stories.

On the thematic focus, we interviewed residents of the urban region, workers, over 60 years of age and born in the city.⁴ It is believed that these interlocutors can provide how residents perceive the fates of black populations in the post-abolition period. As for the descendants of freedmen, the focus was on their life stories, since it is recognized that these memories can offer a possible support the "reconstruction" of the experiences experienced by their ancestors.⁵ The first perspective implies a broader dimension of local society, and another, more restricted, subjectivities of the respondents. One of the difficulties of the research was to find descendants of

of historical societies; becoming a legacy to collective memory (LE GOFF, 2003, p. 525-526). However, the visual representations and statues that identify the black population, for the most part, reinforce racism and the place of subalternity. Whether as a subdued slave or as a docile fellow. Like the Monument of the Black Mother. The statue of the black mother of Brazil was a tribute to the black milk girls, who breastfed mainly the children of the slaves at the time of slavery. In addition to a ransom of the representation of the black and the docile black. Her faithful nature, more devoted to the demands of the big house than to the interests of the slave's own, also distanced her from the figure of the angry, and vengeful slave" (RONCADOR, 2008, p. 131). The "Black Naked" redemption is at the entrance of the city in front of the Campus Liberdade of Unilab, former Administrative Center. The monument, symbol of abolition, was erected in 1968, in full military civil regime by the artist Eduardo Pamplona. The title that the author gave the work was "The slave", but the redenists named her "Negra Nua" (FERREIRA SOBRINHO et al., 2011, p. 134).

⁴ The choice of public servants as interlocutors of the research resulted from the perperity of their working institutions in the history of the city. This stability provides a deeper dimension of collective memory or the "social construction of memory" (BOSI, 1979, p. 27) around the importance of abolition for the region. For Ecléa Bosi, from Halbwachs, the memory of the individual depends on his relationship with the family, with the social class, with the school, with the Church, with the profession, in short, with the convivial groups. The institutions are the subject's trainers.

⁵ For Ana Lúcia Araújo "studying the memory of slavery means working in the absence of the witness figure, the one who lived the experience of the facts narrated" (ARAÚJO, 2009, p. 132). It is understood the impossibility, from the subjectivities of the respondents, to relive the past as such and what. "We can only reconstruct, in what is possible, the physiognomy of events", as Ecléa Bosi (1979, p. 21) warns us.

freedmen living in the city; there are remnants in more distant places, such as the Baturité Massif mountain range. For an ethical matter, and out of respect for the interlocutors, they we will comprehensively share their identities and places of operation.

Of the five interlocutors, three answered a script of semi-structured questions, while two others, direct descendants of the freed men of the region, answered open and long questions. The answers of each of them included "[...] his trajectory from childhood to the moment he speaks, going through the various events and conjunctures he witnessed, experienced or was wholeed of" (ALBERTI, 2005, p. 175).

In the narrative, the descendants of freedmen installed in the city of Redemption will also be identified as Afrodescendants; individuals who "[...] constituted the working mass throughout the period of Brazilian colonization [...] forming the population and providing the cultural basis of the country, in association with people from other backgrounds." (CUNHA JÚNIOR, 2005, p. 249). Situation that did not mean — at least in the daily life of these populations — the transition from a slave system to a system, indeed, free.

Studies on the memory of slavery and post-abolition deserve to be highlighted. Hebe Mattos (2006) investigated the historical processes and sociocultural differentiation mechanisms triggered before and after the abolition of captivity, for the social reproduction of the community of São José da Serra in Rio de Janeiro. For the author, new disputes occur from the approval of Article 68 of the Federal Constitution (1988), which stipulated the recognition and demarland of communities "remnants of quilombos". After 100 years of abolition, "[...] the meanings of citizenship, with the participation of the black movement, were under discussion. Memory of captivity, I will sayproperty and racial ideology have returned to between" (MATTOS, 2006, p. 416). According to the author:

The new quilombola identity, claimed and racialized from the captive past, were possible political choices regarding the symbolic uses of shared memory that has ensured since the abolition, the group's relations with the owning family. (MATTOS, 2006, p. 435).

Ana Lúcia Araújo (2009) researched the different representations of slavery and Atlantic trafficking present in the "Slave Route" of the city of Help, in present-day

Benin. The analysis consisted of interpreting how the monuments express different memories and stories of slavery. For the author, the creation of museums, the organization of festivals and the construction of monuments located in the urban space of Benin constituted the expression of the official public memories of slavery. In the early 1990s, with the process of redemocratization and the discussions of heritage of the United Nations Educational, Science and Culture Organization (UNESCO), the region begins to show aspects of its culture and history associated with slavery. Araújo notes that the memory present in the city reproduces stereotypes to victimization, but some cement statues, conceived by the Benin artists Cyprien Tokoudagba and Dominique Kouas, evoking the vodun religion, affirm the culture against victimization (ARAÚJO, 2009). Araújo's study is important for to understand the dynamics existing in the consecration of heritage to history and memory.

In 2012, Hebe Mattos and Martha Abreu launched, from visual materials produced by the Laboratory of Oral History and Image of the Federal University Fluminense (LABHOI/UFF), the collection "Pasts present", which deals with a series of four documentaries on trajectories, memories, and cultural practices of the descendants of the enslaved in the region of the former province of Rio de Janeiro. The compilation "[...] has a high militant index, with a keen awareness of the role that the representation of the past and the representation of memory have in the politics of the present and in the struggle for the citizenship rights of afrodescendant populations" (MATTOS; ABREU Apud PARÉS, 2014, p. 364).⁶

In Ceará, Paulo Henrique Souza Martins (2012) investigated the relationship between memory and history of slavery, abolition, and post-abolition in Santa Quitéria, in the Sertão of Ceará. Martins interviewed residents over 70 years of age, great-grandchildren, and grandchildren of freedmen in the region between 2006 and 2012. The researcher concludes that, before the memories of the past, oral memories are "[...] important for the recognition of citizenship rights in the search for equality in difference" (MARTINS, 2012, p. 116).

This article considers as descendants of freed those individuals who are grandchildren and granddaughters of enslaved, subjugated in the period of slavery, as well as the sons and daughters of the black and brown populations liberated in the

⁶ More information about the Project "Pastgifts" are available at: <http://www.labhoi.uff.br/linha-de-pesquisa/memoria-africanas-escravidao> >. Access: 20 Mar. 2012.

region. In general terms, this narrative seeks to contextualize slavery and post-abolition in Ceará and the city, besides problematizing the destinies of liberated populations redencionistas in the urban spaces of liberation lands.

Slavery and Post-Abolition in Ceará and Redemption

The research highlights that, in Ceará, as the occupation took place, a workspace was consolidated that attracted a contingent of free men — mostly poor, black, and brown — from neighboring provinces, as cowboys, working in the land system or as residents and households with farms to create (FUNES, 2007; MILES, 2011; FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011).

Forced labor, contrary to what occurred in Pernambuco, Bahia, Rio de Janeiro and later, in São Paulo, did not was so dependent on an agricultural economy. Also, workers were not required for mining, as well as in the Region of Minas Gerais. According to Miles, "[...] enslaved Africans in Ceará have been used since the 1990s17th century for small plantations, cattle care, housework, crafts, and others and, in the early 19th century, for the cotton cultivation" (MILES, 2011, p. 17).⁷

According to the research esof José Hilário Ferreira Sobrinho, "[...] the ethnic origin of Africans who were brought to the Province of Ceará is ongo-angolesa, linked to the Banto linguistic group" (FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 313).⁸

It should be noted that one of the effective forms of control of the system was Christian ideology. In colonial times, even with the controls, there were conflicts, revolts and negotiations conducted by the black populations with the comprehensive society. The most radical enslaved, "[...] who did not want to follow the rules, formed quilombola communities [...]" (MILES, 2011, p. 65). These rules can be identified in ill-treatment, unwanted selling, and violent punishment. "That's where the justification for the leaks was found [...]" (FUNES, 2007, p. 126), which were many, as reported by

⁷ It was only with the cultivation of cotton that the African labor force became accentuated and Ceará was definitively incorporated into the colonial market thanks to the labor force of the native, the free poor man, especially the Black people and the freed mestizo, the national captive and the African captive (FUNES, 2007).

⁸ In general, Africans coming to Brazil have two large linguistic trunks, Bantos and Sudanese. However, forced enslavement brought several African ethnicgroups: nagôs, jejes, benguelas, fulos, fulas, tuaregues, yorubas, mandingas, mines, háussas, adamauás, among others. Identifying these people only as black is disregarding the ethnic-cultural depth of these peoples. In the past, the term "black", created by Europeans, and later positive by black organizations, was considered pejorative, since it referred to beings without light (GOMES, 2017).

the newspapers *A Fortaleza* and *Cearense*, which circulated in the 1870s.⁹

José Hilário Ferreira Sobrinho demonstrates that, in Ceará, in addition to the escapes, which generated the quilombos, family ties and religious brotherhoods constituted an apparatus of cultural experiences that were used as a symbol of resistance and identity preservation.¹⁰ "They were strategies of sociability and solidarity" FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 312). Therefore, these cultures, in addition to being controlled, are persecuted. Festivities, samba, navel and maracatus can also be considered acts of resistance (GILROY, 2007).¹¹

Eurípedes Antônio Funes, according to this perspective, points out that, in Ceará, there is a whole social experience historically built by blacks, browns and multiracial people, as well as "[...] visible marks of their sociability and their engagements in the world of work, its cultural practices and the struggles against discrimination and prejudice" (FUNES, 2007, p. 103).

After the Euzébio de Queiróz Law (which prohibited the transatlantic slave trade), the interprovincial trade arises. Being shipped to the regions of Rio de Janeiro or São Paulo generated other resistance, since the family ties of the enslaved populations were again destroyed (FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011). The first break of these ties was the forced coming of the African continent.

In fact, since 1831, with the Feijó Law, which theoretically banned the importation of enslaved people into Brazil, immigration has been thought of as a solution for the replacement of slave labor by free labor. "Thinking about coffee expansion, some politicians insisted on colonization thesis." In 1846, at the Provincial Assembly of São Paulo, its president, Rafael Tobias de Aguiar, "[...] he welcomed the provincial government for its support to Casa Delrue e Cia of Dunkerque, which

⁹ In Ceará, it is important to highlight the research of Alex Ratts in the 1990s. His studies remove indigenous and quilombola communities from silence and show resistance and protagonism.

¹⁰ For Henrique Cunha Júnior (2001), these factors represent the basis of the resistance and survival of the enslaved. Therefore, upon landing in Brazil, Africans brought cultures and recreated them as legitimate forms of resistance and possibility of survival of Black and African culture in Brazil. In another perspective, Homi K. Bhabha situates these combinations as sliding margins of cultural displacement, in which it becomes confusing all the deep and authentic sense of national culture, since the cultural and historical hybridism of the post-colonial world is taken by him as a paradigmatic place of departure (BHABHA, 2007).

¹¹ Gilroy proposes that the sharing of post-slavery black cultural forms be addressed through related issues, which converge in the analysis of Black music and the social relations that sustain them. The oral character of cultural situations, in which diaspora music develops, presupposes a distinctive relationship with the body. This relationship body expression and music was the result of brutal historical conditions. They are performances and Black cultures based on the gestural, in place of the textual, and merge with western cultures, but that constitute distinct elements of black communications. These communications articulate multiple forms of global communications and displace Black culture, influencing modern Western culture, dominating popular cultures (GILROY, 2007).

proposed to introduce German, Belgian, and other national farmers in São Paulo" (COSTA, 1998, p. 201).

Ana Sara Irffi (2015) explains that this situation was accentuated after international laws against slavery and social reconfigurations that occurred in the post-abolition. The institution of slavery practically dissolved in the Northeast, where it ended earlier than in the South Central. With this, "[...] an offset has occurred mass movement of slaves from the northeastern regions, destined to the coffee plantations of the Southeast" (IRFFI, 2015, p. 220). This fact influenced the use of the labour force in Acarape (Redemption).¹² In fact, they are in the region the country's coffee trees that black populations begin to concentrate on, and with the end of slavery, immigrants become increasingly the solution. However, in the Bahian Recôncavo, the logic was different, as Bert Jude Barickman (1998/1999) points out.¹³

A remarkable event in the liberation of Ceará's slaves was the leading role of abolitionist societies.¹⁴ In a difficult period for the enslaved and for all Ceará society, due to droughts (1877–1880), slavery is now attacked, since the use of slave labor is a contradiction in conjunction with the misery of all (BARBOZA, 2016).¹⁵ Furthermore,

¹² According to the 1872 census, the population of the Parish of Our Lady of the Conception of Acarape (Vila de Acarape and, later, city of Redenção), the population was 11,865 people. In general demography, the breeds were distributed as follows: 3,595 whites, 7,604 browns, 454 blacks and 212 caboclos (CENSUS, 1872). That is, the population of non-whites represented about 70% of the inhabitants. Of these, only 140 were enslaved, 58 brown and 82 black, 70 men and 70 women.

¹³ In Bahia, the Recôncavo, a region in which São Francisco do Conde is located, was "[...] an important center of sugar and tobacco production, was one of the cradles of the slave plantation in the Americas. At the beginning of the 19th century, the region boasted a prosperous and varied agricultural economy, which was based on slave labor and whose production was destined for foreign and local markets. More than that, even in 1872-73, Bahia still had the third largest servil population in Brazil; that is, more slaves lived and worked there than in the much-studied coffee province of São Paulo." (BARICKMAN, 1998/1999, p. 181). The passage from slave labor to free work in the Recôncavo did not mean better days and did not prevent the ex-enslaved "from faithfully returning to work in sugarcane trees in exchange for low wages" (BARICKMAN, 1998/1999, p. 234).

¹⁴ In Brazil, "The abolitionist movement, however, predate 1879 and Joaquim Nabuco, one of the leaders of the anti-slave movement and "the most powerful diffuser of the clipping". "Anti-slavery associations date back to the eve of the Eusébio de Queirós law, which banned the overseas slave trade in 1850", and then, with "the growing collective demonstrations against slavery in the second half of the 1860s, before the Free Womb Law" (ALONSO, 2014, p. 117).

¹⁵ The great drought that affected the province of Ceará caused intense waves of migration, as Edson Holanda Barboza pointed out. In addition to the economic collapse, with the death of cattle, and the near extinction of agricultural production, the loot, riots and demands for public assistance were constant in Fortaleza, the capital of Ceará, which quadrupled its demographics due to the flow of migrants from the interior. The leaders of Ceará tried to restore order by granting passages and encouraging migration to other provinces as a resource to ease tensions. The provinces located to the west of Ceará (Piauí, Maranhão, Pará and Amazonas) received most of the migratory flow for agricultural occupations and for the construction of the Madeira-Mamoré Railway. The railroad had financial support from the United States, but the permanence of slavery in Brazil constituted a concrete obstacle to attract the American "colored population" to work as it feared being subjected to captivity. The way out was to mobilize national workers. "The businessperson Thomaz Collins" hired "with the citizen José Paulino von Hoonholtz the introduction of 600 workers from Ceará". At the end of July 1878,

followed the slave trade in the ports of Ceará, for crops from other states, such as São Paulo. In Ceará, in the fight against these situations, abolitionist societies arise, especially the Sociedade Cearense Libertadora (SCL), founded in December 1880. In 1881, the association's journal was created, called *Liberator* (MOREL, 1967, p. 89).¹⁶

On January 27, 1881, the "liberators" decided to lock the port of Fortaleza to the slave trade. The ships "Espírito Santo" and "Pará" were prevented from transport enslaved by the rafts, which were responsible for monitoring the ships until the beginning of the deep waters. The first leader of the striker movement was the fisher Antônio Napoleão and then Francisco José do Nascimento. According to Edmar Morel (1967), influenced by the leaders of the SCL, Nascimento assumed the leadership of the strikers. Concomitantly with the rafts, the "liberators" snatchedm carriages with enslaved intended ships moored at the port.¹⁷ José do Patrocínio, one of the best-known abolitionists of the time, maintained a close relationship with the abolitionists of Ceará.

Patronage made visits to the region to participate in events related to the liberations of enslaved people from some localities of Ceará, especially in the city of Acarape (Redemption), the first to release these populations "en masse" — simultaneously, around 116 letters of alforria. On March 25, 1884, the province of Ceará

he left the port of Fortaleza, towards Santo Antônio do Rio Madeira, a group of removing workers. In November, the number of ceará swelled to 325. Diseases, mortality, and lack of resources were the main causes. This caused revolts on the part of the ceará's retirees who became a threat circulating in the region in search of opportunities (BARBOSA, 2016, p. 12–17). However, the color of these retirees made all the difference in a racialized society, as observed in the forms located in the city of Marabá, in southeastern Pará. In another study, representations of the tributes to migrant pioneers from the South and Southeast were also demonstrated, while negative stereotypes were related to groups indigenous peoples and northeastern, mixed-race and black migrants from Maranhão and Ceará (GOMES, 2019).

¹⁶ Abolitionism was a movement, an arena that counted in Ceará with rafts, politicians, and social sectors. According to Angela Alonso, abolitionism forms a "network in continuous rearrangement, with positions that change throughout the political process, according to the constellations of forces. Unlike institutions, with their fixed members and clear borders, movements have fluid limits and volatile participants, who enter and depart." Therefore, José do Patrocínio, the Liberating Societies and the movement of the rafts constitute this movement, this network. Ângela Alonso found in printed in nine provinces that mobilization strategies occurred from institutional actions to public demonstrations in enclosed spaces and in open spaces, diffusion action, symbolic action, direct action, and confrontation action. It is observed that the jangadeiros cearenses made "direct actions" against slavery (ALONSO, 2014, p. 120–121).

¹⁷ Edmar Morel (1912–1989), through interviews, journalistic prints, an intimate diary of Francisco José do Nascimento himself and family documents, as recorded in the introduction of the book *Dragão do Mar the Raft of Abolition*, published in 1949, was intended to create the figure of the rafadeiro Francisco José do Nascimento as a "hero of the commoner". For Xavier (2009), this goal was fully achieved in the publication, since Morel struggled to create an "aurea of light" on the episode of the raft strike against the embarkation and disembarkation of enslaved, as well as built, through his chronological and coherent narrative, a "true hero" around the figure of the raft. Nicknamed, now, "Dragon of the Sea" and since a child called "Chico da Matilde", by virtue of being the son of Dona Matilde.

decrees the abolition of Slavery (FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 262).¹⁸

Euripides Antonio Funes Claims that

[...] or process abolitionist, not alone in Ceará, Allows To captive retrieve its freedom; but Comes accompanied from one series from Measures Controllers that put this individual in your (in) due place, close you All the Possibilities from ascension social and social rights to the citizenship (FUNES, 2007, p. 132).

In fact, abolition did not mean better days. As Paulo Henrique Martins emphasizes:

[...] the total abolition in Ceará occurred on March 25, 1884. But apart from the memories in which the building of the abolitionist feat is erected, the post-abolition in the land of light is formatted by silence about the freed and the black in Ceará or the depreciation of its performance more broadly (MARTINS, 2014, p. 44).

In 1885, in palliative measure, freedom is guaranteed for slaves over the age of 65. In 1888, the Aurea Law was promulgated and, the following year, the Republic.¹⁹

Wlamyra Albuquerque (2004) shows that the notion of race structured and was structured in the context of abolition. Attitudes of the police and political authorities of the time, the verses of the students at the medical school of Bahia converged on the differences between whites and "men of color". It was a process of

¹⁸ About this episode, José Hilário Ferreira Sobrinho brings other perspectives. For him, the cause of the effectiveness of abolition in Ceará was the movement of rafts, not scl. Sobrinho points out that the rafts suffered the experiences of slavery, as well as were witnesses of the enslaved boats to Rio de Janeiro and São Paulo, which generated reactions from the black rafts Francisco Nascimento and Antônio Napoleão, the main leaders of the movement that began the end of slavery in the Port of Fortaleza. For Sobrinho, "[...] the middle class, influenced by modern and liberal ideas, with the foundation of the abolitionist society "Perseverance and Porvir" found the necessary resonance to the refusal to no longer transport the captives of the south on board the boats" (FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 262. In the process identified by the author, the black rafts would have been the main protagonists of the episode.

¹⁹ On May 19, 1888, in the Chamber of Acarape, future city of Redemption, in a session presided over by Antônio Leonel de Vasconcellos, it was proposed that "[...] this session was exceptionally to make a manifestation of appreciation to the person of augustan imperial princess for the good he did to this empire with the sanction of law number three hundred and fifty-three of thirteen of the current mez." (sic). Minutes of Meetings of the Town of Acarape. Collection of the Memorial Museum of Liberty, Redemption/Ceará, May 19, 1888.

veiled racialization, which established distinct citizenship criteria between blacks and whites. In the political field the persistence of racialization was perceived in the clashes between monarchists and Republicans. For Albuquerque, the "idea that there were different human races funthe expectations and plans of the society that was inaugurated" (ALBUQUERQUE, 2004, p. 231).

The discussions about race were motivated by the fear of the elites related to the free black masses, legitimized by social Darwinism and scientific racism²⁰—embodied by the policy of bleaching and hygiene policies — contributing to the invisibility and increasing marginalization of Afro-Brazilian populations (GOMES; DOMINGUES, 2013).

The hierarchy by race and type also influenced the social relations in Ceará. The term "goat", as Ana Sara Irffi (2015) noted, is an example of racial classifications and a given social condition. The classification "[...] it is the result of efforts to organize poor free workers and the enslaved, more broadly, peasants" (IRFFI, 2015, p. 26).

In Cariri cearense, in the south of the state, prejudice regarding mixed race origin promoted discrimination with the population of color, commonly understood as the egressa of slavery. In the case of individuals classified as "goats", this relationship has been strengthened and remodeled over the years.²¹ However, the term was used as a stigma related to the skin color of criminals identified by the system, besides being used to characterize slaves related to a slaver. Goats, caboclos, blacks, browns and multiracial people formed the society of color.²²

²⁰ "Social Darwinism can be defined as the application of laws of Darwin's theory of natural selection in life to human societies. His mentor was the English philosopher Herbert Spencer (1820–1903). "On the genetic side, social Darwinism considered that the definition and hierarchization of races were based on apparent characters (skin color, hair texture, skull shape)". It was an ideology in defense of capitalism and quickly linked to eugenics and racist ideologies. Eugenics was founded in 1883 by Darwin's cousin Francis Galton (1822–1911), who advocated the state's formation of a genetic elite through scientific control. The lower ones would be eliminated. The French lapouge (1854–1936) tried to demonstrate the relationship between social status and individuals and their biological and racial identity. "The first great theoretician of racism was Count Gobineau (1816–1882), who defended the superiority of the Aryan race" (BOLSANELLO, 1996, p. 154–155).

²¹ Márcia Amantino researched the economic and social activities of the Inacians in the captaincy of Rio de Janeiro in the 17th and 18th centuries. In his research Amantino questions, in the sources, what "goat" or "brown" meant by an evaluator. She asks that she may never have a chance of an answer. For her "the big problem is to identify the criteria that were used by colonial populations to classify people... there was no criterion for defining who would be identified with some quality, let alone what this criterion would have been" (AMANTINO, 2016, p. 92).

²² For Gilroy, the consecration of race placed the traditions of oppressed groups on the fringes of the official histories of modernity, relegating them to the late spaces of the primitive and the pre-political. According to the author, the closed definitions of race should be overcome, since this, paraphrasing Frantz Fanon, says that "[...] the negro enslaved by his inferiority, as well as the white man enslaved by his superiority, behave with a neurotic orientation." However, "[...] the idea of inhumanity inspired by and associated with the idea of race is confined to slavery, or to the brutal forms of segregation that

Eduardo França Paiva researched the "Peoples of Minas Gerais of the 18th century", and brings another complexity to hierarchical society. In the words of France:

If anyone thinks that in all this period [...] all form the "Black population", as they say today, is deeply mistaken. Black was black, Creole was Creole, mulato was multiracial person, brown was brown, goat was goat, and do not mix often. And there is more, there was a hierarchy [...] and who is better than the other? And often be better than the other was not attached exclusively to the color of the skin, if one was more black or less black than others. Of course, that also counted, but that was not always the criterion for distinguishing [...] those who had greater knowledge about construction techniques, those who had greater knowledge about mining if highlighted [...] 're ahead from one society that if conformed in bias of difference [...] (PAIVA, 2009, p. 31, our griffins).

After abolition, the controls of the hegemonic groups become more sophisticated. The imigrantist projects and bleaching did not eliminate the ideal of a Brazilian breed in formation, based on misceage, which was taken as a positive characteristic (VIANA, 1922; MUNANGA, 2004).²³

But not all elites compacted with miscecity. The traditional historical production of Ceará vehemently refused it. As Américo Ribeiro wrote in his text on the Tricentenary of Ceará (1603–1903):

Ceará, happier about the settlement of other provinces, should not even complain, such as Bahia, Rio de Janeiro, Maranhão, Pernambuco, the mixture, so condemned [...] of certain Elements and African habits, the dissolvent fetishism that out there camped on ridiculous and indecent practices and scenes and ceremonies [...] (BARRETO *Apud* FUNES, 2007, p. 103–104).

In other words, African cultures — legitimate elements of Black resistance in

followed it. They arise from countless episodes in colonial history and genocidal operations that have proven to be the most triumphant moment in raciology." (GILROY, 2007, p. 37).

²³ Miscecity becomes a solution to the nation's laundering. Oliveira Viana (1883–1957), inclusive, said that "[...] the higher the Aryan blood in the half-breeds, the faster they will tend to coat the somatic attributes of the white man" (VIANA, 1922). Kabengele Munanga (2004), states that the biological fact of miscegenation should not be confused with the process of identification and identity, whose essence is fundamentally political and ideological (MUNANGA, 2004, p. 118–119).

the diaspora — were considered indecent cultures by Américo Ribeiro.²⁴

Antônio Bezerra de Meneses, Baron de Studart and João Cordeiro, members of the SCL, had another luck with the advent of the Republic. Becoming recognized politicians and founding members of the Historical Institute of Ceará (1887), they were solely responsible for the elaboration of the official history of the State (especially the "pioneering" of abolition) without concerns about the trajectory and directions of black groups. This is a situation commonly identified in the traditional historiography of Ceará, because, according to Raimundo Girão, "[...] blacks were few" (GIRÃO, 1962 Apud FUNES, 2011, p.104).²⁵

According to the interview conducted with the civil servant of the cultural segment, in contemporary times, the formerly enslaved people of the city did not have many alternatives, because:

Most (of the freedmen) when the abolition happened, they went away, each took its course, but some were working here in family homes, in places and so was their lives, and always responsible fulfilling their duties. And that is how we heard about it. **They worked on mills, in the making of rapaduras, cachaças and sugarcane** (EMPLOYEE A, 2019, our griffins).²⁶

From her point of view, another interlocutor points out situations from which it is possible to identify the destinies of Black populations in Redemption in the post-abolition:

At the time many of the slaves, many were not few, because Redemption was the first was also by the minimum amount of enslaved, because of this, some decided to stay with their bosses and others left here. But if you look, there'su families of descendants of slaves here and I remember well a lady and she

²⁴ For José Hilário Ferreira Sobrinho, this liberal-positivist methodological stance sought to privilege the great deeds of political characters, usually white [...], and the historical silence around Black people and their actions was somewhat intentional (FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 262).

²⁵ This statement by Raimundo Girão is, at the very least, questionable, since, according to the census, "[...] at the beginning of the 19th century, the presence of Afro-Brazilians was already significant in these lands of Ceará, where freed blacks and browns totaled 60.7% of a total population of 77,375 inhabitants. In this universe, the Black and captive brown population totaled 12,254, that is, 15.8% of the population" (FUNES, 2007, p. 104). Therefore, it is concluded that Black people have always existed in Ceará, what occurred is that they were invisible by traditional historiography, different from the mestizo that happens to be decanted as a regional type. In Redenção blacks and browns formed 68% of the population, according to the 1872 Census.

²⁶ Interview conducted with an employee, over 60 years of age. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

passed away and left some children, but even these children of hers no one has heard from them. **But if you look through the population of Redemption looking through miscegenation, you can realize que has many descendants, but they do not call themselves descendants of enslaved.** I don't particularly remember and have no information if in my family in previous generations any descendants had, but I believe so if it is made a pesquisa they are around here [...] we are the current generation [...] other Freed Were to Fortaleza and many Searching Other Cities (EMPLOYEE B, 2019, Gryphons Our).²⁷

In her report, the interviewee informs the existence of few enslaved in the region at the time of abolition, a factor that may be associated with the displacement of these workers to coffee plantations in the Southeast. She points out that, for lack of alternative, the formerly enslaved people stayed on the farms. Nowadays, the lack of recognition of the ties of residents with the former enslaved may be related to miscegenation. On the other hand, it can be a defense against stereotypes related to slavery in a city that alludes to liberation.

To locate descendants of the freedmen, in a more specific and assertive way, the interviewees were asked if they knew living subjects identified with the populations surveyed. According to one of the reports:

I know a lady she is Descendants of slaves, **she lives in the urban core**, in a locality nearhere and her name I do not know [...] is one lady Short that the family all is Descendants from Slaves, Know some nephews her also. This lady always walks down the street with several clothes on top of each other and she usually travels going from one locality to another and she asks [...] help. But she is a lucid lady and I believe she will remember some things to talk about and she must be about 70 years old (EMPLOYEE A, 2019, our griffins).²⁸

In this sense, the "urban nucleus" becomes a place of the city to be investigated to achieve the objectives of the research.²⁹ In another interview, a city server pointed

²⁷ Interview conducted with an employee, over 60 years of age. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

²⁸ Interview conducted with an employee, over 60 years of age. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

²⁹ The term "urban core" was used to reinforce the anonymity of the locality and those consulted.

Time passes and the years are taking people and the new generation grandchildren, great-grandson, and great-grandchildren i would invite to do a visit work to the Mountains so we can talk to people 90 and 95 years old these people should be interviewed (FUNCIONÁRIO C, 2019).³⁰

At the time, the deponent related the research to the remnants of quilombos of the region, being the Quilombola Community of Serra do Evaristo, in the city of Baturité, the most prominent. Another place known in the Serra for the widespread use of slave labor in the past was Gurguri Farm, currently a tourist attraction. However, the spatial delimitation of the proposal lies in locating the descendants of formerly enslaved people in the urban spaces of Redemption.

The destinies of liberated populations in the urban spaces of Redemption

It is noteworthy that some indications point to the indigenous presence in the region before the city of Acarape is named Redemption. According to information collected in an interview with a teacher who taught for more than 30 years in the city:

The name of Redemption arose because of the abolition of slaves, but before that until it reaches the name of Redemption has a whole hystórthat few people know, that at first no one knows exactly when the village began. It is known that this region was inhabited by the Tapuia Indians, who came from the Jaguaribe region, and they had fled the wars that were there, came here and on the banks of the Pacuti River, an exact date is not known, but we have to do a search To know about it (EMPLOYEE B, 2019).³¹

In the memories of the former residents, the region was called "Cala Boca", a

³⁰ Interview conducted with Employee, over 60 years of age. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

³¹ Interview with a teacher over 60 years of age and more than 30 years of experience in teaching. She reported that she came to Redemption in 1970 after completing the Gym. He began his work in education in 1987. At that time, she participated as a student and then as a teacher of the parades that took place on March 25 (abolition of slaves in Ceará). The deponent remembers a parade that occurred in 1976, in which there was a plot in the parade that told the story of Redemption. Local, City of Redemption, 2019/2021.

crude form of treatment. The village of Acarape was instituted by decree signed by Francisco Inácio Marcondes Homem de Melo, the then president of the Province of Ceará, on December 5, 1868. The first Town Hall was created on August 21, 1871, when the population had "[...] 14,703 souls." (COUNCIL OF COUNCILORS OF REDEMPTION, sd, sp). It is interesting to show that, in the census conducted in the following year (1872), the number of inhabitants of the city was 11,865. What are the reasons for this difference?³²

On January 1, 1883, the House decides that "[...] on this earth there are no more slaves." Six years later, on August 17, 1889, Law No. 2,167 was promulgated, which elava Acarape to the category of city, giving it the new name of Redemption. In 1987, Law No. 11,308 was sanctioned, which creates the municipality of Acarape, dismembering it from Redemption. Currently, there are both municipalities.

But it is in Redemption that official memory reproduces profound affective aspects in relation to abolition. According to Maurice Halbwachs (1990), remembrance is the result of a collective process, as it needs an affective community forged in the entreinternally with people, which is characteristic of relationships with reference groups. It is this affective community that makes it possible to update the identification with the group's mentality in the past and resume the habit and power to think and lemas a member of the group (SCHMDT *et al.*, 2016).

In this sense, with pride, redenists freeze — in line with official memory — the representations of the city in documents and objects in the universe of the goodness of the liberating act or in the figure of the object slave, without, however, establishing transformative and critical links to those constructions of the past.³³ In Redemption, for example, there are monuments, obelisks, museums, supermarkets, squares, and streets that recall the pioneering of Abolition in a "framed" memory, as Michel Pollak

³² In the Village of Acarape (now Redemption), as analyzed in the "Book of Purchase and Sale of Slaves" of the collection of the "Memorial Museum of Liberty", between the years 1876 and 1881, there were 28 (twenty-eight) negotiations involving the purchase and sale of enslaved. A whole 38 people were traded, in some cases entire families were negotiated. In this universe were 11 men and 27 women traded, in the village of Acarape, by buyers from Fortaleza, Baturité and Pacatuba. This difference is linked to the functions that these subjects would perform. Women would work in residences and men on farms. Another issue worth mentioning is that the women were all single, while the 7 men were single and four were married.

³³ For Ecléa Bosi "the social construction of memory takes place when a group works intensely together. With this, there is a tendency to create coherent schemes of narration and interpretation of facts, "universes of discourses", "universes of meanings", which give the material the basis of a version of history, an established version of events. On the other hand, everything that "currently" is not significant for the person's social group is forgotten (BOSI, 1979, p.27). The "universe of meanings" of local populations is the abolition of slavery, while liberated populations have become insignificant to the city.

(1989) afores. Situation reflected from a photograph located in the collection of the Memorial of the Black Freed of Redemption, in which the image of Ms. Marieta Cals is visualized at a party organized in the city.³⁴

The wife of former Governor César Cals, Marieta Cals, visited Redemption on March 25 — a festive date alluding to abolition in the State of Ceará — between 1971 and 1975, when her husband was governor of the state. At the time, the governor's wife received the key to the city of Redemption from a "[...] descendant of slaves."

Marieta was the wife of one of the "[...] former governors of Ceará at the time of political colonelism", as stated in the biography found on the website of the Legislative Assembly of the State of Ceará.³⁵ As for the descendant of slaves, nameless, her trajectory of freedom becomes a challenge to the researcher. However, the act of her handing over the key to the city to the first lady is loaded with symbolism, since the key represents the object for the opening of the house. In this situation, it represents the city of "liberation".

In his research on the resistance of slavery in Ceará, quoting Moses Finley, José Hilário Ferreira Sobrinho states that:

[...] freedom is not a self-evident term. It can only be understood in a dialectical way, which is: as opposed to the notion of 'not freedom'. It is not, therefore, a static concept, but a 'terrain' of conflicts [...]. If it is not properly contextualized, within the time of history, freedom runs the risk of becoming a meta-historical theme (FINLEY *Apud* FERREIRA SOBRINHO, 2011, p. 38).

Therefore, using a "descendant of slaves" only in allusion to official freedom can mean something static, since the relevant would be to establish reflections, connections between the daily past of the descendant and that present, showing whether this transition between slavery and freedom, in fact, changed his life. The

³⁴ The old, undated photograph was in the collection of the Memorial Museum of Liberty, Redemption/EC. Sd. The Memorial Museum of Liberty is an institution linked to the Secretariat of Culture, Tourism/EC. Youth of Redemption. It was created on December 28, 1997, and its collection consists of ancient objects and documents from the period of slavery. During the surveys, conducted between August 2018 and August 2019, we had the state and structure of the space at our disposal.

³⁵ Political colonelism in Ceará also counted on Virgílio Távora and Aduino Bezerra. About the first lady of the image, besides being the wife of the former governor of the state, César Cals, Marieta was the mother of two other politicians from Ceará: César Cals Neto and Marcos Cals. César Cals Neto, the eldest of Marieta and César Cals' five children, was the 40th mayor of Fortaleza, acting between 1983 and 1985. Former mayor Barros Pinho succeeded him. He was also a congressman. Marcos Cals was, in 1986, elected the youngest state deputy in the history of the country, at the age of 22. He was president of the Legislative Assembly of Ceará for two terms and defeated candidate to the state government in 2010 and the city of Fortaleza in 2012. Available in: <<https://www.al.ce.gov.br/index.php/ultimas-news/item/13278-dies-former-first-lady-marieta-cals>>. Access in Feb 11th. 2021.

experiences come from practical life, and, for Edward Thompson (1981), social consciousness comes from lived experiences, which can be embodied in traditions, systems of values and ideas. That is: the fundamental elements of the subjects' identities are, in our understanding, constructs of orientation, experiences and, therefore, historical consciousness.

As for identity, this is a way of "being in the world" with others; it is a crucial factor in the networks of relations and a cultural reference of social groups. The identity indicates "[...] cultural traits expressed through linguistic practices, festivals, rituals, eating behaviors and populating traditions, civilizing references that mark the human condition " (GOMES, 2005, p. 41).

In view of this, the experiences, and identities of redenists are closely linked to liberation, as something frozen in a harmonious past, beautiful and without apparent tensions. The descendants of formerly enslaved people, without reflections, are fixed to the benevolence of conditions or simply to slavery.

In the 1970s and 1980s, the poorest portion of the population (including the descendants of formerly enslaved people) lived on alto Santa Rita hill, in taipa constructions. Situation which would be changed later when it was commuted to the periphery. According to the report of the employee interviewed, between 1999 and 2000, a project was conducted that consisted of building 180 popular houses and

[...] knock down 180 taipa houses in the place called Alto Santa Rita, where today has the staircase (tourist attraction of the city). But in the old days it was full of houses [...] we built the staircase with 180 steps that today is part of the tourist history of the municipality, and we built at the time the "Núcleo" [...] where these families live (FUNCIONÁRIO C, 2019).³⁶

The accounts of the interlocutors identify the territory of the "urban nucleus" as a stigmatized place, which is not a mere coincidence, since in this space the poorest live. It is interesting to highlight that, in contemporary times, despite the ideal of liberation strongly present in the city, the territorial stigma continues to oppress afrodescendant populations.³⁷

³⁶ Interview with Employee, over 60 years of age. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

³⁷ The stigmas and prejudices formulated to the territories in which Black populations live, as observed in Redemption, is recurrent in our investigations. This situation was identified in capitals such as Porto Alegre/RS and Fortaleza/CE and in cities in northern Brazil, such as Marabá/PA. Regions in which we had the opportunity to work on projects and orientations on the trajectory of these populations. For the sake of ethics, and out of respect for the interlocutors, we will not name their names and their locality.

When investigating the fates of these people, through oral interviews with residents, information is common that the descendants of freedmen live in dangerous neighborhoods and are commonly remembered as beggars. It is like this is the only version related to the history of these populations. This situation deserves questioning based on the experiences of the subjects themselves.³⁸

Through oralities, non-hegemonic groups continue to struggle to maintain their values, their culture, their memories, their belongings and their positive identity. Underground memory (POLLAK, 1989), often mantaken by orality and other supports, it sustains the bonds lived and the memories of the difficulties faced, and allows the maintenance of the references, in addition to the criticisms before an official worldview.

In reports of two descendants of formerly enslaved people, called descendant A and descendant B (both, residents in the stigmatized territory), it was found that the freedom of their ancestors and their destinies were restricted. In their experiences, aspects of work and control were identified, and it was observed that both did not attend school and that they were illiterate. According to the information collected from the descendant of freedan A, about 90 years old, resident in one of the places considered stigmatized redemption: "My father worked in the swidden, made flour [...] I worked by mowing, in the coffee plantation, in the flour house scraping cassava [...]". She later says that her great-grandmother "[...] she was a slave, she also worked in the flour and mowing house, she picked up vegetables." (DESCENDANT OF LIBERTO A, 2019).³⁹

Eylo Fagner Silva Rodrigues points out that "[...] lords (Enslavers) possessing 20 slaves would be a rare exception [...]" in the city. "There, there was a slavery marked by the predominance of small holders [...]" In this sense, the very relationship between slave and lord presupposed a greater proximity "[...] " (RODRIGUES, 2012, p. 27).

Not recôncavo Sul Baiano, it was common enslavers to work side by side with enslaved. However, as Edinéia Souza demonstrates "[...] this approach was limited,

³⁸ Oral History, as a methodology "[...] is a story of experiences." It is a possibility to empirically approach something like the meaning of history within history "[...]" and allows us to critically question the application of macrosociological theories about the past; allows the change of perspective, as Verena Alberti points out. " Working with oral history can show as the constitution of memory is an object of continuous negotiation. [...] Today there is consensus that we must be in mind that there is a multitude of memories in dispute." (ALBERTI, 2005). To date, at the time of the project that originated this article, five people were interviewed: three employees of public offices in the city of Redemption and two descendants of formerly enslaved people.

³⁹ Interview conducted with descendant of freedan A, 90 years old. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

considering that the greatest good that could be accumulated was the ownership of the land and this was a strong condition for the hierarchization and maintenance of relations of dependence and mandonism" (SOUZA, 2012, p. 129). This situation refers to our proposal.

From the report presented, it is possible to perceive that the work performed in slavery remained, even with the transition to freedom. The "mowing", cultivation continued to be a widespread practice, as if there had not been a break in the passage of slave labor to free labour.⁴⁰

In a dialogue that occurred with his younger brother (the descendant of freedman B, of 62 years of age), restless situations were evidenced in his speech, such as conflicts and oppressions suffered by his enslaved great-grandmother.⁴¹ Such experiences came to his memory through orality and were passed down from generation to generation. Inclusive, confirm their words: "[...] it's a story that my great-grandmother told my grandmother, and she came to us [...]".⁴²

According to the account of the descendant of freedman B, at that time

[...] there was no politician, there was a man, the owner [...] this was our boss where we were born raised there in a little place called "Quadro", at that time, my grandmother told that there was no politician there was a business called of "jagunço" that was a troop that walked in the world all armed like the cangaceiros [...] And my great-grandmother had to hide so she wouldn't get caught by the guns and hide in the woods, the guns were people who shot people for evil were wicked, they walk with dangerous weapons such a rifle weapon of the time (DESCENDANT OF LIBERTO B, 2019) (Our Griffins).⁴³

⁴⁰ To Maria Cristina Cortez Wissenbach, in the building of the new Republic "[...] there was an exclusionary view of everything that did not contain the mark of modernity or that did not show a certain Europeanized air that was sought, among other projects." To some extent, the author follows, this domination followed the abolition and did not recognize what did not fit the dual scheme, leaving without reason to be broad segments of economic life and Brazilian society. In the documents of the time it is common to find records of acts of disciplinarization, slave and personalist domination, "the poor free men of their humanity and the simple right of existence are deprived" (WISSEMBACH, 1997, p. 19).

⁴¹ The memory of the descendant here is fundamental for research analysis. However, "remembrance is an image constructed by the materials of the past." In this case, the orality of the interviewee's great-grandmother, in his childhood. Therefore, the report of the descendant of the freedman is understood as a set of representations issued in the present, which enables "disconfiguration" from the values and the present. This does not preclude our "historical reconstruction as much as possible" (BOSI, 1979, p. 21).

⁴² Interview conducted with descendant of freedman B, 62 years old. Location, City of Redemption, 2019.

⁴³ Ibidem. The present report shows the mandonism and the sequence of oppression felt even with the

In dependency relationships, "[...] mandonism and colonelism demarcated the and experiences (in slavery) and in the post-abolition" (SOUZA, 2012, p. 20). Again, quoting the South Bahian Recôncavo, to make a comparison with the situation of the so-called "jagunço". The gun could be, saved the proportions, a certain type of "Colonel" or be at his command.

According to Edinéia Maria Oliveira Souza, colonel "[...] it was not only the political or military chief, but also middle landowners who held the leading role in local communities" (SOUZA, 2012, p. 129). It is said that, in Redemption, of the first 10 intendants of the municipality, between 1871 and 1891, six were colonels, two lieutenant colonels and one captain.⁴⁴ Furthermore "[...] violence and subjection, characteristic of the slave system were threats to the *Idadania*" (SOUZA, 2012, p. 243). Therefore, in addition to the exploitation of work, violence and control were constant in slavery and in the post-abolition, in which they weigh the celebrations allusive to freedom, so evidenced in the official and affective memory of redenists. A reality quite different from the accounts enunciated by the underground memory of the descendants of enslaved and formerly enslaved Black people, who demonstrate the limits to citizenship and their destinies.

abolition. This was the case with the enslaved Maria, a resident of the city of Acarape (now Redemption) and released on August 19, 1881. Maria had been released along with eight other captives of the same owner, the sexagenarian Lieutenant Colonel Simião Telles Jurumenha, the first intendant of the city. Lieutenant Colonel Simião did not grant free and unfit for all his slaves. Maria and Joana are examples. Since, to Joana, he demanded compensation of 300,000 réis, of which he would even be "judicial depositary at his request". While to Mary, she established an *alforria* "on the condition that I served her as a servant in her rest of old age and life" (LIBERATING. Fortaleza, year 01, nº 18, 26/08/1881, p. 04 *Apud* RODRIGUES, 2012, p. 237).

⁴⁴ According to the researcher Maria Ladeisse Silveira, the city's stewards were: Lieutenant Colonel Simião Telles de Menezes Jurumenha (1871-1873), Captain Augusto Alexandre Castelo Branco (1873-1875), Lieutenant José Joaquim Araújo (1875-1978), Colonel Francisco Benvindo de Vasconcelos (1878-1879), Colonel Antônio Leonel de Vasconcelos (1879-1881), again Lieutenant Colonel Simeão Teles de Menezes Jurumenha (1881-1883), Colonel Honorato Gomes da Silveira (1883-1885), grandfather of the researcher who compiled the data, again, Colonel Francisco Benvindo de Vasconcelos (1885-1887), again, Colonel Antônio Leonel de Vasconcelos and again the researcher's grandfather, Colonel Honorato Gomes da Silveira. Researcher compiled the data Maria Ladeisse Silveira. In an article written in 2006, Ricardo Kotscho interviewed Ladeisse, then 64 years old. Kotscho says she "can be considered the 'owner of the story' of Redemption. Ladeisse reportedly told the author that "when freedom came, they (enslaved) went away, meeting their relatives who had stayed in other Brazilian cities." This reinforces the indication of the destinies of the freed men in the city, according to the memory of the respondents. About Ladeisse, according to the author: "to begin his research, Ladeisse did not even have to leave home, since he lived with his family Preto Almino, a son of freed slaves who had worked for Honorato Gomes Silveira, Ladeisse's grandfather and member of the first City Council of Redemption, installed in 1871 (KOTSCHO, 2006). Maria Ladeisse Silveira researched the history of the city for about 40 years. In 2015, part of Maria Ladeisse Silveira's private collection was given to Unilab, to form the basis of the Cultural Documentation Center (SILVA; SOUZA, 2016).

In line with the research of Paulo Henrique de Souza Martins, we understand that the abolition of “[...] without a doubt, is the most studied theme of history of Ceará.” However, “[...] the history of abolition can still present questions about the which have not been given substantial answers” (MARTINS, 2014, p. 23). Issues, such as “what would have been the destinies of black people in Redemption after the abolition?” In the case of our investigation limited to the city of Redenção, the first city to abolish slavery in the province of Ceará, the destinies of the liberated populations and the promotions for their citizenship were inconclusive despite the symbolism of the tributes and the festive parades to liberation.

One difficulty faced in the proposal was the location of descendants of freedmen in the urban perimeter of the city. The lack of recognition of the ties of the residents with the former enslaved may be related to miscegenation. On the other hand, it can be a defense against stereotypes related to slavery in a city that tirelessly alludes to liberation.

Another issue to consider is the erasure of the memory of the population in relation to the hardship of slavery, partly motivated by the framing of memory (POLLAK, 1989), and reproduced by the official discourse. The school parades, the anthem, the monuments, the denomination of the squares and other public and private spaces of the city constantly reinforce the humanity of the city and its liberating heroes, including in the civic parades of September 7 (SILVA; SOUZA, 2016). It is like the “consecration” taught in the family, at school, in monuments, in a way, “[...] in the subject's formator institutions.” (BOSI, 1979, p. 17).

Moreover, the region maintains the influence of the writing of history produced by the Historical Institute of Ceará (1887) that diffused the inexpressive presence of blacks in the state. In addition, the colonial discourse that associates black enslaved with slaves is revitalized in the post-abolition, potentiating stereotypes (BHABHA, 2007). Given this, it can be reflected whether the passage of the anthem of Redemption “we do not want slaves among us” could not be, in reality, “we do not want blacks among us” in line with the stigmas of the time. It becomes more difficult to recognize racism without recognizing the existence of blacks. However, in the photographic records of the “parades allusive to abolition” (which occurred in the mid-1970s), located in the collection of the Memorial Museum of Liberty, it is visible to identify Afrodescendants

(black and black) of the city representing slaves in the slave quarters (allegorized, pulled by horse wagons) assisted by students and teachers at municipal schools.

Moreover, if the descendants of freedmen had left the city what would explain its presence in the work of the mowing and in the brandy factories of the region? It is interesting to note that what the government silences the Senzala Museum (private space, located in the city), makes a point of showing in "circus of horrors". This does not necessarily mean a detonating view of the official, since the meanings of both aspects, as demonstrated by Larissa Gabarra (2020), convey a historical process decontextualized to the conscience and black protagonism, maintaining the historical trajectory of these populations now before the benevolence of liberating humanism, now tied to the stigmas of the currents. On the other hand, their voices and their memories, in the main spaces of the age, remain forgotten.

For the servers interviewed, and as shown in the documents consulted in the collection of the Memorial Museum of Liberty, the destinations of the descendants of enslaved or liberated populations of the city were the displacements to other regions, such as Fortaleza and cities in the Region of the Massif of Baturité.

The information about the cities that would have been the destinations of these populations, the maintenance of links with the former enslaver and the social marginalization of these subjects were evidenced as "saturations" (ALBERTI, 2005, p. 174) in the thematic interviews since the answers are repeated. The freedmen who remained, continued working on the farms and living in neighborhoods with serious infrastructure problems or in the mountains of the region, away from the central areas.

As for the life stories of the subjects descended from freedmen, the account of the descendant of freedman B (coming from the teachings he had received from his grandmother and great-grandmother, both enslaved, through underground memories) shows that all were created "[...] in a picture [...] there was no politician, there was a man, the owner [...] that was our boss [...]." Later, the interviewee reinforces that "[...] there was no politician there was a business called 'jagunço' that was a troop that walked in the world all armed like the cangaceiros [...]". This image constructed by the descendant of the freedman, regardless of time, is an indication of the consciousness of the subalternization referred to by black populations in Redemption.

These memories of indirect experiences provide, to historical reconstruction, indications that, for the enslaved and the subsequent freedmen who remained in the city, there were no perceptions regarding their free participation in politics or

politicians in Redemption; but, yes, on jagunços, although the documents confirm the existence of political organization of the local elites in the newly inaugurated Chamber. In fact, this representation of the past may be related to the image of "local leaders", such as subjects of strength and control (SOUZA, 2012), which can be elucidative as to the first name of the region (remembered by the collective memory of the elders): "Shut up."

Clashes and disputes over memory represent an essential element in understanding the destinies of liberated populations in the city. Through oral history, it was found that the stigmas about the territories in which the descendants of freedmen live, as well as their relationship with poverty, are prejudices that remain crystallized in the mentality of the population. Such elements confirm that the guarantee of participation in collective wealth was not guaranteed to the freedmen and their descendants. However, the memories of the descendants in the urban perimeter are still silenced in the face of official and collective memory.⁴⁵

In Redemption, these populations, even if legally free, in the post-abolition did not clearly understand their possibilities of social insertion. They acted only as workers, even if we did not have real knowledge of their working condition, in which they weighed the evidence of control and violence. There are indications that these situations, guarded by proportions, were analogous to slavery. It is believed that the condition of afrodescendant populations, after abolition, can be considered, even as "non-citizen", since no measures were found that benefited them in the joint dimensions of freedom, participation and equality. Moreover, there were no benefits in the consequences of participation in the civil, political and social rights of the freed men in the city of Redemption, being common in his memories the representation of the disciplinarization and the sequence of work in the garden and in the flour houses.

One of the direct consequences of non-citizenship was the lack of access to formal education experienced by Afrodescendants interviewed. They are both illiterate. However, this condition did not prevent them from participating and expanding their knowledge from the transmission of knowledge, which strategically were passed from generation to generation, by meiorality. This knowledge evidence — and perhaps denounce — that, in the post-abolition, citizenship was not conquered by

⁴⁵ The building of new heritage and the problematization of current monuments and the location of sources in public and private collections, in addition to cultural manifestations, can contribute to the dynamism of the memories of slavery and abolition, with regard to the recognition of the trajectory and presence of Afro-Brazilian populations for cultural plurality in basic education in the region (LUZ, 2019).

Afrodescendants, so that they could definitely exceed the historical limits imposed and become the owners and their destinations in the city of Redemption.

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17 Jul. 2013.

Received in: April 07, 2021

Approved: July 19, 2021