

## Index

Abolición de la esclavitud (Tenerani), 126 Abolition Act of 1804, U.S., 177 abolition laws. See also Free Womb decrees statutory slaves and, 5-6 in Venezuela, 125 abolition of slavery in British West Indies, 20 in Colombia, final abolition, 234-235, 241-262 in Chocó province, 254 economic compensation for slaveholders, 249–257 for Free Womb children, 252-254 manumission bills, 255-259 through manumission ceremonies, 244, 246-247 slave revolts before, 248-249 slaveholders' response to, 247-249 under Free Womb decrees and laws, 12-13 abolitionist publics, in Colombia, 143-158, Gradual Emancipation Law and, reform of, 158 through manumission ceremonies, 147-149 as Liberal Party propaganda, 148-149 Phyrigian caps, for freed slaves, 148 in newspapers, 145-147, 242-243, 250 Restrepo, José Félix de, and, 145, 148-149 Abreu y Lima, José Ignacio, 21

(1804), 136-137 AFRODES. See National Association for Displaced Afro-Colombians age of emancipation, under Free womb laws in Atlantic world, from 1773-1871, 137 under Congress of Cúcuta, 136 variability of, in international applications of, 136-137 Aguirre, Carlos, 193 Alberto, Paulina L., 176-177, 282 Alcalde del pueblo de Tebada (Paz), 51 Alexandre, Lambert, 244-275 alimentos, for Free Womb children, 171-172 Alvares del Pino, Jacinto, 168-169 Álvares del Pino, María Antonia, 166 Andrade, Carlos de, 73 Andrews, George Reid, 124, 172-173 anti-abolitionist publics, in Colombia, 143-158 Gradual Emancipation Law and, reform of, 158 in newspapers, 149 through pamphlets, 149-157 from Mosquera family, 152-153 in Popayán, 150-155 prices for, 150-151 from Torres, 150-152 Antillón y Marzo, Isidro de, 217 Antioqueños, 273-274 Antonio, Francisco, 103 Antonio, María, 103

Act for Gradual Abolition of Slavery, U.S.



> Index 316

Appelbaum, Nancy, 68, 272-273 apprenticeship programs, for Free Womb children. See concertaje Argentina Free Womb laws in, 133-134, 136-137, 140 United Provinces of Río de Plata, gradual emancipation laws in, 18 Aspecto esterior de las casas de Nóvita (Paz), 100 Aury, Louis-Michel, 86 autonomy, for free blacks, 262-278 for bogas, geopolitical remoteness as factor in, 42-43 through land ownership, 277-278 problems with, 268-273 banks, in Pacific lowlands region, 238-239 Battle of Boyacá, 78, 119, 125 Becerra, Cayetana, 60 Becerra, Encarnación, 89 Becerra, Nicolasa, 73-74, 89, 174 home of, map of, 75 Becerra, Placida, 89 Bermudes, Tomasa, 89 Berry, Daina Ramey, 173 Black Atlantic, 7 Black Pacific, 7-9, 22-29 Chocó province, 8 black women. See also free black women in Pacific lowlands region. See also Chocó province in gold-mining economy, 63-72 mazamorreras, 66 population demographics for, 66 stolen wealth of, 71–72 violent gendering of bodies, 70-71 after Wars of Independence, 66-67 bogas. See free black workers Bolívar, Simón, 107-108, 118-122, 135, 148-149 conscription of slaves as soldiers, 118-153 manumission juntas under, 223-227 Bolivia, gradual emancipation laws in, 18-19 Botero Jaramillo, Natalia, 181-182 Botto, Antonio, 97 Boussingault, Jean-Baptiste, 55-57, 66-67 Brazil Free Womb laws in, 15, 140-141 ingênuos, 136

gradual emancipation laws in, 13-14 manumission in, private funding for, manumission juntas in, 223 Paraguayan War and, political aftermath in, 14 slavery in, 14-15 Briceño, Antonio María, 138-139 Briceño y Briceño, Domingo, 132-134 British Empire. See also British West Indies indentured labor in, rise of, 4-5 British West Indies abolition of slavery in, 20 Consolidated Slave Law in, 139 Brown, Christopher Leslie, 154 Bushnell, David, 146, 212, 224 Cádiz Constitution of 1812 (Spain), 4-5 Caicedo, Joaquín, 117-118 Calvo, Juan Antonio, 237 Camp, Stephanie, 48 Cañarte, Pedro Joaquin, 102-103 Cancino, José María, 47-49 Caplan, Karen, 6 Castilho, Celso T., 13-14, 145, 202 Castillo, Lina del, 145-146 Castro, José Nicolas, 168-169 Chaverra, Santiago, 173-174 Childs, Greg L., 276-277 Child, Lydia Maria, 21 children, under Free Womb laws age of emancipation for in Atlantic world, from 1773-1871, under Congress of Cúcuta, 136 variability of, in international applications of, 136-137 census counts for, 181-183

in dowries and wills, 177-180 expulsion of, to Turbo settlement, 197 under Gradual Emancipation Law, onset of puberty under, 139-140 ingênuos as, in Brazil, 136 as labor for public projects, 195-196 in Nóvita, 103 self-purchase of, 212-214 trafficking of, 171-180 as gold-mine workers, 174-175 market prices in, 173-174 private agreements, over alimentos, 171-172



Index

317

as property, 172-173, 177-180 by slaveholders, 175-180 withdrawal of children, by parents or guardians, 137-138 Chocó province, Colombia, 8, 24-29. See also Nóvita; Quibdó black women in in gold-mining, 63-72 as slaves, gender ratios for, 67 final abolition of slavery in, 254 free black bogas in, 39-41, 43-47 gold-mining in, 24, 26-28, 32, 53-63 accessibility of, 55-57 black women in, 63-72 economic crises as result of, 28-29 Gradual Emancipation Law in, 162, 192 Indigenous peoples in, 26-28 jungles and rivers in economic diversity in, 52-53 myths and legends about, 52 map of, 25 as political-territorial region, 77 post-emancipation black population in, 268 salt mines in, 53 slave trade in, 94-95 slaves in, gender ratios for, 67 social changes in, 27-29 War of the Supremes and, 183-184 water culture of, 26 "white flight" from, after emancipation, Cipriano de Mosquera, Tomás, 142, 144-145, 182-183, 226-227, 236, 246, 274 civil freedom, 281-282 Civil War, U.S., 14 Coates, Ta-Nehisi, 31 Cochrane, Charles Stuart, 44, 50, 61-62 in Quibdó, 80-81 Codazzi, Agustin, 86, 267-274 on Antioqueños, 273-274 collectivity, freedom and, 7 Colmenares, Germán, 27-28 Colombia, 2. See also Gradual Emancipation Law; Gran Colombia abolitionist publics in, 143-158 Gradual Emancipation Law and, reform of, 158 through manumission ceremonies, 147-149

in newspapers, 145-147, 242-243, 250 Restrepo, José Félix de, and, 145, 148-149 anti-abolitionist publics in, 143-158 Gradual Emancipation Law and, reform of, 158 in newspapers, 149 through pamphlets, 149-157 British financial support for, 82-83 for European settlers, 82-83 codification of liberalism in, 5-6 Congress of 1850 in, 197 constitutional recognition of cultural/ ethnic diversity, 283-284 Democratic Societies in, 234, 239-241, 248 Afro-Colombian support for, 234–235 final abolition of slavery in, 234-235 freedom in, 5-9 early notions of, 5 under Free Womb decrees, 12-13 Law of Antioquia, 114-118 Free Womb laws and, 114-116 legal cases influenced by, 117-118 in origins of Gradual Emancipation Law, 110-111, 114 rebuke of, 116 scope of, 115 liberalism in, codification of, 5-6, 108 manumission ceremonies in. See manumission ceremonies Pacific lowlands region. See Chocó province; Pacific lowlands region; Ouibdó la patria boba period, 110 provincial juntas in, formation of, servicio personal subsidario system in, 187 slave trade in. See slave trade slavery in, 11-13 national wealth as result of, 12 origins of, 11 political debates about, 109 population demographics and, 12 War of the Supremes in, 180-198 white European immigration policies in, political support for, 272-274 Antioqueños, 273-274 Colombian Agricultural Association, 82 Conceiving Freedom (Cowling), 13-14



318

3

concertaje (mandatory apprenticeship program), as law, 186–191

free will myth in, 189-190

legal influences on, 188-189

Concha, José, 121

Concilio, Juana del, 168-169

Congress of 1850 (Colombia), 197

Congress of Angostura, 108

Congress of Cúcuta

on Free Womb laws, 127-143

age of emancipation, 136

age provisions and, for period of

slavery, 128-129

criticism of, 132-134

data assessment for, 130-131

delegate debates on, 127-129

liberal reforms by, 141

manumission juntas and, formation of,

216-217

on manumission of slaves, 153

slaveholders in, 127

Congress of the United Provinces, 114

Conrad, Robert, 13-14

conscription. See military service

Consolidated Slave Law (1826), British

West Indies, 139

Constitution of 1821 (Gran Colombia),

131-132

Conto, César, 240

Conto, Nicomedes, 240, 279

Córdoba, Marino, 284-285

Córdova, Pedro Eduardo, 88-89

Corral, Juan del, 111-114

Coutín, Guillermo Eduardo, 86

Cowling, Camillia, 13-14, 202

creoles

in Gran Colombia, rules by, 4

in juntas, in Spanish America, 18, 77

Cruz de Vidal, María, 84, 179–180

Free Womb laws in, 15, 140-141

gradual emancipation laws in, 13–14 slavery in, 14–15

Dawson, Kevin, 42

de la Cuesta, Cecilio, 39-41, 43, 46-47

Democratic Societies, in Colombia, 234,

239-241, 248

Afro-Colombian support for, 234–235 *The Destruction of Brazilian Slavery*,

1850–1888 (Conrad), 13–14

Index

Díaz Cases, María Camila, 186

Domínguez, Miguel, 153

Drescher, Seymour, 12–13

Durán, Pedro José, 205

Echeverri, Marcela, 77, 118, 150 Ecuador, 2. *See also* Gran Colombia

emancipation laws

Free Womb subjects under, 2–3

gradual emancipation rule, in Gran

Colombia, 3

Restrepo, José Félix de, on, 131–132

Émile ou De l'éducation (Rousseau), 140 enslaved new mothers, under Free Womb

laws, 132–134

estate tax collection, by manumission

juntas, 227-228

The Evils of Slavery (Child), 21

Fanuzzi, Robert, 147

Farm Book (Jefferson), 129

Fernandez de Soto, Joaquín, 153-154

Ferrer, Jorge Isaacs, 86-87

Ferrer Scarpetta, Manuela, 86-87

Eigldo Danhana za

Fields, Barbara, 13

Filangieri, Gaetano, 112, 217

First Company of Grenadiers, 48

foolish fatherland period. See la patria boba

period

Free Birth laws, in United States, 161

free black women. See also autonomy

in Chocó province, 63-72

in Quibdó, 89-90

free black workers (bogas). See also

autonomy

autonomy of, geopolitical remoteness as

factor in, 42-43

in Chocó province, 39-41, 43-47

control of transport and communications by, 44-45

in gold-mining, 53–54

policing of, 45-46

free will, myth of, in concertaje, 189–190

Free Womb decrees and laws. See also

manumission

abolition of slavery under, 12-13

age of emancipation under

in Atlantic world, from 1773-1871, 137

under Congress of Cúcuta, 136

variability of, in international

applications of, 136–137

applications of, 136–13/



Index 319

in Argentina, 133-134, 136-137, 140	Fuentes, Marisa, 30
in Brazil, 15, 140–141	fugitive slaves, in Quibdó, 96–97
ingênuos, 136	"full freedom," through self-purchase,
children under. See children	213-215
in Colombia, 12–13	
Congress of Cúcuta and, 127-143	Galagarza, José Manuel, 150–151
age of emancipation, 136	García Carrión, Francisco, 262–263,
age provisions and, for period of	275-276
slavery, 128–129	García y Falcón, Antonio, 142–143, 173
criticism of, 132-134	García y Ruiz, Francisco, 63
data assessment by, 130–131	Gellman, David N., 145
delegate debates at, 127–129	gender, social stratification by. See also
in Cuba, 15, 140–141	black women; free black women
enslaved new mothers under, 132–134	in Quibdó, 89
Gradual Emancipation Law and. See	generosity. See liberalidad
Gradual Emancipation Law	Giganto, James, II, 5–6
paradoxes of, 160–162	gold-mining
in Peru, 136–137	in Chocó province, 24, 26–28, 32, 53–63
in Quibdó, 79	accessibility of, 55–57
Restrepo, José Félix de, on	black women in, 63–72
extension of age of emancipation,	economic crises as result of, 28–29
131–132	in New Granada, as second gold cycle,
on Free Womb trade, 138–139	27-28
support of, 145	in Pacific lowlands region. See Pacific
withdrawal of children from,	lowlands region
137–138	trafficking of Free Womb children in,
in United States, 136–137	174–175
in Uruguay, 140–141	Gradual Emancipation Law (La ley de 21 de
youth development under, 134–136	julio sobre la libertad de partos,
Free Womb subjects, freedom status of,	manumisión y abolición del tráfico
2-3	de esclavos) (1821), Colombia, 9–10
after abolition of slavery, 252–254	See also children
children as. See children	abolitionist publics and, in reform
negative consequences for, 3	process, 158
in Nóvita, 103	age of emancipation under, new reforms
in Pacific lowlands region, 40–41	of, 180–198
in gold-mining, 42–43	anti-abolitionist publics and, in reform
scope of, 5–6	process, 158
Free Womb trade, 138–139	Article 1, 164–165
freedom. See also Free Womb subjects;	Article 2, 172–173
gradual emancipation laws	Article 3, 171
civil, 281–282	Article 5, 167–170
collectivity and, 7	in Chocó province, 162, 192
in Colombia, 5–9	concertaje as new legal element of,
early notions of, 5	186–191
overview of, as precious gift,	free will myth in, 189–190
279–286	legal influences and origins of, 188–189
through self-purchase. See self-purchase	Congress of the United Provinces and,
space and, 7	114
in Spanish America, early notions of, 5	Free Womb law and, 109
freedom papers, 207–210	age of puberty in, 139–140



320 Index

Gradual Emancipation Law (La ley de 21 de in Peru, 18-19 julio sobre la libertad de partos, Restrepo, José Félix de, and, 19 manumisión y abolición del tráfico de second wave of, in Spanish America, esclavos) (1821), Colombia (cont.) т6-т8 Law of Antioquia and, 114-116 self-purchase under, 201, 216 in Gran Colombia capitals, 162-171 in Spanish America, 15, 18-19 international effects of, 20-22 as second wave, 16-18 Law of Antioquia (1814) and, 114-118 in United Provinces of Río de Plata, 18 Free Womb laws and, 114-116 in United States, 15-16 in Uruguay, 18-19 legal cases influenced by, 117-118 in origins of Gradual Emancipation Gran Colombia, 2. See also Black Pacific Congress of Angostura and, 108 Law, 110-111, 114 rebuke of, 116 Constitution of 1821, 131-132 scope of, 115 creole rulers in, 4 learning of, 162-171 Free Womb subjects in, 2-3 litigation of, 162-171 as commodities, 10 origins of, 110-127 Gradual Emancipation Law in, 162-171 Corral and, 111-113 gradual emancipation laws in, 3, 9-22 Law of Antioquia and, 110-111, 114 chattel slavery under, 9-10 la patria boba period, 110 importation of new slaves into, banning Restrepo, José Félix de, and, 111-113 of, 9-10 in Pacific lowlands region. See Pacific La ley de 21 de julio sobre la libertad de lowlands region partos, manumisión y abolición del paradoxes of, 160-162 tráfico de esclavos, 9-10 reforms of, 158, 180–198 manumission juntas, 9 concertaje as new legal element of, new liberties in, definitions of, 4 political sovereignty for, 79 186-191 congressional debates over, 185-186 slavery in, establishment of, 108 Great Britain. See also British West Indies slavery and, 118-122 in Colombia, financial support for, 82-83 slaves as conscripted soldiers, 118-125 gradual emancipation laws. See also for European settlers, 82-83 Gradual Emancipation Law Slavery Abolition Act of 1833, 20, 272 in Bolivia, 18-19 Grosvenor, Robert, 20 in Brazil, 13-14 Guerrero, Manuel Alberto, 79 in Cuba, 13-14 Guillermo, Estevan, 64 in Gran Colombia, 3, 9-22 chattel slavery under, 9-10 Hartman, Saidiya, 1-2, 24, 30-31, 282 importation of new slaves into, banning Herrán, Pedro Alcántara, 193-195, 274 of, 9-10 Higginson, Francis John, 20-21 La ley de 21 de julio sobre la libertad de Histoire naturelle, générale et particulière partos, manumisión y abolición del (1749-1804) (Leclerc), 134 tráfico de esclavos, international Holt, Thomas C., 264 effects of, 20-22 Hünefeldt, Christine, 205 manumission juntas, 9 historiography of, 13-14 independence movement. See also Wars of under López, José Hilario, 234-235 Independence manumission bills and, 36 in Quibdó, 77-78 in North America, 15-16 Indigenous peoples, in Chocó province, in Pacific lowlands region, gold-mining in, 26-28 ingênuos (Free Womb children, in Brazil), in Paraguay, 18-19 136



> Index 32I

Isaacs, Emilia de Costas, 87 Isaacs, George Henry, 86-88, 96, 159, 182-183 Isaacs, Joseph Henry, 87 Jaramillo, Dolcey Romero, 202, 245 Jefferson, Thomas, 129 Jiménez Meneses, Orián, 59 Johnson, Walter, 30 juntas. See also manumission juntas in Colombia, formation of, 110-111 creole, in Spanish America, 18, 77 in Quibdó creation of, 77 emancipation of enslaved people by, Juntas de Tamaná, 50, 197 Jurado Jurado, Juan Carlos, 186 Kennish, William, 265-266 Key, Robert, 81 Kitchens, John W., 193 Lago, Catalina, 90 land ownership, by free blacks, in Colombia, 277-278 Landscapes of Freedom (Leal), 263, 277 Lasso, Marixa, 10, 127-128, 142, 220 Law of Antioquia (1814), Colombia, 114-118 Free Womb laws and, 114-116 legal cases influenced by, 117-118 in origins of Gradual Emancipation Law, 110-111, 114 rebuke of, 116 scope of, 115 Leal, Claudia, 263, 277 Leclerc, George-Louis, 134 La ley de 21 de julio sobre la libertad de partos, manumisión y abolición del tráfico de esclavos (The law of July 21 on the free womb, manumission, and abolition of the slave trade) (Gradual Emancipation Law). See Gradual Emancipation Law Liberal Party abolitionist publics and, 148-149 Afro-Colombian support for, 270 "Liberal System," in Pacific lowlands region, 79

liberalidad (generosity), of slaveholders in manumission ceremonies, 202-203 in manumission juntas, 220-222 compensation of slaveholders, for conscripted slaves, 228-230 in Nóvita, 221–222 in Quibdó, 222 liberalism in Colombia, codification of, 5-6, 108 Congress of Cúcuta and, 141 liberty. See also freedom definitions of, in Gran Colombia, 4 Libreros, Barbara, 63-65 Lisboa, Miguel María, 21 Longa, Antonio José de, 63 López, José Hilario, 230, 239-240, 245 final abolition of slavery under, 241-242 gradual emancipation laws under, abolishment of, 234-235 López Mena, Marino, 284-285 lowlanders, 31-32 Lozano, José Indalecio, 122 Lozano, Juan, 123 Luther, Martin, 162 manumission. See also manumission ceremonies; manumission juntas in Brazil, private funding for, 202 Congress of Cúcuta on, 153 in Pacific lowlands region through self-purchase, 203-216 testamentary, 203-216 through self-purchase. See self-purchase testamentary conditions for, 204-205 as single unit, 204-205 in Pacific lowlands, 203-216 by slaveholders, 203-205 manumission bills, 36 during final abolition, in Colombia, 255-259 categories of, 255-256



322

Index

Mollien, Gaspard Théodore, 41, 45-46, 50, manumission ceremonies, in Colombia Phyrigian caps, for freed slaves, 148 Montesquieu, Baron de, 120 in Quibdó, 201-202 Morillo, Pablo, 118-119 slaveholders and, liberalidad and, Mosquera, Joaquín, 156-157 Mosquera, José María, 142, 154-155 2.02-2.03 manumission juntas, 9, 201-202, 216-230 administrative structure of, Mosquera Mosquera, Sergio Antonio, 24-26, 29, 81-84, 206, 210 218-219 under Bolívar, 223–227 in Brazil, 223 Congress of Cúcuta and, 216-218 Murrí River, 40-42 elimination of, 230 estate tax collection by, 227-228 Nariño, Antonio, 111 evolution of, 222-230 National Association for Displaced formation of, 216-222 Afro-Colombians (AFRODES), goal and purpose of, 217, 220-221 284-285 liberalidad of slaveholders and, 220-222 Pacific lowlands region compensation for slaveholders, for conscripted slaves, 228-230 Battle of Boyacá and, 78, 119, 125 in Nóvita, 221-222 second gold cycle in, 27-28. See also in Quibdó, 222 Chocó province membership in, 219-220 newspapers modifications of, 222-225 abolitionist publics in, 145-147, in Nóvita, 219-220, 225-227 242-243, 250 liberalidad and, 221-222 anti-abolitionist publics in, 149 in public sphere, 145-147 in Quibdó, 219-220, 225-227 liberalidad of slaveholders and, 222 Nieto, Juan José, 251-252 Ninety-Five Theses (Luther), 162 Restrepo, José Félix de, formation of, 216-217 North America. See also United States Márquez, José Ignacio de, 132, 180 mazamorreras (black female gold-mining gradual emancipation laws in, 15-16 workers), 66 Nóvita, Chocó province, 77, 98-104 McGraw, Jason, 21, 148-149, 202, Casa de Gobierno in, 99 foreign visitors' perception of, 102 226-227, 245 McKinley, Michelle, 203 Free Womb children in, 103 media. See newspapers manumission juntas in, 219-220, Melish, Joanne Pope, 5-6 225-227 liberalidad and, 221–222 Mena, Mateo, 88-89 Méndez, Ramón Ignacio, 127 negative assessment of, 99-102 Mérida land grants, 82-83 republican fanaticism in, 102-103 military service (conscription) as Bourbon republic, 115 compensation for slaveholders, for slave trade in, 98 conscripted slaves, 228-230 slavery in, 115-116 conscription of slaves into, 118-122 Núñez de Balboa, Vasco, 26-27 under Bolívar, 118-153 under Gradual Emancipation Law, Obando, José María, 182-183, 245-246, 118-125 self-purchase and, 212 O'Leary, Daniel Florence, 124 Miranda, Francisco de, 118 Ortega Martínez, Francisco A., 144 Modo de labar oro (Paz), 69 Oslender, Ulrich, 23-24



Index 323

Pacific lowlands region, Colombia, 22-29. See also Chocó province; Quibdó autonomy in, for black workers, 42-43 Battle of Boyacá in, 78, 119, 125 black women in in gold-mining economy, 63-72 mazamorreras, 66 population demographics for, 66 stolen wealth of, 71-72 violent gendering of bodies, 70-71 after Wars of Independence, 66-67 capitalist culture in, growth of, 237-239 banks and, formation of, 238-239 slavery capitalism, 239 children in. See children First Company of Grenadiers, 48 free black workers (bogas), 39-41, 43-47 autonomy of, geopolitical remoteness as factor in, 42-43 control of transport and communications by, 44-45 in gold-mining, 53-54 policing of, 45-46 Free Womb captives in, 40-41. See also children in gold-mining, 42-43 gold-mining in, 53-63 administrative chaos over, 62-63 black women in, 63-72 by free black workers, 53-54 Free Womb subjects and, 42-43, 53-54, 63 under gradual emancipation laws, 54 lawsuits over, 60 leisure and pleasure and, 60-61 population demographics for, 66 production levels for, 54-55 regulation of, 55 in San José de Murri, 63 slave labor in, 54, 56-60 after Wars of Independence, 61-62, 66-67 Gradual Emancipation Law in, 162-171 appeals of manumission, 166-167 baptismal records and, 165-166 churches' role in, 162-163 freedom suits, 166-167 petitions by mothers, for return of children, 168-169 public celebrations and, dissemination of information during, 163-164 slaveholders' role in, 169-171

insurgencies in, 77-79 Juntas de Tamaná, 50 lowlanders in, 31-32 manumission in. See also manumission in through self-purchase, 203-216 testamentary, 203-216 map of, 25 mass violence in, 284-286 mulatocracia in, 29 Murrí River, 40-42 new "Liberal System" in, 79 political transformations throughout, 239-241 Democratic Societies, 234-235, 239-241, 248 through formation of political parties, 239-240 population demographics of, 23-24 riverbank houses in, 49-51 rivers in, 43-53 bogas and, 43-47 freedom from white power, 47-49 Murrí River, 40-42 as rival geography, 48 rowers, 43-44 state power over, lack of, 46-47 slaveholders in, types of, 74 Turbo settlement, expulsion of women to, urban expansion in, 235-241 Palacios, Leonarda, 177-178 Panama, 2. See also Gran Colombia Paraguay, gradual emancipation laws in, 18-19 Paraguayan War, Brazil politics influenced by, 14 Pardo, José, 113 Patiño, Manuel José, 169-171 la patria boba (foolish fatherland) period, Patterson, Orlando, 176 Paula Santander, Francisco de, 10 Paz, Manuel María Aspecto esterior de las casas de Nóvita, 100 Camino para Nóvita en la montaña de Tamaná, 194 Modo de labar oro, 69 Plaze de Quibdó, 76 Venta de aguardiente en el pueblo de Lloró, 91



324 Index

Paz, Manuel María (cont.) iuntas in Vista de una calle de Nóvita, 101 creation of, 77 Vista de una calle de Quibdó, 261 emancipation of enslaved people, 200 Vista del rio san Juan, 69 manumission ceremonies in, 201-202 Pegedo, Antonio, 73 manumission juntas in, 219-220, Pérez, Santiago, 270-271 225-227 Pérez, Tomás, 78 liberalidad of slaveholders and, 222 Pérez Morales, Edgardo, 112 map of, 85 new "Liberal System" in, 79 personal service assistance system. See servicio personal subsidario system non-slave-related capitalist culture in, 236-237 Free Womb decrees and laws in, 136-137 population demographics of, 84-85 gradual emancipation laws in, 18-19 racialized stratification in, 89 Pétion, Alexandre, 119 republican government in, 79 Piccato, Pablo, 143 slave trade in, 90-98 Plata, Vicente Azuero, 121 average price of slaves, 94 Plaze de Quibdó (Paz), 76 sales of slaves, from 1828-1851, 93 Pombo, Julio Arboleda, 249 under Siete Partidas, 96 Popayán, Colombia slaveholding in, 81 anti-abolitionist publics in, 150-155 small-scale, 83-84 during War of the Supremes, 184-185 social life in, 80-81 Posada-Carbó, Eduardo, 40 urban development of, 86 post-emancipation geographies, in urban expansion of, 235-237 Colombia for free blacks, 262-278 racial populations, social stratification by, in gold-mining and, 265 Quibdó, 89 mixed-system of slaves and free blacks, republicanism 275 in Nóvita, 102-103 Prud'hon, Pierre-Paul, 103 in Quibdó, 79 puberty, under Gradual Emancipation Law, Restrepo, Eduardo, 223 Restrepo, José Félix de, 19, 109, 111-113, 139-140 public sphere, in Colombia. See also 125-143. See also gradual abolitionist publics; anti-abolitionist emancipation laws publics on Congress of Cúcuta, criticism of, expansion of, 143 132-134 historical development of, 144-145 formation of manumission juntas under, newspapers' role in, 144, 242-243 216-217 on Free Womb laws Quibdó, in Pacific lowlands region, 41, extension of age of emancipation, 76-98, 199-200 T3T-T32 calle tercera in, 88 on Free Womb trade, 138-139 Cochrane in, 80-81 support of, 145 currency in, 93-94 withdrawal of children from, 137-138 free black women in, 89-90 Restrepo, José Manuel, 131–132, 139, Free Womb captives in, 88-89 141-142 Free Womb law in, 79 riverbank houses, 49-51 fugitive slaves in, 96-97 Rodríguez, Simón, 135 gendered stratification in, 89 Roxas, Nicolas de, 208

independence movement in, 77-78

international merchants in, 80

insurgencies in, 77-79

Royal Instructions for the Education,

17-18

Treatment, and Work of the Slaves,



Index

325

salt mines, in Chocó province, 53 San José de Murri gold mines, 63 San Martín, José de, 81 Santa María, Miguel, 107-108 Santander, Francisco de Paula, 78-79, 119-122, 148, 223-224 Scarpeta, Manuel, 208 The Science of Legislation (Filangieri), 217 Scott, Rebecca, 13–14 self-purchase, manumission through, 201, 207 debt as result of, 210-212 determination of price for, 207 of Free Womb children, 212-214 freedom papers, 207-210 "full freedom," 213-215 under gradual emancipation laws, 201, 216 increases in, 206-207 military service as payment, 212 in New Granada, 206 in Pacific lowlands, 203-216 Serna, María Antonia, 166-167 servicio personal subsidario (personal service assistance) system, 187 Sharp, William, 206 Siete Partidas code law, 96, 131, 140 Silva, Alexander Chaparro, 144 Slave Emancipation and Transformations in Brazil Political Citizenship (Castilho), 13-14 Slave Emancipation in Cuba (Scott), 13-14 slave trade, in Colombia abolition of under gradual emancipation rule, 9-10 indentured labor after, rise in, 4-5 in Chocó province, 94-95 in Nóvita, 98 in Quibdó, 90-98 average price of slaves, 94 sales of slaves, from 1828-1851, 93 under Siete Partidas, 96 re-legalization of, 193 slaveholders. See also liberalidad abolition of slavery and economic compensation for, 249-257 response to, 247-249 in Congress of Cúcuta, 127 economic compensation for, after abolition of slavery, 249-257 in Pacific lowlands region

types of, 74 types of slaveholders, 74 in Quibdó, 81 small-scale slaveholding, 83-84 trafficking of Free Womb children by, 175-180 slavery, slaves and. See also abolition of slavery; manumission; slave trade afterlife of, 24 in Brazil, 14-15 in Chocó province, gender ratios for, 67 in Colombia, 11-13. See also specific national wealth as result of, 12 origins of, 11 political debates about, 109 population demographics and, 12 conscription of slaves as soldiers, 118-153 in Cuba, 14-15 Gradual Emancipation Law and, 118-122 slaves as conscripted soldiers under, 118-125 under gradual emancipation rule, 9-10 in Gran Colombia, establishment of, 108 in Nóvita, 115-116 in Pacific lowlands region, in gold-mining, 54, 56-60 in Spanish America. See specific regions Slavery Abolition Act of 1833 (Great Britain), 20, 272 slaves. See fugitive slaves; slave trade; slavery, slaves and Smith, James E., 275 Sociedades americana (Bolívar), 135 space, freedom and, 7 Spain Cádiz Constitution of 1812, 4-5 Siete Partidas code law in, 96, 131, 140 Wars of Independence against, in Spanish America, 4-5 Colombian insurgents during, 10 Spanish America. See also Gran Colombia; New Granada; specific countries creole-led juntas in, 18, 77 freedom in, early notions of, 5 gradual emancipation laws in, 15, 18-19 second wave of, 16-18 slavery in, expansion of, 17-18 Wars of Independence in, against Spain, Colombian insurgents during, 10



> Index 326

The Spirit of the Laws (Montesquieu), 120 statutory slaves, 5-6 Sucre, Antonio José de, 80 Taussig, Michael, 23, 68

tax collection. See estate tax collection Tenerani, P., 126 testamentary manumission conditions for, 204-205 for enslaved women and their children, as single unit, 204-205 in Pacific lowlands, 203-216 by slaveholders, 203-205

Thesis on the Origin of Slavery (Antillón y Marzo), 217 Thibaud, Clément, 115

Tobar, Miguel, 131, 134, 139 Torres, Gerónimo Francisco de, 139-140 anti-abolitionist public pamphlets, 150-152

torture, 1-2 bucking, 1

Tovar Mora, Jorge Andrés, 252 Tovar Pinzón, Hermes, 252

trafficking, of Free Womb children,

171-180 as gold-mine workers, 174-175

market prices in, 173-174 private agreements, over alimentos,

171-172

as property, 172-173, 177-180 by slaveholders, 175-180

Trautwine, John C., 41, 67-68, 233-234, 266-267, 278

Trinidad, María, 64

Turbo settlement, in Pacific lowlands region, 197

Turner, Sasha, 131

Ulloa, Juan S., 278

United Provinces of Río de Plata (Argentina), 18

United States (U.S.)

Abolition Act of 1804, 177

Act for Gradual Abolition of Slavery,

136-137

Civil War in, 14

Free Birth laws, 161

Free Womb decrees and laws in, 136-137 gradual emancipation laws in, 15-16

Uribe-Urán, Victor, 143 Urrutia, Maria Rosalia, 122 Uruguay

Free Womb laws in, 140-141 gradual emancipation laws in,

т8-та

U.S. See United States

Valencia, Clemencia, 116

Valencia, José Cornelio, 153-154

Valencia, Manuel, 159-160

Velásquez, Rogerio, 22

Venezuela, 2. See also Gran Colombia

abolition laws in, 125

Venta de aguardiente en el pueblo de Lloró

(Paz), 91

Vetancur, Francisco F., 180

Vetancur, Melchor de Varona i, 180

Villavicencio y Verástegui, Antonio de,

17, 112

Vista de una calle de Nóvita (Paz), 101 Vista de una calle de Quibdó (Paz), 261

Vista del rio san Juan (Paz), 69

von Humboldt, Alexander, 265

Wade, Peter, 70

War of the Supremes, 180–198

Chocó province and, 183-184

origins of, 182-183

Popayán during, 184-185

Wars of Independence

black women after, in Pacific lowlands

region, 66-67

Colombian insurgents during, 10

Pacific lowlands regions and, gold-mining

after, 61-62, 66-67

against Spain, 4-5

Washington Office on Latin America

(WOLA), 284-285

water culture, in Chocó province, 26

White, Robert B., 267

Wilson, Robert Thomas, 20

WOLA. See Washington Office on Latin

America

youth development, under Free Womb laws, 134-136

Zuluaga, Francisco, 182