

The organizational model and characteristics of Brazilian black slave families*

Jiao Jian

Abstract: During the Brazilian slavery period, most black slaves could not get married in a legally recognized way, and the legality of their marriages was mostly not recognized. However, because black slaves had a strong desire to start a family, and they had the necessary material living conditions and the ability to start a family, Objective factors, slaves still established their own families despite various constraints and restrictions. Under the influence of traditional African cultural customs, black slaves adapted to the real environment of Brazilian slave society and formed tribal endogamy and plantation systems. Marriage selection patterns unique to slaves, such as marriage and exogamy, formed unique family structures such as nuclear families, single-parent families and extended families in the process of family formation. Compared with other areas in the Americas where slavery was practiced, black Brazilians The family composition of slaves is relatively stable. There are special godfather relationships in family relationships, especially the relationship between godfather and godmother. The organizational model of black slave families has distinct contemporary characteristics and particularities. It not only reflects the special historical conditions of slavery The compromise and adaptation of black slaves to the real social environment also reflected the inheritance and innovation of traditional African cultural customs by slaves. The black slave family objectively extended the existence of slavery in Brazil, and at the same time played an important role in the

intergenerational inheritance of black African culture. It has played a vital role as media. Keywords: Brazilian blacks, marriage

mate selection pattern, family structure, slavery, African culture. About the author: Jiao Jian, doctoral candidate at the Latin American Research Center of Nankai

University. CLC classification number: K14 Document identification code: A Article number : 1002 - 6649 (2022) 04 - 0136 - 18

** This article is a phased result of the major project "Social Transformation in Latin America since Independence" (No.: 19JJD770007) of the Key Research Base of Humanities and Social Sciences of the Ministry of Education.

The family is the basic unit of human society. Throughout the ages, the importance of the family has been similar to people of all skin colors. As an important part of the study of Brazilian social history, the family has always been valued and concerned by Western scholars, especially in the context of slavery. During this period, whether black slaves, a special group that suffered oppression and abuse, had families has always been a controversial issue in academic circles. Before the 1970s, Western historians and sociologists generally believed that black slaves did not have families during the Brazilian slavery period. Life can be said. However, as the research on the issue of slavery in Brazil continues to deepen, scholars have revised the past reports on the daily life and specific situation of black slaves in Brazil based on plantation slave lists, property lists, census data and parish records. Historians have gradually realized that although slaves' ability to form families was restricted by various objective conditions, a considerable number of black slaves were still able to establish families or form large families with others. In recent years, most black slaves lived in families And having a certain family life has gradually become a consensus in Western academic circles.

Compared with foreign research in this field, there is a lack of research on this issue in domestic historians. There are still many aspects that need to be explored and thought about. As the region with the longest black slavery and the largest slave population in modern times, Brazil has the longest history of black slavery and the largest slave population. The constraints faced by black slaves in forming families, the relationships and functions of slave families, the marriage and family ethics of slaves, and the stability of slave families are worthy of our discussion and pioneering research. In view of this, this article attempts to sort out the problems of black slaves. The conditions for the existence of slave families and the specific forms of mate selection patterns are analyzed. The structure and characteristics of slave families are analyzed to deepen the knowledge and understanding of black family issues during the Brazilian slavery period.

The conditions for a black slave family to exist

As the basic unit of social life, the family is composed of marriage, blood or adoption relationships. The formation of a family usually requires legal procedures in the form of marriage, that is, only a legally recognized marriage can establish a family. However, in Brazil, legally recognized It was very difficult for black slaves to legally form a family. On the one hand, most slave owners opposed

slaves to legally marry. During the period of slavery, although the Catholic Church recognized and approved the formation of families by black slaves through marriage, This means the union of slaves

“Chinese Encyclopedia Sociology Volume”, Beijing: China Encyclopedia Publishing House, 1991, page 102.

Once recognized by the church, it will be protected by the church. The slave owner is not allowed to break up or sell one of the slave couples at will so that the marriage cannot continue. This is actually a restriction and restriction on the interests of the slave owner. In most cases, when slaves asked their masters to agree to their marriage, the masters strictly prohibited their slaves from legally married according to Catholic customs. Because in the eyes of the master, a legal marriage recognized by the church, the marriage itself and legitimate children have legal status and are protected by the law and the church. A slave marriage that is not recognized by the church is illegal. They can be broken up at will. Even if the slaves become husband and wife, the slave owner can still sell or transfer the male and female slaves separately. Due to these factors, in order to prevent black slaves and their children from objecting to the arbitrariness on the grounds of law and church regulations To break up their families, most slave owners would not approve slaves to marry in a legal way. After studying relevant statistical data, scholars found that in 1841, 1842 and 1847, the number of legal slave marriages in Rio de Janeiro was only 11 cases. This fully shows that in Rio de Janeiro, which has tens of thousands of slaves, it is very difficult for black people to get married legally. On the other hand, most black slaves did not get married in a legally

recognized way. Due to cultural differences and language barriers, most of them passed Black slaves who were trafficked to Brazil during the slave trade never truly converted to Catholicism. They did not agree with marrying in the Catholic way. At the same time, Catholic priests generally refused to hold weddings for slaves due to religious narrow-mindedness and prejudice and discrimination against black slaves. Catholic weddings. In the diocese data of Rio de Janeiro, there were only 67 slave marriages recorded in the 1840s. The number of slave marriage records in each diocese is basically in single digits. In some parishes, not a single slave marriage has been recorded. Recorded, this fully reflects the church's indifference and obstruction of slave marriage.

In view of this situation, slaves preferred to hold weddings according to African rituals or not hold weddings at all. The rituals live together directly. Of course, in most cases, black slaves will hold celebrations with traditional African wedding rituals according to their own wishes, and in this way their marriages will be recognized by people. But this method of marriage It was not recognized by law in the social environment at that time and had no corresponding legal status.

Therefore, by only taking legal marriage as a necessary condition for determining the survival of black slave families, it is very easy to one-sidedly believe that slave marriages and slave families do not exist. As a primary social group, the family is an integral part of society.

“ ”

“ ”

“ ”

Natural products. In the family, natural blood relationships and generational relationships are important links to maintain the existence of the family. Giving birth to children, reproducing offspring, and adding new family members also occur under natural conditions. The formation of a family, although it requires marriage. The legal process in the form has artificial factors, but it is conditioned by natural formation. Therefore, in addition to the legality of marriage, a more comprehensive analysis of the subjective and objective factors of Brazilian black slaves establishing families is needed in order to objectively Determine whether black slave families really existed.

First of all, black slaves have a strong desire to start a family. As flesh-and-blood people, black slaves have the same emotional appeal as other people of different skin colors. They are also full of desire to start a family. In traditional African black culture, in a broad sense Family and family are the basis of all social relations and are the link between people. Only in the family can individuals gain a sense of group belonging and find their place in the ethnic group. For those who are far away from their homeland in Africa and have no roots. For black slaves in Brazil, family plays a more important role in daily life. It allows black slaves to find the hope and meaning of survival in the unfamiliar environment of Brazil, and to stay together in the difficult environment of slavery. Therefore, From the perspective of the subject of establishing a family, black slaves have realistic wishes and specific motivations to establish a family, and they will definitely work hard to fight for this basic right.

Secondly, black slaves have the necessary material living conditions to form a family. In the field of sociology, a family is a primary social group formed through blood relationships with the main feature of sharing a common living field. Basic residence and relatively independent living space is the most important material condition for building a family. Most of the black slaves in Brazilian plantations lived together in row houses arranged by their masters or on the floor of the corridor outside the door of the master's room. The common living space made it possible for male and female black slaves to start a family. In some small plantations or walled areas, slaves were allowed to build independent huts. These houses built according to African traditions gave black slaves a necessary family residence. Although these huts were simply shelters The space is small and the privacy is poor, but in these houses, black slaves inherited and developed the traditional African family model and family concepts.

Thirdly, a considerable number of female black slaves made it possible for black slaves to start families. Africa has a cultural tradition of favoring women over men. In many areas of Africa, women are not only the main ones engaged in agricultural production, but also women.

Deng Weizhi and Xu Xin: "Introduction to Family Sociology", Shanghai: Shanghai University Press, 2006, page 40. Zhao Mengying: "New Family Sociology", Wuhan: Huazhong University of Science and Technology Press, 2000, page 2 Page 1808-1850 Princeton: Princeton Universal Presence

1808-1850 Princeton: Princeton Universal Presence

In addition to being a labor force, it is also an important link to continue family bloodlines and maintain family relationships. It has a very high status in social life. In most cases, black women will not be sold to the Americas. And the production of American plantations and mines in the early days of slavery had an important impact on the production of American plantations and mines. There is a continuous demand for strong labor force, which has led to the fact that most of the black slaves sold to the Americas through the Atlantic slave trade were men. This has caused a serious imbalance in the gender ratio of slaves. Men account for more than 65% of the total number of slaves. This made it difficult for more than half of the male black slaves to find a spouse. Many black slaves had no chance to marry and have children throughout their lives. In the later stages of slavery, slave traders found that selling black female slaves was profitable, and a large number of female black slaves were sold to the Americas. With At the same time, the number of native-born black women in Brazil is also gradually increasing, which has alleviated to a certain extent the serious imbalance in the gender ratio of black slaves. In some larger plantations, due to the large slave population base they own, corresponding The number of female black slaves is also relatively large. Most of the slaves can find suitable partners and start families.

Finally, changes in slave owners' attitudes and concepts affected the establishment of slave families. Slave owners had very different attitudes towards slaves starting families in different historical periods. In the 16th and 17th centuries, marriages between black slaves were often not considered. The slave owner allowed it, or it was difficult to continue due to being separated by the owner. The children born by slaves were regarded as a burden by the slave owner, because it takes many years from an infant to a labor force that can be used for production. From the perspective of economic cost, it is more cost-effective to directly purchase black slaves trafficked from Africa. Therefore, during the period from the 17th century to the early 19th century when the Atlantic slave trade was booming, although slave owners could not completely prevent the union of slaves, most of them subjectively Slaves were not encouraged to marry and have children. However, after the mid-19th century, with the end of the Atlantic slave trade, in order to ensure the stability of the slave population, the number of black slaves on the plantations was expanded, the gender ratio of slaves on the plantations was balanced, and potential economic gains were ensured. Brazil Planters generally valued and encouraged slaves to form families and ensured the stability of their family composition. This promoted the establishment of black slave families to a certain extent.

To sum up, although the formation of a family by black slaves was affected by many factors, due to the necessary

And the production of American plantations and mines in the early days of slavery had an important impact on the production of American plantations and mines. There is a continuous demand for strong labor force, which has led to the fact that most of the black slaves sold to the Americas through the Atlantic slave trade were men. This has caused a serious imbalance in the gender ratio of slaves. Men account for more than 65% of the total number of slaves. This made it difficult for more than half of the male black slaves to find a spouse. Many black slaves had no chance to marry and have children throughout their lives. In the later stages of slavery, slave traders found that selling black female slaves was profitable, and a large number of female black slaves were sold to the Americas. With At the same time, the number of native-born black women in Brazil is also gradually increasing, which has alleviated to a certain extent the serious imbalance in the gender ratio of black slaves. In some larger plantations, due to the large slave population base they own, corresponding The number of female black slaves is also relatively large. Most of the slaves can find suitable partners and start families.

Finally, changes in slave owners' attitudes and concepts affected the establishment of slave families. Slave owners had very different attitudes towards slaves starting families in different historical periods. In the 16th and 17th centuries, marriages between black slaves were often not considered. The slave owner allowed it, or it was difficult to continue due to being separated by the owner. The children born by slaves were regarded as a burden by the slave owner, because it takes many years from an infant to a labor force that can be used for production. From the perspective of economic cost, it is more cost-effective to directly purchase black slaves trafficked from Africa. Therefore, during the period from the 17th century to the early 19th century when the Atlantic slave trade was booming, although slave owners could not completely prevent the union of slaves, most of them subjectively Slaves were not encouraged to marry and have children. However, after the mid-19th century, with the end of the Atlantic slave trade, in order to ensure the stability of the slave population, the number of black slaves on the plantations was expanded, the gender ratio of slaves on the plantations was balanced, and potential economic gains were ensured. Brazil Planters generally valued and encouraged slaves to form families and ensured the stability of their family composition. This promoted the establishment of black slave families to a certain extent.

To sum up, although the formation of a family by black slaves was affected by many factors, due to the necessary

And the production of American plantations and mines in the early days of slavery had an important impact on the production of American plantations and mines. There is a continuous demand for strong labor force, which has led to the fact that most of the black slaves sold to the Americas through the Atlantic slave trade were men. This has caused a serious imbalance in the gender ratio of slaves. Men account for more than 65% of the total number of slaves. This made it difficult for more than half of the male black slaves to find a spouse. Many black slaves had no chance to marry and have children throughout their lives. In the later stages of slavery, slave traders found that selling black female slaves was profitable, and a large number of female black slaves were sold to the Americas. With At the same time, the number of native-born black women in Brazil is also gradually increasing, which has alleviated to a certain extent the serious imbalance in the gender ratio of black slaves. In some larger plantations, due to the large slave population base they own, corresponding The number of female black slaves is also relatively large. Most of the slaves can find suitable partners and start families.

Therefore, during the slavery period, slave families were relatively common among the black slave groups in Brazil.

Mate selection patterns of two black slaves

Mate selection refers to the process in which social members combine certain social and cultural factors and personal conditions to choose the opposite sex as husbands and wives (i.e. life partners). It is a physiological, psychological, social and cultural phenomenon. The motivations and standards for mate selection are more Many places were restricted by the political and economic conditions as well as social customs and value orientations at the time, and were marked by the times. During the Brazilian slavery period, although black slaves encountered various restrictions and constraints when establishing families, in traditional African culture Under the influence of customs, slaves actively adapted to the real environment of the slave society and formed a unique concept of mate selection for slaves.

Usually, when black slaves choose marriage partners and sexual partners, they are influenced by the concept of "homogamy" and tend to marry people from the same cultural group in Africa. Of course, this same cultural group is not limited to the same cultural group. Within the tribe, it covers a wider scope, including people with similar regions, similar languages and cultures. This emphasis on African cultural attributes and ethnic identity in the selection of marriage partners reflects the slaves' identification with traditional African black culture. Sweet pointed out in his research that the homogeneity principle followed by black slaves from Africa in choosing mates was "the first step in rebuilding African society and culture in the Americas." Slaves in the Brazilian slave society Against this background, a variety of different modes of mate selection have been formed.

(1) When choosing a mate,

Brazilian black slaves in the tribal endogamy system are more likely to choose people with the same African cultural background as their lifelong partners. When considering their partners, they pay more attention to their tribal background and African birthplace. Usually, they pay more attention to their tribal background and African birthplace. Under certain circumstances, slaves are willing to choose people from the same tribe to form a family.

Wang Shuizhen: "Thirty years of reform and opening up and changes in young people's concepts of spouse selection", published

in "Chinese Youth Research", Issue 1, 2008, Page 8, Li Keyu, Zhang Jing: "Sociology of Marriage and Family", Beijing: Xinhua Publishing House 2010, Page 20. Gwendolyn Midlo Hall: Slavery and African Ethnicities in the Americas: Restoring the Links Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press 2005 p 52. James H Sweet: Reconstructing African: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World

Carolina Press 2005 p 52. James H Sweet: Reconstructing African: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World

Carolina Press 2005 p 52. James H Sweet: Reconstructing African: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World

Carolina Press 2005 p 52. James H Sweet: Reconstructing African: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World

67% of the black women from the interior of Upper Guinea also chose to marry men from the Upper Guinea region. The spouse selection situation of black women from the Mina Bay region was also similar, with more than 42% choosing to marry.

Establishing a family with a black man from the same area. (2) Endogamy on a

plantation. In view of the fact

that slaves need the approval of their masters to establish a family, and the number of opposite sexes that slaves can come into contact with during their lifetime on the plantation where they work is limited, therefore There are not many marriage partners to choose from, which means that slaves are mostly limited to choosing partners from slaves on their plantations. Due to these restrictions on slaves' marriage choices, the vast majority of slaves will marry the same slave owner. They chose their lifelong partners among the slave groups they owned, which led to the emergence of plantation endogamy, a special mate selection model, among the black slave groups in Brazil.

Black slave plantation endogamy widely existed in plantations in various regions of Brazil. In the Dumato Dentro (Catas Altas do Mato Dentro) area of Minas Gerais, 1742-1 Negroes belonging to the same master in 834 Unions between slaves accounted for 98% of the total number of black slave marriages. This situation was also common in the vast majority of slave families in Rio de Janeiro in the 17th and 18th centuries. By the 19th century, most slave unions in the coastal areas of Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo were also on plantations. Endogamy

Since the vast majority of black slaves can only choose their partners in the same plantation, the choice of a slave's mate is limited by the size of the plantation and the number of slaves of marriageable age in the same plantation. Generally speaking, the size of the plantation is related to the number of slaves of marriageable age. The number of slaves is often proportional to the number of slaves. From a practical point of view, the larger the plantation, the greater the number of black slave families. A large amount of information was preserved on the plantations in Minas Gerais, Rio de Janeiro and Sao Paulo in the 18th and 19th centuries. In the middle, it can be clearly seen that the slaves are

Endogamy is a form of marriage in which individuals marry only those of their own social, ethnic, or cultural group. In the context of black slave families in Brazil, this often meant that slaves married other slaves on the same plantation.

The limited social mobility and restricted contact between slaves on different plantations contributed to the prevalence of endogamy. Slaves often formed close-knit communities within their plantations, and marriage choices were largely confined to these groups.

Endogamy was a result of the power dynamics on plantations. Slave owners often controlled the marriage process, and slaves needed their approval to form unions. This control further limited the options available to slaves, reinforcing endogamous practices.

While endogamy was common, it did not mean that slaves were completely isolated. Some slaves managed to escape or were sold to other plantations, leading to inter-plantation marriages. However, these were less frequent than unions formed within the same plantation.

The prevalence of endogamy among black slave families in Brazil highlights the impact of the plantation system on social and marital practices. It demonstrates how the structure of slave labor and the control exerted by owners shaped the lives and relationships of the enslaved population.

Endogamy was a common practice among black slave families in Brazil, particularly on plantations. This was due to the limited social mobility and restricted contact between slaves on different plantations. Slaves often formed close-knit communities within their plantations, and marriage choices were largely confined to these groups. Endogamy was a result of the power dynamics on plantations. Slave owners often controlled the marriage process, and slaves needed their approval to form unions. This control further limited the options available to slaves, reinforcing endogamous practices. While endogamy was common, it did not mean that slaves were completely isolated. Some slaves managed to escape or were sold to other plantations, leading to inter-plantation marriages. However, these were less frequent than unions formed within the same plantation. The prevalence of endogamy among black slave families in Brazil highlights the impact of the plantation system on social and marital practices. It demonstrates how the structure of slave labor and the control exerted by owners shaped the lives and relationships of the enslaved population.

There are significantly more families living together in plantations than in small plantations. For example, according to the results of the 1829 São Paulo State Census and the 1872 Brazilian National Census, it can be clearly seen that the Campinas area of São Paulo The number of slave families in sugar cane or coffee plantations with more than 10 slaves was twice that of plantations with less than 10 slaves. In addition, an analysis of the census data of 200,000 black slaves in the state of Sao Paulo from 1775 to 1850 was conducted . Later, it was found that with the expansion of the plantation scale, the number of slave families also increased significantly. For small slave owners with only one slave, the recorded family rate of their male slaves was only 6%, and the recorded family rate of female slaves was even lower. Only 4%. On the other hand, for large slave owners with more than 40 slaves, the recorded marriage rate of their male slaves is 21%, and the recorded marriage rate of sex slaves is as high as 39% (3) Exogamy and black slaves on the same plantation Or it corresponds to the endogamy system

in which the same ethnic group chooses partners. In urban areas and small plantations in rural areas of Brazil, due to the small number of slaves owned by slave owners, it is difficult for slaves to find mates within the same slave group based on the homogeneous principle of mate selection. Suitable partners, so some black slaves will look for their partners outside the plantation or among slaves of other ethnic groups. In this case

Next, most of the spouses of black slaves have different status and ethnic and cultural backgrounds from themselves.

Documents from all over Brazil contain records of black slaves forming families on different plantations, and most of these unions broke the boundaries between slaves and free people. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, Ouro Preto In the town of Mineiro in Vila Rica, about 20% of the black slaves formed families with freed slaves. From 1726 to 1820, Santana de Pa. The border town of Paulis Of the total 569 slave marriage records, 70% of the marriages were between black slaves, 52 were between black slaves and Indians, and 117 were between slaves and free people of color. In Campos dos Goitacases, a sugar-producing area in Rio de Janeiro, 60 of the 4,507 slave marriages were between slaves and free people, and another 10 2 were between slaves and freedmen Marriage. Among these 60 marriages between slaves and free people, most of them were female black slaves married to free civilians (accounting for 72% of such marriages), while slaves and

There are significantly more families living together in plantations than in small plantations. For example, according to the results of the 1829 São Paulo State Census and the 1872 Brazilian National Census, it can be clearly seen that the Campinas area of São Paulo The number of slave families in sugar cane or coffee plantations with more than 10 slaves was twice that of plantations with less than 10 slaves. In addition, an analysis of the census data of 200,000 black slaves in the state of Sao Paulo from 1775 to 1850 was conducted . Later, it was found that with the expansion of the plantation scale, the number of slave families also increased significantly. For small slave owners with only one slave, the recorded family rate of their male slaves was only 6%, and the recorded family rate of female slaves was even lower. Only 4%. On the other hand, for large slave owners with more than 40 slaves, the recorded marriage rate of their male slaves is 21%, and the recorded marriage rate of sex slaves is as high as 39% (3) Exogamy and black slaves on the same plantation Or it corresponds to the endogamy system

in which the same ethnic group chooses partners. In urban areas and small plantations in rural areas of Brazil, due to the small number of slaves owned by slave owners, it is difficult for slaves to find mates within the same slave group based on the homogeneous principle of mate selection. Suitable partners, so some black slaves will look for their partners outside the plantation or among slaves of other ethnic groups. In this case

Next, most of the spouses of black slaves have different status and ethnic and cultural backgrounds from themselves.

Documents from all over Brazil contain records of black slaves forming families on different plantations, and most of these unions broke the boundaries between slaves and free people. In the 18th and early 19th centuries, Ouro Preto In the town of Mineiro in Vila Rica, about 20% of the black slaves formed families with freed slaves. From 1726 to 1820, Santana de Pa. The border town of Paulis Of the total 569 slave marriage records, 70% of the marriages were between black slaves, 52 were between black slaves and Indians, and 117 were between slaves and free people of color. In Campos dos Goitacases, a sugar-producing area in Rio de Janeiro, 60 of the 4,507 slave marriages were between slaves and free people, and another 10 2 were between slaves and freedmen Marriage. Among these 60 marriages between slaves and free people, most of them were female black slaves married to free civilians (accounting for 72% of such marriages), while slaves and

In the large plantations in the Campinas area, the nuclear family structure of slaves was generally relatively stable. Most black children could grow up under the care of both parents. (2) Single-parent families In

addition to nuclear

families, single-parent families are Another common family structure of Brazilian black slaves. Usually, such a family only has a mother and children, without a father. The main reasons why this special family structure occurs in large numbers among slave groups can be summarized as follows: Two points. First, due to the high mortality rate of male black slaves as the main labor force and the high possibility of being sold or transferred, adult black male slaves were forced to leave their original plantations after they became fathers and were sold or transferred by their slave owners. There are not a few people who go to a foreign place and then separate from their wives and children, never seeing each other again in their lifetime. And those male black slaves who are unable to work or contract diseases and unfortunately die, can only leave orphans and widows to live alone. Secondly, slaves The biological father of the child is a white man. By European standards, in Latin American societies under the influence of Catholicism before the 19th century, there were few places like Brazil where the ratio of white men and black slave women having extramarital affairs and having illegitimate children was as high as that of Brazil. Even for the white Brazilian elite, although legal marriage has extremely important political and economic significance, extramarital affairs and illegitimate children are far more common than in the colonies of other European countries. In the parish records of newborn babies in El Salvador, 62% of the more than 9,000 births from 1830 to 1874 were illegitimate, and a large part of them were the illegitimate children of whites and black slaves. These illegitimate children of whites and black female slaves ruled as whites under the social conditions of slavery. The existence of class cannot be publicly recognized, and its social class attributes and status are relatively vague.

Obviously, the main reason for the emergence of the latter type of single-parent families is undoubtedly the sexual exploitation of black female slaves by white slave owners. In Brazilian slave society, because white slave owners have absolute authority, they forcibly have sexual relations with female black slaves. Without any constraints or restrictions. Freire once described this unequal sexual coercion as "the most direct way for the Portuguese to integrate with blacks and Indians". When a white man wants to forcibly have sex with a female slave, The female slave can only be forced to accept it whether she likes it or not, because when the master intends to seek pleasure, all resistance will be in vain. If the master is disappointed or injured due to resistance, it may even lead to severe retaliation and severe punishment. Therefore, black people women only

These illegitimate children of whites and black female slaves ruled as whites under the social conditions of slavery. The existence of class cannot be publicly recognized, and its social class attributes and status are relatively vague.

Obviously, the main reason for the emergence of the latter type of single-parent families is undoubtedly the sexual exploitation of black female slaves by white slave owners. In Brazilian slave society, because white slave owners have absolute authority, they forcibly have sexual relations with female black slaves. Without any constraints or restrictions. Freire once described this unequal sexual coercion as "the most direct way for the Portuguese to integrate with blacks and Indians".

When a white man wants to forcibly have sex with a female slave, The female slave can only be forced to accept it whether she likes it or not, because when the master intends to seek pleasure, all resistance will be in vain. If the master is disappointed or injured due to resistance, it may even lead to severe retaliation and severe punishment. Therefore, black people women only

Obviously, the main reason for the emergence of the latter type of single-parent families is undoubtedly the sexual exploitation of black female slaves by white slave owners. In Brazilian slave society, because white slave owners have absolute authority, they forcibly have sexual relations with female black slaves. Without any constraints or restrictions. Freire once described this unequal sexual coercion as "the most direct way for the Portuguese to integrate with blacks and Indians".

Being able to succumb to this disgusting sexual relationship. Female black slaves are the main victims in this improper sexual relationship. They are just tools for white slave owners to vent their desires. Although white slave owners will have sexual relations with them, even They even had children with them, but few of them actually married them. Because in the Brazilian slave society, cross-race and cross-class marriages were not accepted by society. Therefore, for those who have suffered in this abnormal marriage model For the black female slaves, they were just playthings that could be summoned and taken away by the slave masters. They could not get formal status. They could only raise their children alone under people's eyes and rejection.

(3) Expanding the family

Expanding the family is also a common family structure of black slaves. An expanded family usually refers to a family composed of the nuclear family and non-direct relatives. Usually, black people are influenced by African tribal concepts and regard kinship relationships as maintaining human rights. The main way to relate to people. Kinship covers a wide range. Everyone in the tribe is more or less related to other people. Therefore, people from the same ethnic group are regarded as brothers. Black slaves are more or less related to each other. After coming to Brazil, they also inherited and continued this concept of a large family in a broad sense, and it became an important means for them to maintain a sense of social grouping under slavery. In 1872, the Bananal region of Sao Paulo On the Resgate coffee plantation, nearly 90% of the 436 slaves were related to others. Slaves established connections between different families through marriage, which contributed to the establishment of the slave family system.

In a large slave family, each family has formed an interconnected blood relationship. In these large families, slaves generally follow common marriage taboos, such as prohibiting incest marriages, opposing unions between collateral blood relatives, etc. At the same time, within the large slave family, There are common naming rules for children and a property inheritance system. Whether newlyweds live alone or with one of the parents must be decided by the family together. Large slave families will also ensure the relative stability of family relationships through corresponding mechanisms. Bad style Individuals who are irresponsible or irresponsible will be condemned and coerced by family members to urge them to abide by morals and assume corresponding obligations to the family. The methods of coercion mainly include putting pressure on them, using witchcraft or using violent means to make them

通常，黑人受到非洲部落观念的影响，将亲属关系视为维护人权的主要方式。亲属关系涵盖范围广泛。部落中的每个人或多或少都与其他人有关。因此，来自同一民族群体的人被视为兄弟。黑人奴隶或多或少都相互关联。来到巴西后，他们也继承并延续了大家庭的概念。从广义上讲，它成为他们维持社会归属感的重要手段。1872年，圣保罗的香蕉地区，在雷格特咖啡种植园，近90%的436名奴隶与他人有关。奴隶通过婚姻在不同家庭之间建立联系，这有助于奴隶家庭体系的建立。

在大家庭中，每个家庭都形成了相互关联的血缘关系。在这些大家庭中，奴隶通常遵循共同的婚姻禁忌，如禁止近亲婚姻，反对旁系血亲之间的结合等。同时，在大家庭内部，存在共同的命名规则和财产继承制度。新婚夫妇是单独生活还是与父母之一同住，必须由家庭共同决定。大家庭也会通过相应的机制来确保家庭关系的相对稳定。不良风格的个人，无论是无责任的还是不负责任的，都会受到家庭成员的谴责和胁迫，敦促他们遵守道德并承担相应的家庭义务。胁迫的方法主要包括给他们施加压力，使用巫术或使用暴力手段迫使他们

(2) The family composition of black slaves is relatively stable.

Under normal circumstances, it is believed that the families of black slaves in Brazil are the same as those in slave-holding areas of the Americas such as North America and Cuba. They are affected by the sale or transfer of family members, the death of one spouse and the death of one of the spouses. The families of black slaves are easily disintegrated due to the combined influence of factors such as forced dispersion by their masters. However, scholars have discovered through research that the slave family structure in most areas of Brazil is not as fragile as people thought. On the contrary, the family duration of black slaves generally lasts for a long time. Even in the Campinas region of Sao Paulo, where the death rate among slaves was the highest, in sugar cane and coffee plantations with more than 10 slaves in 1872, the average marriage age of black slave couples aged 35 to 44 was as long as 16 years and 8 months. Among young black slaves in their twenties and thirties, about 60% of slave couples have an average marriage age of more than 11 years. The stability of these slave families is surprising. Most nuclear families are not They were not forcibly broken up by their masters, but were eventually disbanded only because one of the slave couples died. The same situation also occurred in the Batatais area, where slave families generally lasted for more than 10 years. Clay Because (Herbert S Klein) pointed out that the death of a slave owner has little impact on the stability of the black slave family. The stability of the slave family is always very high. After the death of the old slave owner, the new slave owner will try his best to maintain the black slaves under his rule. To maintain the integrity of the family and avoid the separation of slave family members due to separate inheritance. From 1850 to 1888, only 5 of the 112 slave families in Batatas were separated due to property inheritance. Slaves in Rio de Janeiro from 1790 to 1835

Among families, only 19% of slave families had family members being inherited separately due to the death of their master.

Generally speaking, the stability of black slave families in large plantations is higher than that in small plantations. Most slave families will not be forcibly broken up by their masters. Most children who grow up in these slave families can live with their parents until they are close to adulthood. This further highlights the stability of slave families.

Of course, it is an indisputable fact that the mortality rate of black slaves in Brazil has remained high all year round. Marx once said: "In slave-importing countries, the motto for managing slaves is 'the most efficient economy', which is to transform from being a cow to a horse in the shortest possible time." The most labor is squeezed out of one's body. In places where tropical crops are grown, the annual profits of plantations are often equal to the total capital. It is in these places that black lives are regarded as trivial." 4. The situation on Brazilian plantations is consistent with Marx's assertion . Consistently, in order to quickly recover costs and increase the value of capital in a short period of time, slave owners often regard the lives of black slaves as trivial. Long-term and high-intensity labor is often

Marx's work: "Das Kapital" (Volume 1), in "The Complete Works of Marx and Engels", Volume 23, page 296.

