From Africa to Brazil traces flows of enslaved Africans from identifiable points in the large African region of Upper Guinea to Amazonia, Brazil. These two areas, though separated by an ocean, were made one by a slave route. Walter Hawthorne considers why planters in Amazonia wanted African slaves, why and how those sent to Amazonia were enslaved, and what their Middle Passage experience was like. The book is also concerned with how Africans in diaspora shaped labor regimes, determined the nature of their family lives, and crafted religious beliefs that were similar to those they had known before enslavement. This study makes several broad contributions. It presents the only book-length examination of African slavery in Amazonia and identifies with precision the locations in Africa from where members of a large diaspora in the Americas hailed. From Africa to Brazil also proposes new directions for scholarship focused on how immigrant groups created new or re-created old cultures.

Walter Hawthorne is a professor of African history at Michigan State University. He is the author of Planting Rice and Harvesting Slaves: Transformations along the Guinea-Bissau Coast, 1400–1900 (2003) and has published in scholarly journals such as Journal of African History, Luso-Brazilian Review, Slavery and Abolition, Africa, Journal of Global History, and American Historical Review. Before joining the History Department at Michigan State University, he was a visiting assistant professor at the University of Vermont and assistant and associate professor at Ohio University.
AFRICAN STUDIES

The African Studies Series, founded in 1968, is a prestigious series of monographs, general surveys, and textbooks on Africa covering history, political science, anthropology, economics, and ecological and environmental issues. The series seeks to publish work by senior scholars as well as the best new research.

EDITORIAL BOARD

David Anderson, University of Oxford
Catherine Boone, University of Texas at Austin
Carolyn Brown, Rutgers University
Christopher Clapham, University of Cambridge
Michael Gomez, New York University
Nancy J. Jacobs, Brown University
Richard Roberts, Stanford University
David Robinson, Michigan State University
Leonardo A. Villalón, University of Florida

A list of books in this series is found at the end of this volume.
From Africa to Brazil

Culture, Identity, and an Atlantic Slave Trade, 1600–1830

WALTER HAWTHORNE

Michigan State University
## Contents

*List of Figures*  
*List of Maps*  
*List of Tables*  
*Abbreviations Used in Notes*  
*Acknowledgments*  

### Introduction  
1

### Part I  
**The Why and How of Enslavement and Transportation**  
1 From Indian to African Slaves  
2 Slave Production  
3 From Upper Guinea to Amazonia  

### Part II  
**Cultural Change and Continuity**  
4 Labor over “Brown” Rice  
5 Violence, Sex, and the Family  
6 Spiritual Beliefs  
7 Conclusion  

*Index*  
255
Figures

2.1 “Bijouga War Canoe”  
3.1 Bissau in the mid-nineteenth century  
4.1 Women milling rice with mortar and pestle in Guinea-Bissau  
4.2 Working fields in Guinea-Bissau with a fulcrum shovel  
4.3 Man collecting unmilled rice that has dried in the sun, Maranhão  
5.1 “Nègres ào Tronco,” or “Blacks in a Tronco”  
6.1 A shrine, or balboa, in Guinea-Bissau  
6.2 Grisgris worn in Guinea-Bissau  
6.3 Carved figures inside a shrine in Guinea-Bissau  
6.4 Carved figures inside an oratorio in Maranhão
Maps

0.1 The Atlantic, Upper Guinea, and Amazonia  page xix
0.2 Upper Guinea Ethnic Groups around Bissau and Cacheu  xx
0.3 Amazonia, 1750s–1820s  xxi
2.1 Homelands of People Enslaved and Shipped through Bissau and Cacheu, and Interior Slaving Routes to Other Coastal Ports, Eighteenth Century  63
## Tables

1.1 Slave Imports into Maranhão and Pará before 1750  
1.2 Slave Imports into Amazonia, 1751–1842  
1.3 Population of Maranhão and Pará, 1777–1820  
1.4 Known Regions of Origin of Slaves in Maranhão Plantation Inventories, 1767–1800  
1.5 Known Regions of Origin of Slaves in Maranhão Plantation Inventories, 1801–1830  
2.1 Slave Exports from the Greater Guinea-Bissau Region, 1701–1843  
2.2 Estimate of Numbers of Slaves by Ethnicity Exported from Greater Guinea-Bissau Region by Year, 1761–1815  
4.1 Rice and Cotton Exports from Maranhão, Pará, and Rio de Janeiro, 1761-1810  
5.1 Regions of Origin and Gender Ratios of Slaves in Maranhão Plantation Inventories, 1767–1800  
5.2 Regions of Origin and Gender Ratios of Slaves in Maranhão Plantation Inventories, 1801–1830  
5.3 Black Slave Marriage Patterns by Region of Partner Birth, Maranhão, 1767–1832
Abbreviations Used in Notes

AAM  Arquivo da Arquidiocese do Maranhão (São Luís)
AHMF  Arquivo Histórico do Ministério das Finanças
AHU  Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino (Lisbon)
AJ  Arquivo Judiciário
ANRJ  Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro
ANTT  Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo (Lisbon)
APEM  Arquivo Publico do Estado do Maranhão (São Luís)
BNA  British National Archive (Kew)
BNP  Biblioteca Nacional de Portugal (Lisbon)
CGPM  Companhia Geral do Grão-Pará e Maranhão
CO  Colonial Office
MISD  Maranhão Inventories Slave Database
TJEM  Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Maranhão (São Luís)
TSTD  The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade: A Database on CD-ROM
TSTD₂  Voyages: The Trans-Atlantic Slave Trade Database
It is a great pleasure to thank the funding agencies, colleagues, friends, and family members who have played a part in the making of this book. In 2004 and 2005, a Fulbright-Hays Fellowship funded my research in Guinea-Bissau, Portugal, and Brazil. In 2008 and 2009, a National Endowment for the Humanities Fellowship funded the writing phase of my project. Without those generous fellowships, this project would not have been possible. I am also grateful for financial support from the Michigan State University (MSU) History Department Sesquicentennial Fund and the MSU Intramural Research Grant Proposal Award.

Linda Heywood, James Sweet, Peter Mark, Toby Green, David Bailey, David Robinson, Paul Lovejoy, and Benjamin Lawrance read a near-final draft of the entire manuscript. Each gave me particularly detailed and insightful comments and criticisms that helped me hone my arguments. I am forever in their debt. Readers who remain anonymous provided valuable feedback. Further, the following people helped me personally and professionally through their support, criticisms, challenges, responses to inquiries, assistance in archives, or helpful suggestions: John Waller, Erica Windler, Peter Beattie, David Wheat, Tom Summerhill, Peter Alegi, Nwando Achebe, Laura Fair, Ben Smith, Peter Limb, Joe Lauer, Peter Berg, Mary Jo Zeter, Christine Root, David Wiley, James Pritchett, Assan Sarr, Bala Saho, Lumumba Shabaka, Josh Grace, José Silva da Horta, Ramon Sarró, Marina Padrão Temudo, Maria João Soares, Maria Manuel Torrão, Philip Havik, Mariana Candido, Clara Carvalho, Jorge Fernandes Nascimento, Maria Luisa Abrantes, Mário Pires Miguel, Domingos Nagague, Mamadú Jao, Carlos Intigue, Agostinho Clodé Suba Nania, Emily Osborn, Lynn Schler, Richard Roberts, Thom McClendon, Marty
Acknowledgments

Klein, John Thornton, Gwen Hall, Edda Fields-Black, Pier Larson, Jose Lingna Nafafe, Jelmer Vos, Bruce Mouser, Josh Forrest, Allen Howard, George Brooks, David Eltis, Daniel Domingues da Silva, Luiz Felipe de Alencastro, Phil Misevich, Clifton Crais, Pamela Scully, Kristin Mann, Judy Carney, Ralph Austen, Michael Gomez, Paul Richards, Patrick Griffin, Joe Miller, Don Wright, Eric Crahan, Jay Harward, Soniya Ashok, Jason Przybylski, Kevin Conru, Mariza de Carvalho Soares, Antônio Wilson de Souza, Cleber da Silva Reis, Diogo Gualhardo Neves, Roque Ferreira, Matthias Röhrig Assunção, João José Reis, Flavio Gomes, Antonia da Silva Mota, Mundicarmo Ferretti, Sergio Ferretti, and Regina Helena Martins de Faria. At MSU, I am fortunate to have a dean, Marietta Baba, who is supportive of faculty research endeavors. In the History Department, my chairs, Mark Kornbluh and Keely Stauter-Halsted, facilitated my research and writing.

I was aided in countless ways by the staffs at a number of libraries and archives: the Arquivo Judiciário of the Tribunal de Justiça do Estado do Maranhão in Brazil, Arquivo Publico do Estado do Maranhão in Brazil, Arquivo Nacional do Rio de Janeiro in Brazil, Arquivo Histórico do Instituto Nacional de Estudos e Pesquisa in Guinea-Bissau, Biblioteca Nacional in Portugal, Arquivo Histórico Ultramarino in Portugal, Arquivo Nacional da Torre do Tombo in Portugal, and Michigan State University Library. My many requests were met by those working in interlibrary loan, in special collections, and with the African and Latin American collections at MSU. Further, my research was shaped greatly by the faculty and students at the Universidade Federal do Maranhão and Universidade Estadual do Maranhão, who guided me in archives and invited me to present my findings. Obrigado.

Warm thanks also to my extended family for their encouragement: Walter and Judy Hawthorne; Sarah, Steve, Benjamin, Paul, and Liam Covert; Carolin Belden; David Belden; and Paul Belden.

My greatest debt is owed to those I hold dearest. My wife, Jackie, and our daughter, Katherine, who was then less than a year old, moved with me to Portugal when I started research for this book. They later sent me off to Guinea-Bissau and moved with me to Rio de Janeiro and later São Luís, Brazil. What great adventures we had along the way to seeing From Africa to Brazil published! Best of all, we welcomed my son Jonathan, or J. D. as we affectionately call him, into the world while I was writing up in East Lansing, Michigan. For their love, companionship, patience, and unending support, this book is for Jackie, Katherine, and J. D. I could not have done it without you.
MAP 0.1. The Atlantic, Upper Guinea, and Amazonia. Courtesy of Jackie Hawthorne.
Map 0.3. Amazonia, 1750s–1820s.

Courtesy of Jackie Hawthorne.