ABSTRACT:
Brazil produced few slave narratives. Brazilian abolitionist literature was minimally informed by slave authors or texts. Cuba presents the most advanced study of slave literature; Hispanic America is similar to Brazil. What the slaves themselves said or wrote is valuable to the study of slavery and literature. This author’s first collection of Brazilian slave narratives and texts is studied for its value to anti-slavery and anti-racist literature.

Introduction:
Brazil, the largest American slavocracy, had a tardy and weak abolitionist movement, both in Literature and Politics. This study addresses why Brazil produced so few slave or ex-slave narratives, transcripts or other texts. Unlike North America and the Caribbean, Brazilian abolitionist literature, while rich and powerful, was minimally informed by real slave or ex-slave authors or texts. By the time of the 1860 abolition in the United States, thousands of North American slave narratives had been published in the U.S.—nothing of the kind occurred in Brazil or Latin America. While Cuba presents the most advanced study of slave literature, Hispanic America is similar to Brazil in both its small amount of slave texts and its underdeveloped study of slave expression, despite the presence of a mature historiography and humanities scholarship. Clearly, what the slaves themselves said or wrote is of great value to the study of slavery and literature. This research project has assembled the first collection of Brazilian slave narratives and texts. The panel presentation will examine the nature of this primary corpus of Brazilian slave texts, focus on selections of Brazilian slave writings and dictations and evaluate their relation to anti-slavery and anti-racist literature and criticism.
Literature about slaves:

There is overwhelmingly more literature about slaves, by non-slaves, than by slaves themselves. Examination of the Brazilian literary canon shows that abolitionist literature directly informed by slaves or ex-slaves is extremely rare, with Luis Gama being a special case. This begs for the search for the Brazilian slave texts, voices, in order to even address the literary canon and its critical paradigm, which would be a subsequent project.

Brazilian slave texts:

The creation of a corpus of Brazilian slave texts is essential research activity. [This paper will not go into the sourcing of such documents as slave texts. The sources are both published, individually by historians, and archival, where we have found and collected inédita originals. Sourcing a slave text is exciting restorative research which can lead to real criticism. Our most recent journey through Portuguese archives is an example of the analytical challenges such texts present, as in the testimonies of Brazilian slaves, both African and crioulo, brought before the Holy Inquisition on charges of superstition and bigomy.]

Nothing compares to the power and meaning of these slaves' expressions. Self-portrayal is a core issue of slavery—the slave's own expression must figure into the study of slavery and its literature. Self-expression, self-imaging, self-representation, self-identification, self-reflection... self-liberation. Here we might study how the documentary, along with the visual, artistic, cultural self-descriptions by Brazilian slaves, reflects a unique perspective.

Twelve years ago, in the midst of studying the U.S. ?Slave narrative? genre, I turned to my Luso-Brazilian specialty and read Robert Conrad's Children of God's Fire. A documentary history of black slavery in Brazil (1984). Conrad included several texts written or dictated by Brazilian slaves and ex-slaves. Immediately, I wanted to read the Brazilian ?slave narratives?.

The North American slave narrative was a type of letters sui generis, and eventually theorized and incorporated as a true genre. North American slaves and ex-slaves had produced a large and rich body of literature by the time of abolition.

I was anxious to read the literary equivalent in Brazil. Why Brazil? The Luso-Brazilian empire enslaved more Black Africans for a longer time than other ?western? nations, with many consequences today.

However, I did not encounter a collection of slave texts for the largest slavocracy. That there should be assembled a body of
Brazilian slave texts has always seemed obvious. I decided to redefine the research project. Already having collected together a few slave texts from anthologists, I broadened the search criteria to include not only narratives but any kind of text written or dictated by Brazilian slaves and ex-slaves. The very expert and generous Brazilian and Brazilianist historians and their publications are the richest sources for disparately edited slave texts. Other sources include archives, inédita, and private holders. This projects assembles the few precious slave texts together in a researched corpus for the first time.

We find only one extensive Brazilian slave narrative sui generis, along with a few other autobiographic sketches. To date, for four-hundred years of slavery, the collection consists of nearly 120 texts, comprising approximately 700 pages, produced by 126 slave or ex-slaves authors. Why so few Brazilian slave texts, compared to North America?

To sense just how few slave texts, allow the following cliometric observation:

![FIGURE 1](image)

| 372 yrs (447) | Luso-Braz. slavery 1516-1888(Port. 1441) |
| 5-18 million | Brazilian slaves |
| 126 | Brazilian slave/ex-slave "authors" |
| 120+ | number of "Brazilian slave texts" |
| 700+ pp | number of estimated pages |
| 0.09% | literacy of slave pop. 1872 |
| 112 yrs. | since 1888 Abolition (2000) |
| 1860 US | 6,000 "slave narratives" in 400+ bks |

Sources: Goulart, Schwartz, Ellis, Conrad, Jackson

A preliminary explanation of the factors as to why there are so comparably few Brazilian slave narratives or texts would be necessary here (including such as preliterate Catholicism; preindustrial society; late and weak abolitionist movement; racism). But let us consider an inventory list of the currently collected slave texts: (the numbers are raw data, but representative enough for a rough diagrammatic)
FIGURE 2
Inventory of Brazilian Slave Texts

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>year(s)</th>
<th>authorship id.</th>
<th>text type</th>
<th>pp.#</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>(1516-1700</td>
<td>First slaves-no texts)</td>
<td>transcript/30 slaves</td>
<td>226</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1700's</td>
<td>Inquisition defendants</td>
<td>letter-autograph</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1720</td>
<td>petition to king</td>
<td>testament</td>
<td>8</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1751</td>
<td>last will</td>
<td>25 letters, bk ms, tracts,</td>
<td>300</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1750-60's</td>
<td>Santa Rosa(1718-65)</td>
<td>dictation</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1770</td>
<td>Esperança, petition</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>7</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1787</td>
<td>last will</td>
<td>testament</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>Ilheus treaty</td>
<td>doc. Autograph</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1789</td>
<td>J.Baptista sells herself</td>
<td>contract</td>
<td>29</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1832</td>
<td>Campinas conspiracy</td>
<td>transcript/33 slaves</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Gertrudes, petition</td>
<td>letter</td>
<td>10</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1835</td>
<td>Malê revolt Bahia</td>
<td>transcript/14 slaves</td>
<td>48</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838</td>
<td>M.Congo quilombo</td>
<td>transcript/17 slaves</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1838-41</td>
<td>C.Bento - Balaiada</td>
<td>proclamation</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1843</td>
<td>J.Eden, testimony</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1848</td>
<td>2 escapees, testimony</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Queimado revolt</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>2</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1849</td>
<td>Augustino, testimony</td>
<td>report</td>
<td>3</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1854</td>
<td>Baquaqua, memoirs/letters</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>65</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1860-80's</td>
<td>Luís Gama</td>
<td>(auto)biography bk</td>
<td>136</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1870-80's</td>
<td>24 rebels, testimony</td>
<td>poetry, journalism</td>
<td>6</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1871</td>
<td>Porcinco, testimony</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>4</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1876</td>
<td>João, petition</td>
<td>transcript</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1880's</td>
<td>Inácio, oral poet</td>
<td>letter/transcript</td>
<td>21</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1887</td>
<td>woman assassin/confession Abolition)</td>
<td>transcriptions</td>
<td>1</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(1888)</td>
<td></td>
<td>report</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>1945-96</td>
<td>6 exslaves interviews Mariano</td>
<td>interviews</td>
<td>5</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td></td>
<td></td>
<td>2 interviews</td>
<td>20</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>2001</td>
<td>130+ slave authors</td>
<td>autograph/transcript</td>
<td>905</td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(Discussion: lacunae; predominance of a few individuals; textual typology; actual & reported quantity of texts; condition of texts; authentication issues)
Any theory of the corpus of Brazilian slave texts would have to account for the modalities of slave expression, to separate the verbatim from the extremely distorted words attributed to slaves. The various slavocratic agencies and mediations would need be accounted for in the search for authentic slave expression, whether full text or fragments. Consider, e.g., the comparison between free autographic or coscriptive text producers (Santa Rosa, Baquaqua, Gama, Mariano Perreira dos Santos) and the tortured nature of court-transcribed testimony extracted from slaves accused of mutiny or murder or heresies, while they enjoyed no human legal status above a máquina, a peça, or an animal. But any further theorization of the heuristics and the hermeneutics, or even the epistemology of these texts will always sense the collection’s poietic effect in which the corpus reverberates as chorus, or even ópera.

The following diagram is intended to demonstrate some of the complex issues facing the theorization of the corpus of Brazilian slave texts.
FIGURE 3

Comparative Modes of Brazilian Slave Text Production: (samples) (# texts/# pages) or (# pages)

<table>
<thead>
<tr>
<th>Autographic</th>
<th>Dictation</th>
</tr>
</thead>
<tbody>
<tr>
<td>A.Fernandes letter (1/1)</td>
<td>coscriptive/verbatim: ?S.Rosa letters &amp; tracts (50)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Esperança letter (1/1)</td>
<td>?2 testaments (15)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>S.Rosa 25 letters &amp; tracts (50)</td>
<td>?Baquaqua memoirs (68)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Ilheus Treaty (1/2)</td>
<td>?C.Bento proclam. (2)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gertrudes letter (1/1)</td>
<td>?Inácio troubadour (21)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Baquaqua 6 letters (English)</td>
<td>Interviews (6/25)</td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>(6/8)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
<tr>
<td>Gama poems, articles (136)</td>
<td></td>
</tr>
</tbody>
</table>

(transcription / trial testimony)

?Inquisition 30 defendants (200+)

?S.Rosa Inquis. testimony (200)

?10 trials 114 defendants (104)

non-trial: ?Aug. & J.Eden (2/5)

J.Baptista contract (1)

(Discussion: restriction of expression; Rosa's 1,000 folhas burned;
recording modes & agencies; auto-/co-/transcription)

A descriptive table of contents of the collection (see Appendix A) would show how I decided upon a dialectical arrangement of the slave texts--starting with the recent interviews of the last living ex-slaves, and then moving on to the voluminous writings of Santa Rosa Egipciaca, a venereal slave turned Baroque mystic and Brazil's first Black woman writer, and moving on to the chronologically arranged texts produced by various slave rebellions throughout Brazilian history, followed by the texts of individual slaves, and then turning attention to Brazil's only extensive slave narrative? by Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua, then the slave troubadour Inácio da Catingueira, and finally focusing on the writings of the revolutionary abolitionist republican ex-slave Luis Gama.

The next step would be the in-depth explication and reproduction of the slave texts proper in the arrangement just outlined.

Examining even excerpts, we might sense the uniqueness of the slave author's lifeview in such a way as to better understand historical slavery and combat human bondage in our own time.

Excerpts from Selected Brazilian Slave Texts:

? [The slave masters] fazia[m] só o que eles queriam. E manda
tirar a roupa de um homem ou de uma moça, ou de uma muiê. E fazia dançar pelado, ali. E, então, é que eu conto...não quero alembrar.?  
Comendo em cuia de purungo; em cochinho de madeira.  
Racionadão, ainda! Não era comida, assim, como agora.?  
...agora [1982], depois da liberação, tamos na glória!...agora, com os pês no chão...depois da liberação...éramos passarinhos...sem nada?
Mariano Pereira dos Santos, 1982 interviews with the 122 year old ex-slave from Paraná.

...meu querido Esposo [Jesus] de minha alma...Bem conheço que para vós não são necessárias letras de mão, mas só sim, porque é costume entre namorados cartear-se uns aos outros com afago de amor...?

??Tu [Rosa] serás a abelha mestra recolhida no cortiço do amor, fabricareis o doce favo de mel para pores na mesa do celestial banqueteado, para sustento e alimento dos seus amigos e convidados [de Deus].?? ??[Rosa é a] Rainha dos vivos/Juíza dos mortos.? Eu sou Deus.?
"Santa" Rosa Egipcíaca (1718-1765), an ex-venereal-slave become saint.

...we were chained together, and tied with ropes round our necks, and were thus drawn to the sea shore. The ship was lying some distance off. I had never seen a ship before, and my idea of it was, that it was some object of worship of the white man. I imagined that we were all to be slaughtered, and were being led there for that purpose.?

??I [tried] to raise myself in his [my Brazilian owner?s] opinion, by being very attentive and obedient; but it was all the same, do what i would , I found I had a tyrant to serve, nothing seemed to satisfy him, so I took to drinking likewise, then we were all of a sort, bad master, bad slave...?

I have consulted some of my friends and no objections have been made yet to my going to Africa...I think I shall not remain in the United States long, unless the prospect opens for me to return to my native land...but if not I think I shall go to Canada, and then fear I shall give up going entirely...This lady they speak of, she is very good friends to the colored people. I got acquainted with her about three years ago. She was very good friend to me. About four months ago they began to talk about her and I...I [have learned] to be very careful I dont go out much. I Study my books, this all...I feel I may do more good in Africa than I can here...

Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua's 1854 account.

??Tu [filho] evita a amizade e as relações dos grandes homens; eles são como o oceano que aproxima-se das costas para corroer os penados...Combate com ardor o trono, a indigencia e
ignorancia...trabalha...para que este país [esteja] sem rei e sem escravos...crê unicamente na autoridade da razão, e não te alies jamais a seita alguma religiosa.? ?...o escravo que mata o senhor, que cumpre uma prescrição inevitável de direito natural...quando, porém, por uma força invencível, por um ímpeto indomável, por um movimento revoltado, levantam-se (os negros) como a razão, e matam o senhor, como Lusbel mataria Deus!?

?Quero que o mundo me encarando veja/um retumbante Orfeu de carapinha?,/que a lira desprezando, por mesquinha,/ao som descanta de marimba augusta.? ?Se o muito que sinto/Não posso dizer,/Do pouco que sei/Não quero escrever.?

Luís Gama (1830-1882).

APPENDIX A: Descriptive Table of Contents:

**Millions of Voices, a Few Precious Pages.**

**First Collection of Brazilian Slave Texts**

The researched, explicated and illustrated first collection of texts produced by Brazilian slaves and ex-slaves, dating from the 17th century to 2000, and ranging from interviews, trial testimony, testaments, letters, and autobiography, to poetry, journalism, and oratory. Full English translation of original texts. Organized thematically and historically.

For information regarding the Portuguese edition of this project, contact: robert.krueger@uni.edu

I. **Introduction to the corpus of Afro-Brazilian slave and ex-slave texts.** Historical background to the texts. Discussion of theoretical issues (conditions and discourse; writing and orality, literacy and slavery; modes and agencies; expression and bondage)

II. **Final Voices**

?Maria do Carmo Gerônimo, the oldest woman in the world, born a slave in 1871, 17 years old at 1888 abolition, in 1995, at age 124 gives interviews (d. 14 June 2000).

?Mariano Pereira dos Santos, two 1982 interviews with the 122 year old ex-slave, his accounts of rural slave and emancipated life in Paraná.

Maria Augusta, a 113 year-old ex-slave, in 1975, 
interviews about her slave life in Minas Gerais.

Inácia Maria da Trindade, at 115 years of age, in 
1970, an ex-slave interviews about slave life in 
Paraná.

Feliciano Joaquim, a 90-year old ex-slave gives a 1945 
depoimento/statement to Artur Ramos in Rio de Janeiro.

III. An Extraordinary Heresy. Sex, Slavery and the Church--
Tropicalist Baroque Ideology of Soulful Liberation.

"Santa" Rosa Egipcíaca (1718-1765), an African 
Brazilian Saint. An ex-venereal-slave turns Baroque 
Mysticism against slavery and the Inquisition.

IV. Slave victims of the Holy Inquisition. Trial testimonies of 
slaves accused of crimes against the Church and nature.

Various slave defendants and witnesses testimony 
before the Holy officers and Inquisitors in Brazil and 
Portugal.

V. Slave Texts of Revolt and Resistance. Writing and 
Transcripting the Collective Struggle for Freedom and 
Justice.

Gregório Luis, rebel leader and author of an 
extraordinary peace treaty of self-liberated slaves 
sueing their beligerent former owner for peace, Ilhéus, 
Bahia, 1789.

Marcelino, Diogo Rebelo, and other slave rebels, trial 
testimony of literate and illiterate slaves of their 
massive, highly organized conspiracy at armed revolt 
and self-liberation, Campinas, São Paulo, 1832.

Trial testimony of participants, conspirators and 
bystanders in the Malê slave and freedmen revolt in 
Bahia, 1835.

Manoel Congo, and women and men slave rebels of the
1838 quilombo revolt, Pati de Alferes, Rio de Janeiro, trial testimonies.

?Cosme Bento das Chagas, ex-slave leader of the "Balaiada" revolt in Maranhão, 1838-1841, pronouncements and trial testimony.

?The Queimado insurrectionists, 1849, Espirito Santo, reports of ex-slave leaders Chico Prego, Elisário, João, and others.

?Bonifácio and others, 1872 trial testimony of slave market rebels, Rio de Janeiro.

?Other slave documents of revolts and movements (Palmares, Inconfidência mineira, Praieira, Cabanagem, Quebra-Quilo, Curunkango, various quilombolas, riots and crimes).

VI. The Individual Slave and Ex-slave in the Struggle for Freedom and Justice. Petitions and Testimonies.

?António Fernandes. A slave's letters of petition to the king of Portugal pleading for justice in his wrongful imprisonment and torture in Bahia of the 1720's.

?Esperança Garcia, "Eu Sou huma escrava/I am a slave..." A 1770 letter of petition to the governor for protection against a cruel master, his brutality of her children and separation of her family. Her appeal on the basis of Catholic principles.

?Joanna Baptista, a desperate cafuza mother contracts her own enslavement to provide for her children, Pará, 1789.


?Antônio Cabinda and Maria Mina. Testimony of slave comrades who conspire to escape to a quilombo/fugitive
community, 1848.


?José Porcinco Martins. Testimony of a Brazilian-Uruguayan ex-slave reenslaved in frontier southern Brazil, 1871.

?João. A slave petitions for protection from his ex-master for stealing his manumission money and illegally reselling him, 1876.

?A slave woman assassin confesses to murdering her master, 1887.

VII. Wills and Testaments. Rare autobiographical moments at critical moments of life. Libertos, ex-slaves bare their souls upon writing or dictating their final wills and testaments.

?1751 Final will and testament of Paullo de Almeida. A will in which the ex-slave disposes of several slaves acquired during freedom.


VIII. A singular Brazilian slave autobiography. The only known Brazilian 'slave narrative.'

?Mahommah Gardo Baquaqua's 1854 account of his capture and enslavement in Africa, the middle crossing, his ordeals and masters in Brazil, his liberation by abolitionists in New York, his education in Haiti by North American Baptists, his English narration in Detroit, and his journey to Canada and England.

IX: Slave and Ex-Slave Brazilian Poets. Historical background to Brazilian literary figures born to slaves, such as João de Cruz e Sousa and Domingos Caldas Barbosa.

?Luis Gama (1830-1882). Illegally enslaved by his father, separated from his famous revolutionary mother, educated
while a slave in São Paulo, earned his own manumission, armed liberator of hundreds of slaves, insubordinate soldier, great orator, lawyer for slaves' rights, major early abolitionist figure, radical republican, journalist, chronicler and poet. Here the first extensive English translations of substantial selections of his poetry, chronicles, and journalism.


X. Echoes (cultural expressions, crafts and arts). Journalistic, witness and scholarly reports of individual, collective, and anonymous slave voices: popular sayings, verses, slogans, paintings, plastic arts and crafts, etc.


XI. Conclusions. The value of slave texts to Brazil and the World today.

XII. Appendices. Facsimilares and reproductions of original texts and supporting documents.

XIII. Bibliographies of primary and secondary sources.

XIV. Index (name and subject; cross referential).

APPENDIX B: Selected Bibliography

Selected from a bibliography of 300+ items. Abbreviations: CCR - Comparative Civilizations Review; EE - Estudos Econômicos; EI - Estudios Iberoamericanos; HAHR - Hispanic American Historical Review; IARB - Inter-American Review of Bibliography; JLAS - Journal of Latin American Studies; LBR - Luso-Brazilian Review; RA - Revista de Antropologia; RBEP - Revista Brasileira de Estudos Políticos; RBH - Revista Brasileira de História; RH - Revista de História; RIEB - Revista do Instituto de Estudos Brasileiros; RIHGB - Revista do Instituto Histórico Geográfico Brasileiro.

Alencastro, Luiz Felipe de. "Escravos e proletários (imigrantes
portugueses e cativos africanos no Rio de Janeiro, 1850-1872)." Novos Estudos (julho 1988).


Beiguelman, Paula. A crise do escravismo e a grande imigração.


Krueger/LASA2001: 15


Depoimentos de Escravos Brasileiros. np: ícone, nd.


Ellis, David.


Freitas, Décio. *Escravidão de índios e negros no Brasil.*


Goulart, José Alipio. *Da palmatória ao patíbulo.* (Castigos de


Lovejoy, Paul.  [2001 annotated edition of Baquaqua’s narrative.]


Mott, Luiz R. de B. "Relações raciais entre homossexuais no Brasil colônia." RBH (març-ag 85).


Nova e curiosa relação de hum abuzo emandado, ou evidencias da razão: exposta a favor dos homens pretos em hum dialogo entre hum letrado e um mineiro.  Lisboa, 1764.


Reis, João José.  "Slave Resistance In Brazil: Bahia, 1807-1835."  LBR


