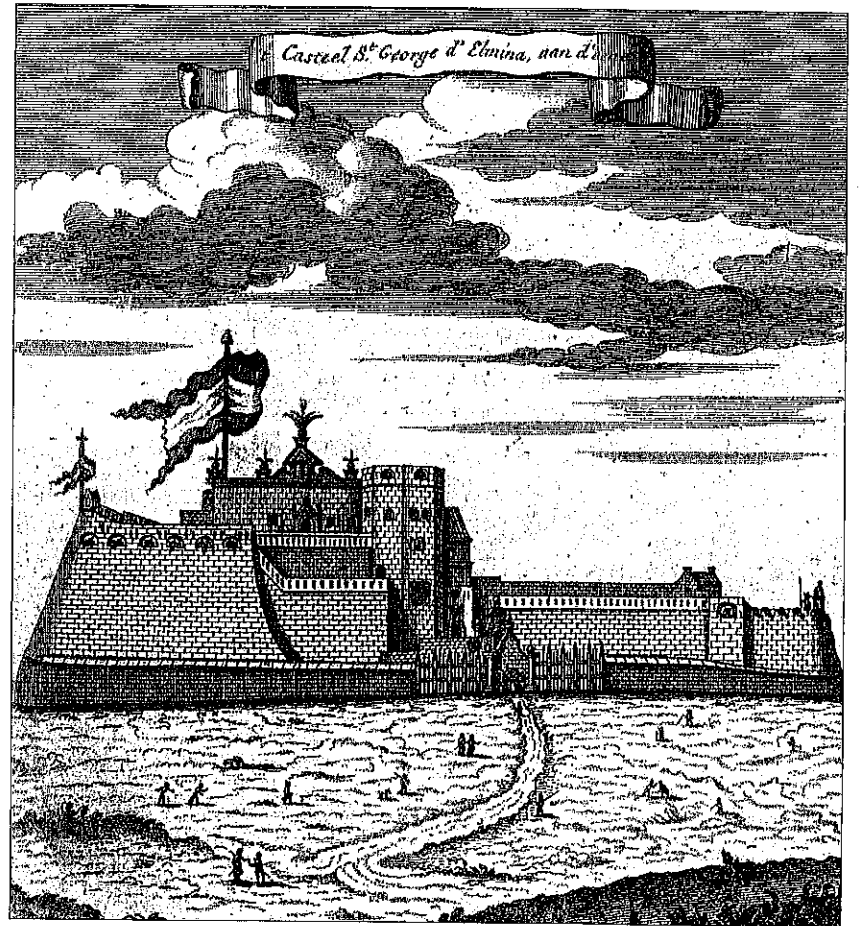


CHARTER GENERATIONS





BLACK LIFE on mainland North America originated not in Africa or America but in the nether world between the two continents. Along the periphery of the Atlantic—first in Africa, then Europe, and finally in the Americas—it was a product of the momentous meeting of Africans and Europeans and then their equally fateful rendezvous with the peoples of the New World. Although the countenances of these “Atlantic creoles” might bear the features of Africa, Europe, or the Americas in whole or part, their beginnings, strictly speaking, were in none of those places.¹ Instead, by their experience and sometimes by their person, they had become part of the three worlds that came together in the Atlantic littoral. Familiar with the commerce of the Atlantic, fluent in its new languages, and intimate with its trade and cultures, they were cosmopolitan in the fullest sense.

Atlantic creoles traced their beginnings to the historic encounter of Europeans and Africans on the west coast of Africa. Many served as intermediaries, employing their linguistic skills and their familiarity with the Atlantic’s diverse commercial practices, cultural conventions, and diplomatic etiquette to mediate between the African merchants and European sea

captains. In so doing, some Atlantic creoles identified with their ancestral homeland (or a portion of it)—be it African or European—and served as its representatives in negotiations. Other Atlantic creoles had been won over by the power and largess of one party or another, so that Africans entered the employ of European trading companies, and Europeans traded with African potentates. Yet others played fast and loose with their mixed heritage, employing whichever identity paid best. Whatever strategy they adopted, Atlantic creoles began the process of integrating the icons and beliefs of the Atlantic world into a new way of life.²

The emergence of the Atlantic creoles was only a tiny outcropping in the massive social upheaval that joined the peoples of the eastern and western hemispheres. But it was representative of the small beginnings that initiated the monumental transformations, as the new people of the Atlantic soon made their presence felt. Some traveled broadly as blue-water sailors, supercargoes, interpreters, and shipboard servants. Others were carried to foreign places as exotic trophies to be displayed before curious publics eager for a glimpse of the lands beyond the sea. Some were even sent to distant shores with commissions to master the ways of the newly discovered "other" and retrieve the secrets of their knowledge and wealth. A few entered as honored guests, took their place in royal courts as esteemed councilors, and married into the best families.³

Atlantic creoles first emerged around the trading factories or *feitorias* established along the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century by European expansionists. Finding trade more lucrative than pillage, the Portuguese Crown began sending agents to oversee its interests in Africa. These official representatives were succeeded in turn by private entrepreneurs, or *lançados*, who, with the aid of African potentates, established themselves sometimes in competition with the Crown's emissaries. Portuguese competitors were soon joined by other European nations, and the coastal factories became a commercial rendezvous for all manner of transatlantic traders. What was true of the nominally Portuguese enclaves also held for those later established or seized by the Dutch (Fort Nassaw and Elmina), Danes (Fredriksborg and Christianborg), Swedes (Carlsborg), French (St. Louis), and English (Fort Kormantse).⁴

The growth of the small fishing villages along Africa's Gold Coast dur-

ing the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests something of the change that followed the arrival of European traders. Between 1550 and 1618, Mouri (where the Dutch constructed Fort Nassaw in 1612) grew from a village of 200 people to 1,500 and then to an estimated 5,000 to 6,000 at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1555, Cape Coast counted only twenty houses; by 1680 it had 500 or more. Axim, which had 500 inhabitants in 1631, expanded to between 2,000 and 3,000 by 1690. Among the African fishermen, craftsmen, village-based peasants, and laborers attached to these villages were an increasing number of Europeans. Although the mortality and transiency rates in these enclaves were extraordinarily high even by the standards of early modern port cities, permanent European settlements developed from the corporate employees, merchants and factors, stateless sailors and soldiers, skilled craftsmen, occasional missionaries, and sundry transcontinental drifters.⁵

Established in 1482 by the Portuguese and captured by the Dutch in 1637, Elmina was one of the first of these factories and a model for those that followed. A meeting place for African and European commercial ambitions, Elmina—the Castle São Jorge da Mina and the town that surrounded it—became headquarters of the Portuguese and later Dutch mercantile activities on the Gold Coast and, with a population of 15,000 to 20,000 in 1682, the largest of some three dozen European outposts in the region.⁶

The peoples of the enclaves—long-term residents and wayfarers alike—soon joined together, geographically and genetically. European men took wives and mistresses among African women, and before long the children born of these unions helped people the enclave. Elmina sprouted a substantial cadre of Euro-Africans (most of them Luso-Africans), men and women of African birth but shared African and European parentage, whose swarthy skin, European dress and deportment, acquaintance with local norms, and multilingualism gave them an insider's knowledge of both African and European ways but denied them full acceptance in either culture. By the eighteenth century, they numbered several hundred in Elmina. Along the Angolan coast they may have been even more numerous.⁷

People of mixed ancestry and tawny complexion composed but a small

fraction of the population of the coastal factories, but few observers failed to note their existence—which itself gave their presence a disproportionate significance. Africans and Europeans alike sneered at the creoles' mixed lineage and condemned them as haughty, proud, and overbearing. When they adopted African ways, wore African dress and amulets, or underwent circumcision and scarification, Europeans declared them outcasts (*tangosmaos* or *reneges* to the Portuguese). When they adopted European ways, wore European clothing and crucifixes, employed European names or titles, and comported themselves in the manner of "white men," Africans denied them the right to hold land, marry, and inherit property. Although the *tangosmaos* faced reproach and proscription, all parties conceded that the creoles were shrewd traders. Their reputation attested to their mastery of the fine points of intercultural negotiations and the advantage in dealing with these knowledgeable entrepreneurs. Despite their defamers, some rose to positions of wealth and power, compensating for their lack of lineage with knowledge, skill, and entrepreneurial derring-do.⁸

Not all *tangosmaos* were of mixed ancestry, and not all people of mixed ancestry were *tangosmaos*. Color was only one marker of this culture-in-the-making, and generally the least significant one.⁹ From common experience, conventions of personal behavior, and cultural sensibilities compounded by shared ostracism, Atlantic creoles acquired interests of their own, apart from those of their European and African antecedents. Of necessity, they spoke a variety of African and European languages, weighted strongly toward Portuguese. But from the seeming babble emerged a pidgin lingua franca that enabled Atlantic creoles to communicate with all. In time, their pidgin evolved into a creole, borrowing its vocabulary from all parties and creating a grammar unique unto itself. Derisively called *fala de Guine* or *fala de negros*—literally "Guinea speech" or "Negro Speech"—by the Portuguese and black Portuguese by others, this creole lingua franca became the language of the Atlantic.¹⁰

Although jaded observers condemned the culture of the enclaves as nothing more than "whoring, drinking, gambling, swearing, fighting, and shouting," Atlantic creoles attended church (usually Roman Catholic),

married according to the sacraments, raised children conversant with European norms, and drew a livelihood from their knowledge of the Atlantic commercial economy. In short, they created societies of their own, *of* but not always *in* the societies of the Africans who dominated the interior trade and the Europeans who controlled the commerce of the Atlantic. By the mid-nineteenth century, they would station themselves on all corners of the Atlantic world, establishing branches of their families in Europe and the Americas so their children felt as comfortable in Bahia as in Birmingham, Lisbon as in Lagos. During the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries, however, their world centered on the Atlantic itself.

Operating under European protection, always at African sufferance, the enclaves developed governments with a politics as diverse and complicated as the peoples who populated them. Their presence created political havoc, enabling new men and women of commerce to gain prominence and threatening older, often hereditary hierarchies. Inter-marriage with established peoples allowed creoles to fabricate lineages that gained them full membership in local elites, something that creoles eagerly embraced. The resultant political turmoil promoted state formation along with new class relations and ideologies.¹¹

New religious forms emerged and then disappeared in much the same manner, as Europeans and Africans brought to the enclaves not only their commercial and political aspirations but all the trappings of their cultures as well. Priests and ministers sent to tend European souls made African converts, some of whom saw Christianity as a way to both ingratiate themselves with their trading partners and gain a new truth. Missionaries sped the process of Christianization and occasionally scored striking successes. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, the royal house of Kongo converted to Christianity. Catholicism, in various syncretic forms, infiltrated the posts along the Angolan coast and spread northward. Islam filtered in from the north.

Whatever the sources of the new religions, most converts saw little cause to surrender their own deities. They incorporated Christianity and Islam to serve their own needs and gave Jesus and Mohammed a place in their spiritual pantheon. New religious practices, politics, and theologies

emerged from the mixing of Christianity, Islam, and polytheism. Similar syncretic formations influenced the agricultural practices, architectural forms, and sartorial styles as well as the cuisine, music, art, and technology of the enclaves. Like the stone fortifications that greeted visitors, these cultural innovations announced the presence of something new to those arriving on the African coast, whether they traveled by caravan from the interior or sailed by caravel from the Atlantic.¹²

The business of the creole communities was trade—brokering the movement of goods through the Atlantic world. Although island settlements such as Cape Verde, Príncipe, and São Tomé developed indigenous agricultural and sometimes plantation economies, the comings and goings of African and European merchants dominated life even in the largest of the creole communities, which served as both field headquarters for great European mercantile companies and collection points for trade between the African interior and the Atlantic littoral. Depending on the location, the exchange involved European textiles, metalware, guns, liquor, and beads for African gold, ivory, hides, pepper, beeswax, and dyewoods. The coastal trade or cabotage added to the mix. Everywhere, slaves were bought and sold, and over time the importance of commerce-in-persons grew.

As societies engaged in the trade in slaves, the coastal enclaves became societies with slaves. African slavery in its various forms—from pawnage to chattel bondage—was practiced in these towns. Both Europeans and Africans held slaves, imported and exported them, hired them, used them as collateral, and traded them. At Elmina, the Dutch West India Company owned some 300 slaves in the late seventeenth century, and individual Europeans and Africans held others. Along with slaves appeared the inevitable trappings of that particular form of domination—overseers to supervise slave labor, slave catchers to retrieve runaways, soldiers to keep order and guard against insurrections, and officials to adjudicate and punish transgressions beyond a master's reach. Freedmen and freedwomen, who had somehow escaped bondage, also enjoyed a considerable presence. Former slaves mixed Africa and Europe culturally and sometimes physically.¹³

Mirroring developments on the coast of Africa, a cadre of Atlantic creoles emerged in Europe. By the mid-sixteenth century, some ten thousand black people lived in Lisbon, where they composed about 10 percent of the population. Seville had a slave population of 6,000 (including a minority of Moors and Moriscos). As the centers of the Iberian slave trade, these cities distributed African slaves throughout Europe. Many found their way to the most distant corners of the continent. By the end of the sixteenth century, they were numerous enough in England for Elizabeth to order their expulsion from the kingdom.¹⁴

Whether they resided in Europe or Africa, it was knowledge and experience far more than color that set the Atlantic creoles apart from the Africans who brought slaves from the interior and the Europeans who carried them across the Atlantic, on one hand, and the hapless men and women upon whose commodification the slave trade rested, on the other. Maintaining a secure place in such a volatile social order was not easy. The Atlantic creoles' liminality, particularly their lack of identity with any one group, posed numerous dangers. While their intermediate position made them valuable to African and European traders alike, it also made them vulnerable: they could be ostracized, scapegoated, and on occasion enslaved. Maintaining independence amid the shifting alliances between and among Europeans and Africans was always difficult. Inevitably, some failed.

Debt, crime, heresy, immorality, official disfavor, or bad luck could mean enslavement—if not for the great traders, at least for those on the fringes of the creole community.¹⁵ Placed in captivity, Atlantic creoles might be exiled anywhere around the Atlantic—the islands along the coast, the European metropolises, or the plantations of the New World. In the seventeenth century and the early part of the eighteenth, most slaves exported from Africa went to the sugar plantations of the Atlantic islands and the Americas. Enslaved Atlantic creoles might be shipped to Pernambuco, Barbados, or Martinique and later Jamaica and Saint Domingue—all expanding centers of New World staple production. But transporting them to these hubs of the plantation economy posed dangers, which American planters well understood. The distinguishing characteristics of

Atlantic creoles—their linguistic dexterity, cultural plasticity, and social agility—were precisely those qualities that the sugar planters of the New World feared the most. For their labor force, planters desired youth and strength, not experience and wisdom. Too much knowledge might be subversive to the good order of the plantation.

Simply put, men and women who understood the operations of the Atlantic system, including the slave trade, were too dangerous to be trusted in the human tinderboxes created by the sugar revolution. Rejected by the most prosperous New World regimes, Atlantic creoles were frequently exiled to marginal slave societies where would-be slaveowners, unable to compete with plantation magnates, snapped up those whom the grandees had disparaged as “refuse” for reasons of age, illness, or criminality. And in the seventeenth century, few New World slave societies were more marginal than those of mainland North America.¹⁶ Atlantic creoles were among the first Africans transported to the mainland. They became black America’s charter generations.

Atlantic creoles began arriving in the Americas in the sixteenth century. Some accompanied the conquistadors, marching with Balboa, Cortés, De Soto, and Pizarro. Others traveled on their own, as sailors and interpreters in both the transatlantic and African trades. Yet others crisscrossed the ocean several times, as did Jerónimo, a Wolof slave, who was sold from Lisbon to Cartagena and from Cartagena to Murica, where he was purchased by a churchman who sent him to Valencia. A “mulâtress” wife and her three slaves followed her French husband, a gunsmith in the employ of the French Compagnie des Indes, from Gorée to Louisiana, when he was deported for criminal activities.¹⁷ Wherever they went, Atlantic creoles employed their distinctive language, planted their unique institutions of the creole community, and propagated their special outlook. Within the Portuguese and Spanish empires, they created an intercontinental web of *cofradias*, so that by the seventeenth century the network of black religious brotherhoods stretched from Lisbon to São Tomé, Angola, and Brazil.¹⁸ Although no comparable institutional linkages existed in the Anglo- and Franco-American worlds, there were numerous informal connections between black people in New England and Virginia, Louisiana,

and Saint Domingue. Like their African counterparts, Atlantic creoles of European, South American, and Caribbean origins also became part of black America’s charter generations.

NEW NETHERLAND

The Dutch were the main conduit for carrying such men and women to the North American mainland in the early seventeenth century. Juan (Jan, in some accounts) Rodrigues, a sailor of mixed racial ancestry who had shipped from Hispaniola in 1613 on the *Jonge Tobias*, offers a case in point. The ship, one of several Dutch merchant vessels vying for the North American fur trade before the founding of the Dutch West India Company, anchored on the Hudson River sometime in 1612 and deposited Rodrigues either as an independent trader or, more likely, as ship’s agent. When a rival Dutch ship arrived the following year, Rodrigues promptly shifted his allegiance, informing its captain that, despite his color, “he was a free man.” He served his new employer as translator and agent, collecting furs from the native population. When the captain of the *Jonge Tobias* returned to the Hudson River, Rodrigues changed his allegiance yet again, only to be denounced as a turncoat and “that black rascal.” Barely escaping with his life, he took up residence with some friendly Indians.¹⁹

Other people of color followed Juan Rodrigues to Dutch America, especially to the small settlement on the Hudson. Some of these Atlantic creoles arrived as slaves, particularly following the Dutch victories over the Portuguese on the west coast of Africa in the 1640s, the subsequent wars, then civil strife, and finally Portuguese restoration.²⁰ While such slaves might be sent anywhere in the Dutch empire between New Netherland and Pernambuco, officers of the West India Company in New Amsterdam made known their preference for such creoles—deeming “Negroes who had been 12 or 13 years in the West Indies” to be “a better sort of Negroes.”²¹ A perusal of the names scattered through archival remains of New Netherland reveals something of the nature of this transatlantic transfer: Paulo d’Angola and Anthony Portuguese, Pedro Negretto and Francisco Negro, Simon Congo and Jan Guinea, Van St. Thomas and

Francisco Cartagena, Claes de Neger and Assento Angola, and—perhaps most telling—Carla Criole, Jan Creoli, and Christoffel Crioell.²²

These names trace the tumultuous experience that propelled their bearers across the Atlantic and into slavery in the New World. They suggest that whatever tragedy befell them, Atlantic creoles did not arrive in the New World as deracinated chattels stripped of their past and without resources to meet the future. Unlike those who followed them into slavery in succeeding generations, transplanted creoles were not designated by diminutives, or derisively named after ancient notables or classical deities, or burdened with tags more appropriate to barnyard animals than to human beings. Instead, their names provided concrete evidence that they carried a good deal more than their dignity to the Americas.

To such men and women, New Amsterdam—a fortified port controlled by the Dutch West India Company—was not radically different from Elmina or Luanda, save for its smaller size and colder climate. Its population was a farrago of petty traders, artisans, merchants, soldiers, and corporate functionaries, all scrambling for status in a frontier milieu that demanded intercultural exchange. On the tip of Manhattan Island, Atlantic creoles rubbed elbows with sailors of various nationalities, Native Americans with diverse tribal allegiances, and pirates and privateers who professed neither nationality nor allegiance. In the absence of a staple crop, their work—building fortifications, hunting and trapping, tending fields and domestic animals, and transporting merchandise of all sorts—did not set them apart from workers of European descent, who often labored alongside them. Such encounters made a working knowledge of the creole tongue as valuable on the North American coast as in Africa. Whereas a later generation of transplanted Africans would be linguistically isolated and de-skilled by the process of enslavement, Atlantic creoles found themselves very much at home in their new environment. Rather than losing their skills, they discovered that the value of their gift for intercultural negotiation appreciated. The transatlantic journey did not break creole communities; it only transported them to other sites.

Along the edges of the North American continent, creoles found that their cultural and social marginality was an asset. Slaveholders learned

that the ability of creoles to negotiate with the diverse populace of seventeenth-century North America was as valuable as their labor, perhaps more so. While their owners employed creoles' skills on their own behalf, creoles did the same for themselves, trading their knowledge for a place in the still undefined social order. In 1665, when Jan Angola, accused of stealing wood, could not address the New Amsterdam court in Dutch, he was ordered to return the following day with "Domingo the Negro as interpreter," an act familiar to Atlantic creoles in Elmina, Lisbon, San Salvador, or Cap François.²³

To be sure, slavery bore heavily on Atlantic creoles in the New World. As in Africa and Europe, it was a system of exploitation, subservience, and debasement that rested on force. Yet Atlantic creoles were familiar with servitude in forms ranging from unbridled exploitation to corporate familialism. They had known free people to be enslaved, and they had known slaves to be liberated; the boundary between slavery and freedom on the African coast was permeable. Servitude generally did not prevent men and women from marrying, acquiring property (slaves included), enjoying a modest prosperity, and eventually being incorporated into the host society. Creoles transported across the Atlantic had no reason to suspect they could not do the same in the New World. If the stigma of servitude, physical labor, uncertain lineage, and alien religion branded them as outsiders, there were many others in North America—men and women of unblemished European pedigree prominent among them—who shared those taints. That black people could and occasionally did hold slaves and servants and employ white people suggested that race—like lineage and religion—was just one of many markers in the social order.

The experience of Atlantic creoles provided strategies for containing the abuse and degradation of slavery and even winning freedom. Although the routes to social advancement were many, they generally involved reattachment to a community through the agency of an influential patron or, better yet, an established institution that could broker a slave's incorporation into the larger society.²⁴ Freedom was measured by the degree of communal integration, not by ability to secure individual autonomy. Along the coast of Africa, Atlantic creoles often identified with the ap-

pendages of European or African power—whether international mercantile corporations or local chieftains—in hopes of relieving the stigma of otherness, be it enslavement, bastard birth, paganism, or race. They employed this strategy repeatedly in mainland North America, as they tried to clear the hurdles of social and cultural difference and establish a place for themselves. By linking themselves to the most important edifices of the nascent European-American societies, Atlantic creoles struggled to become part of a social order where exclusion or otherness—not subordination—could threaten all other gains. To be inferior within the sharply stratified world of the seventeenth-century Atlantic was a common and therefore understandable experience; to be the “other” and excluded posed unparalleled dangers.

The black men and women who entered New Netherland between 1626 and the English conquest in 1664 exemplified the ability of people of African descent to integrate themselves into mainland society during the first century of settlement, despite their status as slaves and the contempt of the colony’s rulers. Far more than any other mainland colony during the first half of the seventeenth century, New Netherland rested on slave labor. The prosperity of the Dutch metropole and the opportunities presented to ambitious men and women in the far-flung Dutch empire denied New Netherland its share of free Dutch immigrants and limited its access to indentured servants. To populate the colony, the West India Company scoured the Atlantic basin for settlers, recruiting German Lutherans, French Huguenots, and Sephardic Jews. But these newcomers did little to satisfy the colony’s need for laborers. As a result, by 1640 about one hundred blacks were living in New Amsterdam, composing roughly 30 percent of the port’s population and a still larger portion of the labor force. Their proportion diminished over the course of the seventeenth century but remained substantial. At the time of the English conquest, some three hundred slaves made up one fifth of the population of New Amsterdam, giving New Netherland the largest urban slave population on mainland North America.²⁵

The diverse needs of the Dutch mercantile economy strengthened the hand of Atlantic creoles in New Netherland during the initial period of

settlement. Caring only for short-term profits, the company, the largest slaveholder in the colony, allowed its slaves to live independently and work on their own in return for a stipulated amount of labor and an annual tribute. Company slaves thus enjoyed a large measure of independence, which they used to master the Dutch language, trade freely, accumulate property, identify with Dutch Reformed Christianity, and—most important—establish families. During the first generation, some twenty-five couples took their vows in the Dutch Reformed Church in New Amsterdam. When children arrived, their parents baptized them as well. Participation in the religious life of New Netherland provides but one indicator of how quickly Atlantic creoles mastered the social intricacies of the new continent. In 1635, less than ten years after the arrival of the first black people, black New Netherlanders understood enough about the organization of the colony and the operation of the company to travel to the company’s headquarters in Holland and petition for wages.²⁶

Many slaves gained their freedom. This was not easy in New Netherland, although there was no legal proscription on manumission. Indeed, gaining freedom was nearly impossible for slaves owned privately and difficult even for those owned by the West India Company. The company valued its slaves and was willing to liberate only the elderly, whom it viewed as a liability. Even when manumitting such slaves, the company exacted an annual tribute from adults and retained ownership of their children. The latter practice elicited protests from both blacks and whites in New Amsterdam. To the West India Company’s former slaves, who were unable to pass their new status on to their children, this “half-freedom” appeared to be no freedom at all.²⁷

Manumission in New Netherland was calculated to benefit slave owners, not slaves. Its purposes were to spur slaves to greater exertion and to relieve slaveowners of the cost of supporting the elderly, whose infirmities rendered them more burden than asset. Yet, however compromised the attainment of freedom, slaves did what was necessary to secure it. They accepted the company’s terms and agreed to pay its corporate tribute. But they bridled at the fact that their children’s status would not follow their own. Half-free blacks pressed the West India Company to make their sta-

tus hereditary. Hearing rumors that baptism would assure freedom to their children, they pressed their claims to church membership. A Dutch prelate complained of the "worldly and perverse aims" of black people who "wanted nothing else than to deliver their children from bodily slavery, without striving for piety and Christian virtues."²⁸ Although conversion never guaranteed freedom in New Netherland, many half-free blacks achieved their goal. By the time of the English conquest, about one black person in five had achieved freedom in New Amsterdam.²⁹ Some free people of African descent prospered, and building on small gifts of land that the West India Company provided as freedom dues, a few entered the landholding class.³⁰

By the middle of the seventeenth century, black people participated in almost every aspect of life in New Netherland. In addition to marrying and baptizing their children in the Dutch Reformed Church, they sued and were sued in Dutch courts and fought alongside Dutch militiamen against the colony's enemies. Black men and women—slave as well as free—traded independently and accumulated property. Black people also began to develop a variety of institutions that reflected their unique experience and served their special needs. They stood as godparents to one another's children, suggesting close family ties, and they rarely called on white people—owners or not—to serve in this capacity. At times, established black families legally adopted orphaned black children, further knitting the black community together in a web of constructed kinship.³¹ The patterns of residence, marriage, church membership, and godparentage speak not only to the material success of Atlantic creoles but also to their ability to create a community among themselves.

THE CHESAPEAKE

If the likes of Paulo d'Angola and Anthony Portuguese, Pedro Negretto and Francisco Cartagena made their presence felt in the Dutch port of New Amsterdam, they also could be found in the colonies to the south where the English ruled and the population was overwhelmingly rural.

The story of Anthony Johnson, sold to the English at Jamestown in

1621 as Antonio a Negro, reveals something of the history of Atlantic creoles in the Chesapeake region. During the dozen years following his arrival, Antonio labored on the Bennett family's plantation on Virginia's middle peninsula, where he was among the few who survived the 1622 Indian raid that all but destroyed the colony, and where he later earned an official commendation for his "hard labor and known service." His loyalty and industry also won the favor of the Bennetts, who became Antonio's patron as well as his owner, perhaps because worthies like Antonio were hard to find among the rough, hard-bitten, often sickly men who comprised the mass of servants and slaves in the region. Whatever the source of the Bennetts' largesse, they allowed Antonio to farm independently while still a slave, marry, and baptize his children. Eventually, he and his family exited bondage. Once free, Antonio a Negro anglicized his name to Anthony Johnson, which was so familiar to English speakers that no one could doubt his identification with the colony's rulers.³²

Johnson, his wife Mary, and their children—who numbered four by 1640—followed their benefactor to the eastern shore of Virginia, where the Bennett clan had established itself as a leading family and where the Johnson family began to farm on its own. In 1651 Anthony Johnson earned a 250-acre headright, a substantial estate for any Virginian, let alone a former slave. Johnson's son John did even better than his father, receiving a patent for 550 acres, and another son, Richard, owned a 100-acre estate. When Anthony Johnson's plantation burned to the ground in 1653, he petitioned the county court for relief. Reminding authorities that he and his wife were long-time residents of the eastern shore and that "their hard labors and knowne services for obtayneing their livelihood were well known," he requested and was granted a special abatement of his taxes.

Like other men of substance, Johnson and his sons farmed independently, held slaves, and left their heirs sizable estates. As established members of their community, they enjoyed rights in common with other free men and frequently employed the law to protect themselves and advance their interests. Still, when Anthony Johnson's slave, a black man named John Casar (sometimes Casor, Cassaugh, or Cazara), claimed his freedom

and gained sanctuary with Robert and George Parker, two neighboring white planters, Johnson did not immediately attempt to retrieve his property. The Parkers had already exhibited considerable animus toward the Johnson family, accusing John Johnson of "fornication and other enormities." Antagonizing rancorous white men of the planter class was a hazardous business, even if Johnson could prove they had conspired to lure John Casar from his household. At length, however, Anthony Johnson decided to act. He took the Parkers to court and won Casar's return, along with damages against the Parkers.³³

Johnson and the Parkers wrestled over Casar because labor—whether European, Native American, or African in origin—was the key to success on the mainland, as ambitious men scrambled for status, land, and yet more labor. In their rush to seize the main chance, planters might trample their workers, but they made little distinction among their subordinates by age, sex, nation, or race. While the advantages of this peculiar brand of equality may have been lost on its beneficiaries, it was precisely the shared labor regimen of African, European, and Native American that allowed some black men like Anthony Johnson to escape bondage and join the scramble that characterized life in the seventeenth-century Chesapeake.³⁴

The Johnsons were not unique in the region. Creoles like John Francisco, Bashaw Ferdinando (or Farnando), Emanuel Driggus (sometimes Drighouse; probably Rodrigus), Anthony Longo (perhaps Loango), and Francisco a Negroe (soon to become Francis, then Frank, Payne and finally Paine) could be found throughout the region and most especially on the eastern shore. The number remained tiny. In 1665 the free black population of Virginia's Northampton and Accomack counties amounted to less than twenty adults and perhaps an equal number of children. But as the black population of the region was itself small, totaling no more than 300 on the eastern shore and perhaps 1,700 in all of Maryland and Virginia, the proportion of black people enjoying freedom was substantial. And, perhaps more importantly, it was growing. In Northampton County, free people of African descent made up about one fifth of the black population at mid-century, rising to nearly 30 percent in 1668, not radically different from New Amsterdam.³⁵

As elsewhere, Atlantic creoles in the Chesapeake ascended the social order and exhibited a sure-handed understanding of the local hierarchy and the complex dynamics of patron-client relations. Although still in bondage, they began to acquire the property, skills, and personal connections that became their mark throughout the Atlantic world. They worked provision grounds, kept livestock, traded independently, and married white women as often as they married black.³⁶ More important, they found advocates among the propertied classes—often their owners—and identified themselves with the colony's most important institutions, registering their marriages, baptisms, and children's godparents in the Anglican Church and their property in the county courthouse. They sued and were sued in local courts, and they petitioned the colonial legislatures and governors.³⁷

The experience of Atlantic creoles in the Dutch colony of New Netherland and the English colonies of Virginia and Maryland was repeated across mainland North America prior to the advent of the plantation. But it was never repeated in quite the same way, so that while the story of the charter generations had one melody, it was played in many different keys.

In places as different as Canada and lowcountry South Carolina, Atlantic creoles hardly had a chance to make an imprint. Mathieu Da Costa, a man of African descent sometimes in the employ of the Dutch and sometimes the French, may have alighted in Port Royal on the St. Lawrence River in the first years of the eighteenth century. But his visit was so brief that historians are still searching for evidence of his presence.³⁸ The charter generation had a more substantial presence in pioneer Carolina, but the rapid advent of large-scale rice production truncated its development there; Atlantic creoles had hardly a chance to leave their mark on the lowcountry.

THE LOWER MISSISSIPPI VALLEY

In the lower Mississippi Valley, however, the failure of the plantation revolution extended the charter generation's life to nearly a century. Atlantic creoles entered the great valley much as they entered the seaboard colonies, irregularly, with none of the system that characterized the interna-

tional trade. Perrine, a black cook, arrived with other *engagés* from Lorient in 1720. Raphael Bernard, the black manservant of a wealthy French emigré, followed his master from France for 200 francs and the promise of a new suit. When his owner failed to respect the bargain and abused him to boot, he sued and recovered his back wages. John Mingo, a fugitive from South Carolina, traveled half a continent to Louisiana, where a patron assisted him in securing legal freedom, a small plot of land, and the right to purchase a slave woman whom he had taken for his wife. When Mingo quarreled with his erstwhile benefactor over the terms of the arrangement, he also sued, and, although his larger claim was disallowed, Mingo won the right to purchase his wife. Louis Congo, a slave whose name suggests his origins, gained his freedom playing upon the colony's need for an executioner. In return for assuming that gruesome task, his employer freed Louis Congo and allowed him to live with his wife (although she was not liberated, as he had demanded) on land of his own choosing.³⁹

Perhaps the best known of these Atlantic creoles was Samba, a Bambara.⁴⁰ Working for the Compagnie des Indes as an interpreter (*maître de langue*) at Galam, upstream from St. Louis on the Senegal River during the 1720s, Samba Bambara—as he appears in the records—traveled freely along the river between St. Louis, Galam, and Fort d'Arguin. By 1722 he received permission from the compagnie for his family to reside in St. Louis. When his wife dishonored him, Samba Bambara called on his corporate employer to exile her from St. Louis and thereby bring order to his domestic life. But despite his reliance on the company, Samba Bambara allegedly joined with African captives in a revolt at Fort d'Arguin, and, when the revolt was quelled, he was enslaved and deported. Significantly, he was not sold to the emerging plantation colony of Saint Domingue, where the sugar revolution stimulated a nearly insatiable demand for slaves. Instead, French officials at St. Louis exiled Samba Bambara to Louisiana, a marginal military outpost far outside the major transatlantic sea lanes and with no staple agricultural economy.

Just as the port of New Amsterdam shared much with Elmina, the port of New Orleans on the Mississippi mirrored St. Louis on the Senegal in

the 1720s. As the headquarters of the Compagnie des Indes in mainland North America, the town housed a familiar collection of corporate functionaries, traders, and craftsmen, along with growing numbers of French *engagés* and African slaves. New Orleans was frequented by Indians, whose canoes supplied it much as African canoemen supplied St. Louis. Its taverns and back-alley retreats were meeting places for sailors of various nationalities, Canadian *courreurs de bois*, and soldiers—the latter no more pleased to be stationed on the North American frontier than their counterparts welcomed assignment to an African factory. Indeed, the soldiers' status in this rough frontier community differed little from that on the coast of Africa.⁴¹

Suggesting something of the symmetry of the Atlantic world, New Orleans was no alien terrain to Samba Bambara, save for the flora and fauna. Despite the long transatlantic journey, once in the New World, he recovered much of what he had lost in the Old, although he never escaped slavery. Like the Atlantic creoles who alighted in New Netherland and Jamestown, Samba Bambara employed skills on the coast of North America that he had learned on the coast of Africa. Drawing on his knowledge of French, various African languages, and the ubiquitous creole tongue, the rebel regained his position with his old patron, the Compagnie des Indes, this time as an interpreter swearing on the Christian Bible to translate faithfully before Louisiana's Superior Council. Later, he became an overseer on the largest "concession" in the colony, the company's massive plantation across the river from New Orleans.⁴²

Like his counterparts in New Amsterdam, Samba Bambara succeeded in a rugged frontier slave society by following the familiar lines of patronage to the doorstep of his corporate employer. Although the constraints of slavery eventually turned him against the company on the Mississippi, just as he had turned against it on the Senegal River, his ability to transfer his knowledge and skills from the Old World to the New, despite the weight of enslavement, suggests that the history of Atlantic creoles in New Amsterdam—their ability to escape slavery, form families, secure property, and claim a degree of independence—was no anomaly.

Much like their counterparts on the seaboard, Samba Bambara, Louis

Congo, John Mingo, Raphael Bernard, and Perrine understood their rights, and—given their familiarity with the Atlantic world, its languages, religions, and legal codes—they did not hesitate to exercise them. In this the French *Code Noir* provided a small assist. This compilation of laws and regulations was first promulgated in 1685, ostensibly to protect black slaves in French colonies from abuse, and was reissued in 1724 to cover Louisiana. The Louisiana *Code* was weighted against manumission and discouraged self-purchase. It required manumitted slaves to defer to their former owners, punished free black people more severely than white ones, and barred interracial marriage. Still, free people of African descent enjoyed many of the same legal rights as other free people, including the right to petition. People of color—like Raphael Bernard and John Mingo—employed those rights to advance their interests, much as their counterparts in Dutch New Netherland and English Virginia did. Occasionally they used the law to improve their collective status. During the 1720s, they successfully petitioned for the removal of a special head tax on free blacks and sued individual white colonists for transgressions of various sorts.⁴³

The presence of Atlantic creoles, eager for freedom and knowledgeable in the ways of the law, frustrated Louisiana planters, impatient to launch their own plantation revolution. During the 1720s, after more than two decades of failure, they had at last succeeded in muscling Indians off some of the best land. Having imported some five thousand slaves directly from Africa and established new discipline on the estates, their most fervent aspiration was near realization. But an alliance of Natchez Indians and African slaves smashed the nascent plantation complex. The staple economy based on tobacco and indigo collapsed, the slave trade was closed, the Compagnie des Indes surrendered its charter, and Louisiana resumed its position of marginality in the Atlantic world.

The Natchez rebellion and the subsequent failure of the plantation revolution did not overthrow slavery, but it breathed new life into the charter generation in Louisiana. As the market economy foundered, the slaves' economy expanded, along with the subsidiary rights to travel freely, trade independently, hire their own time, and hold property—rights with no

foundation in law but universally accepted in practice. Through the middle years of the eighteenth century, the slaves' independent production played a larger and larger role in the economic life of the colony. Before long, black people began to exit slavery, often taking up the role of soldiers in defense of the white minority. The free black population grew slowly under the French, who remained fearful of black freedom. But after the Spanish took control of Louisiana in 1763, the slaves' access to freedom via manumission and self-purchase expanded, and the charter generation found themselves on more secure, if still shaky, ground.

Not until the great rebellion in Saint Domingue eliminated the world's largest sugar producer and allowed Louisiana planters to transform themselves into plantation moguls was the charter generation dismantled. Though a mere blink in the history of Canada and South Carolina, the charter generation had lasted nearly a century in the lower Mississippi Valley.

FLORIDA

Whereas the history of Louisiana documents the longevity of the charter generations, the history of Florida suggests something of their resilience. The very changes that truncated the charter generation in South Carolina and compressed its history into a few decades at the end of the seventeenth century assured its survival—even its prosperity—in Florida.

The rapid expansion of the English settlement in South Carolina deepened the fears of Spanish officials in Florida. In their search for allies against the growing menace to the north, they could find only one reliable group of friends—their own slaves and those of the Carolinians. Atlantic creoles, appreciative of the fine differences between European Protestants in South Carolina and European Catholics in Florida, were also quick to recognize that the enemy of their enemy could be a friend. An alliance was sealed which spurred the growth of creole society in Florida.

Spanish raiders took the first steps toward that alliance in 1686 when, in assaulting Edisto Island, they carried off some dozen slaves. The governor of South Carolina demanded their return, along with those “who run

daily into your towns," but Spanish officials peremptorily refused. Instead, they put the fugitives to work for wages, instructed them in the tenets of Catholicism, and allowed them to marry—in short, providing runaways with all the accoutrements of freedom except its legal title.⁴⁴

That was quick in coming. In 1693 the Spanish Crown offered freedom to all fugitives—men as well as women—who converted to Catholicism. Thereafter, Spanish officials in Florida provided "Liberty and Protection" to all slaves who reached St. Augustine, and they consistently refused to return runaways who took refuge in their colony.⁴⁵

The broad promise of liberty was not always kept, however. Some fugitives were sold in St. Augustine to local planters and others were shipped to Havana. Nonetheless, the promise itself transformed Florida into a magnet for Carolina slaves. As the news spread, fugitives fled to Florida, often requesting baptism into the "True Faith." Spanish officials delighted in the former slaves' choice of religion, smugly observing that they "want to be Christians and that their masters did not want to let them learn the doctrine nor be Catholics."⁴⁶

But much as they might celebrate the runaways' desire for the true religion, Spanish officials did not allow their enthusiasm to blind them to the special skills these Atlantic creoles carried. Their knowledge of the countryside, linguistic facility, and ability to negotiate between the lowland's warring factions in a manner their forebears had made famous throughout the Atlantic littoral made the fugitives ideal allies against the English enemy. Former Carolina slaves no sooner arrived in Florida than they were enlisted in the militia and sent to raid the plantations of their old owners, assisting black men and women—many of them friends and sometimes family—in escaping bondage. When these periodic raids boiled over into outright warfare, the runaways were incorporated into the black militia, fighting against the English in the Yamasee War and defending St. Augustine against an English assault in which the invaders almost reached the walls of the city.⁴⁷

The stream of fugitives grew with the expansion of slavery in South Carolina during the first decades of the eighteenth century.⁴⁸ Armed with

the profits of rice production, South Carolina slaveholders entered the international slave market, purchasing laborers by the boatload. Charles Town became the largest mainland slave market, as Africans disembarked on its wharves by the thousands. Generally deemed "Angolans," most were drawn from deep in the interior of central Africa. But some were Atlantic Creoles, with experience in the coastal towns of Cabinda, Loango, and Mpinda. Many spoke Portuguese, which, as one Carolinian noted, was "as near Spanish as Scotch is to English," and some were practicing Catholics.

At the end of the fifteenth century, when the royal house of Kongo converted to Christianity, Catholicism in various syncretic forms entered broadly into the life of the Kingdom of the Kongo. During the next two centuries it spread through the efforts of Portuguese missionaries and, later, an indigenous Kongolese priesthood. Leaders of the Kongolese church corresponded with Rome and traveled to Europe to receive the endorsement of Christ's vicar. Seeing no reason to surrender their own native deities, converts incorporated them into the Christian belief system, giving Kongolese Catholicism its unique character.⁴⁹

Despite these embellishments, the Kongolese were knowledgeable believers who knew their catechism, the pantheon of saints, and the symbols and rituals of the Cross. The arrival of these children of Christ in Charles Town had little effect on South Carolina slaveholders, who doubtless would have disapproved of their brand of Christianity if they noticed it at all. But if planters paid little attention to the beliefs of saltwater slaves as they put them to work in the rice fields, the presence of a Catholic sanctuary less than three hundred miles south of Charles Town did not escape the slaves' notice.

No doubt the Church's presence in Florida made Spanish St. Augustine even more attractive to enslaved Catholics. During the 1720s and 1730s, they and other slaves—many newly arrived in South Carolina—defected in increasing numbers. In 1733 Spanish authorities reiterated their offer of freedom, prohibiting the sale of fugitives and commending black militiamen for their service in the struggle against the British. Five years later,

the governor requested that the fugitives previously sold to Havana be returned to Florida and freed. Word of the new edicts may have enticed others to flee the Carolinas.⁵⁰

In 1739 a group of African slaves initiated a mass exodus, slaying several dozen whites who stood in their path. Pursued by South Carolina militiamen, the defectors confronted their owners' soldiers in pitched battles at Stono, only fifty miles from the Florida line.⁵¹ Although most of the Stono rebels were captured or killed, others successfully escaped to Florida. Once they arrived, it became difficult for their owners to retrieve them, as Spanish officials would not surrender their co-religionists. The escapees, who had already been baptized and knew their catechism, were quickly integrated into black life in St. Augustine, although they prayed, as one Miguel Domingo told a Spanish priest, in Kikongo.⁵²

The former Carolina slaves did more than pray. As their numbers grew, black militiamen took an ever more active role in the border warfare against their former owners. The former slaves' presence and the Spaniards' promise of freedom, military commissions, and even "A Coat Faced with Velvet," augmented the small but steady stream of runaways to Florida. Among those enlisted in the militia was one Francisco Menéndez, a former slave who may have adopted the name of one of St. Augustine's most powerful magistrates. Menéndez's heroics in repelling an English attack on St. Augustine in 1728 had won a special commendation from the Spanish Crown, along with the promise of freedom. When he was not freed, Menéndez and many of his fellow militiamen petitioned the governor of Florida and then the Bishop of Cuba for their liberty, which they eventually received.⁵³

To better protect St. Augustine, the governor of Florida established a black settlement to the north of the city. Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, a walled fort surrounding some ramshackle huts, was both a barrier against another English incursion and an agricultural settlement. The governor assigned a priest to instruct the newly arrived slaves and resident free blacks. Although the Spanish military supervised the town, the governor placed Menéndez in charge. Whatever their agricultural objectives and religious aspirations, the black men and women stationed at Mose

understood that their future was tied to the strategic mission of the settlement. They pledged to "shed their last drop of blood in defense of the Great Crown of Spain and the Holy Faith."⁵⁴

Under Captain Menéndez, Mose became the center of black life in colonial Florida, as well as a base from which former slaves—sometimes joined by Indians—raided South Carolina. The settlement of some one hundred free black men and women was also the last line of defense against English assaults on St. Augustine, which came with a vengeance following the Stono rebellion. A bloody struggle at Mose eventually forced the black population to evacuate, and Spanish forces would not recapture the fort until reinforcements arrived from Cuba. However devastating to the fort itself, the militia's extraordinary bravery won Menéndez yet another commendation, this one from the governor of Florida, who declared that the black captain "had distinguished himself in the establishment, and cultivation of Mose."⁵⁵

Menéndez was quick to capitalize on his fame. Writing in the language of patronage, he reminded the king that his "sole object was to defend the Holy Evangel and sovereignty of the Crown" and requested remuneration for the "loyalty, zeal and love I have always demonstrated in the royal service." In his petition to the king, Menéndez requested a stipend worthy of a militia captain.⁵⁶ To secure his royal reward, Menéndez took to the sea as a privateer, hoping eventually to reach Spain and collect his due.

Instead, a British ship captured the famous "Signior Capitano Francisco." Although his captors stretched him out on a cannon and threatened him with emasculation for alleged atrocities during the siege of Mose, Menéndez had become too valuable to mutilate. The British sailors gave him two hundred lashes, soaked his wounds in brine, and commended him to a doctor "to take care of his Sore A-se." Menéndez was then carried before a British admiralty court on New Providence Island, where "this Francisco that Cursed Seed of Cain" was ordered sold into slavery. Yet even this misadventure could not undo the irrepressible Menéndez. By 1752, perhaps ransomed out of bondage, he was back at his familiar post in Mose.⁵⁷

While Menéndez sought his fortune at sea, black men and women,

joined by new arrivals—many of them Atlantic creoles from Spain, Cuba, and Africa—entered more fully into the life of St. Augustine. Free blacks continued to work for the Crown as trackers, soldiers, sailors, and privateers. Others worked independently as artisans, laborers, and domestics. They purchased property and, upon occasion, assisted others out of bondage, steadily increasing the proportion of black people who enjoyed freedom.⁵⁸

Within St. Augustine, Florida's charter generation expanded in new directions. The disproportionately male former fugitives intermarried with the Native American population and newly arriving slaves from Mexico, Cuba, and Spain. As their Atlantic connections grew, old hands and new arrivals created a tight community whose lives revolved around the militia and the church. In 1746 black people composed about one quarter of St. Augustine's population of 1,500. Like the charter generations in the Chesapeake and New Netherland, they sanctified their marriages and baptized their children in the established church, choosing godparents from among both the white and black congregants. That the church was Catholic rather than Anglican or Dutch Reformed was less important than that membership knit black people together in bonds of kinship and certified incorporation into the larger community. Militia membership—with its uniforms, flags, and martial rituals—served a similar purpose by amplifying communication between black people and the colonial state. Much like Atlantic creoles elsewhere on the mainland, Florida's charter generation became skilled in pulling the lever of patronage, in this case royal authority. Declaring themselves "vassals of the King and deserving of royal protection," they continually put themselves in the forefront of service to the Spanish Crown with the expectations that the Crown would reciprocate.⁵⁹

Hoped-for rewards were not always forthcoming, as all "vassals of the King" were not equally favored. Beginning in 1749, a new governor of Florida forced black people in St. Augustine to return to Mose, much against their will, as they had enjoyed the cosmopolitan life of the city, where their ability to converse in several European, Indian, and African languages gave them credentials as cultural brokers in a multicultural soci-

ety.⁶⁰ Although protests about the primitive conditions at Mose and pleas for permission to return to St. Augustine went unanswered, Spanish officials did not forget the colony's black defenders—at least as long as the English threat in South Carolina and later Georgia (established in 1732) loomed over Florida and the Spanish-controlled islands to the south. In 1763, when the English wrested control of Florida from Spain, black colonists retreated to Cuba with His Majesty's subjects, where the Crown granted them land, tools, a small subsidy, and a slave for each of the colony's leaders.⁶¹ The evacuation shattered the achievement of creole culture in Spanish Florida, however. Far more than their counterparts in the Chesapeake or the northern colonies, Florida's charter generations had been incorporated as full—if yet unequal—participants in the life of mainland society. With the English occupation, South Carolina planters moved south en masse, bringing with them the social order of the plantation and obliterating the century-old history of the society that Atlantic creoles had created in Spanish Florida.

Atlantic creoles' ability to trade freely, profess Christianity, gain access to the law, secure freedom, and enjoy a modest prosperity shaped popular understanding of black life in the era prior to the plantation. But the possibilities of large-scale commodity production threatened the open, porous slave system that developed in the early years of European and African settlement. It would soon sweep the charter generations away, leaving only fragments of their history upon which future Americans might ponder a world that once was.

A B B R E V I A T I O N S

AH	<i>Agricultural History</i>
AHQ	<i>Alabama Historical Quarterly</i>
AHR	<i>American Historical Review</i>
AJLH	<i>American Journal of Legal History</i>
AR	<i>Alabama Review</i>
Catterall, ed., <i>Judicial Cases</i>	Helen Catterall, ed., <i>Judicial Cases Concerning American Slavery and the Negro</i> , 5 vols. (New York, 1926-1937)
CWH	<i>Civil War History</i>
Donnan, ed., <i>Slave Trade</i>	Elizabeth Donnan, ed., <i>Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade to America</i> , 4 vols. (Washington, DC, 1930-1935)
EEH	<i>Explorations in Economic History</i>
FCHQ	<i>Filson Club Historical Quarterly</i>
FHQ	<i>Florida Historical Quarterly</i>
Freedom	Ira Berlin et al., eds., <i>Freedom: A Documentary History of Emancipation, 1861-1867</i> (Cambridge, UK, 1982-)
GHQ	<i>Georgia Historical Quarterly</i>

Gray, So. Ag.	Lewis Cecil Gray, <i>History of Agriculture in the Southern United States</i> , 2 vols. (Washington, DC, 1935)
HA	<i>History in Africa</i>
HAHR	<i>Hispanic American Historical Review</i>
HArch	<i>Historical Archeology</i>
HJ	<i>Historical Journal</i>
HJM	<i>Historical Journal of Massachusetts</i>
HMPEC	<i>Historical Magazine of the Protestant Episcopal Church</i>
IRSH	<i>International Review of Social History</i>
JAAHGS	<i>Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society</i>
JAH	<i>Journal of African History</i>
JAmH	<i>Journal of American History</i>
JEH	<i>Journal of Economic History</i>
JER	<i>Journal of the Early Republic</i>
JIH	<i>Journal of Interdisciplinary History</i>
JLS	<i>Journal of Legal Studies</i>
JNH	<i>Journal of Negro History</i>
JSH	<i>Journal of Social History</i>
JSL	Josiah Smith Letterbooks, Southern History Collection, University of North Carolina, Chapel Hill
JSoH	<i>Journal of Southern History</i>
JUH	<i>Journal of Urban History</i>
LC	Library of Congress, Washington, DC
LH	<i>Louisiana History</i>
LHist	<i>Labor History</i>
LHQ	<i>Louisiana Historical Quarterly</i>
LHR	<i>Law and History Review</i>
LP	Legislative Petition, Virginia State Library, Richmond
LS	<i>Louisiana Studies</i>
MHM	<i>Maryland Historical Magazine</i>
MHW	<i>Military History of the Southwest</i>

- MVHR *Mississippi Valley Historical Review*
 NA National Archives, Washington, DC
 NGSQ *National Geneological Society Quarterly*
 NJH *New Jersey History*
 NY Documents E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York*, 15 vols. (Albany, 1853-1887)
 NYGBR *New York Genealogical and Biographical Register*
 NYH *New York History*
 NYHQ *New-York Historical Society Quarterly*
 NY Manuscripts E. B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, Albany, N.Y.* (Albany, 1865)
 PAH *Perspectives in American History*
 PAPS *Proceedings of the American Philosophical Society*
 PH *Pennsylvania History*
 PMHB *Pennsylvania Magazine of History and Biography*
 PS *Plantation Societies*
 PSQ *Political Science Quarterly*
 RKHS *Register of the Kentucky Historical Society*
 Runaway Advertisements Lathan A. Windley, comp., *Runaway Slaves Advertisements: A Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790*, 4 vols. (Westport, CN, 1983)
 S&A *Slavery and Abolition*
 SCHM *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*
 SCHS South Carolina Historical Society, Charleston
 SS *Southern Studies*
 SSH *Social Science History*
 T&C *Technology and Culture*
 THQ *Tennessee Historical Quarterly*

- VaHS Virginia Historical Society, Richmond
 VBHS Virginia Baptist Historical Society, Richmond
 VMHB *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*
 WMQ *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3rd series

- Trade: A Database on CD-ROM* (Cambridge, UK, 1999); Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000); Judith A. Carney, *Black Rice: The African Origins of Rice Cultivation in the Americas* (Cambridge, MA, 2001); Kenneth Morgan, *Slavery and Servitude in Colonial North America: A Short History* (New York, 2001); Linda M. Heywood, ed., *Central Africa and Cultural Transformation in the American Diaspora* (Cambridge, UK, 2002); Alan Gallay, *The Indian Slave Trade: The Rise of the English Empire in the American South, 1670-1717* (New Haven, 2002).
13. Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York, 1956); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York, 1974); Elizabeth Fox-Genovese, *Within the Plantation Household: Black and White Women of the Old South* (Chapel Hill, 1988).
 14. Philip D. Curtin, *The Rise and Fall of the Plantation Complex: Essays in Atlantic History* (Cambridge, UK, 1990).
 15. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll*; Elizabeth Fox-Genovese and Eugene D. Genovese, *Fruits of Merchant Capital: Slavery and Bourgeois Property in the Rise and Expansion of Capitalism* (New York, 1983).
 16. Don E. Fehrenbacher, *The Slaveholding Republic: An Account of the United States Government's Relations to Slavery*, ed. Ward M. McAfee (Oxford, 2001).

I. CHARTER GENERATIONS

1. "Creole" derives from the Portuguese *crioulo*, meaning a person of African descent born in the New World. It has been extended to native-born free people of many national origins (including both Europeans and Africans) and of diverse social standing. It has also been applied to people of partly European but mixed racial and national origins in various European colonies and to Africans who entered Europe. In the United States, creole has also been specifically applied to people of mixed but usually non-African origins in Louisiana. Staying within the bounds of the broadest definition of creole and the literal definition of African American, I use both terms to refer to black people of native American birth; John A. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles: Theory and Structure*, 2 vols. (Cambridge, UK, 1988-1989), 1:9. On the complex and often contradictory usage in a single place see Gwendolyn Midlo Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana: The Development of Afro-Creole Culture in the Eighteenth Century* (Baton Rouge, 1992), 157-159, and Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "On that Word 'Creole' Again: A Note," *LH*, 23 (1982), 193-198. This section draws upon "From Cre-

- oles to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America." These notes provide only essential references to this chapter; for the full citations see *WMQ*, 53 (1996), 251-288.
2. Peter Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, *The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners, and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic* (Boston, 2000). From the perspective of the making of African American culture, see John Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1400-1800* (Cambridge, UK, 1998), and the larger Atlantic perspective, see Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, MA, 1993).
 3. A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal, 1441-1555* (Cambridge, UK, 1982), 11-12, 145, 197 n52, 215 n73; G. R. Crone, ed., *The Voyages of Cadamosto and Other Documents on West Africa in the Second Half of the Fifteenth Century* (1937, rpt. New York, 1967), 55, 61; P. E. H. Hair, "The Use of African Languages in Afro-European Contacts in Guinea, 1440-1560," *Sierra Leone Language Review*, 5 (1966), 7-17; George E. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in West Africa, 1000-1630* (Boulder, CO, 1993), ch. 7; Kwame Yeboah Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600-1720: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (Oxford, 1970), ch. 5, esp. 96-97. For the near-seamless, reciprocal relationship between the Portuguese and the Kongoese courts in the sixteenth century see John K. Thornton, "Early Kongo-Portuguese Relations, 1483-1575: A New Interpretation," *HA*, 8 (1981), 183-204.
 4. For an overview see Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, ch. 2, esp. 59-62. See also Daaku, *Gold Coast*, ch. 2; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, chs. 7-8; Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, WI, 1975), ch. 3; Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore, 1982); John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469-1682* (Athens, GA, 1979). *Lançados* from a contraction of *lançados em terra* (to put on shore); Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, 95. As the influence of the Atlantic economy spread to the interior, Atlantic creoles appeared in the hinterland, generally in the centers of trade along the rivers that reached into the African interior.
 5. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, ch. 1, esp. 38; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast*; Harvey M. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa: Elminans and Dutchmen on the Gold Coast during the Eighteenth Century*, American Philosophical Society, *Transactions*, 79, no. 7 (Philadelphia, 1989).

- For mortality see Curtin, "Epidemiology and the Slave Trade," *PSQ*, 83 (1968), 190-216.
6. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, ch. 1, esp. 38-50, 133-134; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast*; Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa*.
 7. Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, chs. 7-9, and Brooks, "Luso-African Commerce and Settlement in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Region," *Boston University African Studies Center Working Papers* (1980); Daaku, *Gold Coast*, chs. 5-6; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 95-100, 113-121. For the development of a similar population in Angola see Joseph C. Miller, *Way of Death: Merchant Capitalism and the Angolan Slave Trade, 1730-1830* (Madison, WI, 1988), esp. chs. 8-9; Miller, "Central Africa during the Era of the Slave Trade, c. 1490-1850," in Heywood, ed., *Central Africans in the American Diaspora*, 24-29.
 8. Daaku, *Gold Coast*, chs. 4-5; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, chs. 7-9, esp. 188-196; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 95-100. See also Miller's compelling description of Angola's Luso-Africans in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries that suggests something of their earlier history, in *Way of Death*, 246-250. Brooks notes the term *tangosmãos* passed from use at the end of the seventeenth century, in "Luso-African Commerce and Settlement in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau," 3.
 9. Speaking of the Afro-French in Senegambia in the eighteenth century, Curtin emphasizes the cultural transformation in making this new people, noting that "the important characteristic of this community was cultural mixture, not racial mixture, and the most effective of the traders from France were those who could cross the cultural line between Europe and Africa in their commercial relations," in *Economic Change*, 117. Peter Mark in his study of seventeenth-century Luso-African architecture describes the Luso-Africans "physically indistinguishable from other local African populations." "Constructing Identity: Sixteenth- and Seventeenth-Century Architecture in the Gambia-Geba Region and the Articulation of Luso-African Ethnicity," *HA*, 22 (1995), 317.
 10. Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles*; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 213-218; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 98-102 (see the special word—*ladinhos*—for blacks who could speak "good" Portuguese, p. 101); Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 136-137; C. Jourdan, "Pidgins and Creoles: The Blurring of Categories," *Annual Review of Anthropology*, 20 (1991), 186-210. The architecture of the Atlantic creole villages was also called "à la portugaise." Mark, "Constructing Identity," 307-327. More generally, see Peter Burke and Roy Porter, eds., *The Social History of Language* (Cambridge, UK, 1987);

- Mervyn C. Alleyne, *Comparative Afro-American: An Historical-Comparative Study of English-Based Afro-American Dialects of the New World* (Ann Arbor, MI, 1980).
11. Robin Law and Kristin Mann, "West Africa in the Atlantic Community: The Case of the Slave Coast," *WMQ*, 56 (1999), 307-334. Daaku, *Gold Coast*, chs. 3-4; Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, ch. 6; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, esp. pt. 2; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 92-93.
 12. John K. Thornton, *The Kongolese Saint Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge, UK, 1998); Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast*, 54-58; Daaku, *Gold Coast*, 99-101; Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750," *JAH*, 25 (1984), 147-167; Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (London, 1985), 32-49, 154-161, 179, 198; Wyatt MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago, 1986), 191-216; and MacGaffey, "Dialogues of the Deaf," 249-267. Pacing the cultural intermixture of Africa and Europe was the simultaneous introduction of European and American plants and animals, which compounded and legitimated many of the cultural changes; Alfred W. Crosby, *Ecological Imperialism: The Biological Expansion of Europe, 900-1900* (Cambridge, UK, 1986).
 13. Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans*, 65, 82-83; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 197-202, 289-290.
 14. Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization: Eleven Essays with an Introduction* (Ithaca, 1970), 39-40; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, ch. 1; Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *HAHR*, 47 (1967), 344-359, and Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1972), 29, 170-192; P. E. H. Hair, "Black African Slaves at Valencia, 1482-1516," *HA*, 7 (1980), 119-131; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 96-97; James H. Sweet, "The Iberian Roots of American Racist Thought," *WMQ*, 54 (1997), 162-164; A. J. R. Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440-1770," *AHR*, 83 (1978), 20. For European Atlantic creoles, see Sue Peabody, *There Are No Slaves in France: The Political Culture of Race and Slavery in the Ancien Regime* (New York, 1996); Peter Fryer, *Staying Power: A History of Black People in Britain* (London, 1984), 9-11; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana, IL, 1999), 7-12.
 15. Peter C. W. Gutkind, "Trade and Labor in Early Precolonial African History: The Canoemen of Southern Ghana," in Catherine Coquery-Vidrovitch and

- Paul E. Lovejoy, eds., *The Workers of African Trade* (Beverly Hills, 1985), 27-28, 36; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Politics*, 243; Curtin, *Economic Change*, 302-308.
16. The northern colonies of North America often received "refuse" slaves. For complaints and appreciations, see Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks: The Evolution of a Slave Society at New Amsterdam," *NYH*, 59 (1978), 139; Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620-1776* (New York, 1942), 35; William D. Pierson, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, MA, 1988), 4-5; Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, 1973), 18-25; James G. Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700 to 1774," *WMQ*, 35 (1978), 275-279, 381-390; Darold D. Wax, "Negro Imports into Pennsylvania, 1720-1766," *PH*, 32 (1965), 254-287, and Wax, "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America," *JNH*, 58 (1973), 374-376, 379-387.
17. J. Fred Rippy, "The Negro and the Spanish Pioneer in the New World," *JNH*, 6 (1921), 183-189; Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America*, 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1920-1922); Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 29; for sailors see II, 71-72, 145, and Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 128. A sale of six slaves in Mexico in 1554 included one born in the Azores, another born in Portugal, another born in Africa, and the latter's daughter born in Mexico; Colin A. Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650* (Cambridge, MA, 1976), 31-32; "Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the Early History of Louisiana," *LHQ*, 1 (1917), III.
18. Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 152-155; Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," *HAHR*, 54 (1974), 567-602, and Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1982), ch. 8, esp. 134, 153-154, 159-160. See also Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders*, 177-179. In the sixteenth century, some 7 percent (2,580) of Portugal's black population was free; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal*, 59.
19. Hodges, *Root and Branch*, 6-7; Simon Hart, *The Prehistory of the New Netherland Company, Amsterdam Notarial Records of the First Dutch Voyages to the Hudson* (Amsterdam, 1959), 23-26, 74-75, quotations on 80-82; Thomas J. Condon, *New York Beginnings: The Commercial Origins of New Netherland* (New York, 1968), ch. I, esp. 30; Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, 1986), 34, 42; Van Cleef Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623-1639* (Baltimore, 1969), 6-7.

20. C. R. Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624-1654* (Oxford, 1957); Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415-1825; A Succinct Survey* (Berkeley, CA, 1961), 48-51; P. C. Emmer, "The Dutch and the Making of the Second Atlantic System," in Barbara L. Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge, MA, 1991), 75-96, esp. 83-84; Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge, UK, 1990), chs. 2-3, 8; Thornton, *Africa and Africans*, 64-65, 69-77; Cornelius C. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580-1680* (Gainesville, FL, 1971).
21. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North*, 18-25, and McManus, *A History of Negro Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, 1966), 35-39; Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade," 381-394; Wax, "Negro Imports into Pennsylvania," 254-287; Wax, "Africans on the Delaware: The Pennsylvania Slave Trade, 1759-1765," *PH*, 50 (1983), 38-49; Wax, "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America," 374-376, 379-387; Sharon V. Salinger, *To Serve Well and Faithfully: Labor and Indentured Servants in Pennsylvania, 1682-1800* (Cambridge, UK, 1987), 75-78; quotes in Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 139; in Cecil Headlam, ed., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, 40 vols. (Vaduz, 1964), I:110; also in Greene, *Negro in New England*, 35; in A. J. F. Van Laer, ed., *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651-1674* (Albany, 1932), 167-168 and 175. See a 1714 New York law favoring the importation of African over West Indian slaves because of the large number of "refuse" and criminal slaves, *Journal of the Legislative Council of the Colony of New-York, 1619-1743*, 2 vols. (Albany, 1861), I:433-434.
22. An abstract of the black population between 1630 and 1644 by name can be found in Robert J. Swan, "The Black Population of New Netherland: As Extracted from the Records of Baptisms and Marriages of the Dutch Reformed Church (New York City), 1630-1644," *JAAHGS*, 14 (1995), 82-98. A few names suggest the subtle transformation of identity as the creoles crossed the Atlantic. For example, Anthony Jansen of Salee or Van Vaes, a dark-skinned man who claimed Moroccan birth, became "Anthony the Turk," perhaps because the Turks were not only considered fierce—as Anthony's litigious history indicates he surely was—but, also importantly, alien and brown in pigment. Leo Herskowitz, "The Troublesome Turk: An Illustration of Judicial Process in New Amsterdam," *NYH*, 46 (1965), 299-310.
23. Nothing evidenced the creoles' easy integration into the mainland society better than the number who survived into old age. There are no systematic demographic studies of people of African descent during the first years of settlement, and perhaps, because the numbers are so small, there can be none. Nev-

- ertheless, "old" or "aged" slaves are encountered again and again, sometimes in descriptions of fugitives, sometimes in the deeds that manumit—that is, discard—superannuated slaves. Before the end of the seventeenth century, numbers of black people lived long enough to see their grandchildren. Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674 Anno Domini*, 7 vols. (Baltimore, 1976), 5:337, cited in Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664-1730* (Princeton, 1992), 252 n25.
24. Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, WI, 1977); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, UK, 1983); Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge, UK, 1990); Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, ch. 3; Claude Meillassoux, *The Anthropology of Slavery: The Womb of Iron and Gold* (Chicago, 1991); Martin A. Klein, "Introduction: Modern European Expansion and Traditional Servitude in Africa and Asia," in Klein, ed., *Breaking the Chains: Slavery, Bondage, and Emancipation in Modern Africa and Asia* (Madison, WI, 1993), 3-26; Toyin Falola and Lovejoy, "Pawnship in Historical Perspective," in Falola and Lovejoy, eds., *Pawnship in Africa: Debt Bondage in Historical Perspective* (Boulder, CO, 1994), 1-26. A dated but still useful critical review of the subject is Frederick Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *JAH*, 20 (1979), 103-125.
 25. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 10, ch. 6; E. van den Boogaart, "The Servant Migration to New Netherland, 1624-1664," in P. C. Emmer, ed., *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour Before and After Slavery* (Dordrecht, 1986), 58; *NY Documents*, 1:154.
 26. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, ch. 6; Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125-144; Goodfriend, "Black Families in New Netherland," *JAAHGS*, 5 (1984), 94-107; Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," *JNH*, 65 (1980), 34-42; McManus, *Slavery in New York*, 2-22; Michael Kammen, *Colonial New York: A History* (New York, 1975), 58-60; van den Boogaart, "Servant Migration to New Netherland," 56-59, 65-71; Vivienne L. Kruger, "Born to Run: The Slave Family in Early New York, 1626 to 1827" (Ph.D. diss., Columbia University, 1985), ch. 2, esp. 46-48, ch. 6, esp. 270-277; Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 161 n33. Between 1639 and 1652, marriages recorded in the New Amsterdam Church represented 28 percent of the marriages recorded in that period—also note one interracial marriage. For baptisms see "Reformed Dutch

- Church, New York, Baptisms, 1639-1800," New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, *Collections*, 2 vols. (New York, 1901), 1:10-27, 2:10-38; for the 1635 petition see I. N. Phelps Stokes, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498-1909*, 6 vols. (New York, 1967), 4:82; and No. 14, Notulen W1635, 1626 (19-11-1635), inv. 1.05.01. 01 (Oude), Algemeen Rijksarchief, The Hague. A petition by "five blacks from New Netherland who had come here [Amsterdam]" was referred back to officials in New Netherland. Marcel van der Linden of the International Institute of Social History in Amsterdam kindly located and translated this notation in the records of the Dutch West India Company.
27. Petition for freedom, in *NY Manuscripts*, 269. White residents of New Amsterdam protested the enslavement of the children of half-free slaves, holding that no one born of a free person should be a slave. The Dutch West India Company rejected the claim; *NY Documents*, 1:302, 343; O'Callaghan, ed., O'Callaghan, comp., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638-1674*, 4 vols. (Albany, 1868), 4:36-37. For the Dutch West India Company "setting them free and at liberty, on the same footing as other free people here in New Netherland," although children remained property of the company, see van den Boogaart, "Servant Migration to New Netherlands," 69-70.
 28. For black men paying tribute to purchase their families, see *NY Manuscripts*, 45, 87, 105; *NY Documents*, 1:343; Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125-144, and "Black Families in New Netherlands," 94-107; McManus, *Slavery in New York*, 2-22; Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," 38-39; quotation in Gerald Francis DeJong, "The Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," *Church History*, 40 (1971), 430; Kruger, "Born to Run," ch. 1, esp. 90-92; Henry B. Hoff, "Frans Abramse Van Salee and His Descendants: A Colonial Black Family in New York and New Jersey," *NYGBR* 121 (1990), 65-71, 157-161.
 29. Goodfriend estimates that 75 of New Amsterdam's 375 blacks were free in 1664, in *Before the Melting Pot*, 61.
 30. Kruger, "Born to Run," 52-55, 591-600, tells the story of the creation of a small class of black landowners via gifts from the Dutch West India Company and direct purchase by the blacks themselves. Quote on p. 592. Also Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 115-117; Peter R. Chrisoph, "The Freedmen of New Amsterdam," *JAAHGS*, 5 (1984), 116-117; Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 2:302; 4:70-78; 100, 104-106, 120-148, 265-266; Gehring, ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts*; van den Boogaart, "The Servant Migration to New Netherland, 1624-1664," 69-71. For the employment of a white

- housekeeper by a free black artisan, see *ibid.*, 69; Fernow, ed., *Minutes of the Orphanmasters Court*, 2:46; Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds., *The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History, 1626-1940* (New York, 1967), 12.
31. *NY Manuscripts*, 87, 105, 269 (for manumission, dubbed "half slaves"), 222 (adoption), 269 (land grants). See also Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, ch. 6; and Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam*, 3:42, 5, 172, 337-340, 7, 11 (for actions in court); Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125-144, and "Black Families in New Netherlands," 94-107; van den Boogaart, "Servant Migration to New Netherlands," 56-59, 65-71; McManus, *Slavery in New York*, 2-22; DeJong, "Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery," 430; Kruger, "Born to Run," 46-48, 270-278; Hoff, "Frans Abramse Van Salee and His Descendants"; Kammen, *Colonial New York*, 58-60. For blacks using Dutch courts early on see Rink, *Holland on the Hudson*, 160-161—for example, in 1638, Anthony Portuguese sued Anthony Jansen for damages done by his hog; soon after, one Pedro Negretto claimed back wages. For adoption of a black child by a free black family see Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *The Register of Salomon Lachaire, Notary Public of New Amsterdam, 1661-1662* (Baltimore, 1978), 22-23; *NY Manuscripts*, 222, 256; Kruger, "Born to Run," 44-51.
32. Anthony Johnson's primacy and "unmatched achievement" have made him and his family the most studied members of the charter generation in the Chesapeake. The best account of the Johnsons is in J. Douglas Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore of Virginia during the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1993), 217-250. Also useful are T. H. Breen and Stephen Innes, "Myne Owne Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York, 1980), ch. 1; Ross M. Kimmel, "Free Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *MHM*, 71 (1976), 22-25; Alden T. Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," *WMQ*, 29 (1972), 475-476; James H. Brewer, "Negro Property Owners in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *WMQ*, 12 (1955), 576-578; Susie M. Ames, *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1940), 102-105; John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619-1865* (Baltimore, 1913), and Russell, "Colored Freemen as Slave Owners in Virginia," *JNH*, 1 (1916), 234-237. Evidence of the baptism of the Johnsons' children comes indirectly from the 1660s, when John Johnson replied to a challenge of his right to testify by producing evidence of baptism. He may, however, have been baptized as an adult. Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 17.
33. Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 218-222. Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 8-11, makes a convincing case for Johnson's connections with

- the Bennetts, although the evidence is circumstantial. Also see, *ibid.*, 12-15. On Mary Johnson, see Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill, 1996), 107-109, 112-113.
34. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, 108-179, 215-249, 108-179, 215-249; Wesley Frank Craven, *White, Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, VA, 1971), 75-99.
35. Deal, *Race and Class*, 187-188; Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 68-69; Edmund S. Morgan, "Slavery and Freedom: The American Paradox," *JAmH*, 59 (1972), 18 n39; Allan Kulikoff, "A 'Prolifick' People: Black Population Growth in the Chesapeake Colonies, 1700-1790," *SS*, 16 (1977), 392-393.
36. Paul Heinegg, *Free African Americans of Maryland and Delaware: From the Colonial Period to 1810* (Baltimore, 2000).
37. Breen and Innes, "Myne Owne Ground," 75-87; Deal, *Race and Class*, 163-405.
38. A. J. R. Johnson, with Hilary Russell, Barbara Schmeisser, David Starter, and Ruth Whitehead, "Mathieu Da Costa and Early Canada: Possibilities and Problems," unpublished essay courtesy of Hilary Russell.
39. Glenn R. Conrad, comp. and trans., *The First Families of Louisiana*, 2 vols. (Baton Rouge, 1970), 1:117; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley Before 1783* (Chapel Hill, 1992), 47; Usner, "From African Captivity to American Slavery: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana," *LH*, 20 (1979), 36-38; Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Free Blacks in a Slave Society: New Orleans, 1718-1812," *WMQ*, 48 (1991), 175-176; Henry P. Dart, ed., "Records of the Superior Council of Louisiana," *LHQ*, 4 (1921), 236; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 128-132.
40. The Bambaras had complex relations with the French. Although many Bambaras—usually captives of the tribe whom the French also deemed Bambaras (although they often were not)—became entrapped in the international slave trade and were sold to the New World, others worked for the French as domestics, boatmen, clerks, and interpreters in the coastal forts and slave factories. Their proud military tradition—honed in a long history of warfare against Mandingas and other Islamic peoples—made them ideal soldiers as well as slave catchers. Along the coast of Africa, "Bambara" became a generic word for soldier; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 42, and Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, 115, 143, 149, 178-181, 191-192; see the review of Hall in *Africa*, 64 (1994), 168-171.
41. The first census of the French settlement of the lower Mississippi Valley comes

- from Biloxi in 1699. It lists 5 naval officers, 5 petty officers, 4 sailors, 19 Canadians, 10 laborers, 6 cabin boys, and 20 soldiers; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 3, and esp. ch. 5. Usner makes the point in comparing the use of black sailors on the Mississippi and the Senegal, in "From African Captivity to American Slavery," 25-47, esp. 36, and more generally in *Indians, Settlers, and Slaves*. See also James T. McGowan, "Planters without Slaves: Origins of a New World Labor System," *SS*, 16 (1977), 5-20; John G. Clark, *New Orleans, 1718-1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge, 1970), ch. 2; Thomas N. Ingersoll, *Mammon and Manon in Early New Orleans: The First Slave Society in the Deep South, 1718-1819* (Knoxville, 1999), chs. 2-3.
42. *Ibid.*, 106-112; du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 3:305-317; Usner, "From African Captivity to American Slavery," 37, 42.
 43. Under the *Code Noir*, manumitted slaves had "the same rights, privileges, and immunities which [were] enjoyed by free-born persons," but they could lose their freedom for harboring a fugitive slave and a variety of other crimes. Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Slave Codes and Judicial Practice in New Orleans, 1718-1807," *LHR*, 13 (1995), 28-36, 38-39; Carl A. Brasseaux, "The Administration of the Slave Regulations in French Louisiana, 1724-1766," *LH*, 21 (1980), 141-142, 151-153; Donald E. Everett, "Free Persons of Color in Colonial Louisiana," *LH*, 7 (1966), 23-27. An abstract of the *Code Noir* is published in Charles Gayarré, *History of Louisiana*, 4 vols. (New York, 1854), 1: 531-540.
 44. J. G. Dunlop, "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," *SCHM*, 34 (1933), 24; Jane Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687-1790," *FHQ*, 62 (1984), 296-302; John J. TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave: Intercolonial Rivalry and Spanish Slave Policy, 1687-1764," in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida and Its Borderlands* (Gainesville, FL, 1975), 2-12. Quote in Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," *AHR*, 95 (1990), 13-14.
 45. Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary," 296-302; Landers, "Mose," 14; Landers, "Traditions of African American Freedom and Community in Spanish Colonial Florida," in David R. Colburn and Jane G. Landers, eds., *The African American Heritage of Florida* (Gainesville, FL, 1995), 22-23; TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave," 2-12; Theodore G. Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: St. Augustine," *HAHR*, 54 (1974), 428-430.
 46. Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary," 296-302, and "Mose," 13-15; TePaske, "The Fugitive Slave," 2-12; I. A. Wright, comp., "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on the Free Negro Settlement of Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose,

- Florida," *JNH*, 9 (1924), 144-193, quote on 150; Zora Neale Hurston, "Letters of Zora Neale Hurston on the Mose Settlement and the Negro Colony in Florida," *JNH*, 12 (1927), 664-667; John D. Duncan, "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina, 1670-1776" (Ph.D. diss., Emory University, 1971), ch. 17, quote on 664; Dunlop, "William Dunlop's Mission," 1-30. Several of the slaves who rejected freedom and Catholicism in St. Augustine and returned to South Carolina were rewarded with freedom, creating a competition between English and Spanish colonies that redounded to the slaves' advantage. See Duncan, "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina," 381-383. For the African conversion of South Carolina slaves, see John K. Thornton, "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas," *Americas*, 44 (1988), 268.
47. Landers, "Mose," 13-15; Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 304-305.
 48. Wood, *Black Majority*, 239-298, 304-307, 310.
 49. For the pre-transfer conversion of slaves from central Africa to Christianity, see John K. Thornton, "The Development of an African Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491-1750," *JAH*, 25 (1984), 147-167, and Thornton, "Religion and Ceremonial Life in the Kongo and Mbundu Areas, 1500-1700," in Heywood, *Central Africans and the American Diaspora*, 71-90; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, ch. 2, 154-161, 179-198; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 191-216; Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *AHR*, 96 (1991), 1101-1111, quote on 1102. Thornton makes a powerful case for the Kongoloses origins of the Stono rebels, in their military organization and in the nature of their resistance. In 1710 an Anglican missionary in Goose Creek Parish, South Carolina, observed that the black slaves had been "born and baptized among the Portuguese." Frank J. Klingberg, ed., *Carolina Chronicle: The Papers of Commissary Gideon Johnston, 1707-1716* (Berkeley, CA, 1946), 69.
 50. Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials," 173-174; Landers, "Mose," 17; "The Mose Site," *Escribino*, 10 (1973), 52. In 1749 slave conspirators plotting rebellion in St. Thomas Parish, South Carolina, planned to escape to Florida after setting fire to Charles Town. Philip D. Morgan and George D. Terry, "Slavery in Microcosm: A Conspiracy Scare in Colonial South Carolina," *SS*, 21 (1982), 122.
 51. Wood, *Black Majority*, chs. 11-12; Edward A. Pearson, "'A Countryside Full of Flames': A Reconsideration of the Stono Rebellion and Slave Rebelliousness in the Early Eighteenth-Century South Carolina Lowcountry," *SeA*, 17 (1996),

- 22-50; Mark M. Smith, "Remembering Mary, Shaping Revolt: Reconsidering the Stono Rebellion," *JSOH*, 67 (2001), 513-535; Larry W. Kruger and Robert Hall, "Fort Mose: A Black Fort in Spanish Florida," *Griot*, 6 (1987), 42.
52. Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 1107; Landers, "Mose," 27.
 53. Landers, "Mose," 15-17.
 54. Landers, "Mose," 17-18; "Mose Site," 53; quote in Wright, "Dispatches of Spanish Officials Bearing on Mose," 146-149. Menéndez commanded Mose until 1740, when another English assault, in response to the Stono rebellion, forced a Spanish retreat and the evacuation of Mose's black population to St. Augustine.
 55. Landers, "Mose," 15-21, quote on 20.
 56. *Ibid.*
 57. Landers, "Mose," 21-22, quote on 22.
 58. Landers, "Mose," 23-24.
 59. John R. Dunle, "Population Changes as an Element in the Historical Geography of St. Augustine," *FHQ*, 37 (1958), 5; Landers, "Traditions of African American Freedom," 22-23; Landers, "Mose," 24-28, quote on 21; Kruger and Hall, "Fort Mose," 41-42.
 60. Theodore J. Corbett, "Population Structure in Hispanic St. Augustine, 1619-1763," *FHQ*, 54 (1976), 268; Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier," 430; "Mose Site," 52-55.
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2. PLANTATION GENERATIONS

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2. On the rise of the planter class in the Chesapeake, see Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom*, ch. 15; Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680-1800* (Chapel Hill, 1986), pt. 2, esp. ch. 7. John J. McCusker and Russell R. Menard, *The Economy of British America, 1607-1789* (Chapel Hill, 1985), ch. 6, provide an informed overview of the Chesapeake economy.
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