From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America

Ira Berlin

I N 1727, Robert "King" Carter, the richest planter in Virginia, purchased a handful of African slaves from a trader who had been cruising the Chesapeake. The transaction was a familiar one to the great planter, for Carter owned hundreds of slaves and had inspected many such human cargoes, choosing the most promising from among the weary, frightened men and women who had survived the transatlantic crossing. Writing to his overseer from his plantation on the Rappahannock River, Carter explained the process by which he initiated Africans into their American captivity. "I name'd them here & by their names we can always know what sizes they are of & I am sure we repeated them so often to them that every one knew their name & would readily answer to them." Carter then forwarded his slaves to a satellite plantation or quarter, where his overseer repeated the process, taking "care that the negros both men & women I sent . . . always go by the names we gave them." In the months that followed, the drill continued, with Carter again joining in the process of stripping newly arrived Africans of the signature of their identity.[1]

Renaming marked Carter's initial endeavor to master his new slaves by separating them from their African inheritance. For the most part, he designated them by common English diminutives—Tom, Jamey, Moll, Nan—as if to consign them to a permanent childhood. But he tagged some with names more akin to barnyard animals—Jumper, for example—as if to represent their distance from humanity, and he gave a few the names of some ancient deity or great personage like Hercules or Cato as a kind of cosmic jest: the most insignificant with the greatest of names. None of his slaves

[1] Carter to Robert Jones, Oct. 10, 1727 [misdated 1717], Oct. 24, 1729, quoted in Lorena S. Walsh, "A 'Place in Time' Regained: A Fuller History of Colonial Chesapeake Slavery through Group Biography," in Larry E. Hudson, Jr., ed., *Working toward Freedom: Slave Society and the Domestic Economy in the American South* (Rochester, N. Y., 1994), 14.

received surnames, marks of lineage that Carter sought to obliterate and of adulthood that he would not admit.[2]

The loss of their names was only the first of the numerous indignities Africans suffered at the hands of planters in the Chesapeake. Since many of the skills Africans carried across the Atlantic had no value to their new owners, planters disparaged them, and since the Africans' "harsh jargons" rattled discordantly in the planters' ears, they ridiculed them. Condemning new arrivals for the "gross bestiality and rudeness of their manners, the variety and strangeness of their languages, and the weakness and shallowness of their minds," planters put them to work at the most repetitive and backbreaking tasks, often on the most primitive, frontier plantations. They made but scant attempt to see that slaves had adequate food, clothing, or shelter, because the open slave trade made slaves cheap and the new disease environment inflated their mortality rate, no matter how well they were tended. Residing in sex-segregated barracks, African slaves lived a lonely existence, without families or ties of kin, isolated from the mainstream of Chesapeake life.[3]

So began the slow, painful process whereby Africans became African-Americans. In time, people of African descent recovered their balance, mastered the circumstances of their captivity, and confronted their owners on more favorable terms. Indeed, resistance to the new regime began at its inception, as slaves clandestinely maintained their African names even as they answered their owner's call.[4] The transition of Africans to African-

[2] For the names of Carter's slaves see the Carter Papers, Alderman Library, University of Virginia, Charlottesville. The naming of Chesapeake slaves is discussed in Allan Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves: The Development of Southern Cultures in the Chesapeake, 1680–1800* (Chapel Hill, 1986), 325–26, and John Thornton, "Central African Names and African-American Naming Patterns," *William and Mary Quarterly,* 3d Ser., 50 (1993), 727–42. For surnames see Walsh, "A 'Place in Time' Regained," 26–27 n. 18. The pioneering work on this subject is Peter H. Wood, *Black Majority: Negroes in Colonial South Carolina from 1670 through the Stono Rebellion* (New York, 1974), 181–86. Henry Laurens, the great South Carolina slave trader and planter, followed a similar routine in naming his slaves; Philip Morgan, "Three Planters and Their Slaves: Perspectives on Slavery in Virginia, South Carolina, and Jamaica, 1750–1790," in Winthrop D. Jordan and Sheila L. Skemp, eds., *Race and Family in the Colonial South* (Jackson, Miss., 1987), 65.

[3] Gerald W. Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion: Slave Resistance in Eighteenth-Century Virginia* (New York, 1972), chaps. 1–3; Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves,* esp. 319–34; Russell R. Menard, "The Maryland Slave Population, 1658 to 1730: A Demographic Profile of Blacks in Four Counties," *WMQ,* 3d Ser., 32 (1975), 29–54; Lois Green Carr and Walsh, "Economic Diversification and Labor Organization in the Chesapeake, 1650–1820," in Stephen Innes, ed., *Work and Labor in Early America* (Chapel Hill, 1988), 144–88. Quotation in Hugh Jones, *The Present State of Virginia, from Whence Is Inferred a Short View of Maryland and North Carolina,* ed. Richard L. Morton (Chapel Hill, 1956), 36–38, and Philip Alexander Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century . . . ,* 2 vols. (New York, 1910), 1:9. See a slightly different version in "The Journal of the General Assembly of Virginia," June 2, 1699, in W. N. Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies,* 40 vols. (London, 1860–1969), 17:261.

[4] In the summer of 1767, when two slaves escaped from a Georgia plantation, their owner noted that one "calls himself GOLAGA," although "the name given him [was] ABEL," and the other "calls himself ABBROM, the name given him here BENNET." For evidence that the practice had not ended by 1774 see Lathan A. Windley, comp., *Runaway Slave Advertisements: A*

Americans or creoles[5]—which is partially glimpsed in the records of Carter's estate—would be repeated thousands of times, as African slavers did the rough business of transporting Africa to America. While the transition was different on the banks of the Hudson, Cooper, St. Johns, and Mississippi rivers than on the Rappahannock, the scenario by which "outlandish" Africans progressed from "New Negroes" to assimilated African-Americans has come to frame the history of black people in colonial North America.[6]

Important as that story is to the development of black people in the plantation era, it embraces only a portion of the history of black life in colonial North America, and that imperfectly. The assimilationist scenario assumes that "African" and "creole" were way stations of generational change rather than cultural strategies that were manufactured and remanufactured and that the vectors of change moved in only one direction—often along a single track with Africans inexorably becoming creoles. Its emphasis on the emergence of the creole—a self-sustaining, indigenous population—omits entirely an essential element of the story: the charter generations, whose experience, knowledge, and attitude were more akin to that of confident,

Documentary History from the 1730s to 1790, 4 vols. (Westport, Conn., 1983), 4:22 (*[Savannah] Georgia Gazette*, June 3, 1767), 62 (ibid., Apr. 19, 1775).

[5] "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, 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), 157–59, and Joseph G. Tregle, Jr., "On that Word 'Creole' Again: A Note," *Louisiana History*, 23 (1982), 193–98.

[6] See, for example, Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion,* and Mullin, *Africa in America: Slave Acculturation and Resistance in the American South and the British Caribbean, 1736–1831* (Urbana, Ill., 1992), 268, which examines the typology of "African" and "creole" from the perspective of resistance. See also the 3 stages of black community development proposed by Kulikoff, "The Origins of Afro-American Society in Tidewater Maryland and Virginia, 1700–1790," *WMQ,* 3d Ser., 35 (1978), 226–59, esp. 229, and expanded in his *Tobacco and Slaves*, chaps. 8–10. Although the work of Sidney Mintz and Richard Price, which has provided the theoretical backbone for the study of African acculturation in the New World, begins by breaking with models of cultural change associated with "assimilation" and, indeed, all notions of social and cultural change that have a specific end point, it too frames the process as a progression from African to creole; *Anthropological Approach to the Afro-American Past: A Caribbean Perspective,* Institute for the Study of Human Issues Occasional Papers in Social Change (Philadelphia, 1976). Others have followed, including those sensitive to the process of re-Africanization. See, for example, Wood, *Black Majority;* Kulikoff, *Tobacco and Slaves;* Ira Berlin and Ronald Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of Revolution* (Charlottesville, 1983); and Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review,* 85 (1980), 44–78. Thornton's work represents an important theoretical departure. He distinguishes between the African and the Atlantic experiences, maintaining the "Atlantic environment was . . . different from the African one." He extends the Atlantic environment to the African littoral as well as the Americas, in *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World, 1440–1680* (Cambridge, 1992), quotation on 211.

sophisticated natives than of vulnerable newcomers.[7] Such men and women, who may be termed "Atlantic creoles"[8] from their broad experience in the Atlantic world, flourished prior to the triumph of plantation production on the mainland—the tobacco revolution in the Chesapeake in the last third of the seventeenth century, the rice revolution in the Carolina lowcountry in the first decades of the eighteenth century, the incorporation of the northern colonies into the Atlantic system during the eighteenth century, and finally the sugar revolution in the lower Mississippi Valley in the first decade of the nineteenth century. Never having to face the cultural imposition of the likes of Robert "King" Carter, black America's charter generations took a different path—despite the presence of slavery and the vilification of slave masters and their apologists. The Atlantic creole's unique experience reveals some of the processes by which race was constructed and reconstructed in early America.

Black life in mainland North America originated not in Africa or America but in the netherworld between the continents. Along the periphery of the Atlantic—first in Africa, then in Europe, and finally in the Americas—African-American society was a product of the momentous meeting of Africans and Europeans and of their equally fateful encounter with the peoples of the Americas. Although the countenances of these new people of the Atlantic—Atlantic creoles—might bear the features of Africa, Europe, or the Americas in whole or in part, their beginnings, strictly speaking, were in none of those places. Instead, by their experiences and sometimes by their persons, they had become part of the three worlds that came together along 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 originated in the historic meeting of Europeans and Africans on the west coast of Africa. Many served as intermediaries, employ-

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[7] The use of charter groups draws on T. H. Breen, "Creative Adoptions: Peoples and Cultures," in Jack P. Greene and J. R. Pole, eds., *Colonial British America: Essays in the New History of the Early Modern Era* (Baltimore, 1984), 203–08. Breen, in turn, borrowed the idea from anthropologist John Porter.

[8] "Atlantic creole," employed herein, designates those who by experience or choice, as well as by birth, became part of a new culture that emerged along the Atlantic littoral—in Africa, Europe, or the Americas—beginning in the 16th century. It departs from the notion of "creole" that makes birth definitive (see n. 5 above). Circumstances and volition blurred differences between "African" and "creole" as defined only by nativity, if only because Africans and creoles were connected by ties of kinship and friendship. They worked together, played together, intermarried, and on occasion stood together against assaults on their freedom. Even more important, men and women could define themselves in ways that transcended nativity. "African" and "creole" were as much a matter of choice as of birth. The term "Atlantic creole" is designed to capture the cultural transformation that sometimes preceded generational change and sometimes was unaffected by it. Insightful commentary on the process of creolization is provided by Mintz, "The Socio-Historical Background to Pidginization and Creolization," in Dell Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages: Proceedings of a Conference Held at the University of the West Indies, Mona, Jamaica, April 1968* (Cambridge, 1971), 481–96.

ing their linguistic skills and their familiarity with the Atlantic's diverse
commercial practices, cultural conventions, and diplomatic etiquette to
mediate between 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, European, or American—and served as its representa-
tives in negotiations with others. Other Atlantic creoles had been won over
by the power and largesse 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 diverse her-
itage, employing whichever identity paid best. Whatever strategy they
adopted, Atlantic creoles began the process of integrating the icons and ide-
ologies of the Atlantic world into a new way of life.[9]

The emergence of Atlantic creoles was but a tiny outcropping in the mas-
sive social upheaval that accompanied the joining of the peoples of the two
hemispheres. But it represented the small beginnings that initiated this mon-
umental transformation, as the new people of the Atlantic made their pres-
ence felt. Some traveled widely as blue-water sailors, supercargoes, shipboard
servants, and interpreters—the last particularly important because Europeans
showed little interest in mastering the languages of Africa. Others were car-
ried—sometimes as hostages—to foreign places as exotic trophies to be dis-
played before curious publics, eager for firsthand knowledge of the lands
beyond the sea. Traveling in more dignified style, Atlantic creoles were also
sent to distant lands with commissions to master the ways of newly discov-
ered "others" and to learn the secrets of their wealth and knowledge. A few
entered as honored guests, took their places in royal courts as esteemed
councilors, and married into the best families.[10]

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[9] For ground-breaking works that argue for the unity of working peoples in the Atlantic
world see Peter Linebaugh, "All the Atlantic Mountains Shook," *Labour/Le Travailleur,* 10
(1982), 82–121, and Linebaugh and Marcus Rediker, "The Many-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves,
and the Atlantic Working Class in the Eighteenth Century," *Journal of Historical Sociology,* 3
(1990), 225–52. Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World,* adopts a simi-
lar perspective in viewing the making of African-American culture. A larger Atlantic perspective
for the formation of black culture is posed in Paul Gilroy, *The Black Atlantic: Modernity and
Double Consciousness* (Cambridge, Mass., 1993).

[10] A. C. de C. M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,
1441–1555* (Cambridge, 1982), 11–12, 145, 197 n. 52, 215 n. 73 (for black sailors and interpreters in
the African trade); 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 (for black interpreters and
Europeans' striking lack of interest in mastering African languages); George E. Brooks,
Landlords and Strangers: Ecology, Society, and Trade in West Africa, 1000–1630 (Boulder, Colo.,
1993), chap. 7 (particularly for the role of *grumetes*), 124, 136–37; Wyatt MacGaffey, "Dialogues
of the Deaf: Europeans on the Atlantic Coast of Africa," in Stuart B. Schwartz, ed., *Implicit
Understandings: Observing, Reporting, and Reflecting on the Encounters between Europeans and
Other Peoples in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, 1994), 252 (for hostages); Kwame Yeboa
Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 1600–1720: A Study of the African Reaction to
European Trade* (Oxford, 1970), chap. 5, esp. 96–97 (for ambassadors to the United Provinces in
1611); Anne Hilton, *The Kingdom of Kongo* (Oxford, 1985), 64; Paul Edwards and James Walvin,
"Africans in Britain, 1500–1800," in Martin L. Kilson and Robert I. Rotberg, eds., *The African
Diaspora: Interpretive Essays* (Cambridge, Mass., 1976), 173–205 (for African royalty sending their
sons to be educated in Europe). See also Shelby T. McCloy, "Negroes and Mulattoes in

Atlantic creoles first appeared at the trading *feitorias* or factories that European expansionists established along the coast of Africa in the fifteenth century. Finding trade more lucrative than pillage, the Portuguese crown began sending agents to oversee its interests in Africa. These official representatives were succeeded by private entrepreneurs or *lançados,* who established themselves with the aid of African potentates, sometimes in competition with the crown's emissaries. European nations soon joined in the action, and coastal factories became sites of commercial rendezvous for all manner of transatlantic traders. What was true of the Portuguese enclaves (Axim and Elmina) held for those later established or seized by the Dutch (Fort Nassau and Elmina), Danes (Fredriksborg and Christiansborg), Swedes (Karlsborg and Cape Apolina), Brandenburgers (Pokoso), French (St. Louis and Gorée), and English (Fort Kormantse and Cape Coast).[11]

The transformation of the fishing villages along the Gold Coast during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries suggests something of the change wrought by the European traders. Between 1550 and 1618, Mouri (where the Dutch constructed Fort Nassau in 1612) grew from a village of 200 people to 1,500 and to an estimated 5,000–6,000 at the end of the eighteenth century. In 1555, Cape Coast counted only twenty houses; by 1680, it had 500 or more. Axim, with 500 inhabitants in 1631, expanded to between 2,000 and 3,000 by 1690.[12] Small but growing numbers of Europeans augmented the African fishermen, craftsmen, village-based peasants, and laborers who made up the population of these villages. Although mortality and transiency rates in these enclaves were extraordinarily high, even by the standards of early modern ports, permanent European settlements developed from a mobile body of the corporate employees (from governors to surgeons to clerks), merchants and factors, stateless sailors, skilled craftsmen, occasional missionaries, and sundry transcontinental drifters.[13]

Eighteenth-Century France," *Journal of Negro History,* 30 (1945), 276–92. For the near-seamless, reciprocal relationship between the Portuguese and the Kongolese courts in the 16th century see Thornton, "Early Kongo-Portuguese Relations, 1483–1575: A New Interpretation," *History in Africa,* 8 (1981), 183–204.

[11] For an overview see Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World,* chap. 2, esp. 59–62. See also Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* chap. 2; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers,* chaps. 7–8 (see the Portuguese crown's penalties against *lançados* for illegal trading, 152–54); Philip D. Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa: Senegambia in the Era of the Slave Trade* (Madison, Wis., 1975), chap. 3; Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore, 1982); John Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast, 1469–1682* (Athens, Ga., 1979); C. R. Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion, 1415–1825: A Succinct Survey* (Johannesburg, 1961); and Boxer, *The Dutch Seaborne Empire, 1600–1800* (New York, 1965). Lançados comes 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 rivers.

[12] Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities,* chap. 1, esp. 38.

[13] Ibid.; 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," *Political Science Quarterly,* 83 (1968), 190–216, and

Established in 1482 by the Portuguese and captured by the Dutch in 1637, Elmina was one of the earliest factories and an exemplar 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 for 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 two dozen European outposts in the region.[14]

The peoples of the enclaves—both long-term residents and wayfarers— soon joined together genetically as well as geographically. European men took African women as wives and mistresses, and, before long, the offspring 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 combination of swarthy skin, European dress and deportment, knowledge of local customs, and multilingualism gave them inside understanding of both African and European ways while denying them full acceptance in either culture. By the eighteenth century, they numbered several hundred in Elmina. Farther south along the coast of Central Africa, they may have been even more numerous.[15]

K. G. Davies, "The Living and the Dead: White Mortality in West Africa, 1684–1732," in Stanley L. Engerman and Eugene D. Genovese, eds., *Race and Slavery in the Western Hemisphere: Quantitative Studies* (Princeton, 1975), 83–98.

[14] Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities,* chap. 1, esp. 38–50, 133–34; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast;* Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa.* Eveline C. Martin, *The British West African Settlements, 1750–1821: A Study in Local Administration* (New York, 1927), and Margaret Priestley, *West African Trade and Coast Society: A Family Study* (London, 1969), describe the English enclaves in the 18th and 19th centuries, casting light on their earlier development.

[15] Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers,* chaps. 7–9, esp. 188–96, and Brooks, "Luso-African Commerce and Settlement in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau Region," *Boston University African Studies Center Working Papers* (1980), for the connection of the Luso-Africans with the Cape Verde Islands; Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* chaps. 5–6; Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast,* 154; Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa,* 32, 88–90; Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 95–100, 113–21 (for Afro-French). 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, Wis., 1988), esp. chaps. 8–9, and Miller, "A Marginal Institution on the Margin of the Atlantic System: The Portuguese Southern Atlantic Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century," in Barbara L. Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System* (Cambridge, Mass., 1991), 125, 128–29. By the mid-17th century, the hierarchy of Kongolese Catholics was largely mixed African and European ancestry or *pombeiros;* Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo,* 140–41, 154. See also Allen F. Isaacman, *Mozambique: The Africanization of a European Institution: The Zambezi Prazos, 1750–1902* (Madison, Wis., 1972). The number of such individuals in west Africa is difficult to estimate. Brooks, in his study of the Grain Coast and its interior, estimates "hundreds of Portuguese and Cabo Verdean traders were admitted to western African communities by the close of the fifteenth century." Probably the same could be said for other portions of the African coast at that time. By the middle of the 16th century, Atlantic creoles were more numerous. In 1567, when the English adventurer John Hawkins launched a raid on an African settlement on the Cacheu River, he was repulsed by a force that included "about a hundred" *lançados;* Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers,* 137, 230–31. By the 19th century, the Afro-Europeans had become to a "remarkable extent soundly and politically integrated" and "occupied their own 'quarter' of the town" of Elmina; Larry W. Yarak, "West African Coastal Slavery in the Nineteenth Century: The Case of Afro-European Slaveowners of Elmina,"

People of mixed ancestry and tawny complexion composed but a small fraction of the population of the coastal factories, yet few observers failed to note their existence—which suggests something of the disproportionate significance of their presence. Africans and Europeans alike sneered at the creoles' mixed lineage (or lack of lineage) and condemned them as knaves, charlatans, and shameless self-promoters. When they adopted African ways, wore African dress and amulets, and underwent ritual circumcision and scarification, Europeans declared them outcasts (*tangomãos,* renegades, 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. Yet, although *tangomãos* faced reproach and proscription, all parties conceded that they were shrewd traders, attested to their mastery of the fine points of intercultural negotiations, and found advantage in dealing with them. Despite their defamers, some rose to positions of wealth and power, compensating for their lack of lineage with knowledge, skill, and entrepreneurial derring-do.[16]

Not all *tangomãos* were of mixed ancestry, and not all people of mixed ancestry were *tangomãos.* Color was only one marker of this culture-in-the-making, and generally the least significant.[17] From common experience, conventions of personal behavior, and cultural sensibilities compounded by shared ostracism and mercantile aspirations, Atlantic creoles acquired interests of their own, apart from their European and African antecedents. Of necessity, Atlantic creoles spoke a variety of African and European languages, weighted strongly toward Portuguese. From the seeming babble emerged a pidgin that enabled Atlantic creoles to communicate widely. In time, their pidgin evolved into creole, borrowing its vocabulary from all parties and creating a grammar unique unto itself. Derisively called *"fala de Guine"* or *"fala de negros"*—"Guinea speech" or "Negro Speech"—by the Portuguese and "black Portuguese" by others, this creole language became the lingua franca of the Atlantic.[18]

Ethnohistory, 36 (1989), 44–60, quotation on 47; J. T. Lever, "Mulatto Influence on the Gold Coast in the Early Nineteenth Century: Jan Nieser of Elmina," *African Historical Studies,* 3 (1970), 253–61.

[16] Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* chaps. 4–5; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers,* chaps. 7–9, esp. 188–96; Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 95–100. See also Miller's compelling description of Angola's Luso-Africans in the 18th and 19th centuries that suggests something of their earlier history, in *Way of Death,* 246–50. Brooks notes the term *tangomãos* passed from use at the end of the 17th century, in "Luso-African Commerce and Settlement in the Gambia and Guinea-Bissau," 3.

[17] Speaking of the Afro-French in Senegambia in the 18th 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 in Precolonial Africa,* 117.

[18] Holm, *Pidgins and Creoles;* Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World,* 213–18; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedman in Portugal,* 98–102 (see special word—*ladinhos*—for blacks who could speak "good" Portuguese, 101); Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers,*

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 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 Atlantic trade.

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 and a credit system that drew on the commercial centers of both Europe and Africa. Although the trading castles remained under the control of European metropoles, the towns around them often developed independent political lives—separate from both African and European domination. Meanwhile, their presence created political havoc, enabling new men and women of commerce to gain prominence and threatening older, often hereditary elites. Intermarriage with established peoples allowed creoles to construct 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.[19]

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 both a way to ingratiate themselves with their trading partners and 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

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136–37. See also Robert A. Hall, Jr., *Pidgin and Creole Languages* (Ithaca, 1966); David Dalby, "The Place of Africa and Afro-America in the History of the English Language," *African Language Review,* 9 (1971), 280–98; Hair, "Use of African Languages in Afro-European Contacts in Guinea," 5–26; Keith Whinnom, "Contacts De Langues et Emprunts Lexicaux: The Origin of the European-Based Pidgins and Creoles," *Orbis,* 14 (1965), 509–27, Whinnom, "Linguistic Hybridization and the 'Special Case' of Pidgins and Creoles," in Hymes, ed., *Pidginization and Creolization of Languages,* 91–115, and Whinnom, "The Context and Origins of Lingua Franca," in Jürgen M. Meisel, ed., *Langues en Contact—Pidgins—Creoles* (Tübingen, 1975); and J. L. Dillard, "Creole English and Creole Portuguese: The Early Records," in Ian F. Hancock, ed., *Readings in Creole Studies* (Ghent, 1979), 261–68. For another theory on the origins of the west African pidgin see Anthony J. Naro, "The Origins of West African Pidgin," in Claudia Corum, T. Cedric Smith-Stark, and Ann Weiser, eds., *Papers from the Ninth Regional Meeting,* Chicago Linguistic Society (1973), 442–49.

[19] Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* chaps. 3–4; Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa,* chap. 6, quotation on 86; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities,* esp. pt. 2; Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 92–93.

serve their own needs and gave Jesus and Mohammed a place in their spiritual pantheon. New religious practices, polities, and theologies emerged from the mixing of Christianity, Islam, polytheism, and animism. Similar syncretic formations influenced the agricultural practices, architectural forms, and sartorial styles as well as the cuisine, music, art, and technology of the enclaves.[20] Like the stone fortifications, these cultural innovations announced the presence of something new to those arriving on the coast, whether they came by caravan from the African interior or sailed by caravel from the Atlantic.

Outside the European fortifications, settlements—the town of Elmina as opposed to Castle São Jorge da Mina, for example—expanded to provision and refresh the European-controlled castles and the caravels and carracks that frequented the coast. In time, they developed economies of their own, with multifarious systems of social stratification and occupational differentiation. Residents included canoemen who ferried goods between ships and shore; longshoremen and warehousemen who unloaded and stored merchandise; porters, messengers, guides, interpreters, factors, and brokers or *makelaers* (to the Dutch) who facilitated trade; inn keepers who housed country traders; skilled workers of all sorts; and a host of peddlers, hawkers, and petty traders. Others chopped wood, drew water, prepared food, or supplied sex to the lonely men who visited these isolated places. African notables occasionally established residence, bringing with them the trappings of wealth and power: wives, clients, pawns, slaves, and other dependents. In some places, small manufactories grew up, like the salt pans, boatyards, and foundries on the outskirts of Elmina, to supply the town and service the Atlantic trade. In addition, many people lived outside the law; the rough nature and transient population of these crossroads of trade encouraged roguery and brigandage.[21]

[20] Vogt, *Portuguese Rule on the Gold Coast,* 54–58; Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* 99–101; Thornton, "The Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo, 1491–1750," *Journal of African History,* 25 (1984), 147–67; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo,* 32–49, 154–61, 179, 198; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa: The BaKongo of Lower Zaire* (Chicago, 1986), 191–216, and MacGaffey, "Dialogues of the Deaf," 249–67. Pacing the cultural intermixture of African 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, 1986).

[21] The history of one element of this population, the canoemen, is discussed in Peter C. W. Gutkind, "The Boatmen of Ghana: The Possibilities of a Pre-Colonial African Labor History," in Michael Hanagan and Charles Stephenson, eds., *Confrontation, Class Consciousness, and the Labor Process: Studies in Proletarian Class Formation* (Westport, Conn., 1986), 123–66, and 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, Calif., 1985), 25–49; Robert Smith, "The Canoe in West African History," *J. African Hist.,* 11 (1970), 515–33; and Robin Law, "Trade and Politics behind the Slave Trade: The Lagoon Traffic and the Rise of Lagos," ibid., 24 (1983), 321–48. See also Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* 103–04, 121–22. For an overview of the coastal towns see Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities,* esp. chap. 2; Daaku, *Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast,* chap. 4; and Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 119–20, for the relation between European

Village populations swelled into the thousands. In 1669, about the time the English were ousting the Dutch from the village of New Amsterdam, population 1,500, a visitor to Elmina noted that it contained some 8,000 residents. During most of the eighteenth century, Elmina's population was between 12,000 and 16,000, larger than Charleston, South Carolina—mainland North America's greatest slave port at the time of the American Revolution.[22]

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 fish, produce, livestock, and other perishables to this list, especially as regional specialization developed. Everywhere, slaves were bought and sold, and over time the importance of commerce-in-persons grew.[23]

As slaving societies, the coastal enclaves were also 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, employed them, used them as collateral, traded them, and sold them to outsiders. 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 slave societies—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. Many former slaves mixed Africa and Europe culturally and sometimes physically.[24]

Knowledge and experience far more than color set the Atlantic creoles apart from the Africans who brought slaves from the interior and the

trading communities and African towns. Since Africans would not rent outsiders more land than needed for a house or a store, food production and other services remained in African hands; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 189–90. For bandits see Kea, "'I Am Here to Plunder on the General Road': Bandits and Banditry in the Pre-Nineteenth Century Gold Coast," in Donald Crummey, ed., *Banditry, Rebellion, and Social Protest in Africa* (London, 1986), 109–32.

[22] Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa*, 84–85 (for Elmina); Joyce D. Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot: Society and Culture in Colonial New York City, 1664–1730* (Princeton, 1992), 13 (for New Amsterdam); Peter A. Coclanis, *The Shadow of a Dream: Economic Life and Death in the South Carolina Low Country, 1670–1920* (New York, 1989), 115 (for Charleston).

[23] Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities*, esp. chap. 6.

[24] Feinberg, *Africans and Europeans in West Africa*, 65, 82–83; Kea, *Settlements, Trade, and Polities*, 197–202, 289–90. On the Cape Verde Islands, free blacks obtained the right to hold public office in 1546. Racial distinctions did not appear until the emergence of a plantation society in the mid-16th century, when the preoccupation with skin color and hair texture emerged along with racially exclusionary policies; Brooks, *Landlords and Strangers*, 158–59, 186–87; Dierdre Meintel, *Race, Culture, and Portuguese Colonialism in Cabo Verde* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1984), 96–103.

Europeans who carried them across the Atlantic, on one hand, and the hapless men and women on whose commodification the slave trade rested, on the other. Maintaining a secure place in such a volatile social order was not easy. The creoles' genius for intercultural negotiation was not simply a set of skills, a tactic for survival, or an attribute that emerged as an "Africanism" in the New World. Rather, it was central to a way of life that transcended particular venues.

The names European traders called Atlantic creoles provide a glimpse of the creole's cosmopolitan ability to transcend the confines of particular nations and cultures. Abee Coffu Jantie Seniees, a leading African merchant and politico of Cape Coast on the Gold Coast in the late seventeenth century, appears in various European accounts and account books as "Jan Snees," "Jacque Senece," "Johan Sinesen," and "Jantee Snees." In some measure, the renderings of his name—to view him only from the perspective of European traders—reflect phonic imperialism or, more simply, the variability of transnational spelling. Seniees probably did not know or care how his trading partners registered his name, which he may have employed for commercial reasons in any case. But the diverse renderings reveal something of Abee Coffu Jantie Seniees's ability to trade with the Danes at Fredriksborg, the Dutch at Elmina, and the English at Cape Coast, as well as with Africans deep in the forested interior.[25]

The special needs of European traders placed Atlantic creoles in a powerful bargaining position, which they learned to employ to their own advantage. The most successful became principals and traded independently. They played one merchant against another, one captain against another, and one mercantile bureaucrat against another, often abandoning them for yet a better deal with some interloper, all in the hope of securing a rich prosperity for themselves and their families. Success evoked a sense of confidence that observers described as impertinence, insolence, and arrogance, and it was not limited to the fabulously wealthy like Jantie Seniees or the near sovereign John Claessen (the near-ruler of Fetu), who rejected a kingship to remain at trade, or the merchant princes John Kabes (trader, entrepreneur, and dominant politico in Komenda) and John Konny (commanding ruler in Pokoso).[26] Canoemen, for example, became infamous among European governors and sea captains for their independence. They refused to work in heavy surf, demanded higher wages and additional rations, quit upon insult or abuse, and abandoned work altogether when enslavement threatened. Attempts to control them through regulations issued from Europe or from local corporate headquarters failed utterly. "These canoemen, despicable

[25] Kea, Settlements, Trade, and Polities, 233–35, 315–16, 319–20. Daaku notes that "difficulties arise in establishing the exact nationalities" of Gold Coast traders, as European "writers tended to 'Europeanize' the names of some of the Africans with whom they traded and those in their service, while some of the Africans fancifully assumed European names," in Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, 96.

[26] Daaku, Trade and Politics on the Gold Coast, chaps. 5–6; David Henige, "John Kabes of Komenda: An Early African Entrepreneur and State Builder," J. African Hist., 18 (1977), 1–19.

thieves," sputtered one Englishman in 1711, "think that they are more than just labour."²⁷

Like other people in the middle, Atlantic creoles profited from their strategic position. Competition between and among the Africans and European traders bolstered their stock, increased their political leverage, and enabled them to elevate their social standing while fostering solidarity. Creoles' ability to find a place for themselves in the interstices of African and European trade grew rapidly during periods of intense competition among the Portuguese, Dutch, Danes, Swedes, French, and English and an equally diverse set of African nationals.

At the same time and by the same token, the Atlantic creoles' liminality, particularly their lack of identity with any one group, posed numerous dangers. While their middling position made them valuable to African and European traders, it also made them vulnerable: they could be ostracized, scapegoated, and on occasion enslaved. Maintaining their independence amid the shifting alliances between and among Europeans and Africans was always difficult. Inevitably, some failed.

Debt, crime, immortality, or official disfavor could mean enslavement—if not for great men like Jantie Seniees, Claessen, Kabes, or Konny—at least for those on the fringes of the creole community.²⁸ Placed in captivity, Atlantic creoles might be exiled anywhere around the Atlantic—to the interior of Africa, the islands along the coast, the European metropoles, 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 Brazil and the Antilles. Enslaved Atlantic creoles might be shipped to Pernambuco, Barbados, or Martinique. Transporting them to the expanding centers of New World staple production posed dangers, however, which American planters well understood. The characteristics that distinguished Atlantic creoles—their linguistic dexterity, cultural plasticity, and social agility—were precisely those qualities that the great planters of the New World disdained and feared. For their labor force they desired youth and strength, not experience and sagacity. Indeed, 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 were too dangerous to be trusted in the human tinderboxes created by the sugar revolution. Thus rejected by the most prosperous New World regimes, Atlantic creoles were frequently exiled to marginal slave societies where would-be slaveowners,

²⁷ Gutkind, "Boatmen of Ghana," 131–39, quotation on 137, and Gutkind, "Trade and Labor in Early Precolonial African History," 40–41 (for canoemen who pawned themselves and later became successful traders).

²⁸ For enslavement of canoemen for violation of Portuguese regulations see Gutkind, "Trade and Labor in Early Precolonial African History," 27–28, 36. Okoyaw, a canoeman who pawned himself to the Royal African Company in 1704 to redeem a debt, agreed in return "to attend Dayly the Company's Work"; cited in Kea, Settlements, Trade, and Polities, 243. Because there was no established system of commercial law, creditors might seize the slaves or even the fellow townsmen of their debtors to satisfy an obligation; Curtin, Economic Change in Precolonial Africa, 302–08.

unable to compete with the great plantation magnates, snapped up those whom the grandees had disparaged as "refuse" for reasons of age, illness, criminality, or recalcitrance. In the seventeenth century, few New World slave societies were more marginal than those of mainland North America.[29] Liminal peoples were drawn or propelled to marginal societies.

During the seventeenth century and into the eighteenth, the Dutch served as the most important conduit for transporting Atlantic creoles to mainland North America. Through their control of the sea, they dominated the commerce of the Atlantic periphery. Stretching mercantile theory to fit their commercial ambitions, the Dutch traded with all comers, commissioned privateers to raid rival shipping, and dealt openly with pirates. The Dutch West India Company, whose 1621 charter authorized it to trade in both the Americas and west Africa, cast its eye on the lucrative African trade in gold, ivory, copper, and slaves even as it began to barter for furs and pelts in the North Atlantic and for gold and sugar in the South Atlantic. In 1630, the Dutch captured Portuguese *capitanias* in northeastern Brazil, including Pernambuco, the site of the New World's first sugar boom. About the same time, the West India Company established bases in Curaçao and St. Eustatius. To supply their new empire, the Dutch turned to Africa, supplementing their outposts at Mouri on the Gold Coast and Gorée in Senegambia by seizing the Portuguese enclaves of Elmina and Axim in 1637, Luanda and Principé in 1641, and São Tomé in 1647. They then swept the Angolan coast, establishing trading factories at Cabinda, Loango, and Mpinda.[30]

Although ousted from the Gold Coast, the Portuguese never abandoned their foothold in central Africa, and they and their Brazilian successors regrouped and counterattacked. In 1648, the Portuguese recaptured Luanda and forced the Dutch to evacuate Angola. They expelled the Dutch from Pernambuco in 1645 and completed the reconquest of Brazil in 1654.

Still, the short period of Dutch dominance—roughly, 1620 to 1670—had a powerful impact on the Atlantic world. During those years, the Dutch took control of Portuguese enclaves in Africa, introduced their commercial

[29] The northern North American colonies often received "refuse" slaves. For complaints and appreciations see Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks: The Evolution of a Slave Society at New Amsterdam," *New York History,* 59 (1978), 139; Sainsbury et al., eds., *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, 1708–1709,* 24:110; Lorenzo J. Greene, *The Negro in Colonial New England, 1620–1776* (New York, 1942), 35; Jeremias van Rensselaer to Jan Baptist van Rensselaer, ca. 1659, in A.J.F. Van Laer, ed., *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer, 1651–1674* (Albany, 1932), 167–68, 175; William D. Pierson, *Black Yankees: The Development of an Afro-American Subculture in Eighteenth-Century New England* (Amherst, Mass., 1988), 4–5; Edgar J. McManus, *Black Bondage in the North* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1973), 18–25, and McManus, *A History of Slavery in New York* (Syracuse, N. Y., 1966), 23–39; James G. Lydon, "New York and the Slave Trade, 1700 to 1774," *WMQ,* 3d Ser., 35 (1978), 275–79, 281–90; Darold D. Wax, "Negro Imports into Pennsylvania, 1720–1766," *Pennsylvania History,* 32 (1965), 254–87, and Wax, "Preferences for Slaves in Colonial America," *J. Negro Hist.,* 58 (1973), 374–76, 379–87; and Sharon V. Salinger, *"To Serve Well and Faithfully": Labour and Indentured Servitude in Pennsylvania, 1682–1800* (Cambridge, 1987), 75–78.

[30] Boxer, *The Dutch in Brazil, 1624–1654* (Oxford, 1957); Johannes Menne Postma, *The Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade* (Cambridge, 1990), chaps. 2–3, 8; Cornelis C. Goslinga, *The Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast, 1580–1680* (Gainesville, Fla., 1971).

agents, and pressed their case for Dutch culture and Calvinist religion on the ruling Kongolese Catholics and other remnants of Portuguese imperialism. Although unsuccessful for the most part, the Dutch established ties with the Atlantic creoles and preserved these linkages even after the Portuguese recon- quest, keeping alive their connections along the African coast and maintain- ing their position as the most active agents in slavery's transatlantic expansion during the seventeenth century.[31]

The Dutch transported thousands of slaves from Africa to the New World, trading with all parties, sometimes directly, sometimes indirectly through their base in Curaçao. Most of these slaves came from the interior of Angola, but among them were Atlantic creoles whose connections to the Portuguese offended the Dutch. Following the Portuguese restoration, those with ties to the Dutch may have found themselves in similar difficulties. During the Dutch invasions, the subsequent wars, and then civil wars in which the Portuguese and the Dutch fought each other directly and through surrogates, many creoles were clapped into slavery. Others were seized in the Caribbean by Dutch men-of-war, privateers sailing under Dutch letters of marque, and freebooting pirates.[32] While such slaves might be sent anywhere in the Dutch empire between New Netherland and Pernambuco, West India Company officers in New Amsterdam, who at first complained about "refuse" slaves, in time 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."[33] A perusal of the names scattered through archival remains of New Netherland reveals something of the nature of this transat- lantic 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.[34]

[31] Boxer, *Four Centuries of Portuguese Expansion,* 48–51, and Boxer, *Dutch in Brazil;* P. C. Emmer, "The Dutch and the Making of the Second Atlantic System," in Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System,* 75–96, esp. 83–84; Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World,* 64–65, 69–77. Albert van Danzig, ed. and trans., *The Dutch and the Guinea Coast, 1674–1742: A Collection of Documents from the General State Archives at the Hague* (Accra, 1978), provides insight into the operation of the Dutch West India Company and the role of the Dutch on the Gold and Slave coasts.

[32] Thornton, *The Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641–1718* (Madison, Wis., 1983), esp. 72–74, chaps. 6–7 passim; Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo,* chaps. 6–7; Ernst Van Den Boogaart and Pieter C. Emmer, "The Dutch Participation in the Atlantic Slave Trade, 1596–1650," in Henry A. Gemery and Jan S. Hogendorn, eds., *The Uncommon Market: Essays in the Economic History of the Atlantic Slave Trade* (New York, 1979), 353–71. The best survey of the Dutch trade is Postma, *Dutch in the Atlantic Slave Trade.*

[33] Goslinga, *Dutch in the Caribbean and on the Wild Coast;* Van Laer, ed., *Correspondence of Jeremias Van Rensselaer,* 167–68, 175, quotation on 167; Elizabeth Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the History of the Slave Trade to America,* 4 vols. (Washington, D. C., 1930–1935), 3:421; Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 139.

[34] Names are drawn from E. B. O'Callaghan, comp., *The Documentary History of the State of New-York,* 4 vols. (Albany, 1849–1851); O'Callaghan, ed., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New-York,* 15 vols. (Albany, 1853–1887) (hereafter *N. Y. Col. Docs.*); O'Callaghan, comp., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland, 1638–1674* (Albany, 1868);

These names trace the tumultuous experience that propelled their owners 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 chattel 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, tagged with names more akin to barnyard animals, or given the name of an ancient notable or a classical deity. 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 was not radically different from Elmina or Luanda, save for its smaller size and colder climate. A fortified port controlled by the Dutch West India Company, 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 the new environment. Rather than losing their skills, they discovered that the value of their

O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts in the Office of the Secretary of State, 1630–1664* (Albany, 1865); Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674,* 7 vols. (New York, 1897); Fernow, ed., *Minutes of the Orphanmasters Court of New Amsterdam, 1655–1663,* 2 vols. (New York, 1907); Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, comps., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch,* vols. 1–4 (Baltimore, 1974–); Charles T. Gehring, ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch Land Papers* (Baltimore, 1980); New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, Collections, *Marriages from 1639 to 1801 in the Reformed Dutch Church of New York* (New York, 1890); I. N. Phelps Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island, 1498–1909,* 6 vols. (New York, 1914–1928). A few names suggest the subtle transformation as the Atlantic creoles crossed the ocean and assumed a new identity that was unfamiliar to its hosts. For example, Anthony Jansen of Salee or Van Vaes, a man of tawny complexion— "mulatto," per below—who claimed Moroccan birth, became "Anthony the Turk," perhaps because Turks were considered fierce—as Anthony's litigious history indicates he surely was— but, more important, because he was alien in status and brown in pigment; Leo Hershkowitz, "The Troublesome Turk: An Illustration of Judicial Process in New Amsterdam," *N. Y. Hist.,* 46 (1965), 299–310. But if names of new arrivals in New Netherland reflect their lived experience rather than an owner's designation, they also have nothing of the ring of Africa: no Quaws, Phibbis, or any of the day names that Africans later carried. Such names would become familiar to northern slaveholders when the slave trade reached into the interior of Africa. In Portugal, the names slaves bore do not seem different from those of native Portuguese; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,* 89–90. The practice of attaching a national modifier to a given name was employed for others besides Africans. See Edmund S. Morgan, *American Slavery, American Freedom: The Ordeal of Colonial Virginia* (New York, 1975), 153–54.

gift for intercultural negotiation appreciated. The transatlantic journey did not break creole communities; it only transported them to other sites.[35]

Along the edges of the North American continent, creoles found slaves' cultural and social marginality an asset. Slaveholders learned that slaves' ability 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 in New Amsterdam, could not address the 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 Françis.[36]

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.[37] If the stigma of servitude, physical labor, uncertain lineage, and alien religion stamped them as outsiders, there were many others—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.

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[35] 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. Nevertheless, "old" or "aged" slaves are encountered again and again, sometimes in descriptions of fugitives, sometimes in the deeds that manumit—i. e., discard—superannuated slaves. Before the end of the 17th century, numbers of black people lived long enough to see their grandchildren.

[36] Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam*, 5:337, cited in Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 252 n. 25.

[37] Suzanne Miers and Igor Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa: Historical and Anthropological Perspectives* (Madison, Wis., 1977); Paul E. Lovejoy, *Transformations in Slavery: A History of Slavery in Africa* (Cambridge, 1983); Patrick Manning, *Slavery and African Life: Occidental, Oriental, and African Slave Trades* (Cambridge, 1990); Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World*, chap 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, Wis., 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, Colo., 1994), 1–26. A dated but still useful critical review of the subject is Frederick Cooper, "The Problem of Slavery in African Studies," *J. African Hist.,* 20 (1979), 103–25.

If slavery meant abuse and degradation, the experience of Atlantic creoles provided strategies for limiting such maltreatment—contrary to notions that they were libidinous heathens without family, economy, or society—and even for winning to freedom. Freedom meant not only greater independence but also identification with the larger group. Although the routes to social betterment 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.[38] Along the coast of Africa, Atlantic creoles often identified with the appendages of European or African power—be they 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 hurdle the boundaries 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— posed the greatest dangers. To be inferior within the sharply stratified world of the seventeenth-century Atlantic was understandable by its very ubiquity; to be 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. These newcomers did little to meet the colony's need for men and women to work the land, because, as a company officer reported, "agricultural laborers who are conveyed thither at great expense . . . sooner or later apply themselves to trade, and neglect agriculture altogether." Dutch officials concluded that slave labor was an absolute necessity for New Netherland. Although competition for slaves with Dutch outposts in Brazil (whose sugar economy was already drawing slaves from the African interior) placed New Netherland at a disadvantage, authorities in the North American colony imported all the slaves they could, so that in 1640 about 100 blacks lived in New Amsterdam, composing roughly 30 percent of the port's population and a 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 300 slaves composed a

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[38] Miers and Kopytoff, eds., *Slavery in Africa*, chap. 1, esp. 17.

fifth of the population of New Amsterdam, giving New Netherland the largest urban slave population on mainland North America.[39]

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 intricacies of life in mainland North America. 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.[40]

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 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. The enslavement of black children made "half-freedom," as New Netherland authorities denominated

[39] Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 10, chap. 6; Van Den Boogaart, "The Servant Migration to New Netherland, 1624–1664," in Emmer, ed., *Colonialism and Migration: Indentured Labour before and after Slavery* (Dordrecht, 1986), 58; O'Callaghan, ed., *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 1:154.

[40] Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, chap. 6; Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125–44; Goodfriend, "Black Families in New Netherland," *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society*, 5 (1984), 94–107; Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," *J. Negro Hist.*, 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), chap. 2, esp. 46–48, chap. 6, esp. 270–77; Oliver A. Rink, *Holland on the Hudson: An Economic and Social History of Dutch New York* (Ithaca, 1986), 161 n. 33. Between 1639 and 1652, marriages recorded in the New Amsterdam Church represented 28% 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 Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*, 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.

the West India Company's former slaves who were unable to pass their new status to their children, appear no freedom at all.[41]

Manumission in New Netherland was calculated to benefit slave owners, not slaves. Its purposes were to spur slaves to greater exertion and to relieve owners of the cost of supporting elderly slaves. 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 status 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."[42] Although conversion never guaranteed freedom in New Netherland, many half-free blacks secured their goal. By 1664, at the time of the English conquest, about one black person in five had achieved freedom in New Amsterdam, a proportion never equalled throughout the history of slavery in the American South.[43]

Some free people of African descent prospered. Building on small gifts of land that the West India Company provided as freedom dues, a few entered the landholding class in New Netherland. A small group of former slaves established a community on the outskirts of the Dutch settlement on Manhattan, farmed independently, and sold their produce in the public market. Others purchased farmsteads or were granted land as part of the Dutch effort to populate the city's hinterland. In 1659, the town of Southampton granted "Peeter the Neigro" three acres. Somewhat later John Neiger, who had "set himself up a house in the street" of Easthampton, was given "for his own use a little quantity of land above his house for him to make a yard or garden." On occasion, free blacks employed whites.[44]

[41] Petition for freedom, in O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical 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; O'Callaghan, ed., *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 1:302, 343; O'Callaghan, ed., *Laws and Ordinances of New Netherland*, 4:36–37. For the Dutch West India Company's "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 Netherland," 69–70.

[42] For black men paying tribute to purchase their families see O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts*, 45, 87, 105; O'Callaghan, ed., *N. Y. Col. Docs.*, 1:343; Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125–44, 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," chap. 1, esp. 90–92; Henry B. Hoff, "Frans Abramse Van Salee and His Descendants: A Colonial Black Family in New York and New Jersey," *New York Genealogical and Biographical Register*, 121 (1990), 65–71, 157–61.

[43] Goodfriend estimates that 75 of New Amsterdam's 375 blacks were free in 1664, in *Before the Melting Pot*, 61.

[44] Kruger, "Born to Run," 50–55, 591–606, tells of the creation of a small class of black landowners as a result of gifts from the Dutch West India Company and direct purchase by the blacks themselves (quotation on 592); Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 115–16, 253 n. 36; Peter

By the middle of the seventeenth century, black people participated in almost every aspect of life in New Netherland. They sued and were sued in Dutch courts, married and baptized their children in the Dutch Reformed Church, and fought alongside Dutch militiamen against the colony's enemies. Black men and women—slave as well as free—traded on their own and accumulated property. Black people also began to develop a variety of institutions that reflected their unique experience and served their special needs. Black men and women stood as godparents to each others' children, suggesting close family ties, and 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 fictive kinship.[45] 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.

To be sure, the former slaves' prosperity was precarious at best. As the Dutch transformed their settlement from a string of trading posts to a colony committed to agricultural production, the quality of freedpeople's freedom deteriorated. The Dutch began to import slaves directly from Africa (especially after the Portuguese retook Brazil), and the new arrivals—sold mostly to individual planters rather than to the company—had little chance of securing the advantages earlier enjoyed by the company's slaves.[46]

The freedpeople's social standing eroded more rapidly following the English conquest in 1664, demonstrating the fragility of their freedom in a

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R. Christoph, "The Freedmen of New Amsterdam," *J. Afro-Amer. Hist. Gen. Soc.,* 5 (1984), 116–17. See also Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island,* 2:302, 4:70–78, 100, 104–06, 120–48, 265–66; Gehring, ed., *New York Historical Manuscripts;* and Van Den Boogaart, "Servant Migration to New Netherland," 56–59, 65–71. For the employment of a white housekeeper by a free black artisan see ibid., 69; Fernow, ed., *Minutes of the Orphanmasters Court,* 2: 46; and Roi Ottley and William J. Weatherby, eds., *The Negro in New York: An Informal Social History* (New York, 1967), 12.

45 O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts,* 87, 105, 269 (for manumission, dubbed "half slaves"), 222 (adoption), 269 (land grants). See also Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot,* chap. 6, and Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam from 1653 to 1674,* 3:42, 5, 172, 337-40, 7, 11 (for actions in court); Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks," 125-44, and "Black Families in New Netherlands," 94–107; Van Den Boogaart, "Servant Migration to New Netherland," 56–59, 65–71; McManus, *Slavery in New York,* 2–22; DeJong, "Dutch Reformed Church and Negro Slavery in Colonial America," 430; Kruger, "Born to Run," 46–48; 270–78; Hoff, "Frans Abramse Van Salee and His Descendants"; Kammen, *New York,* 58–60. For blacks using Dutch courts early on see Rink, *Holland on the Hudson,* 160–61—e. g., in 1638, Anthony Portuguese sued Anthony Jansen for damages done his hog; soon after, one Pedro Negretto claimed back wages. For adoption of a black child by a free black family see Scott and Stryker-Rodda, eds., *The Register of Salmon Lachaire, Notary Public of New Amsterdam, 1661–1662* (Baltimore, 1978), 22–23; O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts,* 222, 256; and Kruger, "Born to Run," 44–51.

46 Until New Netherland developed an agricultural base, slavery did not seem to take hold, and settlers admitted in 1649 that slaves imported at great cost "just dripped through the fingers" and "were sold for pork and peas"; O'Callaghan, ed., *N. Y. Col. Docs.,* 1:302. For the change that took place during the 1650s and the beginning of direct African importation in 1655 see O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts,* 268, 289, 293, 307, 331. New York sharply limited manumission in 1712. Few slaves were freed before then. One careful enumeration counted 8 manumissions between 1669 and 1712; Kruger, "Born to Run," 593.

social order undergirded by racial hostility. Nonetheless, black people con-
tinued to enjoy the benefits of the earlier age. They maintained a secure fam-
ily life, acquired property, and participated as communicants in the Dutch
Reformed Church, where they baptized their children in the presence of
godparents of their own choosing. When threatened, they took their com-
plaints to court, exhibiting a fine understanding of their legal rights and a
steely determination to defend them. Although the proportion of the black
population enjoying freedom shrank steadily under English rule, the small
free black settlement held its own. Traveling through an area of modest
farms on the outskirts of New York City in 1679, a Dutch visitor observed
that "upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulat-
toes and whites. These negroes were formerly the property of the (West
India) company, but, in consequence of the frequent changes and conquests
of the country, they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves
down where they thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have
ground enough to live on with their families."[47]

Dutch vessels were not the only ones to transport Atlantic creoles from
Africa to North America. The French, who began trading on the Windward
Coast of Africa soon after the arrival of the Portuguese, did much the same.
Just as a creole population grew up around the Portuguese and later Dutch
factories at Elmina, Luanda, and São Tomé, so one developed around the
French posts on the Senegal River. The Compagnie du Sénégal, the
Compagnie des Indes Occidentales, and their successor, the Compagnie des
Indes—whose charter, like that of the Dutch West India Company, autho-
rized it to trade in both Africa and the Americas—maintained headquarters
at St. Louis with subsidiary outposts at Galam and Fort d'Arguin.[48]
    As at Elmina and Luanda, shifting alliances between Africans and
Europeans in St. Louis, Galam, and Fort d'Arguin also ensnared Atlantic
creoles, who found themselves suddenly enslaved and thrust across the
Atlantic. One such man was Samba, a Bambara,[49] who during the 1720s

    [47] James B. Bartlett and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts, 1679–1680*
(New York, 1913), 65. See also Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 115–16 (land). After the
English conquest, black people continued to present their children for baptism, although they
changed to the Anglican church; ibid., 131.
    [48] Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa*, 104–05, 121–27; Jean Mettas, *Répertoire des
Expéditions Négrières Françaises au XVIIIe Siècle*, 2 vols: (Paris, 1984); Marcel Giraud, *A History of
French Louisiana: The Reign of Louis XIV, 1698–1715*, trans. Joseph C. Lambert (Baton Rouge, 1974);
Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, chaps. 2–4. For the French slave trade see Robert Louis Stein,
The French Slave Trade in the Eighteenth Century: An Old Regime Business (Madison, Wis., 1979).
    [49] 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, 178–81, 191–92;
see the review of Hall in *Africa*, 64 (1994), 168–71.

worked for the French as an interpreter—*maître de langue*—at Galam, up the Senegal River from St. Louis. "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 des Indes 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 stoked a nearly insatiable appetite 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.[50]

New Orleans on the Mississippi River shared much with St. Louis on the Senegal in the 1720s. As the headquarters of the Compagnie des Indes in mainland North America, the town housed the 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 *coureurs 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.[51] Indeed, soldiers' status in this rough frontier community differed little from that on the coast of Africa.

In 1720, a French soldier stationed in New Orleans was convicted of theft and sentenced to the lash. A black man wielded the whip. His work was apparently satisfactory, because five years later, Louis Congo, a recently arrived slave then in the service of the Compagnie des Indes, was offered the job. A powerful man, Congo bargained hard before accepting such grisly

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[50] The evidence of Samba's participation in the Fort D'Arguin insurrection is insubstantial and contradictory, but he got himself into enough trouble to be enslaved and deported; Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 109–10; Le Page du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane,* 3 vols. (Paris, 1758), 3:305–17; Daniel H. Usner, Jr., "From African Captivity to American Slavery: The Introduction of Black Laborers to Colonial Louisiana," *La. Hist.,* 20 (1979), 37. On the Afro-French community in St. Louis and other enclaves on the Senegal see Curtin, *Economic Change in Precolonial Africa,* 113–21.

[51] 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. chap. 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 in a Frontier Exchange Economy: The Lower Mississippi Valley before 1783* (Chapel Hill, 1992). See also James T. McGowan, "Planters without Slaves: Origins of a New World Labor System," *Southern Studies,* 16 (1977), 5–20; John G. Clark, *New Orleans, 1718–1812: An Economic History* (Baton Rouge, 1970), chap. 2; and Thomas N. Ingersoll, "Old New Orleans: Race, Class, Sex, and Order in the Early Deep South, 1718–1819" (Ph. D. diss., University of California at Los Angeles, 1990), chaps. 2–3.

employment; he demanded freedom for himself and his wife, regular rations, and a plot of land he could cultivate independently. Louisiana's Superior Council balked at these terms, but the colony's attorney general urged acceptance, having seen Congo's "*chef d'oeuvre*." Louis Congo gained his freedom and was allowed to live with his wife (although she was not free) on land of his own choosing. His life as Louisiana's executioner was not easy. He was assaulted several times, and he complained that assassins lurked everywhere. But he enjoyed a modest prosperity, and he learned to write, an accomplishment that distinguished him from most inhabitants of eighteenth-century Louisiana.[52]

Suggesting something of the symmetry of the Atlantic world, New Orleans, save for the flora and fauna, was no alien terrain to Samba Bambara or Louis Congo. Despite the long transatlantic journey, once in the New World, they recovered much of what they had lost in the Old, although Samba Bambara never escaped slavery. Like the Atlantic creoles who alighted in New Netherland, Samba Bambara employed on the coast of North America skills he had learned on the coast of Africa; Louis Congo's previous occupation is unknown. Utilizing 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.[53] 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.

Atlantic creoles such as Paulo d'Angola in New Netherland and Samba Bambara in New Orleans were not the only products of the meeting of Africans and Europeans on the coast of Africa. By the time Europeans began to colonize mainland North America, communities of creoles of African descent similar to those found on the West African *feitorias* had established themselves all along the rim of the Atlantic. In Europe—particularly Portugal and Spain—the number of Atlantic creoles swelled, as trade with Africa increased. By the mid-sixteenth century, some 10,000 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

[52] Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana*, 131–32.

[53] Ibid., 106–12; du Pratz, *Histoire de la Louisiane*, 3:305–17; Usner, "From African Captivity to American Slavery," 37, 42.

Moriscos).[54] As the centers of the Iberian slave trade, these cities distributed African slaves throughout Europe.[55]

With the settlement of the New World, Atlantic creoles sprouted in such places as Cap Français, Cartagena, Havana, Mexico City, and San Salvador. Intimate with the culture of the Atlantic, they could be found speaking pidgin and creole and engaging in a familiar sort of cultural brokerage. Men drawn from these creole communities accompanied Columbus to the New World; others marched with Balboa, Cortés, De Soto, and Pizarro.[56] Some Atlantic creoles crisscrossed the ocean several times, as had 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 Compagnie des Indes, from Gorée to Louisiana, when he was deported for criminal activities.[57] Other Atlantic creoles traveled on their own, as sailors and interpreters in both the transatlantic and African trades. Some gained their freedom and mixed with Europeans and Native Americans. Wherever they went, Atlantic creoles extended the use of the distinctive language of the Atlantic, planted the special institutions of the creole community, and propagated their unique outlook. Within the Portuguese and Spanish empires, Atlantic creoles created an intercontinental web of *cofradias* (*confradias* to the Spanish), so that, by the seventeenth century, the network of black religious brotherhoods stretched from Lisbon to São Tomé, Angola, and Brazil.[58] Although no comparable institutional link-

[54] Charles Verlinden, *The Beginnings of Modern Colonization: Eleven Essays with an Introduction* (Ithaca, 1970), 39–40; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,* chap. 1, esp. 55; Ruth Pike, "Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century: Slaves and Freedmen," *Hispanic American Historical Review,* 47 (1967), 344–59, and Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders: Sevillian Society in the Sixteenth Century* (Ithaca, 1972), 29, 170–92; P.E.H. Hair, "Black African Slaves at Valencia, 1482–1516," *History in Africa,* 7 (1980), 119–31; Thornton, *Africa and Africans in the Making of the Atlantic World,* 96–97; A.J.R. Russell-Wood, "Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440–1770," *AHR,* 83 (1978), 20. During the first two decades of the 16th century, about 2,000 African slaves annually entered Lisbon and were sold there. By the 1530s, most slaves brought to Lisbon were sent to the New World via Seville.

[55] In the mid-16th century, black people entered the periphery of Europe; Verlinden, *Beginnings of Modern Colonization,* chap 2. England developed a small black population that grew with English involvement in the African trade; see James B. Walvin, *Black and White: The Negro and English Society, 1555–1945* (London, 1973), chap. 1, and F. O. Shyllon, *Black Slaves in Britain* (London, 1974), and *Black People in Britain 1555–1833* (London, 1977). For France see William B. Cohen, *The French Encounter with Africans: White Response to Blacks, 1530–1880* (Bloomington, 1980), and Sue Peabody, "'There Are No Slaves in France': Law, Culture, and Society in Early Modern France, 1685–1789" (Ph. D. diss., University of Iowa, 1993).

[56] J. Fred Rippy, "The Negro and the Spanish Pioneer in the New World," *J. Negro Hist.,* 6 (1921), 183–89; Leo Wiener, *Africa and the Discovery of America,* 3 vols. (Philadelphia, 1920–1922).

[57] Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,* 29; for sailors see 11, 71–72, 145, and Hall, *Africans in Colonial Louisiana,* 128. A sale of 6 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, Mass., 1976), 31–32; "Abstracts of French and Spanish Documents Concerning the Early History of Louisiana," *Louisiana Historical Quarterly,* 1 (1917), 111.

[58] Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,* 152–55; Russell-Wood, "Black and Mulatto Brotherhoods in Colonial Brazil," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.,* 54 (1974), 567–602, and

ages 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 found their way to mainland North America, where they became part of black America's charter generations.

The Dutch were the main conduit for carrying such men and women to the North American mainland in the seventeenth century. Juan (Jan, in some accounts) Rodrigues, a sailor of mixed racial ancestry who had shipped from Hispaniola in 1612 on the *Jonge Tobias*, offers another case in point. The ship, one of the several Dutch merchant vessels vying for the North American fur trade before the founding of the Dutch West India Company, anchored in the Hudson River sometime in 1612 and left 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.[59]

Atlantic creoles were among the first black people to enter the Chesapeake region in the early years of the seventeenth century, and they numbered large among the "twenty Negars" the Dutch sold to the English at Jamestown in 1619 as well as those who followed during the next half century.[60] Anthony Johnson, who was probably among the prizes captured by a Dutch ship in the Caribbean, appears to have landed in Jamestown as "Antonio a Negro" soon after the initial purchase. During the next thirty years, Antonio exited

Russell-Wood, *The Black Man in Slavery and Freedom in Colonial Brazil* (New York, 1982), chap. 8, esp. 134, 153–54, 159–60. See also Pike, *Aristocrats and Traders,* 177–79. In the 16th century, some 7% (2,580) of Portugal's black population was free; Saunders, *Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal,* 59.

[59] 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), chap. 1, esp. 30; Rink, *Holland on the Hudson,* 34, 42; Van Cleaf Bachman, *Peltries or Plantations: The Economic Policies of the Dutch West India Company in New Netherland, 1623–1639* (Baltimore, 1969), 6–7.

[60] Wesley Frank Craven's investigation determined that the first black people to arrive at Jamestown were prizes taken by a Dutch man-of-war in consort with an English ship somewhere in the eastern Caribbean. Craven maintains they were born in the West Indies and stolen from there. J. Douglas Deal suggests they may have been taken from a Portuguese or Spanish slaver. Craven, *White Red, and Black: The Seventeenth-Century Virginian* (Charlottesville, 1971), 77–81; Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia: Indians, Englishmen, and Africans on the Eastern Shore during the Seventeenth Century* (New York, 1993), 163–64. In 1708, a Virginia planter remembered "that before the year 1680 what negros were brought to Virginia were imported generally from Barbados for it was very rare to have a Negro ship come to this Country directly from Africa"; Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade,* 4:89.

servitude, anglicized his name, married, began to farm on his own, and in 1651 received a 250-acre headright. When his Eastern Shore plantation burned to the ground two years later, he petitioned the county court for relief and was granted a substantial reduction of his taxes. His son John did even better than his father, receiving a patent for 550 acres, and another son, Richard, owned a 100-acre estate. Like other men of substance, the Johnsons farmed independently, held slaves, and left their heirs sizable estates. As established members of their communities, they enjoyed rights in common with other free men and frequently employed the law to protect themselves and advance their interests. When a black man claiming his freedom fled Anthony Johnson's plantation and found refuge with a nearby white planter, Johnson took his neighbor to court and won the return of his slave along with damages from the white man.[61]

Landed independence not only afforded free people of African descent legal near-equality in Virginia but also allowed them a wide range of expressions that others termed "arrogance"—the traditional charge against Atlantic creoles. Anthony Johnson exhibited an exalted sense of self when a local notable challenged his industry. Johnson countered with a ringing defense of his independence: "I know myne owne ground and I will worke when I please and play when I please." Johnson also understood that he and other free black men and women were different, and he and his kin openly celebrated those differences. Whereas Antonio a Negro had anglicized the family name, John Johnson—his grandson and a third-generation Virginian—called his own estate "Angola."[62]

The Johnsons were not unique in Virginia. A small community of free people of African descent developed on the Eastern Shore. Their names, like Antonio a Negro's, suggest creole descent: John Francisco, Bashaw Ferdinando (or Farnando), Emanuel Driggus (sometimes Drighouse; probably Rodriggus), Anthony Longo (perhaps Loango), and "Francisco a Negroe" (soon to become Francis, then Frank, Payne and finally Paine).[63] They, like Antonio, were

[61] Anthony Johnson's primacy and "unmatched achievement" have made him and his family the most studied members of the charter generation. The best account of Johnson and his family is found in Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 217–50. 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), chap. 1; Ross M. Kimmel, "Free Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Maryland," *Maryland Magazine of History*, 71 (1976), 22–25; Alden Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia: A Note on the First Decade," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., 29 (1972), 475–76; James H. Brewer, "Negro Property Owners in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," ibid., 12 (1955), 576–78; Susie M. Ames, *Studies of the Virginia Eastern Shore in the Seventeenth Century* (Richmond, 1940), 102–05; John H. Russell, *The Free Negro in Virginia, 1619–1865* (Baltimore, 1913); and Russell, "Colored Freemen as Slave Owners in Virginia," *J. Negro Hist.*, 1 (1916), 233–42. Indirect evidence of the baptism of Johnson's children comes from the 1660s, when John Johnson replied to challenges to his right to testify in court by producing evidence of baptism. He may have been baptized as an adult.

[62] Quotation in Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 6. The statement is generally attributed to Johnson but may have been uttered by Francis Payne. See Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 266–67. For John Johnson's Angola see Kimmel, "Free Blacks in Maryland," 23.

[63] Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 205–406, 265–67 (for Payne), 305 n. 2 (for the Driggus name), and Deal, "A Constricted World: Free Blacks on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1680–1750," in Lois Green Carr, Philip D. Morgan, and Jean B. Russo, eds., *Colonial Chesapeake Society* (Chapel Hill, 1989), 275–305; Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* esp. chap. 4, 69 (names).

drawn from the Atlantic littoral and may have spent time in England or New England before reaching the Chesapeake. At least one, "John Phillip, A negro Christened in *England* 12 yeeres since," was a sailor on an English ship that brought a captured Spanish vessel into Jamestown; another, Sebastian Cain or Cane, gained his freedom in Boston, where he had served the merchant Robert Keayne (hence probably his name). Cain also took to the sea as a sailor, but, unlike Phillip, he settled in Virginia as a neighbor, friend, and sometimes kinsman of the Johnsons, Drigguses, and Paynes.[64]

In Virginia, Atlantic creoles ascended the social order and exhibited a sure-handed understanding of Chesapeake social hierarchy and the complex dynamics of patron-client relations. Although still in bondage, they began to acquire the property, skills, and social connections that became their mark throughout the Atlantic world. They worked provision grounds, kept livestock, and traded independently. 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 petitioned the colonial legislature and governor. While relations to their well-placed patrons—former masters and mistresses, landlords, and employers—among the colony's elite were important, as in Louisiana, the creoles also established ties among themselves, weaving together a community from among the interconnections of marriage, trade, and friendship. Free blacks testified on each other's behalf, stood as godparents for each other's children, loaned each other small sums, and joined together for after-hours conviviality, creating a community that often expanded to the larger web of interactions among all poor people, regardless of color. According to one historian of black life in seventeenth-century Virginia, "cooperative projects . . . were more likely in relations between colored freedmen and poor whites than were the debtor-creditor, tenant-landlord, or employee-employer relations that linked individuals of both races to members of the planter class."[65] The horizontal ties of class developed alongside the vertical ones of patronage.

[64] The nature of the slave trade in the Chesapeake was summarized by Maryland's governor in 1708: "before the year 1698, this province has been supplyd by some small Quantitys of Negro's from Barbados and other her Ma'tys Islands and Plantations, as Jamaica and New England Seaven, eight, nine or ten in a Sloope, and sometymes larger Quantitys, and sometymes, tho very seldom, whole ship Loads of Slaves have been brought here directly from Affrica by Interlopers, or such as have had Lycenses, or otherwise traded there." Most of the latter had arrived in the previous decade; Donnan, ed., *Documents Illustrative of the Slave Trade*, 4:21–23, 88–90; Menard, "From Servants to Slaves: The Transformation of the Chesapeake Labor System," *Southern Studies*, 16 (1977), 363–67; Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 164–65; Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 70–71. On Phillip see Robert McColley, "Slavery in Virginia, 1619–1660: A Reexamination," in Robert H. Abzug and Stephen B. Mazlish, eds., *New Perspectives on Race and Slavery in America* (Lexington, Ky., 1986), 15–16, and Vaughan, "Blacks in Virginia," 470; on Cain see Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 254–55, 317–19, and Robert C. Twombly and Robert H. Moore, "Black Puritan: The Negro in Seventeenth-Century Massachusetts," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., 24 (1967), 236.

[65] Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 205–405, quotation on 209, and Deal, "A Constricted World," 275–305; Michael L. Nicholls, "Passing Through This Troublesome World: Free Blacks in the Early Southside," *Virginia Magazine of History and Biography*, 92 (1984), 50–70.

Maintaining their standing as property-holding free persons was difficult, and some Atlantic creoles in the Chesapeake, like those in New Netherland, slipped down the social ladder, trapped by legal snares—apprenticeships, tax forfeitures, and bastardy laws—as planters turned from a labor system based on indentured Europeans and Atlantic creoles to raw Africans condemned to perpetual slavery. Anthony Johnson, harassed by white planters, fled his plantation in Virginia to establish the more modest "Tonies Vineyard" in Maryland. But even as they were pushed out, many of the Chesapeake's charter generations continued to elude slavery. Some did well, lubricating the lifts to economic success with their own hard work, their skills in a society that had "an unrelenting demand for artisanal labor," and the assistance of powerful patrons. A few of the landholding free black families on Virginia's Eastern Shore maintained their propertied standing well into the eighteenth century. In 1738, the estate of Emanuel Driggus's grandson—including its slaves—was worth more than those of two-thirds of his white neighbors.[66]

Atlantic creoles also entered the lowcountry of South Carolina and Florida, carried there by the English and Spanish, respectively. Like the great West Indian planters who settled in that "colony of a colony," Atlantic creoles were drawn from Barbados and other Caribbean islands, where a full generation of European and African cohabitation had allowed them to gain a knowledge of European ways. Prior to the sugar revolution, they worked alongside white indentured servants in a variety of enterprises, none of which required the discipline of plantation labor. Like white servants, some exited slavery, as the line between slavery and freedom was open. An Anglican minister who toured the English islands during the 1670s noted that black people spoke English "no worse than the natural born subjects of that Kingdom."[67] Although Atlantic creole culture took a different shape in the Antilles than it did on the periphery of Africa or Europe, it also displayed many of the same characteristics.

On the southern mainland, creoles used their knowledge of the New World and their ability to negotiate between the various Native American nations and South Carolina's European polyglot—English, French Huguenots, Sephardic Jews—to become invaluable as messengers, trappers, and cattle minders. The striking image of slave and master working on opposite sides of a sawbuck suggests the place of blacks during the early years of South Carolina's settlement.[68]

Knowledge of their English captors also provided knowledge of their captors' enemy, some two hundred miles to the south. At every opportunity, Carolina slaves fled to Spanish Florida, where they requested Catholic baptism. Officials at St. Augustine—whose black population was drawn from Spain, Cuba, Hispaniola, and New Spain—celebrated the fugitives' choice of religion and

[66] Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 225–35, quotation on 208, and Deal, "A Constricted World," 290; Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 79–82, 86, 90.

[67] Morgan Godwyn, *The Negro's and Indian's Advocate* (London, 1680), 101, quoted in Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* 70, 130 n. 8.

[68] Wood, *Black Majority*, chaps. 1, 4, esp. 97, for a reference to a slave master who "worked many days with a Negro man at the Whip saw." See also Clarence L. Ver Steeg, *Origins of a Southern Mosaic: Studies of Early Carolina and Georgia* (Athens, Ga., 1975), 105–07.

offered sanctuary. They also valued the creoles' knowledge of the countryside, their ability to converse with English, Spanish, and Indians, and their willingness to strike back at their enslavers. Under the Spanish flag, former Carolina slaves raided English settlements at Port Royal and Edisto and liberated even more of their number. As part of the black militia, they, along with other fugitives from Carolina, fought against the English in the Tuscarora and Yamasee wars.[69]

Florida's small black population mushroomed in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, as the small but steady stream of fugitives grew with the expansion of lowcountry slavery. Slaves from central Africa—generally deemed "Angolans"—numbered large among the new arrivals, as the transatlantic trade carried thousands of Africans directly to the lowlands. Although many were drawn from deep in the interior of Africa, others were Atlantic creoles with experience in the coastal towns of Cabinda, Loango, and Mpinda. Some spoke Portuguese, which, as one Carolinian noted, was "as near Spanish as Scotch is to English," and subscribed to an African Catholicism with roots in the fifteenth-century conversion of Kongo's royal house. They knew their catechism, celebrated feasts of Easter and All Saint's Day or Hallowe'en, and recognized Christian saints.

These men and women were particularly attracted to the possibilities of freedom in the Spanish settlements around St. Augustine. They fled from South Carolina in increasing numbers during the 1720s and 1730s, and, in 1739, a group of African slaves—some doubtless drawn from the newcomers—initiated a mass flight. Pursued by South Carolina militiamen, they confronted their owners' soldiers in several pitched battles that became known as the Stono Rebellion.[70] Although most of the Stono rebels were killed or captured, some escaped to Florida, from where it became difficult to retrieve them by formal negotiation or by force. The newcomers were quickly integrated into black life

[69] Jane Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary: Fugitives in Florida, 1687–1790, *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 62 (1984), 296–302, and Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose: A Free Black Town in Spanish Colonial Florida," *AHR*, 95 (1990), 9–30; 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, 1975), 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," *J. Negro Hist.*, 9 (1924), 144–93, quotation on 150; Zora Neale Hurston, "Letters of Zora Neale Hurston on the Mose Settlement, and Negro Colony in Florida," ibid., 12 (1927), 664–67; J. D. Duncan, "Slavery and Servitude in Colonial South Carolina, 1670–1776" (Ph. D. diss., Emory University, 1964), chap. 17, quotation on 664; and J. G. Dunlop, "William Dunlop's Mission to St. Augustine in 1688," *South Carolina Historical and Genealogical Magazine*, 34 (1933), 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 fugitives' advantage. See Duncan, "Slavery and Servitude in Colonial South Carolina," 381–83.

[70] Wood, *Black Majority*, chaps. 11–12; Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," *AHR*, 96 (1991), 1101–11, quotation on 1102. Thornton makes a powerful case for the Kongolese origins of the Stono rebels in their military organization and the nature of their resistance. For the pretransfer conversion of slaves from central Africa to Christianity see Thornton, "Development of an African Catholic Church in the Kingdom of Kongo," 147–50, and *Kingdom of Kongo*, 63–68; MacGaffey, *Religion and Society in Central Africa*, 198–211; and Hilton, *Kingdom of Kongo*, 179–98.

in St. Augustine, since they had already been baptized, although they prayed—as one Miguel Domingo informed a Spanish priest—in Kikongo.[71]

Much to the delight of St. Augustine's Spanish rulers, the former Carolina slaves did more than pray. They fought alongside the Spanish against incursions by English raiders. An edict of the Spanish crown promising "Liberty and Protection" to all slaves who reached St. Augustine boosted the number of fugitives—most from Carolina—especially after reports circulated that the Spanish received runaways "with great Honors" and gave their leaders military commissions and "A Coat Faced with Velvet." In time, Spanish authorities granted freedom to some, but not all, of the black soldiers and their families.[72]

Among the unrewarded was Francisco Menéndez, a veteran of the Yamasee War and leader of the black militia. Frustrated by the ingratitude of his immediate superiors, Menéndez petitioned the governor of Florida and the bishop of Cuba for his liberty, which he eventually received. In 1738, when a new governor established Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose, a fortified settlement north of St. Augustine, to protect the Spanish capital from the English incursions, he placed Menéndez in charge. Under Captain Menéndez, Mose became the center of black life in colonial Florida and a base from which former slaves—sometimes joined by Indians—raided South Carolina. The success of the black militia in repelling an English attack on Mose in 1740 won Menéndez a special commendation from the governor, who declared that the black captain had "distinguished himself in the establishment, and cultivation of Mose." Not one to lose an opportunity, the newly literate Menéndez promptly requested that the king remunerate him for the "loyalty, zeal and love I have always demonstrated in the royal service" and petitioned for a stipend worthy of a militia captain.[73]

To secure his reward, Menéndez took a commission as a privateer, with hopes of eventually reaching Spain and collecting his royal reward. Instead, a British ship captured the famous "Signior Capitano Francisco." Although stretched out on a cannon and threatened with emasculation for alleged atrocities during the siege of Mose, Menéndez had become too valuable to mutilate. His captors gave him 200 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. Even this misadventure hardly slowed the irrepressible Menéndez. By 1752, perhaps ransomed out of bondage, he was back in his old position in Mose.[74]

[71] Thornton, "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion," 1107; Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 27; Michael Mullin, ed., *American Negro Slavery: A Documentary History* (New York, 1976), 84.

[72] Landers, "Spanish Sanctuary," 296–302; Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 9–30; Duncan, "Servitude and Slavery in Colonial South Carolina," chap. 17, quotations on 659, 663.

[73] Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 15–21, quotation on 20; Larry W. Kruger and Robert Hall, "Fort Mose: A Black Fort in Spanish Florida," *The Griot*, 6 (1987), 39–40.

[74] Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 21–22, quotations on 22.

Meanwhile, members of the fugitive community around St. Augustine entered more fully into the life of the colony as artisans and tradesmen as well as laborers and domestics. They married among themselves, into the Native American population, and with slaves as well, joining as husband and wife before their God and community in the Catholic church. They baptized their children in the same church, choosing godparents from among both the white and black congregants. Like the Atlantic creoles in New Amsterdam about a century earlier, they became skilled in identifying the lever of patronage, in this case royal authority. Declaring themselves "vassals of the king and deserving of royal protection," they continually placed themselves in the forefront of service to the crown with the expectations that their king would protect, if not reward, them. For the most part, they were not disappointed. When Spain turned East Florida over to the British in 1763, black colonists retreated to Cuba with His Majesty's other subjects, where the crown granted them land, tools, a small subsidy, and a slave for each of their leaders.[75]

In the long history of North American slavery, no other cohort of black people survived as well and rose as fast and as high in mainland society as the Atlantic creoles. The experience of the charter generations contrasts markedly with what followed: when the trauma of enslavement, the violence of captivity, the harsh conditions of plantation life left black people unable to reproduce themselves; when the strange language of their enslavers muted the tongues of newly arrived Africans; and when the slaves' skills and knowledge were submerged in the stupefying labor of plantation production. Rather than having to face the likes of Robert Carter and the imposition of planter domination, Paulo d'Angola, Samba Bambara, Juan Rodrigues, Antonio a Negro, and Francisco Menéndez entered a society not markedly different from those they had left.[76] There, in New Netherland, the Chesapeake, Louisiana, and Florida, they made a place for themselves, demonstrating confidence in their abilities to master a world they knew well. Many secured freedom and a modest prosperity, despite the presumption of racial slavery and the contempt of their captors.

The charter generations' experience derived not only from who they were but also from the special circumstances of their arrival. By their very primacy, as members of the first generation of settlers, their experience was unique. While

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[75] Ibid., quotations on 21, 23–30; Theodore G. Corbett, "Population Structure in Hispanic St. Augustine," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 54 (1976), 265, and "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries: St. Augustine," *Hisp. Amer. Hist. Rev.*, 54 (1974), 420–21.

[76] I have been unable to locate female analogues of Paulo d'Angola, Samba Bambara, Juan Rodrigues, Antonio a Negro, and Francisco Menéndez. Their absence does not, however, reflect the experience of Atlantic creoles, as small shards of evidence indicate that women played central roles in the production of creole culture, the transmission of language, the facilitation of trade, and the accumulation of capital. The best study derives from the 18th century. See George E. Brooks, Jr., "The *Signares* of Saint-Louis and Gorée: Women Entrepreneurs in Eighteenth-Century Senegal," in Nancy J. Hafkin and Edna G. Bay, eds., *Women in Africa: Studies in Social and Economic Change* (Stanford, Calif., 1976), 19–44. For an interpretation of 17th-century Chesapeake society that stresses the critical role of women in the shaping of race relations and the emergence of slavery see Kathleen Mary Brown, "Gender and the Genesis of a Race and Class System in Virginia, 1630–1750" (Ph. D. diss., University of Wisconsin, 1990).

they came as foreigners, they were no more strange to the new land than were those who enslaved them. Indeed, the near simultaneous arrival of migrants from Europe and Africa gave them a shared perspective on the New World. At first, all saw themselves as outsiders. That would change, as European settlers gained dominance, ousted native peoples, and created societies they claimed as their own. As Europeans became European-Americans and then simply Americans, their identification with—and sense of ownership over—mainland society distinguished them from the forced migrants from Africa who continued to arrive as strangers and were defined as permanent outsiders.

The charter generations owed their unique history to more than just the timing of their arrival. Before their historic confrontation with their new owner, the men and women Robert Carter purchased may have spent weeks, even months, packed between the stinking planks of slave ships. Atlantic creoles experienced few of the horrors of the Middle Passage. Rather than arriving in shiploads totaling into the hundreds, Atlantic creoles trickled into the mainland singly, in twos and threes, or by the score. Most were sent in small consignments or were the booty of privateers and pirates. Some found employment as interpreters, sailors, and *grumetes* on the very ships that transported them to the New World.[77] Although transatlantic travel in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries could be a harrowing experience under the best of circumstances, the profound disruption that left the men and women Carter purchased physically spent and psychologically traumatized was rarely part of the experience of Atlantic creoles.

Most important, Atlantic creoles entered societies-with-slaves, not, as mainland North America would become, slave societies—that is, societies in which the order of the plantation shaped every relationship.[78] In North America—as in Africa—Atlantic creoles were still but one subordinate group in societies in which subordination was the rule. Few who arrived before the plantation system faced the dehumanizing and brutalizing effects of gang labor in societies where slaves had become commodities and nothing more. Indeed, Atlantic creoles often worked alongside their owners, supped at their tables, wore their hand-me-down clothes, and lived in the back rooms and lofts of their houses. Many resided in towns, as did Paulo d'Angola, Samba Bambara, and Francisco Menéndez. The proportion of the mainland's black population living in places such as New Amsterdam, Philadelphia, Charleston, St. Augustine, and New Orleans was probably higher during the first generations of settlement than it would ever be again. Urban slaves, for better or worse, lived and worked in close proximity to their owners. The regimen imposed the heavy burdens of continual surveillance, but the same constant contact pre-

[77] Writing about the forced transfer of Africans to the New World, W. Jeffrey Bolster observes that "many of the slaves who left Africa with no maritime skills acquired rudimentary ones on the Middle Passage, along with some knowledge of European work-routines and social organization," in *Black Jacks: African-American Seamen in the Atlantic World, 1740–1865* (forthcoming).

[78] For a useful distinction between societies with slaves and slave societies see Keith Hopkins, *Conquerors and Slaves: Sociological Studies in Roman History,* 2 vols. (Cambridge, 1978), 1:99, and Moses I. Finley, "Slavery," *International Encyclopedia of the Social Sciences* (New York, 1968), and *Ancient Slavery and Modern Ideology* (New York, 1980), 79–80.

vented their owners from imagining people of African descent to be a special species of beings, an idea that only emerged with the radical separation of master and slave and the creation of the worlds of the Big House and the Quarters. Until then, the open interaction of slave and slaveowner encouraged Atlantic creoles, and others as well, to judge their enslavement by its older meaning, not by its emerging new one.

The possibility of freedom had much the same effect. So long as some black people, no matter how closely identified with slavery, could still wriggle free of bondage and gain an independent place, slavery may have carried the connotation of otherness, debasement, perhaps even transgression, iniquity, and vice, but it was not social death. The success of Atlantic creoles in rising from the bottom of mainland society contradicted the logic of hereditary bondage and suggested that what had been done might be undone.

The rise of plantation slavery left little room for the men and women of the charter generations. Their efforts to secure a place in society were put at risk by the new order, for the triumph of the plantation régime threatened not inequality—which had always been assumed, at least by Europeans—but debasement and permanent ostracism of the sort Robert "King" Carter delivered on that Virginia wharf. With the creation of a world in which peoples of African descent were presumed slaves and those of European descent free, people of color no longer had a place. It became easy to depict black men and women as uncivilized heathens outside the bounds of society or even humanity.[79]

Few Atlantic creoles entered the mainland after the tobacco revolution in the Chesapeake, the rice revolution in lowcountry Carolina, and the sugar revolution in Louisiana. Rather than being drawn from the African littoral, slaves increasingly derived from the African interior. Such men and women possessed little understanding of the larger Atlantic world: no apprenticeship in negotiating with Europeans, no knowledge of Christianity or other touchstone of European culture, no acquaintance with western law, and no open fraternization with sailors and merchants in the Atlantic trade—indeed, no experience with the diseases of the Atlantic to provide a measure of immunity to the deadly microbes that lurked everywhere in the New World. Instead of speaking a pidgin or creole that gave them access to the Atlantic, the later arrivals were separated from their enslavers and often from each other by a dense wall of language. Rather than see their skills and knowledge appreciate in value, they generally discovered that previous experience counted for little on the plantations of the New World. Indeed, the remnants of their African past were immediately expropriated by their new masters.

In the stereotypes that demeaned slaves, European and European-American slaveholders inadvertently recognized the difference between the Atlantic creoles and the men and women who followed them into bondage, revealing how the meaning of race was being transformed with the advent of the plantation. Slaveholders condemned creoles as roguish in the manner of Juan Rodrigues the "black rascal," or arrogant in the manner of Antonio a Negro, who knew

[79] Jordan, *White over Black: American Attitudes toward the Negro* (Chapel Hill, 1968), chaps. 1–6, traces the initial appearance of such notions among the transplanted English and their later triumph.

his "owne ground," or swaggering in the manner of "Signior Capitano Francisco," who stood his ground against those who threatened his manhood. They rarely used such epithets against the postcreole generations that labored on the great plantations. Instead, slaveholders and their apologists scorned such slaves as crude primitives, devoid of the simple amenities of refined society. The failings of plantation slaves were not those of calculation or arrogance, but of stark ignorance and dense stupidity. Plantation slaves were denounced, not for a desire to convert to Christianity for "worldly and perverse aims" as were the half-free blacks in New Netherland or because they claimed the "True Faith" as did the Carolinians who fled to St. Augustine, but because they knew nothing of the religion, language, law, and social etiquette that Europeans equated with civilization. The unfamiliarity of the post-Atlantic creole cohort with the dynamics of Atlantic life made them easy targets for the slaveholders' ridicule. Like the Virginia planters who slammed Africans for the "gross bestiality and rudeness of their manners," an eighteenth-century chronicler of South Carolina's history declared lowcountry slaves to be "as great strangers to Christianity, and as much under the influence of Pagan darkness, idolatry and superstition, as they were at their first arrival from Africa." Such a charge, whatever its meaning on the great lowcountry rice plantations, could have no relevance to the runaways who sought the True Faith in St. Augustine.[80]

In time, stereotypes made were again remade. During the late eighteenth century, planters and their apologists rethought the meaning of race as more than a century and a half of captivity remolded people of African descent. As a new generation of black people emerged—familiar with the American countryside, fluent in its languages, and conversant in its religions—the stereotype of the artful, smooth-talking slave also appeared. Manipulative to the point of insolence, this new generation of African-Americans peopled the slave quarter, confronted the master on their own terms, and, in the midst of the Revolution, secured freedom. African-Americans reversed the process of enslavement—among other things, taking back the naming process (although not the names) that "King" Carter had usurped.[81]

Their story—whereby Africans became creoles—was a great one and one that Americans would repeat many times in the personages of men as different as David Levinsky, the Godfather, or Kunta Kinte—as greenhorns became natives. Historians, like novelists and film makers, have enjoyed retelling the tale, but in so doing, they lost the story of another founding generation and its transit from immigrant to native. While the fathers (and sometimes the mothers) of European America, whether Puritan divines or Chesapeake adventurers,

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[80] Quotations in Bruce, *Institutional History of Virginia in the Seventeenth Century*, 1:9, and Alexander Hewatt, *An Historical Account of the Rise and Progress of the Colonies of South Carolina and Georgia*, 2 vols. (London, 1779), 2:100.

[81] Their story is told by Mullin, *Flight and Rebellion*, and *Africa in America*. On renaming see Berlin, *Slaves without Masters: The Free Negro in the Antebellum South* (New York, 1974), 51–52; Gary Nash, *Forging Freedom: The Formation of Philadelphia's Black Community, 1720–1840* (Cambridge, Mass. 1988), 79–88, and "Forging Freedom: The Emancipation Experience in the Northern Seaport Cities, 1775–1820," in Berlin and Hoffman, eds., *Slavery and Freedom in the Age of Revolution*, 20–27; and Cheryll Ann Cody, "Kin and Community among the Good Hope People after Emancipation," *Ethnohistory*, 41 (1994), 28–33.

would be celebrated by their posterity, members of black America's charter generations disappeared into the footnotes of American history. Generations of Americans lived in the shadow of John Winthrop and William Byrd, even Peter Stuyvesant and Jean Baptiste Bienville, but few learned of Paulo d'Angola, Samba Bambara, Juan Rodrigues, Antonio a Negro, and Francisco Menéndez. If Atlantic creoles made any appearance in the textbook histories, it would be as curiosities and exceptions to the normal pattern of American race relations, examples of false starts, mere tokens.

The story of how creoles became Africans was lost in a chronicle that presumed American history always moved in a single direction. The assimiliationist ideal could not imagine how the diverse people of the Atlantic could become the sons and daughters of Africa. The possibility that a society-with-slaves was a separate and distinct social formation, not a stage in the development of slave society, was similarly inconceivable in a nation in which wealth and power rested upon plantation slavery.

The causes of creole anonymity ran deep. While Carter initiated newly arrived Africans to the world of the plantation, the descendants of the charter generations struggled to maintain the status they had earlier achieved. To that end, many separated themselves from the mass of Africans on whom the heavy weight of plantation bondage fell. Some fled as a group, as did the creole community in St. Augustine that retreated with the Spanish from Florida to Cuba following the British takeover in 1764.[82]

Others merged with Native American tribes and European-American settlers to create unique biracial and triracial combinations and established separate identities. In the 1660s, the Johnson clan fled Virginia for Maryland, Delaware, and New Jersey. John Johnson and John Johnson, Jr., the son and grandson of Anthony Johnson, took refuge among the Nanticoke Indians and so-called Moors, among whom the Johnson name has loomed large into the twentieth century. Near one Nanticoke settlement in Delaware stands the small village of "Angola," the name of John Johnson's Virginia plantation and perhaps Anthony Johnson's ancestral home. Similar "Indian" tribes could be found scattered throughout the eastern half of the United States, categorized by twentieth-century ethnographers as "tri-racial isolates."[83]

Others moved west to a different kind of autonomy. Scattered throughout the frontier areas of the eighteenth century were handfuls of black people eager to escape the racially divided society of plantation America. White frontiers-

[82] Corbett, "Migration to a Spanish Imperial Frontier in the Seventeenth and Eighteenth Centuries," 420; Wilbur H. Siebert, "The Departure of the Spaniards and Other Groups from East Florida, 1763–1764," *Florida Historical Quarterly*, 19 (1940), 146; Robert L. Gold, "The Settlement of the East Florida Spaniards in Cuba, 1763–1766," ibid., 42 (1964), 216–17; Landers, "Gracia Real de Santa Teresa de Mose," 29. For the northward migration of free people of color from the Chesapeake region see Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 188.

[83] The accepted anthropological designation for the these communities is "tri-racial isolates." Scholars have traced their origins to Virginia and North Carolina in the 17th century and then their expansion into South Carolina, Kentucky, and Tennessee with various branches moving north and south. A recent survey by Virginia Easley DeMarce provides an excellent overview; "'Verry Slitly Mixt': Tri-Racial Isolate Families of the Upper South—A Genealogical Study," *National Genealogical Society Quarterly*, 80 (1992), 5–35.

men, with little sympathy for the nabobs of the tidewater, sometimes sheltered such black men and women, employing them with no questions asked. People of African descent also found refuge among the frontier banditti, whose inter-racial character—a "numerous Collection of outcast Mulattoes, Mustees, free Negroes, all Horse-Thieves," by one account—was the subject of constant denunciation by the frontier's aspiring planters.[84]

While some members of the charter generations retreated before the expanding planter class, a few moved toward it. At least one male member of every prominent seventeenth-century free black family on the Eastern Shore of Virginia married a white woman, so the Atlantic creoles' descendants would, perforce, be lighter in color. Whether or not this was a conscious strategy, there remains considerable, if necessarily incomplete, evidence that these light-skinned people employed a portion of their European inheritance—a pale complexion—to pass into white society.[85]

Retreat—geographic, social, and physical—was not the only strategy members of the charter generations adopted in the face of the emergent plantation régime. Some stood their ground, confronting white authorities and perhaps setting an example for those less fortunate than themselves. In 1667, claiming "hee was a Christian and had been severall years in England," a black man named Fernando sued for his freedom in a Virginia court. The case, initiated just as tidewater planters were consolidating their place atop Virginia society, sent Virginia lawmakers into a paroxysm that culminated in the passage of a new law clarifying the status of black people: they would be slaves for life and their status would be hereditary. In succeeding years, such Atlantic creoles—men and women of African descent with long experience in the larger Atlantic world—would continue as Fernando continued to bedevil planters and other white Americans in and out of the court room, harboring runaway slaves, pro-viding them with free papers, and joining together matters slaveholders viewed as subversive. In 1671, New York authorities singled out Domingo and Manuel Angola, warning the public "that the free negroes were from time to time entertaining sundry of the servants and negroes belonging to the Burghers . . . to the great damage of their owners." It appears that the warning did little to limit black people from meeting, for several years later New York's Common Council again complained about "the frequent randivozing of Negro Slaves att the houses of free negroes without the gates hath bin occasion of great dis-ordr." As slaveholders feared, the line between annoyance and subversion was a

[84] Rachel N. Klein, *Unification of a Slave State: The Rise of the Planter Class in the South Carolina Backcountry, 1760–1808* (Chapel Hill, 1990), 18–21, 62–72.

[85] For Johnson's whitening see Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 258–69, esp. 277. See, for example, the case of Gideon Gibson, a mulatto slaveholder who during the mid-18th century was in the process of transforming himself from "black" to "white," in Jordan, *White over Black*, 171–74; Klein, *Unification of a Slave State*, 69–71; Robert L. Meriwether, *The Expansion of South Carolina, 1729–1765* (Kingsport, Tenn., 1940), 90, 96. As a group, free people of color were getting lighter in the Chesapeake during the late 17th century and into the 18th, perhaps as part of a con-scious strategy of successful free men who married white women. See, for example, Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 187, 276 n. 20, and Berlin, *Slaves without Masters*, 3–4.

thin one. Atlantic creoles were among the black servants and slaves who stood with Nathaniel Bacon against royal authority in 1676.[86]

The relentless engine of plantation agriculture and the transformation of the mainland colonies from societies-with-slaves to slave societies submerged the charter generations in a régime in which African descent was equated with slavery. For the most part, the descendants of African creoles took their place as slaves alongside newly arrived Africans. Those who maintained their freedom became part of an impoverished free black minority, and those who lost their liberty were swallowed up in an oppressed slave majority.[87] In one way or another, Atlantic creoles were overwhelmed by the power of the plantation order.

Even so, the charter generations' presence was not without substance. During the American Revolution, when divisions within the planter class gave black people fresh opportunities to strike for liberty and equality, long-suppressed memories of the origins of African life on the mainland bubbled to the surface, often in lawsuits in which slaves claimed freedom as a result of descent from a free ancestor, sometimes white, sometimes Indian, sometimes free black, more commonly from some mixture of these elements.[88] The testimony summoned by such legal contests reveals how the hidden history of the charter generations survived the plantation revolution and suggests the mechanisms by which it would be maintained in the centuries that followed. It also reveals how race had been constructed and reconstructed in mainland North America over the course of two centuries of African and European settlement and how it would be remade.

[86] Quotation from William W. Hening, comp., *The Statutes at Large: Being a Collection of All the Laws of Virginia*, 13 vols. (Richmond, 1800–1823) 2:260; Warren M. Billings, "The Cases of Fernando and Elizabeth Key: A Note on the Status of Blacks in Seventeenth-Century Virginia," *WMQ*, 3d Ser., 30 (1973), 467–74; Billings, ed., *The Old Dominion in the Seventeenth Century: A Documentary History of Virginia, 1606–1689* (Chapel Hill, 1975), 165–69; David W. Galenson, "Economic Aspects of the Growth of Slavery in Solow, ed., *Slavery and the Rise of the Atlantic System*, 271; Fernow, ed., *Records of New Amsterdam*, 6:146, 286; Herbert L. Osgood, ed., *Minutes of the Common Council of the City of New York*, 8 vols. (New York, 1905), 1:134, 276–77; J. B. Lyon, ed., *Colonial Laws of New York from 1664 to the Revolution*, 5 vols. (Albany, 1894–1896), 1:356–57; Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 120–21. After warning Domingo and Manuel Angola not to repeat their behavior, the court ordered them to communicate its admonition to "the other remaining free negroes"; ibid.

[87] Goodfriend, *Before the Melting Pot*, 116–17; Nicholls, "Passing Through This Troublesome World," 50–53; Deal, "A Constricted World," 275–305; Breen and Innes, *"Myne Owne Ground,"* chaps. 4–5.

[88] Berlin, *Slaves without Masters*, 33–34; Shane White, *Somewhat More Independent: The End of Slavery in New York City, 1770–1810* (Athens, Ga., 1991), 117–18; Nash and Jean R. Soderlund, *Freedom by Degrees: Emancipation in Pennsylvania and Its Aftermath* (New York, 1991), 115–36. Also see the papers of the Pennsylvania Society for Promoting the Abolition of Slavery (Historical Society of Pennsylvania), and the New York Manumission Society (New-York Historical Society), for the upsurge of suits for freedom. For naming patterns within free black families that reached from the Revolutionary era back to the mid-17th century see Deal, *Race and Class in Colonial Virginia*, 342.