

# Africans and Native Americans

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*The Language of Race  
and the Evolution of Red-Black Peoples*

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# Introduction

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Thousands of volumes have been written about the historical and social relations existing between Europeans and the Native Peoples of the Americas and between Europeans and Africans, but relations between Native Americans and Africans have been sadly neglected. The entire Afro-Native American cultural exchange and contact experience is a fascinating and significant subject, but one largely obscured by a focus upon European activity and European colonial relations with 'peripheral' subject peoples.

Africans and Americans must now be studied together without their relations always having to be obscured by the separations established through the work of scholars focusing essentially upon some aspect of European expansion and colonialism.

It is especially important to note here, at the very beginning of this study, that those relations do not begin only in the Americas. On the contrary, they also take place in Europe and in Africa and perhaps also in the Pacific.

Contacts in Europe can be seen as significant because both the African and Native American ancestry there has tended to be absorbed into the general European society, and whatever earlier cultural developments have occurred have now become part of modern European culture. The impact of non-European peoples upon European societies directly *within Europe* has not, as of yet, been fully explored; and, of course, there is now a large new group of Native Americans and people of African background in Europe.

Contacts in the Americas have been studied to some extent but much work remains to be done. Contacts in Africa have been studied very little.

The fact of a relatively small but steady American presence in Africa from at least the early 1500s onward may well prove to be a vital area for future research, since one would expect to find Native American cultural influences in regions such as Angola-Zaire and Ghana-Guinea-Cape Verde especially.

It is, of course, interesting to note that some Africans were already exposed to American cultural influences before leaving Africa. The cultures brought by

Africans to the Americas may already have been influenced, especially by Brazilian Native Americans. The extent of such cultural exchange will obviously have to be worked out in careful field research in Angola, Ghana, Guinea, Cabo Verde, and other places, as well as in archival records.

This study has a modest objective, in that it seeks to introduce the subject and to primarily deal with a series of basic issues or questions which have to be resolved before proceeding to a detailed analysis of the precise nature of African-American relations. Raymond Williams, in *Keywords* (1976), has shown the importance of confronting the issue of meaning as a fundamental aspect of scholarship. I propose to apply his example to the basic terms which inform our understanding of African-American contact and mixture, terms which are part of a nomenclature developed under colonialism and racism.

Long ago, when first working with my own Powhatan-Renápe people of Virginia, Maryland, Delaware, and surrounding areas, I discovered that the meaning of racial terms was a controversial issue.

I learned that terms such as 'mulatto' and 'colored' were used, or had been used, in Virginia in a quite different way from their usage in most books including modern dictionaries. I also discovered that many questions were not answerable within the context of the latter, such as: 'what do you call a person of mixed American, European and African ancestry?' No one provided any answer, because, it seems, the American mixture with the African was generally subordinated to a focus upon (or a fascination with) only the black-white nexus.

The modern dictionaries all stated that a mulatto was the child of a black and a white or someone of mixed black and white ancestry. But where did that leave those who were also part-Indian?

In any case, I discovered that Native American descendants had been legally defined as mulattoes in Virginia in 1705, without having any African ancestry. Thus I knew that the dictionaries were wrong and that there was a lot that was hidden from view by the way most authors had written about the southern United States, about slavery, and about colored people. I later discovered also that the same thing was true as regards the Caribbean, Brazil, and much of the rest of the Americas.

The unraveling of *mis*-conceptions is almost as important as the creation of new conceptions, it would seem, and this is nowhere more true than in the realm of race relations. So before one can seriously reconstruct Black African-Native American contacts one must clear away a lot of mistakes, mistakes arising out of the very nature of discourse in a racist-colonial setting as well as mistakes arising from the assumption that the current meanings assigned to racial terms have an equal validity for the past.

As the reader will see, there is hardly a racial term which has a clear and consistent meaning over time (and space). For example, the term 'Indian' (or *indio*) has been applied to many peoples including the Indians of South Asia as well as all groups found in the 'West' Indies (the Americas) and the 'East' Indies (Filipinos, Chinese, Japanese, etc.). The term 'negro' has been applied to Black Africans, the Indians of India, Native Americans, Japanese, and slaves

of whatever ancestry. 'Black' has been used for all of the above and for non-whites in general.

By way of illustration, in attempting to grapple with the problem of Black African-Native American mixture and especially with the question of to what extent African-Americans throughout the Americas are part American Indian, it is first necessary to focus upon a clarification of such racial or ethnic terms as were used in the colonial and early national periods. Key terms include: mulatto, *pardo*, colored, free colored, negro, zambo, or sambo, mustee and mestizo.

As noted, many modern writers, whether popular or scholarly, have simply assumed that they could transfer sixteenth-, seventeenth-, or eighteenth-century racial terms to contemporary usage without any critical examination of meaning. For example, it has been assumed generally that a mulatto of, let us say, 1600, would be of the same racial background as a mulatto of 1865 or of 1900; or that a 'colored person' of 1830 would be the same as a 'colored person' of 1930.

Moreover, it has also been assumed that terms such as 'free negro' and 'free colored' can be used interchangeably and that one could, in more recent usage, substitute 'free Black' for either of these.

Many prominent writers have, it seems, been very lax in their failure to consider that the 'meaning' of a word is never a timeless, eternal constant but rather is a constantly evolving changing pointer. Thus the word 'coach' as used in the nineteenth-century (stage coach or other horse-drawn vehicle, then later a railway coach) has today become something different (for example, motor coach). And while we can trace the obvious connection between stage coach, railway coach, and motor coach it is still quite clear that we would be badly mistaken to interpret 'get on the coach' of 1840, for example as meaning 'get on the bus' of 1960! And, of course, the term 'coach' has other meanings today, aside from motor coach.

We may think we know what the word 'negro' means today but do we know what it meant in 1800 in Virginia? And did it mean the same as 'colored'? The answer to these questions is not and cannot be an exercise in deductive logic or *a priori* reasoning. It is, rather, an empirical problem which can only be solved by discovering through documentary and other evidence exactly how such terms were used. This is not an easy task, for reasons which will become clearer later.

In short, we cannot move, historiographically, from word to word or concept to concept across the centuries. We must instead actually engage the primary data in order to 'touch reality'. When we discover that one of Sir Francis Drake's pilots (not an airline pilot, incidentally) in 1595 was 'ysleño de nación mulato' and sailed from Plymouth, England (although being an 'islander' in origin), we should not picture him as if he were a *mulato* of 1981 or of 1900. *His precise racial background is not established by the use of the term 'mulato'*, as we shall see. We must ascertain from other evidence, if we can, what the Spanish author meant by his usage of this category.

During the summer of 1981 newspapers in the United States carried stories



about 'blacks' rioting in British cities. What they failed to tell their readers was that in Britain today the term 'black' is applied not only to Africans or West Indians (of whatever shade or mixture) but also to people from India, Pakistan, Bangladesh, Sri Lanka, and even to Latin Americans. (For example, a very light-skinned Chilean lady refugee living in Oxford was surprised to be referred to as a 'black'. Her dark hair, Spanish accent, and immigrant status had caused her to become 'black', at least to some English contacts.)

I have before me an appeal to 'Drop All Charges against Black Youth' which refers to the arrest of some 'young Asians' in Bradford during the summer of 1981.<sup>1</sup>

This modern British usage (which usage extends well back into earlier years) reflects very vividly the problem of assuming that English terms such as 'black', 'negro', 'mulatto', or 'colored', can be interpreted easily when found in documents of earlier eras.

When the Europeans first established intensive contacts with Africans and part-Africans, they met people with a great variety of physical characteristics. This was especially true in the Iberian peninsula and Mediterranean area, but undoubtedly many of the 'Moors' and 'Blackamoors' who came to England in Shakespeare's day were of north African as well as sub-Saharan background and from many distinct nations. Later in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, diversity was also encountered, as when most English vessels sailing to the Caribbean dropped anchor at the Cabo Verde Islands. One writer in 1647 commented on the extreme variability of physical types met there and the great beauty of the mixed Cabo Verde women.<sup>2</sup>

We must realize, therefore, that at the very beginning of the modern period racial terms as used by Iberians and as acquired by the English were going to refer to part-African peoples who might not only have the features of the Gulf of Guinea (variable as they are) but also every conceivable combination of central African, Ibero-African, Afro-Arabic and American-African mixtures.

And for our purposes it is important to stress that many Africans from the Sahel or 'savannah' belt (Hausa etc.), as well as from parts of East Africa, sometimes resemble American-African hybrids (with various combinations of high cheekbones, prominent aquiline noses, semi-wavy or 'bushy' hair, 'oriental' eye shapes, etc.). Why is this important? Simply because many part-American, part-African persons (with no European ancestry) could easily be subsumed under a racial term applicable to 'pure-blood' Africans, and would not, in any case, be especially recognizable to most observers as being part-American. The predominant physical type of the slaves brought in from Africa may have been that of coastal West Africa, but enough variability existed so that terms such as 'Blackamoor', *negro*, and 'black' cannot *a priori* be assumed to be useful for determining precise genetic identity.

Many color terms, such as 'dark', 'swarthy' and 'brown' are also quite ambiguous, as should be obvious. In a 1756 list of militia-men in King and Queen County, Virginia, for example, one finds, in addition to fair-complexioned persons, Thomas Delany as 'dark', Benjamin Wilson as 'dark', James Willimore as 'Brown', John Major as 'Brown', John Kemp as 'swarthy'

(but with light hair and freckles), John Evans as 'dark', and Richard Riddle as 'dark'. All or most of these men were born in Virginia and several were 'planters'. Were they part-American or part-African? Certainly we cannot judge their 'race' from such color-referents alone.

Similarly, in 1768, an advertisement appeared in New Jersey for 'an apprentice lad named John Foster, born in the Jersies, about 5 feet 8 inches high, of a dark complexion, and pitted with the small-pox, wears his hair with a false que to it.'<sup>3</sup>

In any case, the colonial and state courts in the United States frequently had difficulty in determining exact racial status. In 1859 a North Carolina court called in a planter as an expert who could distinguish between 'the descendants of a negro and a white person, and the descendants of a negro and an Indian.' He could also, allegedly, differentiate between a pure African and a 'white cross' or an 'Indian cross'.<sup>4</sup> Unfortunately, most of us today lack that kind of certain expertise, whatever phenotypical features are seized upon as evidence providing 'proof'.

In our efforts to reconstruct the story of Black African–Native American relations it is necessary, then, to begin with an analysis of the evolution of the meaning of racial terms, for only in this way can we hope to identify people of American and African ancestry in the past. But the study of words alone does not, in fact, reveal the subtleties of actual usage. And thus I have had to delve into many aspects of Native American–Black African history in order to reconstruct the environments in which racial and color terms have evolved and been given a new or different content.

The reader will find a great deal of the social and cultural history of Afroamericans and Native Americans in this work, woven together with broad social history as it relates to colonialism, slavery and racism. *But the primary purpose of this study is not to write a comprehensive account of Native American–African relations but rather to establish a sound empirical and conceptual basis for further study in this area and, more importantly, to demonstrate beyond any doubt that old assumptions must be set aside.* This latter is especially true as regards the extent of Native American–African mixture and the significant genetic contribution of Americans to present-day 'black' or 'Afroamerican' populations in the Caribbean, Brazil, the United States, and elsewhere.

This work will, I hope, make a major contribution to the field of the history of race relations and, more specifically, to the study of the formation of plantation, creole, and colonial cultures in the Americas and elsewhere. Because of the data presented herein, a great deal of revision will have to be made in these areas, as well as in the fields studying the evolution of modern African, Afroamerican, and Native American cultures.

Finally, I hope that this study of interethnic contact and racial classifying will lead to progress in the field of human rights by highlighting and clarifying a major area of abuse: the arbitrary and often racist practice of defining the identities of other human beings by powerful outsiders, as well as by governments and institutions.

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# 1

## Africans and Americans: Inter-Continental Contacts Across the Atlantic, to 1500

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### AMERICANS CROSSING THE ATLANTIC BEFORE COLUMBUS

The meeting of Native Americans and Africans, of people from two great continents of the earth, can be described in many ways. A fitting mode in which to begin is to cite a Native American story from Guyana, presented by Jan Carew, in which Nyan, an African sky-spirit, along with the African earth-mother, the African river-mother, and Anancy the Spider-trickster met the Great Spirit, the Father Sun, and other spirit-powers of the Americans.<sup>1</sup>

The next day, all the peoples of the earth complained to Father Sun and for the first time, the ebony people, who were neighbors of Tihona, made themselves heard. . . . The Great Spirit invited Nyan, the anthracite-coloured Sky-God . . . to share his domains. . . . They [the African spirits] agreed on condition that the Great Spirit, in turn, shared the distant kingdoms of earth and sky that Nyan ruled.<sup>2</sup>

Pia, an American child of the Sun and of Tihona, the Mist-woman, became a brother to Anancy the Spiderman, and both agreed to live among human beings.

Thus the spirit-powers of the Black Africans are said to have established a close cooperative relationship with the spirit-powers of the Americans. This same cooperation and reciprocal relationship can also be seen in Brazil, where Tupinamba and Guaraní *candomblés* exist side by side with those of Congo-Angola and Nago orientation and where Native American and African spiritual powers are called upon for assistance in various contexts.<sup>3</sup>

The dimensions of African-American contact can also be seen in a painting by the Dutch artist Jan Steen (1645) in which the making of a marriage contract in the Netherlands area is depicted. The future bridegroom is of African ancestry while a man of American race is an active onlooker on the right-hand side of the scene. The bride is of European Dutch background.<sup>4</sup>

Thus in spiritual as well as secular contexts, the American and African peoples have interacted with each other in a variety of settings and situations. These interactions may well have begun in very ancient times.

J. A. Rogers, Leo Wiener, Ivan Van Sertima, and others have cited evidence, including the "Olmec" stone heads of Mexico, pointing towards early contacts between American and African cultures.<sup>5</sup> I do not propose here to explore the early archaeological evidence which, in essence, requires a separate study, but instead, I will cite briefly some tantalizing data which suggests contacts in *both* directions.

It is now well known that the Atlantic Ocean contains a series of powerful 'rivers' or currents which can facilitate the movement of floating objects from the Americas to Europe and Africa as well as from the latter to the Americas. In the North Atlantic the most prominent current is that of the 'Gulfstream' which swings through the Caribbean and then moves in a northeasterly direction from Florida to the Grand Banks off Terra Nova (Newfoundland), turning then eastwards towards the British Isles and the Bay of Biscay. This current has carried debris from Jamaica and the Caribbean to the Hebrides and Orkneys of Scotland. Moreover, Jean Merrien tells us that valuable hardwood was commonly washed ashore along the coasts of Ireland and Wales: 'This timber from the ocean, borne by the Gulf Stream, really came from the rivers of Mexico.' Merrien, a student of trans-Atlantic navigation by small vessels, also states that

the first attempt – the first success – [of crossing the Atlantic by one man] could only come from the American side, . . . because the crossing is much less difficult in that direction. A French writer has said (justly, in all probability) that if America had been the Old World its inhabitants would have discovered Europe long before we did, in fact, discover America.

This is because of the prevailing winds from the west as well as the currents. One can, says Merrien, sail in a 'straight line' from Boston via Newfoundland to Ireland or Cornwall 'with almost the certainty of fair winds'. The other direction requires 'twice the distance, thrice the time, and four times the sweat'.

In the 1860s a 48-foot-long sloop, *Alice*, was navigated from North America to the Isle of Wight in less than 20 days with very favorable winds; and in recent times a wooden raft was propelled from Canada to northern Europe by means of this ocean river. Moreover, Stephen C. Jett cites the 68-day passage of one William Verity from Florida to Ireland in a 12-foot sloop as well as the crossing by two men from New York to the Scilly Islands in 55 days in a 17-foot dory powered only by oars. Thus the Gulfstream demonstrably can propel small craft successfully from the Americas to Europe.

Perhaps this is the explanation behind the local Dutch tradition that holds that in AD 849 one Zierik arrived by boat to found the coastal city of Zierikzee and why the local people believed that he had arrived in an Inuit (Greenland) kayak which was on display there for several centuries. The kayak may, indeed, not have been Zierik's original craft but it very possibly points toward a genuine folk tradition of a crossing of the Atlantic from the west.<sup>6</sup>

In this context it is also worth noting a report that Columbus had information about strange people from the west who had reached Ireland prior to 1492, doubtless via the Gulfstream. Merrien tells us that Bartholomew or Christopher Columbus had made marginal notes in their copy of Pius II's *Historia* (1477) to the effect that 'some men have come from Cathay by heading east. We have seen more than one remarkable thing, especially in Galway, in Ireland, two people tied to two wrecks, a man and a woman, a superb creature.' Merrien also believes that the first documented case of a single navigator crossing the Atlantic consists in the record of a Native American who reached the Iberian peninsula long before Columbus' day.

In the Middle Ages there arrived one day on the coast of Spain a man "red and strange" in a craft described as a hollowed tree. From the recorded description, which specifically states that he was not a Negro, he might well have been a native of America in a *piragua* – a dug-out canoe . . . the unfortunate man, ill and enfeebled, died before he had been taught to make himself understood.

To return to our own discussion of the Gulfstream, it should be noted that this eastward-flowing current has a southern extension which swings southwards along the west coast of Europe to the Iberian peninsula and on to the Canary Islands. From the latter region it turns southwestwards and then westwards, returning to the Americas in the vicinity of Trinidad and rejoining the Caribbean segment of the Gulfstream. Thus it would be theoretically possible to float in a great circle from the Caribbean to Europe and northwestern Africa and then back again to the Caribbean.

A North American archaeologist, E. F. Greenman, has argued that the crossing of the North Atlantic was 'feasible' before the end of the Pleistocene period (about 11,000 years ago) 'for a people with kayaks and the Beothuk type of canoe [from Newfoundland], if at that time the ocean was filled with floating ice from the Scandinavian and Labrador glaciers, and from freezing of the sea itself.' The same author attempts to show many parallels between Pleistocene European and American cultures, but sadly neglects African comparisons. In any case, his argument is based solely upon hypothetical European movements towards the Americas, movements which would have had to fight *against* the currents (and winds) rather than flowing *with* them.<sup>7</sup>

Bartolomé de las Casas, in his monumental *Historia de las Indias*, cites examples of rafts or canoes (*almadías*), dead Americans, and debris reaching the Azores Islands before 1492. This evidence will be discussed below. Here it is only necessary to note that the Azores lay in an area of weak currents but that, even so, with the help of winds from the west and northwest some boats could reach the islands from the Americas.<sup>8</sup>

In the South Atlantic, as noted, a strong current runs from the west coast of North Africa towards Trinidad. Below that a counter-current is sometimes shown, running eastwards from South America to the Gulf of Guinea. Then a strong current runs westwards from the mouth of the River Zaire (Congo), to the north of the Amazon, where it divides, part joining the northwesterly

current which becomes the Gulfstream and part swinging southwards along the coast of Brazil until it veers eastwards across the Atlantic to Africa again, reaching southwestern Africa, from whence it curves northwards to rejoin the Zaire-Amazon current. Thus, as farther north, a great circle is formed.

Fundamentally, what we see are two great circular rivers in the ocean, the northern circle running in a clockwise direction and the southern circle in a counter-clockwise direction, with a smaller counter-current in between, running eastwards. In the South Atlantic Americans might have reached Africa via the counter-current or, more likely, via the Brazil to southwest Africa current. Africans could have used either the southern (westwards) swing of the North Atlantic circle or the northern (also westwards) swing of the South Atlantic circle, coming from the Sierra Leone-Senegal region or the Congo-Angola region respectively.

Of course, one of the problems with the argument for early trans-Atlantic crossings is that in the modern period such islands as Iceland, Bermuda, the Azores, the Madeiras, the Cabo Verdes, Tristan da Cunha, Ascension, and even São Tomé (off Nigeria and Cameroun) were uninhabited prior to documented Irish, Norse, and Portuguese occupations. On the other hand, some of these islands are small or far from major currents. Bartolomé de las Casas states that the Azores were the *islas Cassitérides* mentioned by Strabo in his *Geography* and which islands were repeatedly visited by the Carthaginians. Allegedly, there lived in the Azores a people who were of *loro* or *baço* color, that is to say, people of the color of Native Americans or intermediate between white and black.<sup>9</sup> The Canary Islands were inhabited in the fifteenth century by a people who were isolated from nearby Africa and whose cultures somewhat resembled those of some Americans. Moreover, the personal names of the many *canarios* enslaved by the Spanish have a decidedly American 'ring' about them (although such resemblances do not always mean a great deal).<sup>10</sup> The *canarios* are sometimes described as a *loro* or brownish-colored people in the slave registers.

The fact that the islands of Cabo Verde and Madeira were uninhabited in the fifteenth century does indeed pose a problem for African navigation to the Americas; however, that will be discussed later. Now it is necessary to consider briefly evidence relating to the maritime capabilities of Americans in the late fifteenth century, to see whether voyages across the Atlantic might have been feasible.

The Americans of the Caribbean region were outstanding navigators and seamen, as noted by the Spaniards and other Europeans. Christopher Columbus was impressed everywhere by their skill. He noted, for example, that their boats (*barcos y barquillos*) 'which they call *canoas*', were excellently made from a single tree, were very large and long, carrying sometimes 40 or 45 men, two or more *codos* (perhaps a man's breadth) in width. The American boats were unsinkable, and if in a storm they happened to capsize, the sailors simply turned them back over while swimming in the sea, bailing them out with goards carried for that purpose.<sup>11</sup> Andrés Bernaldez recorded (from Columbus) that the

Americans navigated in their *canoas* with exceptional agility and speed, with 60 to 80 men in them, each with an oar, and they went by sea 150 leagues or more. They were 'masters of the sea'. (A canoe was later discovered in Jamaica which was 96 feet long, 8 feet broad, made from a single tree.)<sup>12</sup>

Columbus found that the Lucayo people of the Bahamas were not only very well acquainted with Cuba (one and a half days away via canoe) but also knew that from Cuba it was a 'ten days' journey' to the mainland (doubtless Mexico or South America since Florida would have been closer than that). He also saw a boat which was 95 palms long in which 150 persons could be contained and navigate. Others were seen which were of great workmanship and beauty, being expertly carved. A canoe was also seen being navigated successfully by one man in high winds and rough sea.

At Haiti, Columbus learned that that island, or Jamaica, was ten days' journey distant from the mainland and that the people there were clothed (thus referring to Mexico or Yucatan most likely). In another place he learned of a land, 100 leagues away, where gold was mined.<sup>13</sup>

The Arawak and Carib-speaking peoples of the Caribbean were well informed geographically. Columbus captured Caribs in the Antilles (such as Guadeloupe) from whom he learned of the South American mainland, but he also learned of the mainland from Americans living on St Croix and Borinquen (Puerto Rico). Americans who were taken into Europe drew maps there which showed Haiti, Cuba and the Bahamas, as well as 'many other islands and countries' which were named in the native language.<sup>14</sup>

It seems quite clear that the geography of the Caribbean basin and the Bahamas, including that of the adjacent mainland, was accurately known to the Americans. Moreover, it seems clear that voyages of 60 to 150 leagues were undertaken (about 180 to 450 miles, figured conservatively at three miles per league although the Spanish nautical league often exceeded that distance).

When Spaniards reached the area of Yucatan in 1517 and again in 1518 they found that the Maya people were already aware of what had transpired on the islands invaded earlier by the Europeans. The Maya were uniformly hostile and, at Campeche, 'they then made signs with their hands to find out whether we came from the direction of the sunrise, repeating the word "Castilan" "Castilan" and we did not understand what they meant by Castilan.' In the latter year the Spaniards met an American woman from Jamaica on the island of Cozumel. She told them

that two years earlier she had started from Jamaica with ten Indians in a large canoe intending to go and fish near some small islands, and that the currents had carried them over to this island where they had been driven ashore, and that her husband and all the Jamaica Indians had been killed and sacrificed.

It seems more likely that the Jamaicans had fled from their home to avoid Spanish slave-raiders and that they did not want to fall under European control; hence her story. In any case, all of the Maya towns along the coast in 1517 were well aware of the threat posed by the Spaniards. This news could have been

conveyed by two Spaniards living among them, but whatever the source the 'news' had spread very widely.

Even more significant, for our purposes, is the fact that when the Spaniards reached Yucatan in 1517 they

saw ten large canoes, called piraguas, full of Indians from the town, approaching us with oars and sails. The canoes were large ones made like hollow troughs cleverly cut out from huge single logs, and many of them would hold forty Indians.

The fact that these boats were equipped with sails is indeed interesting, because it means that wind-power could be used to run against currents or to navigate rapidly even where currents were lacking. Clinton R. Edwards also cites other evidence documenting the use of sails by Carib and other American peoples in the Caribbean and by Ecuadorian-north Peruvian sailors in the Pacific, both at the time of initial Spanish contact.

As an example of the navigational capabilities of the Caribbean natives, we can cite the case in 1516 when 70 or 80 Spaniards in a caravel and a *bergantine* (brig) sailed from Santiago de Cuba to the Guanaxa Islands off Honduras (now Roatan). There they enslaved many Guanaxa people and carried them in the caravel to Havana, Cuba. The Americans were subsequently able to overcome their Spanish guards, seizing the sailing ship 'y haciéndose a la vela, cual si fueran expertos navegantes, volvieron a su patria que distaba más de doscientas leguas.' In short, the Americans were such 'expert navigators' that they were able to sail from Havana to Honduras, a distance of more than 200 leagues, in a European vessel with no assistance from any non-Americans; and this after having been kept below decks during their journey to Havana.

The navigational capabilities of the Americans of the Caribbean-Mexican coastal area extend back well into pre-Columbian times, as attested to by pictures of boats found in various codices, murals, and sculptured walls in the Mexico-Yucatan region. In about the tenth century AD also the Mexican leader Quetzalcoatl is recorded as having sailed with a raft to the east (rising sun) from the Gulf coast of central Mexico.<sup>15</sup>

Along the Atlantic coast of North America, Americans also went out to sea. On the South Carolina coast, for example, the Sewee outfitted boats with sails and on one occasion a group of natives decided to visit England. They outfitted a canoe with sails and went out into the Atlantic but were picked up by a British vessel and sold as slaves.<sup>16</sup>

In 1524 Verrazano saw dugout boats outside Chesapeake Bay which were 20 feet long, while canoes were seen in Narraganset Bay, going out to sea, with 14 or 15 men in them.<sup>17</sup> One report of a later date states that Americans navigated between New Jersey and Chesapeake Bay, using canoes specially fitted out with sails and decks.

But when they want [to go] a distance over the sea, as for instance to Virginia or New Holland, then they fasten two punts [canoes, dugouts] together broadwise with timbers over them, right strongly put together, the deck made completely tight and side board of



planks; sails of rugs and freze [cloth] joined together; ropes and tackle made of bast and slender spruce roots; [and they] also mason for themselves a little fireplace on deck.<sup>18</sup>

To the south, along the Brazilian coast, the Portuguese and other Europeans also witnessed American navigation at sea. An Italian traveling with Magellan in 1519 noted that the Brazilians' boats were made from the trunk of a tree, and were so large that each boat held 30 to 40 men. In the 1550s Hans Staden noted that the dugout boats of the Santos–Rio de Janeiro area could hold up to 30 men, were four feet in width, with some being larger and some smaller.

In these they move rapidly with oars, navigating with them as far as they wish. When the sea is rough they take the canoes ashore until good weather comes again. They do not go more than two leagues straight out to sea but along the coast they navigate far.<sup>19</sup>

In 1565 the Jesuit José de Anchieta stated that the Americans of the same region had dozens or more *canoas* made from a single tree, with other pieces of the same cutting used as 'boards' well attached with vines. They were large enough to carry 20 to 25 persons with their arms and supplies, and some held up to 30 persons. With these boats they were able to cross 'such fierce [*bravas*] seas that it is a frightful thing and not to be imagined or believed without seeing'. Anchieta also noted that if the canoes turned over, the navigators simply bailed out the boat, turned it right side up, and carried on.

Thus the Brazilian boats were also very well made, were very fast and manoeuvrable and could be righted at sea if necessary. They were used to carry warriors and supplies over considerable distances along the coast, as, for example, from Santos (São Vicente) to Rio de Janeiro.<sup>20</sup>

In general, it would appear that the Americans of the Caribbean built the biggest boats and were most accustomed to going far out to sea, while the Atlantic coastal groups were more oriented to staying within a certain distance of land (six miles or so). On the other hand, all were capable of being carried out to sea by strong winds and currents and yet surviving rough water.

It should also be noted that several groups along the Pacific coast manufactured seaworthy craft and were capable of reaching Polynesia by means of favorable currents. It is beyond the scope of this study to discuss such voyages but one must note that many Pacific island peoples may very well be of American ancestry mixed with varying proportions of 'Oceanic Negroid' (African?) and Malayo–Indonesian stocks.<sup>21</sup>

Returning to the Atlantic, it is interesting to note that there is some additional evidence to support the notion that Americans crossed in an easterly direction. For example, Pliny, in his *Natural History*, reported that

Nepos de septentrionali circuitu tradit Quinto Metello Celeri, Afrani in consulatu collegae sed tum Galliae proconsuli, Indos a rege Sueborum dono datos, que ex India commercii causa navigantes tempestatibus essent in Germaniam abrepti.

Thus we learn that Cornelius Nepos, an author of several works in the last century BC, and virtually a contemporary observer, recorded that as to the northern circuit of the seas (from France northwards)

that Quintus Metellus Celer, colleague of Afranius in the consulship [of Rome] but at the time pro-consul of Gaul [south of the Alps] received from the [Suevi] king . . . a present of Indians, who on a trade voyage had been carried off their course by storms to Germany.

In order to interpret this event, which occurred about 60 BC, we must keep in mind that for Pliny Germany commenced far to the south of Denmark (that is in the Belgium-Netherlands region most likely). Pliny states that in the time of Augustus 'Germaniam classe circumvecta ad Cimbrorum promunturium' (a fleet 'sailed round Germany' to the promontory of the Cimbri, in Denmark).<sup>22</sup>

Also Pliny believed that the *Indos* had reached a Germanic-speaking zone by way of a fictitious sea which was thought by him to have connected India with the Baltic. We know, however, that the only way that people looking like 'Indians' could have been driven by a storm to northern Europe would have been across the Atlantic from America. It should also be noted that the *Suevi* group of Germanic-speaking tribes is thought by some to have included the Angles, a people living at a later date along the North Sea shore of Germany.

Several later writers, citing the Nepos account, assume that the 'Indians' were driven across the Atlantic. Certainly there is no reason to doubt that the builders of Teotihuacan and the Olmecs were engaged in widespread trade or that they possessed navigational capabilities, to mention only two American groups active in the 60 BC time-period.<sup>23</sup>

Archaeological evidence may also support later eastbound voyages, since Inuit (Eskimo) type harpoon-heads have been found at two locations in Ireland and Scotland. For example, a harpoon-head of very worn condition was found in County Down, Ireland of which it is 'absolutely certain, that it is of Archaic Eskimo origin'.

Specifically, this harpoon-head is of 'Thule type', dated probably between the tenth and thirteenth centuries. It was very unlikely to have been carried to Ireland by a seal or a walrus and most likely was taken there by a living Inuit hunter, perhaps on a Norse vessel. The authors of the report on this find state that 'so far no harpoon-head of the mesolithic period has been recovered from Ireland, and the present specimen has no parallels among prehistoric European finds.'<sup>24</sup> The harpoon-head found in Scotland may be of 'old Thule' type and is perhaps earlier in date than the Irish discovery. It was found before 1876 in Aberdeenshire, in sandy ground.<sup>25</sup>

Inuit navigation will be discussed below, but here it is worth noting that the Angmagssalik people of east Greenland in the eighteenth century used umiaks to journey all the way around the southern tip of Greenland to barter on the west coast. Often they did not beach the umiaks but moored them in the water, having no need to dry them out. Such boats *might* have survived the kind of strong easterly winds which in 1347 drove a small Norse boat all the way from Markland (Labrador) to Iceland.<sup>26</sup>

Las Casas and other writers report that Columbus knew before his 1492 voyage of Americans reaching the Azores, along with 'reeds', pine trees and other debris driven by westerly and northwesterly winds. Certain Azorean

settlers had told him that the sea had tossed up on the island of Las Flores the bodies of two dead persons, 'who seemed to have very wide faces and features unlike those of Christians'. Moreover, on another occasion, it was said that in the Cabo de la Verga and its vicinity *almadías* or canoes were seen outfitted with a sort of 'house'. These canoes were driven from place to place or island to island by the force of winds, and the occupants had apparently perished or disappeared while the vessels drifted for a time in the Azores region.

Also it was known that a Portuguese pilot had seen an 'ingeniously carved piece of wood' some 450 leagues to the west of Portugal, which wood was being driven from the west and had not been carved with iron tools.<sup>27</sup>

#### AFRICANS CROSSING THE ATLANTIC BEFORE COLUMBUS

Columbus was also aware that Africans may well have utilized ocean currents to navigate to the Americas. His 1498 voyage specifically used the southern route from the Cabo Verde Islands to Trinidad, an easy crossing travelled consistently thereafter by Spaniards, Portuguese, Britons and others. Columbus was especially intrigued to see what lands lay in the South American direction, since the king of Portugal had said that there was *tierra firme* in that direction and was greatly inclined to make discoveries to the southwest 'y que se habían hallado canoas que salían de la costa de Guinea, que navegaban al Oeste con mercaderías.' In short, the Portuguese had found boats (*canoas*) which left from West Africa to navigate to the west with merchandise.<sup>28</sup>

In the Gulf of Paría area, near Trinidad, Columbus found that the Americans trajeron pañezuelos de algodón muy labrados y tejidos, con colores y labores como los llevan de Guinea, de los ríos a la Sierra Leona, sin diferencia, y dice que no deben comunicar con aquéllos, porque hay de aquí donde él agora esta, mas de 800 leguas; abajo dice que paracen almaizares.

Thus he saw well-made multi-colored scarves or sashes, identical with those of Sierra Leone, but because of the distance he thought that the two peoples 'ought not' to be in communication. Later Columbus stated that each American wore scarves which resembled *almaizares* (Moorish sashes), one for the head and one for the rest of the body.<sup>29</sup>

Nonetheless, one of Columbus' motives in examining the area around Trinidad was to

experimentar lo que decían los indios desta Española, que había venido a ella de la parte del Austro y del Sueste gente negra, y que trae los hierros de las açagayas de un metal a que llaman guanín, de lo cual había enviado a los reyes hecho el ensaye, donde se halló que de treinta y dos pantes, las diez y ocho eran de oro y las seis de plata y las ocho de cobre.

Thus, Columbus wanted to verify the truth of what the Americans of Haiti had stated previously, to the effect that 'black people' had come from the south and

southeast and that their *azagaya* (spear) heads were made of *guanín*, a brass or bronze-like mixture of gold, silver and copper.

Las Casas doubted the truth of one of Columbus' stories, about an island with only women,

como lo que aquí dice que entendía haber isla que llamaba Guanín donde había mucho oro, y no era sino que había en alguna parte guanín mucho, y esto era cierto especio de oro bajo que llamaban guanín, que es algo morado, el cual cognoscen por el olor y estimarlo en mucho.

Thus the existence of an island of Guanín where much gold was to be found was also doubted. Probably in some region there was much *guanín*, which was a base type of gold (*oro*), somewhat 'purplish' (*morado*), esteemed much by the Americans and known by its smell. Significantly, the Americans of the Gulf of Paría area possessed pieces of gold but it was 'muy bajo, que parecía sobredorado' (very low-grade, appearing to be alloyed with, or gilded over silver or base metal). No evidence of 'black people' was found in the Trinidad-Paría region, the Americans being either of *indio* color or near-white, many being 'tan blancos como nosotros y mejores cabellos y bien cortados' ('as white as us and better hair, well-cut')<sup>30</sup>

Thus it seems likely that *guanin* was a base alloy or gilding of gold which was quite common in the Caribbean region. It may well be that the 'black people' who brought spears tipped with it to Haiti were only Americans painted black (a common practice) and not Africans. (One must also remember that Columbus' knowledge of American language was virtually non-existent.)

In 1464-5 Alvisio da Ca'da Mosto wrote a description of his visit of a few years before to the West African coast. He noted that the West Africans of the kingdom of Senegal (to Cape Verde) were using *azagaie* (spears) with worked and barbed iron heads, and that the Wolofs of Senegal obtained from Gambia curved *alfanges* (swords) made of iron 'sem nenhun aco (azzale)', without steel.

He also noted that they did not have ships, nor were any seen, but those Africans living along the river of Senegal and by the sea had some *zoppoli*, called *almadie* (*almadías*) by the Portuguese (dugout boats), the largest of which carried only three or four men and which were used for fishing, as noted:

Non hanno navilii né mai li viddero, salvo dapoi che hanno avuto conocimiento de' Portogallesi. Vero è che coloro che abitano sopra questo fiume, e alcuni di quelli che stanno alle marine, hanno alcuni zoppoli, cioè almadie tutte d'un legno, che portano da tre in quattro uomini al più nelle maggiori, e con queste vanno alle volte a pescare, e passano il fiume e vanno di loco a loco.<sup>31</sup>

Only very small *almadías* were seen beyond Cabo Verde also and this, coupled with the fact that the Cape Verde Islands were found to be uninhabited, without any trace of occupancy, would seem to argue against much West African marine navigation, at least in the years 1455-63.<sup>32</sup> The use of iron spear-points also tends to argue against the accuracy of Columbus' information relative to 'black people' reaching Haiti with spear-points of a softer metal.

(One should note that the Africans of the Cape Verde mainland were reported as using bows and arrows, rather than spears, in the Ca'da Mosto narrative.)

It is possible that Columbus, who probably never did understand what the Americans of Haiti were saying, was confused and that the *guanín*-using people were different from the black people mentioned. On the other hand, the evidence is perhaps unconvincing by and of itself.

There are, however, bits and pieces of data tending to at least provide some support for West African voyages to the Americas. For example, Pedro Mártir de Anglería obtained information (at second hand), to the effect that in 1513 Vasco Núñez de Balboa met members of a 'tribe of Ethiopians' in Panama. While crossing the peninsula, Balboa reached the native village of Cuarecua on the Caribbean side of the summit of the mountain and

encontraron allí esclavos negros de una región que dista de Cuarecua sólo dos días, en cual no se crían más que negros, y estos feroces y sobremanera crueles. Piensen que en otro tiempo pasaron de la Etiopia negros a robar y que, naufragando, se establecieron en aquellas montañas. Los de Cuarecua tienen odios intestino con esos negros, y se esclavizan mutuamente o se matan.

Thus the Spaniards actually are said to have seen black slaves belonging to the Americans but they learned that these slaves came from a totally black village located two days' journey away, and they conjectured that the blacks had come from Ethiopia (Black Africa) at some earlier date.

López de Gómara also reports that when Núñez de Balboa reached Cuarecua he found *algunos negros* (some blacks) who were slaves of the American ruler. The Spaniards could only learn that there were 'men of that color close to there, with whom they have frequent war'. López goes on to state that 'these were the first *negros* which they saw in Indias, and I think that no more have been seen since'. The *negros* were 'as of Guinea'. López never visited the Americas and his 1552 work is based on reports received in Spain.<sup>33</sup>

Since Panama lies along the current coming westwards from Africa via Trinidad, such a journey is quite possible. On the other hand, it is perhaps more probable that these Africans were runaway slaves from Haiti who conspired with their American hosts to fool the Spaniards about their origins. (It was very common for Americans to concoct stories designed to fool the Europeans, once the latter's avariciousness and imperialistic designs were understood.) Runaway Africans had already joined the Americans on Haiti by 1502 and doubtless some would have tried to leave the island. (Nonetheless, prevailing currents would probably have taken them towards Florida rather than towards Panama, unless they knew how to take advantage of American navigational skills.)

A Jesuit also makes reference (in 1554) to his judgement that some Ethiopians were living beyond the Amazon River region, 'in alia parte maris' (Latin) or 'na outra banda do mar' (Portuguese) but this was secondhand information. Moreover, Black Africans are recorded as having escaped to the forest from Bahia with the help of Americans who captured a Portuguese slave

ship prior to July 1559.<sup>34</sup> The 1554 account may indicate that Brazilian Americans knew of the existence of Africa, rather than that Africans were in America.

Thus we are left with intriguing possibilities, but with no hard evidence. Thor Heyerdahl has noted that a rubber boat was able to travel from the Canary Islands to the West Indies in recent times, but early sources tell us that the Canary Islanders had 'no means of navigation'.<sup>35</sup> Thus, one sort of evidence tends to balance out the other.

We are, however, still left with a number of significant problems, such as how plants of the banana-plantain family reached the Americas and West Africa, how certain species of cotton spread, whether the yam was present in the pre-Columbian Caribbean, and so on. The spread of banana-plantain-pacoba is of special significance, since it could not remain viable if carried in salt water. The *pacoba*, a banana, was clearly indigenous to South America.

A Brazilian author states that 'if the banana was known in Asia and Africa, what the first chroniclers called the *pacoba*, i.e., the "golden" banana, was not.'<sup>36</sup> About 1535 a Portuguese pilot described the bananas of São Tomé Island, Africa. He states that 'they have commenced to plant' there and they are called *abellana*: 'vi hanno cominciato a piantar quella erba che diventa in un anno cosi grande che par arbore, e fa quelli rasia modo di fichi che in Alessandria di Egitto, como ho inteso, chiamano *muse*; in detta isola la domandano *abellana*.' In the 1520s Leo Africanus described the *muse* of Egypt, the same plant as above.<sup>37</sup> A report on the Mina area (Ghana) in 1572 stated that bananas were also planted there, 'which in the Indies of Castilla were called *platanos*', and also that near 'Agri' the bananas grew in thickets so that it seemed that no one had to plant them there.<sup>38</sup>

In Brazil bananas and pacobas were quite important in the food supply. *Bananas asadas* (roasted bananas) were eaten by the Jesuits in 1561 when the wheat supply failed at Bahia, while the Jesuits at Espirito Santo in 1562 had many fruits, 'especially that which is called bananas, which last all the year' and is 'a great aid to the sustenance of this house'.<sup>39</sup> When lands were donated for the college of Bahia in 1563 one of the first tasks was to plant *bananas* on them.<sup>40</sup>

In the 1580s Gabriel Soares de Sousa stated of Brazil:

Pacoba é uma fruta natural d'esta terra, a qual se dá em uma arvore muito molle e facil de cortar . . . na India chamam a estas pacobeiras figueiras e as fruto figos . . . e a estas pacobas chama o gentio pacobuçu, que quer dizer pacoba grande.

Ha outra casta, que as indios chamam pacobamirim que quer dizer pacoba pequena.<sup>41</sup>

Thus Brazil had several types of native bananas, called pacobas, some large and some small, the latter being the size of fingers and called *pacobamirim*. The large pacobas were said to be known in India as 'figs' and in Brazil as *pacobuzú*.

Brazil also had, by the 1580s, bananas derived from São Tomé of Africa, which in India were said to be called *figos de horta*. 'Os negros de guiné são mas

affeiçados a estas bananas que ás pacobas, e d'ellas usam mas suas roças . . . ' The *negros* of Guinea preferred the São Tomé bananas to the pacobas. In the 1640s George Marcgrave, the young naturalist, described the Brazilian varieties botanically.<sup>42</sup>

Varieties of the banana-plantain family were widely dispersed throughout the Caribbean region and descriptions of them date back to at least the 1530s. An early English visitor to Barbados (1650s) has drawn pictures of the native varieties on that island, while an English traveller among the Miskito people of Nicaragua found in 1681 that one of their main agricultural plants was the plantain (along with the yam).<sup>43</sup>

The problem of the dispersal of the banana-pacoba by human action demands more thorough study, but, in any case, it stands as a strong argument for ancient maritime contact between the Americas and either Indonesia, southeast Asia, Africa, or all of these. The dispersal of the sweet potato and other crops from the Americas through the Pacific stands as a related phenomenon. It should be noted that with the exception of American plants being dispersed in the Pacific, virtually all writers dealing with the ancient diffusion of crops and other cultural influences exhibit an extraordinary anti-American bias. If a trait is, for example, found on both sides of the Atlantic most diffusionists *a priori* favor an east-to-west dispersal and simply ignore any possible influences from west to east.<sup>44</sup>

#### KIDNAPPED AMERICANS IN EUROPE BEFORE 1492

In any case, Americans did not reach Europe and Africa solely by means of voluntary voyages or storm-driven adventures. European expeditions to the Americas are known to have taken thousands of Americans to the east, and some of these involuntary journeys preceded the time of Columbus.

By the ninth century AD, the European frontier was advancing northwards and westwards with Irish and Scottish hermits or monks reaching Iceland. Close behind them were Norse-speaking settlers and raiders from Norway and the various islands north of Scotland. Our knowledge of what happened in this region is shrouded in mystery because the earliest detailed sources, the Icelandic sagas, are of a much later date and are oriented towards the adventures of particular individuals only.

According to the sagas, Greenland was not reached by the Norse until very late in the tenth century, being named at that time by Eric the Red. On the other hand, several bits of information might indicate earlier contact.

First, a papal bull attributed to 834–5 reportedly already mentions both Iceland and Greenland. Secondly, a pale-colored woman with chestnut hair was reportedly seen among the Americans of Vinland (Newfoundland) in *c.* 1006. Thirdly, when the Norse reached Greenland in *c.* 985–6 they found

both towards east and west, traces of human dwellings as well as fragments of small boats made of skin and such instruments of stone which made it clear that the same kind

of people had lived [or had journeyed] there, who had peopled Vinland and whom the Greenlanders [Norse] call Skraelings.

Archaeology does not, thus far, support Inuit occupation of the south of Greenland in the 900s although Inuits of the Dorset culture were there in earlier times. Nonetheless, the remains seen by the Norse were clearly of recent origin. This suggests that the abandonment of south Greenland by Dorset people could have been due to raiding by Norse or Celtic pirates in the years prior to 985. If so, it is conceivable that captives were carried back to Europe since both the Norse and Irish possessed slaves in that era.<sup>45</sup>

The Norse who settled in Greenland before AD 1000 made several journeys westward to Markland (Labrador) and Vinland (Terranova or Newfoundland). In 1009 they captured two young Americans in Markland and carried them away to Greenland and, in all probability, to Norway. The Norse sagas state: 'Those boys they kept with them, taught them their language and they were baptized. They gave their mother's name as Vaetilldí, that of the father as Uvaegi.'<sup>46</sup> Thorfinn Karlsefni, the owner of the captives, did not stay long in Greenland but sailed with all of his belongings directly to Norway in c. 1009, later returning to Iceland. Since the Americans were his property and since the information about their learning to speak Norse and being baptized is recorded in an Icelandic saga, we must assume that they were taken to Norway with Karlsefni and perhaps from there to Iceland.<sup>47</sup> Thus in the year 1010 or thereabouts we have record of the first Americans to reach northern Europe involuntarily in the late pre-Columbian period.

The Norse of Greenland and Iceland thereafter made visits to Markland to obtain timber and other goods, one voyage being as late as 1347 (when their very small vessel was blown from Markland to Iceland). The Greenland Norse also began having military contacts with Inuit people in Greenland in the early 1300s and sporadic hostilities continued for a century or more. Since the Norse had a history of using Irish and Scots as slaves, we can assume that a small number of Inuit or other American captives would also be taken, even as several Norse were captured by the Inuit.<sup>48</sup>

It should be noted here that the 1347 wind-driven voyage of 17 or 18 Norse Greenlanders in a very small boat from the coast of Markland to Iceland, a boat that was not even equipped with an anchor, tends to reinforce the possibility that Americans in similar-sized craft could also be storm-driven to Europe. Prevailing winds in the North Atlantic also sometimes drove Norse vessels eastwards to Ireland.

In this connection, it is worth noting also that in old Shetlandic folk tales 'Finns' (Inuits) often arrived in those islands in the form of seals, and then casting their skins aside, became human beings. It has been suggested that this refers to the arrival of people in skin-covered kayaks. (Some folklorists prefer other symbolic interpretations.) In any case, the presence of Inuits in kayaks around the islands north of Britain will be discussed below.<sup>49</sup>



Very little information exists from the fifteenth century but it appears that Norwegians captured Inuits perhaps on more than one occasion, along with one or more kayaks. Claudius Clavus Swart, a Danish geographer who drew his maps in the 1420s, places in the Greenland area

the little pygmies, no more than one ell tall; I have seen them myself after they had been caught at sea in a skin boat which now hangs in Nidaros Cathedral. In the cathedral there is also a long boat of skin which was taken with the same kind of pygmies in it.<sup>50</sup>

A Norse report of the early 1200s also refers to the Inuit as 'very small people'.<sup>51</sup> For many years an Inuit boat was on display in Trondheim Cathedral in Norway.

Thus, most certainly, we have a record of Inuits being in Europe in the early 1400s.

A century after Clavus Swart, a German Jacob Ziegler met some Danes and Swedes in Rome and learned about the *Pigmei predatores*, or Inuit predators.<sup>52</sup>

Other European nationalities also seem to have come into contact with Americans before 1492. One author mentions a voyage to the Greenland-Labrador area in the early 1000s allegedly made by some mariners of Friesland. They were

cast on the rocks and took refuge on the coast. They saw some miserable looking huts hollowed out in the ground, and around these cabins heaps of iron ore. . . . But as they returned to their vessels, they saw coming out from these covered holes deformed men as hideous as devils [sic], with bows and slings and large dogs following them.<sup>53</sup>

One Frisian was slain while the others escaped.

Between *c.* 1418 and *c.* 1500 there is no official record of a Scandinavian ship reaching Greenland, partly due to the depopulation of Norway and Iceland carried out by the Black Death of 1348-9 (which may well have spread to Greenland). After 1349 English and Scottish pirates began to raid Iceland and Norwegian-Icelandic navigation fell into decline. Soon Basque and Portuguese vessels were joining in the exploitation of Icelandic waters. They alternately raided and traded with the Icelanders.<sup>54</sup> It appears also that some ships (probably Basque or Breton) visited the surviving Norse in Greenland between 1400 and 1500 (since European goods of that period have been found in south Greenland Norse archaeological sites). It is also believed by at least one historian of Greenland that Basque 'pirates' may well have exterminated or carried off the last Norse Greenlanders in *c.* 1500. On the other hand, European reports had it simply that a 'pagan and barbarous' fleet from neighboring shores had carried them off, suggesting perhaps a move to Newfoundland or Labrador.<sup>55</sup>

Certain Basque traditions point towards their having made contact with Newfoundland in the 1370s and Iceland by 1400. Maps of 1436 and 1448 definitely show a 'Stocfish Island' (Codfish or Bacalao Island) west of Iceland, which undoubtedly is the same island which later came to be known as Terranova or Newfoundland. Extensive pre-Columbian contact cannot be

doubted, even though there are arguments as to whether Basques, Bretons or others first reached the area.<sup>56</sup>

The subject is extremely interesting for several reasons, one being the possibility that captives from Newfoundland and/or Greenland were carried back to the coasts of France and Spain.

It seems highly likely that vessels from Denmark and England reached Newfoundland in the 1470s and 1480s but as there is no mention of Americans being abducted we shall proceed to evidence relating to captives actually being taken.<sup>57</sup>

In November 1494 a German, Dr Jerónimo Münzer, wrote a letter about his impressions of Lisbon, Portugal. He reported that there were many *nigri* (blacks) in Lisbon and that the king of Portugal had sons of Ethiopian kings with him for educational purposes. He also stated: 'Habet item rex nigros varii coloris: rufos, nigros et aubnigros, de vario idiomate . . . O Rei possuía pretos de vários côres: acobreados, pretos e anegrados, e de linguas diferentes.'

Thus by late 1494 there were in Lisbon *pretos* or *nigros* (blacks, non-whites) of various colors, including reddish or copper-colored people.<sup>58</sup> These latter were probably Americans, perhaps brought from the West Indies by Columbus, from Brazil by an unknown Portuguese navigator, or, most likely, from Newfoundland.

Interestingly, on January 11, 1503 a sailor from Lisbon presented for sale in Valencia, Spain, five *negros*. One of them was 'Miguel, de 20 años, de Terranova, aspresado cuando era pequeño y llevado a Lisboa, donde lo bautizan.' In 1505 was presented also (as a slave) 'Juan de 16 años de Terranova, no sabe si aun vivirán sus padres; cautivado cuando pequeño, fue llevado a Portugal y luego a Castilla.'<sup>59</sup> Thus Miguel was born in 1483 and was taken from Newfoundland to Lisbon when he was small, so probably before 1493. Juan was born in 1489 and was captured when small, so before 1499. They are among many slaves from Terranova sold in Lisbon, Seville, and Valencia after 1500.

It is well documented that in October 1501 some 50 or 60 Americans from the Newfoundland region were brought as slaves to Lisbon. This was followed by another shipload in 1502. These could be the origin of the Terranova slaves referred to above, except for the dates of their probable capture.<sup>60</sup>

#### TAKING THE CARIBBEAN TO EUROPE AND AFRICA: COLUMBUS AND THE SLAVE TRADE

In any case, by the 1490s Americans were appearing once again in European cities. Although Terranova (Newfoundland) and Greenland continued to be a source of captives from 1501 on, it is best at this point to turn away from northern waters to examine the activities of Columbus and the catastrophic slave trade in American flesh which he initiated in the Caribbean region.

Columbus seems not to have been the first bearded white navigator to have

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reached the Caribbean region, but his immediate predecessor's name is unknown and no record of any return voyage to European or North African waters exists.<sup>61</sup> Moreover, Columbus' impact was singular in that he was, from the first, a dedicated slaver and exploiter with an extremely callous and indifferent attitude towards culturally different human beings.

Columbus on his first voyage kidnapped at least 27 Americans, two of whom escaped, leaving a total of 25 in his hands. His attitude is expressed as follows, when, after abducting seven males, he says: 'when your highnesses so command, they can all be carried off to Castille or held captive in the island itself, since with fifty men they would be all kept in subjection and forced to do whatever may be wished.' Thus, at the very first island reached (Guananî), Columbus already was able to express his willingness to depopulate the entire island in order that the Americans might be sold as slaves in Europe, or held as captives in their own land. This, it should be noted, is long prior to any disappointment about the failure to find gold or other riches in quantity.

A month later, after capturing five boys, Columbus says:

afterwards I sent to a house which is near . . . and they brought seven head of women, small and large, and three boys. I did this, in order that the men might conduct themselves better in Spain, having women of their own land . . . because *already it has many times been my business to bring men from Guinea*, in order that they might learn the language of Portugal, and afterwards when they had returned and they thought that use might be made of them in their own land . . . when they reached their own land this result never appeared . . . So that, having their women, they will be willing to do that which is laid upon them, and also these women will do much to teach our people their language, which is one and the same throughout these islands of India. (Italics added)

After two boys escaped, Columbus stated: 'and I have no great confidence in them, because many times they have attempted to escape.' His philosophy of conquest and colonialism was extremely well developed: 'And they are fitted to be ruled and to be set to work, to cultivate the land and to do all else that may be necessary, and you may build towns and teach them to go clothed and to adopt our customs.' Also: 'They would make good and industrious servants.'<sup>62</sup>

After learning of the existence of so-called 'Cannibal' (Carib) groups in the Indies, Columbus began to emphasize the enslavement of the latter. While still at sea, on his first return voyage, Columbus advocated the capture of Caribs: 'very fierce people and well proportioned and of very good understanding, who, after being removed from their inhumanity, we believe will be better than any other slaves whatsoever.' On January 30, 1494 he addressed to the Spanish monarchs a plan for sending men, women, and children to Spain to learn the Castilian language and to be trained in service, with more care 'than other slaves' receive, saying that this plan would save a great number of souls while at the same time providing the colonizing Spaniards with the profit needed to supply themselves with goods. In other words, Columbus proposed (after his first voyage) that American slavery be used to finance the conquest.<sup>63</sup>

Subsequently, Columbus began to enslave Taino (Arawak) people who were

definitely not cannibalistic and it would appear that the idea of punishing Caribs (for being allegedly so) was simply an expedient financial strategy. The logic of his activities was well expressed by Las Casas who noted that

el acabará en muy poco tiempo de consumir toda la gente desta isla [Haiti], porque tenía determinado de cargar los navios que viniesen de Castilla de esclavos y enviarlos a vender a las islas de Canarias, y de los Azores y a las de Cabo Verde y adonde quiera que bien se vendiesen; y sobre esta mercadería fundaba principalmente los aprovechamientos para suplir los dichos gastos y excusar a los reyes de costa, como en principal granjería.

Thus Columbus, according to las Casas, was determined to 'consume' the entire population of Haiti by filling every ship with slaves to be sold in the Canary, Azores and Cabo Verde islands or wherever, and planned that these slaves would finance the conquest.

As Las Casas points out, for Columbus the lives of Americans were obviously 'nothing' and the continuous wars to obtain slaves were simply necessary to fill the ships.<sup>64</sup> Columbus wrote to the monarchs that from Haiti

it is possible, in the name of the Holy Trinity, to send all the slaves which it is possible to sell . . . of whom, if the information which I have is correct, they tell me that one can sell 4,000. . . . And certainly, the information seems authentic, because in Castille and Portugal and Aragon and Italy and Sicily and the islands of Portugal and Aragon and the Canaries they utilize many slaves, and I believe that those from Guinea are not now enough. . . . In any case there are these slaves and brazilwood, which seem a live thing [profitable], and still gold.

Thus, even as Columbus was loading five ships with slaves, he was proposing to sell 4,000 in various parts of the Mediterranean and along the coast of Africa.

Columbus was also unconcerned that many Americans would die in the slave trade because, as he said, the blacks and the native Canary Islanders when first enslaved also had died in great numbers. For Columbus the Americans were *piezas* (pieces) or *cabezas de cabras* (heads of goats), and it did not matter if only ten per cent lived to reach a market, according to Las Casas (who, incidentally, possessed Columbus' diaries, letters and notes).<sup>65</sup>

The shipment of Americans to Europe and Africa by Columbus (and by other Spaniards) was, then, not an accident, nor was it a result of armed resistance or alleged cannibalism. It was a direct extension of the style of commercial slavery long practiced by the Genoese and Venetians in the Mediterranean and used by the Portuguese along the west coast of Africa. Columbus' voyages, in a very real sense, were mere extensions of the old galley routes from Italy to North Africa and the Black Sea or of Portuguese routes along the African coast.

What was the result? First, many thousands of Americans were shipped to Spain during Columbus' period of dominance in the Caribbean. It is difficult to calculate the exact number because many ships departed from Haiti without leaving any record of their cargo, but we may be sure that they did not leave empty. On the very first voyage, although Columbus only carried 25, it is

likely that Martín Alonso Pinzón (who sailed to Galicia and then to Palos separately) may have carried more. It is possible that Pinzón actually landed the first Americans in Spain, a few days before Columbus arrived in Lisbon.

In any case, at least 3,000 Americans are known to have been shipped to Europe between 1493 and 1501, with the likely total being possibly double that. Most were sent to the Seville area, where they seem to show up in the slave markets as *negros* without a place of origin being mentioned. Others were probably sold in the Azores and other islands, partly to avoid the wrath of Queen Isabel (who, on occasion, expressed hostility towards the dividing up of 'her' vassals without her prior permission).<sup>66</sup>

Columbus reached Lisbon in early March 1493. Many people came to see the captive Americans and it is very likely that some of the latter were taken nine leagues into the interior to see the king of Portugal. There it was that two Americans drew maps which showed the Lucayos (Bahamas), Cuba, Haiti, and other islands. It may be also that Columbus left some Americans with the Portuguese, as discussed earlier.<sup>67</sup>

Shortly thereafter some of the Americans were taken to Seville, perhaps seven to ten being still alive and together. Some were left in that area, while about six or seven were taken overland across Spain to Barcelona where they were displayed before the monarchs in mid-April. In the fall of 1493 some Americans were taken on Columbus' second westward voyage, but only two of these reportedly arrived alive. One was able to run away immediately upon landing in Haiti.<sup>68</sup>

The process whereby Columbus began loading ships with slaves need not concern us here, in any detail. The flavor of it is conveyed by a report of Miguel de Cuneo, a member of the second expedition:

When our caravels . . . were to leave for Spain, we gathered . . . one thousand six hundred male and female persons of those Indians, and of these we embarked in our caravels on Feb. 17, 1495, five hundred and fifty souls among the healthiest. . . . For those who remained, we let it be known in the vicinity that anyone who wanted to take some of them could do so, to the amount desired, which was done. And when each man was thus provided with slaves, there still remained about four hundred, to whom permission was granted to go where they wished. Among them were many women with children still at suck. Since they were afraid that we might return to capture them once again, . . . they left their children . . . and began to flee like desperate creatures.

About two hundred died on the voyage and were cast into the ocean, the rest being disembarked in Spain.

Columbus gave to Cuneo 'a very beautiful Carib woman'. Cuneo says, 'I conceived the desire to take my pleasure' with her. She valiantly resisted Cuneo's efforts at rape but eventually he had his way, after thrashing her mercilessly.<sup>69</sup>

Thus the veil of evil descended upon the Caribbean and many long years of rape and genocide commenced. As Todorov has stated:

the sixteenth century perpetrated the greatest genocide in human history . . . in 1500 the

world population is approximately 400 million, of whom 80 million inhabit the Americas. By the middle of the sixteenth century, out of these 80 million, there remain ten.

If the word genocide has ever been applied to a situation with some accuracy, this is here the case.<sup>70</sup>

But the tens of millions of Americans who disappeared after 1492 did not all die in the 'holocaust' inflicted within the Americas. Many thousands were sent to Europe and Africa where their descendants still live.

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## 2

# The Intensification of Contacts: Trans-Atlantic Slavery and Interaction, after 1500

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### THE ARRIVAL OF AMERICAN SLAVES IN SPAIN AND PORTUGAL

It will perhaps be surprising to some readers to learn that the greatest degree of intensive contact between Americans and Africans did not occur initially in either the Americas or Africa, but rather in European cities such as Lisbon, Seville, and Valencia. This contact has not heretofore been studied for a variety of reasons, one of the principal ones being the myth that the enslavement of Americans was a temporary phenomenon. Another reason, equally mythical, is the notion that in modern times 'slavery' and 'negro slavery' were virtually synonymous concepts.

Slavery was quite common in the Mediterranean world in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. In Iberia Islamic laws recognized slavery and Muslims were even allowed to hold other Muslims as slaves if the latter were black or *loro* (of intermediate color).<sup>1</sup> In Christian Barcelona one finds numerous slaves between 1275 and 1288 classified as *moro lorum* (Muslim of intermediate color), *sarraceno blanco* (white Saracen), *sarracenum nigrium* (black Saracen), *sarracenam lauram* (Saracen of intermediate color) and *sarracenam albam* (white Saracen). In the thirteenth century, Barcelona had many *tártaros* (Tartars), Greeks, Bulgarians, Bosnians, Albanians, and so on, as slaves, including an *esclava blanca tártara* (white tartar slave). In the fourteenth century, Muslim slaves became more common again, and one finds many white, *loro* (intermediate), and black slaves. In 1439, Simon, an Ethiopian slave, killed a Russian (*ruso*) slave. Turkish and Tartar slaves were also present, along with many Russians, Bulgarians, *sarts* (probably *Sardos* or Sardinians), and others called *Abguas*, *Xarqueses* (Circassians), and so on, probably from the Caucasus mountains. In 1429 two runaway black slaves were recaptured in Redome, France, but others escaped to Tolosa (Toulouse) where slavery was not recognized. Between 1243



and 1296, of 50 slaves listed in Barcelona, 18 per cent were *laurus*, 10 per cent were black, 20 per cent were Saracen only, and about 52 per cent were *blanche* (white).

In Provence a 'Sarrazin noir, un esclave blanc, une fille circassienne', and 'un garçon turc' were all sold as slaves in the fifteenth century.<sup>2</sup> This characterizes slavery in the period, with white, black and brown, European, African and Asian slaves being treated basically the same, and with a tremendous ethnic variety – although most were from the Balkans, the Black Sea region, or northern Africa.

In 1266–71 several *olivastre* (olive-colored) slaves were sold in Gênes (Genoa), while of 48 slaves named between 1401 and 1499 in that city, 25 were *albi* (white), 15 *neri* (black), six *olivegnii* (intermediate or olive), one *endeco* (*indaco* or Indian), and one *lauro* (intermediate or brown). There were many Tartar and other eastern slaves in Italy during that period, along with a substantial number of blacks and others from North Africa and the Iberian peninsula.<sup>3</sup>

In Portugal slaves of Muslim background were present in the thirteenth century along with some who were *Moçarabes* (Christians who lived in an Arab fashion). During the fourteenth century Portuguese vessels began to raid the Canary Islands and many *canarios* were introduced as captives, along with additional Muslims. In the fifteenth century Berber and black Senegalese (Wolof) slaves became common, especially after 1440–50.<sup>4</sup> During certain periods the term *sarraceni* was synonymous with *servi* or *captivi* (slave or captive). *Maurus* (moor) corresponded to a free or slave Muslim, while later slaves were known as 'negro e guineu, preto e sobretudo escravo'.<sup>5</sup> Thus, slaves as a class might be called – depending on the time period – *sarraceni* or *negro* or *preto*, or slave (*slav*).

Quite early, in both Portugal and Spain, the status of a child was determined by the status of the mother. If the mother was a slave, the child was also a slave.<sup>6</sup>

In the western Mediterranean the slave trade was dominated by the Genoese and Castellians by means of slave factors in Fez, Morocco, but slaves from the east were also introduced. In 1455, for example, a Tartar slave was mentioned in Seville. At about that time, however, the Portuguese began to dominate the black African trade by successfully reaching Agadir and then Senegal in the mid-fifteenth century. In 1452, Pope Nicholas V permitted the Portuguese to enslave infidels, pagans, and 'enemies of Christ'. By 1479 the Portuguese were dominant insofar as black slaves were concerned, but *canario* and Muslim slaves continued to be obtained by the Spanish directly.<sup>7</sup>

For a long period of time Muslim slaves continued to arrive in Seville and other Spanish cities, some from Granada and others from Algiers, Oran and other places which were raided in North Africa. Canary Islanders were also shipped in by the Spaniards who had replaced the Portuguese as the oppressors of the *canarios*. Thus, all during the fifteenth, sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, the slaves of the Iberian peninsula were of all colors and of many nationalities including Greeks, Slavs, Turks, Egyptians, Asians, Indians,

Americans, and so on.<sup>8</sup> A Portuguese expedition to the Gambia in 1457 took with it an Indian interpreter, Jacob.<sup>9</sup>

The Christian Castilians possessed slaves of many kinds in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, most of whom were *maures* (moros) or *morezno* (children of *moros*, perhaps *moreno*). Some were classified by color (white, black, *loro*) as in Cataluña, while a few in 1266 were called *mamelouks* (slave in Arabic, especially soldier-slaves). In 1475 a royal order established for Seville the position of

Mayoral e Juez de todos los Negros e Loros, libres e captivos que estan e son captivos e horros en la . . . Sevilla, e en todo su Arzobispado; y que non pueden facer ni fagan los dichos Negros y Negras, y Loros y Loras, ningunas fiestas nin juzgados de entre ellos, salvo ante vos, el dicho Juan de Valladolid, Negro, nuestro Juez y Mayoral de los dichos Negros, Loros y Loras; y mandamos que vos conozcais de los debates y pleytos y casamientos . . . e non otro alguno, por quanto sois persona suficiente para ello . . . ; e Nos somos informados, que sois de linage noble entre los dichos Negros.<sup>10</sup>

Thus in 1475, Juan de Valladolid, a black of noble ancestry, was appointed as the judge and mayor of the blacks and *loros* (browns) of the Seville area, with authority over their communal life, whether they were free or slave.

This policy of self-government for blacks and browns conformed to the established Castilian and Aragonese policies towards free Muslims and Jews, each community of which had its own laws and courts separate from those of the Christian community. This attitude of tolerance and autonomy was later abolished but it set a direct precedent for later policies favoring American autonomous pueblos in the Americas after the 1520s. In any case, American slaves were probably integrated into the non-white community structure in Seville.

Thus, the arrival of American captives after 1493 did not, in any sense, present a new spectacle. Both Spaniards and Portuguese had become accustomed to financing their wars and expeditions by seizing men, women and children wherever possible. This is not to say that it was at all clear that all such captives were *legal* slaves, especially if they were not taken in 'just war' but, in practice, laws were often ignored. One finds, for example, Christians captured by Muslims being treated as slaves in Spain if purchased from Muslim slave-dealers. In the records which have been published from Seville and Valencia, 'possession' seems initially to have always been accepted as proof of the rights to sell a slave and for the authorities to impose a tax on the sale.<sup>11</sup>

Columbus was the major supplier of American slaves prior to 1500. As noted earlier, he caused some 3,000 to perhaps 6,000 slaves to be sent to Europe and also, if we are to believe that his plans were implemented, to the Azores, Canary, Madeira, and Cabo Verde Islands. By the year 1500, however, a great escalation began in the shipment of Americans across the Atlantic since other Spaniards and the Portuguese became directly active.

In the year 1500, Americans were directly transported to Europe from the Caribbean islands, from the coasts of South America, and from the Terranova

(Newfoundland) region. Three major new sources of slaves were thus opened up and it is necessary to examine this subject before proceeding to an analysis of what happened to the Amerians when they arrived in eastern lands.

As mentioned above, Gaspar Corte Real and João Fernandes were among Portuguese navigators from the Azores who reached the Newfoundland–Greenland area in 1500 or perhaps earlier. Fernandes may have taken captives to the Azores but if so no record exists. In October 1501, however, Corte Real sent some 57 captives to Lisbon. Their description is worth noting:

Les habitants son un peu plus grands que nous. . . . Ils son très semblables à des tziganes; leur visage est peint à manière des Indiens, quelques-uns avec six signes, d'autres avec huit au moins. Les cheveux des mâles sont longs et flottants en boucles. Leurs yeux de couleur presque verte . . . les femmes . . . leur couleur est plutôt blanche, le mâle, au contraire est beaucoup plus foncé.

Thus, the Americans were slightly taller than the European observers. They resembled Gypsies with their faces marked in signs like those of the 'Indians'. The hair of the males, who were darker than the females, was long and curly, and their eyes were greenish in color. (Thus it is quite possible that these Americans were part Norse Greenlander or part Breton or Basque.)

We do not know exactly where these green-eyed Americans came from; whether from Newfoundland or Labrador, however, they were in possession of what appeared to be part of a sword and jewelry manufactured in Italy. This tends to confirm early contact with Europe, as discussed above.<sup>12</sup>

In 1501, Miguel Corte Real sailed back to the *Terranova* region, where he disappeared. One of his ships returned to Portugal, with 'certain men and women whom he found'. In 1503 the Portuguese sent out two ships and thereafter the Newfoundland area was visited regularly, so much so that in 1506 a royal tax was imposed on the fishing catch.<sup>13</sup> The Bretons, English and perhaps Basques were also active in the area, but that will be discussed below.

Slaves from *Terranova* show up in the slave-markets of Seville and Valencia very soon after 1500. In Valencia during the period to 1516, we find in 1503 Miguel (age 20) and Manne (age 10); in 1505 Juan (16) and Pedro (16); in 1507 Antonio (8) and Juan Amarco (18); in 1515 Ali, now Melchor (20); in 1516 Catalina (28). These eight slaves were, with one exception, all obtained from Portuguese sources. They were all classified as *negros* with the exception of Juan and Pedro, called simply slaves.<sup>14</sup>

In Seville, between 1510 and 1515, some 13 *Terranova* slaves were registered and sold, including: in 1510 Isabel (age 20), Cristóbal (age 20), Virgida (17); in 1511 Pedro (20), Antón (25), Felipa (14); in 1512 Pedro (25), Catalina (18), Antón (25); in 1513 Fernando (20) and María (25); in 1514 Francisca (14), and in 1515 María (20). Two of these slaves were categorized as *negro*, one as *loro*, and ten as slaves only.<sup>15</sup>

In 1525 a Spaniard, Esteban Gómez, made a voyage up the Atlantic coast of North America, bringing back 'many Indians' as slaves. Allegedly, they were set

at liberty but perhaps some *Terranova* slaves after 1525 were derived from Gómez' voyage.<sup>16</sup>

Interestingly, between 1548 and 1560, some 20 slaves from *Terranova* appeared in Peru (out of 256 who can be identified geographically in the records). Between 1560 and 1650 about 143 slaves from *Terranova* showed up in Peru, coming by way of Iberia probably. An additional 11 were classified as *bozales* (not familiar with the Spanish language or culture at all).<sup>17</sup>

The location of *Terranova* has heretofore been a matter of debate, with writers generally placing it somewhere on the west coast of Africa. On the other hand, there is very strong evidence that *Terranova* was, at least in the first half of the sixteenth century, Newfoundland.<sup>18</sup>

First, António Brasio in his collection of Portuguese missionary documents and royal communications relating to Africa (1471–mid-1500s) does not mention any place called *Terranova*.<sup>19</sup> On the other hand, in a contract written in the Canary Islands in 1543 a reference is indeed made to a black slave as being a 'native of *Terranova de Guinea*'.<sup>20</sup> I will argue, however, that whenever *Terranova* is mentioned without *de Guinea* it refers to Newfoundland.

First, although the Portuguese referred to Brazil as *la Terra nuova* (the new land) in 1500, thereafter they virtually always used *Terranova* for Newfoundland. Documents relating to *Terra Nova* were found in the Torre do Tombo in Portugal and *Terra Nova* is used repeatedly by Portuguese sources of the sixteenth century for Newfoundland or Cape Breton. The Ruysch map of c.1508 has *Terra Nova* on it and reflects Portuguese nomenclature. Many other maps, including that of Verrazano (1524–9) also use *Terra Nova* for Newfoundland. This usage persisted so that in the 1630–46 period Brazilian Portuguese were referring to 'o comercio com a Terra Nova' in codfish. There was regular trade in fish between *Terra Nova* and Recife in Brazil.<sup>21</sup>

For the Spanish *Terranova* was used consistently for Newfoundland. Early maps used by the Spanish, such as the Oliveriana (1503), the Pesaro chart (1503–8) and the Ruysch map (c.1508) located *Terra Nova* (*Terra Noba*) at Newfoundland. The Ribero map of 1529 places *Tiera Nova: de Cortereal* near Cape Breton. In 1511 Spanish royal correspondence relates to a voyage to *Tierra Nueva*, using Breton pilots. This usage continued, as Martín Navarette (1829) entitled a section of his work 'Sobre las navegaciones de los vascongados á los mares de *Terranova*'. He cites documents from 1561 referring to Newfoundland as *Tierranueva* and *Terranova*. Finally, La Farga Lozano in his work on the Basques uses *Terranova* for Newfoundland without qualification, including references from the 1690s.<sup>22</sup>

The French, it may be added, also used *Terre-Neuve* or *Terre Neuve* consistently for Newfoundland.<sup>23</sup> Thus, we must, it seems, acknowledge the fact that for the Spanish, Portuguese, and French, *Terranova* was the proper name for Newfoundland (or for the Newfoundland–Cape Breton area) and that slaves from *Terranova* would have to have been from that area unless specified as being from the very obscure *Terranova de Guinea* (especially before c.1540).

It should also be noted that *Terranova* fell outside of the realm of Spain (in practice) and for a time was thought to be within the Portuguese sphere. In fact, Portuguese under João Álvarez Fagundes attempted to colonize the area in the 1520s, but the attempt failed.<sup>24</sup>

The *Tabios* people from *Terranova* (being often described as 'sooty' or dark-colored) might well be regarded sometimes as *negros* rather than as *indios* (this will be discussed in a later chapter).<sup>25</sup> Americans were usually regarded as *pardos* (Portuguese) or *loros* (Spanish) in terms of color in the early period (1492–early 1600s), but *negro* was also used for them.<sup>26</sup>

The *Terranova* slave trade helps to explain the early depopulation of Newfoundland and the ease of the subsequent extinction of the American native inhabitants by the English.

The second source of slaves after 1500 was the Caribbean region which, very soon, included the adjacent coasts of South America, Florida–Carolina, and Meso-America. Many Americans were taken as slaves to the east, to Spain and to the Canary Islands, often as a result of the direct authorization of the Crown. In 1499, for example, Vicente Yáñez Pinzón was authorized to discover islands and mainland in 'the Indies' and permission was given to take 'all manner of slaves, *negros*, *loros* or others, who in Spain are held as slaves': 'vos fasemos merced de toda manera desclavos negros o loros o otros de los que en españa son tenidos por esclavos e que por razon lo deven ser.' Moreover, the authorization given by Ferdinand and Isabella to Rodrigo de Bastidas, June 1500, allowed for the importation of slaves to Spain who were '*negros* and *loros* who in the kingdoms of Castilla were held and reputed for slaves' of whom the Crown was to receive a quarter share. A similar clause was inserted in another authorization of the same year.

Speaking of the late 1499–1503 expeditions to northern South America, José Antonio Saco states 'that one of the objects of these expeditions was that of robbing human beings in order to sell them as slaves'. The expeditions were to obtain slaves from among the *negros* and/or *loros* who lived in the discovered lands. As we shall see in a later chapter, *loro* was regularly applied as a color term for Americans while *negro* was also used (but in this case the usage meant simply that *any* brown or black people found could be enslaved if people of similar status were already held as slaves in Spain).

A series of voyages then ensued, including that of Alonzo de Ojeda who, in 1500, disembarked more than 200 American slaves at Cádiz. Amerigo Vespucci also reports having sold more than 200 Americans in Spain but some authorities feel he was simply reporting on the Ojeda expedition. In 1500 Yáñez Pinzón captured 36 Americans in northern Brazil as well as some from other places. These were landed at Palos, Spain, where a legal dispute ensued.

It seems that Pinzón had promised one slave from his expedition to a Diego Prieto. When he did not receive a slave, Prieto seized one of the American slaves of Pinzón in Palos. In order to settle the dispute Pinzón offered to pay Prieto the value of another common slave and the king commanded that this be done. This royal decree of June 20, 1501, shows that the Crown was ready to

accept the enslavement of Americans in Spain, in spite of several exceptions noted elsewhere.

In 1499 Diego de Lepe also departed from Palos and proceeded to enslave Americans in the Amazon region and the gulf of Paría. The slaves were turned over to Bishop Juan Rodriguez de Fonseca in Spain. Interestingly, an American from Marañón (Maranhão or the Amazon) showed up in Seville in 1500. He was named Pastor, age 13 or 14, color *loro*, and sold for 10,000 *maravedis*.

In 1501 Cristóbal Guerra and his brother Luis brought a large number of slaves from Paría, the Isla Margarita and other areas to Spain. These slaves benefited, however, from an order to enslave only Americans taken in 'just war' and Guerra was ordered to return them at his own cost. On the other hand, in 1503 Juan de la Costa sailed to the Cartagena region, seized 600 Americans, the majority of whom were sent to Spain with Luis Guerra, brother (or other relation) to Cristóbal Guerra. Costa went on to seize other Americans in the Gulf of Urabá.

It would appear that if the Americans resisted (as many did) then 'just war' could be alleged and enslavement became legal. Moreover, as a result of the above incidents, in which several Spaniards were killed, the Crown was persuaded in 1503 to authorize the enslavement of the alleged *caribes* of Cartagena. In 1504 a royal decree stated that 'rebel Indians' were to be enslaved, a portion going to the Government. With the death of Isabel that same year no restraint existed. (In 1512, for example, Ferdinand authorized the enslavement of Borinquen natives, with an 'F' being branded on their 'fronts' and with a fifth part going to the crown.)<sup>27</sup>

After 1510 Spanish slave-raiding reached out increasingly towards the outer islands of the Caribbean and the adjacent mainlands. Much of the raiding was designed to meet the labor needs of Haiti (where the native population was being greatly reduced), but numerous Spanish expeditions such as those of Magellan (1519), Sebastián Cabot (1529, to Brazil), and Gómez (1525) captured Americans who were taken to Spain or who died en route. Cabot also purchased 50 to 60 slaves from the Portuguese in Brazil, for later sale in Seville. By the 1520s slave-raiding in Florida and the Carolina coast area was common also.<sup>28</sup>

It is not necessary here to review all the data relative to the enslavement of Americans in Panama, Venezuela, Nicaragua, Mexico, Peru, and other countries, but there is sufficient evidence to indicate that, at least through the 1550s, large numbers of slaves were procured and shipped to various locations.<sup>29</sup>

Saco notes that King Ferdinand had been considering the large-scale introduction of American slaves into Spain. In a dispatch of July 3, 1510 he asked several royal officials what profits might be derived from shipping slaves for sale in Spain. But the rapid decline in the native population of Haiti forced Ferdinand to change his opinion. By decree of July 21, 1511, Ferdinand ordered Columbus that no American slaves could be sent to Castille; this was to prevent the depopulation of the islands. Because the Spaniards did not abide by

the order (as was customary, according to Saco) the king strengthened his opposition in 1512, imposing a fine and the loss of the slaves sent. This order was also not completely obeyed and other orders had to be issued in 1528, 1543, and 1556.

But the Crown also vacillated in its policies. An order of 1526 prohibited the capture of natives and their shipment to Spain without license. They were to be returned unless the license had been obtained. In 1530 further American enslavement was prohibited; however, violations were common and the ban was lifted in 1534. Two years later a decree again prohibited the shipment of American slaves to Spain unless accompanied by a document issued by the provincial governor giving his approval. A decree of 1543 prohibited the taking of free or slave Americans from one province to another in the Indies.

Efforts were also made to enforce some of the above provisions. In 1529 the officials of Seville were ordered to facilitate the verification of the legal status of Americans introduced there. In 1531 arriving ships were to be examined for clandestine slaves. Decrees of 1536 and 1538 ordered the examination of the proof of slave status. Finally in May 1549 the officials of Seville were commissioned to liberate the Americans in Spain (in a manner similar to what was then being attempted in the Americas).<sup>30</sup>

Especially in the years around 1500 some Americans were actually freed and returned to the Caribbean from Spain, but the numbers seem few in comparison with those actually shipped.

In 1541 the bishop of Santa Marta (now Colombia) wrote to Emperor Charles V that in that region

se habian vendido públicamente muchos indios exportados del Peru, y que los castellanos que allí tenían repartimientos vendían sus indios sacando otros muchos para Castilla con el objeto de servirse de ellos lo cual se hacía con facultad de los que gobernaban.

Thus, Spaniards were exporting American slaves from Peru to Colombia and many were being sent to Spain, with the help of officials (and in spite of laws to the contrary).

The New Laws of 1542 which supposedly ended several forms of American slavery did not immediately result in the suspension of the slave trade or in the shipment of Americans to Spain. On December 18, 1547 a royal official wrote from Santo Domingo that

contra el mandado de Vuestra Magestad se sacan indios, especialmente mujeres, y se venden públicamente en Sevilla, y de dó llevan muchos de Tierra Firme dó se venden en almoneda. De consentirlo en Sevilla nace el atrevimiento de aquí.

Thus in 1547 American slaves, especially females, were still being sold in Seville and the acceptance of such sales in the latter city gave birth to the impudence of Spaniards in the Indies (who continued to ship American slaves in defiance of the laws). During this period the northern coast of South America seems to have served as a major source of slaves, with slave ships arriving at Haiti from Paría and Cumaná as late as 1544.<sup>31</sup>

Clearly, the legislation enacted by the Spanish Crown at various times to control or prevent certain types of American enslavement was only partially effective. One of the major objectives of the early legislation was to prevent the diminishing of the labor pool in the Indies by shipments to Europe rather than to end slavery as such. Much has been made by writers of the significance of this legislation but even the famous laws of 1542 did not bring an end to enslavement. First, it must be noted that the Spaniards developed several categories of 'partial slaves', categories which continued to allow for effective enslavement. Thus, there were *naborías* (slaves who could not be resold), 'useless' Americans (natives who could be moved from an island without gold to a place of labor shortage), 'apportioned' Americans (natives who were apportioned to Spaniards as laborers or, later, as tribute-paying retainers), *chichimecos* (natives of dispersed living settlements who could be forcibly reduced to missionary control and mandatory labor), and *rebeldes* (such as all alleged 'caribs', the Mapuches of Chile, and others who could be legally enslaved at various times even after 1542), all of which allowed for quasi-slavery or actual slavery to continue to exist.<sup>32</sup>

An Italian, Girolamo Benzoni, was in the Indies from 1541 to 1556. He later wrote that:

All the slaves that the Spaniards catch in these provinces are sent to Cubagua. . . . The slaves are all marked in the face and on the arms by a hot iron with the mark of C [for *caribe*?] . . . when ships arrive from Spain, they barter these Indians for wine, flour, biscuit, and other requisite things. And even when some of the Indian women are pregnant by these same Spaniards, they sell them without any conscience. Then the merchants carry them elsewhere and sell them again. Others are sent to the Island of Spagnuola [Haiti], filling with them some large vessels built like caravels.

Benzoni also noted that: 'although an almost infinite number of the inhabitants of the mainland have been brought to these islands as slaves, they have nearly all since died.'<sup>33</sup>

As we shall see, some Americans were still being shipped to Europe by Spaniards in this period, even though labor shortages (more than royal decrees) operated to favor their being retained in the Americas. It was primarily Cuba, Haiti, and Borinquen which absorbed Mayas from Yucatan, Huastecas from Mexico, Miskitos from Nicaragua, and various other nations during this era, rather than Spain itself.

Note should also be made of the many Americans sent to Spain in capacities other than that of slave. Many were sent to become interpreters or to be instructed and baptized. Others went as curiosities or as entertainers. In 1528, for example, Hernan Cortés took a group of Aztec and Tlaxcalteco chiefs, including a son of Montezuma II, to Spain along with a troop of jugglers, acrobats, and dancers. These also were taken to the court of Pope Clement VII in Rome. A different kind of figure was Juan Santos Atahualpa of Peru, taken to Spain and Angola by the Jesuits. Later Atahualpa led a major rebellion in Peru, one feature of which was the use of black African allies. Part of eastern Peru



(the Campa region) remained liberated for many years as a result of Atahualpa's efforts.<sup>34</sup>

#### THE PORTUGUESE ENSLAVEMENT OF AMERICANS IN BRAZIL AND ELSEWHERE

A third region which served as a major source of slaves for Europe and Africa was the coast of Brazil.

In 1500 Pedro Álvares Cabral, sailing to India, touched along the Brazilian coast. It appears that at least one American was sent back to Portugal with Gaspar de Lemos.<sup>35</sup> This initially friendly contact was not to last, however, since the king of Portugal seems to have envisioned the coast of Brazil as a second slave-coast, to be harvested in the manner of West Africa. In 1502 he let a contract to Fernão de Noronha and a company of merchants 'to trade in brazilwood and slaves'. They were to send to Brazil six ships each year. Four ships were sent in 1503 and they returned to Portugal full of wood and slaves. It is known that the trade was fairly regular after 1504. From the very beginning, then, Americans were acquired as a commodity and shipped to Europe, as well as perhaps to Africa.

Portuguese slavers may have also ventured into regions claimed by Spain. In July 1503 a letter reached the Spanish court with the news that Portuguese ships had gone to the area discovered by Rodrigo Bastidas (part of Colombia and Panama) 'y traido esclavos indios y palo del Brasil' (and carried off American slaves and brazilwood).

In 1511 the Portuguese ship *Bertoa*, with two *negros* and one non-negro slave on board, carried some 35 American slaves from Brazil to Portugal. Another ship in the following year was described as having the deck loaded with young men and women. From then on there are frequent reports of Americans being taken to Portugal, some for showing to the king and some for more ordinary servitude. As Capistrano de Abreu noted, 'o Brasil exportou escravos ante de importa-los' (Brazil exported slaves before it imported them).<sup>36</sup>

As noted above, Cabot was able to purchase 50 or 60 slaves from the Portuguese of San Vicente (Santos) in 1529, for resale in Spain. The Portuguese of this area, intermarried with prominent Tupiniquin leaders, were already actively exploiting inter-American rivalries, especially with the Tamóio of Rio de Janeiro (allied with French traders) and the Carijó (Guaraní) to the south.

The Portuguese Crown in the 1530s authorized the creation of about 12 feudal domains in Brazil. Each of the grantees (*donatarios*) was entitled to enslave as many Americans as were needed for local labor, but only 24 per year (48 for one *donatorio*) could be sent to Portugal by each for sale. This authorization continued until 1549 and allowed about 216 slaves to be sent each year for some 15 years, for a potential total of 3,240 or more. Of course, Portuguese laws were frequently not enforced in the colonial areas and many

more slaves may have actually been transported, especially since American slaves could legally be used *without limit* to man the ships for the passage to Portugal.

The Portuguese began quite early to try to find markets for Brazilians outside of the Portuguese Empire. In 1538 three Portuguese ships reached Borinquen with 45 Portuguese and 140 American slaves and a few free Americans. A Portuguese captain later proposed to ship Brazilian slaves to Haiti, and initially six or seven were sent. In 1550, however, Charles V resolved not to allow the introduction of Brazilians as slaves. Some years later, a Portuguese ship reached the island of Margarita with 300 American male and female slaves. They were sold but in 1556 the Spanish Crown ordered the guilty to be punished for violating the law. On the other hand, in 1570 consideration was given to authorizing the importation into the Spanish colonies of Brazilian slaves enslaved by other Americans. This category of slave (as well as *caribes*, that is, alleged cannibals) could be imported.

In any case, one can see that between the 1530s and 1570s, the Portuguese were actively attempting to market American slaves far and wide.<sup>37</sup>

Within Brazil, the enslavement of Americans proceeded very rapidly, primarily for use in the sugar cane and cotton industries. Letters of the *donatarios* between 1535 and 1550 document this process, as in 1545 when Pero de Góis wrote to the king that in the fields and sugar refineries of São Tomé there were enough slaves. The population of San Vicente in 1548 included 600 free persons and more than 3,000 American slaves, according to a letter of Luiz de Góis.<sup>38</sup>

In 1549 the Jesuits began preaching to the Americans, free and slave, as well as to the *mamelucos* (mixed-bloods) and Portuguese. Their letters, from 1549 on, contain frequent references to the '*escravos da terra*' (American slaves) who were very numerous.<sup>39</sup>

A few black Africans (*escravos da Guiné*) began to be introduced in the Pernambuco area where, from the beginning, they worked together with American slaves. In 1548, for example, Hans Staden found 'Moren und Prasilianische Schlaven' ('Moore' and Brazilian slaves) used together against an enemy group. (These 'Moore' could have been Tapuya slaves, however.) Two years later, in San Vicente, Staden frequently mentioned American slaves (usually Carijós) and said that the Portuguese had 'many'.<sup>40</sup> Ulrich Schmidl, who passed through the same region in 1553, carried 20 Carijós to Lisbon with him, where two of them died. He very likely took some of the remainder on with him to Antwerp.<sup>41</sup>

The development of the sugar industry created increasing labor demands and Africans began to be taken to Brazil regularly after 1550-70. For the next 50 years, however, Americans continued to be a source of labor even in the sugar industry, being only gradually outnumbered by Africans and American-African mixed-bloods. In 1584, for example, the Pernambuco area had 60 or more sugar refineries 'com muita gente branca, Negros da Guine e Indios da terra'. Bahia had some 40 refineries, with 'Portugueses, Indios da terra e

Negros de Guiné'. To the south of Bahia only American slaves were mentioned as forming the labor force in 1584.<sup>42</sup>

Especially in the southern and northern parts of Brazil (São Paulo–San Vicente and Pará–Maranhão) and in the interior, the enslavement of Americans continued to be the major source of labor for centuries. Between 1630 and 1650, for example, from 100,000 to 200,000 Americans from the Paraguay region were enslaved and sold in São Paulo, Rio de Janeiro and elsewhere.<sup>43</sup>

In 1570 the Portuguese Crown attempted to limit the enslavement of Americans to those captured in armed combat or those from certain specified nations such as the Aimores. In 1587 enslaved *Brasis* (Americans) were to be seen as free workers, serving for a term whether fixed or otherwise. In 1595, Philip II, ruler of both Spain and Portugal, prohibited enslavement except in a war which he declared. None of these measures eliminated native slavery, however, and it increased greatly again during the 1630s.<sup>44</sup>

Under the conditions of labor shortage in Brazil after *c.*1580 it would appear that the shipping of Americans to Portugal would have declined in significance. But we must keep in mind that the Portuguese had to have a way to pay for African slaves and also, perhaps, sometimes wanted to be rid of potentially rebellious Americans. C. R. Boxer noted that as late as *c.*1719 the Portuguese of the Piaui region were trading 'three or four redskins . . . for one Negro from Angola'. In that area the Americans were 'disliked and despised'. It is possible, therefore, that 'cheap' American slaves (captured in slave raids) were sent to Africa and Portugal, in exchange for Africans.<sup>45</sup>

In 1578 an Italian living in the Portuguese Empire wrote that Brazilian natives were not then being imported into Portugal because they 'sono gente cattiva e ostinata e como é si veggono schiavi, si deliberano di morirsi, en viene loro fatto'. We must, however, view this assertion of obstinacy and self-destruction within the context of the continuing enslavement of hundreds of thousands of Americans in Brazil itself as well as in relation to the possibility that the women and children might have been more easily transformed into slaves than were adult males. In any case, Chief Martín of the Carijó nation complained to the Spanish in 1576 that the Portuguese of southern Brazil were carrying their children off to 'other parts of Brazil and then to Portugal to be sold as slaves'. A Jesuit witnessed, in 1635, a slave-raid using 15 sea-going ships and many large canoes, designed reportedly to secure 12,000 slaves from the Carijó nation. One must suppose that many were to be secured for sale outside Brazil.<sup>46</sup>

We can, I think, be confident that Americans soon appeared in the Portuguese colonies in Africa and in the Cabo Verde Islands. The high death-rates on Portuguese sailing vessels of the period would make necessary the replenishing of crews in Brazil and, at a somewhat later date, the use of the Brazilian natives and mixed-bloods in the African trade in various capacities.

It may well be that Americans were introduced into the Portuguese African outposts soon after 1500. As noted above, Fernão de Noronha was given a

contract to ship slaves and brazilwood from Brazil, beginning in 1502. John Vogt states of Noronha (called Loronha): 'during 1502/3 this merchant's involvement with San Jorge da Mina [Ghana] included supplying all slaves and wine to the port. Simultaneously, Loronha held leases for Brazil and the Guinea pepper monopoly.' Most of the slaves taken to Mina were gathered together on São Tomé island but it seems highly likely that Noronha would have utilized some of the Brazilian slaves he acquired in his African activities, at the very least as mariners and laborers.

A Brazilian scholar, José Honório Rodrigues, has written that: 'from the seventeenth to the nineteenth century Brazil had more contact with and greater bonds to Angola, Dahomey, and parts of the coasts of Mina and Guinea than did Portugal itself. . . . Many Brazilians went to Angola as soldiers, peddlers, businessmen, prostitutes, and exiles.'<sup>47</sup>

It will be very interesting to trace the first Brazilian American impact directly upon Africa but doubtless it is more or less simultaneous with the first African impact upon Brazil. By the 1550s native Brazilians were in Portugal in some numbers and at about the same time the regular shipment of Africans to Brazil commenced. The Brazil-Africa trade at first went largely via Portugal but gradually became direct.<sup>48</sup>

Portuguese vessels were noted for having crews of diverse national and racial origins. From Madagascar to Japan, crews were often of African or Indian (South Asian) origin but in the Atlantic we can assume that a high proportion were of American background. Just what percentage is not certain.

Black Africans reached Macao and Japan in the sixteenth century in Portuguese ships but it is also possible that a few Americans or part-Americans reached the east coast of Africa and then went to the Far East. Japanese drawings of the Portuguese at Nagasaki show many Africans but also a few brown men of possible Indian (Asian or American) appearance.<sup>49</sup>

An early instance of a person of American ancestry being in the western Pacific is seen in the case of the son of Juan Carvajo (Carvalhos), who was left behind on the island of Borneo near Burné in July 1521. The father, a Portuguese accompanying Magellan, had lived for four years in Brazil and there his son had been born, of an American mother certainly. Carvalhos had taken the son with him to Europe, where both later joined the Magellan expedition. Young Carvalhos remained in Borneo after becoming lost, while his father remained in the Moluccas.

An interesting example of a person of American ancestry going with the Portuguese to Africa, India and the Far East can be seen in the career of Antonio de Albuquerque de Coelho (1682-1746) a Brazilian-born man who served as governor of Macao, Goa, and in East Africa between 1700 and 1746. Albuquerque's mother, Angela de Bairos, was from Pernambuco and had 'white, negro and Amerindian blood . . . in about equal proportions'. The fact that he was of mixed race and born out of wedlock did not prevent Albuquerque's rise to fame and fortune, and his case is certainly not unique. Because of the rarity of Portuguese women in Brazil, we must assume that a

high percentage of Brazilians who later served in Africa and Asia were of at least part-American racial background.<sup>50</sup>

Some Americans were utilized as military auxiliaries to Portuguese soldiers as well. In 1641 auxiliaries were to be sent from Bahia and Rio de Janeiro to reinforce the troops in Angola, and in 1644 the king approved a project to send Henrique Dias with non-white auxiliaries from Bahia to Angola. Dias was needed instead in Brazil to fight the Dutch but in 1645 an expedition left Rio de Janeiro for Angola. Again in 1648–9 some 2,000 men were sent from Rio de Janeiro to Angola. The Portuguese troops in Angola were accompanied in their campaigns by 'auxiliary native troops' and thus we can be confident that the Brazilian contingents included persons of American origins.<sup>51</sup>

After 1650 Angola was virtually a colony of Brazil and we can be sure that many persons of American ancestry went there. In addition to the normal kinds of contact, Angola was used as a place for sending Americans and other persons who proved troublesome in Brazil. In Ceará, for example, mixed-blood and American 'undesireables' were periodically rounded up and shipped off to Angola' (1720s onward). After about 1740 the island of Fernão de Noronha was also used 'as a dumping ground for such people'. In the south of Brazil Americans and other non-whites were deported to Angola for gold-smuggling or for using a route passing through a region exposed to attack by free American forces (1720s).<sup>52</sup>

Quite early, Americans were used in the settlement of Fernão de Noronha island. In 1602 a Portuguese man was residing on the island with 13 or 14 *negros*. In 1612 a French vessel found only 'a Portuguese, with a few Tapuyas of both sexes'. The French removed the Americans to Maranhão.<sup>53</sup> (The Portuguese generally referred to Tupí-speaking Americans of coastal Brazil as *Brasis* or Brazilians, while the non-Tupí nations were often referred to collectively as Tapuyas.)

#### AMERICAN SLAVES IN EUROPE AND AFRICA

Now we shall examine data relating to the Americans who arrived in Europe and along the coast of West Africa, beginning with Portugal. The impact of Americans upon Portuguese life has not been studied although Camoens in his epic poem *Lusiadas* refers to the *tristes brasis* (sad Brazilians) arriving in Lisbon. Moreover, there exists a painting from the early 1500s wherein a Portuguese artist substituted a Brazilian (in native dress) for 'the black king' in his *Adoração dos Reis Magos* (Adoration of the Holy Kings).<sup>54</sup>

In 1552 or thereabouts Lisbon had some 10,000 slaves out of a population of 100,000, including Asians, south Asians, Muslims, black Africans, Americans, and others. A Flemish priest wrote in 1535 that 'todo o serviço é feito por negros e mouros cativos' (all service is done by captive negroes and Muslims). In 1552 a Brazilian slave was chained together with another slave trying to escape.<sup>55</sup>

In 1562 one Maria de Vilhena liberated by her testament 'two Indians, a white, a brown, a black, a mulato, two Moors – a man and a woman, a "chino Azamel" and two other captives where the race was apparently unknown.'<sup>56</sup> About the year 1550 the king of Portugal declared that, in order to avoid disputes as to who could get water from the river at certain places, for the purpose of selling water in Lisbon,

que a primeira bica indo da Ribeira, fôsse destinada exclusivamente aos homens pretos fôrros e cativos, como a mulatos, indios e mais cativos que fôsem homens; na segunda poderiam encher os mouros das galés . . . ; na quinta encheriam as pretas, mulatas, indias, fôrras e cativas.<sup>57</sup>

Thus, sections along the river were set aside for various groups, Americans being included in the group with black and mulatto males, or black and mulatto females, slave and free, rather than with Muslims. We can, then, picture the interaction of these various kinds of persons, trying to earn money by peddling water through the streets of Lisbon.

Towards the end of the sixteenth century there existed in the church of São Tomé in Lisbon a *confraria* (confraternity) limited to 'Indians'. In a letter of 1591 the king responded to a petition from the judge, overseers, and members of the group by granting for three years the right to ask for alms along the river, in the Alfama and the Barrio dos Escolares, provided that the right was limited to those who were very old or ill and could not support themselves. Some Americans, especially after intermarriage with Africans, probably also belonged to the confraternity of 'Rosario para pretos', a *confraria* founded by 1496 to provide mutual assistance and communal life for *pretos* (blacks). This group petitioned in the interests of the community as, for example, in efforts to keep officials seeking runaway slaves from breaking into the homes of *negras* and *pretas* who were honest women, married to *linguas* (interpreters) and *mareantes* (seamen) (1521, 1529, 1646).<sup>58</sup>

Many American slaves were resold from Portugal to other countries, and this trade continued for at least a century. In 1592, for example, a widower of Lisbon sold Beatriz, aged 12, originally from Pernambuco, Brazil, to the Canary Islands.<sup>59</sup>

Many Americans were sold as slaves in Spain, as revealed by the notarial records of Seville and Valencia. It is not possible to be certain as to the numbers involved since not all of the slaves seem to have been properly registered, and also baptismal records are relatively scant. Moreover, many slaves are classified only as to their color (and for some even that is lacking). The color terms used, such as *loro* (intermediate), *negro* (black or very dark), *blanco* (light), *loro casi negro* (brown, almost black), and so on are not diagnostic as to 'race' because they refer to color as perceived by the authorities and not to ancestry. It is especially helpful when the place of birth is given but otherwise it is not possible to tell whether a given *loro* (for example) is from the Americas, from the Canary Islands, from northern Africa, from India, or from Spain itself. The major exception is when an Arab or Islamic proper name accompanies the color designation.

About 102 *loros* were registered in Seville between 1472 and 1513. Of these, some 30 can be identified further as follows: 17 were born in Spain, of whom at least one was of Islamic background, six were from North Africa, three were from the Americas (two identified as *India* (female) and *Indias* (the Indies), and one as from Marañón), one was from 'Meni' in Guinea, one was from Portugal, one from the Azores, and one was the daughter of a *negra*. Thus 72 remain from unknown backgrounds and ten per cent of those identified were from the Americas.<sup>60</sup>

It is significant that during this same period of time Americans in the Caribbean were being referred to as *loros*, as for example, when Fernández de Oviedo states that 'la gente desta isla es lora' referring to Borinquen (Puerto Rico).<sup>61</sup>

In one case (above) a female slave from Guinea in 1504 was classified as *de color lora*, possibly a result of Portuguese-African mixture (but perhaps she was from a lighter-skinned group). Later, in 1524, another slave from Guinea was categorized as *negro como loro*.<sup>62</sup> Persons from Calicut (India) were also registered as slaves in 1508 and 1513 but no color designations were given.<sup>63</sup>

The term *negro* is, of course, very commonly used for Seville slaves. Often the individuals so categorized can be linked with a particular region or kingdom in Africa. Others, however, are not so identified and could be, in some cases, Americans of darker color. Sometimes non-Christian personal names suggest such an origin, as with 'Pitijuan', a *negro* sold in 1500.

Those Americans recorded as specifically being from the Americas are as follows:

- 1500 Pastor, age 13-14, *marañón*
- 1501 Francisca, 11-12, *India*
  - Alfonso Pérez, 25, *Antilla (enfermo)*
  - Zumbay, *India (enferma)*
  - Pedro, 12, *Indio*
  - Francisca, *India* ('vendida en su mitad')
  - Cosme, 12, *Indio*
- 1503 Gonzalo, 10, *Indio*
  - Leonor, 25, *la Española* [Haiti]
- 1504 Rodrigo, 13, *Indio (fallecio)*
- 1508 Beatriz, 25, *Luque* [Lucayo?]
- Francisco, 18, *La Española*
- 1509 Constanza, 20, *La Española*
  - Juan, 20, *Indio* [with 3 *negros*, liberated by a Florentine merchant]
- 1511 Gonzalo, 18, *Indias, Loro*
- 1512 María, 8, *India Lora*.

In addition, four other Americans were registered in 1500, 1503, and 1506.

Between 1513 and 1525 another twenty-one Americans were registered in Seville, of whom ten were males and eleven were females. From 1500 through 1512 males numbered eleven and females numbered eight or nine. The sex

ratio was much more balanced for Americans than was true for black Africans.

The greatest numbers appeared in 1501 (six) and 1525 (six also). In the latter year two females with two children *a los pechos* passed before the officials of the Casa de Contratación without interference. After 1534 the numbers may have increased still further as Charles V lifted the prohibitions on American enslavement.

In actual fact, there were many slaves from the Americas in Seville who never appeared in the notarized registers. Franco Silva has stated that there were about 40 Americans in Seville in 1500–1 but that there could have been more.<sup>64</sup> Other evidence for their presence includes the following: 1500: two appear in the *padrón* (census) of San Vicente; 1502: two females baptized in Santa Ana de Triana church; 1503: another female baptized; 1511: a male named Baltasar *hijo de India* was baptized in El Salvador church and in the same year the only *loro* was baptized at Santa Ana (slaves constituted ten to fifteen per cent of the total baptisms in Seville to 1525 but race is often not mentioned); 1516: Catalina, age 25, *india* from Brazil mentioned; 1517: Antón, *indio* sold for 10,000 *miravedis*; 1518: a Portuguese sold an *india* from Brazil, Juana; and 1525, Juan, an Indian from Española, fled. He had been captured in the first war of Higüey province, when he was a boy. He had a finger cut off from the right hand, and had a 'sign of iron' (that is, he had been branded). Most American slaves were from Haiti, Borinquen, and Brazil.

Between the 1490s and 1525 some 1,153 slaves were freed in Seville, of whom 319 were *negros*, 234 Muslims of all colors, 11 American males (no females), 16 *canario* males and 11 women, 44 male *loros* and 45 female *loros*. The balanced sex ratio of the Americans registered would suggest that some of the *loros* must have also been from the Americas.

Other American baptisms, after 1525, include: 1530: a male and a female baptized at San Vicente and Diego, *indio*, baptized at San Ildefonso; 1533: *una india* baptized at San Ildefonso; 1534: another male baptized in el Sagrario and also one at San Vicente; 1539: a female baptized in el Sagrario; and 1540: a female baptized in el Sagrario.

In 1533 *una esclava india*, age 20, accompanied by a girl was given as part of a marriage dowry. In 1542 Isidro, age 25 years, wounded in both *carrillos* of the face, was freed along with Pedro, *indio*. Both were *mejicanos*, natives of New Spain.<sup>65</sup>

In 1549 Benjamin, *un esclavo indio*, was in jail after having fled from his owner, a *tintorero* (dyer) of Seville, Juan Núñez. In the middle of the next century (c.1650) three *esclavas indias* were donated by a rich Spaniard from the Americas to a nun of the monastery of La Encarnación de Mula. Interestingly also, in the annals of Seville for 1607 occurs the following: 'Empezó a verse el tabaco; tomábanlo en humo algunos negros bozales.' That is to say that some new slaves (called *negros* but certainly Americans) introduced the smoking of tobacco to Sevillanos.<sup>66</sup>

By 1565 there were more than 6,000 slaves in Seville, including Muslims from Granada, Turks, Berbers, black Africans, Americans, and so on.



Reportedly, the inhabitants of the city were not really white or black, while another source states that there were as many *prietos* (dark people) as whites.<sup>67</sup> These were joined by other slaves later, including 2,000 Turks, Greeks, and Slavs sold in Cádiz as a result of a victory of the Austrians over the Turks in the late seventeenth century.<sup>68</sup>

There are a few references to persons in the interior parts of Spain who may well have been of American ancestry. For example, a suspected fugitive was apprehended in the Valencia area in 1579. He claimed to be free although his mother was a 'negra, de les indies de Portugal' while his father was white and was from Algofrin near Toledo. The suspect was called a *negre* and was age 23. Because his mother was probably from Brazil he doubtless was half-American.<sup>69</sup> In 1599 a traveler coming from Portugal noted that in Ayamonte and also in Gibraltor:

Hay aquí muchos esclavos y principalmente hembras negras y morenas, que vienen de las Indias y Isla de Santo Thomás, muy hermosas y amorosas, de manera que los vecinos de esta villa se casan muchas veces con ellas.<sup>70</sup>

In that area, then, there were many black and darkish brown women from the Americas and from São Tomé Island who were so beautiful and amorous that the local males often married them.

Valencia, as a major port on the Mediterranean, was an important center for the trans-shipment of slaves to Italy and to other parts of Spain. The situation was quite similar to that of Seville in that there were many *loros* (called *lors* or *llors*), large numbers of Muslim slaves (*loros*, *negros* and *blancos*), even larger numbers of black Africans, and quite a few Canary Islanders, Asian Indians and Americans.

Some differences show up, in that many more Americans, *canarios*, and Muslims are classified as *loros*, while some Americans, many Muslims and almost all Asian Indians are classified as *negros*. A high percentage of *loros* seem to be of Muslim extraction (from North Africa) or are said to have been born in Spain. Nonetheless, there are a number of *loros* who are not identifiable by place of origin.

The Asian Indians are usually not called Indians but are identified as *negros* from Calicut, Bombay or 'Malacca, India'. One or two are identified as of *loro* color or *lor casi negro*. South Asia is usually called *la India* or, as in the case of Gonzalo in 1515, *de Chochiti, India*. As we shall see, however, there is a possibility that *Indias* was sometimes used for southeast Asia or Indonesia (even as some writers used *India* for Brazil or America).<sup>71</sup>

Although the large majority of unidentified *negros* probably came from Africa, many could also have been from Asia or America. Here are some examples of shipments with no place of origin given: 1510: 228 very unassimilated, from Lisbon; 1510: 227 from Portugal, also *bozales*; 1511: 112 from Portugal, very unassimilated; 1511: 88 from Portugal; 1512: 101 from Portugal; 1514: 95 from Portugal; 1514: 27 from Portugal, six of whom were sick; 1516: 130 *negros*, of whom 15 died; and 1516: 66 *negros*, of whom three died. These

figures leave room for wide speculation since also in 1516, of a load of 88 *negros*, 85 were from Brazil (and were Americans). Similarly, in 1516 a *lor*, Pedro from Calicut, was registered who had been part of a group of 50 Indians captured by the Portuguese and brought to Lisbon in 1514.<sup>72</sup>

The following is a list of known Americans arriving in Valencia to be registered, through 1516:

May 27, 1495: two merchants presented 'una cautiva "des les illes noves"' [the new isles], age 7, de 'les Indies e illes novament trobades'; [from the Indies and islands newly discovered]. 'She did not confess because no one could understand her.'

June 6, 1509: Martín, 10 years, of Brazil *terra de negres* [land of *negros*], along with a group of Berbers.

September 6, 1509: a Venetian merchant presented a *lora*, 15, who was native 'de les Indies de la terra ahon porten lo Brasil, lo nom de la qual n'os sab com no sapia parlar.' [Name unknown because no translator.]

August 17, 1514: Axa, now Beatriz, 16, *de Indias*; Sana, now Felipa, 13, same place, alli por un moro que lo vendio a cristianos qe lo llevaron a Portugal.' [From the Indies, seized there by a Muslim who sold him to Christians who carried him to Portugal.] [May refer to the East Indies.]

August 17, 1514: Axa, now Beatriz, 16, *de Indias*; Sana, now Felipa, 13, same place, to Valencia from Portugal. [Axa is a name common to Muslim women, probably pronounced 'Asha', but could be from many lands.]

January 9, 1515: 'presenta seis negros [including] dos loros oscuras': Joha, *lora*, now Isabel, 16, *de Brasil*, Camane, now Catalina, 10, from same place. [Thus the dark *loras* from Brazil were also categorized as *negros*.]

February 6, 1515: two *negros*: Allo, now Jorge, 15, *de Hireo*; Arago, now Alvaro, same place. [These were the only slaves in Valencia from Hireo, which was probably Iere or Trinidad.]

1516: four *blancos indianos* presented: Olmiren, now Antonio, 14, *de Paranopol*; Boy, now Isabel, 16, same place; Yaya, 14, same; Parahimpo, 15, same. They were purchased in Portugal. [Paranopol was probably Pernambuco, Brazil.]

December 9, 1516: 88 slaves presented, 85 from the 'island' of Brazil, formerly pagans but now Christians, and three *negros*. A Spaniard testified that of these he had seen '23 *negros*' die and taken them to be buried. [Thus the Brazilians were called *negros*.]

December 12, 1516: *una blanca*, Francisca, 14, of the island of Brazil, brought from Lisbon.<sup>73</sup>

Thus the Americans were variously categorized as whites, *loros* or *negros*, depending upon their perceived color.

I have not seen any detailed data for Valencia between 1517 and 1569; however, statistical summaries relating to new and runaway slaves are available from 1569 to 1686. During this period new color terms appear, largely replacing *loro* and representing various shades of brown. Some 2,999 slaves and captives were categorized as follows:

<i>negros</i>	1,401
<i>blancos</i>	363
<i>membrillo cocido</i>	365 [stewed quince color]

<i>morenos</i>	53
<i>mulatos</i>	22
<i>claros</i>	1
<i>llors</i>	3
<i>oscuros</i>	2
no classification	789
<hr/>	
Total	2,999

Thus 'blacks' made up less than half of the total, but some of the other shades of brown could have referred to interior West Africans (such as *Fulos*) thought to have a brownish color.

Of the above, 435 were runaways (421 males and 14 females) while 2,564 were new slaves (1,253 males, 836 females and 475 not stated). Most were quite young (usually age 15 to 25).

The numbers coming from the *Indias* (Indies) of Portugal were as follows:

1569–	1571–	1579–	1594–	1609–	1607–	1666–	
1570	1578	1585	1603	1666	1620	1686	
new	new	new	new or fugitive	new or fugitive	new or fugitive	new or fugitive	total
7	4	7	0	1	3	0	22

In the same period, 12 came from Cabo Verde, 23 from São Tomé and 23 from Angola, thus illustrating that Brazil (probably) was contributing about as many slaves as were each of the Portuguese islands and Angola. On the other hand, 84 came from 'other countries,' 576 from Guinea, 481 from Granada, 81 from Turkey, and so on. 'Las Indias de Portugal' doubtless refers to Brazil rather than to India.

Insofar as color terms are concerned, the Brazilians were apparently categorized variously as *membrillo cocido*, *moreno*, *llors*, *mulato*, or perhaps occasionally as *negro* or *blanco*.<sup>74</sup>

One of the problems in tracing the history of Americans in Spain is that with so many slaves (100,000 to 300,000 in all) of so many shades of color, the Spaniards tended to record those characteristics lending to individual identification (that is, appearance) and not ancestry. Likewise, the term *negro* was probably used broadly for many types of slaves. In 1560, for example, the *moriscos* (Christianized *moros*) were forbidden to purchase 'esclavos negros, ni los tengan, ni de Berberia'. It would make no sense to forbid *moriscos* from having Berber or black slaves, if they could purchase American, mixed, or brownish slaves.<sup>75</sup>

As mentioned previously, the officials of Seville were commissioned in 1549 to liberate Americans in Spain. A few months later it was ordered that Americans who asked for their liberty would be heard and that justice would be done. In 1555 two additional officials of the Casa de Contratación of Seville were assigned to aid in the above process.<sup>76</sup> Nonetheless, it is clear that some

remained in slavery (and doubtless all part-Americans whose mothers were of African or other non-American ancestry and whose status was that of a slave were *not* affected by any of the emancipation provisions whatsoever. The greater proportion of the children of Americans would have fallen in this category, in all probability.)

The American and African slaves in Spain (as in Portugal) merged into the general population. Doubtless many contributed to the growth of the *Gitano* ('Gypsy') group in cities such as Valencia and Seville. A Spanish historian has noted that after the 1490s, the *Gitanos* grew in numbers:

This was partly because the genuine thoroughbred Gypsy was being joined by others from the oppressed classes of society – fugitive slaves, *Moriscos*, even Christians wanted by the law, criminals, adventurers and vagabonds.<sup>77</sup>

On several occasions, as in 1637, the Crown ordered all slaves and *gitanos*, including 'negros, mulatos y berberiscos' to forcibly serve in the military galleys regardless of their owners' wishes. This should act as an indication that although the slaves were assimilated fairly rapidly into Spanish society, the assimilation was not always easy or just. As early as 1496 some 50 Americans were sold to serve in the galleys of Spain, provided that they were not later found to be legally free (and by that time many would doubtless be dead).<sup>78</sup> Thus we can be sure that both Americans and Africans who entered as slaves tended to be absorbed into the proletarian level of society. Their cultural impact upon Spain (and Portugal) needs to be explored more thoroughly in a separate study.

Many Americans were also sent to the Spanish and Portuguese islands off the African coast. Data is available for part of the Canary Islands during the sixteenth century which shows that Americans were present throughout the period. At Tenerife, to 1525, about ten per cent of the slaves sold were native *canarios*. In 1506 *una india* was sold in the Tenerife slave market by a Genoan. At Las Palmas, no native *canarios* were sold after 1510. There were about 1,956 slaves registered for the market, of whom *negros* constituted 1,371 (70 per cent). *Moriscos* constituted 12 per cent and the balance tended to be Muslims from North Africa. The sex ratio of the *negros* was heavily male (60 per cent), but the *moriscos* were more evenly balanced.

Many *loros* and *mulatos* were sold at Las Palmas, with the category *loro* being gradually replaced by *mulato*. Nonetheless, *loro* is used as late as 1599. Some of the *loros* and *mulatos* could have been Americans. In 1580, for example, Melchor, age 30, was referred to as *mulato-indio*.<sup>79</sup>

The Americans sold in the Las Palmas market after 1510 and who can be identified are as follows:

- 1537 Gaspar, 25, *indio blanco*
- 1546 Luis, 26, from *india de Portugal*
- Antón, 6, Brazil, *bozal*
- Catalina, 15, Brazil
- 1555 Francisco, 20, *Indio*

- 1557 Antonio, 25, from *India de Portugal*
- 1558 Bastián, 40, *India*
- 1559 Leonor, 20, *Indio*  
Gabriel, 28, *Indio*
- 1567 Pablo, –, *Indio*
- 1575 Pedro, –, *Indio*
- 1576 Roque, 48, *Indio*
- 1579 Pablos, 30, *Indio*
- 1580 Melchor, 30, *mulato-indio*
- 1582 Luis, 22, *Indio*
- 1592 Beatriz, 12, Pernambuco [from Lisbon]
- 1600 Antón, 30, *Indio*

As one can see, the vast majority of Americans were males (14 of 17) suggesting that some females were called *loras*, *mulatas* or *morenas*, or had no color mentioned.

The compiler of the above data believes that the number of Americans probably exceeded the number actually registered (as was the case with slaves in general). Other Americans were mentioned in various sources, such as in baptismal records or in lawsuits. Also in 1563 an American was accused of a robbery for which he was condemned to eight years in the galleys, while another *indio* (Agustín Inglés) was condemned for a sexual perversion. The records of the Inquisition also mention a *caribeño*. The baptismal records of el Sagrario mention a *cacique* (chief) from Mexico and 'el indio Luis, natural de la India de Portugal' who had been in Seville before reaching Las Palmas.<sup>80</sup>

From the above evidence it is clear that the enslavement of Americans and their shipment to Europe and Africa was not a short-term experience. We cannot be certain of the numbers involved (because so many slaves were not identified ethnically in the records) but we can be sure that their presence was not limited to the areas cited. Doubtless Americans were resold to many countries just as African slaves were resold. Italy was perhaps a major market but the Spanish-controlled Netherlands were probably also a place of transshipment (along with, of course, the various Portuguese islands off Africa).

#### DUTCH EXPANSION AND THE AMERICAN DIASPORA

There were early connections between the Flemish-Dutch region and both the Azores and Canaries. In 1495 a ship from 'Flanders' brought Ubay Chimayo, a *canario* slave, from Tenerife to Valencia. Similarly, in 1502 some *naves alemanas*, Germanic vessels, delivered a *mora lora* captive from Valencia to Oran, North Africa, after ransom had been paid.<sup>81</sup> Thus we can suggest that in the 1490s and early 1500s slaves from the Canary Islands, Africa and the Americas probably began to appear in the low countries and other northern areas, carried there by Dutch and Germanic vessels (as well as by Venetian, Genoese, Portuguese and other ships which frequented northern waters).

After the Portuguese occupation of coastal Brazil, a close connection developed between the San Vicente (Santos) area and Antwerp. Peter Rösel, the factor of an Antwerp banking and commercial house, was in charge of a sugar refinery (using American slaves) close to San Vicente in the 1550s. In 1554 he was also operating a ship along the Brazilian coast.<sup>82</sup>

Antwerp was known as a city with many slaves, including blacks, Muslims, and Jews. We know that Americans were among them since, in the early 1500s, one Baltasar the Moor (who was freed) was said to have been 'born in the Indies of Portugal of Christian parents'. We know that he was from Brazil because he alleged that the 'whole land' from which he came was inhabited by Christians, which could only be applicable to the areas where the Jesuits had been Christianizing Americans since 1549. Earlier, in 1516, two non-Christian *mooren* (non-whites) who belonged to one George de Sulco Lobo from Portugal fled from slavery.

It is evident that there were many Portuguese merchants in Antwerp. Albrecht Dürer, in his journey to the low countries, met a Portuguese factor with a female (*Moorin*) slave whom he painted. In 1532 a slave fled from the house of the Portuguese factor, and in 1540 a Portuguese merchant sold to a Genoan a *zwarten* (black) slave named Duarte.<sup>83</sup> The close Portugal–Antwerp–Brazil connections virtually guarantee that many Brazilian slaves, along with many Africans, arrived there in the 1500s.

In the latter part of the period the Dutch living to the north of Antwerp began to wage a successful struggle against their Spanish rulers. Part of their strategy was to send out ships which raided Spanish and (later) Portuguese shipping and colonies in the Americas. As early as 1580 some Dutchmen established Nieuw Zeeland in Guyana and thereafter they frequented the coasts of South America. As early as 1601 and 1609 they made contact with Brazilian natives and it is possible that some were conducted to the Netherlands even as some were taken there from the Bahia da Traição.

Não se sabe com segurança o número de índios então embarcados, mas é de presumir que alguns sejam os interrogados por Kilean de Renselaer em 1628 a aos quais Hessel Gerritsz se refere pelos nomes – Gaspar Paraupaba, então de 50 años, Andre Francisco, de 32 años, ambos de Ceará, Pieter Poty, Antonio Guiravassauay, Antonio Luis Gaspar, todos da Baía de Traição.

Thus, the Dutch took the above-named Brazilians, among others, to the Netherlands where they were interviewed and provided important data to those who planned the attempted capture of Brazil from the Portuguese.

Jan de Laet, the Antwerp man who played a major role in the above, referred to the Brazilians whom 'he saw many times in Holland':

nous avons veu souvent [os índios] en les Provinces Unies, apris en nostre langue, sçavoir escrire e entre instruits aux principes de la Religión Chrestienne; nous avons reçue en quelque façon d'eux la cognoissance de ces regions.

The Brazilians in the Netherlands had learned the Dutch language, been taught to write, and been instructed in the Christian religion. In turn, they

informed the Dutch about the Brazilian region. As will be noted, Pieter Poty especially became a major leader against the Portuguese.

While in the Netherlands: 'êles andavam nos meios universitários e no mundo dos negócios – locais da actividade de Laet'. The Americans went about in the world of the university and that of business, areas where de Laet was active.<sup>84</sup>

Dutch expansion in the early seventeenth century also served to accelerate American–African contacts elsewhere. From the 1590s onward Dutch warships frequently captured Spanish and Portuguese vessels, many of which were loaded with slaves or possessed crew members of non-white race. Some of these slaves were taken to Europe while others were sold to the English in Virginia or were sent to Dutch ports in the Americas (New Amsterdam and Curaçao, for example). We know that some of the captives were persons with Spanish (Christian) names and were not new slaves from Africa. In fact, some of those who arrived in Virginia were Carib people.<sup>85</sup> The Dutch also sent Esopus captives from the Hudson River area to the Netherlands, Bermuda and Curaçao in 1644. In 1660 some 15 or 20 Esopus (Lenápe) captives were sent to Curaçao and Bonaire by Governor Peter Stuyvesant, to work for the West Indies Company. Before 1664 slaves arriving in the Netherlands 'from the Indies' were set free.<sup>86</sup>

Along the South American coast the Dutch attempted to establish posts at various places, such as at the mouth of the Essequibo River where one Jan de Moor [John the Black] was in 1616. In 1624–5 an effort was made to capture Bahia but, as with certain of the posts to the north, this was a failure. In general, a long-term struggle ensued in which the various American nations were pawns in a power struggle between the Portuguese and other Europeans.<sup>87</sup> The Dutch were able to capture Recife-Pernambuco and thereafter gradually dominated a significant part of Brazil and Maranhão (the lower Amazon region).

As soon as they seized Pernambuco the Dutch began to make use of some of the Brazilians educated in Holland. In 1631 three were sent to Brazil to be employed as interpreters and go-betweens, while others returned later. At the same time many Americans remained in Holland and in 1635 it was reported that they were speaking Dutch as their 'own' language in place of their native tongues. The Brazilians were numerous enough in Amsterdam in 1636 to have their own 'synagogue' (probably a reformed church), according to an Irish visitor who had been in Brazil previously. The Americans gave him messages to take back to their relatives in Brazil.<sup>88</sup>

During the period from 1631 to 1654 many Brazilian natives, both Tupí-speaking (called Brazilians) and Tapuya (called *Tapoeijers* and *Daboyers*) were sent to the Netherlands, for education, to provide entertainment, and for diplomatic alliance purposes. A Brazilian *mamaluco* (mixed-blood) also went to Leiden, where he is known to have married and had children. Moreover, many Dutch in Brazil married Portuguese-speaking and native women, producing a new type of *mamaluco* (often blonde-haired). Many of these mixed families stayed in Brazil but others, after 1654, fled to the French West Indies, Curaçao,

and Holland. Black Africans were also taken to Holland during the period.<sup>89</sup>

The Americans were absolutely essential to Dutch plans in Brazil. Some 4,000 Tupí-speaking Brazilians lived under Dutch supervision in separate communities and furnished essential labor and military service. Thousands of Tapuya served as allies against the Portuguese. On the other hand, the Portuguese also had Americans on their side and both European groups utilized black, *mulato*, and *mamaluco* troops against each other. In 1538, for example, the Dutch governor had 3,600 European and 1,000 American troops at his disposal. One Antonio Mendes commanded a company of 'tupís, mulatos e negros' for the Dutch.

In addition to 'free' Americans living in communities, there were also many slaves of native origin as well as those of mixed African and American ancestry. The Dutch allowed some Americans to remain in slavery; others (newly captured by Dutch allies) were to serve for seven years. In the Maranhão region and Ceará, however, the enslavement of Americans continued as it had under the Portuguese until the policy began to create problems with the Tapuya allies. Theoretically, in 1642-3, the Americans of the Maranhão were to be considered free, 'as are the Brazilians'. Nonetheless, some Brazilian Americans were sold by the Dutch in the West Indies (to the colony of St Christopher) prior to 1654.<sup>90</sup>

After 1630 the Dutch West Indies Company became fully involved in the slave trade from West Africa, made necessary in part because large numbers of African and American slaves in Brazil fled to the interior during the years of Dutch-Portuguese fighting. The slavery business prompted the Dutch to attack Portuguese trading stations in Africa, beginning in 1637.

Dutch military expeditions to Africa included significant numbers of Brazilian (Tupí and Tapuya) auxiliary soldiers. The expedition which conquered the Portuguese forts along the Gold Coast (1637-8) included many Tapuyas, while the expedition which conquered the Angola forts, São Tomé and Ano Bom included 240 Americans of the Tupí group (1641). In 1642 they also conquered Axim in Guinea. Some 300 Brazilian natives were used on São Tomé, of whom only 60 were later alive.

Given the Dutch use of Brazilian natives as allies and auxiliaries in Brazil itself and in West Africa, it seems also plausible to suggest that Americans were used in connection with Dutch activities elsewhere. In 1641 and 1642 complaints were being made that Tupí numbers were diminishing because they were being taken to fight in foreign lands.<sup>91</sup>

The influence of the Tapuya auxiliaries taken by the Dutch to West Africa needs especially to be traced, since there is evidence of long-standing Tapuya influence in Elmina (Ghana). Albert van Dantzig, a Dutch scholar working in Ghana, has written to me that 'down to the 19th century (when the Dutch sold Elmina Castle to the British) the Dutch continued to refer to mulattoes as Tapoeijers.' William Bosman, a Dutch slave-merchant who fathered a mixed-blood son on the Gold Coast of Africa (where he resided from 1687 to 1701) had some nasty remarks to make about the *Tapoeijers of mulatten* (Tapuyas or



mulattoes). He notes that the *Tapoeijers* were serving as soldiers for the Dutch but otherwise they and their women are described as bad characters, idolators (although nominal Christians), prostitutes, and 'knaves'. He states also that they were born from the mixture of a European with a *neger* woman, a statement which betrays his lack of knowledge of their actual history but which also reveals that they had become Africanized (or that by *neger* he meant any non-white). Doubtless the Tapuya men of the 1640s had married African or African-Portuguese-Brazilian mixed women already living on the Gold Coast. It should be noted, however, that an earlier Dutch writer refers to the *Daboyer* as *Moren* (blacks, non-whites) even in Brazil.<sup>92</sup>

That Tapuyas remained on the Gold Coast is not surprising since after 1654 they would have probably been killed by their Portuguese enemies if they had returned to Brazil.<sup>93</sup>

It should also be noted that the Dutch, like the Portuguese, sent civilians from Brazil to Africa. In 1644 *mulatos e negros* who were stonemasons were taken from Pernambuco to Luanda, Angola, to help build a fort. The *mulatos* were doubtless part-American.

In this connection, it is interesting to note that J. A. Rogers refers to the tradition of American ancestry in West Africa at a much later date:

Today the West African mulatto has castes of his own. The oldest group are the Portuguese-Brazilians. . . . They live chiefly in the larger towns as Porto Novo, Cotonou, Whydah, Grand Popo. . . . Some even have an American-Indian strain brought by their earliest mulatto ancestors from Brazil. These Portuguese-Brazilians are the aristocrats of the mulatto group.<sup>94</sup>

After being expelled from Brazil in 1654, the Dutch (or many of them) and the Portuguese Jews who had joined them, retreated with slaves, servants and a plantation ideology to other places. For example, 900 such persons, free and slave, left Brazil and migrated to Guadaloupe and Martinique. In addition, the Dutch had been actively selling slaves in the French islands, as noted. We know that many of the slaves on the islands were 'Brazilians' (Americans from Brazil) and *Aroüaques* (Arawaks, perhaps from the Guiana coast). In 1656 some 20 Brazilian slaves helped suppress an Angolan rebellion on Guadaloupe. As late as 1767 the Brazilian term *mamaluco* was still being used on Martinique.<sup>95</sup>

The Dutch, along with the French and English, were active along the Guiana coast during this same period. The Dutch, in particular, developed for a time a route from the Essequibo River, via the Rio Negro, to the Amazon, bringing back canoe-loads of slaves to the coast. They made peace with the Lokono (Arawak) people of Surinam and, by the late 1680s, with the adjacent Carib groups. The friendly tribes, especially the Caribs, continued to supply the Dutch with American slaves from the interior until the mid-nineteenth century.

The island of Curaçao was also used by the Dutch as a center for the resale of slaves and it would appear that Americans were still being obtained along the 'wild coast' of South America well into the nineteenth century. The ultimate disposition of the American slaves from the Surinam-Orinoco-Amazon

watersheds and the Curaçao region is not known to me. Some Surinam area natives were sent to Barbados from 1627 to help develop the sugar industry there. Perhaps others were sold (with black Africans) to all available markets or were taken to Dutch colonies in Africa and elsewhere.<sup>96</sup>

Regulations issued in the Netherlands in 1764 for the Dutch slave trade at Curaçao mention two kinds of slaves: *neger* slaves and *macquerons* slaves. These *macquerons* slaves were obviously not African and they were of less monetary value than *neger* slaves. The term *makarons* can be interpreted as meaning 'mixed' (as applied to language), as being of light brown color or as referring to long hair hanging down in front of the ears (a 'macaroni' hairstyle, as it was called). My suspicion is that these were, in fact, American or part-American slaves since African-white slaves would not have had a price differential in all probability. It should also be noted that an American group in the Maranhão area was known as the *Macamacrans*.

In 1774 one Frank, a slave of a 'yellowish or mustee complexion', ran away in South Carolina. he 'would feign dress, the wool of his head in the macaroni taste, the which being that of a mustee, he has teased into side locks, and a queue, but when too lazy to comb, ties his head with a handkerchief.' Thus we have evidence that a 'mustee' (of American and African mixture) of the period wore his hair in a 'macaroni' style. American-African mixed-bloods often were described as having 'bushy' hair, longer and 'wilder' than West Africans.<sup>97</sup>

In modern times, the term *macaron* has come to refer to a person lacking in some type of physical capability. It has been interpreted as referring also to slaves whom the Spaniards would not purchase from the Dutch and who had to be sold in North America, that is, slaves who were old or unable to work hard. A more first-hand source refers, however, to the sweetness of a *hallif-blanks makronsje*, that is, to a young half-white *macaron*, thus invalidating the above thesis. American slaves, in general, were difficult to sell to the Spaniards because their enslavement was technically illegal. Moreover, they were usually used for the less arduous tasks such as hunting, fishing, boating or craft work.<sup>98</sup>

Americans continued to be transported to the Netherlands long after the loss of Brazil. In the 1770s, for example, an American boy named Weekee from the Berbice River (Surinam-Guyana) was living in Bergen-op-Zoom where he learned to be a cook and 'something of a tailor'. He later returned home and 'no sooner touched American ground, than stripping himself of his lumber [clothes], he launched naked into his native woods.'<sup>99</sup>

#### AMERICANS IN FRANCE AND THE FRENCH COLONIES

The French also are responsible for taking many Americans to Europe, but the earliest of such visits probably are lost in the mystery of early Breton and Basque voyages to Newfoundland and Greenland. In general, the French were active initially in two regions, in the North Atlantic and along the coast of Brazil. In 1503 Captain de Gonville of Honfleur sailed to Brazil and brought back an

American who was the son of a chief of the Carijó nation. This 15-year-old boy was educated in France, married a Frenchwoman and was still living there in 1583. Thereafter, the French were active rivals of the Portuguese along the coast of Brazil, making friends with the Americans who were enemies of the Portuguese, in particular, with the Carijós of the south, the Tamóios of Rio de Janeiro, and the various groups north of Pernambuco. French individuals intermarried with the Americans, leaving in Brazil many *mamaluços* of French ancestry, especially among the Tupinamba (many of whom were blondish and white-looking).

Numerous Brazilians journeyed to France after 1509, including Paraguazu, the wife of the famous Portuguese founder of the Bahia, Caramuru or Diego Álvares. Paraguazu and Caramuru were legally married in France in 1510 with the king and queen as sponsors. Later they returned to Bahia.

Many other Brazilians lived in Rouen, France. In 1550 a large number put on a spectacle there for Henry II and Catherine de Medici, while Montaigne interviewed three Americans in Rouen in 1563. The Portuguese Jesuits were extremely concerned that Protestant heretics were taking Brazilians to Europe for training in heresy. In 1561 it was reported that 'many young people are being sent to Calvin and to other places for training in their errors.'

As early as the 1590s Americans from the Maranhão were taken to France and in 1612 some six Tupinambas from that area made the same journey, stopping also in Falmouth, England. Three lived to be baptized in Paris with the king and queen as sponsors.<sup>100</sup> It is quite clear that the Franco-American alliance in the Brazil region resulted in large numbers of Brazilians going to France as free visitors, a situation leading directly to contacts with Newfoundland and Canadian Americans as well as with Africans also in France.

If Americans reached France as slaves in the sixteenth century they were probably set free. In 1571, for example, the parliament of Bordeaux set free 'Ethiopian and other slaves' whom a merchant wished to sell in the port, on the grounds that slavery was not legal in France.<sup>101</sup>

The first Americans reaching France across the North Atlantic would seem to have been brought to Rouen from Terranova (the Newfoundland area) in 1508 with another group following in 1509. The first group consisted in seven men, of *suie* (soot) color, tattooed from ears to chin.<sup>102</sup>

In 1524 Juan Verrazano, sailing for France, visited the North American coast, kidnapping a young boy. Ten years later, Jacques Carier took back two youths from Canada and in 1535 he kidnapped nine Americans from the same area. The chief Donacona and his fellows were baptized at St Malo but are said to have died within a year or two. In 1541 Carier returned a young Huron girl to Canada. Later, in the 1680s Iroquois captives were sent to France to serve in the royal galleys.<sup>103</sup>

As the years went by, the French became involved in American slavery in Canada, the Mississippi Valley, Louisiana and the Caribbean. In North America itself American slaves, called *paducas* (1720s) and *panis*, became quite common. It is possible that some of these, along with mixed-blood Acadians,

reached France. In 1747 a *panis* slave was sent from Canada to Martinique while in 1732 a Carib slave was taken to Canada.<sup>104</sup>

✓ In the French West Indies a plantation economy began to develop and there, as noted, one finds Brazilian and Arawak slaves by the 1650s. In Louisiana the enslavement of Americans was quite common from the very beginning of the colony, with the Chitimacha people being a special target but also with slaves being brought in from the Mississippi Valley. In the early 1700s the French there are known to have been interested in exchanging American slaves for Africans from Haiti and other colonies. Some were actually traded for supplies. In the late 1720s many Natchez people were sent as slaves to Haiti.<sup>105</sup> In the 1750s the Spanish apprehended three Americans on a French vessel. They were liberated from slavery by the Audiencia de Santo Domingo in 1756 on the grounds that all Americans 'who shall not be *caribes*' were free, whether found ✓ inside or outside Spanish territories.<sup>106</sup>

#### BRITISH EXPANSION AND THE RELOCATION OF AMERICANS

The English may have met Americans at Newfoundland in the pre-1492 period but the first record relating to Americans on British soil is somewhat later. In about 1501–2 a joint Bristol–Portuguese venture seems to have been responsible for bringing three Americans from Newfoundland to England. A source states that: 'three men were brought out of an island founde by merchants of Bristow forre beyond Irelande, the which were clothed in Beestes skynnes and ete raw flesh, and rude in their demeanure as Beestes.' These newcomers were presented to Henry VII. Two of them were still about Westminster Palace in 1504 when, because of a change of dress, and for other reasons they 'appeared English'. A biographer of Thomas More feels that More 'had probably seen them' prior to his brother-in-law's expedition to Newfoundland in 1516 and the publication of *Utopia*. Several voyages reached that same area in 1504 and 1505 also, but no further references to Americans appear until 1531 when William Hawkins brought back a Brazilian leader who met Henry VIII at Whitehall.<sup>107</sup>

In 1576–7 Americans (probably Inuits) were kidnapped by Martin Frobisher, one of them being sketched by Lucas de Heere, the Flemish artist. Like many Inuits kidnapped in subsequent years, the majority seem to have died away from their home environment.<sup>108</sup>

Contacts with the Atlantic seaboard of North America and with the Orinoco–Guiana region produced a number of visitors in the 1580s, including the famous Manteo of North Carolina and several Guiana natives who served Sir Walter Raleigh in the Tower of London. The English also began to capture Spanish shipping during this period, in the Caribbean and elsewhere, and we know that non-whites began to be present in Plymouth and other ports in some numbers.

Beginning in 1603 the English began to abduct or otherwise convey

Americans from the New England and Virginia coasts to England. The Powhatans brought from the Chesapeake Bay area gave a demonstration of canoe handling on the Thames. Boatmen 'waited on the Virginians when they rowed with their canoes'. When John Smith was a prisoner among the Powhatans in 1607 he was exhibited to see if he had been on board an earlier ship which had 'taken away some Indians from them by force'.<sup>109</sup>

In any case, abductions began to play a key role in English plans for colonization. Interpreters were needed as well as precise geographical information. In 1605 five Americans were kidnapped from the St George River, the first (apparently) of a large number seized from the New England area. 'By 1610 taking captured Indians to England had become routine. Would-be-colonizers such as Sir Fernando Gorges hoped to impress the captives . . . , to learn as much as they could about the lay of the land, and to acquire mediators with the local Indians.'

Not all of the Americans were treated in such a manner, however. Thomas Hunt in 1614 kidnapped 27 Americans from Massachusetts and took them to Málaga, Spain, for sale as slaves. A few were sold as such while the rest were taken by Spanish 'friars' to be instructed in Christianity. Most of them doubtless remained in Spain but one Tasquantum (Squanto) was able to get away to Newfoundland and England and in 1619 returned to Massachusetts, only to find his region decimated by European-introduced disease.<sup>110</sup>

In 1616 Pocahontas and at least ten other Powhatans were taken to England from Virginia. One of the men, Uttamakomak (Tomocomo) and several girls remained in Britain for some time, the girls being eventually (1621) sent to the Bermudas where they married settlers.

Other Americans did not fare as well. Records in England indicate that Queen Elizabeth in 1596 and 1601 issued orders to be rid of all of the non-white foreigners in her realm (Blackmoores and 'negars and blackamoors') and many were gathered up for resale to other countries. Some Americans or part-Americans could have been among those sold, since in 1621 there is a reference to 'thirteen Negroes or Indian people, six women, seven men and boyes' who were being sold, perhaps to Bermuda.<sup>111</sup>

After the Pequot-English War in New England many American prisoners were enslaved and sold. In 1638 Pequots were sold in the West Indies, many reaching Providence Island off Central America. Between 1676 and 1683 many other New England Native Americans were 'condemned to be sold into foreign slavery' after the so-called 'King Philip's War'.

Thus during the war and for some time afterward, Indians believed to be hostile or dangerous were shipped away to the slave markets of the West Indies, Spain, and the Mediterranean coasts. . . . Both Jamaica and Barbados legislated against their admittance. John Eliot knew of a case in which a vessel filled with Indian prisoners tried in vain to unload its human cargo at one market after another. She finally managed to get rid of them at Tangiers in North Africa, where they were still living in 1683. Probably many a black man today in North Africa and the islands of the West Indies carries some

traces of the blood which once surged through the veins of Philip's [Metacomet's] defeated warriors.

Another source indicates that some Americans were returned to Massachusetts from Algiers in 1683. In any case, a policy was developed early in New England of exchanging Americans overseas for Africans. After 1637–8 that policy was effectively implemented by means of wars which provided captives.<sup>112</sup>

Some years after the English took New York from the Dutch one Sarah Robinson, a Native American of that province, was seized in Southampton and sent as a slave to the Madeira Islands. She was fortunate, however, and was later returned to New York.<sup>113</sup>

As the English became more involved in the African slave trade they also became more ruthless in terms of seizing Americans. In 1663 William Hilton kidnapped several Americans from South Carolina and carried them to Barbados where two of them, Shadoo and Wommony, were seen in 1666. From 1670 onwards the English of South Carolina engaged regularly in the American slave trade, sending natives in the tens of thousands to the West Indies and other markets. In 1674 a group was sent to Jamaica. In 1693 a Cherokee delegation at Charleston requested the return of their relatives who had been taken to Jamaica, without apparent success. Most of the slaves were from Florida or the Mississippi area (Choctaws for example) and they were a major source of income to the English.

American slaves from Virginia, North Carolina, and other areas were also sold to the West Indies and Bermuda. Virginia laws of 1660, 1711 and 1723 specifically referred to enslavement and transportation to 'a foreign country' or to the West Indies as a punishment for Americans.<sup>114</sup>

Native American slaves show up in many areas as a result of English activity. In 1688 the *London Gazette* had an advertisement for 'A black boy, an Indian, about thirteen years old, run away the 8th inst. from Putney, with a collar about his neck with this inscription: "The Lady Bromfield's black".' In 1694 the same paper advertised for 'A Tanny Moor, with short bushy hair' who had run away. (This could refer to an American–African mixed-blood.) In 1709 *The Tatler* had an advertisement for a 'Black Indian Boy, 12 years of age'.

It would appear that both Americans and Africans began to appear in exotic pageants and entertainments staged in London during the seventeenth century. It is not always possible to clearly ascertain the ethnicity of the performers, since Africans were sometimes dressed up as Americans, or perhaps vice versa. In 1629 the librette for a pageant refers to: 'an Indian boy, holding in one hand a long *Tobacco pipe*, in the other a dart'. But he is riding an ostrich. A 1672 pageant showed in 'West India' some 'Tawny Moors' working and playing music. Also the audience heard a 'Masculine' Tawny woman declare: 'That I the better may Attention draw, be pleas'd to know I am *America*.'

In 1695 a London pageant featured a plantation scene showing 'Negroes, Tawneys, Virginia-Planters', and so on.

The American presence in Britain was augmented by the activities of the

Hudson Bay Company after the seventeenth century. An interesting article of 1915 notes that:

Many of the most prominent men and the most respected families in the North of Scotland edging in from the Orkney Islands are of Indian descent. Most of these persons are of Cree blood. For many years the Scotch have been active as traders . . . and scores of them have brought back with them their Cree wives. Even the Cree men intermarried with Scotch lassies and so today up in the north of the British isles, Cree words mingle with Gaelic and bronzed cheeks are often seen. . . . the British army and navy even number their descendants as soldiers, marines and officers.<sup>115</sup>

Meanwhile, Newfoundland, Labrador and Greenland continued to be visited by vessels of many nations and by 1566 Inuit people could be seen in the The Hague, ten years prior to Frobisher's kidnappings. The massive growth of the whaling industry as well as the activities of the Danish government led to many Inuits along with their kayaks being taken to Europe, principally to Denmark, the Netherlands, and whaling centers (such as, probably, Hamburg). Between 1605 and 1725 quite a number of Inuit were taken specifically to Denmark, Holland and Friesland. From these places a number managed to escape in their kayaks. Doubtless these Inuits were the same who appeared frequently in the Orkney and Shetland Islands, in the Netherlands and even in Scotland during the period, paddling kayaks apparently in a desperate effort to return to their families in Greenland.<sup>116</sup>

It is worth noting also the existence of many seamen and whalers of native origin, especially since many were active in the Caribbean and Atlantic generally. During the seventeenth century New England Indians were recruited to serve as sailors on English vessels sailing from Boston and other ports. Many served on whaling vessels from 1670 while others were present on vessels trading with Africa and the Caribbean. Herman Melville's novel *Moby Dick* features an American whaling-man.<sup>117</sup> by 1681 Miskito men from Central America were common on board English vessels also.

They have extraordinary good Eye, and will discern a sail at sea farther, and see any thing better than we. [They are also good fishermen.] For this they are esteemed and coveted by all Privateers; for one or two of them in a ship, will maintain 100 men . . . and it is very rare to find Privateers destitute of one or more of them, when the commander, or most of the men are *English*; but they do not love the *French*, and the *Spaniards* they hate morally. When they come among Privateers, they get the use of Guns, and prove very good Marks-Men: they behave themselves very bold in fight. . . . The *Moskito's* are in general very civil and kind to the *English*, both when they are aboard their ships, and also ashore, either in Jamaica or elsewhere, whither they often come with the Seamen. . . . When they are among the *English* they wear good cloaks, and take delight to go neat and tight.<sup>118</sup>

An ordinance adopted by South Carolina in 1823 and by Georgia in 1829 seems to suggest that sailors visiting that area included many non-whites. Any such 'colored' seamen were to be imprisoned while in port but that rule was not

to apply to 'free American Indians, free Moors, or Lascars, or other colored subjects of countries beyond the Cape of Good Hope'.<sup>119</sup>

Doubtless as a direct result of American experiences as sailors, Paul Cuffe, an American-African mixed-blood, and his Native American in-laws went into the shipping business in the early 1800s. Most significantly Cuffe acquired his own vessel and actually sailed to West Africa (with other Americans from the Wampanoag Nation). Cuffe was interested in the idea of colonizing free people of color in Africa. Subsequently, the colonization of persons of part-African or African descent occurred in Sierre Leone and Liberia. Some of these persons could, of course, have been part-American in ancestry (since the white racism of the period did not always distinguish between a Red-Black mixed-blood and a 'pure' African).<sup>120</sup>

#### BRAZILIAN-AFRICAN CONTACTS AND THE CONTINUED ENSLAVEMENT OF AMERICANS

The most important source of continuous contact would appear, however, to be between Brazil and West Africa and especially with Angola. As noted earlier, from the 1630s onward there was continuous contact between Brazil and West Africa and Brazil's population included many Americans and part-Americans. Many 'white' Brazilians were actually half-American and the free non-slave population (as well as the slaves) included large increments of American ancestry. We can be sure that the bulk of the crews sent to Africa were drawn from the lower and therefore 'brown' levels of Brazilian society.<sup>121</sup>

A Brazilian author has stated that: 'Angola was more closely linked to Brazil than to Portugal, it having been Brazil that freed Angola from Dutch rule'. Moreover, there were many other continuous links with Africa including the education of free Africans in Bahia and the return of ex-slaves to Africa, 'taking Brazilian customs, traditions, and language to Dahomey and the whole of the Gulf of Guinea'.<sup>122</sup> From 1807 to 1821 the Portuguese Crown ruled Brazil and after 1825 Brazil was an independent state dominating the Angola slave trade. Thus during the nineteenth century we can be sure that Brazilian-American contacts with Africa were quite extensive.

During all of this period Americans were held as slaves or were being enslaved in Brazil. This was true in the Amazonian region where Native American labor was in constant demand for the Pará-Ceará area. One Jesuit estimated that 'three million Indians were descended (as slaves) from the Río Negro alone in the century up to 1750'. While this figure may be exaggerated, there is no question but that some Portuguese possessed more than 1,000 American slaves each.

As noted, a law of 1755 prohibited the enslavement of persons of American ancestry, but only in the female line. In any case, ways were found to create a new class of *tapuios*, *seus servos* (Tapuyas, their servants) legally distinct from *pretos escravos* (black slaves) but in actuality also slaves. In 1789 a *cafuzo*



(American–African mixed-blood), daughter of ‘*india* Ana Maria’ was sold and held as a slave in spite of being of American ancestry in the female line. In 1854 a Pará newspaper advertised regarding a slave of *côr tapuia* (Tapuya color) while in 1854 an advertisement mentioned a slave who was *mulato atapuiado* (a Tapuya-ish *mulato*). Large numbers of *cafuzo* slaves were present during those years.

During the nineteenth century debates took place in regard to resuming the full use of American labor as a means for excluding further imports of Africans. The bishop of Bahia in 1827 noted that 20,000 Americans in his province were ‘suited to all kinds of work and industry’. Another speaker mentioned ‘200,000 who can immediately settle Brazil’. In the middle of the nineteenth century a British visitor to the Guiana–Surinam region noted ‘how prevalent the Indian slave-trade has been, and how recently carried on, even within our boundaries. It still prevails on the southern borders of our colony and the northern tributaries of the Amazon.’ He noted further that Macusi of the interior were especially victimized. ‘The Brazilians, as well as the Caribs, Acawoios, etc. have long been in the habit of enslaving them.’<sup>123</sup>

Slavery also continued in other sections of Brazil. In 1741 some 8,000 Kaíapo people of Goías were enslaved. Large numbers of *carijós* (servants) were present in the south, sometimes classified as ‘administered Indians’ but in practice used in a servile status.<sup>124</sup>

In the Spanish Empire and the independent republics established therefrom, slavery or semi-slavery also continued from the late seventeenth through the nineteenth century in spite of laws prohibiting such. Along the northern frontier of Mexico slavery continued during the 1690s and persisted until the 1860s, primarily involving Apaches, Navajos, Paiutes, Yavapais, and other border nations whose resistance made them subject to being captured. Some natives from this region were shipped to the West Indies while others (such as the Yaqui in the 1880s) were sold to Yucatan.

After the abortive Tupak Amaru rebellion in Peru in 1781–3, however, the Inca nobility suspected of disloyalty to Spain were ‘executed, imprisoned, or shipped to exile in Spanish Sahara’. Thus some Americans reached still another part of Africa.<sup>125</sup>

It should also be noted that when the Spaniards first began bringing slaves and workers from Spain to the West Indies a number of those transported were *ladino* (Spanish speaking) or of mixed brown appearance. In 1501, for example, Andrés García *de color loro*, formerly a servant and Cristóbal de Palacios, *de color loro* and a resident of Trigueros, went to Haiti under four-year contracts. *Cautivos* of *loro* color were also sent, as in 1521 when Isabel *de color loro* was sold to the Indies. Slaves of Islamic background were also sent (although prohibited by law) as in 1523 when Almanzor (*esclavo blanco*) and María and Catalina (*esclavas blancas*) were transported. All three were natives of Allende in Berbería (North Africa). Of course numerous Africans of non-Islamic background were sent, as in 1501 when Pedro *de color negro* contracted to serve as a soldier with Juan de Saravia for two years in Haiti.<sup>126</sup>

In 1502 a large number of *negros* were sent from Seville to Haiti as slaves but the following year the Crown temporarily prohibited the sending of more because of the difficulties which had been produced by their uniting with rebel Americans.<sup>127</sup>

#### THE NATURE AND SIGNIFICANCE OF AMERICAN—AFRICAN CONTACTS

Thus in many parts of Europe, along the coasts of Africa, and throughout the Americas the slave trade and European imperialism in general produced a vast number of contacts between black Africans and Native Americans. As a result a great deal of intermixture took place, as in Brazil where one scholar has stated that:

from the beginning Brazil was more a Negro and Tupí product than a Western, Portuguese one. . . . Brazil is therefore a Mestizo Republic, neither European nor Latin American, the synthesis of Tupí, African, Occidental, and Oriental antitheses, a unique and original creation.<sup>128</sup>

In Europe, the Canary Islands, the Azores, and other places, it would appear that both Americans and Africans generally became absorbed into the melting pot of the working classes, disappearing gradually into the general population or into groups such as the *Gitanos* of Spain and Portugal. The story of this process remains still to be written, even as the current intermixture of Native Americans and part-Americans with Africans, Asians, Afro-Americans, and Europeans in the modern cities of Europe has yet to be studied.

In Africa itself, the impact of Americans and part-Americans, whether from Brazil or elsewhere, remains also to be studied. Certain it is that American crops and specific cultural items or habits (such as the hammock and tobacco smoking) have had an impact. Rodrigues has noted that to Africa went tobacco, maize (corn), manioc (cassava), the *anana* (pineapple), and *batata* (sweet potato). Native American words for many of these plants were incorporated into African languages.

Bahian coconut palms were taken to Cape Verde . . . and our cashew has sweetened African palates. . . . So the commodities on which the African native diet is based, like corn, sweet potato, and manioc, are Brazilian in origin. . . . Plants of American and Brazilian origin also went to the Congo. Corn, manioc, coconut, guava, and peanut, . . . were transplanted from Brazil. . . . Rubber was also taken to Angola.

Often Brazilian—American methods of preparation for foodstuffs were directly incorporated into African cultures, as with the use of manioc-cassava.<sup>129</sup> (Needless to state, African crops were brought in the reverse direction with great impact in certain regions.)

In the direct Brazil—West Africa trade, enduring from the 1600s (or earlier) until the latter part of the nineteenth century, there must have been many opportunities for other American influences upon African cultures, especially

in the Angola region but also in Ghana and other areas. Writers who have concentrated solely upon the Black African influence on Brazil and other parts of the Americas have perhaps overlooked the fact that communication was, of necessity, in both directions.

This issue is especially important in relation to the assumption fostered by some scholars that Black Africans did not experience American acculturative influences until arriving on American soil, but it is also significant in relation to the assumption that one can (or could) examine West African cultures through twentieth-century fieldwork and assume that what one finds is (or has been) largely unaffected by external influences.

Needless to state, one must also acknowledge considerable African impact upon Native Americans in the Americas. Up to four or five centuries of contact cannot be without cultural interchange.

In America itself Black Africans and, to a lesser extent, North Africans were thrown into intensive contact with Americans soon after 1500 in the Caribbean and shortly thereafter in Brazil, Mexico, Central America, and Peru.

The nature of these contacts varies, of course, according to the region and the time period. We can be sure that Americans and Africans did not automatically see each other as friends or as allies against a common Spanish or Portuguese foe. In essence, each Black African and each American national probably saw most outsiders as aliens just as the Spanish, Portuguese, Dutch, French, and English saw each other as enemies or rivals.

There is much evidence to show that Americans and Africans often collaborated against European exploitation, as, for example, in Mexico. On the other hand, there is also considerable evidence suggesting that in locales such as Peru, Africans sometimes became exploiters of the native people, modeling themselves on the Spaniards. Needless to state, the imperial powers often attempted to keep black and red people apart, the better to divide and conquer.<sup>130</sup>

We can also expect that many free mixed-bloods identified with colonialism's rewards and did not, *a priori*, possess any feelings of loyalty towards unmixed Americans or Africans.

Nonetheless, slavery and general labor oppression soon began to create conditions favorable for the establishment of especially intimate relations between Africans and Americans. The nature of the European empires determined that the overwhelming majority of non-whites were to be severely exploited and that only a handful, in comparison, could expect to escape from the lowest rungs of colonial society.

Virtually everywhere, from Brazil to Mexico and Peru, the initial *peón* or slave populations consisted in Americans. Black Africans only began to be imported in significant numbers after 1510 (Caribbean) and 1550 (Brazil), and the subjugation of Americans also continued during that epoch.

The Europeans sought out labor wherever they could find it and many thousands of Americans were absorbed into the slave cauldron during the same period that Africans were being brought in. (It is true, as noted, that efforts

were made by the Spanish Crown and by the Jesuits in Brazil to prevent American enslavement, but such efforts were seldom very successful.)

In any case, *the initial slave population was American*. In the second stage *it became African and American*. In the third stage *it became increasingly Africanized* in certain regions (such as plantation areas of Brazil, the British and French Caribbean, the Atlantic seaboard of North America), but other areas saw the continued enslavement of Americans (such as northern and southern Brazil) or the replacement of slavery by peonage or low-wage labor using people largely of American ancestry.

As time went by, the initial African *and* American nature of the slave population became obscured by Africanization, on the one hand, or Americanization, on the other. But the fact remains that there are large areas of the Americas where the modern-day 'Indians' or *mestizos* are part-African, and conversely there are few areas where the modern-day Afroamericans are not part-American.

Of course, this process of African-American mixture also involved the 'free people of color', the *pardos*, *mestizos*, *ladinos*, and *cholos* of the Americas. I discuss the evolution of this population elsewhere but it should be noted that almost everywhere it originated from free American mothers who produced free children from fathers of various races (African, European, or American). Needless to state, white mothers occasionally produced free mixed children but outside of North America there were very few white women available. Also European fathers sometimes freed their own mixed children (if from a slave mother) but, in fact, most mothers must have been American women in the early period (because African women were greatly outnumbered by African males; indeed, the sexual imbalance among African slaves runs as a continuous theme throughout the era of importations).<sup>131</sup>

Mention must also be made of Africans who fled to Native American nations or who were initially enslaved by Americans but later often became absorbed by marriage and adoption. This is a complex subject which cannot be explored here but it seems to have been a common phenomenon from southern Brazil (at least) to the northern United States.

As early as 1559 Americans in the Bahia region captured a Portuguese slave vessel from São Tomé and, as a result, 'os negros de Guiné fugirão e esconderão-se pelos matos'. Exactly where in the *mato* the Africans fled to is not clear, but this incident may have led to the founding of an early mixed African-American free community.<sup>132</sup>

Africans often escaped from slavery to form independent *quilombos* or *cimarrón* (maroon) communities. In many instances, as in Jamaica, Surinam, Mexico and Brazil, there is evidence of initial collaboration with American *cimarrones* or, at the very least, the abduction of American women. Such communities were, of course, not always on friendly terms with neighboring American groups but warfare has never served to prevent inter-group marriage (when females or children are captured).

One of the most famous *quilombos* was that of Palmares in Brazil. In 1644 the

Dutch with American allies attacked and burned part of Palmares, capturing in the process 31 prisoners of whom seven were Tupís (Brazilians) and some of whom were young mixed-bloods (*mulaetjens*). Thus, the freedom-seekers at Palmares included Americans among the Africans, as well as Red-Black children. Similarly, in Surinam when a young boy and his mother were captured in 1775 on a raid against the rebel leader Bonny there is evidence of an American presence. The young boy could not bear to be touched by any white person and he constantly referred to the latter as 'Yorica, which in his language signifies the devil'. Reportedly *Yorokan* is a Carib word for 'evil spirits' probably being related to *Uracan* (hurricane).<sup>133</sup>

Individual Africans running away also exercised a great impact upon Americans, especially in Brazil but throughout the Americas as well. In some cases their influence lay in a so-called 'Europeanizing' direction but there was also considerable Africanizing influence. Rodrigues states: 'I don't know to what degree that action was more Europeanizing than Africanizing. Both whites and Indians underwent a definite Africanization – in food, dress, language, music, religion, and folklore.'<sup>134</sup>

Finally, mention must be made of the impact of modern urban developments which have seen the migration of people of American and African ancestry to the great cities of the Americas from Buenos Aires to Toronto and Montreal. In such settings, especially from New Orleans southwards, a vast melting pot seems to have ensued in which American and African strains, mixed often with European, become lost in a complex although uneven process of fusion. In North America the ghettoization of ethnic groups has tended to slow down this process but the autobiographies of musicians from New Orleans reveal that, at least in that area, much American-African mixture has gone on in recent times. Moreover, there is occasional intermixture of Afroamericans (already often part-American) with Puerto Ricans, Mexicans and other persons of American or part-American ancestry, including people of reservation 'Indian' background.

It is clear, then, that Africans and Americans have been interacting in a variety of settings for at least five hundred years. What is, of course, especially intriguing is that this interaction is not confined to the Americas but extends also to Africa and to Europe (where, incidentally, people of African and American ancestry from Surinam, Aruba, Curaçao, French Guiana, Trinidad, Dominica, Guyana, and other areas are living today in considerable numbers in Amsterdam, Rotterdam, Paris, London and other cities).

We can be sure that this process has been, and is, extremely significant in cultural terms and yet almost nothing has been done to explore the significance of the subject. Histories of black music in North America, for example, very seldom mention 'Indians' in the text or index. It would be tedious, however, to list all of the examples where writers exploring some aspect of cultural evolution have ignored American-African interactions, but elsewhere I will explore some of the reasons for this omission.

The genetic significance of African-American interaction is also extremely

significant. In fact, *two* great mixed races have developed in the Americas. The one in which African ancestry is strongest we can call 'Eastern Neo-American' because it is most characteristic of the eastern half of the Americas. The other one, in which American ancestry is strongest, we can call 'Western Neo-American' because it is most characteristic of the area from Chile and parts of Argentina to western North America.

'Eastern Neo-American' people are part-African, American, European and sometimes Asian, with the African ancestry being very clearly evident although not always dominant. 'Western Neo-American' people are part-American, European, African and sometimes Asian, with the American ancestry being clearly evident although not always dominant.

Thus the two Neo-American races are essentially the same, in terms of components, but differ only in the relative proportions of African, American or European input. In many areas around the Caribbean and in the interior from Colombia to Rio de Janeiro the two groups blend and overlap. Needless to state they also meet each other in almost every great city in the United States.

Thus the modern period of interaction which commenced in the 1490s in the Caribbean and the Iberian peninsula has had unforeseen and extremely significant results. It remains now to shed light upon the extent and nature of American-African intermixture by carefully analyzing the various racial terms employed for mixed persons during the colonial era.