

FAITH AND FORTUNE: RELIGIOUS IDENTITY AND THE POLITICS OF PROFIT
IN THE SEVENTEENTH-CENTURY CARIBBEAN

by

KRISTEN BLOCK

A Dissertation submitted to the
Graduate School-New Brunswick
Rutgers, the State University of New Jersey
in partial fulfillment of the requirements

for the degree of

Doctor of Philosophy

Graduate Program in the Department of History

written under the direction of

Phyllis Mack

and approved by

New Brunswick, New Jersey

October, 2007

ABSTRACT OF THE DISSERTATION

“Faith and Fortune: Religious Identity and the Politics of Profit in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean”

By KRISTEN BLOCK

Dissertation Director: Phyllis Mack

“Faith and Fortune” examines the intersection between religious allegiance and economic ambition on the volatile frontiers of the seventeenth-century Caribbean. Encompassing both Spanish and English colonies, it employs four case studies to explore how ordinary individuals created and manipulated the meaning of their religious affiliations. The first chapter examines cases of Christianized slaves in Cartagena de Indias who denounced their masters’ harsh mistreatment as un-Christian, using their membership in the community of believers as leverage to demand better conditions. The second chapter is a study of the motley crew of Protestant Northern Europeans who, as sojourners in the Spanish Caribbean, converted to Catholicism as an assimilation strategy. The ideas and practice of English puritanism animate the third chapter’s case study of the political economy of Oliver Cromwell’s Western Design—a puritan crusade against the Spanish Catholic empire in the New World—using an analysis of race, class, and gender to examine its failures. The final chapter takes place in Barbados, birthplace of the English colonial “sugar revolution,” where Quaker missionaries intent on Christianizing the local African slave population churned up fears of slave rebellion and challenged local Friends’ interpretation of their own faith and convictions. “Faith and Fortune” personalizes the history of Caribbean inequalities from the perspective of slaves, sailors, servants, and sectarians who made their lives and fortunes in the profit-saturated landscape of the Caribbean. It illuminates how for them, articulating a Christian identity was a political act, an important power negotiation, and a way to articulate injustice.

Acknowledgements

I must begin by acknowledging the support and guidance of my mentors, my teachers. Phyllis Mack gracefully agreed to guide me as chair on what turned out to be an American-focused dissertation, and has always supported me in my ambitions. Christopher Brown was an especially generous partner in the writing of this text; his perceptive comments and suggestions as I struggled to put my thoughts on paper pushed me to greater clarity in my analysis, conceptualization, and organization. As the recipient of Herman Bennett's astute advice, I was challenged to better express my project's relationship to some of the field's more challenging historiography. Jennifer Morgan provided welcome planning support for my first trip to Barbados, and offered especially useful comments towards the end of the process of writing and revising. Jane Landers' work has been an inspiration to my research, and I benefited tremendously from her advice at various stages in the planning and writing of the dissertation. The flaws that remain in this paper are entirely my own, but I know that there would have been many more without my committee members' tremendous input. Among those I also count as mentors, I must thank Karen Kupperman at New York University for allowing me to sit in on her Atlantic World readings course, and for inviting me to be a participant and presenter in her Atlantic Workshop over the years. For encouraging me to begin my journey towards graduate school, I am especially grateful to my undergraduate advisor, Linda Sturtz, and her husband, James Robertson.

Special thanks to those grants, organizations and people that made it possible for me to imagine and carry out such a wide-ranging project: the Graduate School at Rutgers University, New Brunswick, for a grant to assist in my language and paleography training in Seville, Spain; Harvard University's International Conference for the History of the Atlantic World for funding to travel to London and the opportunity to take part in their summer seminar, "The Transit of Christianity"; the Ruth and Lincoln Ekstrom Fund at the John Carter Brown Library in Providence, Rhode Island, for a summer fellowship; the Department of History at Beloit College, Wisconsin, for offering me a one-semester teaching position that funded several months of research; Spain's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (*Ministerio de Asuntos Exteriores de España*) for a grant to return to the Archive of the Indies in Seville; the American Historical Association, for support during a research stay in Cartagena de Indias; and the McNeil Center for Early American Studies at the University of Pennsylvania, for the Barra Dissertation Fellowship which gave me the funding and intellectual space to begin writing the dissertation. Without the support of these institutions I would never have had the wherewithal to perform research in five countries and the time to write about it. Special thanks to the directors and administrators of those funding agencies, especially Bernard Bailyn, Pat Denault, Norman Fiering, Valerie Andrews, Daniel Richter, and Amy Baxter-Bellamy. I would also like to show my appreciation to Teresa Delcorso, for the time she spent guiding me through the intricacies of grant-writing, and Dawn Ruskai, for always helping to manage departmental paperwork. During these periods of institutional support, I had the privilege of meeting many established scholars whose advice and conversations helped shape the direction of my research and writing, among them:

Antonio Barrera, Hilary Beckles, Wayne Bodle, Brycchan Carey, Antonio Feros, Sylvia Frey, Ignacio Gallup-Diaz, April Hatfield, and Stuart Schwartz.

I have had the good fortune to meet an extraordinary collection of people during my graduate school career, many of whom I still count as friends. To those who knew me before I became a grad student and have persevered despite my erratic correspondence — especially Jennifer Troester, Jaclyn Kordell, and Kathleen Lane Spencer — thank you for staying in touch. For conversing with me in Spanish and helping to decode the archives during my first trip to Spain, my thanks to Andrea Campetella, Katrina Olds, Asmaa Bouhrass, Lupe Fernandez, and Esther Gonzalez. Special thanks to Esther, Fernando, Pepe, Nana, Álvaro, and Javier for taking me into their close-knit group on my second trip to Seville, and to Graciela Cruz Lopez and Heather Peterson for fun inside and outside the archives. In London, I enjoyed exploring the archives and the city with Kathy Wheeler, Jenny Anderson, Abby Swingen, and Matt, Cassie and Avi Wolfgram. In Barbados, I had the pleasure of spending some of my non-archival time with Marisa Fuentes, Karl Watson, Martin Bowden, and Eric Seeman and his family. Special thanks to Lina del Castillo and her family for taking me in and taking me out when I first arrived in Colombia. Alfonso Múnera, Father Tulio Aristizábal, Lucely Salgado, Maryelis Rivero Seña, and Raúl Ramón helped me feel at home during my month-long stay in Cartagena de Indias. The remainder of my stay in Bogotá was very enjoyable and productive thanks to Mauricio Tovar, Jorge Gamboa, Adriana Maya Restrepo, Jaime Gomez Borja, Marcela Echeverri, Olga Fabiola Cabeza, Diego Garcia Marquez, Esteban Reyes, Fernando Garcia Vasquez, Joanne Rappaport, Chris Lane, Renée Souloudre-La France, and Carmenza Botero.

Back at Rutgers, I could always count on intellectual support and social stimulation from Kate Keller, Margaret Sumner, Lesley Doig, Tim Alves, Carmen Khair, Joe Bonica, Carla MacDougall, Jacki Castledine, Amanda Pipkin, Danielle McGuire, Justin Hart, Charley Foy, Cat Howey, Greg Swedberg, Rob Alegre, Rebecca Scales, Rachel Schnepfer, and so many more. My fellow graduate students Piedad Gutierrez, Carolina Giraldo, and Nadia Celis all served as personal Spanish tutors and helped me experience their native Colombia through their delicious company. I was lucky enough to develop similar networks of serious-but-fun academic friends at Princeton and New York University. Special thanks to Jenny Anderson, Karin Velez, Kaya Cook, and the members of our Greater New York/New Jersey Writing Group: Christian Crouch, Marcela Echeverri, Heather Kopelson, Katrina Olds, and Jenny Shaw. Other of my peers who deserve mention for their friendship and assistance at various points include: Yvie Fabella, Catherine Molineux, Juan Ponce-Vázquez, Linda Rupert, and David Wheat. A sincere *namasté* to Joanne Carter, Carol Cook, and Jimmy Richardson at Simply Yoga, Kingston, for helping me survive the stress of dissertation writing.

A number of my friends have been especially stalwart sources of encouragement through the occasional bouts of loneliness on the road and during these last, very difficult months of writing, and so I'd like to recognize them separately here. Kate Keller has served alternately as buddy, roommate, and travel partner – but most importantly, has been my most loyal of friends and an unfailing correspondent. Marisa Fuentes has also become a steadfast friend, accompanying me both on sunny days in Barbados and through some of my darkest days of doubt. The long phone conversations that have come to symbolize my friendship with Margaret Sumner always serve to energize me, helping me to see the potential in my work and to recover my passion for

the academic life when it occasionally flags. Emily Zuckerman became almost like a sister to me during the surreal fall semester after 9/11 – even after she moved to Texas and started a family, Emily found time to write nearly every day to uphold our pact to finish the dissertation. Thank you all, from the bottom of my heart.

This dissertation is dedicated to my family – especially Joseph Block, Connie Block, and Karl Block – and to my friends and mentors. Each and every one of you contributed fundamentally to my growth as a thinker, as a scholar, and as a person. I hope each of you will see a small part of the insight and love you gave me reflected in this project.

CONTENTS

ABSTRACT	ii
ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS	iii
 Introduction: Defining Concepts for “Faith and Fortune”	 1
Chapter 1. “If Her Soul Was Condemned, It Would Be the Authorities’ Fault”: Contesting the Boundaries of Antichristian Cruelty in Cartagena de Indias	 42
Chapter 2. “To Live and Die as a Catholic Christian”: Northern European Protestants in Spanish Caribbean Ports	 110
Chapter 3. Puritan Political Economy and the Pursuit of New World Promise: Cromwell’s Western Design of 1655-56	 171
Chapter 4. “Merchantmen of the Precious Truth”: Barbados Quakers and Evangelization of Slaves in the Late 17 th Century	 225
Epilogue: Commerce and Communication in the Caribbean Crucible	307
 BIBLIOGRAPHY	 316
C.V.....	338

ILLUSTRATIONS

Figure	Page
1. Cathedral, Cartagena de Indias	55
2. Palacio de la Inquisición, Cartagena de Indias	55
3. Church of San Pedro Claver, Cartagena de Indias	58
4. Plaque marking the Plaza of San Pedro Claver	58
5. Engraved view of Drake's attack on Cartagena (Boazio, 1588)	75
6. The rack and bench of judgment, Palacio de la Inquisición, Cartagena de Indias	148
7. Engraving of Sir Francis Drake	183
8. San Felipe fortifications, Cartagena de Indias	206
9. Detail of San Felipe passageway	206
10. Frontispiece engraving to <i>The Tears of the Indians</i> (1656)	217
11. Tally of Barbados Quaker "Sufferings"	284

Introduction: Defining Concepts for “Faith and Fortune”

This is a story of Isabel Criolla, a maroon woman who stood before the Spanish governor of Cartagena de Indias and begged him not to return her to her cruel mistress, saying that if she was sent back she would be either driven to suicide or would be beaten to death and die without confession. Isabel warned him that “if her soul was condemned, it would be the fault of the authorities” – and he heeded her words. It is also a story of Nicolas Burundel, a French Calvinist who served the Spanish governor of Jamaica as a servant-henchman. When the parish priest led a religious procession down the city streets, Nicolas had to pull off his cap and kneel before the Corpus Christi or the image of the Virgin, hoping that his participation in this pious ritual would convince those who eyed him with suspicion that he was indeed a Catholic and could be trusted. The story also follows the experience of a sailor named Henry Whistler, who watched as a company of rough-and-tumble English soldiers marching on the Spanish island of Hispaniola hurled oranges at a statue of the Virgin Mary they discovered in one of the island’s abandoned chapels, laughing as they stabbed the statue’s darkened face, mocking the Spanish for using it “to enveigle the blacks to worship.” This work also narrates the story of Lewis Morris, one of several Barbados Quakers who hoped to pass on their beliefs about the “indwelling-Spirit” to the Africans living as slaves among them. Long before most Friends considered this basic evangelization their religious obligation, these few organized instructional and worship meetings for the enslaved in their households – in these meetings, patriarchs like Morris doubtless watched to see if their black slaves understood and accepted what they were told, while at the same time

looking nervously out the window to see if enemies had alerted island constables to their illegal, arguably subversive, Sunday sessions.

These disparate stories are united by their engagement with the politics of Christianity in a geographical space generally known as the Greater Caribbean.¹ Although the region has often been pictured as particularly sinful – even a-religious – the ideals and institutions of early modern Christianity profoundly affected the everyday practices of the region’s colonies. Each of these stories explores how the Caribbean’s preoccupation with profit during this period (and beyond) shaped the moral and spiritual contours of daily life, especially for those living at the margins of colonial societies. Together, the stories of these individual lives offer an alternative vision of the Caribbean to complement a rich and important historiography on the development of merchant capitalism, slave systems, racial polarization, and the modern machine of consumption and production – an alternate history emphasizing contingency, complexity, and humanity.

This dissertation presents four historical case studies set in Spanish and English colonial spaces to examine how the Caribbean experience shaped the moral considerations of people’s lives in the colonial Atlantic World. The battles in European Christendom that followed the Protestant Reformation were not geographically bounded to the “Old World.” The moral and religious challenges related to the

¹ My conception of the Caribbean is relatively broad, including not only the islands of the Greater and Lesser Antilles, but also key mainland ports (like Cartagena de Indias in modern-day Colombia) and coastal areas from the Atlantic Ocean through the Gulf of Mexico and the Caribbean Sea. Sometimes called the “Circum-Caribbean,” or the “extended Caribbean,” this concept makes sense given the historical realities of inter-connected transportation and communication among these coastal regions during the early modern period. David Barry Gaspar and David Patrick Geggus, eds., *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997) use the term to show how the region was tied together not only by conflicts among European imperial rivals, but also by similar patterns in local power struggles between the enslaved, free people of color, and white creole elites (5).

European pursuit of profit—especially in the decisions to enslave Amerindians, and later Africans—continue to tarnish the image of Christianity in the Americas. My case studies track these religious conflicts and moral tensions through close investigation of discrete places and problems, presenting people and the worlds in which they lived with as much complexity as possible. This approach provides a way to relish the varieties of meaning that concepts like “religious identity” or the “politics of profit” meant in different places, and to different people.

To make this dissertation viable and coherent, I emphasize the experiences of marginalized people who negotiated the boundaries of Christianity in this avaricious Caribbean world. Thus my case studies explore individuals like the defiant maroon Isabel Criolla, the luckless sojourner Nicolas Burundel, the imaginative sailor Henry Whistler, and Lewis Morris, an upstart Quaker entrepreneur. All these people were part of groups largely removed from the decisions of the colonial elite, and were at times brutalized by them. I chose these so-called *menu peuple* to study because of an attraction to the methodologies and stylistic approaches of early modern European historians² and the political goals of historians who hoped to give voice to women and “subaltern” subjects—people denied the power of archival history in colonial regimes throughout the world.³ Many scholars drawn to an Atlantic World model have chosen to illuminate

² Standout scholars from the Annales tradition who employed microhistorical approaches to their histories of early modern Europe’s “little people” include Natalie Zemon Davis (*The Return of Martin Guerre* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983) and *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995)); Robert Darnton (*The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Colonial History* (New York: Vintage Books, 1985)), Arlette Farge (with Jacques Revel, *The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991)), and Carlo Ginzberg (*The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980)).

³ Feminist methodologies used in the retrieval of women’s historical experiences very much mirror the techniques of other revisionist projects of the 1960s-80s. For a useful introduction to

the lives of these groups for similar reasons, although the subfield's future definition is still challenged by some historians who quietly prefer the safe evidentiary stability of an Anglo-American (White) Atlantic over the more challenging integration of methodological and theoretical approaches championed by scholars working on the African Diaspora, Latin America, and other European imperial borderlands.⁴ The meta-histories of the Atlantic are still open to debate, and as the stories of those marginalized by European colonization compete with new perspectives on old elites, a radical narrative of the "Atlantic World" remains an unfinished project. Beyond the compelling political ideals that serve as subtexts to trends in historical scholarship, my decision to focus on questions surrounding slavery and colonial profit-seeking is based on the historical reality that, as one scholar has noted,

Subaltern Studies, see Florencia E. Mallon, "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR* 99,5 (1994): 1491-1515. Mallon, like other scholars influenced by the subaltern approach, emphasizes the constructed nature of the archive and the difficulty of overcoming its power imbalances: "The archive and the field are constructed arenas in which power struggles... help define and obscure the sources and information to which we have access" (1507). See also Herman L. Bennett, "The Subject in the Plot: National Boundaries and the 'History' of the Black Atlantic" *African Studies Review* 43, 1 (2000): 101-24. Latin Americanists whose attention to this subject informed my approach include Steve J. Stern (*Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640* (Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1993)); Douglas R. Cope (*The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994)); Rolena Adorno (*Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru* 2nd ed. (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000)), and Herman Bennett (*Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003)).

⁴ For a few critiques of Atlantic history's struggle over inclusion and exclusion, see David Armitage, "The Red Atlantic," *Reviews in American History* 29,4 (2001): 479-86; Alison Games, "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges and Opportunities" *AHR* 111,3 (2006): 741-757; and Kristin Mann, "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture" *Slavery and Abolition* 22,1 (2001): 3-21. Bernard Bailyn, author of *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005), has founded a center at Harvard University (The International Seminar on the History of the Atlantic World) to support scholarship on Atlantic topics, ranging from the North Atlantic mode to those utilizing more subaltern perspectives. Amerindians, whose numbers had dwindled quite dramatically in the Caribbean by the beginning of the 17th century, were not surveyed for this dissertation; however, I recognize that the perspectives of these important Atlantic actors must continue to be integrated into American histories that purport to be Atlantic in scope.

the Atlantic is the Atlantic (with all its port cities) because it was engendered by the copulation of Europe...with the Caribbean archipelago; the Atlantic is today the Atlantic (the naval of capitalism) because Europe, in its mercantilist laboratory, conceived the project of inseminating the Caribbean womb with the blood of Africa.⁵

My conception of how to write a history of the Atlantic world has been formed by scholar's responses to the colonial experience, the trauma of African enslavement and its legacy. In telling the stories of those individuals who felt most acutely the pressures of Europe's dehumanizing colonial projects, I hope to show how, despite being tossed on the waves of chaos and uncertainty that often characterized life in the Caribbean, these individuals both survived and crafted new Atlantic identities. By adapting to the cultural codes of the milieu in which they found themselves, learning strategies that best enhanced their chances for survival, even the most marginal of Atlantic actors proved themselves both resilient and creative.

A somewhat fuller outline of my project's case studies is in order. Chapter One of this dissertation is set in the mainland port city of Cartagena de Indias, entrepôt for the Spanish slave trade and the first port-of-call for the annual *flota*. In this Caribbean node of empire, African slaves entered both as producers and symbols of Spanish American wealth, while nearby, runaways formed maroon communities that threatened the empire's commodity and transportation links. A Jesuit mission in Cartagena to christianize African laborers helped Spanish colonists rationalize their promotion of the African slave trade; it also served to construct and legitimize colonial racial hierarchies. However, providing Africans and Afro-Creoles with a Christian identity also gave them an opportunity to challenge the very society that treated their bodies less as receptacles

⁵ Antonio Benítez-Rojo, *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*, trans. James Maraniss (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996), p. 5.

of a human soul than as valuable yet disposable property. When the circumstances of their enslavement became unbearable, flight to maroon-dominated outlying regions was one option, but cultural appropriation was another. Isabel Criolla's story shows how slaves could (and did) reclaim their humanity by protesting un-Christian barbarities performed on their bodies. Using Inquisition trials against slaves accused of blasphemy and civil proceedings against masters for cruelty, this chapter shows how the rhetorical power of articulating (or denying) a Christian identity made Spanish society take stock of their assumptions about race and religion.

Chapter Two's case study cycles between Cartagena and the new frontier zone of the Caribbean isles, focusing on Spain's concern with Protestant Northern European encroachment during the first half of the century. Spanish colonists' participation in contraband trade with the enemy had made the problem worse, but local officials struggling to maintain under-funded island strongholds often saw no choice but to trade with "heretic pirates." As a result of military skirmishes and extra-legal trade, small but significant populations of French, English and Dutch captives, runaways, and contrabandists – like Nicolas Burundel – gathered on the fringes of Spanish Caribbean ports. With the help of local officials who stood to gain from their presence, these foreign sailors, smugglers, and transient laborers learned to integrate themselves into colonial societies through Catholic conversion. Using Inquisition records and reports and letters sent to Seville's Council of the Indies, I have focused on religious exchanges between these populations, paying special attention to how Northern European outsiders learned to perform Catholic identities – from participation in everyday Catholic rites and rituals to official conversions before Church representatives.

In Chapter Three, my focus shifts to the religious identities and economic ambitions of the English through Oliver Cromwell's 1655-56 "Western Design," a religiously-defined Puritan offensive against Spanish Catholic imperial domination. England's seizure of Jamaica has often marked the turning of the tide against Spanish American hegemony, but the plan very nearly ended in disaster. I offer a reinterpretation of the faltering mission by attending to the categories of religion, gender, race, and class. Although the commanders Cromwell sent to the Indies adhered to his new puritan order, the troops they commissioned were not as invested in England's new religious ideologies—many were indentured servants whose opportunities in islands like Barbados were dwindling rapidly as big investors bought up the most arable land for sugar cultivation. The troops were happy to exhibit their Protestant nationalism in violent attacks on symbols of Spanish Catholicism, but soldiers balked at submitting to their officers' model of puritan patriarchy—a form of patriarchy that kept "ungodly" men subservient to those deemed more pious, a form of patriarchy that threatened to lock them out of the Caribbean's promise of wealth and self-sufficiency. As English forces struggled to hold onto Jamaica, the lower ranks rebelled against the expedition's leaders as greedy hypocrites who wanted to enslave them. Some (as in the previous case) defected to the Spanish camp, tempering their Protestant identities as they searched for ways to survive and even profit under a foreign regime; others looked to define new concepts of the "natural rights" of Englishmen—constructs founded on white Protestant exceptionalism but written as race- and religion-neutral. With a fresh look at English and Spanish narratives of the expedition and its aftermath, I investigate the connections between social position and religious expression for ordinary Englishmen like Henry Whistler.

Barbados served as a model for English Caribbean economic production after its success with sugar cultivation (ca.1650-1680). The island also served as a model of international religious toleration. I argue in Chapter Four that such toleration was undeniably linked to stability and prosperity. I focus on the Society of Friends (Quakers), a fringe Protestant sect that gained a substantial following on the island – even among wealthy island merchants and planters – after missionaries’ successes in 1655 and following years. Within a decade, George Fox and other English Quaker leaders began to press Barbados Friends to establish religious meetings for their enslaved “Ethiopian” laborers. But as Barbados’ population shifted to a slave majority, anxiety about slave uprisings united with old fears about the subversive messages of religious radicals. In 1675, just after thwarting a planned slave plot, island officials passed a law barring Quakers from allowing African slaves access to their radical version of Christianity. Using a broad prosopographical approach that draws on local census records, wills, and Quaker correspondence, I reveal for the first time how local Friends tried to balance their dedication to principles of individual conscience, non-violence, and spiritual egalitarianism with the pressure to manage “well-ordered” households and plantations and establish a respectable religious society that would not be torn apart by dangerous controversies concerning the responsibilities of slaveholders.

This dissertation’s various stories, in their conceptualization and analysis, all revolve around four main themes. First, I explore the role of religion in defining Caribbean models of authority. Far from merely justifying colonial hierarchies of exclusion and exploitation (though Christianity did that, too), when those with power overstepped their morally-prescribed bounds into abuse and violence, the internal tensions in European religious beliefs and institutions offered opportunities for protest.

Secondly, I analyze moments when evoking Christian principles in these struggles for justice and power prompted anxieties about the moral meaning of profit in Europe's emerging global economies. Was wealth a temptation of the Devil or merely an affirmation that God was rewarding his faithful followers with prosperity? Thirdly, my project emphasizes the religious concerns surrounding enslavement and its technologies of coercion and abuse. Early modern concerns about faith and fortune were intimately tied to slavery, since biblical justifications were marshaled to define the racial and religious "others" who were considered open to economic exploitation and dehumanization in colonial endeavors. Finally, my chapters illustrate how individuals often abused by colonial hierarchies would perform their religious identities as a way to argue that the religious ideals so prized by the colonial elite should be extended to *all* those who shared the same faith. Religious strategies for protest and negotiation often took the form of highly-scripted gestures and dialogues. These performances served as a kind of drama – of unjust suffering and debasement, of inner conversion, of fellowship and shared cultural principles – to bind the viewer to the performer through shared religious narratives.

Historical Background

The sixteenth and seventeenth centuries in Europe were characterized by almost unrelenting religious conflict. The 15th-century Reconquista of Iberian lands from Muslim control followed the tradition of medieval Crusades, making the Mediterranean and its Atlantic littoral the staging ground for continual raids and depredations between

Cross and Crescent in following centuries.⁶ The Protestant Reformation, too, produced a cataclysmic break in Western Christendom, and as various European monarchs worked to consolidate their power over larger and larger states, they found “confessionalization” (the process of making Protestant or Catholic state religions more uniform and dominant so as to create a unified group ethos) to be a useful way to help foster their absolutist ambitions.⁷ Internecine conflict was also common, as confessional identities helped to define and magnify already-present tension within communities across Europe. Historians have found ample fodder for critique and debate in these issues, and the volume of scholarship on the English Civil War could alone consume any

⁶ Fernand Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*, trans. from the French by Siân Reynolds (New York, Harper & Row, 1972), esp. Vol. I; Nabil Matar, *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005); Daniel Goffman, *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002).

⁷ For many years, scholars thought of late sixteenth and early seventeenth century Europe as in a “crisis” of authority, tied both to religious factionalism and political (in)stability. One of the most prominent scholars in this school, Wolfgang Reinhard identified Counter-Reformation indoctrinization as linked to the construction of emerging states, by which confessional beliefs were utilized to control populations and develop modern bureaucracies (See his “Reformation, Counter-Reformation, and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment,” *Catholic Historical Review* 75 (1989): 383-405, republished in David M. Luebke, ed., *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings* (Malden, Mass.: Blackwell, 1999), pp. 105-128). Philip Benedict also argued that group coherence was founded on the repetition of shared rituals that constructed shared belief: “group consciousness was built as much through the anathematization of rival faiths as it was through inculcation of a positive appreciation of the particular doctrines and rituals characteristic of each individual confession” (See his “Religion and Politics in the European Struggle for Stability, 1500-1700,” in Benedict and Gutmann, eds., *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2006), p. 124). R. Po-Chia Hsia, *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750* (New York: Routledge, 1989); Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998); John O’Malley, *Trent and All That: Catholicism in the Early Modern Era* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2000); Theodore K. Rabb, *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1975), esp. Ch. 8, “International Relations and the Force of Religion,” pp. 74-82; and Jonathan Scott, *England’s Troubles: Seventeenth-Century Political Instability in European Context* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000).

historian hoping to untangle the interwoven threads of religion, politics, and economic ambition in Early Modern Europe.⁸

During the same period, Africans also suffered through conflicts that reconfigured ideas of political and spiritual authority.⁹ An era of drought and famine beginning around 1630 strained societies and polities throughout Western Africa for nearly two centuries.¹⁰ The expansion of the transatlantic slave trade into West and West Central Africa and European trade connections with coastal elites fostered the rise of some kingdoms and the downfall of others, often leading to the instability of war and civil conflict. Dynastic and civil wars were widespread during the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries, while episodes of drought and famine helped to weaken many

⁸ A cottage industry on the English Civil War was sparked by Christopher Hill's Marxist interpretation of the Civil War period, *The World Turned Upside Down*, which challenged the Whiggish progressivism which saw Protestant protest only as part of the nation's move towards religious toleration and greater freedoms – Hill and his cohort's Marxist scholarship heralded the most radical of the Civil War sects, groups like the Ranters and Diggers whose radical egalitarianism challenged the economic and political goals of England's rising merchant classes. Later revisionists placed much more emphasis on contingency and local economic and social conflicts, de-emphasizing religion's role as an elemental mobilizing force. John Morrill's contention that the English Civil War was "the last of the Wars of Religion" in Europe seems to have become a comfortable conclusion. See "The Religious Context of the English Civil War," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., 34 (1984): 155-178, p. 178. Currently, scholarship on the Civil War is in consensus mode, elaborating the complex interplay between the issue of religion and the absolutist tendencies of Charles I. Most recently, Peter Lake and Michael Questier (*The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002)) have argued that England's era of religious confessionalization was a market phenomenon, as religious narratives in cheap popular print helped people of all ranks explain the changing economic and social worlds in which they lived – the explosion of uncontrolled printing during the Civil War era radicalized religion and politics in fundamentally new ways. An Atlantic perspective on the Civil War can be found in Carla Pestana's *The English Atlantic in an age of revolution, 1640-1661* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004).

⁹ See John Thornton, "War, the State, and Religious Norms in 'Coromantee' Thought: The Ideology of an African American Nation" in *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George, (Cornell University Press, 2000).

¹⁰ George E. Brooks, *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries* (Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003), Ch. 4, "Western Africa and the onset of an era of droughts, famines, and global economic transformations."

long-standing polities.¹¹ Furthermore, the expansion of Islamic states from the north and the spread of some Catholic missionaries with European coastal trade affected the religious practices of African leaders, especially when ascendant monarchs built their dynasties with explicit connections to these powerful foreign gods.¹² Some of these later came to regret the consequences of their collaboration with European traders, and wrote

¹¹ For historical context on West-Central Africa, see Joseph Miller, *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola* (New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1976); John K. Thornton, *Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718* (Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983); and James H. Sweet, *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770* (Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003), esp. pp. 15-22. For West Africa (Senegambia and the Gold Coast), see Kwame Yeboa Daaku, *Trade and Politics in the Gold Coast: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade* (London, Clarendon, 1970); Ray A. Kea, *Settlements, Trade and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast* (Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982); Donald R. Wright, *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niimi, the Gambia* (Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004), Chs. 3-4; Barry Boubacar, *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*, translated from the French by Ayi Kwei Armah (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998).

¹² Kingship in most parts of Africa was, like in Europe, laden with sacral meaning, so this use of religion to solidify power is not surprising. Some African scholars have shown some links between conversion to monotheism and attempts to consolidate power by regional rulers and empires during the era. In the Kingdom of Kongo, Afonso I (Mbenba Nzinga, ruled 1509-43) took on St. James (Santiago) as his patron saint when he overthrew his brother in the early 16th century (John K. Thornton, *The Kongoese St. Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 33). In ways that seem to mirror the "rise of absolutism" in early modern Europe and its links to the disciplining powers of a national church, Robin Law describes the kings of Allada and Whydah's interest in converting their people to Islam and Christianity during the seventeenth century. Rulers along the Slave Coast who hoped to enhance their personal power "sought to promote worship of a supreme God... since such a cult served to strengthen royal authority" – their intent was only circumscribed by the power of subordinate chiefs, many of whom insisted on continuing to venerate their own gods and ancestors, lest they incur their wrath. Monotheism was of course not the only religious "tool of power" for early modern African leaders. Other "high" cults operated similarly – like that of the python god Dangbe, which served to justify the power of Whydah leaders in the late seventeenth century; organized devotion to the Creator God Mawu was instituted by the expansionist Dahomey King Tegbesu in the 1740s (Law, "Religion, Trade and Politics on the 'Slave Coast': Roman Catholic Missions in Allada and Whydah in the Seventeenth Century," *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21, 1 (1991): 42-77, esp. 69-71). See also Elizabeth Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Eerdmans, 1995), Ch. 2; and Mark Shaw, *The Kingdom of God in Africa: A Short History of African Christianity* (Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1996), pp. 82-90: "The role of the king was thus unique in African society in the Middle Ages and early modern periods. In the king was invested the tribal hope of overcoming evil and suffering and ushering in a future of peace and prosperity...." (89)

to Catholic leaders in Europe to help them avert the negative social effects that depopulation and destabilization from the slave trade had caused.¹³

In the Americas, the spread of Christianity was interlaced with the aspirations of the commercial and dynastic elites of Europe, and their drive for New World wealth and profit could not succeed without the labor of Amerindians and Africans. Africans especially, in their physical darkness – so far from the Christian ideal of purity and light – came to be defined as completely Other, inferior, and as their lowly status as field drudges suggested, they became the image of “natural” slaves.¹⁴ In the English colonies, to be Christian meant to be free, and so African slaves were almost universally excluded from Protestant missionizing until the eighteenth-century wave of evangelical reforms.¹⁵ Even Catholic rulers who insisted that Africans receive Christian baptism (after all, converting them was the justification for buying war captives from the African coast) viewed these junior members of the faith with suspicion. Unlike Amerindian peoples,

¹³ Afonso I of Kongo wrote to the Portuguese crown to ask that slave traders no longer come to his lands, writing “our country is become depopulated... to avoid it we need from these [your] Kingdoms no more than some priests and a few people to teach in schools, and no other goods except wine and flour for the holy sacrament.” Cited in Isichei, *A History of Christianity in Africa*, p. 64.

¹⁴ The history of English color prejudice and its ties to Christianity was convincingly illustrated by Winthrop D. Jordan, *White over Black: American attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812* (New York: Norton, 1968). Scholarship responding to Jordan’s conclusions has agreed that Christianity’s obsession with binary oppositions – good or evil, Heaven or Hell, black or white – has been a core part of the West’s process of solidifying its identity; however, most scholars have tended to soften the notion that Africans were completely stigmatized in the early centuries of English colonization. See Emily C. Bartels, “Othello and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered” *WMQ* 54,1 (1997): 45-64; Kim Hall, *Things of Darkness: economies of race and gender in early modern England* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995); April Hatfield, “A ‘very wary people in their bargaining’ or ‘very good merchandise’: English traders’ Views of Free and Enslaved Africans” *Slavery and Abolition* 25,3 (2004): 1-17.

¹⁵ Scholars have shown that large-scale evangelization to Africans in the British colonies did not take off until the 18th-century, and even then only a vaguely Christian creolized form. See Albert Raboteau, *Slave Religion: the ‘invisible’ institution in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1978), and Sylvia Frey and Betty Wood, *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998).

who gained an exemption from Inquisitorial jurisdiction, African “New Christians” were subject to the Tribunal’s disciplinary might, and were prosecuted freely – between one third and one half of the Holy Tribunal’s work in the Americas was directed at those of African descent.¹⁶ These realities moderate the conclusions of scholars who have assumed that because Catholic empires offered legal protections for slaves and better avenues for freedom, their slavery was somehow less harsh, less damaging.¹⁷

However, Christianity did not operate solely as an instrument of discipline. In Europe, the trend towards state-sponsored confessionalization was met by popular, often exuberant, reinterpretations of Christian devotion that challenged top-down orthodoxies.¹⁸ In Africa, too, although the introduction of Christianity in Kongo initially

¹⁶ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, p. 53. In Ana Maria Splendiani’s study of the first 50 years of Cartagena’s Tribunal, 29% of cases prosecuted persons of African heritage (*Cincuenta Años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de las Indias, 1610-1660* (4 vols.: Bogotá: Pontificia Universidad Javeriana, 1997), Vol. 4, Gráfico No. 3), and Solange Alberro’s statistical study of the Mexican Tribunal showed the percentage of slaves prosecuted to vary between 10-30% over the course of the 17th century (*La Actividad del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Nueva España, 1571-1700* (Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1981), p. 135).

¹⁷ Frank Tannenbaum’s influential book *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*, published in 1946 (Boston: Beacon Press), most strongly articulated this position, basing his claims on Iberian legal and religious traditions that gave the slave legal standing in secular and church courts, and that this legal personhood translated into what he saw as Latin America’s relatively benign race relations. Tannenbaum’s book has been critiqued for its reliance on statutory ideals over more complex on-the-ground realities; a similar critique was levied at Herbert S. Klein for his comparative reflection on the French and British cases, “Anglicanism, Catholicism and the Negro Slave,” by Caribbeanist Elsa V. Goveia (both pieces published in *Comparative Studies in Society and History*, 8, 3 (1966): 295-330). For a recent reopening of a debate on the value of the Tannenbaum thesis, see the forum, “What Can Frank Tannenbaum Still Teach Us about the Law of Slavery?”: Alejandro de la Fuente, “Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited”; María Elena Díaz, “Beyond Tannenbaum”; Christopher Schmidt-Nowara, “Still Continents (and an Island) with Two Histories?”; and De la Fuente’s reply, “Slavery and the Law: A Reply”; all in *Law and History Review* 22,2 (2004): 339-88.

¹⁸ For a sampling of popular responses to Reformation and Counter-Reformation confessionalization, see Richard Kagan, *Lucrecia’s Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990); Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal*; Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991); Natalie Davis, “From ‘Popular Religion’ to Religious Cultures,” in *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment (St. Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1982), pp. 321-42. Merry E. Wiesner, *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice* (London & New York: Routledge, 2000).

helped King Afonso I to support his dynastic ambitions, two centuries later, a young woman named Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita announced that Jesus had been born a Black Kongolese. Taking on the prophetic role as St. Anthony, she headed an indigenous movement to correct her people's spiritual disorder that she believed was at the root of the civil unrest that had prevailed in the region for over a decade.¹⁹ In the Americas as elsewhere, popular Christianities emerged to challenge the disciplining forces of colonialism.²⁰

Despite this rich tradition of scholarship, histories of Christianity of the seventeenth-century Caribbean—whether on disciplinarian or popular tendencies—remain incomplete. Surveys of the Spanish Caribbean offer much from the era of Bartolomé de las Casas' religiously-inspired defense of Amerindian slavery, but coverage of religion almost inevitably ends with the sixteenth century, as migration of Spanish settlers (and religious institutions) moved towards the new centers of power in

¹⁹ Thornton, *The Kongolese St. Anthony*; for a similar perspective on African religious appropriation of Christian institutions, see George E. Brooks, "The Observance of All Souls' Day in the Guinea-Bissau Region: A Christian Holy Day, an African Harvest Festival, an African New Years' Celebration, or All of the Above(?)" *History in Africa* 11 (1984):1-34.

²⁰ For a few examples from Latin American literature, see: David Cahill, "Popular Religion and Appropriation: The Example of Corpus Christi in Eighteenth-Century Cuzco," *Latin American Research Review* 31, 2 (1996): 67-110; Jacqueline Holler, "'More sins than the Queen of England': Marina de San Miguel before the Mexican Inquisition," in *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary E. Giles (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); and Nicole Von Germeten, *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006). For North America and the Caribbean, see Jon Butler, "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage," *AHR* 84 (1979): 317-46; Jon F. Sensbach, *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005); Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics & Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994); Antonio Rubial García, "Las santitas del barrio: 'Beatas' laicas y religiosidad cotidiana en la ciudad de México en el siglo XVII" *Anuario de Estudios Americanos* 59, 1 (2002); Nancy Shoemaker, "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood," in Shoemaker, ed., *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women* (New York: Routledge, 1995).

Mexico and Peru.²¹ One could turn to Karen Kupperman's *Providence Island* to examine the failed Caribbean ambitions of England's puritan elite in 1641 or to Richard Dunn's now-classic study, *Sugar and Slaves*, for information on the social organization and economic fortunes of Quakers and Jews in the English Leeward Islands—but religion does not play a major role in the historiography of the English West Indies prior to the Great Awakening.²² For many years, imperial historians had written seriously about the religious component of the diplomatic and military contests that framed European competition for overseas colonies.²³ However, historians who raised critiques of those

²¹ Antonio Domínguez Ortiz deals with the question of religious life in 16th-17th-century Spain quite extensively, including the Protestant threat, but his chapter on "A Spiritual Empire" similarly ignored Northern European threats to that Empire, focusing instead on how the seventeenth century saw "the religious orders slackened on their campaign on behalf of the native" (*The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659*, trans. James Casey (New York: Basic Books, 1971), p. 311). One exception to this lack of attention can be found in Francisco Morales Padrón's recently-translated *Spanish Jamaica (Jamaica Española)* (Seville, 1952), trans. Patrick Bryan, et.al., Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003); in the only other history of Catholic Jamaica in English before this date, Jesuit father Francis J. Osborne's *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica* (Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988) noted only the decline of energetic clerics ministering to Catholic Jamaica as the sixteenth-century came to a close, and bemoaned the island's fall to English Protestants. The "decline of Spain" debate came to dominate scholarship on seventeenth-century Spanish America, and most scholars (with the notable exception of J. H. Elliot) have focused their attention on gauging outflows of gold and silver to the metropole, or on the role of commerce and contraband in Latin American port cities.

²² Karen O. Kupperman, *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony* (New York, 1993); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972). Some recent exceptions include: Carla Pestana, *The English Atlantic in an Age of Revolution*; Rebecca Larson, *Daughters of the Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775* (New York: Knopf, 1999); Jon F. Sensbach, *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998); Jonathan I. Israel, *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires, 1540-1740* (Leiden: Brill, 2002).

²³ Charles M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period of American History*, 3 vols.; Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder 1530-1630* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1978); Kenneth R. Andrews, *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984); C.R. Boxer, *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1700* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978); Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh, *No peace beyond the line: the English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1972); C.H. Haring, *The Spanish Empire in America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1947); John Lynch, *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700* (Oxford, UK & Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1992); Lyle N. McAlister, *Spain and*

Western-centric narratives, many of them politically involved in the transition to post-colonial Caribbean nationhood, have insisted that it is blindness not to make slavery and the plantation complex central to the story of Western imperial successes.²⁴ These perspectives, both in their Marxist foundations and their postcolonial sense of injustice, rejected the role of Christianity in the region as mere hypocrisy, given Europeans' willing blindness to horrors like the Middle Passage and their cold justifications of the institution of inheritable, race-based slavery. This interpretation has prevailed in the academy for many years, and even religious historians have seemed resigned to write that for the Caribbean, the Christian religion "was at a low ebb spiritually in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries."²⁵

However, this line of reasoning implies that the Church should be a noble institution, that its parishioners are worthy of study only when they strive for a more just or moral life. Such attitudes obscure the day-to-day function of religion for individuals who lived in a colonial world deeply structured by the rhetoric and institutions of Christianity, even if some of its religious institutions seemed relatively weak and its commitment to Christian principles particularly uneven. Arthur C.

Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700 (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984); J.H. Parry, *The Age of Reconnaissance* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963); Parry, *The Spanish Seaborne Empire* (London: Hutchinson & Co., 1966); G.V. Scammell, *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400-1715* (London: Unwin Hyman, 1989).

²⁴ Several scholars born and bred in colonial and post-colonial Caribbean societies took the lead, like "native son" Eric Williams (*Capitalism and Slavery*, 1944), C.L.R James (*The Black Jacobins*, 1938), and Michel Rolf-Trouillot (*Silencing the Past*, 1995). From these critiques, detailed economic and demographic studies of transatlantic migration, the "sugar revolution" and the plantation complex have all confirmed the Caribbean's centrality to the creation of European empires. See especially Sidney W. Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: the place of sugar in modern history* (New York: Penguin, 1986) and Robin Blackburn, *The Making of New World Slavery: from the Baroque to the modern* (London & New York: Verso, 1997).

²⁵ Arthur Charles Dayfoot, *The Shaping of the West Indian Church, 1492-1962* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1999), 90.

Dayfoot, one of the few religious historians of the early Caribbean, noted that despite the before-mentioned “low ebb” of spirituality,

...irreligion, ‘secularism’ and atheism were still quite exceptional. Père Labat’s stories (from the end of the century) of sailors who celebrated Mass with the accompaniment of a salute of cannon, and of Captain Daniel shooting dead a seaman who failed to give proper ‘respect to the Holy Sacrifice’ are indicative of the rough and superstitious piety to be found among buccaneers and pirates. We hear of clergymen who followed this life, sometimes as chaplains of the ships. And from time to time churches were presented with valuable gifts, especially when ecclesiastical wares were found in the cargo of captured ships.²⁶

Although Dayfoot acknowledged that “this tradition went along with a formal allegiance to the Christian faith,” he nevertheless wrote off serious study of this sort of religiosity: “The way of life of the buccaneers and other raiders had negative effects upon society and upon the Church in the Caribbean, since it prolonged and encouraged the tradition of ruthlessness, violence and greed only too characteristic of the region from the days of the conquistadors.”²⁷ This project seeks to move religious history away from its focus on unsullied ideals and pious exemplars – Christianity manifested itself in the lives of superstitious, greedy, and irreligious people as well, and operated within a wide range of social relationships in early modern Caribbean society.

Key themes, historiographical connections

This project serves as a bridge between Latin American and British American historiographies, in much the same way that the Caribbean forms an “island bridge” between the Northern and Southern ends of the American continent. I argue here that the early modern Caribbean might be seen as a kind of “crucible,” a key to understanding the entire American continent. For too long, the Caribbean has been

²⁶ Dayfoot, 56.

²⁷ Ibid.

consigned to the fringes of both British American and Latin American scholarship.

Atlantic history offers a way to break from the teleology of national histories and understand the early modern Americas as part of a distinct global culture. In that move to escape the fallacy of viewing the long history of the Americas through the filter of eighteenth and nineteenth-century nationalist “revolutions,” the Caribbean, with its extended colonial legacy, offers a central location from which to imagine an alternative history.²⁸ Colombian scholar German Arciniegas imagined the Caribbean as the “Sea of the New World,” a mirror of the Mediterranean, “one reflecting the image of the past [Greek and Roman beginnings], the other of the future [Euro-American empires].”²⁹ While this model still smacks of Euro-centrism, it does afford us a way to restore the multi-cultural, polyglot, and multi-creedal messiness to the imagined past of Our America/Nuestra America.³⁰

Religion offers a route into this “Sea of the New World,” especially since Christianity explicitly authorized European colonial legitimacy. Religion informed Spanish conceptions of a “just war” against Amerindians during the early period of conquest and forced evangelization, and Catholicism provided a way for Hapsburg

²⁸ Of course, the Caribbean also has its problems of nationalist fragmentation and insulation – perpetuated by linguistic realities, colonial divisions, and post-colonial exceptionalist thought: “so much of Caribbean criticism, particularly West Indian criticism, is bedeviled by an obsessive nativism or nationalist self-affirmation that the project of relating individual movements or thinkers to a larger whole is daunting” J. Michael Dash, *The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context* (Charlottesville : University Press of Virginia, 1998), p. 9. On the competing impulses of fragmentation and pan-Caribbean inclusiveness in regional nationalisms, see also Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983).

²⁹ German Archienegas, *Caribbean: Sea of the New World*, translated from Spanish by Harriet de Onís (Kingston & Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004, [1946]), 13.

³⁰ The nineteenth-century intellectual José Martí coined this term to defend his native Cuba from the imperial ambitions of his North American neighbors, looking for a way to define new collectivities and alliances with his Caribbean and Latin American neighbors. My understanding of Martí’s conceptualization of *Nuestra América* is drawn from Dash, *The Other America*, pp. 9-11.

rulers to craft a deeply-institutional empire.³¹ The great puritan experiment of New England would separate secular and church hierarchies into the “elect” and the rest.³² Conceptualizing first Amerindians and then Africans as “barbaric,” “pagans,” “heathens,” and “idolaters” allowed both English and Spanish colonists to legitimize their repression and enslavement, and biblical typologies (the curse of Ham; the Lost Tribes of Israel) shaped how Europeans drew from Christian iconography to envision their colonial Others.³³

³¹ Latin American scholarship on religion’s role in the “spiritual conquest” of the Spanish Americas and the continued legitimating influence of church institutions on everyday life is too large to be summarized here, but includes important works such as Lewis Hanke, *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America* (Boston : Little, Brown, 1949); Serge Gruzinski, *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*, trans. Eileen Corrigan (Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1993); Inga Clendinnen, *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987); Kenneth Mills, *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997); Kathryn Burns, *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1999); Irene Silverblatt, *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987); Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004); Patricia Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).

³² Puritan Studies scholarship of the 1960s and 70s revolutionized historians’ concept of the “City on a Hill” model of colonial American settlement and our histories of social and religious tensions within New England communities. Using a transatlantic approach for her book on Providence Island, Karen Kupperman showed how an alternative “godly experiment” led England’s “puritan grandees” to envision another model of an ideal godly society in the Caribbean, militant against Spanish Catholics and enriching God’s Chosen through plantation slavery. In Charles L. Cohen’s view, “The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History,” owes a debt to Perry Miller and other pathbreaking puritan historians for bringing religion to the forefront of the study of early British American colonialism *WMQ* 54, 4 (1997): 695-722.

³³ Lewis Hanke, *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World* (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959); Anthony Pagden, *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982); Benjamin Braude, “The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods,” *WMQ* 54,1 (1997): 103-42; William McKee Evans, “From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the ‘Sons of Ham’” *AHR* 85, 1. (1980): 15-43; Stephen R. Haynes, *Noah’s Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2002).

Christianity proved fundamental in European efforts to define proper models of authority in the seventeenth-century Caribbean, just as it did in other English and Spanish colonies. In the Spanish Caribbean, the close relationship between church and empire together forged institutions to help establish the legitimacy of colonial authority and to invest local hierarchies with divine endorsement. Protestant nationalism spurred Sir Francis Drake and other Elizabethan “pirates” to challenge the pope’s donation of the Americas to the Spanish Crown. The establishment of a third Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition in 1610 in Cartagena de Indias seemed necessary to protect the Spanish Americas from the threats to legitimacy that Protestant incursion posed and to enforce absolutist authority through religious orthodoxy over all of the empire’s willful subjects. In the English Caribbean, religion was less an institutional force than a diffuse ethos championing various ideas of Protestant “godly order.” Oliver Cromwell’s great “Western Design” against the Spanish in the Caribbean challenged the legitimacy of Iberian Catholic domination of American wealth. In Barbados, Quakers fighting for freedom of conscience and the full privileges of English citizens were examples in a long Protestant tradition of economic and political individualism.³⁴

The mere act of colonial expansion seemed to incite European anxiety over how to interpret the meaning of profit and wealth. Had Europeans’ lust for profit transformed them into godless brutes? Was the prosperity that accompanied colonial expansion a sign of God’s blessing on European Christendom? The Spanish had been

³⁴ Karl Weber’s seminal book, *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism* (English trans., 1930) has not always convinced early American historians because of questions surrounding its periodization and historical accuracy, but his thesis remains a powerful meta-narrative for exploring change in early modern British economic and colonial development. See William H. Swatos, Jr. and Lutz Kaelber, eds., *The Protestant Ethic Turns 100: Essays on the Centenary of the Weber Thesis* (Paradigm Publishers, 2005).

the first to grapple with the label of greed and religious hypocrisy when Bartolomé de las Casas decried the brutal exploitation of Native peoples in the New World – people who the Spanish had pronounced themselves so eager to convert to Christianity, but who instead were forced to struggle under the yoke of slavery to gratify their *hacedados*' covetousness.³⁵ But scholars have shown how the gold and silver from the Indies also provided a way for Spaniards to celebrate their faith with lavish gifts to religious institutions, and embellished the baroque extravagance of churches and convents from Mexico to Seville to Lima.³⁶ In British American “cities on hills,” pious Englishmen struggled over the proper way to interpret wealth, especially when it seemed that a younger generation had slid away from the group's founding morals into self-gain and wealth-seeking.³⁷ In the Caribbean, these anxieties appear heightened, from allusions to Oliver Cromwell's greed as the sin that brought his Western Design to the brink of disaster, to Quaker missionaries warning local Friends of their covetousness and inattention to the things of God.

Religious qualms about the meaning of profit-seeking had strong ties to Christian hesitations about the cruelty and coercion necessary to secure profits. Europeans of the seventeenth century were surrounded by the spiritual resonances of captivity and coercion. As they fought in conflicts ostensibly about religious affiliation – between Protestants and Catholics, between Muslims and Christians – they

³⁵ Hanke, *Spanish Struggle for Justice*.

³⁶ Serge Grunzinski, *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner, 1492-2019* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001); Carlos Fuentes, *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World* (Boston : Houghton Mifflin, 1992), esp. Pts. 2-3; Ramón Mujica Pinilla, *El Barroco Peruano* (Lima, Perú: Banco del Crédito, 2003); Bolívar Echeverría, *Modernidad, mestizaje cultural, ethos barroco* (Mexico City: El Equilibrista, 1994).

³⁷ One important contribution to the converging lines between puritan and commercial impetus for colonization is John Frederick Martin, *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991).

recognized the gravity that taking on a religious stance gave to battles that were not only about faith but also commercial interests, dynastic concerns, and cultural animosities. Europeans also understood the dangers of captivity and of being forced to change their faith. One scholar has noted that in early modern Spain, “captivity and redemption defined bodies and souls”: from the matter of Barbary ‘slavery’ and the temptations of apostasy to Islam to the concept of purgatory, a sense of “‘doing time’ for sins in the afterlife, settling accounts with God for venial or worse misdeeds on Earth.”³⁸ Just as it had in Europe, in the Americas, religion (and its corollary signifiers of race and nation) was used to define groups who were open to exploitation and dehumanization.³⁹ In North America, captivity was associated with Indians and the harsh, “godless” wilderness, and “redemption” meant restoration to one’s faith and community.⁴⁰ Slavery became something that Europeans inflicted on Indian and African “heathens” for their “resistance” to Christian dominance. Kris Lane eloquently linked the spiritual path from African slavery to European redemption in the Spanish Americas:

Here treasure could be dug from the bowels of the earth, traded for status, renown, an unforgettable funeral, and perhaps, though no one would have been so bold as to claim it possible, even eternal life. Slaves produced cash rents, rents sustained elite society. Elites reinvested rents in pious works, a ‘grace fund’ that ensured a speedy release from the hellish captivity of Purgatory.... from the beginning, African slavery was the reverse of the coin of European freedom in

³⁸ Kris Lane, “Captivity and Redemption: Aspects of slave life in early colonial Quito and Popayán” *The Americas* 57,2 (2000): 225-246, p. 226.

³⁹ C.f. note 32. For English demonization of Irish Catholics, see Kathleen M. Noonan, “‘The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People’: Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda” *The Historical Journal* 41, 1 (1998): 151-177; and Nicolas Canny, *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988).

⁴⁰ John Demos, *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America* (New York: Knopf, 1994); Recently, Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra has argued that the puritan idea of the devil’s presence in the North American wilderness was a re-imagining of biblical typologies relating to earlier Spanish efforts to understand the “diabolical” in Central and South American native cultures (*Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006).

many parts of the Americas – freedom from mechanical drudgery, from social obscurity, from spiritual mendicancy – indeed it was at times the whole coin, the redemption value of white bodies and souls.⁴¹

Especially in the Caribbean, Christianity and its evolving hierarchies profoundly shaped technologies of enslavement and demonization, which came to rest almost exclusively on Africans and Afro-Creoles, derided for their “pagan superstition” and suspected of “witchcraft.” As the slavery of Africans and their descendents became the *status quo* for pan-European colonial projects, antagonisms between Catholic “papists” and Protestant “heretics” began to lose prominence (albeit slowly and unevenly), and the dividing line between “heathens” and “Christians” (i.e. “white” and “black”) to hold more weight.

But Christianity was not just a top-down method of colonial control, neither in the Old World nor in the New. My focus on marginalized Caribbean populations shows how the very language of Christianity – its idealism and universalist premise – provided rhetorical opportunities for people to challenge their own domination, coercion, and commodification. These opportunities took the form of performances of shared religious identity. Literary scholar Stephen Greenblatt introduced the idea that Europeans’ performative “self-fashionings” began in the era of early modern colonial encounters; since then, many scholars of British America and Latin America have built on this idea that colonial encounters constructed identity and alterity through new kinds of performance and narrative.⁴² Religion served as an essential feature of early modern

⁴¹ Lane, “Captivity and Redemption,” pp. 245-46.

⁴² Stephen Greenblatt, *Renaissance Self-Fashionings: From More to Shakespeare* (Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1980). Many of the articles in *New World Encounters*, ed. Stephen Greenblatt, explore these issues of identity and alterity. For other narratives of the “invention” of early modern European identity, see Miriam Eliav-Feldon, “Invented Identities: Credulity in the Age of Prophecy and Exploration” *Journal of Early Modern History* 3,3 (1999): 203-232; Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul: Violence, Metaphysics, and Material Life in the Huguenots’ New World, 1517-1751* (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005) and Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution and Conformity in Early Modern Europe* (Cambridge, Mass.:

identities, but because faith was assumed to be primarily an interior facet of identity, it had to be performed to become visible. The difference between a “Protestant” and a “Catholic” or a “Puritan” and a “Quaker” could barely be discerned if the person did not take part in a sectarian ritual or declare his or her beliefs through the wearing of a rosary, for example, or the sartorial performance of donning a sober broadcloth suit. But a performed identity suggested a divided identity:

The widespread preoccupation with dissimulation or false appearances was one of a cluster of concerns underscored by the idiom of theatricality and its model of the divided self. As others have observed, theatricality was itself a response to anxieties about identity and reputation generated by commerce in an imperial age.⁴³

The ability of individuals to masquerade caused no small amount of anxiety among those dedicated to protecting the social order from religious pollution—Spanish preoccupation with the assumed crypto-Judaism of *conversos* and English paranoia about Jesuits in disguise provide the most relevant examples from the periods.⁴⁴

In the Caribbean, anyone who could perform an acceptable brand of Christianity (Protestant or Catholic, conformist or “authentic”) could use that religious affiliation to bargain for power and acceptance—whether it be freedom from persecution in a Spanish Catholic city, or equal access to the pillaged wealth of enemy forces. Even the disadvantages of an African heritage could be mitigated, especially in Spanish colonies, where legal tradition and inclusion in the Catholic community offered enslaved blacks opportunities to petition for redress against injustices. Quakers claimed their prophetic

Harvard University Press, 1990); Natalie Zemon Davis, *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-Century Muslim between Worlds* (New York: Hill and Wang, 2006).

⁴³ Toby Ditz, “Secret Selves, Credible Personas” in *Possible Pasts*, p. 221.

⁴⁴ Irene Silverblatt, *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2004); Arthur F. Marotti, *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England* (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005).

ideas as flowing directly from the Holy Spirit, demanding an end to cruelty and exclusion throughout the world. When it came to their own ideal to include African slaves in the Christian community, Barbadian Friends faltered, and their performances of Christian affiliation turned more towards garnering the respect of colonial elites than challenging local power structures.

To argue that proclaiming Christianity was essentially a performance is not to belittle or dismiss religious identity. Although this statement suggests that people subjected to confessional discipline only pretended to be Christians before their superiors, or that representatives of colonial institutions executed religious discipline in a charade of callous calculation, these evaluations carry too much of an atheist smirk. According to Clifford Geertz's seminal explication of "Religion as a Cultural System," religion is always concerned with the inexplicable, the problem of suffering and admiration of the uncanny. Religion is not best understood by referring to a philosophical, abstract idea of belief, but rather to the everyday social relationships it creates. Along with many intellectuals, Geertz believed that religion naturalizes social hierarchies (encouraging its participants to commit to a certain way of looking at the world, thereby codifying extant systems of power, justice, etc.)—but he stressed that to make religion work, individuals have to be willing to *participate* in rituals that fuse together "the world as lived and the world as imagined."⁴⁵ These theoretical abstractions take form in the historical scholarship on religion in early modern Europe,

⁴⁵ Clifford Geertz, "Religion as a Cultural System," in Michael Banton, ed., *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion* (London: Tavistock Publications, 1969), pp. 1-41; esp. pp. 21, 25-29, 35-36. Geertz urged those who wanted to achieve a penetrating understanding of the sociological basis of religious systems "to put aside at once the tone of the village atheist and that of the village preacher, as well as their more sophisticated equivalents." Geertz believed that his presentation of religion might allow scholars to see "overall questions about whether religion is 'good' or bad' ... disappear like the chimeras they are..." (39-40).

where scholars have shown how Christian communities were created less by their abstract “beliefs” than by the fact that their members participated in the rituals that made sacred their embeddedness in a cultural and social web of obligations and restrictions. We can view the same effect in West African religious traditions—one linguist studying the Bantu-derived cosmology of the Afro-Colombian town Palenque de San Basilio noted, “even today, in Palenque, ‘to believe’ is to participate, and to participate is ‘to believe.’”⁴⁶ What Geertz described as “cultural performances” of religion—taking part in ritual acts that acknowledge the legitimacy of a religious system because it is claimed as one’s own—reveals the dialectical relationship between religion as prescribed and religion as constructed by its participants: “In these plastic dramas men attain their faith as they portray it.”⁴⁷ This sense of performance and exchange reminds us that no one group can hold a monopoly on creating the cultural meanings of a religious system or single-handedly control its “moral vision.”

Indeed, the participation of marginalized people in seventeenth-century Caribbean rituals of religious participation—in the Inquisition courtroom or the *auto de fe*, in battlefield acts of iconoclasm or petitions claiming the Christian right to live out one’s faith in peace and toleration—influenced the ways that Caribbean realities of exploitation, coercion, wealth, and death were interpreted for all strata of society. Similarly, people’s refusal to participate in ritualized religious performances—even their indifference or irreverence—shaped how Christianity was defined in the Caribbean. In these acts of participation and non-participation, people were constantly forced to return to basic questions about suffering, injustice, and the cognitive dissonance between

⁴⁶ Armin Schwegler, “*Chi ma nkongo*”: *lengua y rito ancestrales en El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia)* (Madrid : Iberoamericana, 1996), pp. 141-43.

⁴⁷ Geertz, 29.

religious ideal and on-the-ground practice: Who should benefit from the magnificent wealth extracted from the Americas? If European nations really came to spread their Gospel, where did their holy intentions end and their pecuniary motivations begin? Why did the divisions of nation, race, and creed matter so much in supposedly universal faith? As slaves, servants, sectarians and sojourners performed their Christian identities, they participated in the creation of Caribbean religion – albeit not as equal partners with the colonial elite, but as subversive elements that challenged that elite’s control of religious orthodoxy. The brand of Christianity that resulted may have seemed to outsiders far from ideal, but it nevertheless spoke to Caribbean residents’ everyday encounters with the divine and the mundane. In everyday tensions between masters and slaves, patrons and clients, religion acted as a way to make the excesses of cruelty and exploitation measurable, and to rouse a collective consciousness that knew that the Christianity being practiced in this region was a disenchanted faith. Everyone knew that Christian ideals were far from matching reality in this place, but by participating in its community rituals – even those that stunk of hypocrisy – participants could, for a time, “sublimate violence” and disarm the tensions of colonial life.⁴⁸

Sources, Methodology, Theory

The comparative micro-historical approach employed by this study highlights the persuasive value of personalized history, while recognizing that anecdotes can only

⁴⁸ Benítez-Rojo has borrowed musical terminology to describe the development of Caribbean literature and culture as operating polyrhythmically, reflecting the colonial system’s tensions back upon it. This performance, according to him, “sublimate[s] violence” by turning it into a sort of carnival song: “the Caribbean performance... does not reflect back on the performer along but rather it also directs itself toward a public in search of a carnivalesque catharsis that proposes to divert excesses of violence and that in the final analysis was *already there*.” Benítez-Rojo, *Repeating Island*, p. 22).

take on greater meaning through the practice of comparison and contextualization.⁴⁹ Many scholars have become intrigued by the potential of comparative studies to reveal why common colonization projects of different European powers in different places seemed to have produced such radically different results – these approaches range from global “systems” theories to more archivally-situated studies by colonial and Atlantic historians eager to capitalize on the promise of comparative history.⁵⁰ My project builds on these rich traditions, especially the trend towards multi-lingual archival work that proves not only the comparability,⁵¹ but often, the inextricable connectedness of early modern European expansion.⁵² However, I suggest that comparisons need not be bound

⁴⁹ I was particularly inspired by the example of Natalie Zemon Davis’ wonderfully rich study of three women of different faiths in Early Modern Europe and America, *Women on the Margins*. My philosophy on microhistory can be illustrated with a useful definition provided by Jill Lepore, who writes that microhistory is founded on the assumption that “however singular a person’s life may be, the value of examining it lies not in its uniqueness, but in its exemplariness, in how that individual’s life serves as an allegory for broader issues affecting the culture as a whole.” Lepore, “Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography” 88,2 (2001): pp. 129–44.

⁵⁰ In the early-mid 20th century, comparativists Emmanuel Wallerstein, Marc Bloch, and Theda Skocpol developed theories that blended sociology and history to explore questions of modernism, revolutions, and economic development – comparative slave studies were also popularized at this time, Tannenbaum’s *Slave and Citizen* rather less sociological/theoretical in its approach than others. Historians have often been dismissive of comparative history because of its reputation for relying on secondary sources rather than interrogating primary sources in all their complexity – a few examples of historians who have gained some acclaim for their ability to craft archivally-based comparative studies include John H. Elliot, *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 2006); Patricia Seed, *Ceremonies of Possession: Europe’s Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995); Camilla Townsend, *Tale of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America* (Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000).

⁵¹ Peter Hulme argued in his case study approach to the literary works of the broader Caribbean: “given the resemblances amongst the narrative and rhetorical strategies found within the relevant Spanish, Portuguese, and English texts – resemblances that outweigh, or at least weigh equally with, those found between texts in the same language dealing with areas of the same sphere of interest, say Virginia and New England or Hispaniola and Mexico.” See Hulme, *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797* (London & New York: Routledge, 1992), pp. 3-5.

⁵² A provocative piece by Elijah Gould advocating for a new term, “entangled histories” of European empires in the contested spaces of the eighteenth-century Americas (“Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery,” *AHR* 112, 3 (2007): 764-86) is one example of this recent trend. Scholars already working in this mode include

to investigations of imperial systems or comparative political economy. A more personalized comparative microhistory, with its emphasis on narrative and contingency, allows historians to present the complexities of Atlantic lives in a fuller way, presenting the perspectives not only of imperial or European actors, but also the Africans and Afro-Creoles whose labor made colonial projects possible.

Identifying sources to get at the rich interactions that informed the varieties of Caribbean religious experience is fairly complicated – the sources historians normally use for religious studies are almost non-existent for the Caribbean. There are no sermons and religious libraries from a West Indian Cotton Mather; no confessional narratives of the spiritual journey of a Sor Juana in the convents of Cartagena. For the Inquisition, few North Americans have studied the tribunal in Cartagena, both due to lack of work in local archives (given the country's decades of civil unrest) and a sense that the original sources had already been lost or destroyed. Luckily, Inquisitors at this Tribunal were good administrators, sending reams of paper – correspondence, trial summaries, even some full trial transcripts – to Madrid's Supreme Council, and the Archivo Histórico Nacional in Madrid now preserves these files. But the forces of time and neglect are not the only culprits. Damaging tropical forces have always diminished the physical remains of Caribbean history – Inquisitors in Cartagena wrote as early as 1669 to Madrid with a request to move to Santa Fe because the humid climate in Cartagena caused documents to rot, and they feared that foreign invaders might destroy

Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *How to Write a History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World* (Stanford, Calif. : Stanford University Press, 2001); and Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999).

much more.⁵³ The forces of political instability and natural disasters destroyed many sources potentially useful for a religious study of the Caribbean, whether parishes records for Spanish Caribbean cities or papers kept by nonconformist sects, like the well-organized Society of Friends in Barbados. Since I was not focusing primarily on religion in its idealized state (that is, from the perspective of church institutions or communities of pious believers) I sought out a wide range of sources to answer my questions about how religion impacted the lives of the Caribbean's dispossessed – military narratives, imperial correspondence, civil trial documents, wills and deeds.

My search – through five countries and nine archives⁵⁴ – yielded a volume of evidence I never dreamed of, nearly enough to write a dissertation on each case study. However, the source base was fragmentary. The uneven quality of archival data meant that I could not find sources likely to answer many of my questions – did Barbados Quakers keep marriage records for their slaves as Fox had advised them to do? how often did Northern Europeans in Spanish cities participate in their adopted communities through Catholic rituals of marriage or baptismal patronage? Faced with evidence not conducive to any single historical methodology, the modes of historical inquiry developed by social and cultural historians – especially those working with other subjects who have been written on the margins of colonial archives – offered some

⁵³ Archivo Histórico Nacional (AHN), Sección Inquisición (Inq.), Lib. 305. R. 2, ff. 345r-346v. 16 abril 1669, Carta de los inquisidores del Tribunal del Santo Oficio de Cartagena de Indias en que se pide trasladar la institución a la ciudad de Santa Fe.

⁵⁴ My research took me to metropolitan centers and local depositories. Spain: Archivo General de Indias (Seville); Archivo Histórico Nacional (Madrid); Colombia: Archivo General de la Nación (Bogotá); England: British Library, Friends' House (London); National Maritime Museum (Greenwich); National Archives (Kew); Barbados: Barbados Department of Archives (St. Michael).

solutions.⁵⁵ I was forced to think more deeply about the material that does exist, finding pleasure in the anecdotal, and humility in the remembrance that history is not what happened, but rather what we make of the traces of the past that remain.

The use of anecdotes and personal stories as history requires extensive contextualization and care in revealing the uncertainty of one's conclusions in order to transform mere illustration into analysis. As I have used stories to emphasize important themes in the seventeenth-century Caribbean, they have also offered me the chance to reveal the complexity of my subjects' experiences. For example, my analysis of Nicolas Burundel in Chapter Three – which investigates Northern Europeans who converted to Catholicism in Spanish Caribbean territories to integrate themselves into foreign, potentially hostile, communities – takes into account both Nicolas' representativeness (an impoverished man with few options, dependent on the patron-client structure of Spanish Caribbean society for survival) and his uniqueness (he stubbornly refused, unlike many others, to give into the Inquisition's insistence that he repent his heretical identity). Thus, by reading Nicolas' story alongside a description and analysis of the larger norms, my writing resists pat summaries and teleological conclusions. It shows the humanity and complexity of real lives, full of richness and contradiction.

This project also practices the essential craft of imagination, drawing support from Greg Denning's recent argument: "Imagination is rather unnerving to most

⁵⁵ Peter Hulme has written evocatively of his attempt to find meaning in the fragmentary and anecdotal in his narrative of the Caribbean: "The venture, it should be said, is archaeological: no smooth history emerges, but rather a series of fragments which, read speculatively, hint at a story that can never be fully recovered" (*Colonial Encounters*, p. 12). Scholars who inspired me in their innovative approaches to the problem of empirical unevenness include Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York : Oxford University Press, 1997); Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004); and Bennett, "The Subject in the Plot," c.f. note 3.

historians. But it need not be. Imagination is not necessarily fantasy. Imagination is restoring to the past all the possibilities of its future.”⁵⁶ Any study that hopes to take on the perspective of people on the margins must do so with sharp inquisitiveness, both within and beyond the sources available – for we know that sources were written and organized according to the needs and desires of authority and dominance. To do justice to recovering the stories of those who did not control their own narrative process requires recovering fragments of disembodied voices and slips of the tongue and reassembling them into a new order. It requires stepping back from the record and pondering its silence. Many silences regarding subaltern subjects result from the politics of the archive, of governmental and cultural institutions – a dominant culture’s discomfort with the past and anxiety about the present.⁵⁷ What Denning has called the “silences of the self” – “silences of pain, and of happiness for that matter; silences of guilt, silences of the poor, of victims; silences of exclusion; silences of forgetting”⁵⁸ – are many times those issues historians are most drawn to, but also most reticent to deal with.

Since observers of the period as well as historians today have (with reason) portrayed the Caribbean as particularly “sinful,” I take the time to excavate between the negative spaces of the uncomfortable, burdened silences and what is written down in sources. One extended example might better elaborate how silences have affected the history of religion in the Caribbean. Most any historical examination of the morality of

⁵⁶ Greg Denings, “Texts of Self,” in *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Frederika Teute (Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 1997), p. 161-62.

⁵⁷ Hartman writes in *Scenes of Subjection*, “the effort to reconstruct the history of the dominated... is a struggle within and against the constraints and silences imposed by the nature of the archive” (p. 11). Refer also to Bennett, “The Subject in the Plot”; Trouillout, *Silencing the Past*.

⁵⁸ Denings, “Texts of Self,” in *Through a Glass Darkly*, p. 161.

New World slavery today includes a discussion of Bartolomé de las Casas, who, in championing the humanity of the native inhabitants of the Americas and their right to freedom from enslavement from the Spanish (*Brevísima relación*), urged the importation of Africans as slaves, who he asserted would be hardier laborers for the nascent sugar plantations of Hispaniola. But few scholars have heard of Las Casas' disavowal of that tragic suggestion in his less-famous manuscript *Historia de las Indias*, in which the Dominican friar recorded that "he was soon after repentant, judging himself culpable for being inadvertent, because as afterwards he saw and confirmed, as will be seen, that the captivity of Negroes was as unjust as that of the Indians..." In this unparalleled admission, Las Casas recorded his fear that "his ignorance and good will in this [matter] would [not] excuse him before the bar of Divine Judgment," for he recognized that the injustice in the Spanish colonial compulsion for profit would continue to have devastating effects, not least of which was enslavement and exploitation.⁵⁹ Although Las Casas admitted his guilt, he refused to make this act of repentance more public, or denounce those who profited from the enslavement of Africans. These acts of omission – and the fact that this Las Casas text went unpublished until 1875 – effectively silenced his contrition, both for his own generation and for later generations of

⁵⁹ Las Casas saw that his personal sin of urging the licensing of African slaves set about a devastating chain reaction that reached from Africa and beyond:

as they [Africans] themselves see that when [slaves] are looked for and desired, they make unjust wars upon each other, and in other illicit ways they steal one another to be sold to the Portuguese, so that we ourselves are the cause of all the sins that one and another commits, as well as those that we ourselves commit in buying them [...] when they were put into the sugar mills... they found their death and their sickness, and thus many of them die every day, and for that reason bands of them run away whenever they can, and they rise up and inflict death and cruelty upon the Spaniards, in order to get out of their captivity..."

I have taken the translation of the full-text of this confession from Benítez-Rojo (*The Repeating Island*, pp. 97-98); his translation of Book 3, Ch. 129, pp. 273-76.

historians.⁶⁰ It has been easy for a wide range of people – clerics, missionaries, scholars – to point out the hypocrisy of colonial expansion and exploitation under the auspices of Christianity. However, the seeming hegemony of Caribbean hypocrisy never fully eliminated Europeans' susceptibility to these sorts of uncomfortable truth-telling exercises and self-critique of the failures of Christian morality. Episodes of honest truth-telling were rare, but silent judgments – uncomfortable questions that burdened Christian consciences (even if they failed to shake up colonial practices) – proliferate in the documents.

Thus, we see how many seemingly-inscrutable omissions and silences are due not to the destruction of relevant sources or the conflicting agendas of those who wrote surviving texts; but rather are silences that reflect the self-censorship and anxiety of those who produced the texts that still survive today. One final example from this project will illustrate this phenomenon. Archival evidence for Northern European sojourners in Spanish territories is frustratingly sparse. However, such silences are not surprising, given that most foreign collaborations with local Spanish officials were *illegal* – contraband trade was a never-ending problem that colonial administrators went to great lengths to hide and thus deny. Therefore, in writing much of my second chapter, I had to *assume* that Northern Europeans' frequent recourse to Catholic conversion was an element of their negotiation with the larger Spanish community for mutual benefits. Documents where Spanish investigators *assert* that local officials were collaborating with foreign interlopers are numerous, but only one document definitively broke the hidden transcript: it was common knowledge among Spanish residents in Jamaica (*se decía por público*) that one defector from an English privateer had been

⁶⁰ Benítez-Rojo, pp. 99-100.

baptized two or three times already – he went around bragging that “wherever they caught him he got baptized because they gave him clothes” for the occasion.⁶¹ Often, then, what was only recorded only once turns out to be a key revelation of an open secret. Just as illegal acts were less likely to be written down, attitudes and activities deemed immoral, sinful, were also likely to remain under cover of resolute silence – few wanted to document those things that weighed on their consciences, that might serve to label them as anti-Christian or hypocrites.

Atlantic Creoles and the Opportunities of Caribbean Frontiers

Over the course of the seventeenth century, the struggle for control of New World riches dominated Caribbean colonial societies, from inter-imperial warfare to piracy and freebooting, from armed incursions against runaway slaves to widespread engagement in contraband trade. We know today that control would ultimately move from absolutist Spain to Northern European mercantilists – one might even posit England’s seizure of Jamaica in 1655 as the key turning point. However, such a trajectory was not taken for granted by actors at the time. In reality, the change in imperial ascendancy was not confirmed until well into the eighteenth century, contributing to the Caribbean’s well-deserved reputation for “chaos and complexity.”⁶²

⁶¹ AHN, Inquisición, Leg. 1617, Expediente 1/7, f. 7v.

⁶² The term is borrowed from Lester Langley’s comparative study of the late 18th century revolutionary wars (*The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850* (New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996)), an analytical construct that seems to do little more than remind historians of the impossibility of drawing logical conclusions about the motivations and trajectories of pan-American interrelationships. Caribbeanist Benítez-Rojo drew on new scientific and economic theories to like chaos theory “not to find results, but [to explore] processes, dynamics, and rhythms that show themselves within the marginal, the regional, the incoherent, the heterogeneous, or, if you like, the unpredictable that coexists with us in our everyday world” (5). He argued that the Caribbean’s unpredictability was based on the violence of the “machine” of European profit-seeking and struggle against colonial domination.

The instability and inter-imperial violence of the seventeenth-century Caribbean created a special kind of chaos, however—it pushed different ethnic and national groups into complex and often unlikely alliances, for no one group had the power to unilaterally enact its own agenda on the region's development. In such a chaotic, uncontrolled world, marginal members of society had special room to assert their value to colonial officials and to subvert colonial prerogatives: European indentured servants and soldiers could fight fiercely or half-heartedly in defense of colonial territories; transient explorers or adventurers could become useful spies or feared double-agents in surveillance of enemy activities; sailors could be flexible in whether they served a merchant or pirate vessel; runaway slaves could offer their knowledge of the landscape to enemy invaders or could threaten local communities.

As Spanish emigration drained more and more settlers from the Caribbean's charter settlements into mainland centers, and Northern European settlers became more firmly established in the Leeward Islands, it might be said that the region became a frontier zone, a borderland, a border-sea, or even a middle ground. Like frontier zones, the Caribbean was a kind of no-man's land where multiple groups claimed lands and drew boundaries, but where those claims could rarely be maintained for any length of time. Like borderlands, the Caribbean was a contested site where proxy agents were drawn into inter-imperial warfare, wars that offered not only violence but also escape through highly permeable boundaries (by its nature, the sea was an uncontrolled space). Like middle grounds, the Caribbean was a site where groups with divergent objectives

were forced to negotiate with one another, propelling historical events through a series of cultural translations and misunderstandings.⁶³

Several scholars have already begun the fruitful work of exploring the identities of marginalized figures in the rich interstitial points between empires, races, and nations. Linebaugh and Rediker's *Many-Headed Hydra* offers a pan-Atlantic construct of subaltern political agency that has helped many see Atlantic history as something more than a return to neo-imperial history – to take this vision further, we must pay close attention to local “reconfigurat[ions] of gender and ethnic identities” to restore the key elements of dynamism and contingency to our map of Atlantic history.⁶⁴ Ira Berlin,

⁶³ Richard White's *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*, offered a popular new metaphor for the interconnections between the Great Lakes area's native peoples and the empires and nations that squeezed the area (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991). Donna J. Guy and Thomas E. Sheridan's *Contested Ground: Comparative Frontiers on the Northern and Southern Edges of the Spanish Empire* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 1998), in comparing the North American Southwest and Argentina's Rio de la Plata, defined frontiers as places where “polities contend for natural resources and ideological control, including the right to define categories of people and to determine their access to those resources...” (10). Jeremy Adelman and Stephen Aron have argued that it is necessary to limit the frontiers given the additional distinction of “borderlands” so as not to neglect the “inter-imperial dimension of borderlands, the cross-cultural relations that defined frontiers” (“From Borderlands to Borders: Empires, Nation-States, and the Peoples in Between in North American History,” *AHR* 104 (June 1999). David Weber has termed the frontier “both [a] place and process” *The Spanish Frontier in North America* (New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1992). Bradley J. Parker and Lars Rodseth tied their definition of frontier to the concept of transnationalism and to White's *Middle Ground*, calling the frontier “a shifting zone of innovation and recombination,” emphasizing how such spaces encouraged groups to “exploit the ambiguities of inherited forms...” (*Untaming the Frontier in Anthropology, Archaeology, and History* (Tucson: University of Arizona Press, 2005), p. 4). See also Amy Turner Bushnell's coining of the term “border-seas” to show the complex but fruitful zone of Atlantic inter-imperial conflict around Florida and the Caribbean coast, “Borderland or Border-Sea? Placing Early Florida,” *Review in WMQ* 60,3 (2003): 643-53. I choose not to restrict myself in how I define my own relationship to these terms, offered up and contested by many groups of historians – mostly because I hope that Atlanticists will continue to learn to speak the multiple languages of traditional disciplines to find scholars with whom to exchange and provoke dialogue about what these conflictual spaces *mean*, both in terms of comparative value and to our general understanding of how to place our own fields of study in relation to spaces of transnational conflict and exchange.

⁶⁴ Although the *Many-Headed Hydra* has received significant critiques for over-blowing the pervasiveness and cohesiveness of a proto-Marxist “Atlantic Working Class,” I believe that Rediker and Linebaugh's impulses were at core right. David Featherstone has suggested several excellent ways in which to nuance Linebaugh and Rediker's thesis. See David Featherstone,

whose concept of the Atlantic Creole, those African and mixed-race cultural brokers along the Atlantic littoral of West Africa, has also provided me with a foundational definition with which to think of marginalized individuals from a wider variety of heritages, who “by experience or choice, as well as by birth, became part of a new culture that emerged along the Atlantic littoral... [where] men and women could define themselves in ways that transcended nativity.”⁶⁵ Such definitions came about through inter-cultural exchange and transmission of knowledge among cultural brokers. Religion served as essential to the education of Atlantic Creoles in the seventeenth-century Caribbean borderlands⁶⁶ – for religion provided a particularly powerful and easy shorthand to create trustworthy identities for consumption by potential allies, identities easier to falsify or perform than that of gender, race, or class.

Although my dissertation privileges the voice of resistance in how individuals performed orthodox Christian identities and narrated subversive discourses of Christian morality, I hope not to discount the possibility (indeed, the reality) that Christianity could be turned from a tool of the powerful into a theology of liberation, justice, and

“Atlantic networks, antagonisms and the formation of subaltern political identities.” *Social and Cultural Geography* 6,3 (2005): 387-404, esp. 391.

⁶⁵ Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African- American Society in Mainland North America,” *WMQ* 53,2 (1996): p. 254n. Berlin’s generic description of Atlantic Creoles strikes a chord in harmony with the cases I present here: “...some Atlantic creoles identified with their ancestral homeland (or a portion of it) – be it African, European, or American – and served as its representatives in negotiations with others. Other Atlantic creoles had been won over by the power and largess of one party or another... Yet others played fast and loose with their diverse heritage, employing whichever identity paid best” (p. 255). These creolizations and transculturations are not, of course, exclusive to the Atlantic world, though they have been most heavily studied in the American context.

⁶⁶ In one of the first examples of using knowledge of religious cultures to subvert colonial violence in the English Caribbean, dissatisfied slaves and indentured servants in Providence Island fled to nearby Spanish settlements during Sunday services and rowed out to attacking Spanish ships to offer intelligence in exchange for freedom. See Allison Games, “‘The Sanctuarye of our Rebell Negroes’: The Atlantic Context of Local Resistance on Providence Island, 1630-1641,” *Slavery and Abolition* 19 (1998), pp. 14-16.

fulfillment by those who practiced it in a different way. If this project is about finding “agency” in the actions and pronouncements of marginalized people in the past, it is also about trying to show them as complex figures, flawed and contradictory in their search for spiritual and physical survival.⁶⁷

Just as this project’s four cases emphasize the centrality of religion in the mobile, fluid, contested spaces of the seventeenth-century Caribbean, a brief Epilogue at the end of the dissertation will show the ways that religion continued to imbue the politics of Caribbean borderlands as legal and extra-legal trade between Spanish colonies and Northern European interlopers exploded at the turn of the eighteenth century. Many of the rhetorical battles between Christianity and commerce seemed to intensify, especially after English and Dutch merchant conglomerates secured official contracts to supply the Spanish Americas with a steady supply of African slave labor. Catholic officials stationed in the Caribbean wrote to Spain with alarm about colonial leaders who were flagrantly disregarding the moral taboos against consorting with Protestant “heretics,” while simultaneously accepting increasing numbers of transient foreign “converts.” When Dutch and English merchants took up residence in Spanish cities like Cartagena and Havana, Inquisition officials for the first time ever began voicing fears that slaves introduced into Spanish Catholic lands might be “tainted” by contact with heterodox Christians; they launched campaigns to protect slaves who expressed their wish to escape the control of foreign Protestant owners. This material suggests fruitful links to scholarship on eighteenth-century maritime culture and African Diaspora studies, showing the counter-cultural sway of marginal groups in the watery frontiers of

⁶⁷ Walter Johnson hopes that scholars might begin to separate “agency” from “resistance,” recognizing that human agency also includes “collaboration and betrayal.” See his article “On Agency,” *Journal of Social History* 37, 1 (2003): pp. 113-124, esp. p. 115.

European imperial rivalries, and our need to understand the role of religion in these complex and shifting identities over the broad sweep of the early modern Caribbean and Atlantic World.

Chapter One

“If Her Soul Was Condemned, It Would Be the Authorities’ Fault”: Contesting the Boundaries of Antichristian Cruelty in Cartagena de Indias

On the morning of April 4, 1639, a guard unshackled the runaways one by one and brought them from the cell in the public jail before a scribe, where they were made to state for the record their masters’ names and the amount of time they had been absent from service. Gregorio Álvarez de Zepeda, who as *alcalde* of the Holy Brotherhood of Mompo was in charge of seeking out maroons, further ordered each to give an account of “the cause of their flight.” One of the first to have his name recorded was Juan, from the caste of the Ararás. Since he was *ladino* (i.e. could communicate in Spanish) and said he was a Christian, they swore in his testimony “by God and Our Lord over a sign of the cross.”¹ Juan admitted that he had run away to the mountains several times, the most recent being shortly after the New Year, when he took advantage of his work as a rower (*boga*) on the Magdalena River to take his freedom. He said he lived in the mountains beside the river, alone as a “vassal of God (*vassalo con Dios*),” unaffiliated with any *palenque* (the word for maroon community in Spanish territories). Juan said he left his solitary wanderings when he came upon a black woman one day weeping by the riverside. He approached, “endeavor[ing] to find out what was wrong

¹ Given the nature of modern archives and the ways that documents entered into the record, our knowledge of Juan Arará and the other maroons described here is filtered through Álvarez de Zepeda’s intent to document this questioning, which was carried out under a highly-scripted scribal procedure. Although these historical documents privilege the Spanish voice, this analysis will work to bring out the ways in which even slaves could subvert the authority of the archive as they registered their needs and perspectives in cooperation with powerful figures in the dominant culture.

with her.” Juan discovered that the woman’s name was Susana, that “she had fled... because her lady doña Eufrosia punished her so much.” She told him about how she had received so many lashes to her buttocks that the open wounds never ceased to pain her, and so he promised to take her away to a place where they could be alone. Their escape was short-lived, however – they were soon spotted by Álvarez’s slave-catchers. Juan begged Álvarez not to send him back to his former owner but “to order him sold to another master, who he would serve with much good will (*voluntad*), without running away.”² Susana later made the same plea, citing her mistress’ abuse, then lifted her skirts so that her charges could be verified – Álvarez instructed the scribe to write that her buttocks were covered with “thick white welts, signs of having had old wounds in the said part.”³ Next he heard from Mariana Mandinga, who testified that she had run away from the same owner as Susana two months ago and spoke of the severity with which she treated her female slaves. Mariana said that the wounds on her buttocks were so painful “that she couldn’t stir or even stand,” and so she ran away, begging some Indians in a boat to take her to the other side of the Magdalena River. There, she said, “she began to cry, finding herself alone and in so much pain from the whippings, not knowing where she was because she’d never run away before.” Like an apparition or a guardian angel, “Isabel, a Creole Negroe, a fellow slave [belonging to] the said doña Eufrosia” appeared, like a guardian angel at Mariana’s side – Isabel, too “had also fled because of the severe punishment... of her mistress and because she threatened that she

² Archivo General de la Nación, Bogotá (AGNB), Sección Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 12r-15r. (1639) Eufrosia Camargo, mujer de Alonso Esteban Ortiz de Mompos, causa que se le siguió a ella, por sevicia con un esclavo y muerte que dio a algunos dellos. 234 ff. All translations mine.

³ Ibid., ff. 15r-17r. Based on a grammatical analysis of the comment, it is impossible to tell whether Álvarez demanded physical proof or whether Susana offered it – see p. 80 for further analysis.

would kill them.” Mariana begged Álvarez “for the love of God” not to send her back to doña Eufrosia’s house, insisting that “if he did her mistress would kill her with whippings.” Álvarez again had the runaway lift her skirt so he could register that they saw “she had signs of whippings” on her buttocks, which he described as “wide mottled welts.”⁴

With such vivid descriptions of both physical and emotional anguish, we are convinced of these women’s terror at the prospect of being delivered to their mistress and the prospect of additional torment. Their gruesome scars and piteous pleading might have caused the *alcalde* Álvarez to recoil in horror... or perhaps not, he might have coldly recorded the testimony and moved on. If the experience of viewing their tears and broken flesh had no effect, the testimony of a third runaway who claimed doña Eufrosia de Camargo’s cruel whippings as the reason for her flight seems to have caught his attention. Instead of lifting her skirts like Susana and Mariana to reveal the physical proof of her maltreatment, Isabel Criolla chose instead to reveal her inner wounds and psychic pain. She begged Álvarez “for the passion of Our Lord Jesus Christ” to order her sold to anyone but her mistress, or she “would lose her soul.” She engaged with him as a fellow Christian, entreating him to listen when she said that she understood

that her soul and those of all sinners were paid for by the death and Passion of our Lord Jesus Christ, who she asked every day to take her by the hand so as to keep her from falling into any grave sin of desperation, and she would continue to do the same—but *if her soul was condemned* in the future it would be the fault of the justices who didn’t remedy the severe punishment that her said mistress doña Eufrosia gives to her slaves...

⁴ Ibid., Declaration of Mariana Mandinga, ff. 17r-20r.

Isabel's final denunciation was that "everyone knows that she kills them with whippings, as she has done with four *pieces of slaves* who died in her house without confession."⁵

Using both the language of commodification (*pieces of slaves*) and the rhetoric of Christian damnation (*if her soul was condemned...*) to frame the violence and death that haunted her mind, Isabel Criolla tapped into several core ideals and practices that defined Spanish American slavery: commodification, the violence of coercion, and spiritual rights. After the Spanish Crown removed Indians from the class of people considered enslavable by American colonists in with the New Laws of 1542, and increasingly after 1595 with the licensing of Portuguese slaving monopoly, Africans and Afro-Creoles were brought over as forced immigrants in ever greater numbers, often outnumbering Iberian immigration.⁶ The enslaved population of African descent in early seventeenth-century Cartagena de Indias outnumbered Spanish *vecinos* by a considerable margin, a trend which would hold steady over the entire century.⁷ In Cartagena and its hinterlands (the town of Mompox served as a major regional hub to the huge Caribbean port), the often-violent struggles between masters and slaves also produced significant runaway communities (*palenques*). The institution of slavery had always produced conflict, issues that jurists had tried to regulate for the proper ordering of society. The medieval Castilian legal code based on Roman tradition, the *Siete*

⁵ Ibid., ff. 23r-v. My emphasis.

⁶ Robin Blackburn cites at least 268,600 slaves arriving in Spanish America between 1595-1640, as opposed to 36,300 between 1550-1595 (*The Making of New World Slavery*, p. 140). For figures on Cartagena, see Nicolas del Castillo Mathieu, *Esclavos Negros en Cartagena y sus Aportes Léxicos* (Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1982), pp. 1-91.

⁷ According to some rough estimates, slaves outnumbered the 2,000 Spanish residents of the city, with a population between three to four thousand; by 1686, a census of the city's population noted 5,700 slaves. María Cristina Navarrete, *Historia social del negro en la colonia: Cartagena, siglo XVII* (Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, 1995), p. 25.

Partidas, established that “A master has complete authority over his slave to dispose of him as he pleases,” and considered the slave an item of property. Moreover, the codes gave the master the legal right to express his discontent with a slave “by punishing him by reproof, or by blows,” leaving little recourse to protest this treatment.⁸ Herman Bennett has argued that as the Hapsburg empire attempted to assert greater – indeed absolute – authority over all its American subjects (black and white), it encroached upon the master-slave relationship, strengthening competing legal administrations like Church and Inquisition courts.⁹ Church law stipulated a series of rights and obligations between masters and slaves, requiring that slaves be provided with a Christian education, to have time off to attend mass and go to confession at least once a year, and to have access to the sacrament of marriage and some protections for conjugal residency; the Inquisition required enslaved Africans to accept the strictures of Tridentine Catholicism. Isabel Criolla’s performance before Álvarez emphasized her true Christianity and her mistress’s neglect in matters of religious paternalism – both supported by absolutist efforts – but the matter of severe cruelty breached even the clear strictures of Roman law: “We also decree that, where a man is so cruel to his slaves as to kill them by starvation, or to wound or injure them so seriously that they cannot endure it, in cases of this kind said slaves can complain to the judge.” This kind of appeal compelled an official like Álvarez to “investigate and ascertain whether the charge is true,” and to do what was necessary to penalize the excessively cruel master by selling

⁸ Samuel Parsons Scott, Charles Sumner Lobingier, and John Vance, eds., *Las Siete Partidas*. (Chicago, New York, and Washington: Published for the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association by Commerce Clearing House, 1931), Part III, Tit. II, Law VIII, p. 539.

⁹ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, p. 4, 54, 126-53.

his slaves “in such a way that they never can be again placed in the power” of the master.¹⁰

The historiography on Atlantic slavery has long recognized the uniqueness of these legal opportunities for enslaved peoples in the Iberian colonies. The classic work of comparative slavery, Frank Tannenbaum’s *Slave and Citizen*, emphasized the ameliorative character of Hispanic legal traditions compared to the more restrictive legal codes established in North America. More recent studies of black populations in the Spanish Americas have worked around and beyond the Tannenbaum thesis, most notably by exploring the agency of African actors in creating and transforming the legal landscape of opportunity. Much of this work depends on understanding the process of creolization for Africans and their descendants in specific times and places.¹¹ The Catholic Church in Spanish America had worked to Christianize, creolize, and educate Indian and African “pagans” about their subordinate position in the New World order. However, scholars interested in subaltern resistance have shown that giving Amerindians and Africans access to the language of universal Christianity also offered

¹⁰ *Siete Partidas*, Part IV, Tit. XXI, Law VI.

¹¹ Tannenbaum, *Slave and Citizen* (1946). Alejandro de la Fuente, a scholar of slavery and race in Cuba, recently responded to Tannenbaum’s assumptions, writing: “Rather than assuming that positive laws endowed slaves with a ‘moral’ personality, as Tannenbaum would put it, I imply that it was the slaves, as they made claims and pressed for benefits, who gave concrete social meaning to the abstract rights regulated in the positive laws. Through these interactions with colonial authorities and judges, slaves acted (and were seen) as subjects with at least a limited legal standing” (“Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited,” p. 341). Other scholars whose detailed work on chronology and geography have reshaped our understanding of the opportunities for slaves in Iberian settings include Herman L. Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*; Jane Landers, *Black Society in Spanish Florida*; Margaret M. Olsen, “Negros horros and Cimarrones on the legal frontiers of the Caribbean: Accessing the African Voice in Colonial Spanish American Texts,” *Research in African Literatures* 29,4 (1998): pp. 52-72; Matthew Restall, “Manuel’s Worlds: Black Yucatan and the Colonial Caribbean,” in Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), pp. 147-174.

pathways to challenge colonialism's totalizing power.¹² And so it was for Isabel Criolla and many others like her Cartagena, who learned to resist the terms of their enslavement by understanding the colonial elite's concerns with the salvation of souls and maintaining Christian norms of piety and charity. This chapter is concerned with how such culturally-aware performances, performances that engaged in the rituals and rhetoric of Christianity, shaped the practice and theory of slavery in the colonial Spanish Caribbean.

Cartagena and its environs is an especially interesting site for such an investigation, for the sea and fluvial pathways between the rich Caribbean port of Cartagena de Indias and the inland town of Santa Fe de Mompox where Isabel was captured were crucial hubs in the transportation network that linked Spain to its inland riches.¹³ However, the province of Cartagena and the Magdalena River were also highly

¹² Several exemplars of this approach include: Solange Alberro, "Juan de Morga and Gertrudis de Escobar: Rebellious Slaves" in David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds., *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981), pp. 165-88; Carolyn Dean, *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru* (Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999); Maria Elena Díaz, *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000); James Sweet, *Recreating Africa*.

¹³ Scholarship on colonial Cartagena has undergone a sort of renaissance in recent decades, thanks to the often invigorating work of academics based in Colombia (including Anna Maria Splendiani, Jaime Borja Gómez, Adriana Maya Restrepo, Maria Cristina Navarrete, Diana Ceballos Gómez, Alfonso Múnera, Antonio Vidal Ortega), a burgeoning consciousness among Afro-Colombian groups, and archival and preservation projects that have opened up the region's historical records to broader audience: the Archivo Nacional in Bogotá has digitized their entire series of documents on blacks and slaves (available online at <http://negrosyesclavos2.archivogeneral.gov.co:8080/>); the Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia (ICANH) has published a CD-ROM index of all manuscript documents related to Cartagena's Inquisition Tribunal held in Madrid (*Indice de Documentos de Archivos Españoles para la historia colonial del Nuevo Reino de Granada* (ed. Luis Enrique Rodríguez Baquero, 2002); Cartagena's old Inquisition Palace has been restored as a museum and historical archive with the help of UNESCO World Heritage funding. Further contact between European, North American, and local scholars has brought this region back into the limelight of Latin American historiography after years of focus on mainly Mexico and Peru – Jane Landers, Renee Souloudre-La France, Kathryn Joy McNight, Ilene Helg, Marixa Lasso, and Steiner Saether have been part of this cooperative effort.

vulnerable—it was here that the Spanish empire had to defend itself against the persistence of native resistance, the growing numbers of independent and bellicose maroon communities, as well as Northern European smugglers and pirates. Spanish American security thus lay not only in the strict discipline of any of these three offenders, but in a pragmatic policy alternating between repression and lenience—one never knew when the empire might need to rely on one of these groups as loyal allies rather than as enemies. Thus, although Gregorio Álvarez, as *alcalde* of Mompox's Holy Brotherhood, was assigned to recover runaway slaves in order to maintain orderly social relationships between masters and slaves,¹⁴ his position as chief of this local order of this religious society also required him to take care that all souls, even those in such a degraded, rebellious vessel such as Isabel's, were seen as worthy of spiritual redemption. The ten peso fines that Álvarez required masters to pay before collecting their runaway "property" were used not only to fund further disciplinary expeditions against maroons, but also to build a new church of San Francisco for the city of Mompox, where masses would be said to release captive souls from purgatory. Masters and mistresses whose form of control was seen as sadism, as anti-Christian barbarity, could thus find themselves disciplined for putting both public safety and Christian sensibilities in peril.

This chapter follows the spatial, emotional, and legal journeys on which Isabel Criolla and her Spanish advocates embarked, exploring the social, economic, and

¹⁴ The local Holy Brotherhood was always charged with these duties in the Spanish Americas (Arrazola, *Palenque, primer pueblo libre*, p. 66). Álvarez, like his counterparts, ordered that persistent maroons be sold away for the region for their "bad influence" on other slaves, but that runaways like Susana and Mariana, whose flights were of short duration or were first-time offenders, were simply returned to their masters once they were redeemed with alms paid into the Holy Brotherhood's coffers.

religious landscape of the Spanish Caribbean. This case opens my wide-ranging project in part because Isabel's own trial in 1639 falls chronologically before those in later chapters; it also is given a place of precedence because of how it epitomizes the process of transcultural religious exchange and performance in light of enslavement and, by extension, the profitability of Spanish American colonialism. Using the story of Isabel's petition to propel our narrative journey through Cartagena de Indias and its hinterlands in the early seventeenth century, the chapter occasionally pauses to analyze not only the unique aspects of her case but also its points of comparison with other secular and Inquisition cases dealing with cruelty to slaves. This chapter explores themes important to all these cases, and to the project as a whole. First, it illuminates the great power wielded by religious and imperial institutions in Spanish urban social hierarchies, and the role of spiritual transculturation in helping slaves articulate protests against the worst abuses of the master-slave "contract." Central to Isabel's case are the issues of sexual violence and the burdened silences surrounding sexual sins, matters implicit in the ordering of social relationships in Spanish slave societies. Finally, the chapter breaks down some of the legal and moral dynamics of everyday contests between master and slave, colony and metropole—power plays that helped to define the limits of cruelty and coercion in Spanish America.

The Road to Cartagena: Urban Slavery, Un-Christian Cruelty, and Religious Protest

Gregorio Álvarez responded positively to Isabel's plea for protection, and this section begins by imagining Isabel's journey to Cartagena—this narrative journey will illustrate the scenery and cultural milieu of this regional center for justice and commerce, allowing us to better envision the choices and limitations that marginal

individuals like herself navigated in early seventeenth-century Spanish colonial society. On May 8, 1639, Isabel Criolla likely boarded a canoe or river raft (*champán*) rowed down the Rio Magdalena from Mompox towards the Caribbean Sea, from whence they would turn southwest along the coast to Cartagena. Despite the unquestionable fact that the black woman had been a “long-time maroon [*antigua zimarrona*],” a letter by Álvarez accompanied Isabel, describing her to the governor of Cartagena as “one of the good Negroes that this town has had, a good Christian.” Such a characterization was a direct contradiction of his official sentence against Isabel, in which she and other persistent runaways were pronounced “guilty, prejudicial to the republic,” and sentenced to banishment. But Camargo and her husband complained that their prerogative as property owners had been slighted. Don Ortiz filed appeals stating that being denied a voice in the judicial process left him “aggrieved”; doña Eufrasia was less civil in her insults against the head of the Holy Brotherhood — she had told him “that if it cost her all her estate and all the slaves she owned, she’d see the bones and blood” of her former slave Isabel. In his letter to don Melchor de Aguilera, the province’s governor and captain general, Álvarez wrote that “he could not in [good] conscience” hand her over to her owners, and asked Aguilera, as the “superior judge” to “carry out that which is best for God our Lord and His Majesty.”¹⁵

When Isabel Criolla and her guard entered into Cartagena, a city of roughly fifteen hundred Spanish *vecinos* and nearly double the number of African-born or Afro-

¹⁵ AGNB, Sección Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 3r-6v. Letter from Gregorio Álvarez de Zepeda to Gov. Melchor de Aguilera, received 17 May 1639.

Creole slaves,¹⁶ they would have disembarked in one of the busiest ports in the Americas, an official waystation for the annual *flota* and one of two licensed ports for the importation of African slaves. Many of the old centers of the Spanish Caribbean like the island of Hispaniola had lost much of their population and emigrant pull to the wealth of the mainland interiors of Mexico and Peru over the course of the sixteenth century, but Cartagena remained a thriving center of imperial commerce and transportation. In Cartagena's docks, Isabel would have seen ships' cargo being loaded and unloaded and likely also a few of the hundreds of passengers who arrived yearly from Spain, staying a few weeks or months in Cartagena on their way to or from the administrative centers of New Granada, Quito, Mexico, or Peru.¹⁷ If the port was as busy this year as it was in 1633,¹⁸ Isabel also might have seen one of a dozen or more slave ships (*negreros* or *armazones*) owned by Portuguese factors unloading a shipment of slaves from Africa – most from West Central African regions like Angola and Congo, although many were also taken in at Cape Verde or San Tome, other well-established Portuguese trading colonies that served as consolidation centers for war captives and slaves from the areas inland along the region called the Rivers of Guinea (modern-day Senegambia).¹⁹ She

¹⁶ Archivo General de Indias, Seville, Spain (hereafter AGI), Santa Fe 228, Letter from the Bishop of Cartagena to the Council of Indies, 10 Aug 1634. Navarrete, *Historia social del negro*, p. 25.

¹⁷ One Italian priest had written of Cartagena: "In the number of foreigners, no city in America, or so it is said, has as many as this one, it is an emporium of almost every nation, who from here travel to do business in Quito, Mexico, Peru, and other kingdoms..." Quoted in Angel Valtierra, *El santo que libertó una raza: San Pedro Claver, S.J. Su vida y su época* (Bogotá: Editorial Santa Fe, 1954): ii.45.

¹⁸ One Father Fernández recorded fourteen slave ships entering the port in 1633, each carrying 600-800 Africans. Cited in Antonio Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe: 1580-1640* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2002), p. 161.

¹⁹ One contemporary observer had compared Cape Verde to Cartagena, seeing as how both were regional transportation hubs that served as busy consolidation centers for merchandise (mostly slaves in the case of Cape Verde). Enriqueta Vila Vilar, ed., *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987), p. 139. The Italian priest whose comments on the multiethnic

may have seen priests gathering on the docks, walking among the bodies as the severely ill were unloaded from the pestilent ships, their captains eager to avoid losing their valuable “pieces” of merchandise to mortal illness. The priests tending to them would have been mainly Jesuits from the city’s mission Colegio, perhaps also lay brothers from the hospital order of San Juan de Dios. The Jesuits used one of their dozen or so African-born translators²⁰ to try to communicate with the weakened arrivals and, with those whose physical and emotional trauma was too great to admit speech, the priests tipped a small vessel of liquid over their heads, muttering incantations in Latin, a tongue foreign to all its recipients.

Amid the shouts of merchants and peddlers, Isabel and her escort would have walked into the city’s bustling central market (Plaza de Aduanas) through the Gate of

character of Cartagena above also was struck by the prominent trade in slaves, bought at “the absolute lowest prices [*precios vilísimos*] on the coasts of Angola and Guinea; from there they are brought in overstuffed ships to this port, where the first sales result in incredible profits...” (Valtierra, *El santo que libertó una raza*, Vol. 2, p. 45.

Basic historical studies of the slave trade in Cartagena include: Nicolás del Castillo Mathieu, *Esclavos Negros en Cartagena y sus aportes léxicos* (Bogotá: Publicaciones del Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1982); Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el Comercio de Esclavos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977). Determining the numbers of Africans sold in Cartagena’s port has been, like all other efforts to quantify the slave trade, the subject of considerable guesswork and debate. Enriqueta Vila Vilar and Antonio Vidal Ortega, the current authorities on the numbers, agree that around 3,000 Africans per year entered Cartagena – between 135,000-150,000 for the era of 1595-1640. These figures remain decisively tentative, for although records are available for the heavily-regulated Portuguese monopoly trade, contraband is nearly impossible to quantify. Vidal Ortega analyzed the records of a *visita* done 1597-1610 by doctor Juan Villabona Zubiaurre, sent to investigate the Treasury of the Holy Brotherhood of Cartagena to calculate how much import tax should be collected for the use of wars against maroons. He found that Vila Vilar’s calculations of contraband fairly reliable for this case, but proposed that more attention be paid to specific functionaries who had more ability and reason to defraud the royal treasuries – especially because one local observer alleged that four thousand slaves arrived each year, and another wrote in 1619 that one in four slaves arriving in the province were not registered in the tax rolls. See Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el Comercio de Esclavos*, esp. Ch. 5, “El Contrabando,” pp. 157-92; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe*, esp. pp. 161-164.

²⁰ See John Thornton “On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas,” *The Americas* 44:3 (1988): pp. 261-78; Castillo Mathieu, *Esclavos Negros en Cartagena*, pp. 62-64.

the Half-Moon. Here nearly everything could be found for sale, including African slaves, oiled and groomed to appear healthy and fetch the highest price. Some, mostly women and children, were purchased by wealthy Cartagenero *vecinos* or churchmen to serve in their city palaces, boosting the number of their small army of servants to better reflect their owner's status and wealth.²¹ Local Spanish or *mestizo* artisans may have purchased a few of youths from Africa for more laborious tasks, gauging the less expensive slaves for their potential strength, dexterity, and aptitude to learn the basics of their trade, leaving their masters time to establish themselves in more "honorable" pursuits. The rest would have been sold in lots to merchants who would stand to make a hefty profit transporting slaves to buyers further inland, like mine owners in the Kingdoms of New Granada, Quito, and Peru, always hungry for new laborers to replenish their hard-worked crews. Twenty-four slave warehouses near Cartagena's wharf supplied the voracious colonial appetite for labor, as did dozens more privately-owned baracoons scattered throughout the city, down the main avenues and within sight of city landmarks like the Cathedral and the convent of St. Agustín.²²

Governor Aguilera was particularly interested in Isabel's case, having heard about it while passing through Mompox, and had ordered his lieutenant to look into the matter. Upon their arrival, Isabel Criolla likely was taken straight to the administrative buildings that ringed the city's main plaza to arrange an audience.²³ There Isabel might have had a better chance to gaze around her at the other buildings situated in the Plaza

²¹ Slaves in urban centers of Spanish America mainly served as status symbols to the elite. As such, any artisan or small merchant hoping to move up in the world hoped to procure African slaves or other plebeian laborers to remove the "stain" of manual labor from their potential status as *hidalgos*.

²² "Thus, the despicable trade was conducted daily in plain view of the citizenry of Cartagena – both black and white" (Jane Landers, "Contested Spaces: The African Landscape of 17th century Colombia" Paper for the ACH, Cartagena, May 2005, p. 5)

²³ AGNB, Sección Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 44v-45r.

Mayor: at one side, the imposing height of the cathedral's bell tower; directly opposite, the *palacio* of the Holy Inquisition, the headquarters of the third such tribunal to be established by the Spanish in the Americas. These symbols of the intimate relationships between church and state would have reminded Isabel of the power and wealth of the institutions to which she would have to appeal – the Plaza Mayor had been designed as a physical representation of the ideal Spanish ordered society, and in order to convince colonial officials of the justice of her plea, she would have to present herself as part of that ordered society, not against it.²⁴



FIGURES ONE AND TWO: Modern views of Cartagena de Indía's central cathedral (left) and main entrance to the Palacio de la Inquisición (right), the latter of which has been recently converted into a museum and archive to preserve the city's history. Photos courtesy Kristen Block.

²⁴ See Barbara E. Mundy, *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geográficas* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000), esp. Ch. 1, "Spain and the Imperial Ideology of Mapping," pp. 1-10; Richard Kagan and Fernando Marias, *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000); Raymond B. Craib, "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain," *Latin American Research Review* 35, 1 (2000): pp. 7-36; and Yolanda Gamboa, "Architectural Cartography: Social and Gender Mapping in María de Zayas's Seventeenth-Century Spain," *Hispanic Review* 71,2 (2003): pp. 189-203.

Depending on the gate from which Isabel exited the city center, she would have passed at least one of the seven convents (five run by male orders, two female) and half-dozen churches that dotted the city landscape. Without question she would have seen some of the more than forty secular clerics and confessors employed in meeting the residents' spiritual needs (dozens of friars were also employed in the city's regular orders).²⁵ If she followed the street to the left of the Inquisition Palace back towards the Plaza de Aduanas, she would have passed another imposing church compound, the headquarters of the city's Jesuit Colegio, to which some of the same priests she saw at the docks may have been returning with their African translators, intently discussing their plans to capture the souls of this new shipment of slaves.

Among those priests were likely the Colegio's rector, Alonso de Sandoval, and Pedro Claver, who had gained saintly reputations for their charitable and ministerial work among the African populations in Cartagena. Their innovative and extensive use of African translators to explain the rudiments of Christian doctrine and teach its attendant rituals to the newly-arrived enslaved meant that Africans from many regions had access to a fairly uniform explanation of their place in the Spanish colonial worldview.²⁶ Claver was canonized as the "saint of the slaves"²⁷ shortly after his

²⁵ AGI, Santa Fe 228. 10 Aug 1634, Cartagena, Letter from Bishop to Council of Indies.

²⁶ For an overview of Cartagena's Jesuit mission in English, see Ronald J. Morgan, "Jesuit Confessors, African Slaves and the Practice of Confession in Seventeenth-Century Cartagena," in Katherine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer, eds., *Penitence in the Age of Reformations* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000), pp. 222-39. For more general overview, see Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "La evangelización del esclavo negro y su integración en el mundo americano," in Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella, eds., *Negros, Mulatos, Zambigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000).

²⁷ The best religious biography of Claver is that of Jesuit scholar Angel Valtierra, *El Santo que libertó una raza* (Bogotá: Editorial Pax, 1963). Early Spanish imprints celebrating the venerable father include Alonso de Andrade, *Vida del venerable y apostolico padre Pedro Claver de la Compañía de Jesús* (Madrid, 1657); and Josef Fernández, *Apostolica y penitente vida del V.P. Pedro Claver, de la Compañía de Jesús. Sacada principalmente de informaciones juridicas hechas ante el Ordinario de la*

decease, but it was Sandoval who had founded the mission after having worked with poor black and Indian populations in the regions surrounding Cartagena, Panama, and the mining districts of New Granada during the first decades of the seventeenth century. Claver was sent to help Sandoval in his efforts, so that the elder Jesuit might retreat to his cell to compose his magnum opus—a treatise entitled *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute* (1627) that compiled his ethnographic investigations into the customs of different African regions and set out an ambitious agenda for turning un-aculturated Africans (*bozales*) into good Christian slaves (*ladinos*).²⁸ Claver, meanwhile, took on the day-to-day operations of the African mission, preaching to open-air crowds with a small painting of hellfire “and the soul of a very beautiful woman being tormented by the demons,” as well as small medals and rosaries to pass out to slaves who could repeat the tenets of the faith.²⁹ Black and white witnesses who testified in the case for his beatification spoke of his tireless mission to sponsor slaves who wished to marry and live within the bounds of Christian matrimony (for which he often raised the ire of local

Ciudad de Cartagena de Indias... (Zaragoza, 1666). Tulio Aristizábal, S.J., who has dedicated much of his career to preserving and promoting the memory of San Pedro, served as a consultant to Anna María Splendiani’s modern edition of Claver’s canonization process of 1696, including first-hand testimonies of Claver’s colleagues and black and white residents of Cartagena, *Proceso de beatificación y canonización de san Pedro Claver*, tr. from the Latin and Italian (Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 2002). During my stay in Cartagena de Indias in May 2005, Father Aristizábal very kindly gave me access to his remarkable collection of materials, much of which remains to be incorporated in this particular study.

²⁸ Before publishing his treatise, Sandoval’s career had forced him to examine the similarities between Indian and African labor conditions, first in 1605 when he was given charge of “all the Blacks and Indians of this city [Cartagena] and its surroundings; those of the countryside alone are 5,000, they are the poorest people that one can imagine” In 1606-1607 he undertook a mission among Amerindians in the Darien Gulf and on the Panamanian frontier, and later he visited the mines of Cáceres, Remedios and Zaragoza, which had already begun to be staffed mainly with African labor (Luz Adriana Maya Restrepo, *Brujería y Reconstrucción de Indentidades entre los Africanos y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII* (Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional de Colombia, 2005), pp. 395-96). The best scholarly edition and translation of his treatise in Latin has been prepared by Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud* (Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987).

²⁹ Splendiani and Aristizábal, *Proceso de beatificación*, pp. 133-34, 186.

slave-owners), and described his attempts to banish the ritual dances slaves and free blacks often held on feast days or at night (*amanecimientos*), threatening those that he caught with beatings and imprisonment for their continued adherence to “superstition” and “licentious dancing.”³⁰



FIGURES THREE AND FOUR: *The three-story Jesuit Colegio and adjoining church loom over a plaza which has been renamed in honor of San Pedro Claver, now decorated with artwork and memorials in honor of the beatified Jesuit, called “The Saint of the Slaves.” Inside the church, Claver’s skeleton reposes in a glass coffin below the altar. Photos courtesy Kristen Block.*

Where might Isabel have gone next? If the governor had decided that the “old runaway but good Christian” was not a flight risk and wanted to spare the expense of locking up the runaway in the common jail,³¹ he might have sent her to be lodged in a barrio called Gethsemani, beyond the opulence and security of the walled city. Exiting through another fortified gate leading towards *la otra banda*, Isabel may have observed

³⁰ Ibid., p. 192. Don Diego de la Cruz Arjona testified that although Claver “threatened the negroes attending with imprisonment and beatings and sometimes took away the food and drinks they had ready for these [ceremonies], it was not possible to prevent them” (p. 196).

³¹ Throughout the Hapsburg empire, lower-class prisoners who were not considered particularly dangerous were often removed from prison (where they had to be supported at the state’s expense) and placed in private homes or charitable institutions.

crews of black and sunburned men laboring in the hot sun and oppressive humidity to build more fortifications to protect the city from pirate attacks.³² She might have watched mounted military leaders exercising their troops, preparing them for the attack they feared could come any day, as Dutch and English ships with pilots familiar with Spanish coastlines multiplied in number and daring throughout the Caribbean. The threat was so severe that city officials had organized a regiment of black freedmen to swell the numbers of able-bodied soldiers who could defend the city – given Spanish military values of honor and lineage, these would have been seen as a less-desirable fighting force, but nonetheless necessary to this and other particularly vulnerable areas of Iberian settlement. That same year, Gov. Aguilera had written to the Council of the Indies that he employed 65 *mulatos* and 103 free blacks in the local militia.³³ Perhaps one of those groups had been among those assembled for exercises that day as Isabel continued her weary journey to her night's lodging.

This imagined journey with Isabel through Cartagena helps us think of the ways that authority and hierarchy – on display in the layout of public spaces, in the preponderance of religiously-affiliated persons and institutions, in the demonstrations of power and race in social interactions – might have informed the mental processes by which subjected persons like Isabel thought of how to assert herself as part of the social order. This section will continue to imagine Isabel's physical movement and social interactions to explore how the city and its social relationships may have "spoken" to

³² Pedro Julio Dousdebés, *Cartagena de Indias, plaza fuerte: capítulos de la historia militar de Colombia*, No. 27, Biblioteca del Oficial (Bogotá: Estado Mayor General de las Fuerzas Militares, 1948); Enrique Marco Dorta, *Cartagena de Indias: Puerto y plaza fuerte* (Bogotá: Fondo Cultural Cafetero, 1988); Juan Manuel Zapatero, *Historia de las fortificaciones de Cartagena de Indias* (Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1979).

³³ Antonio Vidal Ortega, "El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos en Cartagena de Indias entre 1580 y 1640," *Historia Caribe* 5 (2000): 87-102, p. 94. Another source gives numbers of soldiers who were free *morenos criollos* as about 600 (Navarrete, *Historia social del negro*, pp. 34-35).

Isabel (and can speak to us): about common patterns in relationships between enslaved women and white men, about conflicts between enslaved women and their Spanish mistresses, about the religious and social limits put on white women's authority in the mastery of their slaves.

In Gesthemani, Isabel would have entered into a typical urban Spanish *barrio*, complete with its myriad *castas* and *forasteros* (literally, outsiders): Portuguese merchants, *mestizos*, *mulatos*, free blacks and lower-class Europeans of all nationalities who served the city as artisans, ship-workers, or street vendors. Here were fewer overt signs of the Spaniards' religious institutions, although the Franciscans had established a convent in the neighborhood, and the brothers of San Juan de Dios operated a hospital for sailors and the poor.³⁴ Here, too, the neat hierarchies of the ideal Spanish city fell apart. Many of the less privileged sojourners found lodging "in the homes of *mulatas*" — these freedwomen ran respectable inns and boarding houses as well as brothels that sold the bodies of women of all colors and ethnicities.³⁵ Black and mixed-race female slaves were often more numerous than men of African descent in cities throughout the Spanish empire.³⁶ This predominance of enslaved women of color, combined with the intimacies of urban lodging and interaction, gave masters the opportunity to exercise their power of coercion to command or persuade black women to yield to sexual relations — interactions that more often than not resulted in the birth of children who would follow the status of their enslaved mother (no matter the shade of their skin).

³⁴ AGI, Santa Fe 228. Letter from the Bishop of Cartagena to the Council of Indies, 10 Aug 1634.

³⁵ In another reference to the city's many "forasteros," a medical doctor wrote in 1607 that most had "no fixed domicile but went to lodge in the homes of *mulatas*" (quoted in Vidal Ortega, "El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos" p. 99).

³⁶ Susan Socolow, *The Women of Colonial Latin America*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000), p. 132.

In the day before Isabel was brought back to the walled city to repeat her testimony before the governor, she may have gathered with other residents of Gesthemani in the Plaza de la Yerba,³⁷ listening to local gossip and sharing her story with local residents. Those who heard her story with sympathy might have reluctantly shared with her other commonplace tales of masters in Cartagena who were notorious for their brutality, and the sad plight of their abused slaves. They probably would have told her not to hope for justice—just five years ago, one woman belonging to Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, the widow of a powerful Italian resident,³⁸ had found temporary refuge from her cruel mistress in the home of a wealthy and well-connected churchman who had even tried to help her sue for her freedom. Juana Zamba pulled out of the suit shortly after the judge ruled she should return to her mistress' home for the duration of the investigation, and no one had seen her since.³⁹ Many believed she had been forced to drop the suit—her lawyer had written that Juana had been beaten so badly that she was left crippled, and her face burned so badly that she was nearly blind. Others said

³⁷ Officially named the Plaza de los Coches, several witnesses in the case of Pedro Claver's beatification referred to this as a site where blacks normally congregated (Splendiani and Aristizábal, *Proceso de beatificación*, pp. 131-34)

³⁸ Julio Evangelista, one of the most powerful Italian residents of Cartagena in the early 1600s, arrived in Cartagena in 1590 with a slave ship from Africa. He rose to prominence through military and business connections, and participated in military offensive and defensive actions against pirates and maroons, marrying the daughter of a Creole officer of noble birth (Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Extranjeros en Cartagena, 1593-1630," *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 16 (1979): 147-84, pp. 160-61, 180. Article reprinted in *Aspectos sociales en América colonial: de extranjeros, contrabando y esclavos* (Bogotá: Universidad de Bogotá, 2001). Evangelista had also made a large donation to the Church to secure rights for himself and his heirs as benefactors and patrons of a new church in the Gesthemani neighborhood (La Trinidad). Although he died before his request could be granted, the King ordered the church be constructed in 1643 (Tulio Aristizábal, *Iglesias, conventos y hospitales en Cartagena colonial* (Bogotá: Editorial Centro Iberoamericano de Formación, 1988), p. 32).

³⁹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar Tomo IX, No.1, "Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, vecina de Cartagena, viuda del capitan Julio Evangelista; su pleito con Juana, su negra esclava, quien pedia carta de libertad" (1634). 136 ff. Since this case was dropped and the lawyer filing petitions in defense of Juana Zamba was never allowed to examine witnesses with the detailed questionnaire he had prepared, I have chosen to dramatize the varying perspectives in the case, most of them arising from witnesses' testimonies supporting the mistress' defense.

that she had run away from her mistress after a quarrel over the amount that Juana owed her mistress for the clothes she peddled through the city streets. The free *morena* Isabel Rodríguez told everyone who would listen that Juana had admitted to her that she was disgusted with the whole thing, that it “had been a matter between white people (*una cosa de blancos*) and she had never gotten involved in it nor asked for it.” Some of the older residents, remembering Juana’s previous mistress and her reputation for viciousness, might have believed (as Pacheco contended) that the ugly scars were remnants of that era. A local midwife might have whispered to Isabel that she had nearly wept to see scars in Juana’s “shameful parts” when she helped the poor woman deliver a stillborn.

Given the close quarters of the typical urban household, sexual dalliances between masters and female slaves were rarely a secret. Isabel would have seen at least some pregnant women among the many enslaved street vendors, washerwomen, cooks, and maidservants accompanying their mistresses through the streets of Gesthemani. Would Isabel Criolla have averted her eyes from the swollen bellies of those women? I believe she would have met their gaze to bear silent witness to their predicament, for Isabel herself had borne a *mulata* daughter named Juanita while a slave in the Camargo-Ortiz household. She did not wish to speak of who the father was or how he made her yield – and besides, no one wanted to hear about it (in the record of Isabel’s case, the very markers of her daughter’s mixed heritage were nearly elided – only in the final appeal at the end of more than 200 folios was Juanita marked as a *mulata*). Even when a lighter-skinned child was born to an enslaved black woman, this very evidence of sexual coercion almost always went unacknowledged in Spanish colonial society. Once Eufrasia Camargo referred to her whippings as tools “to avoid offenses against God,”

but made no further distinction as to *what* offenses she might have felt the need to curtail.⁴⁰ The palpable silences related to the sins of extramarital sex, of rape and of the dishonored female body could only engender guilt, shame, and recrimination if dealt with honestly – but the patriarchal society in which they lived was no moral utopia when it came to these matters. These remnants of the archive remind us of how sexualized torture and violence could be normalized through the mastery of the (male) authorial voice.

The best those women who suffered such violence and shame could hope for was to receive some special favors (in the form of material comfort or manumission) to erase the bitter gall of intimidation and shame, to transform the inequality of their relationship into a fictional accord of mutual benefit to ease their master's consciences. The worst they could expect was to be exposed to the rage and humiliation of their master's wife. Juana Zamba's lawyer asserted that her 10-year-old daughter Isabelina had died two months after suffering a savage beating with a tarred whip that opened the flesh, after which her mistress ordered the dust of wild barley be put on the wound so as to create greater torment; in another legal brief, he referred to the murder of another of Juana's daughters, Faustina.⁴¹ In this context, the multiple references in Juana Zamba's and Isabel Criolla's cases to miscarriages – like the scars Juana Zamba bore in her "shameful parts" and the savage beating that had led to her daughter Isabelina's death⁴² – strongly suggest that enslaved women's sexuality and reproduction, transformed into a narrative of black women's promiscuity, were chosen as targets by Spanish mistresses:

⁴⁰ AGNB, Sección Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 130v.

⁴¹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar Tomo IX, No.1, f. 15, 59r.

⁴² AGNB, Sección Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 24r, 32r.

enraged by the sexual arrangements of slavery... [chose] to target slave women as the agents of their husbands' downfall... The slave woman not only suffered the responsibility for her sexual (ab)use but was also blameworthy because of her purported ability to render the powerful weak."⁴³

It seems likely that elite Spanish women were more susceptible to charges of unchristian cruelty than their male counterparts. First, elite Spanish women were seen as guardians of the Catholic faith in the domestic sphere. Secondly, women whose acts of rage motivated by jealousy or sexual competition (implicit in the acts of violence against sexualized portions of female slaves' bodies) came dangerously close to exposing the moral double standard and sin of sexual coercion practiced by male slaveowners over their female property. When elite white women transgressed the circumscribed boundaries of their proper role – as exemplars of piety, chaste wives who turned a blind eye to their husbands' indiscretions – their behavior threatened not only the ordering of their individual household but also the structure of society.⁴⁴ In the 1634 proceedings against Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, Juana Zamba's lawyer argued for the necessity to bring this mistress and others like her to justice, no matter their social station, citing as precedent another case that royal officials in Castille had recently prosecuted against "a titled Lady (who out of respect will not be named) who had taken a firebrand and burned one of her servants below her skirt." The lawyer informed Cartagena's judge that this elite Castilian woman had faced banishment and a fine of twelve thousand *ducados* for her crime. The cases weren't exactly equivalent, he

⁴³ Saidiya V. Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1997), p. 87. Hartman discusses at length the consequences of the "disavowal of rape" in antebellum U.S. South, Ch. 3, "Seduction and the Ruses of Power." Because of their status, slave women had no right to consent or express their will within the master-slave relationship. Even in Spanish society, which more explicitly recognized the humanity of the enslaved vis-à-vis their assumed inclusion in the Christian community, few would dare to cast blame on white men or recognize the resistance of violation of enslaved women.

⁴⁴ Socolow, *Women of Colonial Latin America*, pp. 89, 133-34.

admitted – the Spanish case had involved a free servant (*criada*), not a slave – but Señora Pacheco, even if she was of a “very prominent” family, was no noblewoman. The law exempted no one, Juana’s lawyer argued, from the kinds of “atrocious” tortures and violent punishments committed, and the guilty party should be banished from their “Christian republic.”⁴⁵

If Isabel had thought to point out to residents of Gesthemani that her mistress was particularly un-Christian in her treatment, residents might have told her what she doubtless already knew – that Spaniards held their own to a different standard of religiosity than they did those not part of the *república de españoles*. In fact, singling out individuals of African descent for religious discipline was an important function of the city’s Inquisition, an institution that subjected these “New Christians” to the same scrutiny as they did to Protestant pirates and crypto-Jewish merchants imagined as natural enemies and heretics to be chastised – not like Amerindian neophytes who received exemptions from the full rigor of their inclusion in the Catholic Church.⁴⁶ Residents of Cartagena and the surrounding cities were probably still talking about the previous year’s spectacular *auto de fe*, and although the biggest group of *reconciliados* to be displayed in 1638 had been crypto-Jews from the wealthy Portuguese merchant elite, individuals of African descent held positions of symbolic importance at the fore and rear of the *auto*’s solemn procession of penitents.⁴⁷

⁴⁵ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, ff. 17r-17v.

⁴⁶ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, esp. Ch. 3, “Policing Christians: Persons of African Descent before the Inquisition and Ecclesiastical Courts,” pp. 51-78.

⁴⁷ For full transcripts of the 1638 *auto de fe*, see Splendiani, iii.35-85, esp. 84-85. Vicente de Paz led the day’s procession through the city, and the notorious *mulata* Paula de Eguiluz was the final penitent. This was not her first appearance in the ceremony – she was charged with leading a coven of witches from all social ranks during her time living in Cartagena. Eguiluz also had the audacity to name the father of the child born to her when she was serving time in the hospital of San Juan de Dios in Gesthemani during the 1630s – her child was the fruit of one of the priests

If she had asked for details of this Inquisitorial spectacle, Isabel might have gained some new perspective on the importance of religious language in struggles for power. The *mulato* Vicente de Paz, a *forzado* (convict) sentenced to work on Cartagena's new fortifications, had attempted to escape this hard labor for a better life (or at least a night of freedom). When he was caught and ordered to receive a whipping, he committed a sin of heresy that brought him before the Inquisition – before they could strike him, “the said *mulato* cried aloud that he renounced (*renegaba*) his baptism and the holy oil he had received” as well as the “Holiest Virgin.”⁴⁸ The Inquisition regularly saw these sorts of cases, where slaves cursed God, the Virgin, the saints, or their baptism when faced with the lash – thirty-four were registered in Cartagena's Tribunal over the course of the seventeenth century, and the crime was just as common in other American Inquisition Tribunals.⁴⁹ The phrase “*reniego a Dios*” (I renounce God) was common enough as profanity went in early modern Spanish, often delivered offhand when one's

who had enjoyed her body. For more details, see María Cristina Navarrete, “La mujer bruja en la sociedad colonial: El caso de Paula de Eguiluz” in Luisa Campuzano, ed., *Mujeres latinoamericanas: historias y cultura siglos XVI al XIX*, Vol. 1. (Havana: Casa de las Américas; Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa, 1997), pp. 69-78.

⁴⁸ Splendiani, iii.84; AHN, L. 1021, f. 46v-47.

⁴⁹ See María Fernanda Cuevas Oviedo, “Reniego y resistencia de los esclavizados y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada durante el siglo XVII” (Masters' Thesis, Universidad de los Andes, 2002), p. 60; Kathryn Joy McKnight, “Blasphemy as Resistance: An African Slave Woman before the Mexican Inquisition,” in Mary E. Giles, ed., *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999); José Enrique Sánchez B., “La herejía: una forma de resistencia del negro contra la estructura social colonial (1610-1636),” in Jaimie Humberto Borja Gómez, ed. *Inquisición, muerte y sexualidad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada* (Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1996); Javier Villa-Flores, “‘To lose one's soul': blasphemy and slavery in New Spain, 1596-1669” *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82,4 (2002): 435-68; Villa-Flores, “Voices from a Living Hell: Slavery, Death and Salvation in a Mexican Obraje,” in Martin Austin Nesvig, ed., *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico* (Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006), pp. 235-56. James Sweet's study of African populations in the Portuguese world also mentions a couple of cases of renunciation responding to a master's cruelty, “Blasphemy and Sacrilege among Slaves,” pp. 210-15.

luck turned bad in a game of cards or dice.⁵⁰ Prior to 1638, three whites had been questioned by Inquisitors about renouncing God in this way, but two were released without any physical chastisement – Antonio de Cabrera because he claimed that when he had uttered “the said blasphemies, he had been drinking a great quantity of strong spirits to relieve an extreme pain in his stomach,”⁵¹ and Portuguese pilot Manuel de la Rosa, who wouldn’t admit to the allegations, saying that in the stress of trying to land his ship, he might have cursed “the father that made him and the mother who bore him,” but would never renounce God “if he was awake and in his sound judgment.”⁵² However, when slaves like De Paz uttered these words – especially since they often did it when being punished by their masters – the curse against God (and the authority He had given to masters) posed a much more serious challenge to the colonial order. As Inquisitors began to punish slaves for this offense, many learned that they might escape the brutality of their enslavement (at least temporarily) with this theatrical renunciation of the Christian God. Additionally, as Cabrera’s and De la Rosa’s cases illuminate, charges of blasphemy carried certain escape clauses that could also be manipulated by those savvy to the technicalities of heresy laws. Almost all slaves charged with blasphemy claimed they hadn’t meant to say those words, that the cruelty of their master (or the beating they were receiving) had made them desperate and crazy. Vicente de Paz, like Cabrera, argued in his defense that he was drunk, “out of his mind, and that he was very sorry for having said it.”⁵³ Nonetheless, such protestations of contrition or cruelty-induced insensibility did little to expiate the crime of blasphemy for

⁵⁰ Maureen Flynn, “Blasphemy and the Play of Anger in Sixteenth-Century Spain,” *Past and Present* 149 (1995): 29–56.

⁵¹ Splendiani, ii.295-96; AHN, Lib. 1020, ff. 310v-311.

⁵² Splendiani, ii.400; AHN, Lib. 1020, f. 441v-42.

⁵³ Splendiani, iii.84; AHN L. 1021, f. 47r.

slaves brought before the Inquisition. The multi-racial residents of Cartagena had likely flocked to the square to watch De Paz at the head of the procession of penitents in the 1638 *auto de fe*, or watched from their doorways as was led through the city streets for one hundred lashes – the ceremony of suffering and atonement prescribed for all slaves who dared use the Lord’s name to defy the social order.⁵⁴ Envisioning this spectacle, Isabel must have considered again the care she would have to take in using Spanish legal and religious conventions to protest her mistress’ past treatment.

Policing Cartagena’s Hinterlands: Imperial Intercession in Master-Slave Relations

Isabel Criolla had suffered enough, and her journey to Cartagena likely gave her ample time to think of how she would represent her dilemma and that of the other women in Camargo’s control before Cartagena’s governor. As an American-born enslaved woman, Isabel’s life was deeply marked by the processes of creolization that occurred in spaces across the Atlantic World – perhaps especially intense for her, for she had negotiated and survived her subordinate status in Mompox’s urban settings and then integrated herself into the very different politics of the maroon enclave.⁵⁵ As a Creole woman, Isabel was especially adept at translating her personal conflicts into larger issues requiring societal attention; she had learned from other Creoles about the

⁵⁴ The only white man sentenced to punishment for blasphemy (100 lashes like Vicente de Paz) in the early 17th century was Julio Cesar Capriano, a Milanese *forzado* sentenced to work as an oarsmen in the Tierrafirme galleys. Splendiani, ii.245; AHN, Lib. 1020, f. 259r.

⁵⁵ For an intriguing call for closer study into the specific valences and historical specificity of creolization in the Caribbean, see Michel Rolph Trouillot, “Culture on the Edges: Caribbean Creolization in Historical Context,” in Brian Keith Axel, ed., *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures* (Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002), pp. 189-210. Trouillot suggests that for Caribbean regions where the plantation was not the standard labor regime and Europeans were represented in large numbers and had a fair amount of contact with African slaves (like Cartagena and Mompox), the process of creolization should be understood as operating in a “frontier context,” distinct from the creolization of the plantation or the maroon community.

supposed proper ordering of colonial society” and how to convince imperial officials to intervene in “disordered” master-slave relationships.⁵⁶ Isabel had already done an excellent job persuading Gregorio Álvarez to deviate from his principle responsibilities of recovering runaway slaves for local property-owners. Her reference to her mistress’ wanton destruction of valuable “pieces of slaves” and her disregard for the spiritual well-being of her human chattel made Álvarez consider his other societal responsibilities to the church and empire. Isabel was so successful that Álvarez seems to have disregarded her long-standing relationship with the maroon communities that threatened public safety and Álvarez’s own interests as a property owner who wanted to keep his own slaves from such “bad influences.”

When Isabel was called back to the government buildings on May 18, it is certain she hoped to repeat her success with Cartagena’s governor. Asked to confirm her earlier testimony about the four slaves of Camargo’s who died without confession, Isabel swore it was all true, and she was eager to elaborate. She said that often, when the slave women were tied down for their lashes, “her mistress would take her time, praying an entire rosary very slowly, interjecting at times to do or order some things, and in that way the said punishment continued.”⁵⁷ She asserted that they were “dying” in their current estate, and that four more women currently in Camargo’s service had seen exactly what she had, but “didn’t dare to say it for fear of their said mistress and if they would have said it she would kill them.” Isabel alleged that everything she had said “is very public and notorious in the town of Mompox, and everyone knew that in the execution of the cruelties she used with her slaves she had more refined methods to

⁵⁶ See Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, pp. 180-84.

⁵⁷ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 46r.

imprison [them] than were in the jail: shackles, handcuffs, and bits to put in their mouths.”⁵⁸

To give strength to Isabel’s claims that Camargo’s excessive cruelty was “notorious,” two free residents of Mompox, Nicolas de Castellon and Miguel Navarro, also gave testimonies to the governor. Castellon said it was public knowledge that four of Camargo’s female house slaves had died without confession, and that she whipped her slaves “every day of the year,” usually for three or four hours at a time — “until she left them with the hides stripped from their bodies and almost dead.”⁵⁹ Navarro, who lived next door to the Camargo-Ortiz household, told how “one day, leaving his house, he heard that [Camargo] was whipping a *negra*, so out of curiosity he stopped underneath a tree near doña Eufrasia’s house and began to count the strokes of the whip” — even beginning his count mid-stream, Navarro tallied a total of 194 or 196 strokes. Navarro’s proximity to the scene meant he had gotten personally involved, and he recalled one night when the desperate Isabel knocked on his door, begging him to take off her shackles “because she couldn’t take such great and long punishment anymore.” Navarro admitted that he, “sympathizing with the said negress, took them off... and gave her some *bollos* [a type of bread] and told her to go with God.”⁶⁰

Like Navarro’s well-wishing salute, the most lurid details that Castellon gave the judge in Cartagena were those that emphasized her aberrance from implied Christian norms — like his corroboration of Isabel’s tale that her mistress timed their

⁵⁸ Ibid., f. 45r-47v. [*tiene para aprisionarlas esquissitas prisiones mas que en la carzel*]

⁵⁹ Ibid., ff. 47r-53r.

⁶⁰ Ibid., ff. 53r-54v.

beatings with a tally of rosary beads.⁶¹ Castellon reported that people like his friend, the master carpenter Pedro de Vargas, had told him of how Camargo even forced her slaves to eat their own excrement or drink cow's bile. Castellon said that Vargas had tried to reprehend Camargo when he witnessed the latter offense, trying to shame her by declaring that "even in Barbary one couldn't use like cruelty."⁶² Given the proximity of the *Reconquista* in the Iberian imagination, this reference to perceptions of the barbarity of North African captivity was one of the strongest rhetorical condemnations of cruelty one could make. Castellon continued the characterization of Camargo as a sadist driven by her venomous rages, repeating her reaction to the news that Álvarez had banished Isabel, calling for the hanging of her renegade slave and the authorities to "give her the head to hang in the patio of her house so that the children could throw stones at it, which would make her very pleased and contented." Some of the city's citizens were disturbed by these sentiments, and Castellon said that the parish priest Father Francisco Ortiz "Chiquillo" (Jr.), had even offered to pay 400 or even 500 pesos in alms to sell her or free her, "moved that [Camargo] not kill the said slave with blows."⁶³ When news reached doña Eufrosia that Isabel's testimony had led Álvarez to initiate a cruelty investigation, she vowed vengeance, punishing Isabel's daughter Juanita more

⁶¹ Castellon testified that "during the time in which the whipping was done, the said doña Eufrosia de Camargo would be walking around the chamber of her house with a rosary in her hand... and as the slaves were whipped she went along counting the [beads of] her rosary until they had received 700, 800, or one thousand lashes." Ibid., f. 48r. The officials who reviewed the case drew attention to this description of doña Eufrosia's perfidious use of a holy object with significant marginalia.

⁶² Ibid., f. 49r.

⁶³ Given the shared name and the smallness of Mompox's social networks, it is likely that Father Ortiz was one of Camargo's relatives on her husband's side of the family. Carlos Eduardo Valencia Villa's economic study of slavery in Santafé, Mariquita and Mompox in the first half of the 17th century suggests that the offered price of 400-500 pesos was within the average range for a female slave, but on the high end of the scale (mean price for 1624-1643 was 300 pesos). *Alma en Boca y Huesos en Costal: Una aproximación a los contrastes socio-económicos de la esclavitud* (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, 2003), pp. 64-65.

often after her mother ran away to the mountains, “saying that she would have to pay for her mother.”⁶⁴

What compelled Governor Aguilera to continue in this case? He certainly recognized the danger posed by runaways and the need to keep slaves disciplined. But clearly there was something seriously wrong in Camargo’s household that begged the question of whether Christian piety could excuse her mistress’ treatment of her and her daughter. If Aguilera had taken the time to consult with spiritual men of the city, what advice might they have given him? The well-respected Jesuit rector Alonso de Sandoval had written in his treatise that a good Christian slave should “patiently suffer the sorrows and afflictions unjustly caused by the fury of his master.”⁶⁵ While rejecting the slave’s recourse to protest, Sandoval also warned masters to act in all things with paternal moderation, reminding them that God “is the Creator of [both] lords and servants... who are of the same nature [*en la naturaleza son iguales*].”⁶⁶ Sandoval’s associate Father Claver (and likely others in Cartagena) followed this mixed policy, acting both as an enforcer of the colonial hierarchy and as his alias suggests, a “saint to the slaves,” an intercessor on their behalf. According to one of his close associates, “If [Claver] knew that some Negroe or Negress had fought with their master or had been put in jail,” he would bring the offending slaves to the Colegio:

where he would [first] scold them very harshly for not paying attention to the service of God and their masters as they ought to; and if in these [cases] there had been anything to reprehend concerning mistreatment that [the masters] gave to their slaves, he also did that (if it was necessary and advisable), using kindness and love, not just reproach. And if it was not possible to attain it [peace/better

⁶⁴ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 90v.

⁶⁵ Alonso de Sandoval, *Un Tratado sobre la esclavitud*. Introducción, transcripción y traducción de Enriqueta Vila Vilar (Madrid, Alianza Editorial, 1987), p. 243.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 246.

treatment], he asked them to sell [their slaves] and send them away from this land; for it could be that in another place they could find masters to their liking.⁶⁷

Governor Aguilera must have believed that his intercession was necessary, taking seriously Isabel's claims that her life (and her soul) would be in danger if she were returned to Mompox, for he not only ordered that she remain in Cartagena, he also sent an investigator to look into the very serious allegations of mistreatment.

Licenciado Lorenzo de Soto, a royal scribe, was appointed for the task, and he set out on his journey at five a.m. on May 21, retracing Isabel's steps back to Mompox, carrying with him orders to arrest Eufrosia Camargo, freeze her assets, find any material evidence related to the case, and question witnesses – both those who had already testified in Gregorio Álvarez' inquest, and anyone else who could confirm or deny Isabel's claims.⁶⁸ De Soto had special instructions to bring Isabel Criolla's daughter Juana back to the capital and report back to him within twenty days.

Judge De Soto must have boarded a smaller ship as he embarked on his journey to Mompox. They might have moved skittishly along the Caribbean coast east towards the mouth of the Rio Magdalena, where mariners would have to remain alert to the possibility of foreign pirate attacks.⁶⁹ Entering the mouth of the Magdalena (also called the Rio Grande for its centrality to regional transportation networks) would have put him at ease, but even in this more placid waterway, he and other passengers might have had occasion to spot one or two small Indian pirogues, vaguely threatening in their

⁶⁷ Splendiani and Aristizábal, *Proceso de beatificación*, pp. 194-95. Testimony of don Diego de Villegas, vecino de Cartagena.

⁶⁸ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 60r-71r. Order by Gov. Melchor de Aguilera, 19 May 1639, Cartagena; Autos of diligences performed by Lorenzo de Soto, 21 May-27 May 1639.

⁶⁹ Arturo E. Bermudez Bermudez, *Piratas en Santa Marta* (Bogotá: Tipografía Hispana Ltda, 1978).

silent passages to unmarked inlets along the densely-vegetated shoreline.⁷⁰ If during the two-day journey he had time to review again the *autos*, the bundled collection of testimonies and legal motions related to the case, De Soto might have observed these watercraft with special interest, noting that Mariana Mandinga had escaped to the opposite bank of the Magdalena with the help of Indians.⁷¹

The crew likely passed many other rafts and other larger watercraft manned by Black rowers (*bogas*), who had, since the beginning of the century, replaced Indian rowers whose numbers had been decimated by disease and the abuses of the *encomienda* system.⁷² Such work offered these slaves remarkable mobility and an intimate knowledge of the unsettled terrain that bordered the Magdalena. De Soto might have remembered from the case file that Francisco Angola, the executed maroon leader captured in Álvarez's raid, had been able to move freely in these waterways by dint of his experience as a sailor in Cartagena, and Juan Arará had been a rower on the Magdalena before leaving his master to live alone in the nearby hills "as a vassal of God."⁷³ Sir Francis Drake had sparked a wave of paranoia about collusion among

⁷⁰ Spanish attempts to "reduce" all of the region's Muisca groups to subservience had been substantial in the course of settlement in the sixteenth century, thanks to microbes and severe labor regimes. See J.M. Francis, "The Muisca Indians under Spanish rule, 1537-1636" (Cambridge: Ph.D. Dissertation, 1998). Regional historian Pedro Salzedo de Villar wrote that in Mompox, Indian populations had been reduced to only about 2,000 individuals scattered in one of a hundred neighboring *encomiendas* (*Apuntaciones Historiales de Mompox, 1537-1809* (Cartagena, Colombia: Tipographia Democracia, 1938). pp. 42-44). See also David Ernesto Peñas Galindo, *Los Bogas de Mompox: Historia del zambaje* (Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editoriales, 1998).

⁷¹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 18r.

⁷² Lola G. Luna, *Reguardos Coloniales de Santa Marta y Cartagena y Resistencia Indígena* (Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1993), p. 39. A document of 1590 suggested that "for the relief of the said naturals it would be fruitful to introduce some blacks to serve as rowers (*bogas*) in the said canoes" but that blacks should be segregated from Indians. See also Antonino Vidal Ortega, "Alzados y Fugitivos en el mundo rural de la gobernación de Cartagena a comienzos del siglo XVII" *Historia y Cultura* 1 (2004): pp. 45-72.

⁷³ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 13r-v. Francisco Angola was fled to the mountains soon after being sold Eufrosia Camargo's father, Capt. Francisco de Camargo, ff. 10v-r.

maroons, Indians, and Protestant pirates after his successes in co-opting both groups in Panama in 1572-1573. Reinforcements from Mompox had gone to the defense of Cartagena in 1597 when the feared “El Draque” threatened to conquer the Spanish there by the same means.⁷⁴ Even without such alliances, Cartagena’s maroons could disrupt trade routes along the Rio Magdalena, and were feared as a powerful column if slaves in the Zaragoza mines rebelled.⁷⁵



FIGURE FIVE: Engraved view of Drake’s attack of Cartagena by Boazio, 1588. “*Expeditio Francisci Draki eqvitis Angli in Indias Occidentales a. M.D.LXXXV.*” Courtesy Hans and Hanni Kraus Sir Francis Drake Collection (Library of Congress American Memory Digital Collection), Image accessed September 15, 2007, <http://memory.loc.gov/service/rbc/rbdk/d020/00250000.jpg>.

⁷⁴ In 1663, pirates entered the mouth of the Magdalena, and were apprehended only 20 leagues from Mompox. Salzedo de Villar, *Apuntaciones Historiales*, pp. 40, 53-54.

⁷⁵ After Drake’s use of maroons in Panama, Spanish officials feared that powerful *palenques* there do the same, crippling the regional economy through transportation blockades. See Navarrete, *Historia Social del Negro*, p. 35. Vila Vilar explains how the strength Panama’s maroons forced the Crown to bar *asentistas* from importing slaves to that region, and that fortifications built at the end of the sixteenth century were designed as necessary defenses against both sea attacks and urban revolts, Enriqueta Vila Vilar, *Hispano-America y el Comercio de Esclavos: Los Asientos Portugueses* (Seville, Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977), pp. 79-80, 83, 86.

Indeed, since the mid-16th century, Spanish officials in Cartagena province (as in other regions where slaves had been imported in large numbers, especially in the Caribbean) battled against these communities of African and Afro-Creole runaways, termed *palenques* after the stockades they erected to protect residents from outside attack.⁷⁶ In 1616, Mompox's mayor (*alcalde ordinario*) Capt. Diego Ortiz Nieto, one of the several *encomenderos* who held grants to diminishing Indian labor in the region, had organized an expedition against the threatening maroons, pushing many of them further into the dense forests and rugged mountains back from the Rio Magdalena.⁷⁷ In 1631, Gov. Francisco de Murga sent an expedition against a *palenque* "next to the Rio Grande of the Magdalena" – when the Spanish arrived, the huts and food stores had been abandoned, so they burned the place.⁷⁸ Two years later, in 1633, Gov. Murga sent out another attack against the maroon stronghold of Limón, located in the mountains of María to the west of the Rio Magdalena. When this expedition succeeded, authorities hung the leaders in the Plaza de Yerba in Cartagena, then quartered their bodies and displayed their heads at the Puerta de Media Luna in Cartagena as well as back in the

⁷⁶ Enriqueta Vila Vilar, "Cimarronaje en Panamá y Cartagena: El costo de una guerrilla en el siglo XVII," *Caravelle: cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 49 (1987):77-92, p. 89. In Cartagena, the suppression of *palenques* was accomplished using mostly private funds, as *vecinos* mortgaged their properties to capture runaways and protect the stability of their local investment in the region. Roberto Arrazola, *Palenque, Primer Pueblo Libre de America* (Cartagena: Ediciones Hernandez, 1970), pp. 41-42. Other historiography of note on the subject of maroons in Spanish America include María del Carmen Borrega Pla, *Palenques de Negros en Cartagena de Indias, s. XVII* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1973); Olsen, "Negros horros and Cimarrones on the legal frontiers..."; Kathryn Joy McKnight, "Confronted Rituals: Spanish Colonial and Angolan 'Maroon' Executions in Cartagena de Indias (1634)" *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5,3 (2004); Francisco Moscoso, "Formas de resistencia de los esclavos en Puerto Rico siglos XVI-XVIII," *América Negra* 10 (Dec 1995): 31-46.

⁷⁷ Salzedo de Villar, *Apuntaciones Historiales*, p. 48.

⁷⁸ AGI, Santa Fe 39, R5, No57. 30 Sep 1631, Cartagena. Gov. Francisco de Murga, "Testimonio del daño que hizo a los Negros Cimarrones..."; Arrazola, *Palenque*, pp. 62-63.

Spanish district of María.⁷⁹ Gregorio Álvarez, who knew the terrain around Mompox due to his frequent journeys to find runaways, had gleaned from his interrogations in 1639 that there were at least two *palenques* in the region, called Detapia and Gualmaral.

When Lorenzo de Soto disembarked and entered the town of Santa Cruz de Mompox, he may have noticed that this lively port city bore at least some resemblance to Cartagena. By virtue of its strategic position along the Rio Magdalena, Mompox was another imperial thoroughfare through which Spain funneled its material goods and administrative officials into and out of the South American mainland towards the administrative centers of the Kingdoms of Santa Fe (Bogotá) and Quito.⁸⁰ It was also a thriving center for contraband, and between legal and extralegal trade, its residents had accumulated great wealth.⁸¹ Governors appointed to cities upstream from Mompox were daily migrants in the flow; priests, too, made the journey to Santa Fe de Bogotá for study in its university, as did Pedro Claver in 1613, returning again to Cartagena through Mompox in 1616. Spain's religious institutions thrived in the city – secular clergy there directed the activities of 27 parishes reaching down to Cáceres in Antioquia, and an Augustinian convent had been in place since 1606. In 1611, just one year after the founding of Cartagena's Inquisition, a *comisario* had been appointed to oversee the

⁷⁹ Literary scholar Kathryn John McKnight has analyzed testimonies related to the seizure of Limón residents. See McKnight, "Confronted Rituals"; and "Gendered Declarations: Testimonies of Three Captured Maroon Women, Cartagena de Indias, 1634," *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 12.4 (2003): pp. 499-527.

⁸⁰ Vidal Ortega says that Mompox a critical registration center for New Granadian commerce (*Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe*, p. 206). Peñas Galindo explains the strategic importance of Mompox, "from where commerce with the Sinú can be controlled via the San Jorge River, with Antioquia and its gold, via the Cauca [River], the same with the early surge of contraband, whose principal route began in Riohacha and [after going upriver to Ranchería], would arrive to Cesar, to disembark in the port of Jaime, in front of Mompox" (*Los bogas de Mompox*, p. 22).

⁸¹ Peñas Galindo, *Los bogas de Mompox*, p. 23; Vidal Ortega, *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe*, p. 207.

referral of heretics from Mompox to the Holy Tribunal for justice.⁸² Intimately tied to imperial and Caribbean religious and commercial networks, any hint of disorder in Mompox needed to be brought under control.

A royal investigator bringing an arrest warrant for doña Eufrasia Camargo must have been quite the event for residents of Mompox, for as Álvarez had hinted in his letter to Gov. Aguilera, the lady was no ordinary citizen. Reconstructing her family connections cited in this case and information from local histories, Camargo was clearly part of Mompox's oligarchy. Her father had managed to marry two of his daughters into the venerable Ortiz and Nieto families (surnames also prevalent among Cartagena's elite): doña Eufrasia with don Alonso Esteban Ortiz and Eufrasia's sister Ventura to don Alonso's cousin, Capt. Diego Ortiz Nieto. Such auspicious matches meant that her father's lineage carried likely some weight of its own. By the late 1640s, the honorable (and lucrative) post of Inquisition *comisario* was held by one Francisco Camargo, likely one of doña Eufrasia's brothers (their father, who died sometime in the 1630s, was also named Francisco Camargo).⁸³ Despite her status, Judge De Soto recorded that he arrested doña Eufrasia the same day he arrived, and detained her in one of the riverside warehouses belonging to don Pedro Sanchez Dominguez, ordering her to remain there or pay a penalty of 1,000 pesos, finally placing an embargo on the sale of her goods.⁸⁴ There was no time to spare — De Soto had much more to do.

⁸² Salzedo de Villar, *Apuntaciones Historiales*, p. 48, 40, 46.

⁸³ Capt. Diego Ortiz Nieto, leader of the aforementioned 1616 incursion against nearby maroon settlements (see note 78, Salazar de Villar, *Apuntaciones Historiales*, pp. 42-44), was Alonso Esteban Ortiz's cousin, and had married Eufrasia's sister Ventura de Camargo. Francisco Camargo (Jr.) exercised his title as *comisario* to charge a Mompox tavern-keeper [*pulpero*] with blasphemy in 1648 (Splendiani, iii.190; AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, ff. 172).

⁸⁴ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 64v-71r. Autos of diligences performed by Lorenzo de Soto, 21 May-27 May 1639.

Next, to corroborate the maroon woman's testimony, he set out to find the other women that Isabel Criolla had cited as fellow servants of Camargo. Lorenzo de Soto first questioned Mariana Mandinga and Susana Angola a second time (they had already given statements after they were captured in the mountains by Gregorio Álvarez), and then took the statements of Gracia Conga and Inez Criolla. Sworn in by the sign of the cross, all of the women confirmed Isabel's story of the "rigorous punishments" their mistress regularly ordered, and which sometimes lasted over an hour, "their feet and hands tied to a chair, and with a whip and crop made of very hard rawhide."

Because slaves were not considered the most reliable of witnesses, De Soto needed more than just the women's testimony. Just like the *alcalde* Gregorio Álvarez had done to confirm Mariana's and Susana's testimony when they were captured, De Soto recorded the results of his visual inspection of Inez Criolla, noting that she carried fairly fresh ulcers and that "in some parts her body [appeared] dappled, and the buttocks carried even more marks [showing] where the black flesh had been taken off."⁸⁵ Slavery scholar Saiyida Hartman has warned readers scholars to be wary of reading such recognitions of bodily pain as confirmation of the slave's subjecthood in the eyes of the state, but rather, as further means to objectify and dehumanize the slave body, which was "considered a subject only insofar as [s]he was criminal(ized), wounded body, or mortified flesh."⁸⁶ Visual examinations and the recording thereof by scribes for in the colonial archive served as form of surveillance and display of imperial power over the bodies and fortunes of all its subjects. Furthermore, although colonial officials' purpose was to seek justice in cases like Isabel Criolla's and Juana Zamba's, they did so by

⁸⁵ Ibid., ff. 73v-81r. Testimony of Inez Criolla, 26 May 1639.

⁸⁶ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, p. 94.

stripping the enslaved woman of the markers of her Christian modesty — “forcing her to uncover herself” for an “*inspección ocular*”⁸⁷ was the only way to verify the master’s crime and consider (with the appraising eye of the white male authority) the extent and severity of damage to the enslaved body and thus to the commonwealth.

As Judge De Soto’s questioning continued, all four slave women testified to the depths of their physical and psychological torment. In more than one statement, when the judge asked for what reason they were punished, he heard that Camargo’s whippings were ordered out of everyday dissatisfaction. Mariana said that her mistress “had no better reason to punish them than to say that the *bollos* that the said Catalina made for the slaves were poorly ground, and said that the said Phelipa ... washed [the clothes] badly, and for the others, whatever they did in the kitchen or with the sewing, and for other trifles.”⁸⁸ They also testified that the four slave women who had perished in Camargo’s service — Phelipa Angola, Catalina Conga, Sebastiana Criolla, and Isabel Angola — had been treated with equal severity prior to their deaths. Nevertheless, under intense questioning, several of the enslaved women, beaten down by the years of unjustified torture, told the investigator what he would later hear from Camargo — repeating their mistress’ “official” reasons for their fellow workers’ deaths, just as they almost believed that their beatings were just for poor work. Inez testified that she had been subject to one of the most humiliating acts, saying that her mistress “had also subjected her to another severe and disgusting punishment, which is that many times while being whipped, unable to bear [it], she had soiled herself, and [doña Eufrasia] had

⁸⁷ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo IX, No. 1, f. 17v.

⁸⁸ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 88r.

made her put the filth in her mouth.”⁸⁹ They spoke of their mental and physical exhaustion, and how their attempts at flight proved only a temporary release, for Mariana said that they were treated with even “more rigor” after they were caught again.⁹⁰

Three women testified they had become so desperate that they had turned to eating dirt, which they did because “it was understood that later they would fall down dead [*de susto*].”⁹¹ Inez said she and the others ate dirt to escape from “the continuous and very severe punishments... instead of throwing themselves in the river, as they had many times been desperate to do.”⁹² Modern anthropological and medical studies of dirt-eating—geophagy—have puzzled over its causes and consequences. Some have noted that the consumption of different dirt or clays provide nutritional benefits and deter disease, providing minerals deficient in slave diets or to alleviate pain caused by certain illnesses and parasites. Others have emphasized the detrimental effects of ingesting soil, including the introduction of parasites into the body and the irritation of the internal organs.⁹³ Modern investigations into the cultural roots and meanings of

⁸⁹ Ibid., ff. 73v-81r.

⁹⁰ Ibid., f. 88r.

⁹¹ Ibid., f. 89v.

⁹² Ibid., ff. 73v-81r. Testimony of Inez Criolla, 26 May 1639.

⁹³ Peter W. Abrahams and Julia A. Parsons, “Geophagy in the Tropics: A Literature Review” *The Geographical Journal* 162,1 (1996): 63-72. Geophagy has been seen as a practice that common in tropical regions among poorer and “tribally-oriented people” in sub-Saharan Africa, but that spread as a cultural manifestation to places like the American South with the spread of the transatlantic slave trade. Assertions of clay-eating as a mineral-supplement can be found in Jerome S. Handler and Robert S. Corruccini, “Plantation Slave Life in Barbados: A Physical Anthropological Analysis” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14,1 (1983): 65-90, esp. 77; also John M. Hunter, “Geophagy in Africa and in the United States: A Culture-Nutrition Hypothesis” *Geographical Review* 63,2 (1973): 170-95. For a discussion of geophagy and its relation to the maladies *Cachexia Africana*, *mal d’estomach*, dropsy and beriberi, see Kenneth F. Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984), pp. 96-104; connections between geophagy and roundworm in Todd L. Savitt, *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia* (Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978), 65-66.

geophagy have noted that pregnant women and children are primary among geophagists. Some have noted the symbolic linkages between the earth and fertility, others the unique physiological cravings that pregnant women (especially those malnourished) exhibit, and the belief among several cultures that eating certain clays will help a child thrive. Most of these studies seem to be hampered by the imaginative limits of scientific positivism, as they explain in detail what ingesting soil *does* to the body, but downplay or ignore the question of what the act was *perceived* to do within specific geographical, cultural, and historical spaces.⁹⁴

However much modern social and biological scientists might strive to allow Western academics to understand geophagy as more than a bizarre practice, American slaveowners always portrayed dirt-eating as pathological and unhealthy – resulting in weakness, swelling of the body, general despondency, infertility, and even death. White colonists feared that the practice was a deliberate attempt by slaves (at the very least, a pernicious custom brought from Africa) to deter slaveowners' economic goals and personal authority. Mariana, Inez, and Susana supported this interpretation with their testimony of deliberate choice to seek an end to their tortured lives, and had all become accustomed to bearing the consequences of their dirt-eating – Mariana admitted that Camargo had been “very angry” at their soil-eating, and had retaliated against her slaves' attempts to usurp control over their lives. Camargo's punishments were torturous manifestations of her power over the women's lives. Several of the women testified that she forced them to drink cow's bile after they had eaten dirt – this

⁹⁴ Hunter, “Geophagy in Africa and in the United States,” p. 194. One exception is anthropologist James Denbow's discussion of dirt-eating in his article “Heart and Soul: Glimpses of Ideology and Cosmology in the Iconography of Tombstones from the Loango Coast of Central Africa,” *Journal of American Folklore* 112,445 (1999): pp. 404-423, esp. 408.

extremely strong purgative must have left the women weak from vomiting and their esophageal passages burned by the caustic substance. Alternately, Mariana said, her mistress would attach an “iron bridle” over their mouths to deter them geophagy, another weapon in Camargo’s arsenal of torment, designed to keep her slave women from crying out while they were whipped.⁹⁵

However, given the perceived healthful benefits and pleasurable opinions of eating soil in many African societies in past and present, why did all the women in Camargo’s household describe their decision to consume soil as related to a desire to die? Had they been cowed into believing their mistress’ biological and cosmographical interpretation of their actions? Certainly, their testimony made it clear that their minds and spirits had been terrorized by Camargo’s incessant punishments – they even seemed to have internalized their mistress’ warped justifications for punishment and interpretations of punishment-worthy behaviors. But it is also possible that the enslaved women of Eufasia Camargo’s household routinely ingested dirt for any of a variety of reasons – nutritional, ceremonial, customary – but that they used slaveholder’s vision of soil-eating as aberrant, harmful behavior in order to make intelligible to other elite whites the depths of their pain and suffering. In certain parts of West-Central Africa, white clays are associated with the land of the ancestors and spirit world,⁹⁶ and one text

⁹⁵ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 89r-v. By the eighteenth-century, slaveowners throughout the Americas had added spiritual terror to their arsenal of weapons against the believed-detrimental effects of geophagy, dismembering the bodies of slaves who were believed to have died of the practice in an attempt to discourage others from following suit. See Abrahams & Parsons, “Geophagy in the Tropics,” p. 65; and Sharla M. Fett, *Working Cures: Healing, Health, and Power on Southern Slave Plantations* (UNC Press, 2002), p. 157. For social control through manipulation of spiritual codes, see Vincent Brown, “Spiritual Authority and Sacred Terror.”

⁹⁶ MacGaffrey notes that 20th century BaKongo use the same word for white porcelain clays found in stream beds as they do for a cemetery or the land of the dead, MacGaffrey, “Dialogues

has noted that pregnant women eat dirt to ensure that their unborn child is healthy and dark-skinned.⁹⁷ Without more anthropologic or ethnographic-attuned studies of geophagy tied to specific regions and time periods, it is impossible to know whether any of these modern beliefs were part of the cosmographic heritage of Camargo's slaves, whose ethnicities and African pasts can only be tangentially known through (often invented) ethnic surname markers. One can imagine that Gracia Conga, recovering the wounds of her first beating, might have remembered that her mother ate white river clay for the guidance and protection of her ancestors against those who wished her harm; the seamstress Sebastiana Criolla might have eaten dirt to suppress the cramps that accompanied the persistent diarrhea that would lead to her death; the heavily pregnant laundress Isabel Angola, having recently suffered a beating "between her legs," might have eaten dirt out of the desperate hope that the child she was carrying would be born with dark skin, hoping to protect both she and her child from doña Eufrasia's justified suspicions that don Alonso routinely sought her out for sex while she washed the household linens in the Magdalena.

However, in elaborating the link between geophagy as an alternative to suicide, only Susana Angola linked their actions to an ideology, saying that they preferred this prolonged death to drowning themselves in the river, for "by this method they would have the opportunity to confess as Christians."⁹⁸ Susana seems to have recognized the value in pointing out her own desire to die as a baptized Christian, to have one last

of the Deaf," p. 255. Folklorist James Denbow notes similar beliefs along the Loango Coast, p. 408-10.

⁹⁷ Cited in Kiple, *The Caribbean Slave*, p. 229, note 87. In one study of geophagy among African-Americans, some pregnant women in Louisiana eat starch "to make a new-born baby lighter in color, to produce a healthy baby, and to help the baby 'slide out' more easily during delivery" (Hunter, "Geophagy," p. 194).

⁹⁸ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 84v.

chance to confess her “sins” of desperation. This specifically Christian rhetoric was muted as De Soto questioned the women. Perhaps such a lack of concern with their mistress’ transgressions against Christian decency was built into the questioning: Judge De Soto asked only Inez, the other creole slave in the household, about her mistress’ use of the rosary as a disciplinary device, but of this Inez didn’t know, saying that from the room where she worked she couldn’t see into the corridor where doña Eufrasia sat and listened while whippings were being performed outside.⁹⁹ Although Camargo clearly had the authority to have her slaves whipped, she followed the codes of moral propriety, similarly to the slaveowning widows from the U.S. South analyzed by Kirsten Wood, who “preferred to remain somewhat removed from discipline, the better to maintain the fiction of benevolent stewardship.”¹⁰⁰ The women, wisely perhaps, seemed reluctant to categorically denounce their mistress for the unconsecrated deaths of Phelipa, Catalina, Sebastiana, and Isabel Angola – uncertain of the judge’s ability to do anything to change their mistress’ hold over them. Gracia did say that both Phelipa and Catalina had died “suddenly.” But Sebastiana, she said, had died from a bout of diarrhea [*cámaras*], not from mistreatment; Isabel Angola had also died of natural causes, exposed to shock [*pasmo*] after rising too soon from her bed after birthing a child. Gracia added that it was possible that Phelipa also died of shock and not from the beatings.¹⁰¹ Mariana said that Sebastiana had confessed before her illness overcame her.¹⁰² These technical, specific answers convey not only Camargo’s authority to dictate the ostensible

⁹⁹ Ibid., f. 80v.

¹⁰⁰ Kirsten E. Wood, *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows in the American Southeast from the Revolution through the Civil War* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004), p. 51.

¹⁰¹ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 71v-73v.

¹⁰² Ibid., f. 87v.

reasons for her slaves' deaths, but also the women's underlying fears of the future consequences of their testimony if they were returned to Camargo's power.

When De Soto turned to the question of Camargo's husband, don Alonso Esteban's involvement in the whippings, the women's caution was heightened. Inez said their master sometimes stopped punishments when he was at home, and never whipped them himself;¹⁰³ likewise, Susana said he never ordered them punished, and would even take off their chains at times, providing some measure of relief when he was around.¹⁰⁴ However, no one elaborated on *why* Ortiz was so protective towards them — none of the women offered in-depth answers, and De Soto did not press for answers. Here again the specter of sexual coercion and the shameful connotations of sexual sin take the form of repressed silence and complicity. Sharon Block has used an analysis of the "strength of mastery" in matters of the rape of enslaved women to describe how masters could redefine rape as consent (forcing enslaved women to choose between assent and any series of unacceptable options: separation from their children, threats of physical violence, etc.).¹⁰⁵ This same "strength of mastery" and narrative privilege belonged to mistresses like Camargo who, concealing their rage at the sexual relationship with their husbands, could reinterpret the torture and punishment she inflicted on her slaves as legitimate chastisement for poor work or a disrespectful attitude.

After these inconclusive answers about Camargo's responsibility for her former slaves' deaths, a surprise witness suddenly appeared. A young Creole Black, another of

¹⁰³ Ibid., f. 78v.

¹⁰⁴ Ibid., f. 85r.

¹⁰⁵ Ruth Block, *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006), pp. 63-74, esp. 72.

doña Eufrasia's slaves — and Isabel Criolla's son — approached De Soto with an admission that he had recently turned runaway, leaving his mistress' home in order to avoid a whipping that Camargo had ordered, ostensibly for a minor youthful transgression (he had snuck away "to the plaza to watch a bull-fight"). Evidence of the speed at which news traveled from Mompox into the maroon-controlled hinterland, Pedro said that he had come out of hiding when he heard that the judge was taking testimonies about the deaths and punishments enacted by his mistress. Although the women who regularly faced Camargo's wrath were wont to downplay her responsibility (suggesting that at least some of their former comrades, though poorly treated, had died of natural causes), Pedro stated clearly that although Isabel Angola had recently given birth when she died of "shock," she bore ulcers from whippings "between her legs," and they were the reason for her demise without confession. Likewise, Sebastiana had been overcome by dysentery [*cámaras*], but he blamed the "beatings and captivity" his mistress ordered as the cause of the "mortal... illness."¹⁰⁶ Pedro confirmed that all of doña Eufrasia's female slaves bore many scars on their "back and buttocks and legs — scars he knew about because he had been forced to whip them almost every day, watching their tortured bodies swell with "pestilent sores." At the end of his statement, Pedro asked De Soto "for the love of God" to protect him from the cruelty of his mistress and the harsh slavery he bore under her heavy hand.¹⁰⁷ Pedro's unequivocal denunciation serves as a contrast to the cautious testimony of the other enslaved women, who had been beaten down by the years of unjustified torture, parroting back their mistress' "official" reasons for their fellow workers' deaths, until they almost

¹⁰⁶ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolívar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 92v.

¹⁰⁷ *Ibid.*, f. 95v.

believed that their beatings were just for poor work – though deep down they recognized that those “trifles” didn’t merit their ultimate punishment.

When Judge De Soto turned to Momposinos for help figuring out the case, he found his path blocked at every turn. As part of Lorenzo de Soto’s administrative seizure of Eufrasia Camargo’s goods, he had searched her and her husband’s homes for chains and shackles, but could find none.¹⁰⁸ De Soto was probably pre-warned of this difficulty – when questioning the slave women about Camargo’s modes of punishment and imprisonment, several noted that their mistress borrowed her disciplinary tools, especially the stocks, from neighbors and family members.¹⁰⁹ What was more, many of them said they hadn’t seen the tools of their torture lying around recently – Inez said she understood that some of her mistress’ slaves had hidden them.¹¹⁰ Word got out that Eufrasia’s sister, Ventura de Camargo, had urged that some townspeople find and hide the evidence. De Soto followed the gossip trail to question Inez Noble, a free *mulata*, who said that she had secreted “two boxes/chests [*cataures*] holding the “iron chains and shackles” from doña Eufrasia’s dispensary with the help of Dominga Conga, who had apparently escaped De Soto’s first inventory of Camargo’s property to be seized.¹¹¹ Inez testified that she took the box to the kitchen of next-door neighbor doña Andrea de Varela, the wife of another *regidor* of Mompox, and then one of doña Eufrasia’s nieces came to tell doña Andrea to send the boxes to her mother’s house (doña Ventura).

Obstructing justice was nothing new in the battles between local elites and imperial

¹⁰⁸ Ibid., f.69r.

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., f. 83r.

¹¹⁰ Inez Criolla said that a few days before Camargo went to Cartagena, she had sent the stocks to doña Maria, wife of Lieut. Socastro, and the chain to her sister, doña Antonia de Camargo, but the shackles she wasn’t sure of, for she hadn’t seen them in several days (Ibid., f. 79r); the bit her mistress used to keep them from eating dirt or crying out during beatings, she “understood that slaves of her said mistress had hidden it” (f. 80r).

¹¹¹ Ibid., ff. 101r-103v. Testimony of Dominga Conga.

administrators; patronage networks between upper-class Spaniards, their servants and other clients often served to hinder royal investigations into colonial malfeasance.¹¹²

Though Lorenzo de Soto threatened legal action against Ventura Camargo, and even threw some of the offenders in jail, he could get no one turn in the concealed evidence.¹¹³ Several days later, he decided to follow the trail himself to search among the wooden beams being used to construct a wall on doña Ventura's property – there De Soto found “an iron chain fifteen *varas* in length and a ring of a screw [*una argolla de tornillo*] to pin to the foot, and a nail with which to fasten a ring around the neck [*para campanilla*], and some shackles, but nothing more.”¹¹⁴ His efforts to seek out more witness with knowledge of the case were equally frustrating. The one person De Soto was able to compel to testify was master carpenter Pedro Vargas, who had been cited in Nicolas Castrellon's statement made in Cartagena. A close reading of the testimony reveals Vargas' caution in his phrasing. The artisan affirmed that yes, he'd seen all four of Camargo's slave women in chains and bearing fresh wounds; and yes, she had a reputation for being cruel. However, he continued, she only punished her slaves for running away or for being careless in carrying out her orders. Yes, he answered, he had seen them being whipped, but couldn't say for sure how long the beatings lasted. Yes, he said, he had once seen Camargo make one of her slaves drink bile – as a remedy for eating dirt – but had never even heard that she forced her slaves to eat their own

¹¹² Inez Noble's collusion with doña Camargo may seem puzzling from a perspective on race, but this free woman likely had patronage ties to Camargo or her family. See Douglas Cope, *The Limits of Racial Domination*, on how cross-racial patronage in Latin America hindered the development of traditional forms of racial consciousness.

¹¹³ AGBN, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 114r-116r. De Soto had Inez Noble put in jail and doña Andrea placed under house arrest and ordered a 50 peso fine if Ventura Camargo didn't hand over the hidden evidence.

¹¹⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 120v.

excrement.¹¹⁵ Far from the Castellon's retelling of Vargas' brave confrontation of Camargo for her cruel and un-Christian treatment – "even in Barbary one couldn't use like cruelty"¹¹⁶ – the master carpenter, subjected to colonial rules of deference to the "dons" and "doñas" of Mompox, seems to have been too afraid to register his sentiments for the record. As for earlier indications that the "whole town" knew of Camargo's cruelty, they may have, but no one was talking – not even Father Ortiz, who had allegedly offered himself to redeem Isabel from the hell of her mistress' household.

Daily Negotiations in Spanish American Slavery: Law, Religion, and Social Contract

By the time Lorenzo de Soto returned to Cartagena to deliver his report to the governor, news had yet to reach the Americas that earlier that year, Pope Urban VIII had publicly condemned the slave trade, calling it "a means to deprive men of their liberty."¹¹⁷ This statement had potentially radical ramification for Iberian legal formulations, based on the assumption that "All creatures in the world naturally love and desire liberty, and much more do men, who have intelligence superior to that of the others, and especially such as are of noble minds, desire it."¹¹⁸ The *Siete Partidas* asserted that although slavery was a condition "contrary to natural reason," it had been instated by ancient emperors as an alternative to putting all war captives to death, and as it became part of social tradition, slavery became a hereditary status, passed on from enslaved women to their children.¹¹⁹ Medieval scholasticism had taken this tradition as a given, and the papacy had seen Atlantic slavery as an opportunity to Christianize

¹¹⁵ Ibid., ff. 95r-96v.

¹¹⁶ Ibid., f. 49r.

¹¹⁷ Quoted in Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el Comercio de Esclavos*, p. 5.

¹¹⁸ *Siete Partidas*, "Concerning Liberty," Book IV, Title XXII (p. 981).

¹¹⁹ Ibid., Part IV, Title XXI, Laws 1-2 (p. 977).

“pagans” in Africa. But Pope Urban’s remarks offered a moral quandary: if the African slave trade was not dealing in legitimate war captives, then were Iberian participants responsible for rationalizing a moral evil?

Both legal and physical negotiations animated these debates about Spanish American slavery in the early seventeenth century. The multiple legal interpretations of the master-slave social contract were compounded by the religious and economic localism of Spanish American colonies, pitting peninsular officials against American Creoles, contrasting hierarchical prerogatives of state and household management against more fluid mandates of Christian charity. Struggles over the definition of this social contract also took place on the ground, in the daily exchanges – physical and verbal – between slaves and their owners. Thus I will examine not only the arguments written down by lawyers and powerful churchmen who were interested in the question, but also analyze how everyday confrontations worked to define local ideas of the acceptable treatment of Christian slaves by their Christian masters.

After Bartolome de las Casas’ famous denunciation of Amerindian enslavement, some Spanish jurists and theologians had written skeptical inquiries into the “just conquest” and enslavement of Africans; nonetheless, their occasional denunciations of the growing trade in African slaves never reached the same level of public acclaim.¹²⁰ Cartagena’s Jesuit rector Alonso de Sandoval was one of those who admitted that he had been “perplexed for a long time” on the question of whether the Africans shipped to his city had been captured in just wars; he read the works of prominent jurists like Luis de

¹²⁰ For summaries of the positions of Spanish theologians Tomás de Mercado (1569), Bartolome Frias de Albornoz (1533), Luis de Molina (1593), and even Bartolome de las Casas’ regret about the results of his recommendation to supplant fragile Indians with seemingly-stronger African laborers, see A. J. R. Russell-Wood, “Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440-1770” *AHR* 83,1 (1978), pp. 35-36.

Molina to try to help inform his counsel to sailors and shipmasters who came to him with a “troubled conscience” regarding what they had seen in their slaved trading voyages.¹²¹ In his 1627 treatise, Sandoval explained how he tried to answer his doubts by way of inquiry into the international Jesuit networks of his day, writing in 1610 to Father Luis Brandon, Rector of the Jesuit College in Luanda, Angola. Father Brandon assured Sandoval that he should shake off his scruples in the matter, denying that the commerce in African slaves had ever been considered illicit by anyone “of good conscience” in Portugal, not even the learned bishops and educated Jesuits who had visited the African entrepôts of San Tomé, Cape Verde and Luanda. The Luandan Rector responded to the young Cartagenero father’s earnest letter with considerable condescension, warning him that “no Negroe will admit to be a just captive, so may Your Reverence not ask them whether they are fair captives or not, because they will always say they were stolen or captured under a bad title, understanding that in this way their liberty will be granted.” Though acknowledging that some slaves were likely procured through illicit means, Father Brandon asserted that it would be impossible to search them out among the thousands who left port annually, and it “seemed [to him] not to be much to the service of God” to pursue justice for so few when so many more souls could be saved in sending Africans to Christian lands.¹²² Father Sandoval continued to discuss the theological justifications of European trade in African slaves with other clerics with first-hand knowledge,¹²³ but he seems to have implicitly accepted

¹²¹ Sandoval, pp. 142, 147-48.

¹²² Sandoval, 143-144.

¹²³ Sandoval described his discussion with a priest from Guinea who he went to visit, “and in two shakes” the visiting cleric began to disparage the writings of Dr. Luis de Molina (one of the leading jurists on the issue), saying that Molina “had written a thousand falsehoods about the unjust wars of Guinea, the sovereignty of its Kings, and captivity of the Blacks... saying that in Guinea there was no free Black, because they were all slaves of the King,” p. 148.

Father Brandon's reasoning. When composing his treatise for publication, Sandoval suppressed his own struggles of conscience and encouraged others to do the same, concluding his brief statement on conscience in his tract by saying that he had learned "it will be good that we maintain circumspection and reserve in this problematic business...."¹²⁴ Adriana Maya, the preeminent scholar of the African-descendant community in colonial New Granada, has asserted that Sandoval's consistent allusions to the "monstrosity" of African bodies and souls, and his belief that Christianization offered their only hope for salvation, effectively contributed to the "deafening silence" in contemporary's neglect of the issue of just war and African enslavement.¹²⁵

As Isabel Criolla's case confirms, Iberian secular and canon law's multiple interventions into the master-slave relationship afforded slaves with the opportunity to seek the intervention of local authorities in cases of severe cruelty to "investigate and ascertain whether the charge is true," and to punish an excessively cruel master by selling his slaves "in such a way that they never can be again placed in the power" of the master.¹²⁶ Canon law afforded similar protections, and offered sanctuary for those escaping violent conflict. In Juana Zamba's bid to secure her freedom, her lawyer pointed out to the governor that "the slave has the right to betake himself to the church [in case of] the cruelty of the master and enjoy its asylum (*ymmunidad*)," and that a slave could be set free as compensation if there were any person or persons willing to pay the price of his or her sale. Juana's lawyer planned his appeal of the case's initial dismissal by trying to prove that Juana's mistress was keeping her locked up in her house and

¹²⁴ Sandoval, 149.

¹²⁵ Maya Restrepo, *Brujería y reconstrucción*, pp. 226-40, esp. 231.

¹²⁶ *Siete Partidas*, Part IV, Tit. XXI, Law VI.

unable to attend to her Christian duty of confession during Holy Week, offenses against the Church for which masters could be held accountable.¹²⁷

In this practice of discernment and intervention in the master-slave relationship, local officials (secular and clerical) held enormous power. Not surprisingly, in attempting to contravene the “complete authority” of masters over slaves by enforcing this clause in the law, these officials could evoke the ire of local property owners – as did Gregorio Álvarez’s intervention in Isabel Criollo’s case when Eufrasia Camargo railed against the *alcalde* of the Holy Brotherhood and her husband filed a brief to override his authority. Strident legal battles over the right to jurisdiction were commonplace among Spaniards in American culture, and were especially ferocious when it came to the right to control labor. Creole Spaniards had defended their right to determine the proper course of action in the far-away Americas, propounding the legal fiction of “I obey but do not comply” (*Obedesco pero no cumplo*) since the first days of conquest.

When Judge De Soto returned to Cartagena, he found the defendant busy trying to find a way to assert her rights as a master. Doña Eufrasia had contracted a lawyer with a proven track record – her choice, Judge Diego de Horozco, had successfully defended Juana Zamba’s mistress, Catalina Pimienta Pacheco, in her 1634 bid to retain control over her human chattel when Juana’s lawyers alleged excessive cruelty. Called to aid Camargo, Horozco immediately petitioned for his client’s freedom of movement, secured copies of the case file against her, and arranged for her to testify in her own defense.¹²⁸ When Camargo gave her statement to the governor, she categorically denied

¹²⁷ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, f. 16r, 74v.

¹²⁸ Diego de Horozco’s petitions on behalf of Catalina Pimienta Pacheco: AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, ff. 18r-19r, 35v-38r, 60r-v; for Eufrasia de Camargo: AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 129r-v. Horozco was probably a functionary of the

Isabel's accusations, countering that she punished only those slaves who "were runaways or thieves, or to avoid offenses against God," and that her punishments were absolutely routine and ordinary. In Horozco's written defense of his client, he laid out a defense based on practical distinctions between the state of slave society "in the Indies," and the forms of enslavement legislated in Europe. The main difference, he said, was that:

...in these parts, the Indies... there is no service by freedmen, and the forced labor of slaves must be used... [therefore] it is advisable to keep them subject and under pressure, not only for the public good and the conservation of the state of Spaniards (*vecinos* and naturals of the Indies), but in particular for [the sake of] their very own masters... [who] run the risk of their lives. Other unfortunate mutinies and uprisings could occur if they do not keep them subject, under pressure and punished, even with greater rigor (apart from their lives and Christian piety) than that which their offenses normally merit.¹²⁹

Horozco cited legal precedents in Peru and New Spain that allowed more severe punishments for slaves in other Iberian-American viceroyalties.¹³⁰ He pointed out to Cartagena's governor that not only was it lawful to have chains to keep slaves restrained, but it was customary in this region.¹³¹ Juana Zamba's mistress had agreed in her own statement of defense, testifying that it was set a bad precedent if "runaway and thieving slaves" could be allowed to get away with their crimes.¹³² Nearly everyone in the Spanish elite felt the same. Franciscan preacher fray Geronimo de Chavez defended his friend Eufrasia Camargo by testifying that in his many years of experience in the

Inquisition, as one "Diego de Orozco" was one of the men who accompanied penitents in 1632 *auto de fe* (Splendiani, iii.37).

¹²⁹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 138v-139r. Petition, Diego de Horozco on behalf of Eufrasia Camargo, 13 Jul 1639.

¹³⁰ Notwithstanding these more lenient laws, in 1640 the Viceroy of Peru warned his newly-arrived successor that it was imperative to make slaveowners comply with laws regarding humane treatment of slaves, "so that by the fortune of their laborious state of slavery they not succumb to desperation." Quoted in Vila Vilar, *Hispanoamérica y el Comercio de Esclavos*, p. 5

¹³¹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, Ibid., ff.139v, 141v.

¹³² AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, f. 6v.

Indies, “he knows... that if the black slaves are not kept occupied by their masters, they are no good for service... in order to have service from them it is necessary to have much care and vigilance with them.”¹³³ Camargo’s lawyer capitalized on this perception, adding that “credit couldn’t be given to slaves against their masters because of the unswerving hatred [slaves] had against them, and because they are by nature false and liars, and easily conspiring.”¹³⁴

But the case was also about Camargo’s negligence in her obligations to uphold her duties as a Christian head of household, and the governor had a responsibility to his imperial master as “Most Catholic King.” Camargo responded vigorously to these charges – she first gestured to her honor, the biggest card in her favor. She asserted that she was “not only the daughter of Old Christians and nobles (*hidalgos*), but [also] a good Christian, fearful of God and her conscience; neither through fault nor negligence would she let her slaves die without confession.”¹³⁵ Answering to the specific details of the case, Camargo testified that a confessor had been brought to Sebastiana’s bedside when it appeared she would not recover from the severe dysentery that beset her, and

¹³³ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 164r.

¹³⁴ *Ibid.*, f. 140v.

¹³⁵ The issue of honor was vital in defining the veracity and acceptability of testimony in colonial courts. Horozco reminded the court that slaves were considered “false by nature and liars, easily conspiring,” and that officials couldn’t “give credit” to their charges against their masters because of the “foremost hatred [*odio capital*]” they held for their social superiors. Witnesses supporting Camargo’s testimony were asked by her lawyer to affirm that slaves would make up lies or exaggerate the truth to get away from masters who tried to “deter them from vice and stealing.” (Questionnaire #10, f. 158v). Nor could the Spanish witnesses be credited: Camargo argued that Nicolas de Castellon was “*mestizo* or *quateron* and drinks too much wine, so much that oftentimes he loses his senses.” Miguel Navarro was considered without honor and credit because he “had been a base and low person who not long ago was walking around barefoot” (ff.140v-141v). Both men seem to have bettered their social class significantly in little time. Castellon was working at the time in Cartagena as a scribe (*official de la pluma*), and in his testimony distanced himself from his carpenter uncle, Pedro de Vargas (who was identified as a *mestizo*, f. 162v). Navarro, also a *vecino* of Cartagena by the time of the investigation, was said by some to be a “very depraved person” who was buddies with Castellon, was considered by many to be little more than a working-class artisan whose word couldn’t be trusted (f. 163r).

Camargo said she had done the same when Isabel Angola became ill (though she admitted that the state of shock (*pasmo*) she was in could have kept her from speaking by the time he arrived). With the others, it had been a different story, doña Eufrasia said. She had been unable to procure that they receive last rites because of the circumstances of their deaths: she alleged that Phelipa Angola “fell down dead [suddenly], just talking in the kitchen with her *compañeras*”; as for Catalina Angola, she had hung herself “without anyone giving her cause for it, unless she was tricked by the devil.”¹³⁶ Court papers filed later confirmed that Catalina had taken her life only days following her return to the Camargo-Ortiz household after an unsuccessful attempt at marronage. By shifting the responsibility for Catalina’s desperate suicide from the brutal treatment she endured to the perceived susceptibility of Africans to the forces of evil, doña Eufrasia engaged in the most common strategy for slaveowners to contest church and imperial efforts to limit their power of mastery, citing the cultural superiority of Christian Europeans to justify legal liberties.¹³⁷

Just as elite Creole Spaniards contested the coercive powers of the imperial Catholic order as they tried to shape laws “in the Indies” to suit their purposes, smaller-scale contests over proper treatment occurred every day between masters and slaves, and both groups used legal arguments to attempt to control the other. We can reconstruct how these everyday struggles were played out by closely reading the Inquisition and secular cases included in this chapter—in descriptions of confrontations

¹³⁶ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 130r-135r. Confession of Eufrasia Camargo, 19 Jun 1639.

¹³⁷ Juan Fernandez Romero agreed that Camargo’s slaves must have allowed their “passions” to dictate their testimony, and claimed that blacks were slow-witted, and lacked the capacity for reason.” (ff. 174r-v.) Father Chavez described servants of African descent “as incapable people, given to vice and disinclined to virtue” (f. 164r).

that led to legal action, we can see how slaves actively contested their masters' justifications for punishment. Both Juana Zamba's and Isabel Criolla's cases expose everyday negotiations – the cooperation with parish priests or wealthy neighbors who might intercede, either through purchase or sponsorship in legal action – all efforts that preceded their formal, highly-scripted, complaints. In confrontations that led to blasphemy and the Inquisition prisons, slaves' verbal defenses called upon the Christian God – and his representatives – to help them police cruelty and set down limitations on those acts of violence and cruelty which their masters tried to uphold as customary.

One element of these daily contestations can be seen in slaves' familiarity with the "Law of Bayonne" (*Ley de Bayona*), which allowed masters to tie slaves to a chair or ladder to restrain them in the course of a whipping.¹³⁸ Knowledge of this particular law suggests that legal contestation was not only the purview of courtrooms and legal briefs, but rather was something debated in daily life – when slaves protested the cruelty in such acts, masters responded by citing the legal codes that authorized their physical domination. In Isabel Criolla's first declaration to the governor of Cartagena, she alleged that her mistress' unprovoked beatings were normally performed by binding them "to a chair *according to the law of Bayonne*."¹³⁹ In 1633, the freeborn black Domingo Canga came forward voluntarily to Cartagena's Inquisition Tribunal to confess that he had renounced God when padre Antonio de Ciguentes, who tried to claim him as a slave, had ordered that he receive 300 lashes, first binding him "according to the Law of Bayonne." When padre Cifuentes further called to someone else to bring "a cane with

¹³⁸ Villa-Flores refers to its usage in New Spain ("To Lose One's Soul," p. 444); Cuevas Oviedo notes references to this law in blasphemy cases throughout the century ("Reniego y resistencia," p. 78-79, 83).

¹³⁹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 46r. My emphasis.

molten tar... to tar him," Domingo protested what he saw as cruel and undeserved punishment that broke the boundaries of reason and justice by resorting to blasphemy.¹⁴⁰ Based on both Isabel's and Domingo's experience, it seems that when slaves challenged their masters to explain the legitimacy of their severe punishments, their masters would invoke their rights stipulated under the Law of Bayonne. When slaves felt that the punishments they were ordered to receive were illegitimate or went beyond the letter or spirit of this law, slaves felt they could appeal to a higher power to call their own masters to judgment for their moral transgressions against the social contract.

In fact, slaves seem to have utilized narratives of their membership in the Christian community to call masters to order in their daily confrontations, especially to challenge slaveowner's physical domination and torture of their bodies. In the first place, slaves could verbally press for a master's attention and better treatment by evoking "the love of God and the Virgin" in their pleas to reign in the violence that tormented their bodies.¹⁴¹ Eufrasia Camargo's female slaves told Judge De Soto how they beseeched their mistress with these symbols of Christian charity, and both Isabel Criolla and her son used the same language in their appeals to the Spanish judges. Blasphemy cases provide even more numerous instances. Juan Antonio, a Christianized Berber slave who had been denounced in Panama, related in his first audience that "his master cruelly punishing him, he asked him to let him be, for the love of God..."¹⁴² These appeals carried with them how slave tried to ward off their desperation by calling

¹⁴⁰ Splendiani, ii.300, 365-66; AHN, Lib. 1020, ff. 318v-319; 403v-404.

¹⁴¹ Several of the blasphemy cases contain references to slaves' initial pleas "for the love of God" (or the saints or the Virgin) to desist in the act of punishment. See cases of Domingo Canga (Splendiani, ii.300, ii.365-66); and Juan González (Splendiani, iii.324; AHN Lib. 1021, f. 329v).

¹⁴² 1654, Case against Juan Antonio (Splendiani, iii.407-08; AHN, Lib. 1021, ff. 407-07v).

upon the most-respected symbols of the Christian faith to protect them from the disorder that prevailed as legal chastisement was warped by rage.

When such appeals to Christian compassion didn't provide results, renouncing the Christian gods became a powerful curse to scorn the god who allowed such treatment to persist. Both European and African cultures were still deeply defined by the power of oral speech, especially as it related to magic and religiosity.¹⁴³ The Inquisition's punishments of those who dared curse their God symbolized their recognition of the symbolic power of such blasphemies – unlike the everyday blasphemies and renunciations that slipped from the mouths of ordinary citizens every day, slaves' blasphemies were considered a serious offense against the faith “because they derived from ‘a desire to obtain revenge.’”¹⁴⁴ Even if slaves later claimed that their statements didn't come “from the heart” or were made when they were “beside themselves” with pain or anger (both reasons that lessened the power of blasphemous oaths), their actions nonetheless challenged the social order instated by the heavenly Father.

As we have seen, renunciation cases often had as much to do with on-the-ground power plays as they did with appeals to the supernatural. Juan Chico, an enslaved tailor owned by Francisco López Nieto, a notary working for Cartagena's Inquisition, was so

¹⁴³ Cuevas Oviedo notes the sacral quality of speech in many parts of Africa that retained their social memories in oral forms only (“Reniego y resistencia,” pp. 96-97). John Thornton has written about the cultural meaning of the curse in Kongolese culture, asserting that *kindoki* (the power to curse) could be used as a protective mechanism, and was not just a destructive utterance (*The Kongolese Saint Anthony*, pp. 42-43). In “Blasphemy and the Play of Anger,” Maureen Flynn explains how early modern European jurists and Inquisitors struggled with the presumption that “Every expression had a source that originated silently in rational thought. Curse-words, like memorized prayers, oaths and magical formulas, were therefore regarded as authentic revelations of the contents of the intellect, the core of the Christian soul” (pp. 36-37, 41).

¹⁴⁴ Maureen Flynn, “Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain,” *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998) p. 871.

abused by his master that Chico tried to bargain with his master to be sold to another. When once their confrontation escalated to the point where Nieto ordered his slave chained and muzzled as punishment, Juan told his owner to release him, “or if not, he would have to renounce [God].” Later, before Inquisitors, Chico claimed that he had blasphemed out of desperation, “not in the spirit of renunciation but only to free himself from the things he was suffering.”¹⁴⁵ During the trial it came out that this was Chico’s second blasphemy offense in a decade – Chico complained that he had continually been subject to “bad treatment” during this time period, and the lawyer assigned to him by Inquisitors actually went to the trouble of questioning fifteen witnesses, some of whom agreed that Chico’s blasphemies had been the result of his maltreatment. This case seems to have been one of very few where Inquisitors deviated from their standard punishment of 100-200 lashes and public shaming – although Chico was ordered to receive 100 lashes in public, his master was also ordered to sell him away from the city.¹⁴⁶ Another slave who was spared lashes and later banished from Cartagena (a *de facto* way of ordering a slave to be sold) was a Berber slave from Portobelo, whose master responded to his pleas “for the love of God” to leave off whipping him so cruelly with an equally passionate reply, “saying to the *negro* who was whipping him, ‘Give it to this dog until he renounces [God].’”¹⁴⁷ Juana Zamba’s lawyer had argued that in fact, cruelty among masters was such a problem in the city that they caused deaths “and

¹⁴⁵ Splendiani iii.184-86; AHN Lib. 1021, ff. 162v-65.

¹⁴⁶ Splendiani, iii. 184-86; AHN, Lib. 1021, ff. 162v-65. This deviation from standard procedure suggests that personal animosities could have been at work between the notary Nieto and one of his fellow agents employed in Cartagena’s Tribunal.

¹⁴⁷ Splendiani, iii.407-08; AHN Lib. 1021, ff. 407-07v.

many renunciations and blasphemies against God our Lord, of which the Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition has seen fit to punish on in the sight of the entire city.”¹⁴⁸

We might agree that, “in the case of renunciation, the spoken word became one more weapon in the [slave’s] resistance against the dehumanization” that led to their enslavement.¹⁴⁹ Since Inquisitors were slaveowners, too, they were naturally concerned by the use of this stratagem to resist their subjugation. When Inquisitors heard the blasphemy case of a *mulato* named Salvador in 1627, they expressed concern over the slave’s audacity towards his master. Salvador had allegedly addressed those administering his lashing with a veiled threat, saying “Leave me be – don’t make me say more of those crazy things (*disparates*) like I said in the countryside (*en la estancia*), because if you whip me I’ll have to say them.” As early as 1619, Cartagena’s Inquisitors had been trying to figure out ways to halt this strategy, writing to their superiors that “the black and mulatto slaves renounce [God] and blaspheme in order to put fear into their masters when they punish them.”¹⁵⁰ Inquisitors noted in their reports to the Suprema in 1627 and 1628 that it was unfortunately still frequent “in these parts” that slaves like Salvador used “this infernal means to tie [their masters’] hands and are not punished.”¹⁵¹ After 1654, Inquisitors moved these penitents to private *autos de fe* to reduce the visibility of the crime as a successful tactic, punishing slaves the same as ever.¹⁵² Despite the Inquisition’s continued severity in punishing this deliberate blasphemy, slaves continued to use the Inquisition as a weapon against their masters when other alternatives proved futile – until the Tribunal simply stopped prosecuting

¹⁴⁸ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, 17r.

¹⁴⁹ Cuevas Oviedo, “Reniego y resistencia,” p. 92.

¹⁵⁰ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1009, 28 junio 1619, Los Inquisidores al Consejo. ff. 31r-v.

¹⁵¹ Splendiani, iii.407-08; AHN Lib. 1021, ff. 407-07v; AHN, Lib. 1020, f. 286-86v.

¹⁵² Cuevas Oviedo, “Reniegos y Resistencia,” pp. 149-50.

slaves for this particular crime against the faith towards the end of the century, leaving the matter of punishment in the hands of masters.¹⁵³

Conclusions: Mobility, Knowledge Transfer, and the Search for Bodily Protection

Beyond the religious negotiations of everyday master-slave struggles and the creolization that provided enslaved individuals with the tools of protest, this chapter has hinted at how enslaved individuals in the Spanish Americas coped with physical pain, the struggle against desperation, and the tragedy of despair. Saidiya Hartman's penetrating examination of slavery and subjectivity asked her readers to ponder the following question, a question that resonates with the key issues of terror, coercion, and commodification in this chapter: "How does one identify 'cruel' treatment in a context in which routine acts of barbarism were considered not only reasonable but also necessary?"¹⁵⁴ Can we, like the actors described in this study, define cruelty by counting the number of lashes applied to enslaved bodies? By hearing or reading about the experience of "exquisite captivity" (*esquissitas prisiones*) and "extraordinary torments"?¹⁵⁵ By viewing or visualizing the marked, wounded, mutilated body? Or can cruelty only be determined by imagining how it terrorized the mind, convincing the slave to doubt

¹⁵³ Cuevas Oviedo's systematic examination of these blasphemy cases in Cartagena's Tribunal reveals that by the 1680s and 90s, such sins were rarely prosecuted by the Tribunal. She ties this change in prosecution to the coronation of Philip V in 1686, which marked a new political atmosphere that affected colonial master-slave relations (*Ibid.*, p. 7). In studies of marriage and sexuality in the Spanish Americas, historians Asunción Lavrin and Patricia Seed have also observed that the 1680s seem to be a pivotal turning point in the Church's reluctance to side with minors and wards against patricians and parents. See Lavrin, ed., *Sexuality and Marriage in Colonial Latin America* (Lincoln: University of Nebraska Press, 1989); Seed, *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over marriage choice, 1574-1821* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988).

¹⁵⁴ Hartman, *Scenes of Subjection*, p. 97.

¹⁵⁵ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, f. 45r-47v. [*tiene para aprisionarlas esquissitas prisiones mas que en la carzel*]

what she knew to be true about her own brutalization? Can cruelty be defined by tales that suggest psychological pressure so great it made slaves wish for death, even inflict it upon themselves? Might it be measured by counting the number of souls lost to sudden death or despair and suicide? For most Spaniards of the seventeenth century, cruelty and barbarism in enslavement were cognitively related to Barbary captivity – the fear of being stolen away and sold as a slave to a Muslim master on the other side of the Mediterranean Sea, where Christians might be tempted to apostatize to Islam to escape the daily torments of their degradation as slaves. For this reason, even in the Americas, the psychological weight of cruelty and sadism was applied almost exclusively to these powerful enemy religious Others – only in extreme cases applied to Christians.¹⁵⁶ But for slaves in the Americas, none could look forward to the arrival of an African merchant, envoy, or religious organization to redeem them from captivity.¹⁵⁷

In the Iberian West Indies, selling Africans into slavery was not the legacy of religious crusading, but was rather a business dominated by Christians, defined by monopolies and international trade networks. In this world, although the transport of Africans to the New World was tied at least rhetorically to a Christian mission, they had become defined primarily as commodities. When witnesses were questioned in Juana Zamba's case, one elite Cartagenero remarked that the slave's deceased master, Portuguese merchant Capt. Julio Evangelista, made a policy of disciplining his slaves "with moderation – since they cost him his money he would not wish that they would

¹⁵⁶ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, 14v. ; Navarro and bile quote

¹⁵⁷ Jean-Pierre Tardieu describes one extraordinary visit from a West African emissary to Cartagena in "La embajada africana de Arda en Cartagena de Indias (1657) y la misión de los Capuchinos (1658-1661)" *América Negra* 10 (Dec 1995).

run the risk of their lives.”¹⁵⁸ The danger in cases of excessive cruelty was less about the risk to the soul of the enslaved than a loss of profitability (for the owner) or the good order and security of the larger society (for the empire).

Enslaved individuals like Isabel Criolla rejected their commodification when they held up their souls to public view. Whether displayed as Isabel’s direct appeal to her captor, an act of humble ingratiation with a churchman who could act as an intercessor to make peace in a conflicted household, or the blasphemous tirades against the Christian god who allowed their masters to treat them with inhumanity, the overlapping legal systems of Spanish colonialism opened “jurisdictional breach[es which] provided Africans and their descendants with opportunities to navigate the households, institutions, and imposed practices that were intent on defining them as chattel, vassals, and Christians.”¹⁵⁹ Called before Gregorio Álvarez de Zepeda to be judged for her marronage, Isabel Criolla saw a breach instead of a judgment—an opportunity to record her grievances for posterity. Educated in the fundamentals of Christian morality, she understood how to craft an effective “pardon tale”¹⁶⁰—by declaring in the most evocative, persuasive way she knew how about her belief in the white man’s god, and the certain loss of her soul if she were to become a slave to Eufrasia Camargo once again.

In the “complaint and criminal case against doña Eufrasia de Camargo regarding the rigorous punishments and maltreatment of her slaves, of which have resulted the deaths of some of them without confession and the other sacraments,” Gov. Aguilera

¹⁵⁸ AGNB, *Negros y Esclavos*, Bolivar Tomo IX, No.1, f. 107r.

¹⁵⁹ Bennett, *Africans in Colonial Mexico*, p. 193.

¹⁶⁰ Natalie Zemon Davis, *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon tales and their tellers in sixteenth-century France* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987).

handed down his judgment on September 15, 1639, finding doña Camargo culpable in two of the four deaths, fining her four hundred pesos. As for the female witnesses still considered Camargo's legal property, Aguilera ruled that Gracia, Susana, Inez and Mariana should all be sold in the Mompox marketplace, with strict orders not to be returned to her power; Isabel and her daughter Juana were to be sold in Cartagena, further from the vindictive hand of their former mistress.¹⁶¹ Notwithstanding this favorable outcome, Eufrasia Camargo still held remarkable power — she appealed the case to the Superior Court of New Granada, which moderated the ruling to protect Camargo's property rights. Although warned to treat the four slave women from her household who had testified in the case well in the future or be "severely castigated," the ruling that she sell them was overturned, and the superior court also allowed that Isabel and her *mulata* daughter might be sold "in the town of Mompox or where she might see fit." The only protection Isabel and Juanita would be granted was that of being deposited "with a person of honor" in the interim.¹⁶²

Such a ruling offered no guarantees that Isabel Criolla would find her way clear of Camargo's abusive hand, or if she did, that her future master would be kinder to her or her daughter. Would doña Eufrasia still try to make sure she would see the "blood and bones" of the rebellious Isabel? Would one of don Alonso's relatives purchase the mother and daughter or might they be separated in retaliation for disrupting the balance of social control in Mompox? Would Isabel try to escape again and take her daughter with her to one of the *palenques*? Depending on the good will and consistent

¹⁶¹ AGNB, Negros y Esclavos, Bolivar, Tomo I, No. 1, ff. 220-221. Sentencia del teniente general don Melchor de Aguilera licenciado y don Fernando de Verrio.

¹⁶² Ibid., f. 234r. Sentencia del Real Audiencia, 30 Jan 1640. The Real Audiencia deferred responsibility for monitoring Camargo's future comportment to the justices of the town of Mompox.

enforcement of Church and imperial law by local officials was always a gamble – after all, churchmen and colonial officials were usually embedded in elite networks of patronage, and were usually also slaveowners who had a stake in protecting their property prerogatives, too. Gracia, Susana, Inez, and Mariana had been right to equivocate in their testimony to Judge De Soto, wary of what fate awaited them if Camargo escaped punishment and hoped to avenge her public humiliation.

One can imagine how swiftly the news traveled from Cartagena to Mompox, up and down the Magdalena, after Gov. Aguilera pronounced the good news for Isabel, Juana, Mariana, Gracia, Inez, and Susana – and then the sobering news months later when the higher court restored several of the women to Camargo's household. As slaves shared the stories of success and failures to take advantage of juridical opportunities, they also shared advice and other alternatives. With this constant movement, slaves and ex-slaves also spread the news about the best ways to take control of their lives, whether as part of Spanish colonial society or outside of it. They could follow Isabel Criolla's example, and take their chances with the institutions that claimed to speak for the Spaniard's all-powerful God. Or they could reject the Christianity that defined their domination, cursing the Spaniards' God and His saints, and the baptism that dictated their obedience – a sacred act that called the gods to witness their suffering.

But in the Spanish Caribbean hinterlands, simply evading one's master was often the easiest and best option – bustling urban circum-Caribbean cities like Cartagena de Indias or Mompox presented multiple opportunities for mobility and escape.¹⁶³ Juana Zamba had absented herself temporarily from her mistress' service, first in the rural

¹⁶³ Solange Alberro refers to the transmission of blasphemous language in "Juan de Morga and Gertrudis de Escobar: Rebellious Slaves," p. 177.

outskirts of the city, then sheltered in the home of a sympathetic clergyman in the urban center itself. Isabel Criolla and others, knowing they could not hide for long in the smaller city of Mompox, sought a more permanent escape from their sufferings. Isabel ran away repeatedly until she found her home among the maroons, and stayed among them for eleven years before her final recapture. Near the end of Eufrasia Camargo's *proceso*, Isabel's son, Pedro Criollo, also absconded from Mompox. During the course of the trial, Pedro had been imprisoned "for some thefts," but he soon evaded captivity. Most of the townspeople believed that Pedro had gone to "the savannas of Tolu" to find employment in the wide-open prairie ranches.¹⁶⁴

Perhaps someday in the future Pedro would seek refuge in one of the *palenques*. The constant movement of Afro-Creole populations within the urban spaces and along the transportation arteries of the Spanish Caribbean — enslaved and free, runaways, convicts, messengers, rowers — produced astute Atlantic Creoles whose powers of observation and exchange built a foundation of knowledge that helped to inform their decisions about how to negotiate or resist their current status. But it was the independent maroon community that offered the greatest challenge to Spain's colonial system and its religious underpinnings:

The resistance of the *palenques* appears without a doubt as an indicator of the failure of evangelization... The manual for evangelization produced by Sandoval, employed to normalize Africans and their children through a process of *ladinización*, that would result, above all, in the imposition of political control over these people, did not work. His whole life's efforts were unable to tear from the captives' souls their desire to be free men again... However, resistance was not only armed and juridical. There was also a resistance of the soul, called witchcraft, sorcery and quackery (*curanderismo*) by Inquisitors.¹⁶⁵

¹⁶⁴ Ibid., ff. 156r-v.

¹⁶⁵ Maya Restrepo, *Brujería y reconstrucción de indentidades*, p. 497. *Curanderismo* encompassed a wide range of healing arts, but it was looked on with disdain and derogation by Spanish Church officials who considered it yet another form of witchcraft or pagan superstition.

The proliferation of maroon communities throughout the circum-Caribbean presented one of the largest challenges to imperial security and authority during the early modern period. As Maya Restrepo's analysis concludes, in the *palenque*, resistance to European Catholic domination could be total – offering both physical and spiritual freedom.

But the Spanish could never feel secure with an armed presence so nearby, and over the course of the seventeenth century began to search for ways to deal with these populations, implementing policies both of brutal repression and incorporation towards maroon communities, processes that reflected the zealous *reconquista* model of Catholic dominance and a sort of “forgiveness” or amnesty for rebels who were too powerful to defeat in battle. Slaves were always necessary for the successful exploitation of these colonies, and where there were slaves, there would always be runaways. When military might could not reduce maroons to obedience, Cartagena's governors were forced to grant them sovereignty. One year after the death of the man who would become San Pedro Claver – the saint to the slaves – Father Claver, Zapata balanced his raids on palenques in the Rio Magdalena region with diligent efforts to baptize “the children and older Negroes who were without baptism.”¹⁶⁶ In the Spanish American world, religion was one of the most powerful tools to control the enslaved; it also provided them with the best opportunities to evade control.

¹⁶⁶ AGI, Santa Fe 42, R.5, No. 98/8. 2 Jul 1655.

Chapter Two

“To Live and Die as a Catholic Christian”: Northern European Protestants in Spanish Caribbean Ports

In October 1651, Inquisition officials from Cartagena de Indias traveled to Jamaica to investigate the murder of the island’s governor, don Pedro Caballero, an official employee of that Tribunal. They focused primarily on the servants and associates of Jamaica’s previous governor, don Jacinto Sedeño, Gov. Caballero’s sworn enemy. One of the men in Sedeño’s cadre who witnessed the murder was especially interesting to officials from the Holy Tribunal: Nicolas Burundel, a reputed Englishman and heretic who had scandalized residents with his anti-Catholic blasphemies. Several months later, appearing before the Lord Inquisitor in Cartagena, Burundel tried to straighten things out for the record. He said he was French, not English, that he had been baptized a Catholic in his native Calais, where he never had anything to do with heretics. The first misidentification might have had something to do with Nicolas’ curly blond hair or his broad northern accent that made it easier for he and his Parisian wife to communicate with one another in Spanish. But those who knew the couple identified them both as French—more likely his reputation as a “heretic” had linked him to the most stereotypically Protestant nation of the period, England. As for his reputation as a heretic, well, Nicolas admitted that his religious education had been a bit lax—he’d lived at sea almost exclusively since age ten—but he firmly denied accusations that he was “an apostate heretic, nor does he know what it is to be a heretic because he is a Catholic

Christian, by the grace of God a descendant of Catholic Christian parents and grandparents.”¹

Nicolas Burundel was one of at least 39 Northern European interlopers in the Spanish Caribbean to be brought before Cartagena’s Inquisitors over the first fifty years of its foundation as the third American Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition (1610-1660).² The decision to found this third American Tribunal in or near the Caribbean had been based on complaints that:

[in]to all these called the Windward Islands come many heretics, both Lutherans and Calvinists, with their ships loaded with goods to trade... the grave damage they cause... is not only of temporal things, but also the spiritual [ones, for they] pervert souls with the false doctrines they profess...³

The Spanish Inquisition’s mission to uphold Catholic orthodoxy against Protestant challenges of the sixteenth and seventeenth century was tied the absolutist pretensions of Hapsburg Spanish rulers, who had defined themselves as defenders of Catholicism and rightful rulers of the Americas since Pope Alexander VI’s bull of 1493. This chapter’s investigation of Northern European Protestants before Cartagena’s Inquisition continues to emphasize that institution’s importance in shaping religious and secular

¹ Archivo Histórico Nacional, Madrid, Sección Inquisición, Legajo 1621, Expediente 3, ff. 49r-57r; 92r-v. (hereafter AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3). Portions of this paper were presented at Harvard University’s History of the Atlantic World Seminar, “The Transit of Christianity” (August 2006).

² Almost nothing has been published about the treatment of Protestants by the American Tribunals of the Inquisition—especially for Cartagena’s Tribunal, established after the sixteenth-century persecution of the most famous English and French Protestant “pirates.” The corpus of relevant works include: Frank Aydelotte, “Elizabethan Seamen in Mexico and Ports of the Spanish Main”; Ronald J. Morgan, “Heretics by Sea, Pagans by Land: St. Rosa de Lima and the Limits of Criollismo in Colonial Peru”; Fermina Álvarez Alonso, “Herejes ante la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias”; Anna María Splendiani, “Los Protestantes y la Inquisición”; Manuel Tejado Fernández, “Procedimiento seguido por la Inquisición Americana con los herejes extranjeros”; and Jaime Humberto Borja Gómez, *Rostros y rastros del demonio en la Nueva Granada*, pp. 262-67.

³ “Carta del Obispo de Puerto Rico” (1606), in José Toribio Medina, *La Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias*, p. 222.

hierarchies in the Americas, defining and disciplining a wide range of foreign populations.

Unlike African and Afro-Creole slaves and their threat to order and religious purity, Northern Europeans came not as commodities, but rather traveled across the Atlantic “with their ships loaded with goods to trade.” By the early seventeenth-century, many parts of the Spanish Caribbean had degenerated into a sparsely populated frontier, distancing Caribbean settlements from the regular trade and transportation networks that linked the empire’s more valuable inland administrative centers. In Caribbean outposts like Hispaniola and Jamaica, many continued to trade illegally with French, Dutch, and English interlopers; the seventeenth-century proliferation of Northern European settler communities in the Caribbean helped foster even more durable contraband networks. European empires continued to challenge these cooperative relationships, hoping to monopolize the terms and profits of American profitability, but in the early to mid-seventeenth century, many were distracted by affairs closer to home or were simply too far away to police the Caribbean as closely as they might wish.⁴

Northern European sojourners like Nicolas Burundel helped turn the wheels of the Caribbean inter-imperial cooperation and conflict, bit players in larger struggles over

⁴ Imperial historians have long expounded on some of the favorite tactics of contrabandists allying with Spanish colonists. One of the most commonly employed by foreign interlopers was to feign that the ship had run low on supplies or was in need of repairs and sought refuge; while the ship was in dock and the goods stored safely in a warehouse, the governor and other high-ranking officials would help facilitate illegal deals off the books. See Haring, 26-27; also Kris Lane, *Pillaging the Empire*, p. 35, 65-67. Recent scholarship on Dutch commerce has revealed the preponderance of trade between Dutch merchant ships and Spanish colonists, classed by the Spanish empire as contraband, but normal trade for the Dutch, who kept assiduous records. See Wim Klooster, *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795* (Leiden: KLTLV Press, 1998); and Linda M. Rupert, “Contraband Trade and the Shaping of Colonial Societies in Curaçao and Tierra Firme,” *Itinerario* 30, 3 (2006): 35-54;.

the pursuit of wealth and cultural conformity. Men like him faced marginalization and coercion (though of a less totalizing kind than racialized slaves) in their interactions with Spanish Caribbean societies. For those who, like Nicolas Burundel, crossed over to Spanish American territories – as sailors, runaways, smugglers or prisoners – their freedom of movement and economic opportunities depended on attaching themselves to powerful patrons in their new environs. These men (in my sample, all were men) were rarely wealthy, but instead, like Nicolas, came from humble backgrounds: sailors, fishermen, tailors, peddlers, carpenters, coopers, or bricklayers.⁵ In this situation of economic dependency, foreigners found that the articulation of a Catholic conversion served as a means to overcome the cultural divide that designated those of their nations not only as heretics, but as illegal aliens and rapacious enemy “pirates.”⁶ Local officials,

⁵ According to occupations given in Inquisition proceedings; only two foreigners seen by Cartagena’s Inquisitors were identified as gentlemen [*hidalgos*]. Similarly, nearly every foreigner I have come across in testimonies and casual references in AGI documents occupy similarly humble positions. Many thanks to David Wheat of Vanderbilt University for reference to one notable exception. One Richarte de Mors (Richard Demeers?) seems to have been a resident of Havana in the beginning of the 17th century, and was fined by governor Juan Maldonado in 1608 “for lodging/taking in [*acoxer*] Englishmen” the value he supposedly received as a hosteler: 1,500 *reales*, one of the highest fines by far listed in an account of fines [*penas de camera*] awarded to the hospital of San Juan de Dios in 1608 in Havana. AGI, Santo Domingo 163, R.4, No. 70, f. 8v.

⁶ Tamar Herzog’s work has shown in detail the multitudinous methods of obtaining citizenship and a sense of belonging in the community in Spanish and American territories of the 17th and 18th century Hapsburg empire. Her writings show that in the case of foreigners from countries outside of Hapsburg control, Catholicism served as an obligatory condition for membership, and that the Hapsburg Crown often sheltered – and in many cases naturalized – persecuted Catholics from England, Ireland, and the Netherlands. The rules for naturalization were by no means set in stone and varied widely from group to group, place to place, time period to time period. By the end of the early modern period, Herzog argues, religion was only one aspect of belonging – a broader definition of “social integration” had become key for whether foreigners would be accepted into the community (*Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*, (Yale UP, 2003), especially pp. 119-45). Hapsburg officials also recruited foreign Catholic sailors to man their transatlantic fleet, and “religious loyalty was accepted as a partial substitute for national identity when ships were short-handed” Carla Rahn Phillips, “The Organization of Oceanic Empires: The Iberian World in the Hapsburg Period (and a Bit Beyond),” Paper presented at *Seascapes, Littoral Cultures, and Trans-Oceanic Exchanges*, Library of Congress, Washington D.C., February 12-15, 2003.

like Burundel's patron Sedeño, often encouraged these cultural crossings to legitimate their own role in co-opting potentially subversive forces, attuned to the benefits of collaboration with foreign contrabandists and would-be mercenaries. This chapter will explore how local conditions, operating in dialectic with Old World conventions of religious conversion, produced scripts for successful performances. Beyond crass or utilitarian profiteering, participating in these mutually-beneficial rituals of conversion and incorporation, these groups began to reshape the meaning of inter-denominational Christianity in the Americas – ranging from deep-seated antipathy to practical tolerance. The Spanish Inquisition stood at the crossroads joining post-Tridentine Catholic orthodoxy, the Hapsburg empire's efforts at hegemony in Europe and America, and new demands for tolerance.⁷

Many times Caribbean collaborative relationships seemed less than apparent. Given the fact that most of the available evidence for the seventeenth century Caribbean is found in imperial archives, we should not be surprised to find so little – Spanish officials in the Caribbean had ample reason to hide from imperial eyes their illicit relationships with Northern European “pirates” and “heretics.” A few imperial officials occasionally submitted investigative reports charging economic malfeasance and improper relations with foreign traders, providing interesting anecdotal information on individual officials whose activities managed to rouse extraordinary suspicion. Records from Cartagena's Inquisition – because their primary focus was on religious behavior –

<<http://www.historycooperative.org/proceedings/seascapes/phillips.html>> (9 Jul. 2007), para. 12.

⁷ Much of the literature on early modern religious toleration, like Henry Kamen's *The Rise of Toleration* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1967), has approached the question from an intellectual history standpoint. Two recent studies suggest that other influences marked the steady rise of toleration in early modern Europe. William Monter has argued that changes in European trade agreements helped mark the beginnings of Inquisitorial toleration (*Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 246-52);

offer an excellent view of daily negotiations over conversion and social integration.⁸

Nicolas Burundel's full-trial transcript—one of only three for the period under investigation—provides rich details about everyday life for Northern Europeans transplanted to the Spanish Americas. Although his case is very different from the other cases brought against Protestant “apostates” during the period (the reason why local Inquisitors presented the *Suprema* with a copy of his case file in the first place), his life before being brought before the Tribunal *was* fairly representative.

Nicolas Burundel is a perfect example of European mobility between Old World spheres of influence where both trade and religion mattered greatly. As the son of a Calais cloth merchant, Nicolas had lived much of his life at sea, serving on ships sailing between European ports: Dunkirk, Lisbon, cities along the Bay of Biscay. His life at sea had been interrupted for three years when, sailing to “Barbary,” he was taken captive by North African corsairs and sold in Algiers to a French renegade (a convert to Islam). Redeemed by his father after three years, Nicolas returned to Calais, and at the ripe old age of twenty, began making trans-Atlantic journeys to Caribbean settlements to sell clothing and other supplies to French colonists. From the island of Guadeloupe, he said, he ran away with his sweetheart to Spanish Puerto Rico, then traveled to Cartagena, and

⁸ Two major genres of manuscript sources produced and preserved by the Spanish Inquisition provide the quantitative and qualitative foundation for this chapter. First, I have undertaken a comparative analysis of all 39 cases involving Northern Europeans—charges, sentences, language proficiency, identifying features, etc. The level of detail concerning these cases varies widely, as they have been taken from a capricious genre, the yearly reports (*relaciones*) local Inquisitors sent to their Supreme Council (*Suprema*) in Madrid. I have excavated details and anecdotes from these and the three extant full-trial transcripts also related to Caribbean Protestantism, manuscript copies of the original trial dossiers (in Nicolas Burundel's case, nearly 400 folios of testimony and court deliberations) that Inquisitors sent to the *Suprema*. The remarkable detail of these latter three cases has allowed me to unpack the personal relationships and rhetorical narratives that regularly animated such Inquisitorial prosecutions. See footnote 3, above. Cartagena de Indias' Inquisition archives, unlike the nearly-complete stores of records preserved from Lima's and Mexico City's Holy Tribunals, have been lost to researchers.

finally to Jamaica.⁹ Likewise, at least one-third of the other 38 individuals under consideration had traversed the waters and coastlines of the North Atlantic and Mediterranean—from Majorca to Tripoli, Algiers to Cadiz—before learning the inlets and shoals of the West Indies’ island chains. Such navigations (both literal and symbolic) provided opportunities for many to become conversant in dealing with the Spanish, and one another, from the seas of the Old World to the Caribbean, “Sea of the New World.”¹⁰

This chapter will first examine the authority of post-Reformation confessional culture in the Caribbean, and how Protestant and Catholic formulas for heart-felt conversion could be used to express common allegiance. Next, I analyze the accused men’s manipulations of the Spanish Inquisition’s diplomatic and bureaucratic concessions to foreign Protestant merchants. Finally, drawing on the cultural tropes of maritime danger and religious pollution that existed in both Mediterranean and Caribbean realms, I examine the psychological clash between toleration, conversion, and coercion in Christian American zones of influence. This chapter in particular suggests the utility of Ira Berlin’s definition of Atlantic Creole beyond the bounds of the Atlantic slave trade, suggesting linkages between inter-European affairs and the struggles between Christian and Muslim during the early modern period.¹¹ While Berlin’s Creoles

⁹ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 49r-57v.

¹⁰ German Arcienegas’ *Caribbean: Sea of the New World* (1946); Fernand Braudel’s *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II* (1949; 1972 English ed.) is the foundation for early modern Europeanists’ conception of the Mediterranean, the archetypal “Sea of the Old World.” Caribbeanists have frequently noted geographic, historical, and cultural correlations to the Mediterranean (see Gordon K. Lewis, *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1494-1900* (Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983), p. 16-20).

¹¹ Ira Berlin, “From Creole to African,” p. 254n. Berlin’s generic description of Atlantic Creoles strikes a chord in harmony with the cases I present here: “...some Atlantic creoles identified with their ancestral homeland (or a portion of it)—be it African, European, or

developed out of African coastal commerce, attempts to define commercial relationships and overcome cultural differences in European Christendom were undertaken under the dominance of Ottoman and North African Islam. In this contentious world, many Europeans who would become Atlantic Creoles had first learned how to be Mediterranean Creoles.

Aware of the opportunity for duplicity among individuals like Nicolas Burundel, Inquisition officials were unconvinced by the Frenchman's proclamations of his Catholic identity were untrue—he had given very few satisfactory answers to mitigate the testimony of witnesses who claimed he was a heretic. What was more, suffering from the isolation of life in the secret prisons, the Frenchman began to show signs of madness... or was it demonic possession? One night four months after his arrest, Burundel woke the whole prison with shouts and banging, yelling that he would kill anyone who dared enter his cell. The next morning when the jailer reported the unusual event, the Inquisitor personally went to the Frenchman's cell to see what was the matter—what he found inside was shocking.

...having opened [the cell], [Burundel] was found on his knees upon the floor [*tarima*] facing the wall, asking for mercy and praying Our Fathers and Hail Marys in Latin, his entire costume dirty with urine and excrement from his chamber pot, which was broken in various pieces and the excrement spilled on the floor, and a brick from the floor pulled out and broken into three parts... the Lord Inquisitor... ordered that he come with him to the Audience [chamber], which [Nicolas] entered quietly, still weeping and with his hands together [as if in prayer]. The Lord Inquisitor ordered that a bench be brought to him and that he sit on it, which he did, and once seated the Lord Inquisitor asked him what was wrong [*que tenía*], to which he replied that 'the Devil had tricked him [into believing] that the fathers of the Company [of Jesus] and all the priests were coming to kill him with shotguns [*escopetas*].¹²

American—and served as its representatives in negotiations with others. Other Atlantic creoles had been won over by the power and largess of one party or another... Yet others played fast and loose with their diverse heritage, employing whichever identity paid best" (255).

¹² AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 110r-v.

That night would begin a new phase in the Frenchman's proceedings, as Nicolas began to tell the Inquisitor and others around him that he "wasn't himself" —he said he felt like he was drunk all the time and complained especially of a pain in his chest "from the naval upwards."¹³ In succeeding audiences, the scribe noted that Nicolas would often breathe heavily, "with anxiety and fatigue, as if something was bothering him inside his chest," and recorded Nicolas's statement that he wasn't able to finish even one Our Father or Hail Mary without getting distracted.¹⁴ When asked what was happening, Burundel claimed that "his lordship [the Inquisitor] should know what he had in his body—God was punishing it."¹⁵ Was it madness, was it possession, or was it (as the Inquisitor feared was a third possibility) a calculated attempt to have them all believe he was possessed and/or mad? Seeing as how the Frenchman had failed to convince the Tribunal of his "Catholic Christian" identity, it is not surprising that he was also unconvincing as a madman.

However, the idea of the performance and/or belief in supernatural illnesses *was* a reflection of the European tradition of demonology, a theological convention shared by Protestants and Catholics alike.¹⁶ Through this chapter, I will compare Nicolas Burundel's attempts to perform madness with the 38 other cases of Protestants before Cartagena's Holy Tribunal that do *not* invoke the specter of demonic possession. By comparing the evidence taken from other foreigners' cases with Burundel's odyssey

¹³ Ibid., f. 114v.

¹⁴ Ibid., 120r.

¹⁵ Ibid., 118r-v.

¹⁶ See Jorge Cañizares-Esguerra, *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700* (Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006); Nathan Johnstone, *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006); and Andrew W. Keitt, *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain* (Boston: Brill, 2005).

through post-Reformation Continental Europe, the watery reaches of the early modern Atlantic and Mediterranean Worlds, and his more than ten-year sojourn in the Spanish Caribbean, we can better understand the politics of profit, tolerance, and religious antipathy in the seventeenth-century Caribbean.

“I’ll confess with Juan, and Juan with me”

Overcoming the Antagonisms of Post-Reformation Religious Identities

Scholarship on sixteenth-century Europe has elaborated deeply on the processes of confessionalization and religious renewal, processes which aimed to convert the fundamentals of Catholic and Protestant doctrine into essential identity for men and women from all levels of society. Definitions of Protestant or Catholic orthodoxy were constructed in a dialectic that depended on oppositional politics – Catholic identities thus were formulated around adherence to devotional practices that upheld those aspects of doctrine most firmly opposed by Protestant reformers (e.g. Mary’s immaculate conception, the true presence of Christ’s body and blood in the Eucharist, the veneration of saints and relics, etc.), and vice versa. By the early seventeenth century, such hallmarks of Protestant and Catholic identity had become fairly ingrained, even at the lowest levels of far-away colonial society.¹⁷ This section elaborates on how

¹⁷ Over the last twenty years or so, Early Modern Europeanists have battled over terminology concerning the flourishing of a distinct form of Catholicism in the post-Tridentine period. Some stick with “Counter-Reformation”; others prefer “Catholic Reformation” or “Catholic Renewal”; a rather neutral “Early Modern Catholicism” has also been proposed (See, for example, R. Po-Chia Hsia, *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*; John O’Malley, *Trent and All That*). In this study, I would like to emphasize both the sense of popular piety that comes with the phrase “Catholic Renewal,” and the antagonisms of the term “Counter-Reformation,” which has so much purchase when describing Spanish relationships with foreigners suspected of Protestantism. I hope to bring a balance between scholarship that emphasizes top-down “confessionalization” and works that focus on popular religious expressions. Thanks to the construction of strong ties between a proto-“national” identity and the abhorrence of heresy, except for the short-lived *alumbrado* scare of Valladolid and Seville of 1559-60, Protestantism in

confessional identity helped to define acceptance in Spanish Caribbean society, and how individuals and religious institutions worked to punish those identities deemed unacceptable. Articulations of Counter-Reformation Catholicism provided Northern European outsiders with opportunities to witness and model new Catholic identities through the rehearsals and rituals of conversion, whether their audiences were local elites, churchmen, creolized slaves, or the Inquisitor himself.

In Jamaica, Nicolas Burundel could thank the legacy of the Catholic Reformation for his denunciation and prosecution, which might never have come to light were it not for the willing cooperation of witnesses from all strata of Jamaican society — slaves and free *mulatos*, established Spanish citizens, convicts, and respectable maidens. A creole slave named Marcela Perez was the first to denounce Nicolas — she tried to rebuke him for blasphemies she had overheard him say while arguing with his wife, calling him a “heretic dog.” When the Frenchman retorted that she was just a *puta*, Marcela took her complaint to her local Inquisition officer (*comisario*).¹⁸ Within several months, the *comisario* had more fuel to add to the fire. Rumors that Burundel was a heretic had begun circulating widely, and Spanish citizens (*vecinos*) Diego Navarra de Lara and Francisca de Espinosa joined the list of official witnesses. Navarra wrote a letter from his ranch, where he had once employed the “Englishman” as a laborer, to report how one day, conversing with Nicolas about the reverence due to saints, Nicolas said that he didn’t believe in earthly saints (*santos de palo de la tierra*), only God in heaven. Navarro, scandalized, reproached his worker, but Burundel “remained obstinate” that he was

sixteenth-century Spain was a crime nearly always linked to foreigners, prosecuted in Tribunals on the frontiers of Spanish Hapsburg territories, like Logroño, Zaragoza, and Barcelona (Helen Rawlings, *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain*, p. 37).

¹⁸ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 2v-3v.

right until Navarro said “he was obliged” to resort to physical violence, kicking him to the ground.¹⁹ Francisca de Espinosa testified that she had often comforted Nicolas’ wife Ana in the wake of the couple’s frequent arguments. Ana railed against her abusive husband, and confided in Francisca that he had said she shouldn’t call Mary a Virgin, only the mother of God – “for if the Virgin had given birth, how could she be a virgin?”²⁰

After Burundel was arrested by the Inquisition constable on October 2, 1651, his wife was questioned, and two Spaniards and two mixed-race creoles were also called upon to testify. Ana defended her husband’s orthodoxy, saying that in France, “she had lived among many heretics and would have known if he was one”; nonetheless, her protestations couldn’t overpower the testimony of her neighbors. Doña Isabel de Prado, a Spanish maiden who seems to have been another of Ana’s confidants, said that one of her family’s slaves told her that one day at Burundel’s home, she had heard Nicolas mock his wife’s urgings to go to confession, responding with a dismissive, “ ‘Go on, get out of here – I’ll confess with Juan,’ pointing to another Englishman who was there, ‘and Juan with me.’”²¹ The slave in question, a girl named Jacinta, was called in by the *comisario* – she confirmed that Nicolas had uttered this blasphemy “with much laughter and delight,” and also bragged that “he didn’t go to the Holy Friday procession to watch it, but just to make fun of the penitents.”²²

Although Burundel’s patron, the convicted ex-governor Jacinto Sedeño, seems not to have paid much attention to his lackey’s irreverence (indeed, Nicolas had plenty

¹⁹ Ibid., ff. 4v-5v. [*le obligo a darle de coçes y deriuarlo en el suelo*].

²⁰ Ibid., ff. 5v-6r.

²¹ Ibid., ff. 17v-18r.

²² Ibid., ff. 17v-18r.

to say about Sedeño's many blasphemies), the Frenchman's hot temper and disagreeable manner pulled him into conflictual relationships with people around him, and his imprudent comments that went against Catholic teaching made him an easy target. Spanish citizens could be understandably hostile to men like Burundel: more often than not captured as pirates, held as prisoners, or entering their territories clandestinely, they were classed as enemies not to be trusted. If they hoped to find protection in this hostile land, they needed to attach themselves to powerful men. In a 1648 investigation of Jamaica's chief cleric, abbot Mateo de Medina Rico, Cartagena's Inquisitors were upset about the abbot's unlawful licensing of baptisms and reconciliations for "many heretics of different nations."²³ One man questioned said he had seen the previous governor, don Francisco Ladrón, encourage hastily-performed baptisms of some English and Irish sailors who had deserted from the English privateer William Jackson's fleet after the English had sacked part of the island. Governor Ladrón had said that those Englishmen "were Christians, and wish to be absolved [*reducirse*] of their papal excommunication." Turning to one of his solders nearby, Gov. Ladrón said, "Go with his lordship and take this Englishman with you. I don't remember if he also wanted to convert [*reducirse*], but tell them to give the license to *licenciado* Alonso Tellez so he is absolved with the rest."²⁴ This kind of cavalier attitude signified to the witness that government officials not only tolerated but also encouraged pragmatic conversions to Catholicism.

Churchmen like Father Tellez were the lynchpins of these alliances – as representatives of the secular and spiritual powers in the colonies, their mediation between sacred and secular was powerful enough to ritually erase at least one aspect of

²³ AHN, Inq. 1617, Exp. 1/7. Causa criminal contra el Abad de Jamaica, don Mateo de Medina Moreno, sobre haber reconciliado y bautizado a muchos herejes de diferentes naciones.

²⁴ Ibid., f. 6v.

enemy identity. Upon receiving the deserters, Tellez admitted he had been reluctant at first, arguing with the officers who presented themselves as godparents that if their godchildren had come to Jamaica with “the wish to be baptized, they could not have taken up arms against us.” He was suspicious that the Englishmen may have requested baptism “to devalue the sacrament, for he had heard it said that they were already baptized.”²⁵ However, facing the “tears and other afflictions” of the hopeful converts, and ordered by Abbot Medina to proceed, Tellez capitulated. Trying to maintain some semblance of order, Tellez consulted a “Roman Manual” for the format of the ceremony – reconciling those who had some Catholic education, and baptizing the others *sub conditione*, ensuring that they were first instructed “many days” in the faith and knew how to pray.²⁶

In addition to Tellez’ skepticism, at least one other person was brave enough to register his scandal at these baptisms. Diego Nuñez Rosa said he left the cathedral “with great anguish” when he saw the first three Englishmen brought to the baptismal font, “not believing that it could be possible among Christians to carry out such a great sacrilege.”²⁷ Rosa complained to everyone he saw, then went to the comisario and told him that it was common knowledge (*se decía por público*) that one Englishman had been baptized two or three times before, saying that “wherever they caught him he got baptized because they gave him clothes [for the occasion].”²⁸ But these and other questionable baptisms were met with rejoicing more often than with skepticism. A long-

²⁵ One key of Tridentine reforms was preserving the integrity of the Church’s seven sacraments—receiving baptism more than once in one’s life was deemed blasphemous for the inference that this transformative ritual could be taken lightly.

²⁶ AHN, Inq. 1617, Exp.1/7, f. 3v-5r. The designation *sub conditione* was used in cases where one’s previous baptismal history was in question.

²⁷ Ibid., f. 5v.

²⁸ Ibid., f. 7v.

held crusading ethos combined with Counter-Reformation spirituality to induce these Spaniards to accept at face value the triumph of the One True Faith over heresy. The prestige of being affiliated with these seemingly miraculous signs of God's power led nine of the island's leading men, nearly all military and administrative officeholders, to offer their pious support of the baptisms, which celebrations were witnessed by nearly everyone on the island. Even if Father Tellez did not quite believe he was redeeming lost lambs, he might have consoled himself with the belief that those heretics could only be bettered by their instruction in Catholic beliefs and the good example of Spanish society. Faced with his prelate's orders and the insistence of foreigners' godparents, "the most principle residents of the place,"²⁹ Tellez could sleep with a clear conscience — he had just been following orders.

Building on the credulity and good will of Spanish Catholics, Protestant foreigners who expressed a desire to become part of the local community nonetheless had to convincingly perform their conversions for the populace. A few described with curiosity how priests adapted the sacrament of baptism for these adult converts. The ceremony, "which seemed longer and different than those normally used for children,"³⁰ began outside the door of the church, where the men kneeled on the ground and waited to be recognized by the priest. When the priest asked "What did they want?" the men were coached to reply, "Baptism," and to affirm they had never before received the Sacrament. After this ritual exchange, Father Tellez allowed the converts to enter the sanctuary. Next, converts participated in a brief demonstration to prove they had been well-instructed — some were asked to explain the meaning of the images in the church

²⁹ Ibid., f. 4v.

³⁰ Ibid., f. 15v.

(representations on earth of the saints in heaven) or made to recite the Creed aloud. The penultimate act before receiving the holy oil of baptism, the men had to prostrate themselves on the floor, “and with acts of humility beg forgiveness.”³¹

Participating in, witnessing, or retelling rituals like these provided foreign initiates with ready-made scripts for conversion. We can better glimpse the transmission of similar ritual memories by looking at the case of Thomas Cox (alias Drac alias Gales), an English royalist fugitive who traveled widely in the Spanish Caribbean in the late 1640s. Denounced for “pretending to be a Catholic,” Cox testified before Cartagena’s Inquisition in 1652 that he had been encouraged by some Irish comrades from Santo Domingo to convert—they knew some priests in that city who spoke his language and could facilitate the process. Arriving in Santo Domingo during Lent, Thomas said he borrowed some texts from a Flemish chaplain of the city’s garrison, and then (like a good Protestant) spent the next seven weeks comparing them with the Bible, “and he discovered everything to be true.” Confirmed in his beliefs, Cox said the chaplain sent him to pay 30 *reales* to a Dominican friar who would “make a bull of the Holy Crusade to clear him of [his] excommunication.” Payment complete, Cox explained that

the said cleric and friar ordered him to strip to the waist, which he did, believing they wanted to whip him harshly for his sins. The said friar took a book and began to read in Latin while the cleric gave it to him gently on the back with a little rod [*una barica*] and in this manner (as they told him) they absolved him.

It was such a “great consolation,” Cox recounted to Cartagena’s inquisitors, to receive the license that would give him permission to enter the island’s churches, that he joined

³¹ Ibid., ff. 9r, 15v.

a religious procession in process outside, and went to mass that day (Maunday Thursday) and every day thereafter until the celebration of Easter Sunday.³²

But in the following audience, Thomas Cox had a real confession to make: he admitted had given an honest account of his life, “except it wasn’t true, that is to say it was false,” what he said about the ceremony performed by the Dominican friar. The Inquisition scribe then noted that the accused, “dropping to his knees, his hands raised in the air, asked for mercy.”³³ Cox tried to explain, saying he’d lied out of fear, and later shared that he’d gotten the idea from seeing a similar ritual performed by a Franciscan on a French convert in Venezuela.³⁴ This admittedly rare admission of a counterfeit conversion is likely representative of what must have happened quite regularly when foreigners were asked to explain their Catholic identity to others. It is a telling reminder of how easy it must have been to “fake” a conversion – all one needed were a dramatic story of conviction (many of the 38 cases I examined were accomplished at expressing how they had been “struck through the heart” by God or had been convinced by the superiority of priests’ arguments against their old Protestant errors), and regular participation in the rituals of Catholic life (such as processions and confession). Chameleons like Cox relied on sophisticated storytelling to cultivate sympathetic relationships, resorting to physical articulations of remorse and verbal cries for mercy when challenged.

Parish clergy and members of the regular orders had to be kept at arm’s length, for their education in spiritual matters made them more apt to see through a hastily-

³² AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, f. 275r; in Anna Maria Splendiani, *Cincuenta Años* (hereafter Splendiani), Vol. 3, p. 285.

³³ Ibid., f. 277r; Splendiani iii.286.

³⁴ Ibid., f. 277v; Splendiani iii.287.

constructed façade of true Catholic belief. Nicolas Burundel seemed to have been exceptionally wary of getting involved with priests. Though he attested he had been required to “give proof” of his Catholicism before Cartagena’s bishop to get a license to marry Ana when they first settled in that city, he was aware of the risk of such interactions, saying that at first, “with respect to [the fact that] he spoke a very closed French and Spanish not at all,” the bishop had called him a “heretic and a barbarian [*bozal*].”³⁵ From then on, Burundel seems to have limited his contact with priests to the occasional brief exchange with the Jesuits who ran a sort of early modern “soup kitchen” for the poor, funded with alms collected from Cartagena’s citizens. He said that he’d confessed once with a priest in Jamaica, but didn’t remember what he had said – maybe a good thing, because he claimed he later saw the same priest “drunk... in a tavern [*pulpería*].”³⁶

Though foreigners appear to have convinced some sectors of Spanish society in the sincerity of their conversions, the longer the term of residence, the more risks such suspicious outsiders faced. Language had much to do with the level of vulnerability. As long as individuals remained on the margins of society and only revealed their derision or suspicion of Catholic practices with one another, they were generally safe. But when long residence gave way to regular communication in a shared language – as in Nicolas Burundel’s case – Old World conflicts were more likely to break out. For Thomas Cox, his native tongue failed to protect him, for English was a common

³⁵ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 55v. In the colonial context, *bozal* was most often used to describe newly-arrived African slaves who were un-aculturated and could not communicate in Castilian or any other European creole language – the term also carried with it a sense of brutishness. Only in this one instance have I seen the use of the term *bozal* to describe a European, and thus have used the Greek-derived word “barbarian” in my translation, a term that is tied to language acquisition but connotes a more general sense of inferiority and otherness.

³⁶ Ibid., ff. 119r-120v.

language among the substantial communities of Irish and English Catholics (many who had fled to Spanish territories during the tumult of the Civil War).³⁷ Cox told inquisitors suspected his informers had been an Irish captain and English priest with whom he used to get drunk in Santo Domingo, and he cautioned the Tribunal not to give credit to the tales of those drinking buddies turned enemies.³⁸ As for the deserters from Jackson's fleet, no one could tell yet how long they would last. In his investigation, Jamaica's Inquisition *comisario* neglected to question them, explaining that of those who were still around, "none [are] acculturated [*ladino*] and understand our tongue."³⁹ Guillermo Obrey, one of the Frenchmen living in Jamaica, said that even though he was born a Catholic, he had to wait to get a license to confess "until he was more *ladino* and could be understood." When asked if it was possible that any of the other foreigners on the island had been baptized before they receiving the sacrament in Jamaica, Obrey said it was certain they had been, "because in his land everyone was."⁴⁰

Cartagena's Inquisitors must have torn their hair out at the Jamaican abbot's negligence. In an act dated March 11, 1648, they reminded Jamaica's clergy that *only* the *comisario* – the Holy Office's official representative – could reconcile heretics in such cases, and that they must adhere to the Tribunal's official instructions for doing so.⁴¹

³⁷ Jenny Shaw and Kristen Block, "Irish Identities and Inter-Imperial Strategies in the Seventeenth-Century Caribbean," Paper presented at the N.Y.U. Atlantic History Workshop, March 28, 2006, pp. 7-19.

³⁸ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, f. 276r; Splendiani iii.286.

³⁹ AHN, Inq. 1617, Exp. 1/7, f. 20v. *Ladino* was a term used to describe someone, usually an Indian or African, who had learned to speak Castilian and was acculturated to Spanish social and cultural norms. It was not uncommon to describe European migrants who had learned to speak Spanish as *ladino*. Some of these individuals will appear in the following chapter, returning to the English when they invaded Jamaica in 1655.

⁴⁰ Ibid., f. 14v.

⁴¹ Ibid., f. 27r. Father Antón de Castillo, another priest who had been compelled to baptize one of the foreigners in Jamaica, testified that he had complained to the abbot that reconciling heretics was going beyond their authority – only the Holy Office, he said, could reconcile

Indeed, located at the heart of the Spanish Caribbean commercial and imperial power, Cartagena's Holy Tribunal of the Inquisition held supreme responsibility for enforcing Counter-Reformation orthodoxy throughout its Caribbean and New Granada jurisdictions. Manned by highly-trained administrators conversant in canon law and theology, this institution took their "inquisitiveness" into all sorts of heresy quite seriously. In cases against Protestant offenders, they consulted with highly-trained clerics (*calificadores*) to "qualify" charges, to determine whether their past acts could be categorized as formal heresy or merely superstitious, ignorant, or disrespectful.

In Nicolas Burundel's case, Inquisitors also employed educated priests as consultants to uncover whether his "madness" was just an act. The Inquisitor had already warned the Frenchman that "the devil couldn't make an assault on him, and that he shouldn't fake madness or that he was being tricked by the Devil, for in addition to being a grave sin, he would be punished for it."⁴² But he also informed three *calificadores*, Franciscan friar Martin de Velasco and Dominicans friars Pedro de Achurri and Francisco de Vargas, of the case as it currently stood against Burundel. He asked them to visit Nicolas periodically, offering him the "comfort" of a rosary to pray with or the "consolation" of confession, hoping to draw out Burundel's true beliefs as they conversed about his past and how he had practiced his faith in places like France.⁴³ But Nicolas saw through the charade of such duplicitous "consolations" and tried to avoid

heretics – they should at least consult with a theologian on the issue. But the abbot replied that the Holy Tribunal only need be involved in cases concerning "rebel heretics, but not with those who came of their own free will to the Church to request Baptism" (f. 23r-v). But the 90-year-old abbot, it was said, could barely read Latin, and he likely had few theologically-trained priests to ask about the matter – in 1644, one source reported a severe dearth of regular clergy in Jamaica, only four Dominican monks and three Franciscans were currently in residence on the island (Cundall, *Jamaica under the Spaniards*, p. 41).

⁴² AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 117r.

⁴³ Ibid., ff. 119v-121r), ff. 150v-159v, ff. 143r-158r.

serious conversation with his priestly visitors. Burundel refused to make confession with any of the three, insinuating that what he confessed would be reported to the Inquisitor, despite confession's supposed secrecy. After a few frustrating visits, father Vargas reported that Nicolas wasn't demented, but was faking his physical ailments to distract the Tribunal from his heresy, and only tolerated their visits because he was lonely in his cell.⁴⁴ Velasco claimed he had been able to chip away at the shell of the Frenchman's secret identity as a heretic, revealed in their conversations about Catholic doctrine and Nicolas' mocking responses.⁴⁵ Though Burundel would later claim he'd done his best to treat these priests with the respect due their station, he insisted he didn't have to confess with them or let them instruct him in the faith, saying "I'm not here to be taught."⁴⁶

Indeed, punishment was the more common — and accurate — definition of the Inquisition's function. As the foremost defender of the faith, the Spanish Inquisition was, for many Northern Europeans, the most powerful symbol of Reformation antagonisms, and its powers most clearly demonstrated in the spectacular ritual of the public *auto de fe*. Though Protestants composed only a small fraction of those who would be reconciled as repentant sinners in these theatrical rituals, their symbolic position was much more enhanced. Two of the three most lavish *autos* mounted in Cartagena's public square during the Tribunal's first twenty years (in 1614, 1622, and 1626) highlighted the Inquisition's power to overcome the Caribbean's menacing

⁴⁴ Ibid., f. 156.

⁴⁵ Ibid., ff. 143r-48r.

⁴⁶ Ibid., f. 188v.

Protestant threat.⁴⁷ Reconciliation at this level required more than mere protestations of faith or humble supplication – it required punishment.

Bringing together individuals from the furthest reaches of the Tribunal's jurisdiction and all levels of society, *autos de fe* were shining demonstrations of Spanish Catholicism united against heresy. Chronicles of the 1626 *auto de fe* describe this sense of coming together, beginning with a pronouncement in early April by Inquisition officials "that upon the arrival of His Majesty's galleons, an *auto de fe* would be celebrated." Officials also proclaimed that all citizens of the port city and surrounding areas should be in attendance, for which they would gain papal indulgences.⁴⁸ First, a surveyor chose a design for the theater, deciding on one that closely approximated an *auto de fe* he'd seen mounted in the Canaries; next, three infantry captains and aldermen (*regidores*) were chosen to direct the construction of the project, and they called upon the entire populace to help gather the wood necessary to build the three massive stages necessary to visually demarcate the tiered hierarchies of the Crown, Church and Society. When the fleet arrived in Cartagena on June 10, the armada's generals joined their efforts to the production, ordering their common seamen and convict laborers (*forzados*) to hoist 42 masts from the ships to the main plaza, where they would form a dramatic awning for the main stage, which were said to rise "like pyramids of wood... to compete with the

⁴⁷ After the first three extravagant *autos de fe*, which had been mounted as huge outdoor spectacles, the rituals shrank in size – reconciled penitents often abjured their sins in the city's cathedral, or even at private ceremonies in the Inquisition Audience chamber.

⁴⁸ AHN, Inq. 1020, f. 262; Splendiani, ii.250. The process began with a formal presentation of Cartagena's chief constable [*alguacil mayor*] before the governor's council to obtain the support of the secular officials – the governor, the city fathers and other royal judges visiting the city. Couriers carried news of the impending event to Inquisition *comisarios* to all reaches of the Tribunal's jurisdiction, which included New Granada (Popayán, Santa Marta, Cartagena and its nearby cities) and the archbishopric of Santo Domingo (Cuba, Venezuela, Jamaica, Panama and Portobello).

clouds." Everyone with homes along the parade route was ordered to hang their most expensive draperies from the balconies and to sweep their properties.

Cartagena's citizens may have awakened before dawn on the anticipated day of festivities to watch that year's penitents march through the city streets, led by members of the city's religious orders who processed behind a "cross dressed in mourning with a black veil, grave signs of the sadness and emotions that our mother the Church [feels] when her children deny her." By mid-morning, they jostled into the main square to watch the head of the city's Dominican order raise the Host in celebration of high mass, and listened to a sermon preached by a learned Franciscan, who used St. Paul's rebuke to the errant Galatians as his scriptural homily. At the end of this particularly fitting exhortation, the crowd watched as the Holy Tribunal's secretary took the pulpit and instructed everyone in attendance to make the sign of the cross. With him they swore "to defend the faith, obey and execute all the commands of the Holy Office and defend its ministers." As a reward for their attention, the secretary read the pope's bull, which bestowed indulgences and his thanks to those co-protectors of the faith.

True to Geertz's model of religion and the performance of ritual these ceremonies of Inquisitorial authority gained potency the more the populace participated in official definitions of orthodoxy, providing a sense of unity against the heretics-penitents. Perhaps a shiver of anticipation passed over the crowd – it had been only four years since the last *auto de fe* when an English Protestant was burned at the stake.⁴⁹ This year, Frederico Cuperes, a Fleming from Antwerp, was the first to climb atop the platform, wearing the shameful sambenito which carried the symbols of his Calvinist heresy. After the Inquisition Secretary read the charges of which the Fleming had been

⁴⁹ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 204-08.

convicted and his abjuration of the same, the Secretary proclaimed the sentence—100 lashes in the city streets would be the price of his reconciliation. For one moment Cuperes went off script, taking his time on stage to threaten the witnesses who had denounced him, protesting that his confession had been coerced—saying he had confessed that which he had not committed out of fear. But the show went on, despite the Fleming's protests. Insincere confessions could be as dangerous as insincere conversions. By playing his part (as a penitent) in the Inquisitorial process, Cuperes had accepted the Tribunal's legitimation of the Catholic worldview, and his protest at this late stage likely did little to challenge Inquisitorial authority.

With these sorts of examples of the Inquisition's stern treatment for heretics, it is not surprising that Nicolas Burundel viewed the Tribunal's investigating clerics with distrust, fearing that any admission of sins which took him outside the bounds of Catholic orthodoxy would only expose him as a liar. With the help of his court-appointed lawyer, Burundel submitted a petition that reiterated his innocence, saying he was by nature "a coarse man of little intelligence in these [religious] matters; he hoped his unintentional faults could be pardoned." Interviewing the Frenchman after his petition was registered, the Inquisitor inquired as to whether the Franciscan friar had seen and "consoled" Nicolas at all; Burundel responded that he didn't need consolation from anyone "if it wasn't from the Lord Inquisitor himself."⁵⁰ But his longed-for consolation was far from forthcoming—the Inquisitor had already received the priests' determinations on Burundel's state of health. Not only did they believe that the Frenchman was faking his real or imagined ailments, but they raised more questions about his orthodoxy, claiming he had scorned their talk of sacramental confession,

⁵⁰ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 141v-142r.

transubstantiation, and asserted that his outward comportment betrayed his deep scorn for Catholic institutions and their emissaries.

By the seventeenth century, confessional antipathies were so engrained at all levels of European society that even in the relatively lax religious atmosphere of the Caribbean, national-religious antipathies could be hard to overcome. Notwithstanding, Spaniards at all levels of colonial society generally believed their faith could do miracles—even converting heretics. This credulity gave support to would-be converts, who could speak with emotion of being “tricked” by their old doctrines or “moved by God” to see the light and learn about the truth from Catholic priests. But following the wrong script (like Burundel’s disastrous results with demonology) could be a matter of life and death. No wonder that most found ways to hide their vulnerabilities... and fast.

**“Don’t lose hope, this Holy Tribunal is like the Lord Our God”
Securing Toleration from within the Bureaucratic Bosom of the Spanish Inquisition**

On 28 September 1652, Nicolas was brought to the main audience chamber to hear the second accusation brought against him by the local prosecuting attorney: with new evidence assembled after reports from *consultadores*, the Tribunal formally charged Nicolas Burundel with the crime of Calvinism, and alleged that he must have been comprehensively educated in the very fundamentals of this “damned” heresy to say the things he had. The Inquisitor revealed their belief that he had consciously decided to fool Inquisitors with a performance of madness, “hoping in this way to get out of prison without being corrected.”⁵¹ After all 21 charges were read, the Frenchman was asked to respond in his own defense. Beginning by stating that he was “fearful of God and his

⁵¹ Ibid., ff. 162v-169r.

crimes,” Nicolas faltered, overwhelmed with the magnitude of his predicament, and then could only think to say “that he was here, and they should do with him what they wished.” But the Inquisitor tried to hold back Nicolas from his descent into despair, saying, “Have hope, this Holy Tribunal is like God our Lord, and will treat with great mercy those who are good penitents — who confess their offenses and repent of them.” He further told Nicolas that he still had “time to prove himself worth its mercy.”⁵²

But instead of following the suggestion that compliant confession and conversion might (even at this seemingly hopeless stage) be to his advantage, Burundel just shut down. He refused to respond to the rest of the charges against him, and he resisted the mandatory post-accusation session with his lawyer. Three days later, as the Inquisitor consulted with other learned officials about the next step toward uncovering the truth — torture — he also ordered that Nicolas be transferred to the relative comfort of a common cell. Having tried and failed to get priests to draw the Frenchman out of his shell, the Inquisitor instead tried enlisting the aid of the two inmates with whom he’d be sharing his new quarters.⁵³ Burundel’s first cellmate-to-be was Francisco de Murillo, a Franciscan priest who had stolen the alms he’d been collecting for his monastery in Bogotá and run away with the money to Venezuela, trying to escape his past by exchanging his vows of celibacy for the vows of holy matrimony.⁵⁴ Juan de Noguera was a Portuguese medic *cum* charlatan living near the Pacific coast, whose dubious services for hire included the use of a divining rod which allegedly helped find lost items.⁵⁵ Burundel, rejecting any deviance from his testimony before the Inquisitor, had

⁵² Ibid., f. 170r-v.

⁵³ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 176r-177v.

⁵⁴ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, ff. 348-49v; Splendiani iii.344-46.

⁵⁵ Ibid., ff. 367-68v; Splendiani iii.369-72.

been astute to mistrust the *calificadores* sent to probe his true beliefs, but he should have thought to be more circumspect in his conversations with these new cellmates. He was not. Over the course of two months, from early October to early December 1652, Noguera and Murillo gave regular statements to the Inquisitor, offering their observations of Nicolas' behavior and their relations of conversations with the Frenchman.

Both of these informers' initial reports emphasized Burundel's overwhelming depression and despair. Noguera said he was behaving "like a crazy, desperate man,"⁵⁶ one time begging them to kill him ... he was only "dog meat" and wouldn't feel anything ... "he pardoned them for his death...." To prove his point, Nicolas grabbed at his own throat "with both hands," and told them, "look, look, I don't feel [anything]!"⁵⁷ and then, "squeezing with all his might" until it looked as if he would choke himself, his cellmates intervened to wrest his hands from his neck.⁵⁸ The reason for such despair, or so he asserted, was because "his case was more dire than all the others, for he had killed a man who was the governor of Jamaica." Murillo, knowledgeable in religious matters, tried to dissuade him from that mistaken assumption, saying that the Inquisition didn't arrest people for murder, and suggested that he might find some relief if he begged the Tribunal's mercy. But Nicolas insisted his case was hopeless, that "he didn't want mercy in this life, for he'd already asked the Tribunal and God for mercy." Remembering his supernatural symptoms, he added, "who more should he ask, the Devil?"⁵⁹

⁵⁶ Ibid., f. 199r.

⁵⁷ Ibid., f. 199v.

⁵⁸ Ibid., ff. 178r-179r.

⁵⁹ Ibid., ff. 179v-180r.

Nicolas' behavior certainly seems to have reflected a tormented state of mind, at times desperate and suicidal, at other times angry and manipulative. Though his symptoms of madness had been deemed simulations in the *consultadores'* damning reports, Nicolas kept insisting that he was an "Apostolic Roman Catholic Christian" and that his labored breathing was not faked, but was rather a "trial God gave him for his sins and desperation."⁶⁰ Perhaps his judgment had been clouded by nightmarish tales of the Spanish Inquisition. Perhaps he was just dim-witted. Perhaps he did wish to die. What *is* clear is that he was not able to see the opportunities afforded to him by Inquisitorial procedures, nor was he attuned to the changes to Inquisitorial policy that, over the seventeenth century, provided increasing protections to certain groups of foreign Protestants. Nicolas seems to have been unable to see beyond the confines of his cell, and his inferences about how he might successfully secure his freedom were fundamentally flawed, pushing him down the path from struggle to despair.

In a European-diplomatic context, the seventeenth century was a period in which the power and will of the Spanish Inquisition to wipe out all vestiges of foreign heresies was on the decline; those aware of these changes could unmoor the Tribunal apparatus from its aura of mystique and terror. Beyond the crusading zeal of the Catholic Reformation, the Spanish Inquisition's administration was forced to respond to political realities on the subject of foreign Protestants. As the Hapsburg empire's hegemony dwindled over the course of the seventeenth century, it was forced into a series of unfavorable treaties requiring concessions to the demands (some of them religious) of Northern Europeans. International relations demanded diplomatic tolerance, and powerful mercantile interests made toleration a profitable option.

⁶⁰ Ibid., f. 185v.

Although legally a separate entity from the monarchy, the Spanish Inquisition and its worldwide Tribunals were forced to change its policies towards foreigners in accordance with the Crown's international treaties and agreements. The biggest policy changes were enacted beginning after the 1604 Treaty of London, in which Philip III was forced to concede toleration to Protestant English sailors and merchants. To encourage the renewal of friendly trade relations, the Spanish Inquisition was barred from prosecuting English subjects during their visit to Spanish ports, as long as they didn't "give scandal" to the Catholics living there. The newly-united Dutch Provinces pressed for, and received, the same concessions as the English when they signed the 1609 treaty with their former Hapsburg overlords. The Inquisition agreed to comply, but in 1610 determined that they would only exempt foreign transients (such as sailors); charges could still be brought against those merchants and factors who maintained a more permanent residence in Spanish territories. Toleration policies were erased in the 1620s, first in 1621 when the Dutch treaty expired, and then in 1626, when war broke out with England. During this time of renewed conflict, Philip III ordered the cessation of commercial relations with enemy nations, and authorized the confiscation of enemy estates and the prosecution of heretics found in Europe and the Americas. In 1630, with peace restored between England and Spain (for the Dutch, after the Treaty of Munster in 1648), the Spanish Crown reinstated earlier privileges and made more concrete guarantees for domiciled foreign merchants, who – unless they became naturalized citizens – were not to be considered residents.⁶¹

⁶¹ The 1576 Alba-Cobham agreement, in which English sailors were theoretically protected from prosecution for religious crimes committed outside Spanish territories, served as precedent for these post-war guarantees. Seventeenth-century diplomatic timeline from Henry Kamen, *The Spanish Inquisition*, pp. 277-78; Francisco Fajardo Spinola, *Las Conversiones de Protestantes en*

Inquisition officials again complied with international law, but reserved the right to prohibit Protestant books and pamphlets, performing *visitas* of arriving ships in order to confiscate seditious religious contraband. Although foreigners' religious beliefs were officially protected, they were not exempted from careful surveillance. Toward this end, the Suprema instructed all Tribunal chiefs to appoint their "most intelligent, learned, and trusted" *comisarios* to meet Protestant nations' vessels soon after disembarking in order that they might offer a "cure... for [their] souls." This kindler, gentler *comisario* was instructed to "listen [to them] with much gentleness," and question them about the "errors [that exist] in the sects of Calvin, Luther, and other heresiarchs, in the foreign lands where they are from." Protestants who "came of their own volition to reduce themselves to our Holy Catholic Faith" would be joyfully reconciled, were exempt from the shameful garb of the penitent and the financial penalties usually levied against heretics, and inquisitors were to assign them only "some spiritual penances."⁶² Thanks to these diplomatic and bureaucratic transformations and normalized peacetime trade, the

Canarias, pp. 14-19, 100-01; Alexis D. Brito González, *Los Extranjeros en las Canarias Orientales en el siglo XVII*, pp. 348-60; Castañeda Delgado and Hernández Aparicio, *La Inquisición de Lima*, Vol. I, pp. 465-473; Pauline Croft, "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition, 1558-1625," p. 257. Such wholesale revision of Inquisitorial policy has led scholars like William Monter and Stuart Schwartz to claim that the seventeenth century might be characterized as the beginning of toleration (*Frontiers of Heresy*, pp. 246-52; a portion of Schwartz's work, forthcoming, can be read at <http://www.mtholyoke.edu/acad/latam/schomburgmoreno/schwartz.htm>). However, the movement was uneven and unsteady – French Huguenots, who were disproportionately prevalent in the Tribunals in Northern Spain, had never been protected by any commercial treaty, despite their attempts to gain protection under Phillip II at the 1559 Treaty of Catau-Cambresis. (Fajardo Spínola, *Victimas del Santo Oficio*, p. 140; Bartolomé Bennassar, "Un Dialogue Difficile," p. 169; Monter, p. 246).

⁶² A fair copy of these instructions was re-sent to the Cartagena Tribunal in 1659, along with their response to questions about the conversion of a prisoner Juan L'Grafe (see below). AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 4, ff. 15r-17r. "Estylo que se obserua con los hereges nacionales espontaneos, por lo que toca a Juan Graue, olandes."

numbers of foreigners prosecuted for Protestant heresy declined dramatically, and the horror of burning at the stake became a true rarity.⁶³

Cartagena de Indias' Holy Office followed these new procedures faithfully – surprising since historians often think of the Inquisition as merely an arm of the imperial state, a state which officially prohibited foreign settlement in the Americas and ignored peace treaties “beyond the line” of amity. Adhering to the letter of the law did *not* excuse all foreign heterodoxy, however. In July 1619, the Tribunal's administration ordered the arrest of an English spice merchant named Adán Edón in July 1619, who had been residing among the Spanish in Caracas and Cumaná since smuggling himself on board an Indies-bound vessel earlier that year. Fourteen witnesses testified to the “great scandal and gossip” that this Englishman had caused in the province with his irreverence for Catholic practices: on the voyage, Edón had refused to contribute alms to pay for the recitation of masses for a good voyage, and by absenting himself from Sunday mass, Edón further condemned himself in the court of public opinion. Transported to Cartagena to stand trial, Edon defended himself by saying that his peninsular Spanish trade partners had already paid a 1,000 *ducat* surety to the governor of Cumaná for his good behavior and that “it [was] false that he didn't hear mass, because he heard mass many and diverse times, and when he passed by the churches when people were present, more often than not he removed his hat so as not to give

⁶³ To understand the dramatic 17th-century decline in action taken against foreign Protestants, see these figures: in Lima, prosecutions were down from 40 in only 25 years of the 1500s, to eight for the entire 17th century (Castañeda and Hernández, i.456, 462; ii.500); in the Canaries the number of cases declined from 74 (1585-1600) to only 20 (1601-1621) (Brito González, p. 349). Moreover, only two Protestants faced the horrors of burning at the stake post-1604 in Las Palmas – the dates were early, 1614 and 1615, and both were recidivists (Brito González, p. 349). Not even one Protestant would be “relaxed” in Lima and in Mexico the prosecution of “Lutheran” corsairs nearly died out after 1600. See also Henry Charles Lea, *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies*.

scandal.” Despite his proclaimed adherence to the terms of the international agreement (avoiding behavior that would “scandalize” Catholic populations), Inquisitors could point to Edón’s semi-permanent residence to justify their prosecution. When, after many sessions with learned priests and confessors, Edón refused to be “reduced” to Catholicism—cognizant of “the great danger... of losing his temporal and eternal life”—he accepted his sentence of “relaxation” to secular authorities, and was burned in a public execution at the 1622 *auto de fe*.⁶⁴

But during times of peace between European powers, most foreign merchants who took up residence in Iberian Catholic trade ports—Seville, Cadiz, Madrid, Lisbon, and especially the Canaries⁶⁵—found ways to work out their religious differences in more pragmatic ways. In these commercial frontiers where Catholic Spaniards interacted regularly with “heretics,” Protestant merchants and ships’ crews learned to present themselves “spontaneously” (*espontaneamente*) to the local Tribunal to register their desire to become Catholic, for which the prescribed sentence was not (as we have seen) an extensive investigation of past heresies and sins against the Church, but simple procedures in which after a requisite three hearings, converts might be absolved *ad cautelam* (with caution). In commercial ports from Seville to the Canaries to Galicia and the Basque coastline, the procedure happened so frequently it appears that caution was

⁶⁴ AHN Lib. 1020, ff. 204-08v; Splendiani, 208-11.

⁶⁵ By the mid-16th century, according to the most eminent scholar of the Canaries, “The Atlantic had experienced growing importance, as a setting in which was resolved the confrontation between the European superpowers; [the *Suprema*] supplied the Tribunal of the Canary Islands with a new, and in the long run, more important mission... The Tribunal of Las Palmas was reorganized in 1658, no longer dependent on Seville, precisely so it could keep watch, with greater resources, over the activities of foreigners resident in the Archipelago and those that frequented its waters.” In contra-point to strengthened Inquisitorial powers, local nobles and powerful families took it upon themselves to protect foreign merchants before the Holy Tribunal (Fajardo Spínola, *Victimas*, pp. 125-27).

only a euphemism. In the Canary Islands alone, the local Inquisition Tribunal reconciled 121 foreign Protestants over the course of the 1600s, 118 of them “*espontaneos*.”⁶⁶

In Cartagena de Indias, the singularity of Edón’s obstinate refusal to change his confessional identity is highlighted by the fourteen cases (one-third of the total under consideration) of voluntary self-presentations *for* conversion. An additional third might be categorized as pseudo-spontaneous, in which foreigners requested reconciliation *after* Inquisitors were aware of their heresies; some turned themselves in, but others were already imprisoned, perhaps hoping to appeal to religious authorities to mitigate their fates as enemies and heretics. In many cases, the tactic seemed to work. Five English sailors rowed into Cartagena’s harbor in April 1620, saying that they had fled the mistreatment of their English captain “and the bad life” of piracy, for a better life among “Christians.” Indeed, the governor and the city celebrated the pirates’ repentance, but after finding them taking hand-measurements of the cannons and counting the number of artillery pieces that protected the walled city, he threw all five in prison as spies. There they languished until a Jesuit priest visiting the prisons took notice of their plight. Juan de Arsell, a teenager in their group, took the lead in conversations because he could speak a bit of Spanish, which he had learned when his father “sent him from his land to the Island of La Palma (Canaries) [to stay] in the home of some merchants.” Arsell’s two

⁶⁶ Fajardo Spinola, *Conversiones*, p. 24, 30. In Malta, 95 voluntary conversions were registered for the 18th century – in both Malta and the Canaries, the majority of foreigners were British subjects (Frans Ciappara, p. 189; Fajardo Spinola, *Conversiones*, pp. 30-31), but in other locales German and Dutch Protestants dominated Tribunal registers. In cities like Madrid or the Aragonese borderlands, the mercantile communities were more heavily German or French. For Madrid, see Juan Blázquez Miguel, *Madrid: Judios, Herejes y Brujas: El Tribunal de Corte (1650-1820)* (Toledo: Editorial Arcano, 1990); for the Tribunals bordering France, see Monter, *Frontiers of Heresy*. More than one hundred English wine merchants might be in residence in the Spanish Canaries (Tenerife, Gran Canaria or Lanzarote) during 17th-century peacetime, and the Inquisition Tribunal in Las Palmas attested that in 1654, that “more than one thousand five hundred English and Dutch Protestants,” lived in Tenerife alone, “who out of terror and respect for this Tribunal,” toned down their “exterior actions” (Brito González, pp. 64-70; 358).

and a half year stint in that mercantile entrepôt may have prepared him to coach his friends as they “made demonstrations of wanting to become Christians” before their Jesuit visitor.⁶⁷ Brought before the Inquisition Tribunal, Arsell and the others spoke of their desire to convert, and swore it would be done “with all their heart[s], without fear of prison.” Although common sense dictates that at least some of these conversions were insincere, Inquisitors nonetheless followed official instructions, absolving these willing converts *ad cautelam*, and according to procedure mandated only a light spiritual penance, sending them to be instructed in a city convent, warning them they must confess their sins with a priest at the end of their instruction.⁶⁸

No further “spontaneous” presentations were recorded until 1643-1646, when a series of seven Englishmen and a Scot came before the Tribunal to request conversion. These fresh arrivals all needed the services of English-speaking translators (most of whom were English Catholics already living in the city) who helped their compatriots follow the script for voluntary conversion laid out by the Suprema, vowing “to live and die” in the Roman Catholic faith.⁶⁹ The first four cases were spaced out over the course of several months, from May to August 1643, but after such an abrupt upsurge in interest in the procedure, Inquisitors wanted to be sure their proofs were appropriately rigorous. They pressed the fourth voluntary convert of the year, Thomas Maren, to recognize that there were fundamental incompatibilities between Catholicism and his old beliefs. Maren responded to this implicit statement of doubt by saying that of course

⁶⁷ Two of Arsell’s comrades, Esteban Brun and Tomas de Sutin, could have also taken the initiative, for they had lived in other Iberian Catholic ports.

⁶⁸ AHN Lib. 1020, ff. 175-83v; Splendiani ii.191-97. Another group of Flemish pirates captured that same year followed the same formulas, but were not spared secular justice (AHN Lib. 1020, ff. 196v-97r; Splendiani ii.206-07).

⁶⁹ The phrase comes directly from the Inquisitor’s manual for voluntary conversions, “Cartilla para procesar del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición de Cartagena,” reprinted in Jaime Humberto Borja, ed., *Inquisición, muerte y sexualidad*, p. 287.

he understood, and wanted “to live and die in the Catholic faith—if he didn’t believe it why would he come to this Holy Office?—for it was only to that end, for the salvation of his soul, that he had revealed himself [in hopes of] a remedy.”⁷⁰ In June and July of 1645, three more Englishmen approached the Tribunal to register for their Catholic “citizenship,” but in these cases the converts were asked to affirm that they had not “converted to our holy Catholic faith in any other time but the present.” In response, each penitent kicked up his anti-Protestant rhetoric, asserting that he “detested and [wished to] separate [themselves] from that sect of Protestants.” The final case of “spontaneous” conversion prior to 1660 was that of Isaac Doni, a 26-year-old shoemaker who appeared before Inquisitors “to testify [against himself, regarding] the errors and heresies that he had been following.” Emphasizing his simple nature and ignorance, Doni spoke affectingly of the “great pain [he felt] in his heart” when he realized “he had been deceived” by his old faith. The notary wrote that Doni “made demonstrations of repentance and the desire to be a true and faithful Christian.” Although an uneducated man, this convert had learned how to combine the formulas afforded by treaty stipulations with a convincingly heartfelt performance to earned his “cautious” absolution.

But Cartagena’s Inquisitors seem to have been a bit disgruntled with how the treaty loopholes for English and Dutch nationals were being employed. By 1648, Juan Federico, a Dutch “captain of a frigate that was preying on these coasts,” was captured, and officials of the coast guard complained to the Tribunal that Federico had caused scandal by his open confession of Calvinist beliefs and refusal to show deference to Spanish religious symbols. Inquisitors wrote to the Suprema for advice on how to

⁷⁰ AHN, Lib. 1021, ff. 83r-v; Splendiani iii.119-20.

proceed with this man's case, which they believed should not be exempted from prosecution as "the new peace with the Dutch" might require. Federico, they said, was a "pirate thief" who had gone outside the "law of man," thus renouncing his vassalage to his law-abiding Dutch sovereign when he and pirate captains like him decided to "infest these coast, robbing and doing such damage to the estates and lives of the vassals of His Majesty" – Federico's illegal status conferred justice on their proceedings. Recalling the precedent of their 1622 proceedings against Adan Edón, they added "many more reasons" to go forward with prosecution: not only were Catholic souls in danger,⁷¹ but their patron the crown also suffered, and so they urged the Supreme Council to allow them to punish Federico so as "to put a brake" on piratical activity. Finding himself potentially devoid of legal protections, the Dutch captain took matters into his own hands in the interim, and late the night of 25 January 1648 he "fled with another eight Dutch or English in a canoe."⁷²

The debate did not end with Federico's flight, however, but stretched on until 1659, when the Suprema finally weighed in on the matter. In the meantime, two related cases came before Cartagena's Tribunal. In the first, concerning an English tailor resident in Caracas who remained obstinate that he would "live and die" as a Protestant, local Inquisitors decided to release the accused on a sort of extended bail, prohibiting him from leaving the city upon pain of 200 lashes "until some other thing be ordered."⁷³ The second dealt with a Flemish or French pirate, Joan L'Grafe,⁷⁴ who was denounced in

⁷¹ Especially so, since Inquisitors knew that "these lands are so new and contain such diversity of *castas*, the main part of them very new [Christians]."

⁷² AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, ff. 253v-54v; Splendiani iii.258-59

⁷³ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, f. 397v; Splendiani iii.385-87. The Tribunal's decision may have had as much to do with the burden of supporting the accused's alimentary needs as anything else.

⁷⁴ Like Nicolas Burundel, Juan L'Grave was often described not as Flemish or French, but as Dutch, and scribes wrote his last name (Gravet or Grave) with equal variance.

1655 by captured Spaniards who had been humiliated and aggrieved when L’Grafe mocked a flag on their ship depicting St. John the Baptist and the Virgin Mary. Through signs and some words that crossed the language barrier between them, L’Grafe had allegedly expressed delight at the idea of beheading the painted figure of John the Baptist, if it were not for the image of the Virgin Mary (“a pretty whore”) on the other side. Members of the Inquisitorial board debated about the case. One said that L’Grafe should be released because of the Peace Treaty and their instructions received in 1654 that “the Dutch should not be asked about their religion... if they haven’t committed an offense against the faith... in the kingdoms of Spain or in their adjacent islands, beaches, ports, or bays, anchored there” – but he wasn’t certain of the jurisdictional protections afforded to those caught at sea, and not anchored at any port. Another argued that the articles of peace didn’t protect the pirate because the comments he had made against Mary’s virginity had caused scandal amongst Catholics.

After nearly a year had passed since commencing his term of imprisonment, L’Grafe issued a series of petitions to Inquisitors, trying to secure his release with arguments that he was a burden on the system, “surviv[ing only] on alms.” When that approach got him nowhere and two more years had passed, he requested an audience to express his desire

to be Roman Catholic and separate himself with all his heart from the sect of Calvin that he had followed, because he had been blind and because in the three years that he was imprisoned among Roman Catholics he wanted to become like the rest.

Understandably suspicious at this about-face, Cartagena’s officials wrote again to the Suprema, and in July 1659, more than four years after his initial arrest, the Supreme Council affirmed that L’Grafe should be accorded the same privileges as any other

Protestant foreign national who wished to convert. They continued that although the Cartagena's officials would be justified in proceeding against him for blasphemy, it would be "such a religious deed" if they would show mercy and instead assign him some light spiritual penitences and admit him to formal reconciliation. They attached another copy of the 1630 instructions on "The Style to be observed with 'spontaneous' heretic nationals."⁷⁵

Like these and other foreign Protestants nationals who were an increasing presence in Spanish port societies, Nicolas Burundel found himself vulnerable due to his extended residency. He had not refrained from "giving scandal" to the Spanish populace of Jamaica, nor had he (at least not that we know of) made any attempts to register his conversion, "spontaneous" or otherwise.⁷⁶ Though he was from a merchant family with ties to port cities where the Inquisition was active, Nicolas did not seem to be aware of procedural loopholes that gave preference to Protestants who declared their wish to convert or be reconciled, knowing that a simple vow to "live and die as Catholics" carried enormous practical and cultural weight. Most likely Nicolas, out of ignorance, fear or obtuseness, could not comprehend the inner workings of the Inquisition's bureaucratic machine, which spread, like the Hapsburg Empire, across Europe, the Mediterranean, and into the American continent.

At odds with Old World desires to neutralize religious tensions for the sake of mercantile cooperation, the popular idea of the Inquisition as an instrument of terror, of arbitrary cruelty and politically-motivated vengeance wielded by a zealous and

⁷⁵ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 4, f. 16r.

⁷⁶ And, if we remember, the French did not have the same sorts of official protections for their Protestant subjects in Spanish Catholic lands as other Northern European powers had secured (Monter, p. 246).

irrational power continued to hold immense cultural currency.⁷⁷ The secrecy of the Inquisition's proceedings and the difficulty of securing release without confessing one's crimes — real or invented — enlarged the Tribunal's reputation. The possibility that those charged would be tortured to extract a pre-determined confession, or even executed by fire, have contributed to the Black Legend's historical longevity.

Nicolas Burundel, already depressed and desperate, would have little time to calm down before facing yet another ordeal. Because of the Frenchman's intransigence, the Inquisitor and his consultants had voted to approve the use of torture "to know the truth."⁷⁸ This method of extracting confessions was widespread throughout European judicial and military interrogations, and was a commonplace in Inquisitorial practice, which assumed that physical suffering was the only way to gain access to the inner truth trapped by the sinner's mind.⁷⁹ On Monday, 7 October



FIGURE SIX: This montage of Inquisitorial torture and coercion is on display at Cartagena's Inquisition Museum, housed in the original Palacio of the Holy Inquisition, downstairs from the city's new archive and historical center. Photo courtesy Kristen Block.

1652, Nicolas was brought to the torture chamber, where he was warned he had one last chance to answer the charges against him. Frustrated, he burst out with a blasphemous

⁷⁷ See Irene Silverblatt's study of the incredible reach of the Inquisition's terrorizing bureaucracy, *Modern Inquisitions*.

⁷⁸ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 175-76.

⁷⁹ See Lisa Silverman, *Tortured Subjects: Pain, Truth, and the Body in Early Modern France* (University of Chicago Press, 2001); John H. Langbein, *Torture and the Law of Proof: Europe and England in the ancien régime* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1977).

“God be plagued! Why couldn’t his lordship order him whipped or hung?” He averred that even though he had asked God and the Holy Virgin for mercy, he couldn’t imagine “what truth or lie” he could say that would convince them of his word.⁸⁰ Strapping the Frenchman onto the rack, the Inquisitor proceeded by reading the Holy Tribunal’s standard disclaimer about how it would be Burundel’s own fault if the day’s session resulted in death or injury. Nicolas retorted, “Sir, it doesn’t matter if you read [the charges] or not, there are the garrotes,” but before even the first turn of the wheel, the Inquisitor calmly asked why he wished to “see himself in the pain of torture.” Wouldn’t cooperation be preferable? With agony the alternative, Nicolas capitulated to the demands of the terrible bureaucracy, agreeing to answer their charges, and was taken down from the rack to be questioned in the main audience chamber.

“Is it better to be a Moor or a heretic?”

Debating the Limits of Religious Coercion and Tolerance for European Christians

After bowing to the Tribunal’s serious threats to employ torture, Nicolas returned to his cellmates with a story to share. Juan de Noguera reported that when Nicolas returned that morning, he was quieter than usual. Murillo said that Nicolas later joined the two at the table to eat, then confided, rather dramatically, “that he had seen a place no other Christian had [ever] seen.” Nicolas proceeded to describe in great detail how for that morning’s audience, he had been left alone in “a small chamber, without any windows.” A small writing desk, lit by only two candles, sat in front of an apparatus Burundel called the “torture mule.” Adding a touch of drama to his role as

⁸⁰ Ibid., ff. 182v-83r.

protagonist, Nicolas claimed that he “voluntarily” climbed atop the device to show he wasn’t afraid of death.

They began to discuss Nicolas’ exchanges with the Inquisitor concerning the charges against him, and he asked them about some points of doctrine he didn’t understand – but Murillo and Noguera had been warned not to instruct Burundel in anything, so they feigned ignorance. Rather abruptly, Burundel shifted to a new topic, posing a seemingly unrelated question to his companions: “If you, going about this sea [i.e. the Caribbean], were to come upon a ship of Moors and were to capture them and bring them to this city, what would you do with them?”⁸¹ Murillo responded without hesitation, saying that those they didn’t sell, they would “make use of [*servirse dellos*], and seek to teach them so that they would become Christians.” Nicolas probed further, “You wouldn’t oblige them to become Christians by force?” referring to the beatings to which a reluctant convert might be subject.

What element of Nicolas’ past drew him from his tale of torture “never before seen by a Christian” to the norms of Mediterranean captivity? In Nicolas Burundel’s own experience serving a French Muslim in North Africa, he knew that coercion and conversion often went hand in hand. Likely Nicolas had himself faced some pressure to convert to Islam during his three-year stint as a captive in Algiers – youths like him were especially susceptible to both the coercive demands and persuasive powers of Muslim masters on the Barbary coast.⁸² The latest study on Mediterranean captivity by Robert C.

⁸¹ Ibid., ff. 197v-198r, 202v, 205v.

⁸² Common among tales of forced conversions among the “Moors” or “Turks” were descriptions of cruel beatings, especially to the soles of the feet; boys were “converted” in this fashion, and circumcised as proof of their new role as willing slaves. Bartolomé and Lucile Bennessar, *Los Cristianos de Alá*, pp. 194-95. Burundel probably missed the official prohibitions against forced conversion enacted when France signed treaties in 1628 and 1689 with Algiers; such treaties mandated that French authorities be allowed access to their citizens in danger of

Davis estimates that between one to one-and-a-quarter million Europeans were at least temporarily enslaved on the Barbary coast between 1530 and 1780, about 35,000 per year during the peak of North African corsair raids from 1580-1680.⁸³ In the seventeenth century, Mediterranean battles expanded rapidly into the Atlantic, affecting large numbers of Northern Europeans whose presence in Atlantic entrepôts was part of both long-established and growing international trade.⁸⁴ The ongoing struggle between Cross and Crescent in the Greater Mediterranean profoundly affected early modern European conceptions of conversion and apostasy, from redeemed captives like Nicolas Burundel to the many more who vicariously experienced “Barbary captivity” (often

becoming voluntary renegades. Weiss, “Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity,” 276n. Unfortunately, Inquisitors never examined Burundel to see if he had been circumcised (forcibly or not), a give-away of apostasy, and neglected to follow up with more questions regarding his activities in Algiers. However, there are hints in his case that he may have been influenced by North African (or merely maritime) cultural practices. In mid-June, Nicolas asked for an audience, during which time he confessed to having had sexual relations with three boys in Martinique, and anal sex with his wife on their wedding night (ff. 117v-118r).

⁸³ Robert C. Davis, *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters*, pp. 23, 15. Linda Colley estimates that about 18,000 English subjects were captured and held in North Africa from 1600-1730 in *Captives*, pp. 43-44. In “Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean,” Gillian Weiss asserts that “tens of thousands” of Frenchmen suffered Barbary captivity (p. 276), citing the difficulty of coming to any precision for the number of captives for the period, as French redemptive orders claimed anywhere from 90,000 to 900,000 captives rescued from captivity from the Middle Ages to 1785. Ellen G. Friedman’s *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age* explores records relating to 9,500 captives rescued by Spanish redemptionist orders from 1575-1759, a small fraction of those taken for the same period (p. 3). In exchange for “Moorish cruelty,” at the height of Louis XIV’s power, two thousand Ottoman subjects were said to serve the French King as royal galley slaves (Weiss, “Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom,” 233); approximately 10,000 Muslims filled Malta’s slave markets in 1720 (Colley, 45). Recently, Nabil Matar has argued that the slaving/captivity tally was actually quite balanced between European and North African powers, asserting that among the reasons for scholars’ skewed perceptions include their reliance on European-language sources. Such evidence reveals that many Europeans were able to return from captivity; deeper archival work proves, he claims, that North African Muslims were more likely to be condemned to *de facto* lifetime slavery. See especially Ch. 4, “Moors in British Captivity,” in *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*.

⁸⁴ The most famous expansion of the Berber corsair threat in the North Atlantic was the 1627 raid on Iceland, but travel on routes between Lisbon and Madeira or near outposts like the Azores and the Canaries was also extremely dangerous. Lucile and Bartolomé Bennassar’s calculations confirm that one quarter of 17th century returning captives had been taken in the North or Central Atlantic; nearly 30% more were taken in the region of the Strait of Gibraltar (Bennassar, *Cristianos*, pp. 193, 202, 234-37).

called Barbary slavery), through donations to redemptive societies, consumption of the widely-available print and oral “true” narratives of captivity and escape, or stage depictions of captivity. Frequent travelers and villagers from coastal regions might have even more direct connections to these individuals and their tales. For European Christians of all persuasions, conversion to Islam was a dangerous – albeit fascinating – threat, one that needed to be carefully diffused. Returning captives and repentant apostates were reintegrated only through rituals of reconciliation; dramatists portrayed staged narratives of European renegades re-converting to Christianity, fictions that belied the reality that conversions in this direction were rare indeed.⁸⁵

Atlantic Creoles from Protestant Europe brought with them to the Caribbean not only a keen sense of how they might manipulate Inquisition bureaucracies, but also practical knowledge about the complex politics of Mediterranean commerce, captivity, and conversion. As Northern Europeans pushed their way into the lucrative markets of the American Antilles, they too, faced the danger of capture by an enemy Other, whose

⁸⁵ Lucile and Bartolomé Bennassar’s look at the “Fascinating Adventure of the Renegades” is an extremely detailed examination of 1,550 cases of returning apostates (which they considered barely half a percentage of converts to Islam for the period 1550-1700), and the ways that Mediterranean Inquisition Tribunals – from Sicily, Sardinia, Majorca, the Canaries, Seville, Granada, Murcia, Barcelona, and Lisbon – absolved or punished these dangerous border-crossers. A sampling of important early modern dramas that brought Barbary captivity to urbanites include Miguel de Cervantes’ *El trato de Argel* (1580) and *Los baños de Argel* (1615) – both based on his own experience. English playwrights borrowed freely from these Spanish examples. Phillip Massinger’s *The Renegado* (1624) is said to have been based on Cervantes’ *Baños*. Nabil Matar writes of the success of *The Renegado* on the London stage through the Restoration (“The Renegade in Seventeenth-Century Imagination,” *Studies in English Literature* 33,3 (1993):459-78). In these plays, European renegades either die horrible deaths or make a happy return to their Christian roots. However, the ease with which slaves, merchants, pirates, and even Muslim masters trade one religion for another proffers another vision of Mediterranean identity games and the ease of self-fashioning. *The Renegado’s* Gazet, serving a Venetian merchant in Tunis, when questioned at the opening of the play about his small scruples at duplicity, brags that “I would not be confin’d / In my beliefe... / Liue I in England, Spain, France, Rome, [?] / I am of that Countryes faith” (I.i, p. B1v). For the impact of the real on the fictional, see Roslyn L. Knuston, “Elizabethan Documents, Captivity Narratives, and the Market for Foreign History Plays,” *English Literary Renaissance* 26 (1996): 75-110.

unusual cruelty was portrayed as flowing from a warped, anti-Christian religious zeal. Like in the Mediterranean, men and women who negotiated the boundaries of Caribbean captivity were faced with serious spiritual temptations, exemplified by the expediency of conversion. The similarity between these two political realms is worth analyzing, for we can observe striking commonalities among strategies for conversion and re-conversion in these Mediterranean and Caribbean maritime analogues.⁸⁶ This comparative strategy is not merely about the geographic semblance of these inland seas: to reiterate, information on the individuals brought before the Inquisition in Cartagena from 1610-1660 reveals that at least one-third (and the real percentage was likely much greater) had been educated on the boundaries between Old and New World oceanic spaces. Some, like Thomas Cox, prior to “faking” his Catholicism in the Caribbean, had participated in “pillaging the Turk” in privateering ventures aimed at Muslim foes (though he might have also attacked shipping sponsored by European Catholics). Others, like Nicolas Burundel, translated their challenges as prisoners of the Inquisition through the lens of previous adventures in Barbary captivity.

Like those privy to Inquisitorial loopholes on voluntary conversion, European Catholics returning from North African captivity were aware, by example or rumor, that

⁸⁶ Robert Applebaum and John Wood Sweet, eds., *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World* (2005), has also taken serious consideration of how English relations with Ottoman and North African powers affected their Atlantic and American experiences. My impressions on the subject have been formed by readings of Braudel's *Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, Arcienegas' *Caribbean, Sea of the New World*, as well as numerous archival comparisons. In a recent edition of the *AHR*, historians of the Mediterranean World (ancient to modern) have also moved to re-theorize their field through comparisons with other oceanic spaces. David Abulafia referred to the Caribbean a “Trans-Oceanic Mediterranean” in his essay, “Mediterraneans,” explaining how the geography of this inter-continental sea impacted pre-Columbian trade and migration. Indeed, Mediterranean historians seem to be more tied to conceptualizations of their and other oceanic spaces through geography and ecology than with conventional imperial or political divisions and interrelations. See also Peregrine Horden and Nicolas Purcell, “The Mediterranean and ‘the New Thalassology’.”

inquisitors dealt kindly with those who voluntarily confessed of being coerced into apostasy.⁸⁷ Inversely, if a redeemed (or escaped) Barbary returnee had committed the sin of apostasy but waited for others to denounce him to Inquisition Tribunals, he faced a protracted ordeal, first of enumerating and confessing every one of his spiritual infractions, then trying to disprove the witnesses who had testified against him racking his brain to name all enemies who might have lied to Inquisitors. Trials lasting 2-4 years were not uncommon. But in coming forward voluntarily — “*espontaneamente*” — redeemed Christians could craft their own narrative of events, and inquisitors rarely pushed for details or corroborating testimony in their haste to reunite another lamb with the Christian flock.⁸⁸ This pattern was clearly applicable to Cartagena as well, for only one case of voluntary conversion (Juan LeGrave’s delayed change of heart) took longer than one week to be granted.⁸⁹

When savvy converts paired their voluntary self-denunciations with assertions that their former religious identity had been coerced — especially in the case of youths — they mirrored the essential elements of Mediterranean-style repentance and

⁸⁷ Bennessar concludes that “in the case of voluntary return and ‘spontaneous’ presentation, the proceedings were simple: the Tribunal simply went through the motions of the three mandated *audiencias*, but rarely went to the trouble of investigating the witnesses...” (*Cristianos*, p. 22). Benevolence in these cases was designed to encourage renegades to return to the bosom of the Church. See also Ch. 3 in Fajardo Spínola’s *Victimas*, “De Canaria a Berbería se va y se viene en un día,” and Brito González, p. 358.

⁸⁸ Defendants whose cases were out of the ordinary or who denied witnesses’ claims against them could languish in prison for months while Inquisitors sent questionnaires to cross-examine witnesses in other Caribbean territories or waited for the annual fleet to transport correspondence between the local Tribunal and the Suprema in Madrid. Braudel was certainly right to emphasize the communications lag stemming from lengthy travel times in the Mediterranean — the same principles, and an even more protracted time schedule, also applied for the Caribbean. Braudel, *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World*, especially “Distance: The First Enemy,” Vol. I, pp. 355-78. Bennessar, *Cristianos*, p. 22.

⁸⁹ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 4, ff. 13v-17r.

reintegration.⁹⁰ This phenomenon is best seen in the case of several Huguenots among a group of French settlers who had been expelled in 1615 from their settlement in the Amazonian Basin. The first of those to present himself “spontaneously” was Pedro Mozón, who testified he had spent five years of his youth as a Barbary captive. Perhaps sure that the Catholic Church would be lenient towards him, as it was towards returning captives who had been forced to convert to Islam, he admitted that he had been baptized and raised as a Catholic, but fate stepped in at the tender age of twelve—his parents died, forcing him “to make his living” serving a French Huguenot captain who owned a privateer ship (*un navio con que andaba robando por la mar*). When his employer told Mozón he, too, must follow Huguenot practices, “seeing himself poor and defenseless, he acquiesced to his master.” Although he claimed to have persisted as a Catholic for many years, Pedro admitted that recently he had succumbed to formal conversion—but was heartily repentant that he ever abandoned his natal faith.⁹¹ Mozón’s lead was quickly followed by two more with “spontaneous” confessions. Both claimed, like many other youthful apostates to Islam, that they had always been faithful Catholics “on the inside,” but had followed Huguenot practices out of fear they would be put in jail or that their wages or lands would be taken away. David Mingan had been raised a Huguenot but claimed to have been converted to Catholicism by Capuchin missionaries

⁹⁰ In Cervantes’ *Los Baños de Argel* [*The Dungeons of Algiers*] (1612), one renegade corsair who had taken the name Hassan [Hazén] asks Christian captives to help him return to the faith of his fathers: “I wish to return to Spain / to whom I should confess / my youthful ancient error...” [A España quiero tornar, / y a quien debo confesar / mi mozo y antiguo yerro...]. Hassan continues with various reasons he should be forgiven, in the end swaying them with his story of youthful weakness: “how, as a boy, I was forced / to become Turk... but I am / a good Christian in my secret self” [cómo, niño, fui oprimido / a ser turco... pero soy / buen cristiano en lo escondido].

⁹¹ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 104-05v; Splendiani ii.134-36. Mozón’s decision to go to the Tribunal was probably forced when he found out that someone in their group had told the Inquisitors who among their party had been serving Marañón’s French Huguenot governor, making him one of those I call “pseudo-spontaneous.”

who had visited their settlement. Nonetheless, he continued to go to Huguenot services “out of fear of the governor, who was a great Huguenot heretic, and if he became a Christian and was discovered, [the governor] would take away all that his father, who had died there in Marañón, had earned as his wages.”⁹² Jacques de las Fontanas, said he had lived as a Huguenot for three years because his master “told him that since he was his servant [*criado*] and lived in his house, he would have to be present at their prayers [*preces*]”; he argued that he had gone to Huguenot services only out of “curiosity and duty,” and that the Capuchin fathers had assured him he could confess his sins without fear once he arrived in a “Christian land.”⁹³ The casuistry of one’s religious identity — one’s “true,” interior faith disguised by a necessary exterior show — was a cultural trope that worked as well in the Caribbean as it had in the Mediterranean.⁹⁴

Were Inquisitors’ responses the same? Absolutely. Inquisitors severely reprimanded Mozón and Las Fontanas — they, having been raised as Catholics, should have known better — but only required that as punishment they be sequestered for the remainder of their time in Cartagena in one of the city’s monasteries for instruction. The Tribunal sent the Protestant-born Mingan to join the other two for religious tutelage, but provisionally absolved him of any taint of heresy. One on the council argued that in a

⁹² AHN Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 117v-19v; Splendiani ii.147-49.

⁹³ AHN Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 106-07v; Splendiani, ii.136-37.

⁹⁴ For the “invention” of early modern identity, see Miram Eliav-Feldon, “Invented Identities”; for reasons of religion, Neil Kamil, *Fortress of the Soul* and Perez Zagorin, *Ways of Lying*; most recently, Natalie Zemon Davis’ new book, *Trickster Travels*, analyzes in great detail the forms of self-creation and presentation across the Christian-Muslim divide. Stories of Europeans “turning Turk” emphasized that the conversion was more for expediency than for any desire for interior change. One Spanish tract described an Englishman living in Algiers who had “renounced [Christianity], and from a heretic became a Mahometan... dressed in the habit of a Moor, and was always treated as such.” But when this *renegado* was caught drinking during Ramadan with his English friends, and was sentenced to death under Koranic law, he was able to commute his death sentence to a severe flogging after proving that he had only converted outwardly (*de hábito*) and had not been circumcised nor followed the Koran. See below for more details on the *Relación sumaria* in which this story appears (f. 7r).

perfect world, he should have renounced his false faith as soon as he was convinced by the Capuchins; however, considering his limited exposure to Catholic teaching, his youth, and willing cooperation, they could accept his somewhat weak excuse that he had not followed through with his Christian obligations “out of fear he would lose what he and his father had earned in service of their king.”⁹⁵ Understanding the coercive demands of converts’ subordinate positions and the financial stakes involved in such hierarchical societies, local Inquisitors opted for a benign approach to rescue these transient apostates from damnation.⁹⁶ The members of the Suprema, however, were suspicious of former Barbary captive Pedro Mozón’s polished performance (perhaps having seen too many like it among former apostates), writing on their copy of Cartagena’s yearly report that the Inquisitors should have put him “to the test of torture... regarding his motives.”⁹⁷

Nicolas Burundel had already faced the test of torture, and despite the fact that such practices of physical violence and intimidation were common practice in early modern law-enforcement, he seemed to be surprised (at least outraged) by its use. He was equally surprised by his cellmates’ responses to his query about whether North African Muslims would be forced to convert to Christianity if they came to Cartagena. Juan averred that one had to become a Christian voluntarily, and Francisco said that it was true – he referred specifically to some “Moors” who had been in that city (likely

⁹⁵ AHN Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 117v-19v; Splendiani ii.147-49.

⁹⁶ Sharon Kettering, *Patrons, Brokers, and Clients in Seventeenth-Century France* (New York: Oxford UP, 1986). Contrast these successful approaches with that of Juan Patier, who, rather imprudently, did not come forward to explain his residence among the French Huguenot contingent in Marañón. The Inquisition had time to gather ammunition against Patier, receiving sworn statements by several French Catholics in his party, and sent him to the torture chamber when he denied the charges. It was only after remaining firm in his innocence through the “proof” of physical distress that Inquisitors suspended the case (AHN, Inq. Lib. 1020, ff. 140-46; Splendiani ii.164-69).

⁹⁷ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1020, f. 105v, Splendiani, ii.136.

captives sent as forced laborers in the Caribbean naval galleys or assigned to building the city's defensive walls), but who Inquisition officials had left alone.⁹⁸ Nicolas was outraged: "Why then do they make those of other laws turn Christian?" Murillo and Noguera tried to explain that "only heretics, who had strayed from the law they professed in baptism," were subject to the Tribunal's punishments. To Nicolas, this logic defied reason—frustrated, he demanded to know "which is worth more, to be a heretic or a Moor?" His cellmates repeated that only baptized Christians were subject to the penalties of the Holy Tribunal, so Nicolas answered his own (patently ridiculous) question, declaring it "better to be a heretic than a Moor."⁹⁹

Nicolas' assertion of the difference in value between Christians (heretics or not) and "Moors" was in fact a distinction that the Spanish Inquisition and other institutions of the Catholic Reformation shared. Because the Mediterranean's imperial and religious politics were so complex and challenging to individual navigation, Inquisitors tried to prioritize which heresies were most worth their time. First priority (certainly) was given to European apostates to Islam, especially those raised as Catholics. But disciplining other Europeans (who, like Burundel, called themselves Christians) took precedence over the spiritual delinquency of North African Muslims. In May 1616, seven war

⁹⁸ Only three individuals from Ottoman-controlled territories appear in Cartagena's Inquisition *relaciones*, and only one a galley slave. It was Alonso de Molina, also known as Toledo, who confessed "spontaneously" to inquisitors in June 1628. Born of a *morsico* family which had been expelled from Spain when Molina was just a child, in Tunis Alonso learned the tenets of Islam from his mother, who "counseled him as to what was most fitting for him," converting himself into Ali. Ali/Alonso approached Cartagena's Tribunal of the Inquisition in 1628 to say that although he had held fast to Islam for more than 17 years, over the past three months he had determined to become a Christian again. The only Muslim "*espontaneo*" which the Tribunal dealt with before 1660, Inquisitors sentenced Molina to wear a *sambenito* marking his crimes during an *auto de fe* in the city's cathedral, and afterwards to present himself every day for six months to the city's Jesuit Colegio, "to be better instructed in the things of our holy faith and to uproot the errors" of his Muslim identity (AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, ff. 301r-v; Splendiani ii.287-88).

⁹⁹ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 194v-195r, 204v.

galleys departed from the Spanish coast to do battle against Muslim corsairs and other enemy vessels in the Strait of Gibraltar and the coasts of Spain. In that expedition, General Gabriel de Chaves captured three vessels allied with North African forces—the third a light vessel captained by a well-known English “pirate,” Thomas Shelley, who ran raids out of Algiers with his 30-odd crew. After bringing their prizes back to port, Spanish officials condemned six of the English leaders to death, but before carrying out the sentence, turned the inmates over to Jesuit father from Cadiz—including one English Jesuit—for spiritual conquest. The fathers of the Company celebrated soon thereafter the “Remarkable Conversion” of all thirty-six English corsairs taken in this raid, and composed a memorial of the event for publication that same year. They must have sent the tract to many of the order’s far-flung missions and urban schools—one copy made its way to the library of the Jesuit Colegio in New Granada’s capital, another likely sat on the humid shelves of Cartagena’s Colegio.¹⁰⁰ The text, written in stirring military metaphors, emphasized the ease with which a motley assortment of English heretics—complacent Anglicans, ardent puritans, even renegade Muslim converts—were swiftly conquered by their the Jesuits’ “Christian strategems.”¹⁰¹ Meanwhile, the 120+ “Turks”

¹⁰⁰ I requested this title while visiting the Biblioteca Nacional in Bogotá primarily because of a cataloguing error. Juan de Armenta’s *Relación sumaria, de la insigne conversiõ de treynta y seys cossarios, Ingleses de nacion, y de profession hereges, y de la justicia que se hizo de algunos dellos en el Puerto de Santa Maria* (Cadiz, 1616) was listed in the Library’s catalogue as relating to the Port of Santa Marta, an important colonial port near Cartagena infamous for its participation in contraband trade (for me, another reminder of how easily events set in the Mediterranean could be transferred to the Caribbean). This title was bound in with other manuscripts and print tracts relating to Jesuit missions around the world; the manuscript volume comprised part of the first collections that formed the Kingdom of New Granada’s Royal Library, founded in Bogotá in 1777. Delia Palomino, ed. *Catálogos de la Biblioiteca Nacional de Colombia: Manuscritos*, 2 Vols. (Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Cultura y Servigraphic Ltda., 1989).

¹⁰¹ Jesuit tales of Mediterranean pirates transformed into Catholics helped blur the line between voluntary and coerced conversions in the Caribbean. The author of the Cádiz tract admitted that their “Christian stratagem” with some Englishmen whose crimes officials had decided to pardon was to take them to shore “little by little, six or seven each week, as if they

taken in General Chaves' raids were kept chained to their vessels off the Christian shore, likely destined to serve as oarsmen in Spain's coastal galleys, perhaps to be shipped to serve in American naval fleets. Muslim corsairs rarely were pressed to convert to Catholicism, but were instead immediately sent as rowers to the galleys, a back-breaking sentence to be sure, but one which might allow them the opportunity to escape back to their homes in North Africa if their ship was later captured by Ottoman or Moroccan corsairs. Following this logic, renegade Europeans sometimes insisted that they had been born "Turks" or "Moors," as did one English renegade among the captured corsairs, "thinking to escape his death under the disguise of a Moor, and remain a royal slave in the galleys."¹⁰²

Spanish Catholics observed the line of demarcation between European Christians, considered worth redeeming (both their lives and their souls), and the irredeemable, polluting proto-racial Jews/*conversos* and Moors/*moriscos*.¹⁰³ Nicolas Burundel was likewise attuned to his superior position above those religious and racial inferiors. At one point during his imprisonment he had insulted a Berber prisoner whose cell was down the hall from his, calling him a "mulatto dog." Another time,

were coming to die with the rest," judging that only the fear of death and separation from their countrymen would make these most hardened of criminal heretics throw up their hands in defeat (*Relación sumaria*, f. 14r).

¹⁰² Bennessar, 211; *Relación sumaria*, f. 9r. Jesuits had to work hard to disabuse Protestant sailors who believed a "Moor" who "put into the[ir] heads" that conversion would only lead to death by hanging, but that "those perseverant in their sects would be brought to Seville" as forced laborers (*Relación sumaria*, f. 16v). In another case brought before Cartagena's Inquisitors, a Muslim convert named Ali/Alonso de Molina (see note 98) said in his testimony he had also been captured by Gen. Chavez (it is not clear whether it was in the 1616 raid described in Armenta's *Relación sumaria*), and had from that time served as an oarsmen in the galleys, first in Santa María before being sent to work in the Cartagena coast guard.

¹⁰³ Bennessar claimed in his brief study of Protestant Europeans appearing before Mediterranean Inquisitions that officials were much more interested in details of their Anglican and Calvinist beliefs than with Muslim practice and faith—they were especially keen to redeem young captives who had been insufficiently educated to resist heretical lapses ("Dialogue," p. 174).

Nicolas asserted that the jailer had been giving him salt water to drink, which perfidy he found hard to imagine, saying “he was not a Moor or a Jew – why should they treat him in such a manner?”¹⁰⁴ Nicolas clearly thought of himself as somehow superior by virtue of his status as a white Christian, and thus insisted that to be a Christian (even if a heretic) should distinguish him those “Moors” and “Jews” he imagined the legitimate objects of Inquisitorial judgment. A week after his troubling exchanges with his cellmates, Nicolas was still fuming. He told Murillo and Noguera again “that one heretic was worth more than 100 Moors” – baptism should confer more protections on European Christians, not fewer! He also disparaged the Holy Office for “obligating men by force to become Christian,” and told his cellmates proudly that in France there was “liberty of conscience” – no one there was arrested for heresy.¹⁰⁵

Burundel’s increasingly suspicious statements would soon lead to more startling revelations. Even though Nicolas didn’t like talking about religion in general (it made him angry, and when he got angry, he started breathing in that affected way he had become accustomed to), he couldn’t avoid the subject with cellmates determined to curry favor with the Inquisitor by recounting Burundel’s indiscretions. Murillo reported that when he suggested to the Frenchman late one night that praying his rosary might bring some relief for his afflictions, Nicolas snapped at him in frustration, telling Francisco that

those rosaries were no good, that those in his land were different... Asking him what differences there were... he wouldn’t say but just insisted that they were different. [Murillo] said to him, “Well, if they’re different, it must be that there’s a different God in your land,” to which he responded, “Yes.”¹⁰⁶

¹⁰⁴ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, 106v.

¹⁰⁵ Ibid., ff. 207r-v, 210r.

¹⁰⁶ Ibid., f. 221r.

Such comments may have spurred Murillo, who had been born in Moorish Granada, to recall the similitude of Muslim prayer beads and Catholic rosaries. "Are you a Moor or a heretic?" Murillo challenged, aghast. Juan de Noguera corroborated the account of this unexpected revelatory exchange, as well as Nicolas' angry reply: "I'm not a Moor; I am a heretic."¹⁰⁷

Nicolas was clearly playing with the definitional boundaries of Christianity, and he and his cellmates seem to be speaking "past" one another when they used the term "Christian." In fact, because we only have a record of these conversations from the point of view of Burundel's cellmates, we don't really know for certain when Nicolas used the term "Christian" or "Catholic," or if he ever used the term "Protestant" or "Huguenot." Much of the uncertainty stems from his cellmates' seeming inability to distinguish between "Christians" (Protestant or Catholic) and "heretics" (Muslims, Jews, or Protestant dissidents). The experience of captivity in North Africa may have convinced some European Christians, forced to huddle together into an indistinguishable "infidel" mass, that they had much more in common with one another than they had previously imagined. In Barbary, many captives from Protestant countries had more contact with Catholics than they ever had in their own lands, and learned more about the disjunctures and congruencies linking their faiths than they ever could from the anti-Catholic polemics of their home countries.¹⁰⁸ Such exchanges generated the conditions for the creation of common identities, the circulation of conversion strategies, and the exchange of international gossip. In one study of Northern Europeans interfacing between Islam and Catholicism, by the mid-seventeenth century,

¹⁰⁷ Ibid., f. 225v.

¹⁰⁸ Bennessar, "Un Dialogue Difficile," 172.

it seems that English captives brought before Inquisition Tribunals as Barbary renegades felt comfortable coming out as convinced Protestants and admitting they had converted to Islam merely out of expediency. Perhaps because of the networks of knowledge that operated among captives in North Africa, they knew enough about Hapsburg diplomatic concessions to take a confident stance, stating bluntly that they did not wish to betray “the religion of their parents” and become Catholics. Thanks to the century’s treaty protections, many were simply shrugged off with a safe-conduct pass to their home countries. Such a tactic was not without peril, however. One adamant Protestant had his goods confiscated, and another was sentenced to 100 lashes. The latter of these decided to opt for the path of least resistance and request Catholic instruction.¹⁰⁹

After Murillo and Noguera had related to the Inquisitor their triumph at finally getting Burundel to unmask himself as a heretic, the two began to embark on a new campaign to taunt their surly cellmate. Francisco began the game by casually asking Juan one day “if he’d ever seen anyone burned by the Inquisition in his land.” Juan replied that yes, he had seen many Jews and heretics brought to the stake in Portugal. At this, Noguera said, Nicolas got up out of bed, and interrupted to ask if they had been Christians or Moors. Murillo thought Nicolas was asking about the Inquisitors, and responded that they were “Christians, defenders of the faith.” Noguera thought Nicolas’s question was in reference to those “men of flesh and blood” sent to the stake, and said they weren’t Moors, but rather Jews or heretics. “What did they mean by heretics?” Nicolas wanted to know. Discussing the matter at length, Murillo claimed that the “principle errors” heretics were known for were their denials of confession and communion. But Nicolas shouted them both down after the argument grew heated on

¹⁰⁹ Ibid., pp. 170-71.

their different definitions of penitence and the efficacy of confession to priests, insisting that no Christian could burn another in the name of religion “if God didn’t order it” and that even the fires of hell were reserved “only for devils and men who weren’t Christians.”¹¹⁰ Over the next several weeks, the tension grew palpable between Nicolas and his cellmates. Nicolas’ surprise revelations about his real beliefs (interspersed with more assertions of his possession and mocking provocations) only caused new strife among the three—the Frenchman one day averred that he was “a better Christian” than both his cellmates, even if they did spend most of their days kneeling in prayer before an image of the Virgin in their cell. He rejected his companion’s offers to share their rosaries with him or teach him Catholic prayers he didn’t know.¹¹¹ Murillo claimed that the “prayers” Nicolas claimed to recite while he lay in bed were really maledictions against “his wife, and his children, and himself, and the person who locked him in prison, and the minute he touched foot on Spanish soil.”¹¹²

In this period of reflection (and perhaps regret), Burundel began to expound on an even more radical perspective on religious tolerance and the proper response to heresy. Telling his cellmates that even “in Moorish lands they don’t do as they do here—arrest men,” he recalled the similarities between bi-confessional France and the practical toleration afforded to non-Muslim foreigners in North African cities. Heresy was just a label, he told the others, explaining that someone considered a “heretic” by one group “called those of the other [sect] heretics and viewed them as errant...”¹¹³ It

¹¹⁰ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, ff. 229v-232v, 235r-238r.

¹¹¹ Ibid., ff. 241v, 242v.

¹¹² Ibid., f. 250v.

¹¹³ Stuart B. Schwartz, a noted historian of early modern Latin American colonization, has been exploring the roots of popular toleration in the Iberian world, emphasizing the circulation of laymen’s contacts with religiously-diverse individuals and practical considerations for mutual respect. This relativist strain of popular religious thought, argues Schwartz, was part of the

was unclear in Juan de Noguera's testimony if Nicolas was referring to French Protestantism or North African Islam when he explained how "if one wanted to convert to their sect they would accommodate [that person] and act with kindness [*lo regalaban*]; but if one didn't wish [to convert] one wouldn't be compelled, but would rather be left to live in the law that [person] wished."¹¹⁴ In Nicolas Burundel's final analysis, liberty of conscience in the way it was mandated in France since the 1598 Edict of Nantes was best; but he suggested that the Spanish Inquisition had sunk so low that it was even worse than those in "the land of the Moors," who were more likely to use their persuasive, rather than coercive, powers to effect conversion.

The levels of cruelty and violence employed to achieve religious hegemony in the sixteenth-century's religious wars seemed to men like Nicolas Burundel out of touch with his modern world. The use of the Inquisition's controlled violence seemed to them more than anything like the abhorrent tactics used by sadistic, irrational, and anti-Christian Muslims to effect their captives' conversions. Frenchmen in particular, who had witnessed the establishment of official toleration in their homelands, and who for years had been protected by the Gallican ban on the Inquisitional presence in their country, were apt to criticize the Holy Office's strong-arm tactics. One French peddler living in Cartagena was arrested for his opinionated banter with clients, including such blasphemies as calling the Inquisition's officials "Turks and heretics," saying that "the French weren't fools for not wanting to admit the Holy Office in their lands."¹¹⁵ Juan de Noguera overheard Burundel muttering after yet another frustrating audience with the

Mediterranean heritage of captivity, and Atlantic (especially Caribbean) interactions. See his forthcoming *In Their Own Law: Salvation and Religious Tolerance in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007).

¹¹⁴ Ibid., 257r.

¹¹⁵ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1020, f. 6r-v; Splendiani, ii.39.

Inquisitor that “this wasn’t the Holy Office, but the Holy Devil.”¹¹⁶ One month later, when Burundel came begging the Inquisitor for the “consolation” of “life or death,” he responded calmly that Nicolas had only himself and his disorderly behavior to blame for the delays in his case.¹¹⁷ Six months later, the case had come to a stand-still as Nicolas continued to claim possession by a supernatural being (which he had begun calling a familiar of the Holy Inquisition), so officials ordered another round of torture. This time, Nicolas could only stand one turn of the screw before he promised full cooperation, although in subsequent questioning remained steadfast in his claims that he was not “a heretic, nor was he raised in heresy – but [was] an apostolic Roman Catholic.”¹¹⁸

Foreign Protestants were not the only ones to stamp the Tribunal’s hold over their lives and consciences as a cruel parody of Christianity. After Burundel had been removed from the cell he shared with Murillo and Noguera, it seems they turned on one another. Juan de Noguera reported to the Inquisitor in November that Francisco had said that “if he were a powerful man,” he would try to persuade the Pope and the King of Spain to do away with the Holy Tribunal, “because the Inquisitors were no more than thieves whose only purpose was to steal the estates of those they arrested.” He believed that the Inquisitors, who “worshiped money,” automatically judged all inmates guilty (so they could confiscate their estates), and that their spy-mongering and torture were inspired by the Devil, carried out “under the cloak and name of God.” He told Juan that he might just run away – he had already proved himself an expert escape artist. What would he do then? Murillo threatened that:

¹¹⁶ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 262v.

¹¹⁷ Ibid., ff. 266v-67r.

¹¹⁸ Ibid., f. 353v-371v.

he would go over to Holland and bring some Dutchmen to conquer this city, and the first thing he would do would be to take control of this Holy Office and call before him the Lord Inquisitor and say to him, 'how is it that you are doing this and that? why did they put you here?' and then put him in a cell and give him bread [*bollos*] to eat.¹¹⁹

Caribbean Spanish residents certainly knew the menace presented by the Dutch and their sea rovers in those waters. Murillo's belief that he would find allies against the Inquisition among other European Christians, and his distaste for the institution's use of torture and reliance on prisoners to betray one another, suggests that his conversations with Burundel about the value of Christian lives and consciences might have had some effect.

From European Christians' religious-commercial-political entanglements in the Mediterranean, to their battles to define and control New World imperialism, many came to believe that fostering commerce (and tolerance) were the keys to their survival. Such utopian ideals might have been especially persuasive in the Caribbean, far from the true threat of Ottoman and North African Islam, a space where colonists were more likely to think of their religious superiority compared to "idolatrous" Indians and "heathen" African slaves. Northern Europeans may have fit more easily into the upper echelons of America's evolving racial hierarchies – at least they were fellow Christians who had some respect for the ritual of baptism, and they *did* make trade and commerce quite profitable... But far from both the military and religious threat of North African Islamic clout (and far from the protection of metropolitan military support), Protestant interlopers also took on the role of fearsome, threatening Other.

¹¹⁹ AHN, Inq. Lib. 1021, f. 348; Splendiani iii.344.

**“Raised in a land with so many sects, I know them and can speak them all”
Old World Cultural Awareness and the Transit of Christianity**

The process of Protestant confessionalization—especially as Reformed Churches fractured into smaller and smaller denominational units—required the experience of conversion, making it a performable act. The transferability and ubiquity of such acts varied widely from place to place, individual to individual. However, in certain areas of Northern Europe it was normal to be conversant in multiple theories of conversion; when asked by an Inquisition *calificador* how he knew so much about Calvinism, Nicolas Burundel replied, “having been raised in a land with so many sects, I know them and can speak them all.”¹²⁰ Mobility, cross-cultural contact and polyglotism—shared by many European Atlantic Creoles—all enhanced the transfer of religious knowledge things, providing even unlettered men with an education in religions other than the one they were born into. Through the commercial and religious transformations of the seventeenth century, Northern Europeans drawn into trade and conflict with Catholic and Muslim powers—from Algiers to the Canary Islands, from Lisbon to Malta—learned to practice their ingenuity as religious chameleons, learned too that compliance or duplicity were preferable to conflict or the pain of coercion.

But despite the adage that money makes make the world go round, it is worthwhile to be reminded that even as European colonists sought out commercial opportunities as planters or privateers in these islands, they did not leave their religious identities behind. Although Caribbean versions of Christianity created multiple instances of “impiety” and cynicism, it is clear from the evidence that although Northern European “pirates” and their patrons may have at times put aside confessional

¹²⁰ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 146r.

boundaries in their everyday social and economic dealings, they were rarely hardened or indifferent to the spiritual resonances of confessionally-defined morality or justice. Nicolas Burundel's one small voice actually challenges the easy conclusion that religious compunctions were shed at the slightest provocation. After reading Burundel's case many times (both in and between the lines), I believe his vacillating stories reflected his desperate attempts to maintain a Calvinist faith underneath official protestations of his "Roman Catholic Christian" identity. One day, shortly after the Frenchman had confessed to his cellmates that he was a heretic, Nicolas turned to Francisco Murillo and asked why he kept praying day after day to the images of Christ and the Virgin in their cell – Burundel suggested that his prayers might have more effect if directed to "St. Nicodemus." For modern audiences, this reference may seem strange; as a former churchman, Murillo probably understood it right away. Nicodemus appears in the Gospel of John, a Pharisee to whom Jesus had preached of the need to be "born again" in the Spirit. Nicodemus was swayed by Jesus' words, and he helped to bury Jesus' body when it was taken down from the cross. However, fearing the opinion of other Jewish leaders, the Pharisee-turned-Christian performed the burial in secret, hiding his true sympathies.¹²¹ Religious leaders from the medieval Inquisitor Nicholas Eymerich to John Calvin understood the moral perfidy of religious dissimulation – Calvin denounced as cowardly Nicodemites those Protestants who tried to separate their inner beliefs from outward conformity to Catholicism for secular benefits.¹²² But in Nicolas Burundel's Mediterranean and Atlantic worlds, performance and deception were

¹²¹ John 3:1-10, 19:38-42.

¹²² See Zagorin, *Ways of Lying*, especially Ch. 4, "Calvin and Nicodemism," pp. 63-82.

necessary survival strategies, unsavory though they might seem from a stance of religious orthodoxy or moral absolutism.

Were Burundel's prayers to St. Nicodemus answered? We cannot know the content of his silent prayers, but it is certain that any pleas for the speedy conclusion of his case were denied. In March 1654, more than two and a half years after his arrest, Cartagena's officials were still uncertain as to how to proceed against the recalcitrant Frenchman, and so they wrote to the Suprema in Madrid for advice. The Suprema wrote back September of the following year, calling Burundel a "genuine spy" who should be dealt with accordingly (neither what type of spying they suspected him of nor the necessary consequences were spelled out); the Suprema's letter would not be received in Cartagena de Indias until July 1655. Finally, in October 1656, and again in March 1658, the Frenchman was brought into the Audience chamber, where he was required to renounce his severe crimes (*abjuración de vehemente*) before receiving the sentence mandated by the Tribunal: for the crime of heresy, three years of unpaid labor on the city's fortifications, followed by another three years of instruction with the city's Dominican fathers; for his complicity in the death of Governor Pedro Caballero, five years in the galleys and perpetual exile from Jamaica, Cartagena, and Madrid.¹²³

¹²³ AHN, Inq. 1621, Exp. 3, f. 1r; Inq. Lib. 355, f. 78v.; Inq. Lib. 1015, R.8, f. 138r; Inq. Lib. 1021, f. 322r-v, 324v (Splendiani iii.320, 322).

Chapter Three

Puritan Political Economy and the Pursuit of New World Promise: Cromwell's Western Design of 1655-56

The day after Christmas 1654, Henry Whistler, a man of considerable sailing experience, waited aboard a ship anchored on the Thames as the cannon fired, a signal to call passengers on board. Whistler took advantage of the lull before the journey to begin composing what he titled "A Jornal of a Voaidg from Stokes Bay: and Intended by Gods assistant for the West Inga [Indies]." As he watched the ship slowly fill up and the tearful goodbyes on the docks below, Whistler's imagination was sparked by how much the scene before him resembled a passage in a book he read recently, recounting the sailing of another fleet to the Americas. Borrowing (or rather, plagiarizing) some rather humorous phrases from the book, Whistler copied how the ship's warning shot was taken by many as "a worning for them to hid[e]." Others, "yong men that had intangelled them selues in loue with some yong virgin," wept as they bid their sweethearts goodbye, "bequeathing unto them sume pledg of Thayer wanton love; receaveing from them sume Cordiall against sea sicknis: as Capes, and Handcerchifes, and shertes, to eye and ware when Neptune should most appose them." Called away from his acts of literary appropriation to his sailing duties, Whistler finished the day by recording the work of getting all the fleet safely out of the port, where about midnight they caught "a fair gale" from the south-south east.¹

¹ 26 Dec 1654. Henry Whistler, "A Jornal of a Voaidg from Stokes Bay: and Intended by Gods assistant for the West Inga, and performed by the Right Honorable Generall Penn, Admirall, as

Whistler, like many other men living in Cromwellian England, was drawn to one of the best-sellers of 1648, *The English-American, his travail by sea and land*, written by an English Protestant firebrand named Thomas Gage who had been raised in Spain by his Catholic family. This retrospective of Gage's former life opened with his missionary journey to the Americas in the habit of a Dominican friar, and the passage that Whistler copied were Gage's satirical comments on the lewdness of some Spanish friars, who wept openly as they took leave of their sweethearts, "young Franciscan Nun[s]."² Gage's hugely popular narrative recounted his peregrinations in Mexico and Guatemala and his journey back to England, where he converted to Protestantism. The popularity of anti-"popish" (especially anti-Spanish) literature was one element of Gage's literary success³; the other was the rarity of first-hand narratives from within the bosom of the Spanish American empire. First-hand accounts by men like Nicolas Burundel and Thomas Cox were rare to find in print, and Gage's story dazzled – not since the Inquisition survival narratives of Miles Philips, Job Hortop, and Robert Tomson at the end of the previous century had English readers felt both their curiosity about the Americas satisfied and

folowes: Taken by Mr. Henry Whistler. 1654." British Library, Sloane MS. 3926. (A reliable transcription of extracts from this journal are available in *The Narrative of General Venables*, Appendix E, pp. 144-169.)

² Thomas Gage, *The English-American, his travail by sea and land, or, A new survey of the West-India's* (London, 1648), p. 14. Gage's account of the fleet's leaving read: "Upon the first of July in the afternoon, Don Carlos de Ybarra Admirall... gave order that a warning Peece should be shot off to warn all Passengers, Souldiers, and Mariners to betake themselves the next morning to their Ships. O what was it to see some of our Apostolicall company... who had begun to entangle their hearts with some young Nuns love, now hang down their heads ... one Fryer John De Pacheco made the warning Peece to be a warning to him to hide himself... thinking it a part of hard cruelty to forsake a young Franciscan Nun to whom he had engaged and wholly devoted his heart. What was it to see others with weeping eyes piercing through the Iron grates the tender Virgins hearts, leaving and bequeathing unto them some pledges of their wanton love, and receiving from them some Cordials against sea-sicknesses, Caps, Shirts and Handkerchiefs, to eye them or wear them when Æolus or Neptune should most oppose them?"

³ See Lake and Questier, *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat*; and Tessa Watt, *Cheap Print and Popular Piety, 1550-1640* (Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991).

their sense of Protestant superiority confirmed.⁴ Gage's combination conversion narrative-travel account encouraged the English to challenge Spain's precedence in the Indies by force, and he would repeat that advice in a private petition to puritan leader Oliver Cromwell, who had taken on the title of "Protector" of England in 1653.⁵ This current fleet's voyage, with Henry Whistler above-deck navigating and Thomas Gage below in the chaplain's quarters, would test England's imperial pretensions. Just as the young English Catholic Thomas Gage had earlier defied Hapsburg decrees barring foreigners from the Indies three decades earlier, this expedition defied tradition as the first officially state-supported military campaign against the Spanish in the Americas.⁶

Known to subsequent generations as Cromwell's Western Design, this offensive served as a brash advertisement of English Protestant imperial ambitions and Cromwell's millennial belief in the righteousness of an all-out religious crusade "beyond the line."⁷ Convinced of Spain's weakness in the Americas (in no small part by Gage's account), Cromwell had ordered an assault "upon some of the Islands, and particularly

⁴ Miles Philips, Henry Hawks, Job Hortop and Robert Tomson had been captured from Capt. John Hawkins's pirate fleet in San Juan de Ulúa, and were later tried by the Inquisition in Mexico City. Richard Hakluyt subsequently published their narratives in his editions of *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeeres* (London, 1589; 1598-1600).

⁵ Gage, *English-American*, "Epistle dedicatory," final page in un-paginated section.

⁶ Gage, *English-American*, p. 15. The escapades of Elizabethan "sea dogs" like Henry and John Hawkins and Sir Francis Drake were often at least tacitly supported by the monarch, but always privately bankrolled. Michael Guasco reminds scholars that the Spanish heritage of Jamaica meant that its founding was unlike most other English colonies in that it was based on conquest, not occupation of land only marginally occupied by others. Michael Guasco, "The Jamaican Graft: Adaptations and Innovations in the Nexus of Anglo-Spanish Colonialism." Paper presented to the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Oct 11, 2005, p. 5-6.

⁷ The idea of "no peace beyond the line" referred to sixteenth-century imperial struggles in the western half of the Atlantic; in the rush for American colonies, European challengers to Spain generally agreed that treaties signed in Europe were not valid past the demarcation line established by the Treaty of Tordesillas west of the Canary and Azores Islands.

Hispaniola, and St. John's Island [Puerto Rico], one or both."⁸ The plan went that England would first occupy the fortifications of their captured island, then use it as a base from which to launch attacks on key Caribbean ports like Havana and Cartagena. In the final victory, Cromwell imagined that England would "Be master of the Spaniards Treasure which comes from Peru,"⁹ and Gage promised that America's "Indians" would "willingly and freely invite the English to their protection," thus transferring "just right or title to those Countries" to English government.¹⁰ However, such plans would not come to fruition. Despite outnumbering Spanish forces by a huge margin, the expedition's first target, Hispaniola, was a disastrous failure, with great loss of life on the English side. The expedition's second attack on Jamaica, a sparsely-populated frontier outpost, was successful – but only marginally so – for Spaniards and enslaved Africans alike retreated to the hills and began a drawn-out series of guerrilla wars against English forces weakened by disease and poor provisions, necessitating England to pump money and migrants into the island for nearly five years before securing a more certain victory.

This chapter examines the vicissitudes of the Cromwellian-era political economy,¹¹ from its millennial promise to make England a nation flowing with American milk and honey, to its embattled defense of a colonial policy that failed to

⁸ Oliver Cromwell, "Instructions unto General Robert Venables given by his Highness by advice of his Council upon his expedition to the West Indies," Appendix A in C.F. Firth, ed., *The Narrative of General Venables*, p. 112.

⁹ *Narrative of General Venables*, Appendix A, "Instructions unto Generall Robert Venables given by his Highnes by aduice of his Counel, upon his expedition to the West Indies," p. 113.

¹⁰ Gage, *English-American*, Epistle dedicatory. Cromwell's instructions to Venables echo this point, saying that he "shall hereby power and Authority... to offer and giue reasonable Conditions to such persons as will submit to our gouernment, and willingly come vnder our Obedience..." Ibid., p. 114.

¹¹ In this work, political economy will refer to the imagined relationship between the new "puritan" English state and the economic objectives expressed in the Western Design.

deliver its economic promises. The logistical missteps and unexpected setbacks of the Western Design disrupted the cohesiveness of the expeditionary forces and their sense of cultural and religious unity, pitting “godly” officers against their “unregenerate” troops (divisions that often followed lines of economic opportunity more than any measure of religious conviction). These failures and divisions prompted many – both in England and the West Indies – to suspect leaders of religious hypocrisy, using the language of godliness to mask the “avaricious Intents of some (more than ordinary) Men, who desire rather to heap up to themselves Abundance of Treasure, enjoy fair Houses, rich Plantations, and all Things suitable thereunto, [rather] than to glorify God in their Actions.”¹² As the campaign struggled to hold on in Jamaica, new questions about political and economic justice surfaced as it appeared that the Cromwellian regime was exploiting the labor of Englishmen, making them “slaves” – in effect, disrupting the nascent racial hierarchies of Caribbean colonialism. Many Englishmen influenced by (if not completing accepting of) the radical republicanism of the Interregnum came to protest the “tyranny” and “slavery” that Cromwell and his allies imposed on English fighters and settlers in Jamaica. By the end of the Interregnum, the forced labor of whites in the West Indies would be discouraged, and the (secular) rights of “free-born Englishmen” would be championed by a new sense of nationalism that depended less on radical puritan millennialism than a naturalized idea of English (Protestant and racial) privilege.

¹² I.S., *A Brief and perfect journal of the late proceedings and success of the English army in the West-Indies, continued until the 24th 1655. Together with some quæries inserted and answered. Published for the satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these particulars. By I.S. an eye-witnesse* (London, 1655); reprinted in *Harleian miscellany*, Vol. III (London, 1801-13), p. 492.

Imperial historians who have studied the Western Design in the past have focused primarily on the strategic mistakes of the expedition: the mismanagement of supplies, the problems of illness and poor discipline among the troops, the quarrels between officers, even judgments of the commanders' perceived character flaws.¹³ More recent treatments of the affair by British historians have endeavored to answer questions about Cromwell's goals for foreign policy, as well as scrutinizing the balance between religiously- and economically-defined motivations for expansion during the Protectorate.¹⁴ A few scholars have seen the failures of the Western Design from a class

¹³ Major treatments of the Western Design in English include: C.F. Firth, ed. *The Narrative of General Venables* (London & New York: Longman & Green, 1900); C.H. Haring, *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the 17th century* (New York: E. P. Dutton and Company, 1910), Ch. 3, "The Conquest of Jamaica," pp. 85-112; Granville Penn, ed., *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt. &c.* (London: James Duncan, 1833); and S.A.G. Taylor, *The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell's Expedition to the Caribbean* (Kingston, Jamaica: The Institute of Jamaica and The Jamaica Historical Society, 1965). Transcriptions and translations of many of the key Spanish narratives held in the AGI were made by Irene Wright during the 1920s, including Julian de Castilla, "The English Conquest of Jamaica: An Account of what happened on the island of Jamaica, from May 20 of the year 1655, when the English laid siege to it, up to July 3 of the year 1656," *Camden Miscellany* XIII (1923), pp. 1-32; "The Spanish resistance to the English Occupation of Jamaica, 1655-1660," *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 4th Ser., Vol. XIII, pp. 117-147; and an assortment of "Spanish Narratives of the English Attack on Santo Domingo 1655," *Camden Miscellany* XIV (1926), pp. 1-80. I have also consulted secondary and published primary resources in Spanish: Emilio Rodríguez Demorizi, *Invasión Inglesa* (Cuidad Trujillo, Dominican Republic: Editorial Montalvo, 1957); J. Marino Incháustegui, *La gran expedición inglesa contra las Antillas Mayores: el plan Antillano de Cromwell (1651-1655)* (Mexico City: Gráfica Panamericana, 1958); and Francisco Morales Padrón, *Jamaica Española* (Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952); reprinted in an English translation, *Spanish Jamaica* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle, 2003).

¹⁴ In the first serious re-examinations of the Western Design published in the 1970s, John Battick, claimed that the Western Design "mark[ed] the end of the old free-booting, private, or semi-private ventures characteristic of the age of Drake," while Arthur Hiscox contended that Cromwell continued Queen Elizabeth's strategies for foreign policy. In the 1990s, David Armitage argued that the expedition drew both on the Elizabethan ideal of a self-financing war, but that Cromwell's underlying religious and economic principles marked a radical departure from earlier imperial ideas and practices. Steven Pincus claimed in his larger study of religion in English foreign policy that Cromwell's apocalyptic language in the Western Design was part of an effort to unite the nation against a Catholic enemy after the end of England's divisive wars against their Dutch co-religionists. David Armitage, "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire," *Historical Journal* 35, 3 (1992), pp. 531-55; John F. Battick, "A New Interpretation of Cromwell's Western Design" *JBMHS* 34,2 (May 1972): pp. 76-84, esp. p. 82; Arthur R. Hiscox, *Oliver Cromwell's Western Design: A Study in the Survival of Elizabethan Strategy* (M.A. Thesis: Kent State University, 1973); C.A. Pincus, *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and*

perspective, believing that the expedition unleashed a particularly “Atlantic” culture of republican liberty.¹⁵

I have benefited from these approaches, but take on a new perspective by analyzing the politics of religion through the lens of gender and race — both of which fundamentally informed the expedition’s participants’ emerging sense of English political and economic authority in the Caribbean. In severing the nation’s (god)head, Parliamentary forces in England had unleashed radical new ways of thinking about state power, hierarchy, and patriarchy — and had done so mainly through the idiom of religious identity and millennial expectation. The social and religious tumult of the Civil War period turned England into a “world turned upside down,” radically challenging societal norms, from divine right to patriarchal authority. Contemporaneously, the solidification of English plantations in the West Indies offered the opportunity to challenge Spanish Catholic dominance in the Americas — part of that solidification, the wholesale adoption of African slave labor, had ramifications for how the English saw themselves as a nation. Just as religion has been shown to be a “gendered subject: that is, religious belief and practice were understood in terms of human relationship,”¹⁶ so, too, race became a social signifier in the Western Design. Tied to traditional early modern categories of nation and religion, the struggle to define gendered norms and racial difference helped delineate the boundaries of English exceptionalism.¹⁷

the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668 (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996), Ch. 10, “The Protectorate’s New Foreign Policy,” pp. 168-92.

¹⁵ Rediker & Linebaugh, *The Man-Headed Hydra*; John Donoghue, “Unfree Labor, Imperialism, and Radical Republicanism in the Atlantic World, 1630-1661,” *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 1,4 (2004): 47-68.

¹⁶ Patricia Crawford, *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720* (London: Routledge, 1993), p. 125.

¹⁷ Joan Pong Linton, a literary scholar examining the relationship between English masculinity and the colonial romance, has articulated a sense of how early travel narratives

This analysis is centered as much as possible on the experience of men like Henry Whistler. Thousands of common seamen and soldiers joined (or were coerced into) this expedition, and Whistler offers us a colorful example of the observations and interpretations shared by many men of his class over the course of the campaign—the specificity and uniqueness of his narrative is the closest we can get to the experience of many thousands of unnamed and unsung men-at-arms. However, my analysis is also (of necessity) the story of Thomas Gage and other men favored during the Interregnum, of puritan elites who dreamt of a Protestant crusade against Spain’s overseas domination and the Catholic agendas supported by its wealth. The fact that we know Whistler was reading Gage’s narrative (and found it compelling enough to copy) means that we can assume that he, and many other ordinary Englishmen, found Gage’s ideological Protestantism and tales of Spanish American decadence to be compelling incentives to join the attack against Spanish holdings in the West Indies. Although the historiography has tended to see the campaign as a battle between religious and secular motivations, I would like to propose that we look at the nuances that drew together concepts of a Protestant imperial mission with the spiritual rhetoric of economic rights. Gage’s narrative and Cromwell’s instructions to his commanders reflect this unity: they believed that easy profit and control of American riches would be England’s providential reward for success in this venture. Whistler was as cognizant of this promise of wealth as any other young man who had read Hackluyt and other chroniclers. He had his own dreams of American treasure. These intertwined

“enable Englishmen both to inhabit an unfamiliar world and to project a sense of their agency in it. In this way, gender roles are not merely interpretive but generative: they provide a ready-made hierarchy of relations with which explorers and colonists negotiate a broader range of cultural differences.” Linton, *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism*, (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998), p. 5.

ambitions – religious victory and American prosperity – would define the goals and expectations of those who participated in events that have become known as Cromwell’s Western Design. In seeking out prosperity in the unexpected succession of failures and setbacks that the expedition’s participants faced, they would come to critique the religious leadership’s aberrant masculinity and broken promises when it came to race and opportunity.

A Providential Political Economy: Fantasies of New World Wealth and National Glory

Cromwell’s vision of political economy was inextricably linked to the popular belief that Protestant England was providentially suited to rule, in Europe and throughout the world.¹⁸ We can see this belief in the commissions Cromwell issued to General Robert Venables and Admiral William Penn, joint heads of the Western Design’s military offensive. He first called them to remember the “cruelties and inhuman practices of the King of Spain exercised in America, not only upon the Indians and natives, but also upon the people of these nations inhabiting in those parts....”¹⁹ The Black Legend of Spanish cruelty had been a commonplace in English nationalist

¹⁸ Alexandra Walsham considers the impact of providentialism on national and confessional identities in her book, *Providence in Early Modern England* (Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999); see also Blair Worden, “Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England,” *Past and Present* 109 (Nov. 1985): 55-99. Biographers of Cromwell have paid ample attention to the reality of his belief in providential signs: see Christopher Hill, *God’s Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution* (New York: Dial Press, 1970); Antonia Fraser, *Cromwell* (New York: Knopf, 1973); Blair Worden, “Oliver Cromwell and the Sin of Achan,” in *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in honour of Owen Chadwick*, ed. Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985).

¹⁹ Oliver Cromwell, “Commission to General Penn,” in Penn, *Memorials*, Vol. II, p. 21-22; Cromwell uses similar wording in his “Commission of the Commissioners for the West Indian Expedition” (British Library, Additional MSS. 11410-f. 47), reprinted in *Narrative of General Venables*, Appendix A, pp. 109-110.

thought since the wars of the Elizabethan period; propagandists had eagerly exploited tales about the unjust enslavement of Native Americans from Spaniards like Bartolomé de las Casas. Cromwell equated the cruelty shown to the Indians with that shown towards “the people of these nations inhabiting in those parts” (meaning the West Indies). He also referred to the Spanish Inquisition’s jurisdiction over foreign merchants – a legal point Cromwell had tried to negotiate with the Spanish Ambassador just months before, demanding “that liberty might be granted to the said [English] merchants to have and use in Spayne English bibles and other religious books.” Don Alonso de Cardenas recoiled at this request and the Protector’s insistence that free passage be granted to Englishmen traveling to the West Indies, saying that to concede these points would be “to ask his master’s two eyes.”²⁰

This was not just a war for trade rights. In the context of the Cromwellian Protectorate, war took on millennial import. In popular English puritan conception, Spain was seen as handmaiden to the pope (to many, the Antichrist himself), so Cromwell’s reference to Spain’s spurious “claim...to all that part of the world by colour of the pope’s donation” took on apocalyptic resonance.²¹ Cromwell had even consulted with John Cotton on his westward designs, and the puritan divine had pointed him to the prophecies of the seven seals in the Book of Revelation – he claimed

²⁰ “Account of the negotiations between England, France, and Spain, from the time of Oliver Cromwell’s assuming the government, to the restoration, delivered to this Lord Chancellor Hyde.” *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, secretary, first, to the Council of State, and afterwards to the two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell* (London, 1742), i.760-61 [hereafter *Thurloe State Papers*].

²¹ *Thurloe State Papers*, Oliver Cromwell, “Commission to General Penn”; Christopher Hill, *Antichrist in Seventeenth-Century England* (London: Oxford University Press, 1971), esp. p. 64-69. According to many sixteenth and seventeenth-century Protestant divines, the pope was the head of a false church and hoped to clothe himself with such an aura of mystery that he could lead men into perdition by their blind acts of devotion. His head minions, then, were the Jesuits – a missionary order independent of the church hierarchy, committed defenders of papal authority – and the Iberian monarchs.

that “to take from the Spaniards in America would be to dry up Euphrates.”²² Cromwell did not so much wish to dry up the Euphrates – that symbol of the Spanish Canaan’s wealth and fertility – but rather to divert its flow to English coffers. Taking up the point that Spain had time and again tried to push the English out of the Americas, Cromwell elaborated his “just grounds to believe that [Spain] intends the ruin and destruction of all the English plantations, people, and interest in those parts.” Basing his military aims on a providential model of Protestant duty, he ended his commissions with a call to arms: “[we have], for these and several other reasons, with advice of our council, prepared and set forth a fleet ... into America, with an intention to assault the said King of Spain and his subjects there.”²³

Despite the clear goal of divesting America’s wealth to England, the “mission” of this assault was expressed as a plan to “save the Indians” from Spanish cruelty and Catholic aberrance, appealing to England’s imagined role as Protestant avenger.²⁴ In fact, Cromwell and those military and civilian commissioners he would charge with carrying out the expedition imagined Native Americans not only as the objects of a spiritual conquest, but also as one among several groups of potential allies in the Americas. Thomas Gage’s entreaties to attack, like several generations of puritan colonial propagandists before him, underscored the unhappiness of American inhabitants victimized by what Englishmen perceived to be Spain’s unmatched greed, cruelty, and hypocrisy. Beginning in his prefatory dedication and throughout his

²² Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 350; James Robertson, “Cromwell and the Conquest of Jamaica” *History Today* (May 2005), p. 17.

²³ *Thurloe State Papers*, Oliver Cromwell, “Commission to General Penn.”

²⁴ Gage’s prelude to the Protector was full of hopes “for the conversion of the poore Indians” to fulfill dreams of Protestant universalism, and closed with the fervent prayer: “The Lord make your highnesse, as our protector, so also a protector of these poore Indians, which want protection from the cruelties of the Spaniards,” *Thurloe State Papers*, Vol. 3, pp. 59, 61.

narrative, Gage referred to the multitudes of “oppressed people” he had encountered during his time in the Spanish Americas. Across city and town in the Mexican and Guatemalan territories, his narrative continually referenced examples of Spanish inhumanity against Indians, who were kept in “slavish bondage” thanks to Spanish covetousness.

Continuing in the vein of “the enemy of my enemy is my friend,” Gage referred to yet another group who would gladly accept England’s benevolent leadership: communities of African descent enslaved by the Spanish or who had “for too much hard usage, have fled away... from their Masters unto [the] woods, and there live.” In Guatemala, he asserted, there were two or three hundred maroons living in the woods and claimed that, “These have often said that the chief cause of their flying to those mountains is to be in a readiness to joyne with the English or Hollanders, if ever they land in that Golfe; for they know, from them they may enjoy that liberty, which the Spaniards will never grant unto them...”²⁵ In the search for war justifications, a multitude of allies (Indians, black slaves, even Spanish creoles²⁶) proved convenient. England’s rhetorical hopes for interracial alliances with Indians and Africans assumed, in a way, that these communities could be incorporated into a puritan New World Order. However, as we will see, these fantasies were silent on exactly how English

²⁵ Paul Lokken asserts that there may have been hundreds of maroons and Indians living in scattered communities throughout Guatemala until about 1640; see his “A Maroon Moment: Rebel Slaves in Early Seventeenth-century Guatemala,” *Slavery and Abolition* 25,3 (2004): 44-58. Gage, *English-American*, pp. 129-30, 139. *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.60.

²⁶ Gage even claimed that Spanish creoles had been subject to a “kinde of slavery” (through the empire’s preferment of peninsular Spaniards for colonial appointments), and asserted that these slights had become “so grievous to the poor Criollo’s or Natives; that my self have often heard them say, They would rather be subject to any other Prince, nay to the Hollanders, then to the Spaniards, if they thought they might enjoy their Religion...” (Of course, ardent puritans could not allow Catholicism of any sort to flourish, so none in Cromwell’s camp were prepared to offer freedom of religion for Spanish Americans who would support their rule.) Gage, *English-American*, epistle dedicatory; pp. 9-10.

Protestants might achieve spiritual common ground with peoples still considered “savage” in popular imagination.²⁷



FIGURE SEVEN: Portrait frontispiece to *The world encompassed by Sir Francis Drake, being his next voyage to Nombre de Dios formerly imprinted* (London, 1628). This plate was reproduced again in the 1653 publication, *Sir Francis Drake Revived*. Image courtesy Hans and Hanni Kraus Sir Francis Drake Collection (Library of Congress American Memory Digital Collection), Image accessed September 15, 2007, <http://memory.loc.gov/service/rbc/rbdk/d042/00060000.jp> pg.

The most famous examples of inter-racial utopian dreams come to fruition could be found in narratives of Sir Francis Drake’s exploits, especially the time he had co-opted disgruntled maroon and native groups to help in his raids against the Spanish, especially that of his capture of the silver train making its way across the Isthmus of Panama in 1572-73. These tales were revived in the era of the Western Design. For more than two generations, the English public had been able to read about Drake’s exploits in Hackluyt’s volumes and periodic reprints. In 1653 a new tract entitled *Sir Francis Drake*

²⁷ Carolyn Prager asserts that sixteenth and seventeenth century English tropes of the African were one of three: “the first is a metaphoric agent—an exotic, alien and slavish incarnation of the dark side of the soul... The second way is as a commercial object, a commodity to be bought and sold... the third is as an imperial ally, a nation of black fugitives escaped to mountainous or other inhospitable areas of New Spain from where they ready themselves to join with those who would help them take revenge on their former masters.” Prager, “Early English Transfer and Invention of the Black in New Spain,” in Jerry M. Williams & Robert E. Lewis, eds., *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention* (Tuscon: Univ of Arizona Press, 1993), pp. 93-107, quote on p. 94.

Revived (Figure One) was published, recounting Drake's fortuitous landing near Panama in the midst of a siege of Nombre de Dios by armed maroons, who introduced his men to friendly Indians off the coast near Tolu and eventually assisted him in intercepting the silver train.²⁸ When Gage spoke of Drake's exploits, he remembered not only his sacking of the great port of Cartagena, but especially his confederation with the "Blackmores" from Nombre de Dios: "the like was never by any other attempted, and by the Spaniards is to this day with much admiration recorded."²⁹

Cromwell's plans for imperial expansion was designed not only to destroy Spanish Catholic hegemony, but also (like Drake) to redirect the wealth of the Indies to England and give God's Chosen People the economic standing to rule European affairs. As Cromwell set about the prophetic task of building a New Jerusalem, Gage offered an intriguing tidbit about Spanish prophesy which (though tainted by Catholic superstition) surely had something to say to those with providentialist predilections: "It hath been for these many yeares their own common talke, from some predictions, or (as they call them) prophesies... that a strange people shall conquer them, and take all their riches from them."³⁰ Cromwell's military and economic strategy for the Western Design had a providential bent. By attacking first one of the lesser-defended but well-fortified islands, they could establish bases from which to raid and plunder Spanish treasure, then Spain's grip on the mainland would weaken, making way for the English conquest

²⁸ Anon., *Sir Francis Drake Revived, Who is or may be a Pattern to stirre up all Heroicke and active Spirits of these Times, to benefit their Countrey and eternize their Names by like Noble Attempts. Being a Summary and true Relation of foure severall Voyages made by the said Sir Francis Drake to the West-Indies* (London, 1653), pp. 7-8, 13-14, 30-31, 34, 48-56, 66-71.

²⁹ Gage, *English-American*, p. 77.

³⁰ *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.59, 60.

of a land presumed to so rich it might be mistaken for “Mahomets Paradise”³¹ (according to Gage, the appellation the Spanish had applied to Guatemala).

The success of a providential political economy depended on Gage’s final words of advice to the Protector. It was imperative, he cautioned, to send godly men, men who could resist the temptations of American treasures. In his narrative, Gage continually commented on how Spanish American “liberty” from metropolitan rule and the many opportunities for easy riches corrupted many – even Spanish friars with the purest intentions to minister to non-Christian natives soon fell into anti-Christian economic oppression. Before returning to the subject of a potential puritan religious mission to the Indians, Gage counseled Cromwell to be sure that “such as goe thither... be well principled in points of honesty; otherwise they may soone bee snared, and fall from God...”³² Both Cromwell’s commanders, General Robert Venables and Admiral William Penn, seem to have met his standards for men who would prize the ideals of a religious mission over the lucrative possibilities of personal gain. Penn, who had served in Parliament’s naval campaign against the Irish during the 1640s, had dismissed his father’s appeals to return to more profitable private commerce, claiming that his faith assured him that his efforts and funds in the campaign had been “well, very well spent... for the maintenance of so good, so just, so pious a quarrel.”³³ Venables, a

³¹ Gage, *English-American*, p. 75.

³² *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.61.

³³ Penn, *Memorials*, p. 94. He continued that “if ever God send peace, an honourable peace, peace and truth to this our nation, I may then, if I continue the sea, think of a Levant voyage; till then, though I spend more than I get (which is true enough), I am so resolved, and God so prosper my designs.” After hearing the famous puritan minister Hugh Peters speak in December 1650, Penn’s sea journals became increasingly punctuated with notes of thanks to God for providential favors (*Memorials*, pp. 358-59), perhaps suggesting that he had been radicalized by the religious fervor of the day, and Cromwell respected it. Moreover, Admiral Penn’s brother, a merchant trading out of Seville, had been imprisoned by that city’s Inquisition in 1643 during a wartime crackdown on suspected Protestant merchants (*Memorials*, p. 231-333; his brother’s

Parliamentarian taken with rather strict puritanism, would later claim he had accepted the somewhat skimpy commission Cromwell offered as a gesture “to let the World know it was the Promotion of the Gospel and the Service of our country we chiefly did propound to ourselves.”³⁴

What about the rest of the men who would end up joining the campaign – what dreams motivated them to offer their skills as soldiers and sailors? Some of those who enlisted likely came from the ranks of the New Model Army, sharply-reduced in the return of peace after civil conflict and two wars with the Dutch; many more seem to have been recruited from among the slums of London, comprised of uprooted refugees, poverty-stricken natives, individuals who would later be called “Cheats, Thieves, Cutpurses, and such like lewd Persons.” The truth was, London’s masterless men had few opportunities to make a living outside of soldiery, and many must have hoped that by going abroad they might avoid debtor’s prison or the dole.³⁵ In the religious and political tumult of Britain’s preceding decades, some of these lower-class recruits found a general anti-Catholic campaign appealing, but with few economic opportunities at home, the promise of American riches was a far more compelling incentive to join.

In Barbados and St. Christophers, another roughly three thousand troops were recruited, mainly from the ranks of struggling freedmen and servants hoping to escape

petition for restitution from Cromwell is printed in Appendix C.1, pp. 550-55). Later in life, Penn would revert to a cooler Protestantism and find fault with his son for taking his Quaker beliefs to such a high pitch that it endangered his place of precedence in Restoration England.

³⁴ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 3-5. Our trust in Venables’ motivations must be tempered by the knowledge that his protestations of religious zeal were written after he had returned to London in disgrace from the expedition’s early failures, seriously ill, and trying to defend himself against the Protector’s court marshals against him and Admiral Penn.

³⁵ I.S., *Brief and Perfect Journal*, p. 490. For literature on the rising phenomenon of “masterless men” in early modern England, see A.L. Beier, *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640* (New York: Methuen, 1986); Patricia Fumerton, *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006); and Rediker and Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra*.

their indentures; they, too, fantasized that knocking the Spain out of their place in the Caribbean would open up new opportunities for wealth and self-sufficiency in the colonies. In the 1630s and even the 1640s, some men of slight means who came to the English Caribbean had been able to fulfill their dreams for property and prosperity. But to do so, they first had to survive the “seasoning period” and, if they were servants, to survive their masters’ hard usage, since wealthier planters could buy replacement servants cheaply and “had little reason to exercise restraint in their efforts to extract more work from them.” But by the 1650s, with the “sugar revolution” eating up acres of arable land, servants in Barbados who served out their indentures rarely had the chance to make their dreams of trans-Atlantic prosperity come true—a campaign such as this offered new opportunities for optimism.³⁶

Puritan Politics of Economic Exclusion: Plunder, Masculinity and Hypocrisy

A few days after leaving the English colonies, the commanders of the expedition put their millennial beliefs into practice, ordering a day of fasting and waiting on the Lord. As their stomachs growled, the soldiers likely took part in each ship’s program of preaching, joint prayer and other encouragements to reflect on sin and the dangers of battle. For those men who were literate and had happened to bring along a pocket-sized prayer book, such as the streamlined *Manual of Devotions*, they might have read privately or shared with others “The Soldier’s Devotion,” in which was outlined the divine justice of war and armed conflict: “If the ground be good; as either to maintaine true Religion, therefore is warre against Antichrist commanded: or else to recover that which the

³⁶ Allison Games, “Opportunity and Mobility in Early Barbados,” in Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, eds., *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion* (Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996), p. 168.

Enemy hath unjustly taken away..."³⁷ Those who brought with them a Bible might follow the verses cited in the text's margins to seek find more concrete evidence of God's will for war. Cabin boys in the pinnacles watching for enemy ships, as well as navigators seeking to avoid underwater reefs that could damage the fleet would have been called to mind of the larger importance of watchfulness – of their sins, of evil outside forces – on such a strange, becalmed day of fasting.

The fleet arrived off the coast of Hispaniola, and on Sunday, early in the morning, the company joined in prayer to ask God's blessing on their undertaking. Perhaps Thomas Gage preached extemporaneously about Englishmen following in the glorious steps of Sir Francis Drake, the great Protestant pirate who held the city of Santo Domingo for ransom in 1586; he might have elaborated on the providential import of capturing this island, "the Spaniards first plantation," which would doubtless cow the "superstitious" Catholic enemy into submission.³⁸ Gage and other ministers might have also led the company in reciting "The Soldier's Prayer":

O Almighty God, who hast stiled thy selfe a man of Warre, and hast now called me to be a man of War; I beseech thee teach my hands to war and my fingers to fight; Give unto me, and every one of my fellow Soldiers, the strength of Sampson, the courage of David, and the Wisedome of Solomon... And because Death is Before our eyes, give us grace to be mindfull of it, and prepared for it... Take our Bodies into thy protection, and defend us; Take our Souls into thy

³⁷ Measuring only 14 x 7 cm., T.S.'s *A Manual of Devotions: Suiting each Day; with Prayers and Meditations answerable to the worke of the Day. As Also Each Mans Calling, viz. The Noble man, the Soldier, the Lawyer, the Tradesman, the Seaman, the Sickman, the Dying man, &c. with answerate Prayers and Meditations* (London, 1643), p. 397. These kinds of pocket exegesis for soldiers and sailors were popular in England. Another seventeenth-century example is *The Christian Soldier's Penny Bible. Shewing From the Holy Scriptures, the Soldier's Duty and Encouragement. Being a Brief Collection of pertinent Scriptures, under XX Heads, fit for the Soldier's, or Seaman's Pocket, when he is not furnish'd with, or cannot well carry a larger Volume, in time of War* (London, 1693).

³⁸ One of Gage's points to Cromwell when he suggested taking Hispaniola was that it might "bee to them a bad omen to beginne to loose that, which they first enjoyed...." "Some brief and true observations... *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.59-61.

tuition, and sanctifie us, that though we return not home, we may be received into Heaven, through Jesus Christ, Amen.³⁹

The power of assembling to join in solemn prayer on a Sunday morning before marching to defeat the great Catholic enemy must have been weighty. These sorts of moments were community-building rituals – meant to solidify a sense of common identity and purpose, meant to sustain those for whom death and suffering would surely come.⁴⁰

But for the officers who were admitted to the private conversations of the expedition's War Council, a note of discord was already threatening the mood of spiritual unity. The commissioners told officers before landing that they would be charged with enforcing one particular order: that "noe Souldeger... plunder any plas that they should take, vpon paine of death, and that all plunder or goods that shall be taken... shall be put into a public stor for the car[ry]ing on of the Desine." Many greeted the news with dismay – several officers had debts they wished to recoup with their traditional right to pillage. A few protested, saying "had not me Lord Protector promised them and thayer Soulders free plunder whare soeur thay did goe, thay would not haue come out of England... thay had promised Thayer souldgers for to incoraidg them to come with them...."⁴¹ (Back in England after the campaign had failed, General Venables claimed he had also been uneasy, "fear[ing] it would disgust the Army, and turn them against me... this was so contrary to what had been practis'd in England," but tried to shift the blame to greedy and selfish officers who hungered for plunder in "a country

³⁹ "The Soldier's Prayer," in T.S., *A Manual of Devotions*, pp. 399-401.

⁴⁰ Similar religious rituals in a martial setting are described in Richard P. Gildrie, "Defiance, Diversion and the Exercise of Arms: The several meanings of training days in colonial Massachusetts" *Military Affairs* 52, 2 (1988): 53-55.

⁴¹ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 12-13.

where they conceiv'd Gold as plentiful as Stones."⁴²) The civil commissioners could not be moved to grant traditional right to plunder, promising only that each man would receive six weeks pay upon taking the island. Whistler might have overheard the arguments while he was paging through the meditation on just war in his pocket prayer book, which reminded the soldier to reflect: "If I take up arms and goe to warre for mine own private ends; either for covetousness, and to grow rich thereby... I am not lawfully called unto war."⁴³ In any case, he wrote in his journal with displeasure, "Now when we should haue bin asking the lord to giue vs this place: Wee... ware asharing the skin before wee had Cached the foxx."⁴⁴

Despite disagreements, the officers were prevailed on to see that they would need to follow through with the instructions if the expedition was to have specie on hand to purchase provisions to support the army. Venables and Penn joined to draft a policy on how to frame the order against looting. Designed, they wrote, to satisfy both "Reason and Religion," the chief officers justified the ruling with reference to the biblical King David, who had made it "a Military Law (1st Sam. xxx.24), to give equal share to every person of the Army though not present." In this statement, they styled themselves as Old Testament patriarchs who aimed to "rectifie so great a disorder, crept so far into Modern Armies" that

the Men that usually performed the Service of the day lye Slain, Wounded, or have the Enemy still before them, so that without imminent ruin they cannot seek after Spoil, [yet] the persons whose deserts merited little or nothing in the Service of the day carry away the profit of the whole success.

⁴² *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 14.

⁴³ T.S., *A Manual of Devotions*, pp. 396-97.

⁴⁴ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 13.

Penn and Venables put control of the distribution of all plunder firmly in the hands of the controlling officers, who were to distribute pillage “according to every Mans quality and Merit.”⁴⁵ This contradiction between the biblical mandate for “equal share[s]” and the commanders’ discretionary distribution spoiled the fantasy of free riches, replacing it with a form of puritan social control that seemed uncomfortably close to the exclusions of traditional English hierarchies.

One can imagine the dismay that must have appeared on the men’s faces when they heard the orders upon disembarking in Hispaniola. Indeed, the commanders could sense the silent fury of many, and Whistler’s sea regiment threatened mutiny: “some said that [the General] was but one Man, and could not hang all the Army, and that whilst they had no Pay they would have all they could get.”⁴⁶ Quelling this protest with promises of extra pay for taking the city of Santo Domingo, the army was convinced to proceed, but as they marched, issues of plunder and religion were high on the minds of most soldiers.⁴⁷ As they passed by two abandoned plantations, the troops made sure to despoil the “popish trumperie” in Catholic chapels and homes. At one site, the men “brought forth a large statue of the Virgin Mary, well accoutered, and palted her to death with oranges,” and later scoffed at “a black Virgin Mary” they found there, imagining it a popish connivance “to enveigle the blackes to worship.”⁴⁸ Whistler’s

⁴⁵ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 15.

⁴⁶ *Ibid.*, 25. Whistler’s journal confirms that “the sea ridgment did [withdraw] from the rest saying, What doue wee doue heare, shall we venter our liues for nothing?” Whistler, *Journal*, f. 15.

⁴⁷ A bunch of unmarked cattle pelts that they discovered on their march must have been turned over to the commissioners as trade goods to be bartered for supplies, and soldiers searching the pockets of a Spanish captain slain in one of the first skirmishes were disappointed to find only “the Pope’s Bulls, an Agnus Dei, and reliques... else nought.” Anonymous In *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 132.

⁴⁸ Anonymous I (Rawlinson MS D.1208, f. 62 in the Bodleian Library), reprinted as Appendix D in *Narrative of General Venables*, pp. 129-132.

account of one episode of such despoiling juxtaposes descriptions of these united performances of iconoclasm with rueful notes on the wealth of the place:

This day they met with a monestorie, but all the Ballpated friors ware gone, But thay lef all thayer Imedges behind them, sum of our souldgers found plate hear: and one among the rest touck the Virgin Mary vpon his head, and brought her among the Armie, she wase most richlie clad: But the souldgers did fall a flinging of orringes att her, and did sodainelly deforme her, she had Crist in her armes, both these Immadgs ware very rich...⁴⁹

Whistler's observations that mixed up anti-Catholic performances with references to the value of those religious images and the discovery of silver "plate" suggests that the ban on plunder frustrated many who wished to do more than just enact symbolic desecrations and appropriations. These acts of vandalism on "richlie clad" statues and other religious relics were no doubt signs of ordinary soldiers' raucous bravado,⁵⁰ but such acts also served to demonstrate the men's Protestant loyalty before their commanders, those officers who watched men for any surreptitious pocketing of valuable trinkets. That night they gorged themselves on sugared orange juice (little else was available for provisioning), but doubtless slept little, distracted by the anticipation of a triumphant march into the city.

Those dreams did not become a reality. Within a week, the English had advanced and been repulsed twice by Spanish and Creole mixed-race fighters, and disease and hunger had broken out in full force among the army. Suffering from dysentery, lack of potable water, and the disappointing lack of military prowess, the expedition's participants found themselves grasping for answers. The expedition's

⁴⁹ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 15.

⁵⁰ For English iconoclasm in an Atlantic context, see: Vincent V. Patarino, Jr., "'One Foot in Sea and One on Shore': The Religious Culture of English Sailors, 1550-1688" (M.A. Thesis: University of Colorado, 2002); and Nicolas M. Beasley, "Wars of Religion in the Circum-Caribbean: English Iconoclasm in Spanish America, 1570-1702," in Margaret Cormack, ed., *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World* (Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007).

commissioners turned to their beliefs in divine providence to explain their inexplicable failure: God was displeased with them—for their confidence in their own strength, for their sinfulness and disorder. Venables and Penn laid most of the blame on the shoulders of their troops and select officers. When victory in Hispaniola was denied a third time, officers announced that “the hand of God” had dealt them this terrible blow. They cited their men’s fearfulness (“being only bold to do mischief”), their scorn for religion, and lack of discipline which had “drawn this heavy affliction upon us, dishonour to our Nation and Religion.”⁵¹

The soldiers, on the other hand, created their own narrative of who was culpable for their losses. The loudest grumblings were about General Venables, charging him with unmanliness, both on the battlefield and as a master-planner. Whistler was especially partisan, claiming that in the first attack their General “very nobelly rune behinde a tree,” leaving the regiment of seamen to step forward as heroes who “put the ennemie to flie for Thayer liues.” As the English regrouped from the attack, Whistler said, Venables had reappeared from behind his tree, “very much ashamed, but made many exskuces: being soe much prosessed with terror that he could hardlie spake.”⁵² This incident of cowardice was linked to rumors beginning to circulate that Venables had been un-manned by his wife’s presence in the fleet.⁵³ The General would later defend his decision to bring along his wife and refer to having received Cromwell’s

⁵¹ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 30.

⁵² Whistler, *Journal*, f. 17.

⁵³ Accompanying the General on the long journey across the Atlantic was his wife, Elizabeth, whom he had been married to for less than a year (*Narrative of General Venables*, p. 36). By far, the insinuation that the General was inept because he wasn’t properly in control of his wife was the hardest to shake. One contemporary critic wrote “He is unfit to be *pater patriae*, that is not *Domi dominus*, nor to ride admiral of a fleet that cannot carry the flag at home but is forced to lower his topsail to a petticoat.” (Edmund Hickeringill, *Jamaica viewed*, 1661, p. 67, quoted in preface to *Narrative of General Venables*, p. xl).

blessing. Since "His Highness only did intend a Plantation, where Women would be necessary," he wrote, "I proposed, if the Climate were not my Enemy, to stay there."⁵⁴

While Venables, who was suffering from a tropical fever that left him in a weakened state, could recuperate on board in his privileged space (comforted by his wife, no less), the men were left to suffer without any comforts. Whistler described the sentiments of many when he wrote:

...haueing a good ship vnder him and his wife to lie by his side, [he] did not fele the hardship of the Souldgers that did lie one the sand vntell the Raine did waish it from vnder them, and hauing littell or noe vitelles, and nothing to drink but water. But the Gennerall did not consider that, But resolved to stay 2 or 3 dayes more, pretending to refresh them, but the lieing heare did doue the armie more hurt than Thayer marching, ffor the fresh meat, and the abundant of frut that they did eate, and lieing in the raine did case [cause] most of them to haue the Bluddie-flux, and now Thayer harts wore got out of Thayer Dublates into Thayer Breches, and wos nothing but Shiting, for thay wose in a uery sad condichon, 50 or 60 souls in a day.... Now the Souldgers did begin to Murmur at the Gennerall liing aboard with his ladie, and keeping them ashore in this sad condichone."⁵⁵

Knowing sailors' lore about women being unwelcome passengers, it is perhaps not surprising that the seamen should blame Venables for bringing his wife along. But the puritan model of a godly colonial society meant that women were necessary,⁵⁶ and Mrs. Venables' presence was part of Cromwell's puritan ideal that a heaven-sent victory over the Spanish would transition seamlessly to a godly plantation modeled on the "natural" order of most stable of structures, the family.⁵⁷ In Barbados, the officers and

⁵⁴ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 102.

⁵⁵ Whistler, f. 19-20.

⁵⁶ I.S. called it "ill-grounded Confidence and high Presumption" to include women in the expedition, for it "made them seem rather as a People that went to inhabit some Country already conquered, than to conquer... for this, perhaps, they had too good a Precedent" (*A brief and perfect journal*, p. 491).

⁵⁷ Venables saw himself as a godly English patriarch, one who would not even accept his commission before knowing the details of Cromwell's reasons for war against Spain, nor before making arrangements for the care of his children, "except I should fall under the Apostles censure, 'He that provided not for them of his Family hath denied the Faith, and is worse than an Infidel'" (*Narrative of General Venables*, pp. 3-5). Even the short-lived Providence Island

commissioners had even agreed to transport “Soldiers Wives (who offer to carry their own Provisions)... to take care of sick and wounded men.”⁵⁸ However, given the context of the failed expedition and divisiveness in the ranks, Mrs. Veneables’ presence only served to accentuate the wide gulf between the expedition’s leadership and its men in terms of social and economic opportunities. Combined with the officers’ proclamations against plunder, Venables’ privileged distance from the suffering of battle and camp life highlighted the stark contrast between haves and have-nots in England’s social hierarchy.

Under traditional English models of masculinity, men could become masters and complete men only after they acquired the wealth and position to marry and become the head of a household overseeing children and (ideally) servants or journeymen of one’s own. Such ideals were increasingly difficult over the course of the late sixteenth and early seventeenth centuries, with economic shifts that pushed lower-class tenants off the land and into itinerant labor.⁵⁹ Alexandra Shepard remarks that this nationwide trend “intensified the pressure on patriarchal definitions of manhood which attempted to stigmatize subordinate men as unmanly.” Those who fell outside the category of householders, however, did not have to passively accept their emasculation, but could

settlement, situated in the heart of dangerous Spanish shipping lanes, had been settled in family groups (Kupperman, *Providence Island*, p. 32). For more on early modern family and hierarchy, see Susan Dwyer Amussen, *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1993), esp. Ch. 2; and Alexandra Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England* (New York: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 3.

⁵⁸ *Narrative of General Venables*, pp. 11, 102. though, given the large number of indentured servants contracted for the army, it is plausible that many of the “wives” were likewise unmarried servants hoping to escape their indentures by following the camp as nurses or prostitutes.

⁵⁹ Rediker and Linebaugh, *The Many-Headed Hydra*, pp. 42-49; Keith Wrightson, *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain* (New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002).

champion alternative definitions of masculinity: “violence, excess, bravado, prodigality, collectivism, and contrary assertions of independence.”⁶⁰

In the Caribbean, this resistance to traditional patriarchal norms was intensified. There, opportunities for marriage and traditional pathways to mastery were even scarcer. Skewed sex ratios favored women’s advancement through marriage: Whistler was shocked that women he and others would consider “bawds” or “whores” could become wives (“if handsome”)⁶¹ to successful colonists who sought legitimate female companionship and heirs to secure their family fortunes. By contrast, most freedmen were less able to rise quickly – they had to work their way up the social ladder by establishing partnerships with other unmarried men, sharing accommodations and the credit risks involved in setting up profitable but capital-intensive enterprises. In the early years of settlement on Barbados, these joint-ventures allowed some British freedmen (including a few former indentured servants) to make tidy profits by growing tobacco and cotton, working their land either in partnership with others or (preferably) with the help of hired or slave labor.⁶² The fact that men in the Caribbean faced different obstacles to traditional definitions of success meant that they had more leeway to define manhood and masculinity in a way that made sense given their own circumstances. The harsh disease and labor environment meant that men who endured colonial transplantation could claim survival as an indicator of mastery and superiority. The ostensible reward for survival in the Caribbean was imagined as riches and leisure, but Venables’ privilege and disregard for his men produced a rift in the expedition’s unity.

⁶⁰ Shepard, *Meanings of Manhood*, pp. 206, 209-11, 213, 249. See also Anthony Fletcher, “Men’s Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England, 1560-1660,” *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 4 (1994): 61-82.

⁶¹ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 9.

⁶² Games, “Opportunity and Mobility” pp. 171-75.

Officers, seeing themselves as patriarchs charged with disciplining their subordinates, set up punishments to remedy laxity and disorder. Venables denounced the bulk of his army as “the most prophane debauch’d persons that we ever saw, scorner of Religion, and indeed men kept so loose as not to be kept under discipline, and so cowardly as not to be made to fight.”⁶³ He ordered judgments for military misdemeanors (Adjutant General Jackson was cashiered for cowardice and sent to swab the decks) and capital offenses (a sergeant who had tried to run away from another regiment was hanged).⁶⁴ However, chastisements for moral transgressions were also part of his campaign to cleanse the army of ungodliness. Jackson’s demotion was not only for his shameful battlefield performance, but also for his reputation for moral disorder – having been noted “for whoring and drunkenness at Barbadoes,” he was discovered by his superiors in Hispaniola with a woman not his wife “lodging in one Chamber together and not any other person.” Venables wrote that he had ordered to remove Jackson from the scene, “lest he should bring a curse upon us, as I fear he did...”⁶⁵ Officers, urged on by the high commanders to do more than admonish their companies for swearing or drunkenness,⁶⁶ made amends by targeting women (who could always be blamed for corrupting men’s efforts), disciplining “some women found in mens apparell” and “all suspected whores (Barbados & those plantations yielding fewe else).”⁶⁷ The opportunism of both categories of women threatened the economic opportunities of the humblest of soldiers.

⁶³ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 30.

⁶⁴ *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.507; *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 34.

⁶⁵ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 33.

⁶⁶ *Ibid.*, p. 84.

⁶⁷ *Thurloe State Papers*, III.507, 3 Jun 1655, Jamaica. “A letter from Jamaica, by J. Daniell.”

The army then shipped off from Hispaniola, the campaign in danger of total collapse – short on rations, thousands of men already dead and many more sick, their dreams crushed. One petty officer lamented as he looked back on the island: “Sir Francis Drake tooke it, Anno Domini 1586, with 1000 men the same day he landed, kept it a month, and sold it for about 700^{li} sterling, because for want of men he could not inhabit it.”⁶⁸ The company’s dreams of fabulous wealth and providential victory had melted away. Leaders hoped to heal the rift by implementing more stringent moral discipline, and men (at least those who could) voted with their feet. En route to Jamaica, the commissioners ordered a day be “sett apart... for to seeke ye Lord in.” One ship captain sorrowfully wrote in his log, “the Lord, I hope, will pardon & amend all ye Imperfections, & defects therein, & [for] his mercy, & loving kindnesse sake owne us Guide us & protect us. Amen.”⁶⁹ But since few now believed that the expedition’s failings were solely thanks to God, the commanders endeavored to put better checks on their soldiers, issuing orders against runaways “that his next fellow should kill him, or be tried for his own life.”⁷⁰ To supplement a lack of funds, the commander of the fleet also collected fines for blasphemy, swearing and drunkenness – if men did not have the sugar or specie with which to pay, they would pay with their broken flesh.⁷¹

These disciplinary measures did little to improve morale, even when, landing a small party to on the shores of Jamaica to parlay with the Spanish, it seemed that their enemies would surrender without a fight. Despite Jamaican officials’ attempts to spur the defenses and economic development of the island, Jamaica’s main city, Santiago de

⁶⁸ Anonymous I, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 136.

⁶⁹ [Rooth], “A journal of the passages in my voyage to the West Indies on board the *States Swiftsure*...,” 7 May 1655. National Maritime Museum (hereafter NMM). Wynne Papers, 10/1.

⁷⁰ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 35.

⁷¹ Penn, *Memorials*, p. 64

la Vega, remained a sleepy hamlet defended by a meager 500 militiamen in possession of fewer than 300 working arms.⁷² Whistler remarked on Gen. Venables' optimism after his first meeting with the "the Chefe men of the Iland," in which he and Gage (serving as a translator) spelled out English demands for surrender, "the same... that they gaue our English vpon Providenc." These severe articles allowed residents no more than safe passage off the island, while their "goods, and all Money and plate, with thayer Negors, and all other slaues" would revert to English hands. Whistler hinted at the darker thoughts of some men, who saw that

Gen^{ll} Venabeles was much puffed vp with the thoughtes of thos termes that the ennemie ware like to sine to, he knowing that it would be much for his aduantaig; for it our Armie did fight, then our souldgers would get all the plunder and Riches; But if thay did yeld upon Artickles, then all wos in his hands to doue as he did pleas: but this is our mild thoughts of him: god grant it may not proue a truth inded.⁷³

In the midst of discussions for surrender, the planned celebrations for the day of the Holy Trinity were converted into Protestant ceremonies of possession. Thomas Gage assumed the pulpit in the cathedral church, preaching a rousing sermon to incite the army to triumph in their Protestant victory.⁷⁴ But again, God's providence seemed set against the English forces. Instead of accepting the terms of surrender, the Spanish leadership chose to retreat into the forests and mountains, hoping to wait for reinforcements to arrive. Back at the English camp, fevers overtook the army, and they could not catch enough cattle or pigs to supplement the fleet's severely shortened rations. Forays into the countryside to hunt game soon grew dangerous due to sporadic raids, and eventually troops began eating dogs and horses. Both the expedition's

⁷² Morales Padrón, *Spanish Jamaica*, pp. 136, 165-68; 178.

⁷³ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 27.

⁷⁴ Morales Padrón, *Spanish Jamaica*, p. 189.

leaders left for England within a few weeks of occupying the island, General Venables to recover from his fever, and Admiral Penn to defend his reputation. When they arrived in England, Cromwell threw them both into the Tower, and then, as Blair Worden so insightfully noted, began to think on his hidden “sin of Achen” — a biblical reference to one of Joshua’s war captains who raided Jericho’s riches against God’s explicit command to offer up the first plunder to him as an offering. This tale exposed the secret core of greed that many believed had kept Cromwell’s design from receiving God’s blessing.⁷⁵

Reinforcements sent a few months later were even more disappointed. One officer, lean from half-rations, expressed his pity for those “poore men... all their imaginary mountaines of gold are turned into dross, and their reason and affections are ready to bid them saile home againe already.” He himself tried to maintain an upbeat tone in letters to relatives, writing “I doe not repent of my coming this voyage hitherto,” asserting that his character and his faith had been strengthened by hardship — but he admitted that very few shared his opinion. Continued discord was tied to shortened funds, and the expedition’s straits meant that soldiers were “bound to take land in payment,” a far cry from the bonus cash pay all had been promised for forsaking plunder. Later this officer wrote, “wee expect noe pay here, nor hardly at home now, but perhapps some ragged land at the best, and that but by the by spoken for, for us generall officers not a word mentioned.”⁷⁶

⁷⁵ After the humiliating loss of Hispaniola, which he attributed to Providence, Cromwell is said to have abandoned his designs on the English crown, and became much more vulnerable to factional politics. See Worden, “Oliver Cromwell and the Sin of Achan.”

⁷⁶ Anonymous I, in *Narrative of General Venables*, pp. 141-43.

If even regular officers were denied good land as compensation, then what did the average soldier gain or lose in the final accounting? English officials equipped a fleet of sea rovers to police their new possessions, authorizing raids on enemy vessels and settlements to raise money and to intercept news of the treasure fleet's planned route. Many volunteer soldiers and seamen proved themselves eager to take part in these plundering raids. Their early efforts were not very financially lucrative – the English failed to intercept that year's *flota*, and even raids on cities in Hispaniola, Cuba, and the mainland (the city of Santa Marta, near Cartagena, was sacked three times between 1656 and 1658) yielded slight returns. One commentator wrote that news had reacted Jamaica that “ $\frac{3}{4}$ of the plunder went to the State, being all sold publicquely, att which the souldiers grudg exceedingly, and I wish it spoile not the whole designe...”⁷⁷ In 1659, Capt. Christopher Mings succeeded in capturing £200-300,000 worth of pillage from the treasure fleet and raids on Cumana, Puerto Cabello, and Coro, but Capt. Mings was soon suspended and sent back to England “for disobeying orders and plundering the hold of one of the prizes to the value of 12,000 pieces of eight.” His “plunder” had been an executive decision to distribute money among his officers and men before registering the prize with Jamaican officials.⁷⁸

Even these occasional opportunities for profit were limited to very few men – most conscripts were instead sent to the fields as laborers to plant and harvest provision crops. Policed by army officers, these were spaces of harsh military discipline that served to heighten the widespread discontent among the soldiery – they had not come to till the ground but to rule over it! In the West Indies, as they had noticed, hardly any

⁷⁷ Ibid., p. 143.

⁷⁸ More details on privateering out of Jamaica and the Myngs dispute can be found in Haring, *Buccaneers*, Ch. 3, “The Conquest of Jamaica,” pp. 85-112, esp. 97-99.

white men were subjected to such menial labors, labors ever more seen as the realm of non-white “savages” and “brutes.” The use of soldiers as agricultural laborers, combined with earlier moves to restrict men’s access to Spanish plunder, only heightened what many had said in England about the campaign’s private interests promoting ungodly greed and unfair distribution of enemy loot.

Commander Edward D’Oyley, who had been left to manage affairs on Jamaica, seems to have been aware of the problem that unequal distribution of resources posed for their survival, and looked for means to restore a sense of cohesion to the struggling forces. He took it upon himself as much as possible to remind the troops of their common cause as Protestants. In his journal, D’Oyley bemoaned the fact that “almost all the chaplains and ministers are dead, whereby we are much deprived of the benefit of preaching of the Gospel among us.”⁷⁹ In August and again in September, he recorded the distribution of more than two thousand Bibles to the troops, and took special care to award salaries to men who had agreed to serve as ministers on the island.⁸⁰ He knew, like many other officers, that only by promoting a sense of the “the general good of all” would their military endeavors prove successful, especially in times of hardship. In July, when “the scarcity of provisions for the Army, & the approaching fear of want” brought tensions to a breaking point, D’Oyley tried to shame officers who brought in inflated lists of those still alive in their companies, “aiming at their own private ends.” This ploy to secure a larger share of the rations was reprehensible, D’Oyley wrote, and

⁷⁹ Abstracts from D’Oyley’s diary (with other misc. notes by Edward Long), British Library (hereafter BL), Additional MSS. 12410, 13 Jul 1656.

⁸⁰ D’Oyley, Diary, 13 Jul 1656; 14 Aug 1656; 27 Sep 1656; 13 Sep 1657. BL, Add. MSS. 12410.

claimed that it was “the intention of the Commander in Chief [himself] and principal officers, to starve altogether, if the Lord in his providence think best...”⁸¹

But admonitions to Christian charity and Protestant unity did little to curb the dissatisfaction that soon roiled up to revolt. We know of at least one major plan for mass desertion of men displeased with being forced to till the Jamaican soil. Retribution for such willful disobedience was swift – three of the ringleaders were hung as an example.⁸² In the following years, soldiers were subjected to involuntary servitude for minor offenses. One soldier named Betts had stolen “five shillings and 6 pence, and a new pair of shoes” from another soldier who had taken his payment in land and managed to pull together a small plantation. As punishment, the barefoot, impoverished Betts “was ordered to serve the sd. Philipson in his plantation two months.” More extended labor contracts were imposed for moral offenses – in 1659, Francis Hildenham, “heretofore of the Army of Jamaica, being formerly detected and punished for a drunkard and swearer, and afterwards dismissed from the army and island,” was sent back by the governor of Tortuga “for speaking Treasons against his Highness the late Lord Protector.” Hildenham escaped the death sentence for the simple fact that Cromwell and his son were both dead and a new wind was blowing in England, but D’Oyley remarked that he still “thought fit that the said Francis Hildenham labour for his living.”⁸³

⁸¹ D’Oyley, Diary, 26 Jul 1656. BL, Add. MSS. 12410.

⁸² Capt. William Godfrey to Robert Blackborne, 30 April 1656, Jamaica, Public Record Office (hereafter PRO), CO 1/32, No. 59. Capt. James Tarry, referring to the same incident, wrote that thirty soldiers had ran away but were retaken, three of them hanged as an example, PRO CO 1/32, No. 62. Capt. James Tarry to Robert Blackborne, 30 April 1656 (Reiterated in Capt. Mark Harrison to the Admiralty and Navy Commissioners, April 30, 1656, PRO, CO 1/32, Nos. 60 and 61)

⁸³ D’Oyley, Diary, 17 Jan 1659. BL, Add. MSS. 12410.

Those men who had had enough of this repressive martial law ran away, taking their chances with Spanish or Dutch passing ships. Arnaldo Isassi, still holding onto the title of acting governor of Jamaica, had captured some English prisoners, and decided to keep one, “a little lad who waits on me.” In a letter to the governor of Cuba, he told of sending another English prisoner who had bargained for his life to be spared. From these two, he had learned that English troops were begging to be released from the “slavery” of life in Jamaica, offering to go to St. Christopher’s and serve out three years of indenture there, and that many of their wives had petitioned Cromwell on the same terms.⁸⁴ Several of these deserters appear in manuscript testimonies taken by Spanish officials, circulated for their military intelligence throughout the Spanish Caribbean and back to Seville. In one testimony taken from runaways from Jamaica, a German soldier, “Ricardo Ope,” and a Scotsman, “Thomas Quinarte” [Kinnearty?], identified themselves as Catholics, and freely offered details of the army’s condition, emphasizing the sickness, hunger, and low morale that prevailed in the English camp. Ope said that only two thousand men remained of the nearly eight thousand who had landed, and that he had been sentenced to death for fighting with one of his captains (he ran away instead). Characterizing the English troops as fearful in the face of a dearth of supplies and high mortality, he suggested that many would defect to the Spanish if offered good terms of surrender by an invading force.⁸⁵

⁸⁴ J. L. Pietersz and H.P. Jacobs, ed. and trans., “Two Spanish Documents of 1656,” *Jamaican Historical Review* 2, 2 (1952): pp. 11-35, esp. pp. 26, 31.

⁸⁵ “Testimonio de las declaraciones que se tomaron a dos prisioneros Ingleses que el Gobernador de Jamayca remitió a Cartagena,” 7 Aug 1656, AGI, Santo Domingo 178A. Prisoners taken in Hispaniola were also questioned, and these documents include the testimonies of defectors who had already found a way to escape the disasters of that island’s offensives. Among those who said they had run away were Irishmen, a Dutchman and another escapee, “who says he’s the son of a Spaniard.” Rodríguez Demorizi, *Invasión Inglesa*, pp. 70-73.

Perhaps the most bitterly disgruntled runaway was a Dutchman named Richard Caer. This engineer had emigrated from Brazil to Barbados sometime during the 1630s (likely one of the first to introduce sugar technology to English planters), where he took up residence, bought land, married, and accepted the commission of captain in the local militia.⁸⁶ This man clearly had achieved the level of mastery and economic independence that signaled success in English hierarchies. He was also a devout Protestant, claiming his confessional identity in the opening to his testimony, further declaring as he swore to his truthfulness (in Spanish) his belief “in almighty God and in Jesus Christ our Lord who suffered passion and death to redeem sinners.” But he had renounced his role in Cromwell’s design, given its failure to live up to its economic promises. When asked why he had left the English camp, Caer responded that “in all the time he had been in Jamaica” (about six months), “they hadn’t given him more than one-weeks’ pay and had denied him leave to go to his home in Barbados.” He had planned his escape with two comrades, leaving behind the corpses of nearly six thousand dead who had perished “from hunger occasioned by necessity and overwork.” Caer promised that those who remained “were disgruntled and disconsolate” – their chief complaint was that their commanding officers “made them work as if they were slaves.” Again, the dislike of involuntary labor was expressed in the language of slavery, a fate so intolerable it could push Protestants to defection.

Governor Zapata recognized the potential use value of the skilled engineer before him, interjecting at the moment that Caer seemed most dissatisfied with his treatment by his co-religionists. Zapata smoothly suggested that he presumed “that

⁸⁶ Caer’s name appears in the published “A List of the Names of the Inhabitants of Barbados, in the Year, 1638, who then possess’d more than Ten Acres of Land,” in *Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados... to the Year 1741* (Barbados, 1741), p. 72.

fortune brought [Caer] to serve the Protector Cromwell and not his inclination,” then reminded the Dutchman of the economic benefits he stood to gain by staying in Cartagena. As “chief engineer and a man of reason,” surely Caer would take heed of the peace between Spain and the Dutch States to accept an offer of a salary, clothing, and freedom of movement as an employee of the governor?⁸⁷ It seems that Caer accepted the opportunity, for today, docents leading tours of Cartagena’s majestic San Felipe stone fortifications tell visitors that many of the structure’s innovations were thanks to this same Dutch engineer.



FIGURES EIGHT AND NINE: *Views of Cartagena’s San Felipe fortifications, including clever engineering that makes individuals ascending lower stairwells visible to defenders above, but not vice versa. Photos courtesy Kristen Block.*

Caer’s willingness to essentially betray his Protestant allegiance for economic opportunity, much like last chapter’s performances of religious conversion, reflected Caribbean tendencies to play down antagonistic confessional identities and create advantageous relationships based on common European Christian sensibilities and the

⁸⁷ This remarkable exchange follows Caer’s sworn testimony, given the governor of Cartagena in early 1657. Cartagena, 2 Feb 1657, “Declaración de Ricardo Caer, de nacion olandes, natural del lugar llamado Horcon,” Testimonio del estado de la isla de Xamaica, noticias y avisos della deste siete de Agº de 1656, AGI, Santo Domingo 178A.

mutual benefits of economic collaboration. Caer, by rejecting the false promises of a Cromwell's millennial political economy, also rejected a hierarchy that made Europeans work "as if they were slaves." This Dutchman thus proves the archetype of Caribbean masculinity: survival and individual advantage.

The Specter of Slavery: Anxieties of Interracial Alliances and Black Resistance

Caer's comments about his fellow Protestants being forced to work "as if they were slaves"⁸⁸ is worth closer attention, for it hints at subterranean anxieties about race and the politics of labor exploitation that haunted Interregnum attempts to implement its colonial political economy. This final section considers the following question: were Christian men to be made "slaves" in the West Indies to support their leaders' colonial profit-seeking – made captives not by cruel, foreign, or even "popish" enemies, but to their own countrymen and co-religionists? This final section explores the evolution of English thought on who would be relegated to the role of producers of New World wealth. In the beginning when riches were imagined to well up spontaneously following Spanish defeat, puritan providentialists cast people of all ranks and "nations" as allies and beneficiaries of the Protestant New World order. However, accepting those groups as allies and fellow fighters – especially blacks, who were seen by both Spanish and English culture as "natural slaves" – destabilized the nascent racial order, an order that defined who would gain a share of Caribbean profits and who would serve solely as disposable labor. In the face of what they saw as black allegiance to Spanish Catholic

⁸⁸ Shepard's analysis of masculinity in early modern England reminds us that calling a man a "slave" was an insult even outside the colonial context – it "implied that he was perpetually bound to serve another man, without any shred of autonomy, and permanently excluded from the citizenship of the commonwealth enjoyed by freemen" (*Meanings of Manhood*, p. 174). Just as recruits for the Western Design tried to escape their bonds of subordination for manly fulfillment, being subject to servile conditions threatened it.

forces, millennial Protestant goals were further destabilized. No one even dared to think how to incorporate African “pagans” into an English Protestant community. These once-imagined allies needed to be subjugated, first by casting them as rebellious slaves, then by arming themselves to reduce Africans to their “natural” role, a process that would last decades in the case of Jamaica’s Maroon Wars. Meanwhile, frustrated “white slaves” —soldiers forced to labor in Jamaica and scores of political prisoners sold into bondage in Barbados — vented their frustrations with Cromwellian political economy by rejecting its religious language, preferring to fight for their hereditary rights as “free-born Englishmen.”

To begin to untangle this complex train of events, let us return briefly to the fantasies of interracial cooperation that informed the expedition’s religio-political visions of millennial victory.⁸⁹ Cromwell, Gage, and other planners clung to the vision that non-Europeans oppressed by Spanish “cruelty” would happily surrender their fealty to English “liberators,” automatically recognizing them as just and benevolent overlords. In the first heady marches on Santo Domingo, these fantasies seemed to be coming true — a few blacks enslaved by the Spanish approached the English invaders to offer their assistance. Such appearances, most notably the arrival of one unnamed black man — “a negroe who had formerly served Sir Thomas Warner, Governour of the Iland

⁸⁹ Here I emphasize the “fantasies” present in Cromwell’s and Gage’s plans for the expedition, for the reality was that at this very moment, in the English colonies, from Barbados to Virginia, racial hierarchies were already well along the way to ossification. See T.H. Breen and Stephan Innes, *“Myne Own Ground”: Race and Freedom on Virginia’s Eastern Shore, 1640-1676* (New York: Oxford University Press, 1980); Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs*; Clarence Maxwell, “Race and Servitude: The Birth of a Social and Political Order in Bermuda, 1619-1669,” *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology & Maritime History* 11 (1999): 40-46. For an interpretation emphasizing the more uneven transformation of Bermuda’s racial customs and law in the seventeenth century, see Heather Miyano Kopelson, “From Sinner to Property: Unlawful Sex” and Enslaved Women in Bermuda, 1650-1723,” Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, Jamaica, May 6-11, 2007.

[of] St. Christophers, and was taken [and] enslaved by the Spaniards” – fed English hopes of success (I will soon return to the semantic differences between “served” and “enslaved”). This particular alliance was especially heartening, given that this man knew the city and surrounding terrain, and that he could also communicate his knowledge with ease – thanks to his dual experience of enslavement, he “spake good English and Spanish.”⁹⁰ Furthermore, his familiarity with at least two colonial cultures during his lifetime meant he had the ability to recognize and confirm English cultural principles – the Spanish, he told them, were cowering with fear in the city and had even “confese[d] ye Lord fighteth for us.”⁹¹ However, despite this portent and a few more ex-slaves who joined the English camp, the army’s “hopes of more negroes comming in... succeeded not.”⁹²

General Venables seems to have rewarded their assistance and valor in accordance with his instructions – participants wrote that the first runaway to arrive received “civill entertainment and the Generall’s protection.”⁹³ Furthermore, as the army advanced on the city, this handful of black allies fought side by side with English troops when attacked, like Warner’s former slave, who “beauid himselfe stoutly in this days work, kild one & wounded another, calling out to our men, Give ye dogs no quartr.”⁹⁴ Gen. Venables honored his promise of “freedome” as reward for such valor.⁹⁵ The fact that such preferential treatment is remarked upon so often reflects the reality that “civill

⁹⁰ Anonymous, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 130.

⁹¹ William Burrows, “A journal of every dayes proceedings...”. Burrows wrote that Warner’s former “servant” had been a slave for twelve years among the Spanish. NMM, WYN 10/2, 17 Apr 1655. Whistler writes that early on in the march, “came to them a Neagor from the ennemie which had formerly liued with our English, which did giue them great incoridgement of the enemies vnabilitie to fight them: and that he would show them the way...” (Journal, f. 16).

⁹² Anonymous, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 130.

⁹³ Ibid., p. 130.

⁹⁴ Burrows, Journal, NMM, WYN 10/2, 20 Apr 1655.

⁹⁵ Anonymous, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 130.

entertainment," "protection," and "freedom" were very rarely awarded to blacks, and that these few unnamed "negroes" were exotic anomalies.

What was the treatment that persons of African descent received (and were assumed to deserve) in the English Caribbean? We have learned from the experiences of individuals in the Spanish sphere that although excessive cruelty was legally punishable, the assumed baseness of African peoples allowed their subordination as "natural" slaves who must expect that their lot in life would be toil and unhappiness. Likewise, European Protestants like Nicolas living in Iberian port cities expected to receive preferential treatment over Jews, Moors – and especially *negros* – on account of their perceived racial (and religious) superiority. The English were greatly influenced by Iberian attitudes toward Africans, and nourished their own stereotypes of African savagery, paying special attention to their perceived promiscuity.⁹⁶

English soldiers and sailors in this campaign had a chance to compare what they had read about in books and imagined about Africans and colonial slavery with the realities of slavery and servitude in Barbados. During the fleet's stay in Barbados, Henry Whistler commented on the incredible diversity of the island's multiethnic population, especially its preponderance of "miserabell Negors borne to perpetuall slauery thay and thayer seed." But instead of speaking about the misery – the pitiable wretchedness – that so often defined race-based slavery in the Americas, Whistler instead focused on other connotations that the word "miserable" carried: lowly, living in penury, contemptible. He remarked on the value that individuals of African descent could gain on the market (about five pounds sterling for a newborn) and the low

⁹⁶ See Jordan, *White over Black*; Jennifer Morgan, "Some Could Suckle Over their Shoulders," esp. 170-73, 183-86; Morgan, *Laboring Women*.

maintenance required for young human chattel ("they cost them noething the bringing vp, they goe all ways naked: some planters will haue 30 more or less about 4 or 5 yearsould"). Whistler was able to make this shift from adult misery to children's "nakedness" by referring to how planters "allowed" their slaves multiple sexual partners – which seemed to be rooted less in cultural polygamy than perceived animalistic tendencies. Before thinking of black children's value, he stressed the physicality of slave proclivity. Black men, he said, were given access to "as many wives as thay will haue, sume will haue 3 or 4, according as they find Thayer bodie abell." These assumptions of animalistic African sexuality implicitly justified selling slaves "from one to the other as we doue sheep," as well as the "perpetuall slauery" and "misery" that Africans and their American-born children endured.⁹⁷

Given the booming market for African laborers in the English Caribbean during these decades in which sugar (complete with its intensive labor requirements) took hold, and perceptions of Africans as nearly outside the bounds of humanity, the expedition's leaders were faced with a contradiction in how to treat blacks. While blacks encountered in English territories (including the 244 Africans confiscated from Dutch ships in Barbados and sold for £5,162 to local planters to pay for provisions for the campaign⁹⁸) were assumed to be "natural" slaves, blacks in Spanish territories were supposed to be allies of a sort, elevated to the status of men who would fight for a cause (revenge in this case). In the early stages of the campaign, leaders seem to have lived with the cognitive dissonance. In the case of Capt. Warner's "servant," later made

⁹⁷ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 9.

⁹⁸ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 8.

“slave” by the Spanish,⁹⁹ at least one commentator played on the semantics of voluntary and involuntary subordination to promote a useful fiction that allowed him to recognize the humanity (though not the personality or even the name) of this one “negroe,” who proved himself worthy of freedom from enslavement.

But in the skirmishing with Spanish forces on both islands, the English could hardly deny the reality that substantial numbers of blacks were among those defending “Spanish” territory from English invasion. In one of the first encounters in Hispaniola the English killed about thirty Spanish fighters “they being most of them Negors,” which Whistler wrote seemed to “friten many that did think that thay would not fight but a rune... but thay now find it other wayes.”¹⁰⁰ Soon, troops scavenging for provisions on Hispaniola failed to return to camp, captured or murdered by enemy fighters. Shaken by the ferocity of the ambushes and surprise attacks that decimated entire companies, English commentators especially showed the fear of engagement with enemies skilled in the use of pikes.¹⁰¹ In these encounters, English troops were at a distinct disadvantage, for they had only been outfitted with half-pikes, the best that Barbados timber could supply. Their sense of pride already wounded, English soldiers had to deal with the humiliation of the fact that scores fell on the battlefield with pike wounds in their fleeing backsides—another literal and metaphorical stab at their wounded masculinity. To redeem themselves from charges of “base cowardice,” observers instead derided the “savagery” of their attackers—who had not been Spanish

⁹⁹ Anonymous, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 130.

¹⁰⁰ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 20.

¹⁰¹ Whistler, *Journal*, f. 19. Also in Jamaica: “...when the negroes found any English straggling in the woods they butchered them with lances...” March 13, 1656, Torrington, Jamaica. Vice-Admiral William Goodson to the Navy Commissioners. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series, America and West Indies, 1574-1739* CD-ROM (hereafter CSPC), consultant editors Karen Ordahl Kupperman, John C. Appleby and Mandy Banton, (London: Routledge, published in association with the Public Record Office, copyright 2000).

regulars, but rather criminal “cowkillers” (the early buccaneers), and especially the “Negors and Molatos” they believed to be “thayer slaues.”¹⁰² The skill and determination with which multi-ethnic forces attacked English troops in Hispaniola struck fear in the hearts of men who still imagined themselves trampling degenerate Spaniards, taking their gold, and even celebrating a Protestant victory over Catholic domination.

Black warriors seem to have brought out exaggerated fear among English troops. Despite the fact that a few blacks had joined the English forces, by the time their several advances had been thwarted by surprise raids, unskilled English troops had so linked blacks with dangerous aggression that the simple appearance of “2 of our owne negroes” who came to drink at the riverside threw English troops into a panic: “some of them spying [the black men] cried ‘the enemy,’ upon which all immediately threw away their armes, and ran for it, some for feare leapt into the river, whereof 3 were drowned, soe much were we cow’d and daunted.”¹⁰³ Although running from “naked pagans” (as one critic referred to African-descended forces) could be seen as shameful cowardice for Christian warriors, in the Caribbean, flight served to protect men from danger.¹⁰⁴

What English forces did not know (and may have been reluctant to recognize), was the reality that in Hispaniola, non-whites were a substantial majority of the island’s

¹⁰² Whistler characterized these ancestors of the buccaneers as “a sort of Vagabons that are saued from the gallowes in Spaine and the king doth send them heare: Thes goe by the name of Cow killers, and indeed it is Thayer trad, for thay liue by killing of Cattille for the hides and tallow” (Journal, f. 19).

¹⁰³ Anonymous, in *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 134. Francis Barrington told the same story of how men “at the fore-mentioned river’s side refreshing themselves; on in the company might see one negar, upon which he gave out the word, ‘the enemy, the enemy,’ and immediately above 500 run away and threw down their arms” (BL, Egerton MS 2648, reprinted by the Royal Commission on Historical Manuscripts, Seventh Report (London, 1879), Vol. 1 (hereafter Barrington), p. 573).

¹⁰⁴ I.S., *A Brief and perfect journal*, p. 494.

free population, and were not only fighting on behalf of Spanish interests, but were defending their own lives and lands from foreign encroachment. By mid-century, only about one-third of the island's inhabitants could be categorized as white, and the garrison was manned by fewer than 200 regular soldiers. In the face of such a huge invading force, the island would need all able-bodied fighters to defend the island – these included black and mulatto recruits from the urban center of Santo Domingo, but also fighters known as *lanceros*, made up of “Indian mestizos and other different mixtures, like *mulatos* and blacks from Congo, Angola, Arda, and other African coasts, and the captains of the *lanceros* are creoles, “natural” in color [*de color natural*], strong and lusty men of the countryside, and even white laborers.” This description come from the pen of a Congolese-born defender named Juan Garcia Fernandez, who had been promised a post as head of a black militia in Santo Domingo for his faithful service during the English invasion. Extraordinary service to the Spanish empire or local oligarchs had its reward – manumissions had swelled the numbers of black and mixed-race inhabitants of Hispaniola over the course of the century.¹⁰⁵

But rather than recognize or even consider that men of African or mixed-race heritage would be fighting to defend their own lands and liberties against foreign aggressors, the English could only puzzle over the conflict between what they had expected to find and the reality: why might oppressed, reviled slaves fight *with* the Spanish? Several suggested it was religion. The English knew that the Spanish had

¹⁰⁵ Fernandez, it would seem, was denied his promise because no free black regiment had yet been approved for Santo Domingo. Council of War to the Council of the Indies regarding petition of Juan Garcia Fernandez, 28 Apr 1658, AGI, Santo Domingo 2, No. 65. Special thanks to Juan José Ponce-Vázquez for these references on Hispaniola's demography and the testimony of the Congolese Juan Fernandez. Roberto Cassá, *Historia Social y Económica de la República Dominicana* (Santo Domingo: Alfa y Omega, 1998), esp. Table, “Composición étnica de Santo Domingo, siglo XVII.”

opened membership in the Christian community to their slaves and free blacks. But since Spanish Catholicism was seen as illegitimate, full of superstition and irrational beliefs (fodder for weak minds in the vitriolic language of anti-popery), it made sense that Africans, also imagined as superstitious and barbarous, would be attracted to this aberrant form of Christianity. English officers doubtless remembered the statue of the dark Virgin they had destroyed in Hispaniola, part of a Catholic plot to make Africans worship their corrupt and disordered religion. In Jamaica, some Englishmen who had been living with the Spanish (probably the runaways from Jackson's privateering raids mentioned in the previous chapter) also brought up the suggestion that religious indoctrination could control weak minds. After they were apprehended by English forces, those renegade Englishmen said that the Spanish priests had tried to crush ideas of capitulation or desertion: "the priests do terrify the negroes and the Spanish amongst them by saying that we do deny God, and that when any cometh to us we do put out their eyes."¹⁰⁶ Whistler also believed that the Spanish who commanded the island's multi-ethnic forces relied both on religious superstition (wearing papal bulls as talismans against death and damnation) and spread rumors of terror and cannibalism to compel their subordinates: "to thes thay did proclaim freedom if they would fight, telling them that if they would not fight that we would take and eate them as fast as wee take them, and this did greatly incoridg them to fight."¹⁰⁷ All these rumors and

¹⁰⁶ Barrington, i.571.

¹⁰⁷ Whistler contended that for Spaniards brave enough to command blacks and "cowkillers": "the pop[e] doth giue a bull, which is a parden for all [sins] past and to come, and many that our men did take had Thayer parden hanging about Thayer neckes; theas men will fight with great confidence, and doue belefe that if they die all dies, for they are partened [pardoned]" (Journal, f. 19). If we can trust that Whistler had rightly heard that blacks fighting with the were being misinformed about English cannibalism, such tales suggest that the Spanish here appropriated the belief widespread throughout Africa that Europeans were devils who ate human flesh (and here re-directed those fears towards an unknown white enemy).

assumptions depended on fictions of African superstition and tractability. The expedition's leaders clung to these fictions in Jamaica, as Spanish leaders tried to delay signing the treaty while making plans to retreat, they tried to dissuade the English forces from coming near their camp, saying that "their Mullatoes" might do harm to stragglers. Venables dismissed the veiled threat, replying that those "Mullatoes" they referred to "were their Servants, and at their Command, and neither durst or would do any hurt [to Eng troops] but by their Command or Connivance."¹⁰⁸

The continued collusion of Spanish and maroon guerilla fighters after the English occupied Jamaica frustrated any attempts at securing the island. Leaders did not know if the black fighters who continued to catch their soldiers unawares were allied with the Spanish or not, but they did know that those warriors' intimate knowledge of the island's geography made them frustratingly elusive.¹⁰⁹ Gov. D'Oyley received one proposal to grant soldiers "three years service of all such Negroes and Mulattoes as they should take prisoners" — for one reason he thought the plan less than ideal, but within a year did authorize cash rewards to soldiers like William Crane, "a Trooper... for taking a Negro."¹¹⁰ D'Oyley sent out raiding parties against the maroons, ordering his officers to "find out by Intelligence... or any other means; where any of their Quarters or Habitations are; And to use his utmost to infest and disturb them..."¹¹¹ Another officer wrote home to request that his family sent "a couple of whelps of the blood-hound

¹⁰⁸ *Narrative of General Venables*, p. 36.

¹⁰⁹ For further information on Jamaica's maroons, see Mavis C. Campbell, *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of resistance, collaboration and betrayal* (Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990); S.A.G. Taylor and David Buisseret, "Juan de Bolas and His Pelinco," *Caribbean Quarterly* 24,1/2 (1978): 1-7.

¹¹⁰ D'Oyley, Journal, BL, Add. MSS. 12410, 8 Jul 1656; 4 Sep 1657.

¹¹¹ *Ibid.*, BL, Add. MSS. 12410, 6 Dec 1656.

strain to make draught-dogs of them, or if possible one ready made... I can deem no way like unto this to clear the black rogues from this place.”¹¹²

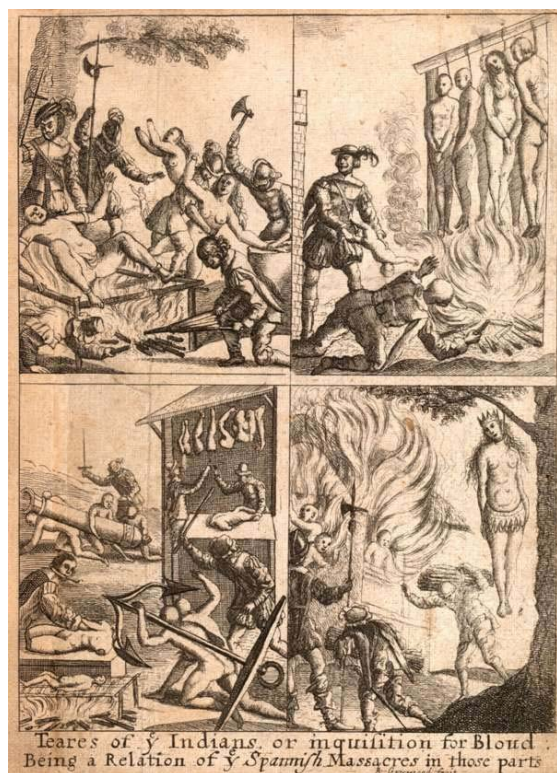


FIGURE TEN: Illustrated frontispiece to *Tears of the Indians* (1656). Image courtesy of the Robert Dechert Collection, Rare Book and Manuscript Library, University of Pennsylvania.

Capturing maroons helped to increase security; it also helped to take some of the strain off of using soldiers to plant provision crops. In England, Cromwellian propagandists were still trying to promote the plantation of Jamaica, and had ratcheted up the tales of Spanish designs to “enslave” the English. A new gruesomely-illustrated translation of Bartolome de las Casas’ classic tale of Spanish cruelty was published in 1656, and the preface dedicated to the Protector called on “all true English-men” to take up arms “against your Old and Constant Enemies, the SPANIARDS, a Proud, Deceitful, Cruel, and Treacherous Nation, whose chiefest Aim hath been the Conquest of this Land, and to enslave the People of this Nation.”¹¹³ Captivity, religious coercion and

¹¹² Barrington, p. 575.

¹¹³ *Tears of the Indians: being an historical and true account of the cruel massacres and slaughters of above twenty millions of innocent people, committed by the Spaniards in the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba,*

bodily torture were on display in William D'Avenant's opera-masque, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru*, where Peruvian natives rejected the cruel taskmasters to sympathize with English mariners put to the rack by the Spanish Inquisition.¹¹⁴

The English populace might be forgiven for their distraction by these tools of Cromwellian propaganda into believing that Protestant suffering was primarily due to the perfidy of their old enemy the Spanish. The reality, however, was much more troubling. In 1659, following Cromwell's death, a petition was heard by parliament, alleging that "free-born Englishmen" were being "Barbadosed," and unjustly sold as slaves to West Indian planters.¹¹⁵ Several men presented their experience of being captured under pretence of having participated in Royalist plots, after which they were secreted away in the dark, dank holds of transatlantic vessels, and sold upon arrival to planters who treated the laborers as another piece of property, housing them among animals, even "attached as horses and beasts for the debts of their masters."¹¹⁶ The title page to the pamphlet published "in the Eleventh year of England's Liberty" — a reference to the convening of the first parliament convened that recognized only its own

Jamaica, &c. : as also in the continent of Mexico, Peru, & other places of the West-Indies, to the total destruction of those countries / written in Spanish by Casaus, an eye-witness of those things ; and made English by J.P. (London, 1656), p. b4.

¹¹⁴ The language of D'Avenant's masque, especially that of the Fifth Speech, dwells on images of torture shared by both Natives and Protestant interlopers ("other Christian strangers landing here") who were victims of the Spaniard's cruel tortures, or as D'Avenant put it, "arts of length'ning languishment... Men ready to expire, / Baste them with drops of fire, / And then, they lay them on the Rack for ease." William D'Avenant, *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. Exprest by instrumentall and vocall musick, and by art of perspective in scenes, &c. Represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane, at three after noone punctually* (London, 1658), p. 20.

¹¹⁵ This common term at the time, a forerunner of "shanghaied," attests to the pervasiveness of such practices as well as the fear that such capture and transportation inspired in Englishmen. See Hilary Beckles, "English Parliamentary Debate on 'White Slavery' in Barbados, 1659," *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* 36 (1982): 344-52; Donoghue, "Unfree Labor, Imperialism, and Radical Republicanism," pp. 63-65.

¹¹⁶ Marcellus Rivers, *Englands slavery, or Barbados merchandize; represented in a petition to the high court of Parliament, by Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle gentlemen, on behalf of themselves and three-score and ten more free-born Englishmen sold (uncondemned) into slavery: together with letters written to some honourable members of Parliament* (London, 1659) p. 5.

authority – called on “the Honourable the Knights, Citizens, and Burgesses assembled in Parliament, the Representative of the Freeborn People of England,” to redress the enslavement of their fellow “Free-born people of this Nation.” One political prisoner called Barbados “the Protestants Purgatory,” another referred to their hard usage by “these unchristian Janisaries”; the primary petitioners referred to misery “beyond expression or Christian imagination.”¹¹⁷

Upon hearing the petition, some members of the council moved to strike it from consideration on grounds that it was a rebel plot aimed at destabilizing the government, especially Mr. Martin Noel, who was named in the complaint as one of the “Merchants that deal in slaves and souls of men.” Mr. Noel had been one of the merchants with whom Cromwell had consulted in the planning of the Western Design (and was arguably the root of the expedition’s inadequate provisioning) scoffed at the charges, saying “The work is mostly carried on by the Negroes.... It is not so odious as it is represented.”¹¹⁸ But others were alarmed by efforts to discharge the bill, saying that “slavery is slavery,” and argued that if they, as representatives of the English state, would not hear the petition, “none but God in heaven” might redress the complaint.¹¹⁹

Sir John Lenthall averred:

I hope it is not the effect of our war to make merchandize of men. I consider them as Englishmen. I so much love my own liberty as to part with aught to redeem these people out of captivity. We are the freest people in the world... They are put to such hardships, to heats and colds, and converse with horses. If my zeal carry me beyond its bounds, it is to plead for the liberty of an Englishman, which I cannot hear mentioned but I must defend it.¹²⁰

¹¹⁷ *England’s Slavery*, pp. 8, 21, 5.

¹¹⁸ Thomas Burton, M.P. *Parliamentary Diary*, 1656-59 (London, 1828), Vol. 4, p. 259.

¹¹⁹ *Ibid.*, pp. 264-265.

¹²⁰ *Ibid.*, p. 270.

But Mr. Boscawen stated things more bluntly: "If you pass this, our lives will be as cheap as those negroes."¹²¹ In the parliamentary debate, the language of religious right was generally avoided; in the petitioners' tract, appeals to legal and religious concerns held sway, while race was silent. The published pamphlet's religiously-tinged references included its appeal to parliament as the "Angel of their Deliverance" from covetous West Indies traders, "merchants of Babylon," and an Old Testament law against slavery on the title page (Exodus 21:16 "And God spake all these words, saying, He that stealeth a man and selleth him, Or if he be found in his hand, He shall surely be put to death").¹²² Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle, the captives' primary petitioners, reminded English readers that the torments they endured as dehumanized slaves was so horrific as to be "a thing not [even] known amongst the cruell Turks, to sell and enslave these of their own Countrey and Religion, much lesse the Innocent."¹²³

Disenchanted Religious Politics and Caribbean Labor Imperatives

The mutinies of lower-class recruits in Jamaica and the metropolitan protest against allowing "white slavery" in the West Indies reflected England's general dissatisfactions with Cromwell's attempts at defining a new puritan political economy. Radical Protestantism had not served to unify the nation at home or abroad, but had instead become a byword for tyranny masquerading as piety. The lure of personal profit was at the heart of this transformation, indicting unruly soldiers and distracted officers who mounted the Western Design, and revealing Cromwell's hidden lust for wealth and power and the perfidy of West India merchants who hoped to gain from his

¹²¹ Ibid., p. 268.

¹²² *England's Slavery*, pp. 8, 22, title page.

¹²³ Ibid., 7.

pretensions. Cromwell's grand scheme to drive the Catholic Spanish Antichrist from the Indies, instead of launching a great unifying national project, fell apart as lurid tales of internal slavery and exploitation drove a wedge between the English participants and discredited leaders' pronouncements of Protestant mission. Those dissatisfied with the course of events during the period of Cromwell's Commonwealth and Protectorate turned from the rhetorical power of providentialism – which had been so firmly tied to the puritan dictator – to the more neutral language of the “natural” rights of England's free-born population.

Despite the bitterness left in many men's mouths after the first failures of Cromwell's great experiment in colonial political economy, there were still a few who saw hope for a continued geopolitical battle with Spain in providential terms. They turned to fantasies of saving the Indians from Spanish cruelty, and thereby enriching themselves. While questioning Spanish prisoners, English officials noted with interest news of a revolt in the mines of Lima in 1658¹²⁴ and Spanish officials heard from an English prisoner that everyone was excited about the news that a Floridian chief had gone to England to treat with Cromwell for protection against the Spanish on that peninsula.¹²⁵ After the Restoration, politics changed, but colonial rhetoric was not significantly altered. The royal seal authorized for the new Jamaican settlement included a vignette of two Indians presenting fruits to the reinstated monarch, an image of two more natives supporting a cross, inscribed with the text, “Behold! Another has offered its branches,” projecting “an image of Jamaica as a gift willingly given to the

¹²⁴ Jamaica. Cornelius Burough to Robert Blackborne, Secretary to Admiralty Commissioners, July 16, 1658, PRO, CO 1/33, No 45.

¹²⁵ Testimony of “Juan Antonio,” 3 Aug 1658, AGI, Santo Domingo 178B.

English nation by an indigenous people who had long since ceased to inhabit the island themselves."¹²⁶

At Charles II's restoration, he and other colonial advisors took a moment to consider the place of Jamaica in England's economic and religious imperial objectives. Charles fought hard to maintain possession of the island during treaty negotiations with the Spanish, well aware of its economic potential. As he moved to reassert his authority over American colonial possessions, Charles was not insensible to religious imperatives – in his instructions to the Committee for Foreign Plantations, the King wrote that the committee should consider that baptism be implemented in England's a colonizing mission to both Indians and slaves.¹²⁷ But the damage had been done – the failure of the Western Design's religious rhetoric to unite Englishmen in a Protestant success against the great Catholic enemy had left religious sentiments greatly discounted in the Caribbean. Those who still believed in a puritan errand to the Indies could only sadly note that there in Jamaica, "Profession of religion makes people suspected to be knaves."¹²⁸

What would Jamaica become in such a jaded climate? By the 1660s and 1670s, the city of Port Royal transformed itself into a haven for opportunistic pirates and

¹²⁶ Guasco analyzes the seal in detail, p. 9, citing *The Laws of Jamaica, Passed by the Assembly, and Confirmed by his Majesty in Council, April 17, 1684* (London, 1684), "The Jamaican Graft." Guasco argues that English officials during the Restoration sought to remake Jamaica in a way that would de-emphasize Cromwellian efforts and set aside military conquest – hence the "gifting" of the island by fictive indigenous inhabitants to Charles II. For an analysis of the reinterpretation of Cromwellian Jamaica during the Restoration era, see James Robertson, "'Stories' and 'Histories' in Late Seventeenth-Century Jamaica," in Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards, eds., *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture* (Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002).

¹²⁷ CSPC, i.492-493. "Instructions for the Council appointed for Foreign Plantations, to inform themselves of the state of the plantations..." CO 1/14, No. 59 and CO 1/33, No. 81.

¹²⁸ Cornelius Burough to Robert Blackborne, 19 Jan 1660, PRO, CO 1/33, No. 61.

privateers hoping to enrich themselves at the expense of the Spanish.¹²⁹ In time, governors of the island would try to curtail such individualistic enterprises so as to funnel the riches of the Indies into state coffers and authorized trade networks, including with Spanish merchants in Havana, Hispaniola, and elsewhere. In these dealings, religious antagonisms were swept aside to be replaced by mutually profitable trade enterprises between Christian nations. One Spanish merchant wrote to London officials in 1660 to recommend that Spaniards be allowed to settle in the English territories of Jamaica, asserting that “security and just government, combined with personal and religious liberty... will attract many, to the prosperity and increase of population of the island.”¹³⁰ Such increase of population and prosperity was the real challenge for Jamaica. Although as many as twelve thousand English had come to Jamaica by the time of the Restoration, fewer than 2,500 men and one thousand women and children survived; although the fledgling colony had managed to put roughly 2,500 acres under cultivation, they had been able to enslave only about five hundred blacks to work those fields.¹³¹

In the 1670s Jamaican productivity and population began to take off, mainly through the large-scale importation of African slaves by the Royal African Company, and by the eighteenth century Jamaica would become the slave-dominated sugar island as it is commonly thought of today. In this and other Caribbean islands of sugar and slaves, few dared to protest the political injustice of enslaving thousands of African

¹²⁹ On anticlericalism among sailors and pirates in the late seventeenth and early eighteenth centuries, see Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.

¹³⁰ CSPC, Item 2015, xii.633, Memorial of John Tarima, a Spanish merchant, concerning Jamaica, 1660.

¹³¹ CSPC, Item 2014, xii.632, Account of the population of Jamaica, with their proportion of arms, and of acres planted, [? 1660]. The actual figures given are: 2,458 men, 454 women, 448 children, 514 negroes, 618 arms, 2,588 acres. Dunn cites the 12,000 immigration estimate, and says that by 1661, the population was 3,470 (*Sugar and Slaves*, p. 153)

slaves. Local officials did work to stem the tide of Irish servants, anticipating the dangerous consequences of allowing Catholics to serve as militiamen (the islands needed as many white defenders as possible as slave majorities grew), fearing they might turn traitors in case of attack by Spanish or French enemies.¹³² England's tradition of religio-political exceptionalism required that privileges be granted primarily to the country's own white Protestants, excluding a wide range of ethnic and religious "Others" from enjoying the rights of "free-born Englishmen." The underlying association of "freedom" with Christianity would silence any concerted attempts to put puritan-style evangelization missions into practice for those whose labor was considered too necessary to put in jeopardy.

¹³² Jenny Shaw and Kristen Block, "Irish Identities and Inter-Imperial Strategies in the 17th Century Caribbean," Paper presented at the NYU Atlantic Workshop, March 28, 2006.

Chapter Four

“Merchantmen of the Precious Truth”: Barbados Quakers and Evangelization of Slaves in the Late Seventeenth Century

When news reached Barbados that Cromwell’s troops had failed in Hispaniola and were struggling to survive in Jamaica, Col. Lewis Morris of Ape’s Hill must have said a silent prayer of thanks to God that he had declined Gen. Venables’ commission to command a regiment in their campaign. It had been a flattering offer, he knew, a reward for his loyal service to the Parliamentary cause in the subjugation of royalist elements in Barbados under Sir George Ayscue in the 1650s. Morris had risen quickly in this land of opportunity, beginning as an indentured servant in Providence Island in the 1630s, then a trusted interlocutor as the Company negotiated alliances with Mosquito Coast Indians, and later as second-in-command during Capt. William Jackson’s raids against the Spanish in 1642-1645. Morris likely hated the Spaniards for their depredations – at least as much as any other Englishman so closely associated with puritan ventures like Providence Island and Capt. Jackson’s privateering. But his new status as an established planter gave him reason to pause when Penn and Venables landed in Barbados and offered him the position as regiment head. His debts, Col. Morris said, weighed on his mind – and what would his poor wife do if he were to perish in the campaign? He had finally succeeded, both materially (his fledgling sugar plantation had just gotten off the ground) and socially (he had married, and been named

a representative of St. Michael's parish in July 1655) — he would not risk his newfound security.¹

So what did the religious fervor of mid-century English society mean to men like Col. Morris? He and many other Englishmen had known poverty and uncertainty in their personal adventures in the Caribbean, and had seen the death and destruction caused by imperial battles over the region's wealth. By setting himself up as a planter — acquiring land, buying the equipment and slaves to furnish the complex production needs of a sugar works — Col. Morris had no need to set off on a puritan crusade that promised an uncertain share of potential Spanish plunder. However, despite his social and economic stability, within a year it seems that Morris experienced a crisis of faith, leading him to gravitate to a group of radical Protestants from England who called themselves Children of the Light.² These individuals spoke of the leveling of society, addressing everyone in the familiar address of “thee” and “thou,” and rejecting the honor of doffing their hat to any but God. Many, scoffing at the religious group's strange, silent meetings and tendency to fall into trance-like public prophesies and ecstasies, called them simply, “Quakers.”

These Quakers, later also known as the Society of Friends, are today well-studied figures for a variety of reasons: exemplars of the explosion of religious fervor in Civil-War era England; some of the first proponents of religious toleration in North American settlement, especially in William Penn's founding of Pennsylvania; perhaps most

¹ Samuel Stelle Smith, *Lewis Morris: Anglo-American Statesman, ca. 1613-1691* (Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1983); Eugene R. Sheridan, *Lewis Morris 1671-1746: A Study in Early American Politics* (Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981), pp. 2-6; Kupperman, *Providence Island*, pp. 97-99, 387; Penn, *Memorials*, 41-42; *Thurloe State Papers*, iii.158; British National Archives, PRO 31/17/43.

² Barbara Ritter Dailey, “The Early Quaker Mission and the Settlement of Meetings in Barbados, 1655-1700.” *Journal of the Barbados Museum and Historical Society* [hereafter *JBMS*] 39 (1991), p. 28.

famously, Quakers are known for their dedication to abolition of the slave trade and the institution of slavery in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. However, Barbados was the first place that this religious movement flourished in the Americas. Indeed, only two short decades after the first missionaries arrived in Barbados in 1655, the island had earned the appellation of the “Nursery of Truth” for the more than 1,000 Friends who resided there.³ There the sect grew in size and acceptance, in large part because influential men like Col. Lewis Morris – planters, office-holders, merchants, and yes, slaveholders – acted not only as converts but also as patrons. They were the ones who hosted their “prophet” and spiritual leader George Fox in his 1671 visit to the island, and the ones who listened to his controversial ideas about evangelizing to their “Ethiopian” slaves. The English had followed the Spanish example of enslaving Africans, but not their practice of extending them a Christian identity – in part because of their adherence to biblical literacy for a true Protestant identity, in part because of a belief that Christians should not be enslaved (and thus, slaves should not be Christianized).

Because of this and other challenges to the *status quo*, Quakers came to be more severely persecuted in the latter decades of the seventeenth century, a general trend among their co-religionists throughout the British Isles and American colonies. But the

³ Bridenbaugh and Bridenbaugh, 386. Frederick B. Tolles estimated the numbers of the Transatlantic Quaker community in the seventeenth century to be as high as 50,000 in the British Isles, and at least 40,000 in the American colonies (“The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century,” *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 14,3 (1951): 239-58); Mack cites studies that suggest as many as 60,000 became Quaker converts in the first decade after the sect’s appearance (247). For studies of Quakerism in Barbados, see Barbara Ritter Dailey, “The Early Quaker Mission and the Settlement of Meetings in Barbados, 1655-1700.” *JBMHS* 39 (1991): 24-46; L. Brett Brinegar, “Radical Politics and Civil Disobedience: Quaker Resistance in Seventeenth Century Bridgetown” *JBMHS* 49 (Nov. 2003): 150-66; Harriet Frorer Durham, *Caribbean Quakers* (Hollywood, Fla.: Dukane Press, 1972); and Winnifred V. Winkelman, “Barbadian Cross-currents: Church-state confrontation with Quaker and Negro, 1660-1689” (Ph.D. Thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1976).

Society of Friends in Barbados evolved in its own way, reacting not only to metropolitan missionaries, but also to circumstances on the ground in their plantation-dominated island. The role of Barbados Friends in the shaping of a transatlantic Quaker “religious culture” would prove to be powerfully influential in the Society’s stance on race and slavery, just as Barbados’ legal codes have been shown to shape mainland English colonies’ legal encoding of slavery as a race-based, lifelong, inheritable institution.⁴ Thus it is imperative that we take a detailed look at this group of religious seekers, privileged in many ways by their connection with wealthy West Indians, but also marginalized because the principles and practices of their religious society were held in deep suspicion by secular and religious officials as disruptive of order and traditional forms of authority. The unpopularity of the Society was not only linked to their innovative idea of Christianizing African slaves, but more mundane principles that Friends vigorously defended – their scruples about swearing oaths, paying tithes, and serving in the militia. These acts put them outside of the norms of English societal ideas of responsibilities to church and state that would not be resolved until after the Glorious Revolution of 1685.

This chapter will track the Quaker movement from sect to denomination, from the 1650s to the turn of the eighteenth century, elucidating the aspects of that transition that most clearly informed the experiences of Friends living in the English West Indies. As many religious scholars have noted, fringe groups who bid for legitimacy usually

⁴ David Barry Gaspar, “With a Rod of Iron: Barbados Slave Laws as a Model for Jamaica, South Carolina, and Antigua, 1661-1697” in *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in the Diaspora*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod (Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999), pp. 343-66; Jennifer Morgan, *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004) p. 92-94; Kathleen Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early America, 1996), pp. 113-14.

have to give up or soften (at least for a time) their radical practices which most threaten social order – the path to respectability for the Society of Friends was no different.⁵ As the Society of Friends worked to shape the boundaries of their community in their first two generations, they battled with the destabilizing threat of separatism and struggled to implement disciplining technologies to police their members. However, by taking part in the social hierarchies of this early move to “settle” the community, through their membership in the Society, Friends could also challenge emerging systems of authority. Geertz’s concept of religious systems produced through participation and performance is especially appropriate for a study of this group, for Friends’ insisted on a non-hierarchical church where decisions were made in common, according to the “general Spirit.” Certainly, there were unequal power relationships among Quakers – some emerged as leaders to whom many deferred – but the diffuse nature of that authority meant that in every meeting, voices emerged from the silence to speak their consciences. Sometimes Friends spoke of unity – at other times they warned one another against greed, prejudice, and hypocrisy. These voices had to be contended with, and although

⁵ For this period of transition, see especially Phyllis Mack, *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England* (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992). Histories of Quakerism have regularly noted the radical differences between the Civil War and post-1660 group dynamics (see William C. Braithwaite wrote a two-volumes history of the Society of Friends, with 1660 marking the *Second Period of Quakerism*). Social historians observing trends of conservatism and local accommodation include Adrian Davies, *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000); Richard T. Vann, *The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969); Jean R. Soderland, *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit* (Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985); and Frederick B. Tolles’ collection of essays, *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture* (New York: Macmillan, 1960). Other historians have found similar patterns of de-radicalization in evangelical Protestant revivals of the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. See Christine Leigh Heyrman, *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt* (Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997); and Susan Juster, *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics and Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994). A useful sociological study of the American Protestant sect-to-denomination phenomenon is Roger Finke and Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners And Losers In Our Religious Economy* (New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992).

those individuals might be pressured to keep quiet for the sake of peace within the group, the ideal of a “tender conscience” allowed those minority views to survive below the surface.

Central to any discussion of the Quakers is the principle of individual conscience, the “Inner Light,” as it was often called. This deeply individualistic approach to belief and religious performance, in which each person was responsible for channeling the authentic will of God was susceptible to critique, and many feared that “weak” persons might imagine their own fantasies or darker diabolical whisperings to be the will of God. In a place like the Caribbean, which contemporaries believed offered so many snares to sin and hypocrisy (the temptation of wealth primary among them), pinning down acceptable approaches to activities like profit-seeking and slaveowning could be particularly slippery. This chapter plays special attention to the importance of concepts of wealth and temptation in shaping individual belief.

This analysis draws on a database of nearly 800 individuals with data compiled from multiple manuscript and published sources for evidence to support a focused historical narrative of the Friends’ movement in Barbados. It explores in-depth the era’s separatist controversies, conflicts over how to interpret and manage wealth, and the dilemma of how to properly order this fledgling religious community.⁶ In building a prosopographical database on Quakers who had lived in or traveled through Barbados during the second half of the seventeenth century, I hoped to recover fragments of information that would help answer my questions about the early Quaker campaign to evangelize to African slaves, questions I felt had not been sufficiently studied from a

⁶ I drew on Quaker histories, manuscript correspondences, epistles and lists, wills and census materials in compiling this database. Despite gender imbalances in migration to the Caribbean, this survey has uncovered more than 300 women associated with the Society of Friends in Barbados.

local perspective.⁷ Because I aim to illuminate individual lives through the milieu in which they lived, I also draw heavily on the voluminous pamphlet literature for a sense of the rhetorical and cultural import of Quaker thought and conflict, both internal and external. By using a combination of the composite data from my prosopographical study and a study of the other concerns Friends faced in Barbados and abroad, I hope to illustrate not only what individuals like Col. Morris and other early Quakers said and did, but also the meaning behind their silences.

Silences are an especially important part of this story, for despite the weight of information that exists to document the Society of Friends' social history in Barbados during the seventeenth century, there is a marked paucity of comments on the evangelization campaign that Fox proposed. Given the centrality of slavery to Barbados' economy and society during the same time, this absence is especially striking. Much might be assumed about a desire among later generations of Quaker anti-slavery activists to expunge from the record those remnants of the past which sat uncomfortably with their modern principles. But whether erased later or muted at the time, reading for those elusive moments of silent reflection has been a central aim of this chapter. Part of this effort involves highlighting Friends' use of the metaphor of Egyptian slavery. Protestant radicals throughout the period made ample use of the metaphorical "slavery" of sin and decried officials who might try to "enslave" their consciences with laws of conformity, but in Quaker rhetoric, the site of Egypt and the enslavement of the Israelites, God's chosen people, took on added meaning as they struggled against

⁷ Most histories of the movement in early Barbados by Quaker scholars relied on manuscript sources preserved by the Society of Friends, sources that necessarily privileged the missionary movement to the West Indies, and represented mainly those few locals who maintained strong ties of correspondence with Friends in Britain. Such is true for works of Henry J. Cadbury, Barbara Ritter Daily, Thomas Drake, Kenneth L. Carroll, "George Fox and Slavery" *Quaker History* 86,2 (1997): 16-25; and George Vaux, "Friends in Barbados" *The Friend* 60,23 (1887): 178)

persecution. Over the course of the late seventeenth century, Quakers used these powerful biblical metaphors of bondage and salvation in shifting ways. In the beginning, Quakers thought of themselves as struggling against the world's hard-heartedness, epitomized by Pharaoh's refusal to release the Israelites from their bondage. As in-fighting threatened to destroy the movement in the 1660s and 70s, the story most often used was that of Joseph's brothers selling him into Egyptian slavery, and as persecution heightened in the face of mounting legislation against nonconformists during Charles II's reign (1660-1689), Friends all over the Atlantic imagined themselves as exploited Israelite slaves unjustly beaten down by fines and imprisonment. In Barbados, however, these metaphors of bondage, betrayal, and exploitation took on special valence, mirrored as they were by the physical reality of Africans living a life of irredeemable slavery. Idealistic designs to bring Africans out of their perceived "spiritual captivity" were not easy to achieve in an Atlantic economy. The experience of separatism and persecution gave Quaker concepts of Light and Darkness, survival and destruction, even more practical resonance.

Friends' Mission in Barbados

In late 1655, when the first Quaker missionaries arrived in Barbados, the island had recently become a slave majority, with about 13,000 English colonists and servants and more than 20,000 slaves—a dramatic shift from two decades earlier, when the white population of around 6,000 heavily outnumbered the 200 or so African slaves.⁸ This shift was due to the introduction of sugar cultivation and refining during the mid-1640s—sugar quickly became the most profitable cash crop and dramatically changed

⁸ Blackburn, p. 231.

the tenor of island life.⁹ Anne Austin and Mary Fisher arrived in the midst of this dramatic economic expansion with an otherworldly agenda, answering what they believed to be a call by God to travel to the Americas to spread the word about their convictions regarding the Inner Light.¹⁰ On 30th January 1656, Fisher wrote from Barbados to George Fox with the news that “here is many convinsed & many desire to know the way.”¹¹ Although it is uncertain whether Col. Lewis Morris was attracted at this date to Friends’ messages, later that year, Henry Fell wrote to his mother Margaret Fell (the “Mother” of Quakerism) with the news that he had succeeded with “convincing” the influential Col. Morris.¹²

Indeed, the conversion of many prominent Barbadian planters and merchants who had personal connections to island officials created a sort of patronage network for Quakerism to help incorporate them into the island’s multi-ethnic, pluralistic society.¹³

⁹ Two monographs published in 1972, Carl and Roberta Bridenbaugh’s *No Peace Beyond the Line* and Richard Dunn’s *Sugar and Slaves*, both argued for this dramatic social and economic transformation of Barbados society through the introduction of sugar as a cash crop in the period roughly 1645-1660. Historiography debating the timing and significance of this “revolution” include: Richard B. Sheridan, *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775* (Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies, 1994 [1974]); B. W. Higman, “The Sugar Revolution,” *The Economic History Review* 53, 2 (2000): 213-236; Russell R. Menard, *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados* (Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2006)

¹⁰ Among the traits considered eccentric by contemporaries were: the acceptance of women as equal mothers in Christ, and authorized the preaching, prophesy, and travel of female charismatics (though this was not unique to Quakers among radical sects of Civil War period); a belief that there was a “seed” of the “indwelling Christ” in all people which would guide the hearts and minds of all those “tender” to its presence. This presence was thought to be summoned by quiet reflection, but periods of “waiting on the Spirit” were interspersed “with extemporaneous bursts of singing, chanting, or incantatory preaching from inspired members.” Barbara Ritter Dailey, 25. It also shared many radical traits in common with other non-conformist sects: anti-clericalism, anti-hierarchy.

¹¹ James Bowden, *The History of the Society of Friends in America* (New York, Arno Press, 1972), p. 31 (photostat of original manuscript).

¹² Ritter Daily, p. 28.

¹³ Patterns of social classes among Quaker converts are the subject of essays by Barry Reay, “The Social Origins of Early Quakerism” *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11,1 (1980): 55-72; Richard T. Vann, “Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum” *Past & Present* 43 (May 1969): 71-91. In the Americas, most Friends were recent migrants from England rather than

Among these were: Peter and Henry Evans, the former an overseer of the poor for St. Michaels in 1659 and the latter a gentleman with a plantation in St Georges¹⁴; Thomas Pilgrim, who may have served in the Irish fleet with Admiral Penn in 1645 and who had converted to Quakerism in Wansworth (Co. Surrey?) before migrating to Barbados¹⁵; Elizabeth Sutton and her sons Richard and John, both of whom carried the title of captain, and stood to inherit their father's substantial plantations in St Michael and St Georges parishes as well as his "dwelling houses, shops, and storehouses... at ye Bridge [Bridgetown]"¹⁶; Ralph Fretwell, "one of the chief Judges of the Court of Common-pleas," and his wife Dorothy.¹⁷ In 1666, Col. Lewis Morris, described as "of good interest and conduct, and an honest man though a Quaker" by the governor, was appointed to the prestigious Barbados Council.¹⁸ Social repute helped many of these men and their families rise to prominence within the growing community of Friends as well.

However, anxieties over the dramatic shift in the island's economic and social structure during the middle decades of the century seems to have compelled Quaker converts to the sect to challenge elite culture, especially that small handful of wealthy

converting in the Americas (although active missionizing in the early years did produce significant numbers of converts). The social composition of early American Quakers is discussed in Carla Gardina Pestana, *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts* (New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991), and Soderburg, *Quakers and Slavery*.

¹⁴ "Records of the Vestry of St. Michael," *JBMS* 14,3 (May 47):137; Sanders, *Barbados Wills*, ii.110.

¹⁵ Penn, *Memorials*, p. 110; Barbados Department of Archives (hereafter BDA), Will of John Pilgrim (d. ca. 1715), RB6/4, 75-82. A John Pilgrim is listed as commander of the *Hind* in Penn, *Memorials*, p. 110.

¹⁶ Will of John Sutton, Sr. (d. 1664/5), BDA, RB6/15, 377-78; A younger John Sutton (unclear as to whether it is this John Sutton or his father by the same name) was in a position to serve as a trustee for the parish of St Michael 1656-1657 ("Records of the Vestry of St. Michael," *JBMS* 14,3 (May 47): 127-30).

¹⁷ Joseph Besse, *A Collection of the Sufferings of the People called Quakers* (London, 1753), Vol. II, p. 291.

¹⁸ *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: North America and the West Indies, 1574-1739*, ed. John C. Appleby, Karen Ordahl Kupperman, and Mandy Banton. CD-ROM. (New York: Routledge, 2000), (hereafter CSP), v.413-14.

planters and adventurers who had the capital to invest in large tracts of land and slave gangs for sugar production. John Rous and his father, Lieutenant Colonel Thomas Rous (a former Roundhead leader and intimate friend of the governor, Lord Francis Willoughby¹⁹), were part of the island elite who converted to Quakerism in the late 1650s. The conversion incited young John to compose a *Warning to the Inhabitants of Barbadoes*, urging his wealthy neighbors to end their "Pride, Drunkenness, Covetousness, Oppression and deceitful-dealings," lest they incur God's righteous wrath.²⁰ Fired with the Spirit, John was moved to follow Friends Austin and Fisher on a mission trip to New England, where authorities in Boston, according to laws set down in 1656-57, cut off his ear for unruly and disrespectful speech.²¹ He returned afterwards to London, where he set up a mercantile business, but still remained active in the Quaker community, publishing an account of his sufferings in New England in 1659,²² as well as

¹⁹ Dayfoot, *The West Indian Church*, p. 82; Durham, *Caribbean Quakers*, p. 10; Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves*, 57. Lt. Col. Thomas Rous was probably the son or brother of Sir Anthony or Arthur Rous. The entire Rous family were staunch puritans and had been involved, like Col. Morris, in the anti-Spanish activities of the Providence Company, including Capt. William Jackson's 1642 raids (Newton, *Colonising Activities*, pp. 72-73). One Capt. William Rous, another relative, was captain of two privateering vessels out of Providence Island, for which he was captured by the Spanish in October 1636 and brought to Cartagena, where he met Englishman Thomas Gage, then traveling in the city as a Dominican friar (*The English-American*, pp. 199-200). Rous took umbrage at his treatment by the Spanish, but was sent to San Lucar a prisoner; "on his release from a Spanish prison, he again found his way to the West Indies," to join Jackson's expedition (Newton, *Colonising Activities*, pp. 230-32, 316).

²⁰ John Rous, *A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes: who live in pride, drunkenness, covetousness, oppression and deceitful dealings; and also to all who are found acting in the same excess of Wickedness, of what Country soever, that they speedily repent...* ([London, 1657]); Dailey, "The Early Quaker Mission," p. 29. Rous dated the tract Barbados 10.viii.1656; it was printed in London in 1657 with 600 copies to be sent back to Barbados.

²¹ "Extracts," *JBMHS* 12,2 (1945): 69.

²² *New England, a Degenerate Plant... The Truth of which we are Witnesses, (who by their cruel hands have suffered): John Rous, John Copeland (strangers); Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, Josiah Southwick (Inhabitants)* (London, 1659). Rous also appears to have collaborated on two other tracts to catalogue Friends' suffering in New England, *New England's Ensign* (London, 1659) and *Secret Works of a Cruel People Made Manifest* (1659). In the second of these, George Fox relied on Rous to co-author a warning to Boston, calling its citizens to remember how once the city "was famous among the Nations for thy zeal towards God; but now thy zeal is turned to hypocrisie..." (17). See Ritter Dailey, p. 28-29.

another composition aimed at Barbadians, *The sins of a gainsaying and rebellious people laid before them*.²³ Sometime during this period he met and married Margaret Fell the younger, uniting the Rous family to Quaker leaders George Fox and Margaret Fell Fox, and thus linking Barbadian social and economic clout with Fox's spiritual authority in the nascent community of British Friends.²⁴

From the beginning of the movement, most Quaker calls for repentance were directed at the powerful, whose conversions might have the most impact on society. One missionary who traveled to Barbados and published in 1660, Richard Pinder, hoped his message would reach "both high and low, rich and poor, bond and free" — but he felt most called upon "to write unto the Heads, and Owners of the several Plantations" who were serving as "bad Examples unto all about you; both to the Heathen, and them that have the Name of Christians," for, he said "as long as you are bad examples your selves unto your Servants, you strengthen them in their wicked deboist wayes; and thus you become guilty before the Lord, both of their, and your own wickedness." Heads of households were also called upon to hire god-fearing overseers who would "rule over [your Negroes] in moderation, and not in Tyranny, and hard-heartedness."²⁵ Continually calling Barbadians "hard-hearted," John Rous and Pinder's declamations at Barbadians created a rhetorical parallel to the biblical Exodus story, in which Pharaoh hardened his heart to Moses' call to recognize the sufferings of the enslaved Israelites,

²³ Rous' second tract directed at Barbadians was entitled *The Sins of a Gainsaying and Rebellious People* (London, 1659).

²⁴ Ritter Dailey writes that during one of his trips to London to open a mercantile business (ca. 1659) Rous met Margaret Fell the Younger at Swarthmore Hall, and they married in 1661 ("The Early Quaker Mission...", p. 29). Fox and Rous grew quite close during this period, both in person (as Rous was planning to marry Fox's step-daughter) and in correspondence. Fox even wrote a post-script to Rous' 1659 tract, *The Sins of a gainsaying and rebellious people*.

²⁵ Richard Pinder, *A Loving Invitation (to Repentance and Amendment of life) unto all the Inhabitants of the Island of Barbados... With something [sic] more particularly to the Heads, and Owners, of the several Plantations* (London, 1660), pp. 15, 4, 9, 12.

until God's wrath forced all Egyptians to suffer the terrible fate of the loss of their first-born sons.²⁶ Naming hypocrisy as the root of disorder, Pinder called men to recognize double standards in their behavior and expectations. As an example, he wrote that if a master punished his servants for drunkenness, but was given to the same vice, "this greatly hardens their hearts against you, and provokes them to curse you behind your backs..." This early Friend took on the same moral stance that slaves in Cartagena had used to shield themselves from cruel treatment, concluding, "thus you cause the Name of God to be blasphemed, through your disorderly walking..."²⁷

Linked to this double standard was the larger question of slavery, a part of life in Barbados that had been little considered by Quakers back in England. In 1657, George Fox, perhaps ruminating on conversations with young convert John Rous, wrote an Epistle "To Friends beyond Sea, that have Blacks and Indian Slaves," calling on faithful Friends to remember that God "hath made all Nations of one Blood," urging them "to love all Men, for Christ loved all."²⁸ The fact implicit in Fox's letter was that including non-Europeans in the universal "all Men," was not commonly held nor practiced. Richard Pinder's 1660 warning to planters not to "provoke the Lord, by letting them, who are your Slaves, be wrongfully entreated, and unmercifully used," was more explicit than Fox's circumspect admonition to be kind even to those considered heathen, for God "made them, & giveth them life." Pinder suggested that cruelty against the

²⁶ Exodus Chapters 7-11. Rous uses some variation of the phrase "hard-hearted" on nearly every page of his 1657 *Warning*; Pinder employs the term when referring to the cruel usage of slaves (*A Loving Invitation*, p. 11); in 1676, Public Friend Lydia Fell wrote, *A Testimony and Warning Given forth in the love of Truth, and is for the Governour, Magistrates & People inhabiting on the Island of Barbadoes; which is a Call to turn to the Lord* ([London?, 1676]), warning Barbadians against "Hardness of Heart; for as Pharoah said, having hardned his Heart against the Servant of the Lord, Moses, he said, *Who is the Lord that I should obey him?*," p. 7.

²⁷ Pinder, *A Loving Invitation*, p. 9.

²⁸ Fox, Epistle 153: "To Friends beyond Sea, that have Blacks and Indian Slaves" (1657) in *A collection of many select and Christian epistles, letters and testimonies, written on sundry occasions, by that ancient, eminent, faithful Friend and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox* (London, 1698), p. 117.

island's heavily exploited servants and slaves could only lead God to hear the "the cry of their blood."²⁹

In 1671 George Fox came back to the issue of slaves again, this time in person. Historians have attached great weight to Fox's 1671 visit to Barbados, a traveling spectacle including a large entourage of English Friends who had felt moved by the Spirit to see the Americas and the opportunities for religious renewal there. In Barbados, Fox was protected from persecution by the hospitality of elite Barbadian converts—Col. Lewis Morris and John Rous' father were among those with whom he stayed.³⁰ During this sojourn, Fox began a campaign to convince residents that "Christ dyed for the Tawne[y]s and for the Blacks, as well as for you that are called whites."³¹ Armed with biblical examples of "Ethiopians" and "Black-Moors" who had converted to Christianity or been of service to Old Testament prophets, Fox warned Barbadians not to "slight them, to wit, the Ethyopians, the Blacks now, neither any Man or Woman upon the Face of the Earth, in that Christ dyed for all, both Turks, Barbarians, Tartarians and Ethiopians."³²

In a sermon before the newly-established Men's Meeting at the home of Lieut. Col. Thomas Rous (a version of which was published in 1676), Fox encouraged heads of household to follow the example of the biblical Joshua and declare firmly, "As for me

²⁹ Pinder, *A Loving Invitation*, 11-12.

³⁰ Winkelman, p. 202.

³¹ George Fox, *Gospel Family Order, being a Short Discourse concerning the Ordering of Families, both a Whites, Blacks, and Indians* ([London], 1676), p. 14. This journey to Barbados and other American colonies was not focused in whole, or even in large part, on the issue of Christianizing slaves; rather, it was an effort to standardize and unify the practices of Friends scattered across the Atlantic. Nonetheless, Quaker historians have highlighted this aspect of the mission trip as particularly important.

³² *Ibid.*, p. 13-14.

and my house, we will serve the Lord.”³³ Fox elaborated in great detail on how to establish a “Government of Families according to the Law of Jesus” modeled on the extended households of biblical patriarchs, spending considerable time explaining how those “bought with money” (i.e., indentured servants and slaves), should be considered part of that household. As in earlier admonitions to Friends, Fox charged those “Elders and Masters of Families” to ensure “that your Wives, your Children and Strangers that are within your Camps, yea, to the Hewers of your Wood and Drawers of your Water... come all into the new Covenant, Christ Jesus.”³⁴

Not surprisingly, such a well-developed biblical stance prompted a response from the local plantocracy. Not only had Friends challenged the authority of the Anglican Church,³⁵ but they also threatened to muddle the line between the freedom of Christians and hereditary slavery of African “pagans” — a line seen as dangerous to cross given the large numbers of unchurched slaves in the British colonies. Visitors to the West Indies had commented on planters’ reluctance to introduce their slaves to Christianity, fearing they might become insubordinate or demand special privileges if their humanity was recognized on account of a shared religious identity.³⁶

³³ Ibid., p. 4-5; Joshua 24:15.

³⁴ Ibid., p. 7.

³⁵ A group of six Barbados chaplains petitioned the President and Council in December 1671, hoping to suppress the “Base sort of Phanatick People, commonly termed Quakers,” who had “Scandalously Vilified” both their persons and the Church of England, “as if she were both in Doctrine and in Discipline False, and Erroneous, and Antichristian.” The ministers further claimed that the sect had already poisoned their parishioners with their doctrine, they “being infatuated and inveigted with their Pernicious Tenents... draw[n] into Private and Unlawful Conventicles.” George Fox, *To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests (so called, and so stileing your selves) in Barbadoes* ([London], 1672), p. 48-49.

³⁶ Richard Ligon had critiqued Barbadians who cited the Curse of Ham as sufficient reason to subordinate Africans to enslavement (*A True and Exact History of Barbados* (1657)). Anglican clergyman Morgan Godwyn traveled in Virginia and Barbados in the 1660s and 70s, and wrote a tract entitled, the *Negro’s and Indians Advocate* (1680), criticizing those planters for cruel treatment of their slaves and rebutted local arguments against Christianizing slaves. Thomas Tryon’s

Fox tried to quell the aspersion “That we should teach the Negars to Rebel” by calling such a rumor “A Thing we do utterly abhor and detest in and from our Hearts; the Lord Knows it.” Intending to placate those horrified by such a prospect, Fox claimed:

that which we have spoken and declared to them is, to exhort and admonish them, To be Sober, and to Fear God, and to love their Masters and Mistresses, and to be Faithful and Diligent in their Masters Service and Business; and that then their Masters and Overseers will Love them, and deal Kindly and Gently with them: And that they should not beat their Wives, nor the Wives their Husbands; nor multiply Wives, nor put away their Wives, nor the Wives their Husbands, as they use frequently to do: and that they do not Steal, nor be Drunk, nor commit Adultery, nor Fornication, nor Curse, nor Swear, nor Lye, nor give Bad Words to one another, or unto any one else. For there is something in them, that tells them, That they should not Practice those Evils...³⁷

Indeed, such points had been the primary tenor of Fox’s address to those present at the Men’s Meeting weeks before. In both these addresses, Fox focused much attention on the evils of polygamy, and told planters that “if any of your Negroes desire to marry, let them take one another before Witnesses, in the Presence of God, and the Masters of the Families... [vowing] not to break the Covenant and Law of Marriage (nor defile the Marriage-Bed) as long as they lived... and so to record it in a Book.”³⁸ Focus on perceived African traits of licentiousness and untrustworthiness certainly made Fox’s attempts more palatable.³⁹ Another of Fox’s entourage, William Edmundson, revisited the island in 1675, and again denounced Barbadians’ “Swearing, Drunkenness, Pride

critiques of planters who refused to extend the benefit of religion to their slaves will be discussed later in this chapter.

³⁷ Fox, *To the Ministers*, p. 69. Mack writes that Fox made similar claims for the importance of social hierarchy in England, “The Word of the Lord God to all Families, Masters, and Servants,” p. 287.

³⁸ Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, 17-18. A manuscript copy of Fox’s exhortations at a Barbados Women’s meeting also bears out this theme, for he noted that women should do what they could to “endeavour to break ym off of yt Evil Custome among ym of running[sic] after another Woman w[he]n married to one already...” Haverford Library Special Collections (hereafter HLSC), Richardson MSS epistle book, 111.

³⁹ See especially Morgan, *Laboring Women*, Ch. 1

and Oppression,” issuing now-familiar calls for repentance and reformation, especially for masters to “restrai[n] [Negroes from] this filthy Liberty in the Lust of the Flesh, which fills your Island with Confusion, and makes it like a Sodom,” warning that God’s scourge would be their punishment.⁴⁰

However, local suspicions were not satisfied with this focus on morality. Edmunson’s visit came just months after a thwarted slave uprising, and African’s perceived immorality was the least of officials’ concerns. In May 1675, officials discovered in Speightstown a conspiracy “hatched by the Cormantee or Gold-Cost Negro’s.”⁴¹ The island was then home to more than forty thousand enslaved Africans, roughly two-thirds of the island’s population.⁴² Not just a localized rebellion, this one seemed to have been carefully planned over three years, and was to spread across the whole island, after which “one Coffee an Ancient Gold-Coast Negro” was to be “crowned... in a Chair of State exquisitely wrought and Carved after their Mode.”⁴³ Residents of Barbados were certain these rebels would have “run in and Cut their Masters the Planters Throats in their Respective Plantations.” Gov. Jonathan Atkins put the conspirers to quick justice, condemning to gruesome punishments and execution

⁴⁰ Edmundson, “To the Governour and Council, and all in Authority, in this Island of Barbados” in Besse, *Sufferings*, ii.306-08.

⁴¹ Contemporary accounts are: *Great Newes from the Barbadoes, or, A True and faithful account of the grand conspiracy of the Negroes against the English and the happy discovery of the same: with the number of those that were burned alive, beheaded, and otherwise executed for their horrid crimes : with a short discription of that plantation* (London, 1676) and *A Continuation of the State of New England... together with an Account of the Intended Rebellion of the Negroes in Barbados* (London, 1676); for historical analyses see Jerome Handler, “The Barbados Slave Conspiracies of 1675 and 1692” *JBMHS* 36,4 (1982): 312-33; and John K. Thornton, “War, the state, and religious norms in Coramantee thought” in Robert Blair St. George, ed. *Possible Pasts*, pp. 181-200.

⁴² William C. Braithwaite, *The Beginnings of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, [1912], 1961), p. 618.

⁴³ John Thornton has explored the possibility that the types of ceremonies that Europeans often misunderstood as coronation ceremonies were in fact ‘shield ceremonies’ similar to those used to ennoble commoners in contemporary Gold Coast Akan societies. See Thornton, “War, the State, and Religious Norms...,” p. 195.

what Atkins called “these ungrateful wretches (who I have often heard confest to live better in Servitude there, then at Liberty in their own Native Country).”⁴⁴ This outbreak of violence caused a few residents to worry at their own behavior, especially when a great hurricane came to batter this island just months later. One islander wrote to his friend: “as the Lord did deliver us from the Tyranny and barbarous cruelty of Savage Heathens, and we still remain obstinate, and refusing to return to him by Repentance, [so] the Lord hath taken us into his own hand to chastise us...”⁴⁵

Given the heightened state of alarm on the island, Mr. Ramsey, a local Anglican minister, responded passionately to the Quaker missionary’s presence, denouncing him before the Governor, where Ramsey claimed that preaching before mixed audiences and setting up slave meetings would not “make our Negroes Christians, but would make them Rebels and rise and cut their [Masters’] Throats.”⁴⁶ Edmundson retorted that converting slaves to Christianity

would keep them from rebelling or cutting any Man’s Throat; but if they did rebel and cut their Throats, as [the minister] said, it would be through their own Doings, in keeping [their slaves] in Ignorance, and under Oppression, giving them Liberty to be common with Women (like Beasts) and on the other Hand starve them for want of Meat and Clothes.⁴⁷

But appeals to morals and human decency didn’t work this time. Though none of the conspirators were owned by Friends themselves, Quakers were among those seen as partially responsible for a socially-lax atmosphere that allowed this conspiracy to take root, just as radical sectaries had been blamed for the rebellion of indentured servants in

⁴⁴ *Great Newes*, p. 9-11.

⁴⁵ *A Continuation...*, p. 19.

⁴⁶ William Edmundson, *A journal of the life, travels, sufferings, and labour of love in the work of the ministry of that worthy elder, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ* (London, 1715), p. 102.

⁴⁷ Besse, *Sufferings*, ii.305-06.

1649.⁴⁸ Several laws were put in place to rectify the problem of security on the island, among which was a decision in April 1676 by the Barbados Council to approve an “Act to Prevent the People called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their Meetings, &c.” The Council also established a 12-month residency requirement for preaching on the island, figuring that any person who had lived on the island for that long would sufficiently understand the complicated pragmatics of slavery and would avoid unadvised subjects in their religious addresses.⁴⁹

Even well-established local Friends, like Col. Lewis Morris, could no longer avoid the determination of island officials to put the Society of Friends in order. Col. Morris’ refusal to pay church dues, support ministers, or provide men and horses for the militia resulted in fines of more than sixteen thousand pounds of sugar.⁵⁰ True to their reputation as stalwart sufferers, many Barbadian Quakers – including Lewis Morris – had accepted Fox’s challenge that they be “an Example to all other Masters, to bring their Servants, from under Oppression to know the Lord,” and risked stiff fines to bring their slaves to meetings.⁵¹ Missionaries in later years remarked that some had even followed Fox’s advice to set up separate meetings for their slaves, in which “two or three

⁴⁸ Planters in 1649 had blamed island’s radical sectaries for instigating the plot as a means of exporting the English Revolution to Barbados. Dailey, “The Early Quaker Mission” p. 26. In 1674, the Virginia Assembly had also forbade Quakers from bringing slaves to their meetings (Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, p. 18)

⁴⁹ Besse, ii.308. In April 1678, Gov. Jonathan Atkins renewed the Act.

⁵⁰ As late as April 1668, Morris was still in favor with then-governor William Willoughby, who considered sending Morris – “my very good friend (but a severe Quaker)” – to treat with the French over the impending return of St Christopher to the English. Willoughby was “confident he will not accept the employm[en]t” for religious scruples, but allowed himself a chuckle as he imagined how the “Mon[sieu]rs would be astonisht at thee & thou.” PRO, CO 1/22, No. 60, f. 101v; Besse, ii.313-15.

⁵¹ In 1677 St. Andrews resident Thomas Cobham informed on his Quaker neighbor, a former judge of common-pleas, Ralph Fretwell, who was fined £800 for hosting “a publick Meeting of the People called Quakers at his own House, where himself was present, and where also were present eighty Negroes as Hearers of the said Quakers Preaching...” Another leading Quaker and former captain Richard Sutton was similarly fined for the 30 slaves present at a meeting, also in 1677, but was later exonerated by a jury of his peers (Besse, ii.310).

Hours of the Day once in the Week, that Day Friends Meeting is on, or on another Day, [they could] meet together, to wait upon the Lord.”⁵²

What did these meetings targeting African slaves look like? Quaker meetings generally tried to deemphasize the differences between rich and poor, high and low – the most important aspect of worship was calling on the indwelling Light in every man put there by the Holy Spirit. The Society’s early popularity in England had stemmed in part from the millennial, ecstatic and visionary aspect of meetings, in which those participating might fall down, overcome by a sense of sin, or be “raised up” by the Spirit to preach and prophesy in voices that seemed not to be their own – these phenomenon brought the supernatural close at hand for participants and onlookers. Such spontaneous “dissociative”⁵³ experiences are also a trait of many West African religious traditions. Quakers who witnessed Africans share in similar out-of-body experiences at Friends’ meetings seemed greatly impressed. William Penn was said to have felt his first religious stirrings as an adolescent listening to a Quaker sermon so evocative that “a black servant of the family could not contain himself from weeping aloud.”⁵⁴ Elizabeth Webb, a 17th-century Quaker missionary to America, attested that she was at first disconcerted by the “great Numbers of black people that were in slavery” in Virginia, but at a New England meeting where blacks were in attendance, she said that she “felt a

⁵² Fox, *Gospel Family-Order*, p. 22; taken from a letter written by Fox to Barbadian Quakers ca. 1672-73, and read at a Quarterly Meeting at Thomas Rous’s.

⁵³ I borrow this term from Ann Taves, who has written an article comparing the religious experiences of European and African-Americans under eighteenth-century Methodism. She chooses this clinical term as the best way to turn from the value-laden terms “Trance,” “possession trance,” “spirit possession,” and “shamanism”... used by anthropologists to categorize (typically non-Western) ethnographic data. Theologically laden terms, such as “demonic possession,” “ecstasy,” “enthusiasm,” and “inspiration” are more typically used to describe Christian dissociative experiences” (202). See Taves, “Knowing Through the Body: Dissociative Religious Experience in the African- and British-American Methodist Traditions” *Journal of Religion* 73,2 (1993): 200-222.

⁵⁴ Braithwaite, *Beginnings*, p. 55-56.

stream of Divine love run to them... One Young man a Black was so reached to by the love of God through Jesus Christ that his heart was so broken that the tears did run down like Rain..."⁵⁵ The Quaker ethos of bodily religious experience in a space of spiritual equality might have offered Africans a way to interact with their masters in a way that at least temporarily softened the hierarchies of English society.

But for both Penn and Webb, these dissociative experiences could not stand for the whole essence of their faith and action—they required Africans to accept the Quaker faith and follow its dictates. Fox's sermon recommended that blacks should be given time and space to "wait upon the Lord" as Friends did, in silence. But his sermon suggested that the meeting should be separate from white gatherings, and his comments to the magistrates also emphasized that Friends were most interested in "teaching" Africans about Judeo-Christian morality. This purpose seems to have been carried out by some, who claimed their religious intent was to "instruct them according to their Understanding, and to read the Scriptures to them, directing them to the inward Teacher, whereby they might be led out of Stealing, Murdering, Plotting, and out of their Uncleaness and Adultery."⁵⁶ This emphasis seems, as was the case with eighteenth-century evangelization efforts of other Protestant groups, closely tied to a desire to condition the African individual to become compliant to English notions of hierarchy.⁵⁷

Because local meeting records and other valuable sources which may have at one

⁵⁵ Quoted in Carla Gerona, *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Trans-Atlantic Quaker Culture* (Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2004), pp. 87-89.

⁵⁶ Besse, ii.349.

⁵⁷ Nevertheless, historians should not assume that such efforts to inculcate an "ideology of subservience and tractability" among the enslaved was received in such a way. Jon Butler's argument about eighteenth-century Christianization programs leading to an "African Spiritual Holocaust" belies the emergence of syncretic forms of black Christianity in American colonies. See *Awash in a Sea of Faith: Christianizing the American People* (Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990).

time existed have long since vanished – historians could only wish for evidence to support Fox’s proposition that marriage records be kept for slaves in Quaker households – it is difficult to know just how many local Friends were seriously involved in the campaign for slave meetings, or how much impact their work had on the enslaved of their households. The only other Caribbean Quaker community for which Meeting Minutes still exist is Tortola, which was established by Friends in the early eighteenth century. Quaker historian Charles F. Jenkins noted that “There is little information as to the treatment of slaves in Tortola. The minutes of the Meeting mention them but once [in a property dispute]...” The silence of this archive speaks volumes as to what was considered worthy of documentation in Friends’ everyday engagement with enslavement.⁵⁸ According to Besse’s compendium of Friends’ *Sufferings* (a catalogue enumerating the persecutions of Friends throughout the Atlantic), Lewis Morris was only one of three Barbadian Quakers ever prosecuted by the 1676 law against bringing slaves to meetings, while those island Friends who faced persecution for not paying tithes, not serving in the militia, or other offenses, numbered in the hundreds.⁵⁹ It is perhaps telling that historians’ knowledge of the issue comes almost exclusively from the writings of metropolitan missionaries – Fox and Edmundson, as well as a few others (Solomon Eccles, John Stubbs, Joan Vokins) sent to establish meetings for slaves on their mission visits. Even in these Friends’ writings, the remarks on slave evangelization are frustratingly few and far between.

One way to get a sense of local practice and belief is to look at some of the best-preserved local records for the period – wills – which have been conserved in recopied

⁵⁸ Charles F. Jenkins, *Tortola, A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics*, Supplement No. 13 to the Friends Historical Society (London, 1923), p. 52.

⁵⁹ Besse, ii.349.

form at the Barbados Department of Archives. Wills give a sense of individual's end-of-life reflections on their duties as Friends and as slave-owners, and provide a way to see if they tended to see the African slaves in their households as people, not just property.⁶⁰ In wills written by Barbados Quakers known to be slaveowners, 35 of 138 (roughly one-quarter) give special consideration to their slaves or other laborers. Some Barbados Quakers stipulated that their slaves should stay in the hands of Quaker friends or family members and not be sold away from the faithful. Planter John Loftus bequeathed his "three small negroes by name little Kuther, Mods and Billy" to his beloved wife Frances, "provided she shall give the said negroes at her death... unto her grandchildren."⁶¹ Gifts of money were well-represented, ranging from individual bequests, like Dr. John Springham's to his personal servant Jack of "Twenty shillings [annually] extraordinary during his Naturall life for his more comfortable support and cloathing,"⁶² to more democratic gifts of "two shillings and six pence silver money a piece" to each slave owned by Henry Feake, merchant of Bridgetown, at his death.⁶³ A slightly larger percentage of slaveowners pay attention to their bondsmen's blood and family ties when

⁶⁰ In trying to reconstruct the contours of the local Quaker community, I culled wills for clues about their attitudes towards their own slaves and slavery in general, their conformity to general Quaker principles, their wealth and influence in Barbadian society, and their personal or social ties to Friends' groups, or to island elites. For similar methods, see Morgan, *Laboring Women*, esp. Ch. 3.

⁶¹ Will of John Loftis (d. 1681), BDA, RB6/14, 297-300. George Foster of St James (d. ca. 1670-1672) made similar restrictions, saying that it was his "full mind, will, and intent that noe part of the Land or Negroes whatsoever hereby bequeathed to any pson: or psons whatsoever shall not be by any of them sold, mortgaged or alienated" — the codicil to his will spelled out consequences for attempts to countervene his instructions, writing that "such sale or mortgage [of slaves or land] shall be of noe value But that it shall or may be lawfull for the next of kin to recover the same and hold it for them and their heirs" (BDA, RB6/8, 330-41). Schoolmaster John Frank (d. 1719) desired that his slaves, "vizt. Cate an old negro Woman and her three Children viz. Anthony a Negro boy Phillis a Negro Girle and Quashee a young negro boy... may not be with my son Cole or wife but may be wholly Left to the ordering of and as my Execrs: shall think meet and convenient" (BDA, RB6/4, 571-72).

⁶² Will of John Springham (d. ca. 1700-1701), BDA, RB6/43, 270-72.

⁶³ Will of Henry Feake (d. ca. 1713-1716), BDA, RB6/4, 95-101.

bequeathing them to friends or family members. Most of this recognition was only extended to the mother-child relationship,⁶⁴ but a few wills bear witness to slaveowners encouraging slaves to develop connubial ties, and attempting to maintain family cohesion – planter Herbert Griffith bequeathed his “negroes called Simcarty and his wife Rose, Joane, Tom and James” to his grandson in 1696.⁶⁵ Though disrupting conjugal ties also jeopardized the reproductive potential for owners looking to economically increase their human “stock,”⁶⁶ the emotional descriptions of family connection suggests that at least some Friends hoped to preserve their slaves’ humanity as much as their commodity value. In a petition to the governor in 1683, Friends expressed outrage that officials confiscating goods from Friends would sometimes seize “our black Servants in an unnatural Way and Manner, viz. Husband from Wife, Wife from Husband, Father and Mother from children, and Children from parents... though the Produce of the Country and other Goods might be had.”⁶⁷

Using wills provides even more exciting opportunities to see the most radical ideas proposed by Quaker missionaries put into action. In his 1671 sermon to local patriarchs, Fox went beyond a simple admonition to educate slaves in Christian behavior – he related the practice of ancient Hebrews, who freed servants “of their own Nation and People” after seven years’ service and gave them land and herds to start their new lives. Reminding Friends they were not long ago “Bond m[e]n in the Land of Egypt,” Fox urged patriarchs “here in this Island or elsewhere” to “outstrip the Jews” by

⁶⁴ Like in the will of Hester Foster (d. 1686), who named her slaves “Hagar and her three children by name, Mingoe, Bell and Man” (RB6/40, 343-45); John Grove (d. 1717) bequeathed his daughter a “negro woman named Rose & her three children Vizt. Maribah, Mercy & Judy...” (RB6/4, 151-52).

⁶⁵ Will of Herbert Griffith of St. Phillips (d. ca. 1695-96), BDA, RB6/11, 418-22.

⁶⁶ See Morgan, *Laboring Women*, pp. 82-87.

⁶⁷ “To the Governour of Barbadoes, called Sir Richard Dutton” (delivered 28.ii.1683). Besse, ii.239.

following the same example not only with their “Servants and Apprentices, that are of their own Nation or People,” but also “with their Servants, the Negroes and Blacks, whom they have bought with their Money, to let them go free after a considerable Term of Years, if they have served them faithfully.”⁶⁸ Although only a tiny fraction (about 2%) of the population at large manumitted slaves in their wills during the 17th century, more than 8% of the roughly 150 slaveholding Quaker testators in my prosopographical sample included manumission clauses.⁶⁹ Such a small differential might be unconvincing for an argument about Fox’s influence, but several wills suggest great fidelity to Fox’s suggestions. According to Thomas Drake, Fox’s original sermon specified thirty years as a fitting term of service, but Friends who edited the sermon before its 1676 publication as *Gospel Family Order* altered his text to suggest only a vague “considerable Term of Years.”⁷⁰ We can see Fox’s direct impact in several Quaker wills, where island Friends followed Fox’s directive literally, manumitting individual slaves after thirty years of service. Writing her will in 1684, the widow Rebecca Ormunt of St Peters bequeathed three female slaves to young women Friends, stipulating they serve for thirty years, after which each were to receive 20 shillings and their freedom. One of the recipients of the widow Ormunt’s slaves seems to have faithfully executing his moral duty regarding her last wishes. Edward Parsons, a merchant living in Speightstown, indicated in his 1700 will that his daughter Mulier’s “negro woman by name Hannah would stay with his daughter only “for the Terme she hath to serve, being about fiftene

⁶⁸ Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, p. 16.

⁶⁹ Jerome S. Handler and John T. Pohlmann, “Slave Manumissions and Freedmen in Seventeenth-Century Barbados,” *WMQ* 41,3 (1984): 405. This statistical survey of manumission patterns found that only 80 out of a total of 3,777 Barbados testators (about 2%) manumitted one or more slaves.

⁷⁰ Drake, 6. One surviving manuscript version of the sermon mentions thirty years service “more or less” as deserving reward (HLSC, Richardson MSS, p. 86).

yeares as may appeare by the Will of Rebecca Armond late of this Island.”⁷¹

Moreover, Fox challenged his audience to make sure that “when they go, and are made free, let them not go away empty-handed, this I say will be very acceptable to the Lord, whose Servants we are, and who rewards us plentifully for our Service done him, not suffering us to go away empty...”⁷² Several Friends went the extra step to provide for their former slaves’ independence after manumission. Martha Hooten, a widow living in Bridgetown in 1700, wished to manumit on slave, “a negroe girle named Manno” and beseeched her executor, Quaker George Taylor, to “Duly Gently Indevour faithfully to Perform this my Will... [and] in Particular not to sell nor Transport any of my negroes, and within one month after my decease Pay and deliver unto Every one of [them] ... Twenty shills: yearely and Every year...” Hooten then listed the nine slaves currently in her possession, indicating ties of motherhood, and in one instance, a complete “family” – “Besse a Girle the Daughter of Bussey & Andre a man...”⁷³ Henry Feake, a merchant from Bridgetown, wrote that he wished to free his slaves Bess, Peter, and a boy named Paralie upon his death, and stipulated that Peter should receive “his Chest, box, cloathes, [and] bedding, my carpenter, Masons and Coopers Toolles, [and] my Iron Vice and the musquett that is now in his custody” – presumably, all items that would serve to support this newly-independent family.⁷⁴ One final extraordinary bequest came from Rowland Hutton, a planter from St Philip, who also demanded that none of his slaves be sold after his death; he further specified that once William Hutton’s

⁷¹ Will of Rebecca Ormunt (d. ca. 1684-85), BDA, RB6/10, 353-54; Will of Edward Parsons (d. 1700), BDA, RB6/43, 165-68.

⁷² Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, p. 16.

⁷³ Will of Martha Hooten (d. 1704), BDA, RB6/16, 188-89. Perhaps telling is the fact that ties of parentage were stated more clearly than the sacramental ties of marriage, which Bussey and Andre seem not to share with one another.

⁷⁴ Will of Henry Feake (d. ca. 1713-16), BDA, RB6/4, 95-101. The gun is a particularly unique item, given that by law, no slaves were allowed to carry deadly weapons.

lease had expired, “my poor negroes being in number four” — named Jugg, Wambee, Gaskin, and Tombeee — should be freed over the term of four years, and that they should all

have sufficient provisions and cloaths allowed them until they shall be all free and to remain in their houses where they now live and upon there [sic] freedom to have four acres of land lying altogether where my said negros shall appoint or as much as they can manure and timber to build them houses from and out of my plantation at Conger road... to have cloathing those that are not able during the term of their lives...⁷⁵

But four acres wouldn’t provide for much beyond subsistence in Barbados’ economy (ten acres was the minimum to qualify for the franchise as a freedmen), and a thirty-year term of service (especially if the clock started *after* a testator’s death) would leave very few productive years for former slaves to enjoy their freedom. It is important to keep in mind that manumission as well as ameliorization probably had much more to do with individual temperament and belief than any denominational doctrine or practice.⁷⁶ Like many Quakers who remembered individual slaves in their wills, Anglicans also rewarded the loyalty of personal servants — like Samuel Woodward, who awarded his slave Gunsman thirty shillings a year “soe long as hee shall continue

⁷⁵ Hutton left open the possibility that another pair of slaves, “Pegg and George” might join the four already named — if his son William Hutton were to die without heirs, the two slaves “shall be both of them free and to have their share and maintenance out of the said four acres of land formerly bequeathed to my said four negroes.” Will of Rowland [Ronald] Hutton of St. Philip (d. 1679), BDA, RB6/14, 82-85.

⁷⁶ Despite outsiders’ denunciations, Barbados’ populace as a whole were not impervious to moralistic ideals similar to those taught by Quakers, nor did they uniformly deny all their African laborers access to Christian teaching and membership, or, for that matter, freedom. In an index to the four out of six parishes for which there are extant seventeenth-century baptismal registers, historian Larry Gragg tallied 135 baptisms of blacks — 37 ‘free negroes,’ 37 adults, 42 chn, 19 mulattos. He also notes that one planter instructed his executors “to bring up his two slaves in the fear of the Lord.” Few linked manumission with Christianization, however. Larry Gragg, *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003), p. 164.

faithful in service upon the estate"⁷⁷ – without any need for a shared confessional identity.

Despite the suggestion that Friends were more likely than the population at large in to see their slaves as individuals who might relish a chance for freedom, more than nine wills out of ten do little more than confirm that Quakers considered their slaves as chattel to be acquired and disposed of as any other. Some wills simply negated slaves' humanity by pairing them with other chattel, like livestock ("one negro woman named Judith and one cow called Lawrence"⁷⁸) or household goods ("one negroe boy by name Robbin alsoe one silver boate, one Turkie carpet, one Table and one chaire"⁷⁹). They might refer directly to their cash value and disposability by instructing executors to "sell & dispose of any Negroe slaves Goods & Chattells... if they soe meet, for the raising of moneys as Occasion shall require..."⁸⁰ In one clause that conjures up images of King Solomon's judgment, one testator willed that, along with his silver plate, his slave woman Celia should "be equally divided" between his sister and a cousin (clearly a reference to Celia's value, not her person – but a sobering reflection of the total commodification of Africans in West Indian society).⁸¹

This careful investigation of wills shows that faith likely *did* play a role in at least a few decisions by Friends to assume responsibility for the spiritual and physical livelihoods of one or two of their slaves. However, it also clearly challenges over-eager

⁷⁷ Will of Samuel Woodward (d. 1694), BDA, RB6/11, 79-81.

⁷⁸ Will of Elizabeth Haynes (d. ca. 1672-1674), BDA, RB6/9, 178-80; similar wording in several wills, like that of Richard Sutton Sr. (d. 1693/4) who gave "one negroe girl by name Kate and one cow named Lady and all my plate and damask and diaper linning [sic] and one feather bed..." to his daughter Mary (BDA, RB6/2, 223-26). See Morgan, *Laboring Women*, p. 80: "In an act that aligned the consumable bodies of cattle with the producing bodies of black women and men, William Browne carefully listed the names of his cattle along with the list of men and women: 'Bessie' under 'Women' and 'Bessy' under 'Cows'" (87).

⁷⁹ Will of Margaret Ellicott (d. ca. 1680-1684), BDA, RB6/10, 328-30.

⁸⁰ Will of Henry Wherley (d. 1685), BDA, RB6/10, 428-40.

⁸¹ Will of John Taylor (d. 1709), BDA, RB6/5, 278-79.

assumptions that this Barbados mission was the first in a steady stream of successes for Friends' heroic ameliorative, antislavery impulses. Beyond the anecdotes, taking a hard look at wills shows that as Barbados Quakers neared death and the Final Judgment, more than nine out of ten were completely silent on the subject of freeing any of their enslaved laborers or even ameliorating their condition. Was this silence merely that of obliviousness, or something deeper – a studied omission? We might excuse Barbados Friends for being simply reflections of their own time, if it were not for the rhetorical power of radical Protestant rhetoric that did indeed lend itself to challenge the injustices of slavery and exploitation, the foundations upon which the Atlantic economy rested.⁸²

Quaker missionaries Thomas and Alice Curwen had visited Barbados in the mid-1670s, and upon their return Alice wrote a letter of reproach to local widow Martha Tavernor for complying with local laws and keeping her slaves at home on Meeting days. Curwen threatened that “if they *whom thou call'st thy Slaves*, be Upright-hearted to God, the Lord God Almighty will set them Free in a way that thou knowest not.”⁸³ This sort of verbal reproach poked holes in the very justification and definition of slavery, and resonated with the persistent radical Quaker rhetoric of being “redeemed out of the spiritual Egypt” of sin and damnation.⁸⁴ Such metaphors must have hit incredibly close to home as Barbadians witnessed the actual slavery suffered daily by African slaves. Would slaves encouraged to convert to Christianity demand material redemption along with their spiritual salvation? If denied, would they rebel, bringing the whole slave

⁸² I am grateful to Brycchan Carey for conversations on his forthcoming literary analysis on the rhetoric of Quaker ameliorization and anti-slavery writings from this early Barbados community; see his “The Barbadian Origins of Quaker Antislavery,” forthcoming in *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, Autumn 2007.

⁸³ [Alice and Thomas Curwen], *A Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering of that faithful Servant of the Lord Alice Curwen* ([London], 1680), p. 18. Emphasis mine.

⁸⁴ Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, 16.

economy to its knees? Quakers in Barbados and Britain had faced different types of rebellion even before the 1675 uprising forced them to reflect on uprisings and the dangers of rhetorical liberty for enslaved Africans.

Separatism: Out of the Light and into Darkness

Even before Barbadian Quakers were considering how (or if) to incorporate potential African converts into their spiritual communities, they had experience defining the boundaries of inclusion and exclusion for their Society. Although the 1640s and 1650s were a period of incredible growth for Friends in England and abroad, from 1660 to the end of the century a divided campaign emerged, as leaders like George Fox, William Penn, and George Whitehead pushed not only to attract converts but also to define those beliefs and behaviors that best suited the movement, and who and what would be rejected. Quaker history is often told as the story of these illustrious leaders, but in the 1650s-60s their emerging system of authority was challenged by a number of individuals—in retrospect labeled Separatists, sometimes referred to by Friends of the time as “Dark Spirits.” In keeping with an approach that focuses not on the pious few but the varieties of many who considered themselves believers, this section will examine the controversial actions of some of these so-called Separatists, and their rejection of the nascent Quaker leadership’s attempts to impose structure on the group. Like puritan distrust of ecclesiastical hierarchy and fears that power would corrupt even the most pious (as Cromwell had once been considered), Quaker Separatists voiced their distrust of those who rose to positions of authority among Friends. On the other side, Quaker leaders were anxious about Separatist pretensions to unstructured spiritual liberty, fearing the consequences on social order and the group’s reputation. They accused

Separatists of giving into the temptation to chase after worldly prerogatives – especially the easy wealth that the Indies promised – and warned against the corruption of Friends’ original values.

The first separatist to establish a following in Barbados was John Perrot, a charismatic preacher from Ireland who in 1657 had traveled with six other missionaries (among them Mary Fisher, Barbados’ first missionary), called to witness his faith before the Ottoman Emperor in Constantinople and the Pope in Rome as well as the Greeks.⁸⁵ Unlike Mary Fisher, who was granted an audience to the Great Sultan himself, Perrot failed to get any further than the Turkish coast, but made good with a mission to Italy, preaching in Leghorn, Venice, and Rome until by his arrest and four-and-a-half-month interrogation by the Inquisition, followed by a three-year detention in Rome’s asylum prison, where he was held until 1661.⁸⁶ Perrot’s letters and prophecies written from his cell in Rome found their way to an English audience eager to hear of Quaker martyrs in “popish” lands. However, it was during this period that Perrot also began to espouse more controversial “stirrings of the Spirit,” ideas in direct opposition to current practice – among them, that Quaker men did not have to remove their hats while at prayer. Since Quaker men from the beginning had defined themselves in part by their refusal to extend the honor of doffing their hats to their superiors, claiming that God only deserved such respect, Perrot’s symbolic gesture was highly charged. Fox personally met with Perrot on his return to try to dissuade him from his “hat heresy,” but was perhaps less worried by his unorthodox beliefs than the fanaticism of those who were drawn by Perrot’s charisma to gatherings held outside the normal schedule of

⁸⁵ Kenneth L. Carroll, *John Perrot: Early Quaker Schismatic* (London, Friends’ Historical Society, 1971), p. 14.

⁸⁶ For more details, see Mack, pp. 169-70; Carroll, *John Perrot*, Ch. 3, “The Road to Rome, 1657-1658,” pp. 14-23, and Chapter 4, “Into the Fiery Furnace: Rome, 1658-1661,” pp. 24-34.

meetings. These meetings were heavily populated by women, and England's backlash against women's religious "excesses" also worked to taint Perrot's credibility. Fox and others at the time were trying their best to distance themselves from the appellation of Ranterism, a dispersion stemming from some of Quakers' more radical prophetic acts that seemed to border on blasphemy (especially James Naylor's *imitato Christi* entry into London on Palm Sunday, as fervent followers strewing palm leaves in his path).⁸⁷ Senior Quaker leaders moved to expel Perrot in 1661, believing that individuals like Perrot were led by vanity more than any real movement of the Spirit.

However, within a few months, Perrot had been arrested by secular authorities for attending an illegal conventicle (religious meeting) in London, and as punishment, he agreed to exile to the West Indies. Fox and other London Quakers, fearing the infection of the American missions, did their best to reconcile Perrot to the larger community of Friends, but Perrot remained convinced that he was led by the Light in his actions. John Perrot arrived on Barbados soil in October 1662. Another Quaker, Joseph Nicholson, had traveled on the ship to Barbados with Perrot, and wrote to Margaret Fell that he was sure the controversial luminary was nothing but an "enchanter," noting that he was quite flexible in the matter of keeping his hat on during prayer, which Nicholson interpreted as a ploy "to get any to follow him whereby he might be exalted and get himself a name." But Perrot had not been sufficiently discounted, either in England or the Americas, and Nicholson remarked, disappointed,

⁸⁷ Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 51. The majority of Naylor's most loyal followers had been women, several of whom were seen as disorderly and overly ambitious in their leadership attempts. Perrot often spoke and wrote through the female register, claiming his spiritual self had been transformed by his religious experience—his enemies often focused on his numerous female followers (Mack, p. 197-209; 277-78).

that Friends in Barbados “enquir[ed] much after” him when the ship landed.⁸⁸ Perrot’s mission connection to Barbados’ beloved Mary Fisher must have made his ordeal in Rome seem much more personal, and his celebrity there is understandable.

“Hear ye therefore the sound of the Spirit’s voice in me, and let it enter into the balance of the Sanctuary in you!” Perrot’s thrilling and charismatic preaching continued to win converts in the Indies, and his Italian prophesies continued to flow.⁸⁹ His primary message to Barbadians hammered home the preeminence of individual conscience and the irrelevance of “forms” — that is, outward rules — as a sign of fidelity to God. His message he seems to have made a great impression — particularly attractive, perhaps, given Barbados’ history of mercantile pragmatism and religious toleration.

Writing from the island in December 1662, Perrot claimed:

as concerning Truth in this Island, it is prosperous, many now are become lisseners [sic] to it, and its favour is good amongst most... And now surely I can say the blessings of God are on Barbados...which is a great refreshment unto me after many weary dayes, in that I can also say his own right had brought me hither in blessing...⁹⁰

In 1663, Perrot traveled to Jamaica, where he claimed to double the number of those convinced; he went on to Virginia and Maryland later that year, returning to Barbados in 1664.⁹¹

After these missionary travels, Perrot put his mind to settling in Jamaica. For “his good Temper, skill and knowledge in Merchant affaires,” as well as Perrot’s continued insistence on his loyalty to the English Crown (especially notable, as Quakers

⁸⁸ Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp. 66-67.

⁸⁹ John Perrot, *Glorious Glimmerings of the Life of Love, Unity, and pure Joy. Written in Rome Prison of Madmen in the Year 1660. but conserved as in Obscurity until my arrival at Barbados in the year 1662. From whence it is sent the second time to the Lord’s Lambs*, by J.P. (London, 1663).

⁹⁰ John Perrot, *To the upright in heart, and faithful people of God. Being an epistle written in Barbados the 3d of the 9th month, 1662* (London, 1662), pp. 9-10.

⁹¹ Carroll, *John Perrot*, pp. 70-81.

had always refused to swear oaths of allegiance), Jamaica's governor Thomas Modyford offered the preacher a commission to carry a letter of goodwill to the Spanish governor of Santo Domingo, hoping to facilitate friendly trading relations between the two islands,⁹² and held out the promise that Perrot might afterwards transport 300-400 colonists to settle Jamaica. Long before fears that Quakers would foment slave uprisings, seeing that the fledgling movement in Barbados was allied with some of the most respected members of the landed elite, Gov. Modyford looked to populate Jamaica with "many of that perswasion," and encouraged Perrot to "sen[d] for his wife and Children from England, which hee tells mee will have a great influence." Perrot seemed eager to prove that being a Quaker did not exclude one from public service, or opportunities for profit. In 1663 he received a patent for 96 acres in St. Andrews parish, and in 1668, another 320 acres in St. Catherine, indicating that he sponsored significant numbers of settlers to bolster Jamaica's struggling population.⁹³ Modyford was pleased, and wrote to Lord Arlington, "really Sir, it may take of[f] much of the rude roughness of that Sects temper, when they shall find in the Newes books that John Perrott an Iminent preachinge Quaker was Content for his Ma[jes]ties service to appeare in a Sattin sute with a Sword and Belt and to bee called Captaine."⁹⁴

Perrot's commission did have an impact, but its meaning was not immediately clear. Some believed that he "pretended to go and preach the Gospel when he went to Barbadoes and Virginia; not to get Gunns, and Swords, and a Velvet Coat, and a Staff

⁹² Copy of a letter to the Governor of Santo Domingo, 10 May 1664, PRO CO 1/18, No. 65. Modyford's eagerness to use Perrot as a foreign ambassador should be contrasted with Barbados Governor Willoughby's later reluctance to employ Quaker Lewis Morris on a treaty party to the French. PRO, CO 1/22, No. 74, f. 122r.

⁹³ Jamaica Archives, Kingston, Patent index, 1B/11/1/1, f. 83; 1B/11/1/3, f. 36.

⁹⁴ Sir Thos. Modyford to Sec. Sir Henry Bennet [Lord Arlington], May 10, 1664, Barbadoes. PRO, CO 1/18, No. 65, f. 133v.

tipt with Gold, &c. and so he chang'd from his Gospel..."⁹⁵ However, Perrot backed his eccentricities with a coherent, and appealing, theology of Christian practice, and his charismatic preaching convinced many of his personal commitment to the Light. The main thrust of his preaching during this controversial settlement period was to appeal to American Friends to see that, although in England religious zeal had led to factions and bitterness, here away from the fray, Friends might stand apart and look to see the "even plain path between those two, in which is written, (viz.) Patience, Humility, Moderation, and Charity."⁹⁶

But factional warfare soon followed Perrot to the Indies. Joseph Nicholson wrote to Fox in 1663 lamenting Perrot's influence in Barbados: "indeed here is sad worke and mad work by John P... the[y] are not the people the[y] were, John[s] blessing is very black..."⁹⁷ Fox sent missionaries William Simpson and John Burnyeat to refute Perrot, and in 1666, published a special epistle to "friends in Barbadoes, Virginia, Maryland, New-England, and elsewhere," exhorting them to "purge from your hearts" any corrupting influences, worried that Friends abroad had rejected "that which first convinced you" in favor of "Conceitedness and the Air."⁹⁸ Perrot's supporters defended his approach to faith, especially Barbados merchant Robert Rich, who had been a partisan of Separatist James Naylor and moved from London to the West Indies in 1658 to take over his brother's merchant business. Rich wrote to a friend in Britain, echoing Perrot's casuistry, saying that "my Hat to me is no more than any other part of my

⁹⁵ [J. Taylor], *A Loving and Friendly Invitation to all Sinners to Repent, and a warning to all backsliders to return unto the Lord, while they still have Time and Space given them, With a brief Account of the latter part of the Life of John Perrot, and his end, &c.* (London, 1683), p. 13.

⁹⁶ Perrot, *To the Upright in Heart*, p. 7.

⁹⁷ Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 69.

⁹⁸ George Fox, *To Friends in Barbados, Virginia, Maryland, New England, and elsewhere* (London, 1666), pp. 1, 3.

Apparel,” and held that outward actions should not be judged as signs of true faith. In a not-so-subtle attack on Fox and those who had disowned his old friend Naylor and were now in heavy pursuit of Perrot, Rich condemned as anti-Christian any man “that judges his Brother in Meats or Drinks, or any other outward thing, that contends more for his own Traditions, than the Commands of God, [or] that will not let his Brother go free to worship God where and how he requireth...”⁹⁹ Rich said he had been convinced by Perrot’s argument that such rules were mere “Legal Offerings... which were beautiful in their season, whilst the Presence of God filled them, but that being withdrawn, are become dead and cold, as Idols, of no use.”¹⁰⁰

These squabbles about variance in Friends’ belief and actions were more than just technical squabbles, they were fights for power – the power to define authority and leadership and, for many, to bid for respectability. Since the Restoration (indeed, since the Fifth Monarchists’ millennial plot of the late 1650s, Quakers like Fox tried desperately to distance themselves from the “excesses” of self-proclaimed prophets and visionaries like Perrot. In trying to “settle” their religious society and gain a more respectable name for themselves, leading Friends spoke out against Ranters (another derogatory label for religious radicals who were suspected of libertinage under cover of a “Free Spirit” theology). In England, practices like going “naked for a sign,” popular at the beginning of the movement, were, by the 1660s, derided for their unseemliness. Female Friends had always been more subject to public criticism than men, and in the settlement of the Society, women were encouraged to leave off the sexualized mysticism

⁹⁹ Robert Rich, *Abstracts of some letters written by Mr. Robert Rich: treating mostly of spiritual matters and here transmitted to posterity and recommended to the sober and serious enquirer for promoting of universal love amongst all sorts of people without respect of persons, parties, or sects* (London, 1680), pp. 6-7.

¹⁰⁰ Rich, *Abstracts*, p. 17.

of their Civil War-era ecstatic prophecies and channel their spiritual energies into the role of “Mothers in Israel.”¹⁰¹ William Penn, a prominent Friend by the 1670s, asserted that it was time to reject a belief that everyone “who calls his dark Imagination, a Motion of Light” should be given credit simple “because it is every Man’s Duty to follow the True Light... This opens a Door to all Licentiousness, and furnisheth every Libertine with a Plea.”¹⁰² By painting Separatists as “Ranters,” Friends tried to shake off that appellation from their own practices – indeed, many of these individuals lost their following. In the West Indies, Perrot’s gaudy dress and Rich’s cavalier rejection of Friends’ “formalism” were similarly rejected, notwithstanding proclamations that they would never have other Friends “turn Drunkards, Cheaters...” denying that they themselves had become “Advocate[s] for the loose and licentious Practices of any sort of People, much less for Them, who (from the itching Notions of Liberty) have run without their Guide into the excess of all Riot and Prophaneness...”¹⁰³ Women, children, and other individuals seen as needing more guidance in social hierarchies were perceived to be especially prone to straying into sin.

To try to control differences of opinion and establish uniform practices across his international community, Fox began pushing for regular ordering of meetings, a major concern in his 1671 sojourn in Barbados. Local leaders seemed behind Fox – in December 1680, at the home of Barbados Quaker Ralph Fretwell, 39 men and 43 women voted to “give up their whole Concern if required, both Spiritual & Temporal, unto the

¹⁰¹ See Mack, *Visionary Women*, esp. Ch. 8-9. Mack argues that the settlement period was a move towards “separate spheres” for men and women, in which “matters involving charity, marital problems, discipline of women, and healing were viewed as women’s work, while problems dealing with censorship, business, organization of the ministry, and debates with non-Quakers were viewed as men’s work” (p. 286).

¹⁰² William Penn, *Judas and the Jews Combined against Christ and his Followers* (London, 1673), p. 15.

¹⁰³ Rich, *Abstracts*, p. 19.

Judgement of the Spirit of God in the Men & Women's Meetings: as believing it to be more according to the Universal Wisdom of God, than any particular measure in my self," and signed their names to the proposal.¹⁰⁴ London Separatist circles would later leak the document (Barbadian Robert Rich may have been responsible) claiming coercion and corruption of the Quaker principle of individual conscience.¹⁰⁵ The Barbados petition became a symbol of Fox's pontifical designs, and was relished by his enemies. The rebellion continued in England, as Friends continued to break off from what they termed the "Foxian party," decrying its exclusionary leadership, its limits on individual conscience, and incidents seen as hypocrisy.

This partisan strife was extremely damaging, but in the end, Friends were most upset by what Perrot and Rich had done to damage the "unity" of the Spirit.¹⁰⁶ Despite their final rejection of these Troublesome Spirits,¹⁰⁷ many Barbadian Quakers did take the "middle path" that Perrot advocated for the Americas, adhering to their own

¹⁰⁴ Thomas Crisp, *Babel's builders unmasking themselves: as appears by the following paper from Barbadoes, (promoted by George for his party, and subscribed by eighty two of them.)* (London, 1681), p. 4.

¹⁰⁵ William C. Brathwaite, *The Second Period of Quakerism* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961), pp. 348-49.

¹⁰⁶ John Todd reported to English missionaries Alice and Thomas Curwen that he was "in good hopes that all Difference and Strife will cease, and Truth will out-live all; here are good Friends, which I hope will keep down these Unruly Passions & Heats that were usual and too often accustomed by some to rise amongst us" (Curwen, *Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering...*, pp. 34-35).

¹⁰⁷ Rich was himself never as popular as Perrot. He himself admitted that when asked "(in much contempt)... whom I have converted? And where the Fruit of my Ministry is?" he could not reply with numbers in his defense, offering only the somewhat lame assertion that "I am not sent to call the Righteous, or to gather into Sects or Opinions; nor is it the ground of my rejoicing to have a Multitude follow me..." (Rich, *Abstracts*, p. 10). Research confirms that by his death in 1679 he may have been a social pariah in Barbados, for he is curiously absent as a close friend or trusted associate in local wills. His friend James Beek (uncle of Quaker schoolteacher John Beek and brother-in-law to Margaret Beek) asked Rich to be his executor in trust when writing his will in 1672. James Beek's will makes no mention of his inclusion in the Society of Friends, but he may have been part of the larger Quaker community—he was instructing Melitiah Holder and was an in-law to the Dottin family, both prominent Quaker families in Barbados (Sanders, *Barbados Wills*, i.24). The only other place where Rich appears is as witness to William Willoughby's 1673 Barbados will (Sanders, *Barbados Wills*, i.392-93).

consciences but still considering the need for practical (and profitable) association with the world. Although some Friends criticized Rich for “going to the steeple-church” in Barbados, as late as 1693, Gov. Kendall reported that prominent Friends Thomas Pilgrim and Richard Sutton attended both Anglican and Quaker services, and that another local Friend, John Holder, was said to have gotten “a dispensation to take the oaths and pull off his hat that he may be more serviceable to his party.”¹⁰⁸

Call it hypocrisy, call it pragmatism, call it the ebbing and flowing of the Inner Light, call it Ranterism. What did Barbados Quakers think was necessary to define an individual, a family, or a community as representative “of that true Reformed Church in Christ Jesus as was in the apostles dayes before the apostacy”¹⁰⁹? Was it the keeping on or doffing of a hat in certain social situations? Was it staying true to one’s conscience? Was it suffering in the face of persecution? Was it instructing one’s slaves in biblical Truth, or exhorting them to seek their Inner Light? In these early days, before the movement took on its modern shape, these issues remained unclear. The lack of a coherent orthodoxy is well reflected in Quakers wills. Of 182 wills proved in my sample, only half utilized the dating formula Quakers used to distance themselves from pagan month names (e.g., the first day of the second month called June); and barely more than a third mentioned their religious affiliation at all.¹¹⁰ Even accounting for the intervention of non-Quaker scribes who may have disregarded non-standard dating

¹⁰⁸ Governor Kendall to Lords of Trade and Plantations, July 10, 1693. PRO, CO 28/2, No. 22.

¹⁰⁹ Will of Elizabeth Wright (d. ca. 1696-1706), BDA, RB4/18, 108. Identical statement found in James Thorpe’s will (d. ca. 1694-1695), BDA, RB6/11, 272-75. Thomas Richards (d. 1690) called himself “a true and reall Protestant Christian a member of the true Reformed Church of which Church Christ Jesus is the Holy Head and husband Mediator Redeemer and Saviour...” (BDA, RB6/41, 297-301).

¹¹⁰ Many wills can be identified as written by Friends because of the group’s tendency toward endogamy in family associations, and in naming committees of faithful Quakers as executors of their estates.

formulas or come to the deathbed with formulaic, non-sectarian prefaces, will exhibit a striking lack of conformity.

Though Separatists clashed with Quaker leaders on their casuistry of many issues, I would like to elaborate on one especially relevant to Friends in Barbados. In 1660, Quakers had agreed to renounce “all outward Wars & Strife, and Fightings with Outward Weapons, for any end, or under any pretense whatsoever.”¹¹¹ This decision was particularly difficult for Friends in Barbados, for the island Council mandated that all landowners and Christian (i.e. white) servants serve in the local militia. When local Quakers refused to serve in the militia – in some cases even contribute to its support – local officials were furious that a group of religious dissenters could put their island’s safety in jeopardy. Some Friends were hauled out to the field on muster days and beaten,¹¹² those with higher status were fined for their lack of compliance. Lewis Morris received a fine of more than nine thousand pounds of sugar “for not sending Horse and Men to the Militia” between 1674-1678.¹¹³ But when militia laws were strengthened after the 1675 slave conspiracy, Friends did not simply reiterate the party line that Christianization would result in the pacification of slave violence – their own racialized fears prompted a discussion among Friends about how to comply with local officials “in their own way.” Barbados Friends appear to have proposed to go without “arms, swords, and pistols” on slave patrols, to “discover if negroes should rise up to burn plantations of steal or do any hurt.” When Friends in Nevis wrote to George Fox asking if there was any way to comply with similar militia laws and remain within the Unity,

¹¹¹ *A Declaration from the Harmless & Innocent People of God Called Quakers Against ALL Sedition Plotters & Fighters in the World* (London, 1660).

¹¹² Braithwaite, *Second Period*, pp.16-18.

¹¹³ Besse, ii.313-14, 315.

Fox suggested they follow Barbados Friends' example, casting a racialized issue in universalist terms in his advice:

...if any should come to burn your house, or rob you, or come to ravish your wives or daughters, or a company should come to fire a city or town, or come to kill people, don't you watch against such actions? And won't you watch against such evil things in the power of God in your own way? ... [You should] discover to the magistrate such as would destroy your lives or plantations or steal...¹¹⁴

Since Fox and other Friends left off the punishment of "such evil-doers" to the local magistrates, he exculpated his followers from thinking of policing slaves as acts of violence. Although Perrot had been criticized for wearing a sword and attending militia musters — symbols of social conformity and violence — other Friends could avoid censure, by maintaining good relations with local and London leaders, like Gregory Hallett, whose bequests to his brother in 1679 included "two plated hilted swords with one pair of pistols."¹¹⁵

As Quakers at home and abroad seemed to vacillate in their interpretation of basic Friends' tenets, Separatists used these equivocations as fodder for tracts accusing Fox of hypocrisy and overbearing, and the bitter wrangling spread from print to correspondence. How could Quakers speak of Christian love and unity when disagreements arose within the community? How could they not "impos[e] the sentence of Reprobation"¹¹⁶ on those they believed were errant when so much was at stake, both in the symbols of the movement's power, and the literal power that Quaker leaders held over those symbols? Everyone seemed to consider it necessary at some point to reprehend the other — out of "pure love" they claimed — but those on the receiving end of such rebukes characterized their enemies as uncharitable, "railing and

¹¹⁴ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, pp. 620-21.

¹¹⁵ Will of Gregory Hallett (d. 1679), BDA, RB6/9, 465-67.

¹¹⁶ Perrot, *To the Upright*, pp. 4-6.

slandering, cursing and sentencing,” hypocrites who hid behind words of brotherly Love.¹¹⁷

Scholars have noted the variety of belief and practice among Quakers in these early decades of the movement.¹¹⁸ The question of who “owned” Quakerism was particularly difficult in a movement that claimed to be non-hierarchical. Geertz’s model of religion as a process of cultural negotiation helps us understand the transformations of this era – divergent practices became rarer when enough people agreed to take part in ritual manifestations that defined the sect’s direction. The fact that the majority of Friends decided to follow Fox and reject so-called Separatists was not just calculation that too-radical elements would threaten the group’s survival – it also reflected group dynamics, a collective unease with dismantling the few ritual markers that Friends could claim as their own, and their discomfort accepting the radical idea that each and every individual could perfectly interpret the divinity in his or her conscience.

As controversy over the complications of unity and authority swirled, Separatists responded by re-inscribing the metaphor of Egyptian tyranny, from the story of the mass enslavement of God’s Chosen People and their exodus from Pharaoh’s hard-heartedness, to the betrayal of Joseph, the youngest and favored son of Jacob, sold by his jealous brothers into Egyptian slavery.¹¹⁹ Separatists spoke of their consciences being

¹¹⁷ G. Roberts, *Impudency and Ranterism Rebuked; and the Quakers Sincerity Vindicated from a most unjust imputation of prevarication, cast upon them by Robert Rich and R. Bacon* ([London], 1670), p. 10.

¹¹⁸ Nigel Smith has recently cautioned scholars not to read early Separatist controversies so much as struggles for authority so much as “a matter of emergent differences of position (and of strugglings to reach mutual comprehension).” Nigel Smith, “Hidden Things Brought to Light: Enthusiasm and Quaker Discourse” *Prose Studies* 17, 3 (1994): 57-69, esp. pp. 63-64, 68.

¹¹⁹ Rich, *Abstracts*, p. 6. John Pennyman made reference to Joseph’s imprisonment in his pamphlet *The Quakers Rejected: which was also foretold by a person once eminent among them, taken out of his writings which were published some years ago* ([London], 1676), p. 8.

“Inslav’d or kept in Bondage” by the new forms and rules that Fox insisted upon.¹²⁰

Spiritual liberty was what Quaker separatists sought, and men like Perrot and Rich averred that would only come about by rejecting Fox, who was certainly “raised of God for this very end, to try, refine, and purify many, as Pharaoh was.”¹²¹

These charges of hypocrisy threatened to turn light into darkness, white into black, and confused the hierarchies of value and color so prevalent in Christian symbolism. In his bid for inclusion of slaves in the Christian community, Fox had tried to destabilize these color values when he raised the example of blacks in biblical times who had helped God’s prophets and thus been favored by Him.¹²² Those associations of color were further questioned by Separatists who latched onto the Joseph story, as they wrote of looking for succor among “the Egyptians, (a Dark People) ... And tho’ Joseph was Sold to and amongst the Egyptians, yet found He more Favour when amongst That dark People, than when amongst His Brethren...”¹²³ Was skin color really a sign of internal sin and darkness? Could it be proven that “though White be an Emblem of Innocence,” their inner souls were black, like “whited Walls filled within with Filth and Rottenness”¹²⁴? Solomon Eccles, who visited Barbados as a missionary and was imprisoned for a time for his confrontations with local ministers, had made this point

¹²⁰ John Pennyman, *A Short Account of the Life of Mr. John Pennyman; with some writings &c. (Relating to religious and divine matters.) Made publick for the weal and benefit of mankind* (London, 1703). Letter by wife Mary Pennyman, “touching her Leaving the Quakers,” p. 89.

¹²¹ Rich, *Abstracts*, p. 19; John Pennyman, in *A Bright Shining Light discovering the pretenders to it: recommended to the people called Quakers...* (London, 1680), claimed that on Judgment Day the Foxian “Pharisees” would be “utterly overwhelmed, like Pharaoh and his chariots in the sea” (p. 3); Separatist sympathizer Ann Mudd used the same metaphor in the title of her tract, *A Cry, A Cry a sensible cry for many months together hath been in my heart for the Quakers return out of that Egyptian darkness they have long lain in...* (London, 1678), p. 3.

¹²² Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, 13; see Jeremiah 38:1-13.

¹²³ Pennyman, *Life*, 135.

¹²⁴ Thomas Tryon [Philotheos Physiologus], *Friendly Advice to the gentlemen-planters of the East and West Indies: in three parts* (London, [1684]), p. 193.

often by darkening his face with ash, “to go as a Sign to this dark Generation, who are as black within as the Ethiopians were without.”¹²⁵

In Barbados, too, an uncomfortable blurring of boundaries seems to have occurred as Friends thought about how to implement Fox’s plan for Christianization (if not manumission). As they reacted to Separatist controversies, Barbados Quakers faithful to Fox must have pondered the Exodus story on another level, as more than a parable about the judgment awaiting hard-hearted oppressors. Separatists’ misuse of Egyptian metaphors must have provoked fears that the Dark Bodies of those enslaved people among them (so far removed from Christian Light), could also become Dark Spirits, easily seduced (like the weak, fanatical women who had followed Naylor and Perrot through London and beyond) from solid principles of Christian love and charity into vanity, presumption, and bitter, war-like words. Would those dark bodies act as Dark Spirits had in refusing to submit to the Society’s authority, or worse, turn to physical rebellion if their “consciences” were challenged or if they interpreted their masters’ dictates as hypocritical? This fear, as with so many other fears, manifests itself not in words, but in silence. Quaker historian William C. Braithwaite acknowledged that Quaker documents contain many silences, especially regarding separatist controversies: “...men say little of changes produced by hostile and unwelcome criticism from without, and often persuade themselves into thinking that the resulting alterations in their conduct spring from their own initiative or go on asserting and believing that they have not changed at all.”¹²⁶ As the Quaker community evolved, they tended to erase or forget the uncomfortable questions that Dark Spirits raised about the potential

¹²⁵ Kenneth L. Carroll, “Early Quakers and ‘Going Naked as a Sign,’” *Quaker History* 67,2 (1978): 83-89.

¹²⁶ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 494

for hypocrisy in formalist practices; they also shielded their minds from the logical consequences of spiritual equality for Dark Bodies.

Wealth: Filthy Lucre and the Precious Pearl

Friends convinced of Separatists' errors were persuaded not in small part by what they considered to be their worldliness, especially when it came to that idol, Mammon. For Christians in general and Quakers in particular, wealth was often seen as filthy lucre, the gateway to lust, pride, greed, and general wickedness. However, wealth could also symbolize God's bounty poured out on the faithful. The interpretation of a person's character and attitude towards wealth—as with unfavorable assumptions about Cromwell's desire for glory—determined the final judgment. In Quaker rhetoric, individuals bent towards the world and its prerogatives could not help but misspend the "Precious Pearl," the priceless knowledge of God's Spirit in all mankind. This section sets out to untangle the confusing and often contradictory perception of wealth as worldliness... or godliness. Furthermore, since wealth in Barbados was so closely tied to the slave economy, Africans and their welfare became part of the determinant contextualization—cruelty towards slaves was seen as part and parcel of planters' lust for money; if treated with humanity (as Friends who were planters must have claimed), their bodies became symbols of Quakers' faithful stewardship of the material estate entrusted them by God.

In this third layer of analysis, we must go back to the early Quaker mission in Barbados to see how obsessed converts were with exposing the sin in islanders' preoccupation with profit—"you[r] striv[ing] to get you care not how," as zealous

convert John Rous put it.¹²⁷ In their critiques of this particular problem, Quakers emphasized three major consequences of Barbadians' misplaced priorities. Firstly, they were overcome with *greed*, the desire for more and more money and things, leading many to disregard their fellow man so completely that deceitful dealings and violence and cruelty were the norm. Next, the accumulation of wealth led to *extravagance* and showy display, a squandering of resources on superfluities, and a slap in the face to those who lived in want of basic necessities. Finally, greed and extravagance led to *vanity*, as those around the wealthy bowed and scraped for favors, leading those who had some wealth to imagine themselves above others. Though Quakers were far from the only ones to decry such evils in Barbados society, their writings critiquing the wealthy consistently dwelt on these three themes.

Separatists like Perrot and Rich were members of a rising class of merchants and adventurers "striving to get" through capital risk. Among many of these early capitalists, success in Atlantic trade and speculation had to be celebrated, and was often done so through conspicuous consumption.¹²⁸ Scholarship has shown how by the eighteenth century Quakers (especially in urban metropolitan centers) were successful participants in the expanding Atlantic economy, their investment and credit carefully sheltered from risk by their trustworthy networks that helped create reliable returns.¹²⁹

¹²⁷ Rous, *A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes*, p. 1.

¹²⁸ London separatists John and Mary Pennyman were criticized for being married in an ostentatious London ceremony; yet another merchant separatist, John Storey, had been criticized for wearing an "extraordinary broad-brimmed beaver hat and his periwig and broad belt with silver buckles and great hose" (Mack, pp. 293, 299).

¹²⁹ Most of the historiography on Quakerism and economy has been centered on Friends' communities in England and Pennsylvania, especially in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. Frederick B. Tolles, *Meeting House and Counting House: The Quaker Merchants of Colonial Philadelphia, 1682-1763* (Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1948), esp. Ch. 4, "The Quaker Economic Ethic"; James Walvin, *The Quakers: Money and Morals*. (Cambridge, Eng.: Cambridge University Press, 1997). For a broader theological perspective, see Douglas Gwyn, *The Covenant Crucified: Quakers and the Rise of Capitalism* (Wallingford, Penn.: Pendle Hill, 1995).

As early as 1658, Fox had written against the ostentation of merchants in London, warning them that their deceitful bargaining practices were sins against God and their fellow man. Further, by wearing “gold Chains about your necks, and... costly attire,” while “poor blind women and children, and creeples [cripples]” begged in the streets, they tempted God’s wrath with their pride and indifference. In the Indies, Perrot’s Jamaican velvet coat was interpreted as a symbol of extravagance, proof that his pride and greed surpassed his religious convictions. It was said in Jamaica that Perrot’s speculation in a foundling tobacco scheme had fallen through, and his enemies reported how he went from grand aspirations to be a planter and build a large manor house with a fountain, to taking a position as a clerk of a court to support himself and his family—further mocking his pretensions as a Friend, since clerks were required to register deeds and other official pronouncements via oath. Detractors said that after he died, all his goods were seized by his creditors, and his wife and children were turned out of their home to beg for charity from Friends.¹³⁰

In the uncertainty of the new Atlantic economy, luxury and wealth stood in stark contrast (and uncomfortable proximity) to misery and penury. West Indian colonists certainly had ample opportunity to observe both realities, the former in the feasts and frolics of the newly-rich, the latter in the back-breaking labor of indentured servants (many of whom died without realizing their dreams of economic betterment), and Africans imported to the English colonies to feed the sugar revolution with a lifetime of labor. The winners, those merchants and planters who succeeded, had to have hidden

More recently, scholars working on transatlantic trade and familial networks have highlighted how the organization of Friends and other religious societies helped propel many to the upper echelons of the Atlantic economy. See Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia*, Ch. 5, “English Atlantic Networks and Religion in Virginia,” pp. 110-36.

¹³⁰ Taylor, *A Loving and Friendly Invitation*, pp. 7-9, 12.

more than a little anxiety behind their arrogance, knowing that one bad crop or ill-timed investment could destroy their gains. Then, too, there was the anxiety borne by post-Reformation providentialism—those who live easy in this world, says the Bible, are least likely to partake of heavenly riches: “O you that are fat and full, and very rich too. I must tell you, that it is the Meek and the Lowly that shall inherit the Kingdom, and not You...”¹³¹

In his 1660 call on Barbadians to repent, Richard Pinder had played on the insecurities underlying the island’s stark differences in material conditions, exposing the false front of wealth and worldly fame: “your sins exceed both in greatness, and number, the sins of many people; even as far as you exceed many people in earthly riches and honour; that though you become famous in the worlds eye; yet you do not appear so in Gods eye.”¹³² Quakerism’s uncompromising message of the approaching Judgment certainly drew in many who feared that they, like the rich man of biblical parable, would be left behind as the camel passed through the eye of the needle to the Kingdom of Heaven (Mark 10:27). Understanding this context helps us see why so many Barbados planters might have been moved by Quaker rhetoric—perhaps young John Rous awoke one night from a nightmarish vision he would later prophesy about, the fear that his and his father’s wealth, gained “by violence and oppression,” would in the afterlife become instruments of eternal violence and oppression exercised on his own body.¹³³

Friends’ critiques of greed were often specifically linked to the problem of cruelty, violence, and disregard for the oppressed. John Rous warned that “the cry of

¹³¹ Mudd, *A Cry, A Cry*, p. 2.

¹³² Pinder, *A Loving Invitation*, p. 11.

¹³³ Rous, *A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes*, p. 1.

the oppressed is intred [sic?] into the ears of the Lord of Sabbath, who will speedily come to pour forth his plague upon you... you that trust in your riches and despise the poor.”¹³⁴ Planters were depicted as so intent on satisfying their lusts that they literally devoured all goods necessary for sustenance, so much that “alas, many of your Servants, both white People, and Negroes, are like to perish, and be destroyed for want...”¹³⁵ Both Pinder and Rous decried such neglect as straight-out murder, a consequence of man’s unrestrained greed,

who to get of the earth into his possession, and increase his unrighteous Mammon, (which is his God whom he serves) cares not what murder is committed by him to fulfil his unrighteous and covetous ends, (I speak concerning you, who like unnatural beasts have been the death of many of your Servants, by withholding from them convenient food, for want of which many have perished under you...) ¹³⁶

After the explosion of Barbados sugar markets flooded island elites with wealth, those with the capital to do so bought up even greater swaths of land to dedicate to sugar cane, leaving the planting of provisions to associates in other colonies. Such a market shift dramatically increased the price of both land and provisions, often pushing small freedmen off their land from tenuous self-sustenance back into servitude. The contrast between the lavish hospitality and feasts of planters and the near starvation of island laborers was seen as not only shameful extravagance, but by extension, cruelty and murder.

Beyond the economy of starvation labor, local planters knew that the dictates of sugar cultivation demanded harsh taskmasters who would push their laborers to (and often past) the limits of human endurance. The sugar industry, now the island’s most profitable enterprise, was associated with horrific cruelties of drivers who forced slaves

¹³⁴ Rous, *A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes*, pp. 1-2.

¹³⁵ Pinder, *A Loving Invitation*, p. 8.

¹³⁶ Rous, *The Sins of a gainsaying and rebellious people*, p. 1.

to perform highly dangerous work with little rest. One commentator imagined how a slave might describe his work during harvest time on a sugar plantation:

often-time we are forc'd to work so long at the Wind-Mills, until we become so Weary, Dull, Faint, Heavy and Sleepy... that we fall into danger, and oft times our Hands and Arms are crusht to pieces... So also we are forced to stand and work at the Coppers, in the hot sulpherous Fumes, till Nature being overcome with weariness and want of proper Rest we fall into the fierce boyling Syrups, and in these disasters little or no pitty is taken of us, for though some indeed profess a superfinal [sic] sorrow for our mischances, it is chiefly for their own sakes, not ours, because thereby they have lost the worth of so much Money as we were reckon'd at, not for the loss of our Lives...¹³⁷

London haberdasher Thomas Tryon may have imagined this monologue, but he did not exaggerate. He had first-hand knowledge of the conditions slaves labored under, having spent several years as a merchant in Barbados in the 1660s at the height of the Barbados sugar revolution. After returning to London, Tryon seems to have kept up his West Indian connections, some of whom were Quakers,¹³⁸ and in the 1680s, he found a willing publisher in London Friend Andrew Sowles for the “advices” he wrote under the *nom de plume* Philotheos Physiologus.¹³⁹ The first of his tracts, *Friendly-Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies* (1684), elaborated on the problem of cruelty among West Indian slave-owners, given voice in “The Complaints of the Negro-Slaves

¹³⁷ Philotheos Physiologus [Thomas Tryon], *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies. In Three parts. I. A brief treatise of the most principal fruits and herbs that grow in the East & West Indies giving an account of their respective virtues both for food and physick, and what planet and sign they are under. Together with some directions for the preservation of health and life in those hot climates. II. The complaints of the negro-slaves against the hard usage and barbarous cruelties inflicted upon them. III. A discourse in way of dialogue, between an Ethiopian or Negro slave, and a Christian that was his master in America* ([London], 1684), pp. 89-90.

¹³⁸ Tryon's continuing ties to Barbados can be seen in two Quaker wills dating into the latter decades of the 17th century. London salter James Denham, whose family lived on the island, named Tryon in his will (Sanders, *Barbados Wills*, ii.90), and Barbadian Friend Nathaniel Perkins was married to Tryon's daughter Rebecca (Will of Nathaniel Perkins (d. ca. 1686-87), BDA, RB6/40, 392-93).

¹³⁹ Tryon's writings ranged widely, from the benefits of vegetarianism to practical medicine to economic schemes; he was heavily influenced by a range of mystical teachings, some shared by Quakers). For a fuller analysis of Tryon's stance on slavery, see Philippe Rosenberg, “Thomas Tyron and the Seventeenth-Century Dimensions of Antislavery” *WMQ* 61,4 (2004): 609-42.

against the hard Usages and barbarous Cruelties inflicted upon them." His *Friendly-Advice* also imagined a "Dialogue, between an Ethiopian or Negro-Slave, and a Christian that was his Master in America," in which the slave quickly saw and embraced the excellence of his masters' faith, vowing "it undoubtedly surpasseth all other Religions in the World, as much as the Sun's Light doth that of a Glow-Worm." However, he wondered that "you Christians live and walk so wide from, and contrary unto all those undeniable Truths, and holy Rules," thus ventriloquizing religious self-critique that often remained silent.¹⁴⁰

Tryon also wrote another tract, *The Merchant, Citizen and Country-man's Instructor* (not published until 1701), with practical and moral guidance to planters in the Indies, noting that his wisdom came from years of discussions with gentlemen abroad with whom he had corresponded.¹⁴¹ In this text, Tryon asserted that there was a fundamental problem with the sugar industry itself, for he said that

to be a Master Planter, is to be a kind of a King over great numbers of disobedient and troublesom Subjects, every day bringing fresh Intelligences of Tumults and Disturbances: In short, 'tis to live in a perpetual Noise and Hurry, and the only way to render a Person Angry, and Tyrannical too.¹⁴²

To turn from the highly-profitable but oppressive sugar industry, Tryon counseled, would "stem the current of Sighs, Groans, Turmoils, and doleful Lamentations of your Servants, converting them into a pleasant, calm and serene Life of happy employments."¹⁴³

¹⁴⁰ Tryon, *Friendly Advice*, p. 159-60.

¹⁴¹ Tryon prefaced this second tract with advice to Barbados planters in particular (Thomas Tryon, *The Merchant, Citizen and Country-man's Instructor: or, a necessary companion for all people. Containing, I. Directions to planters of sugar...* (London, 1701), p. a2).

¹⁴² Tryon, *Merchant, Citizen...*, p. 201.

¹⁴³ *Ibid.*, p. 194.

Tryon's proposals were supported by persuasive economic rationales. He reminded readers of the extraordinary high investment required for a sugar plantation, not only in land and windmills, but also labor, "the greatest part of... [which] consists in Living Creatures, and those of Humane Race, therefore the more subject they are to Losses and Casualties...."¹⁴⁴ He brought out as "undeniable evidence" current figures from Barbados, that 40,000-50,000 slaves were at that time held on the island, and though Africans were "naturally as fruitful as most Nations" (and who, despite some efforts to stop polygamy, continued to practice it), one fifth to one quarter of their human "stock" died annually, forcing planters to continue importing Africans "at dear Rates, from remote Regions."¹⁴⁵

Although we know Tryon had friends among Barbados Quakers, we cannot say with any certainty how much his writings might have resonated with the community there. Tryon suggested that cloth manufactures might be a profitable and humane substitute for sugar production—hints from the available evidence grant only two local Quakers with the initiative for diversifying into less labor-intensive crops, and neither were involved in manufactures.¹⁴⁶ Part of the problem was that Tryon gave out contradictory signals—after enumerating "how many degrees of Slavery and Violence the makers of Sugar go through," he wrote an upbeat postscript on sugar's many "excellent virtues."¹⁴⁷ Everything had a double meaning, and Barbados Quakers could

¹⁴⁴ Tryon, *Merchant, Citizen...*, p. 200.

¹⁴⁵ Tryon, *Friendly Advice*, pp. 142-45.

¹⁴⁶ John Todd and Henry Weston had both turned to ginger export and cultivation, and both decided to free at least one of their slaves at their deaths, suggesting a possible link between low labor planning and a moral concern for their enslaved workers. Will of John Todd (d. 1687), BDA, RB6/40, 435; also mention of Todd working in ginger in Besse, ii.355; Will of Henry Weston (d. ca. 1674-75), BDA, RB6/9, 297-99.

¹⁴⁷ Tryon, *Merchant, Citizen*, 200. Some of the benefits Tryon attributed to the production of sugar included employment for Britons, the increased value of orchards by the marketing of

name a good number of justifications for their wealth, all of which relied on godly management of that “outward substance and Estate the Lord (as his steward) hath entrusted me with...”¹⁴⁸

Friends in Barbados seemed to have been blessed with wealth. Nearly half of all local Quakers whose occupations are known were planters – the ratio increases to two-thirds when considering the most influential leaders. Fox’s son-in-law John Rous was perhaps the wealthiest – his plantation in 1680 was recorded as consisting of an impressive 470 acres and 204 slaves.¹⁴⁹ Another significant proportion of the island’s Society was composed of merchants who controlled great amounts of capital and credit despite owning smaller city plots and fewer slaves. Furthermore, although the poorer sort make a strong showing among Barbados Friends (one-third of Quakers who appear in the island’s 1680 census possessed insufficient acreage or labor to run their own independent sugar works), a third of all those who owned slaves could be categorized as middling or big planters.¹⁵⁰

But just as worldly wealth was subject to divine punishment if its recipients were led to greed, extravagance and vanity, the wealth and flourishing of God’s People could serve as a sign of God’s almighty favor. Friends with substantial worldly wealth emphasized that their foundations of godly wealth management consisted of the following points:

sugared fruit drinks, increased tax revenues, as well as what was seen as the pharmaceutical and nutritional value of sugar (pp. 218-19).

¹⁴⁸ Will of Richard Gay (d. 1669), BDA, RB6/8, 129-32.

¹⁴⁹ “Alphabetical list of owners, & c., in parish of St. Philip...” Barbados, 1680. PRO, CO 1/44, No. 47.x.

¹⁵⁰ Dunn defines a “big planter” as holding 60 or more slaves, “because the ownership of a labor force of sixty Negroes represents a concrete investment of £1,000”; a middling planter owned “a labor force sufficient to operate a modest sugar plantation,” roughly 25-59 slaves; small planters were those who owned fewer than twenty slaves but more than ten acres. Freeman, those who held fewer than ten acres, counted for little in Barbados society, owning their own labor but not the right to vote (*Sugar and Slaves*, 91-92).

- In contrast to the opportunism and greed of others, Quakers' example of *honesty* in business dealings would lead to increased wealth for both sides of the deal;
- Responsible patriarchs could use their patrimony to care for the needs of the next generation(s), encouraging their children by examples of *humility and frugality* to maintain subsequent generations from economic disaster;
- By curbing extravagance, godly caretakers of wealth would show humble *sensitivity* to those less fortunate, and be able to put aside a portion of their profits for charitable purposes.

"Speak Truth, act Truth," was Fox's exhortation to merchants and husbandmen in their "Dealings, Buyings, Sellings, Changings and Commerce with people." Honesty was the foundation for godly witness to the world, for Quakers must demonstrate that they would "Wrong no man, nor covet, nor cheat, nor oppress, nor defraud any man":

For Friends, if you be not faithful in the Outward Treasure, Outward Mammon, who will trust you with the True Treasure? or who can believe that ye have the True Treasure, but that you speak by hear-say of it? So I say to you all, See that you are faithful in this outward Mammon, this outward Treasure of the things of this Life, of this World, faithful to your Word... faithful to your Promises in all your Tradings, Traffickings, Bargainings...¹⁵¹

This honesty and faithfulness were to be laid bare by transparent business accounts (as would be their sins at Judgment Day). Wills confirm the close attention West Indian Quakers paid to their worldly accounts. Merchant Francis Ford, during his March 1680 journey to Barbados aboard the ship *Honor*, made a list of those debts "wch: are all I can recollect my self to owe in ye world" and prayed that his cousin Robert Rich (the Separatists' nephew and heir to his estate) would honor his commitments, spelled out in the following detailed account:

Mr Birch remandr due for chattels 0.10.0
Thos Allen shoemaker for a pair of shoes, 0.5.0 [...]
Capt. Warren remaining due 1.2.0.

¹⁵¹ George Fox, *Line of Righteousness and justice stretched forth over all merchants, &c.: and an exhortation to all Friends and people whatsoever who are merchants, tradesmen, husbandmen or sea-men, who deal in merchandize, trade in buying and selling by sea or land, or deal in husbandry, that ye all do that which is just, equal and righteous in the sight of God and man...* (London, 1661), p. 5. This tract was reprinted in 1674, and ordered to be read "in all the Men & Women's Meetings," adding postscripts to Friends who were "Shop-keepers or Merchants, or Factors, or any other trades."

Ditto for a casq of Brandy containing 8 ½ gallons at 2 s 6 d, 1.1.3
 Samuel Carpenter owing him for a Campaigque coat wch: if his correspondent
 Mr Moore expresses not to be paid I desire may be satisfied, 2.4.0.¹⁵²

Another Friend, George Foster, stipulated that administrators should meet regularly concerning his estate, at least once a year to double-check their accounts, and “that if it should fall behind hand it may rather bee lett out than be intangled in debt.”¹⁵³

Historians have noted the connection between assiduous bookkeeping and general Weberian ethics, and Barbados Friends follow this model quite closely.¹⁵⁴

Careful management of one’s wealth ensured that the next generation of God’s faithful would be secure in their maintenance. Surveyor Henry Raper directed that after his death, debts due him by merchants in Liverpool and London should be collected and “put out at Interest in some sure hands to the use and benefit of my two sons.”¹⁵⁵

Following religious innovations, Quakers in Barbados often rejected the tradition of primogeniture to set aside equal or nearly equal portions for all their children, both boys and girls, an additional financial burden. And if Friends had no children of their own, they often offered their estates up in support of the community as a whole. Quaker leader Thomas Robins and his wife Ann agreed that, being childless, they would divide

¹⁵² Will of Francis Ford (d. 1680), BDA, RB6/14, 43-44. It is unclear if either Allen or Capt Warren were Quakers, but Birch is a prominent Quaker name in Barbados, and Samuel Carpenter was a wealthy Barbados Friend who moved to Pennsylvania in 1683.

¹⁵³ Foster furthermore forgave a debt owed him by Benjamin Smith, reckoned at a very precise 1,100 pounds of sugar and 17 shillings. Will of George Foster (d. ca. 1670-1672), BDA, RB6/8, 330-41. Thomas Pilgrim, Sr. (d. 1716), also kept meticulous records, for in his will he gave his “dear and loveing brother councellor John Pilgrim the balance of his acct: amounting to four hundred twenty eight pounds five and nine pence half penny as may be seen in my said Brother’s account in my Ledger folio” (BDA, RB6/4, 75-82).

¹⁵⁴ See Toby L. Ditz, “Secret Selves, Credible Personae: The Problematics of Trust and Public Display in the Writing of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Merchants,” in *Possible Pasts*, p. 223.

¹⁵⁵ Will of Henry Raper (d. 1717), BDA, RB6/4, 255-59.

their estate in St Philip among the children of Joseph and Ann Borden and Henry and Mary Curren, fellow members of the Windward and Cliff Meeting.¹⁵⁶

Finally, Friends who were parsimonious and faithful managers of God's bounty could also demonstrate their humble thanks by alleviating the suffering of the poor. Fox's 1658 letter to London merchants admonished them to put wealth aside to build and maintain poorhouse – and in language that presaged his calls for humane treatment of slaves, reminded those blessed by wealth that “your poor brethren... are made of the same blood and mould.”¹⁵⁷ Quakers in Barbados often included bequests to the poor in their wills, with gifts ranging from three pounds current to 6,000 lb of sugar.¹⁵⁸ Though they never employed the language of charity to the poor in their bequests to enslaved blacks, at a meeting of Quaker midwives in Barbados in 1677, women included a resolution “concerning Negroes,” saying that if called to tend to African women in labor, they might “have freedom to take what the Master or Mistress shall think us worthy of... but not to take any thing of the Negroes, but rather help the poor creatures, as the Lord shall enable us, & open our hearts thereunto...”¹⁵⁹

Where the larger body of enslaved were concerned, Quakers could see that paternalist management of their human chattels could be seen not only as godly, but also gainful. Thomas Tryon averred that he had observed during his stay on the island “that all such as deal any thing gently, and with Moderation and Compassion towards them [slaves], are generally blessed with the Dew of Heaven, and with considerable

¹⁵⁶ Will of Thomas Robinse [sic] (d. ca. 1692-1693), BDA, RB6/3, 194-96.

¹⁵⁷ George Fox, *A Warning to all the Merchants in London, and such as buy and sell: with an advisement to them to lay aside their superfluity, and with it to nourish the poor* (London, 1658), p. 4.

¹⁵⁸ Will of Elizabeth Savery (d. 1693), BDA, RB6/3, 250-54; Will of Robert Richards (d. 1684), BDA, RB6/12, 527-30.

¹⁵⁹ Henry Cadbury, “Quaker records at a meeting of the midwives in Barbadoes II. XII. 1677,” *JBMHS* 24,3 (1957): 133-34.

Profits.” God’s earthly showers on his godly caretakers were aided by planters’ pragmatic efforts to keep slaves in health, which Tryon noted could save them “one, two, three or four Hundred Pounds per Year, in the buying of Slaves.”¹⁶⁰ In *Gospel Family-Order*, Fox made a more biblically-based argument to encourage slaveowners to evangelize to slaves, citing how Joseph’s godly counsel to the Egyptian king “brought the Blessing of God upon the House and Field of a Heathen” – how much more would God bless those who believed in him and followed the path of righteousness.¹⁶¹

But Fox and other missionaries knew that even those dedicated to Truth could be tempted by profits, and anxiously exhorted Friends not to let material gains erode their principles. Edmundson, who had been one of the hardest to push slaveowners to bring their slaves to Christianity, seems to have noted some extravagances among West Indian Quakers and found them anathema to his principles. Shortly after his second visit to the West Indies, Edmundson wrote to Friends in Jamaica, telling them to

take heed of being linked and married to your shops, and trades or merchandize... lest you be hindered from coming to meeting, serving the Lord and doing his work, as though your work and business must be done first, and the Lord’s the last. Would you not blame and be angry with your servants, that would prefer to do their own work and business before yours, and be so incumbered and busy therein, that your business is neglected?

He admonished them to be “good merchantmen, prize the precious truth, the precious pearl, and the preferment of it above all, that the love of the world and the earth enter not.”¹⁶²

What might he have thought of Elizabeth Barnes Brumes? This wealthy widow, whose estate sat on the fertile soil of St Georges valley, gave the exorbitant sum of one

¹⁶⁰ Tryon, *Friendly Advice*, p. 141.

¹⁶¹ Fox, *Gospel Family Order*, p. 12.

¹⁶² William Edmundson, *A journal of the life, travels, sufferings, and labour of love in the work of the ministry of that worthy elder, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ* (London, 1715), p. 267.

hundred pounds to poor Quakers, the highest of any Friend's gift to the poor, and awarded her "Negro boy Calabbary" his freedom. But the many luxury goods in her possession, including a substantial silver dinner service, suggest she was an active participant in the island's tradition of hospitality, and she probably hoped that her heir Charles Egerton would continue serving punch to his visitors in the "great silver bowle" she bequeathed him. It is disappointing we do not know what the group of staunch Quaker elders she named as overseers of her estate (who she desired might be allowed to serve without taking an oath) thought of the rather lavish gift she wished them to have as a legacy: "a peece of plate with these words engraven on it: Elizabeth Barnes gave this peece of Plate amounting to ten pounds sterling each."¹⁶³ The Widow Barnes had always had her own ideas about how to interpret her Inner Light, having come under censure for her extreme position against formalism, especially the time in which the Spirit moved her to rail at Friends during a meeting against their over-reliance on the Bible as a guide. She offered to burn the Scriptures, calling the Bible "the Pope's Idol, the Professors Idol, and the Quakers Idol."¹⁶⁴ By the late 1670s she had been reconciled to the group, and was a leader in the Bridgetown Women's Meeting.¹⁶⁵

But despite the wealth of individual Friends like Barnes, good management and God's blessing, Barbados Quakers' profits were in jeopardy. Following stricter laws against non-conformity and heightened suspicion of Quakers' evangelization plan for slaves, local officials began enforcing more laws that penalized island Friends. Especially painful were the fines and ill treatment that Friends suffered for not sending

¹⁶³ Will of Elizabeth Barnes Brumes (d. ca. 1676-1681), BDA, RB6/8, 566-70. Barnes is one who wanted to free her slave, a "negro Boy Callabarry" within a year after her death.

¹⁶⁴ Carroll, *John Perrot*, p. 85; also Mack, p. 278.

¹⁶⁵ Library of the Society of Friends, London (hereafter LSF), Box Meeting Manuscripts, #30; No. 35.

troops and munitions to militia musters. Quakers petitioned the government with complaints that constables

would often take away our Goods before Appraisment, and then undervalue them, oftentimes they take away as much more, sometimes twice, yea thrice the Value demanded, and make no Resistution. They sometimes take away Workmen's and Tradesmen's Tools, which they should work upon to maintain themselves and Families.¹⁶⁶

George Gray was one such victim, a barber and small shopkeeper who must have been one of the first converts, for "on the 25th of the Tenth Month 1655" [Christmas Day], had "taken away from him, by the Soldiers, his Pole and Basons which hung out, (he being a Barber) the Basons cost him 150 lb of Sugar..."¹⁶⁷ Friends reported that Marshall John Thurborne often mocked Quakers, calling them his "Milch Cows," and bragged that Gray was his favorite, because he "gave a brave Mess of Milk every Exercising day."¹⁶⁸ Besse records that Gray was imprisoned more than two months as a result of his zeal and had more than 27,000 lb of sugar seized from him over three decades.¹⁶⁹ By 1680, a *servant* by the name of George Gray appears in Governor Atkins' census,¹⁷⁰ perhaps indicating that this stalwart Quaker had been reduced to penury for his principles.

In their *Short Account of the Manifest Hand of God*, Barbados Friends published a catalogue of the fates that had befallen evil island officials who greedily took advantage of Friends—like Marshall Thurborne, who suffered from "a Fistula [which] arose in his Fundament that would admit of no Cure, which gave him such pain and misery, that he

¹⁶⁶ "To the Governour of Barbadoes, called Sir Richard Dutton" [delivered 28.ii.1683]. Published in Besse, ii.238.

¹⁶⁷ Besse, ii.283.

¹⁶⁸ *A Short account of the manifest hand of God that hath fallen upon several marshals and their deputies: who have made great spoil and havock of the goods of the people called Quakers in the island of Barbadoes for their testimony against going or sending to the militia: with a remarkable account of some others of the persecutors of the same people in the same island, together with an abstract of their sufferings* (London, 1696), p. 14.

¹⁶⁹ Besse, ii.283, 288, 314-15, 332.

¹⁷⁰ List of landowners, & c., baptisms, and burials... for parish of St. Peter (1680). PRO CO 1/44, No. 47.xxi.

would often Curse his Body where it was, till at last he miserably finisht his Evil Course of Life.”¹⁷¹ Another local who had informed on both Ralph Fretwell and Lewis Morris for bringing slaves to their meetings did not live to enjoy the more than £800 that he was to receive as a reward, for

soon after [he] was taken with a Fever and Swelling in his Neck and Throat, which daily increased in a very strange manner; so that towards his latter End, he cried out, Fire, fire, he was all on fire; and said to his Mother, She need not provide a Coffin for him, for he should be burnt up before it was made; crying... Now the Quakers will say, It is a Judgment fallen on me. After this manner did this miserable man end his Days.¹⁷²

The tract revealed a pattern—those who persecuted Quakers were usually “struck dead by Thunder,” “seized by a noisome Distemper,”¹⁷³ or (notwithstanding their habit of extortion), they died penniless, forced to accept charity from the parish (sometimes begging from Friends themselves). This text also includes a surprisingly detailed chart of cold hard calculations, showing officials how God’s People had kept accounts for the final Judgment Day.

An ABSTRACT of the Sufferings for Conscience sake of the People called *QUAKERS*, in the Island of *BARBADOES*; but more especially, for their Not Going, nor Sending to the *MILITIA*.

111124 <i>l.</i> Mulcovado-Sugar, from the year 1658, to the year 1669, the latter end of Col. <i>Stearle's</i> Government, and in Col. <i>Maddisford's</i> Government, and in President <i>Williams's</i> Government, and in the Government of <i>Francis Lord Willoughby</i> and his Deputies; And also in the beginning of the Government of <i>William Lord Willoughby</i> ,		
Sugar lb. 204872 Mulcovado Sugar from the year 1669; to the year 1674, in the Government of <i>William Lord Willoughby</i> , and his Deputies, Col. <i>Christopher Codrington</i> , and Sir <i>Pat. Colleton</i> ,		
Governour <i>Atkins</i> , 611341. { 183000 Mulcovado Sugar, the first part of Sir <i>Jonathan Atkins's</i> Government { From the year 1674, to the year 1680; of which, taken contrary to Law. 139342		
Governour <i>Dutton</i> , 495874. { 122074 Mulcovado Sugar, the middle part of the said <i>Atkins's</i> Government { 306267 Mulcovado Sugar, the latter part of the said <i>Atkins's</i> Government { From the year 1680, to the year 1685; of which, taken contrary to Law. 119330		
2235287 Mulcovado Sugar, the first part of Sir <i>Richard Dutton's</i> Government, and his Deputy Sir <i>John Witham</i> { 2235287 Mulcovado Sugar, the latter part of the said <i>Dutton's</i> Government, and his Deputy Sir <i>John Witham</i> { From the year 1685, to the year 1689; of which, taken contrary to Law. 119330		
1423164 Mulcovado Sugar Reduc'd into Money at 12 s. 6 d. per Cent. Amounts to the Sum of 8894 <i>l.</i> 15 s. 6 d. of which, taken contrary to Law the Sum of 1616 <i>l.</i> 14 s. 00 d.		
Govern. <i>Steele</i> , 18121.161.024. { The first part of Col. <i>Edwyn Steele's</i> Government amounts to 570 <i>l.</i> 04 s. 01 d. } 18121.161.024. from the year 1685, to the year 1690; of which, taken contrary to Law. 1661.22.10 d.		
Govern. <i>Kendal</i> , 16971.191.102. { The middle part of Col. <i>Edwyn Steele's</i> Government, amounts to 615 <i>l.</i> 07 s. 05 d. } 16971.191.102. from the year 1690, to the year 1694; of which, taken contrary to Law. 341.18 s. 08 d.		
{ The latter part of Col. <i>Edwyn Steele's</i> Government amounts to 627 <i>l.</i> 04 s. 06 d. } 16971.191.102. from the year 1694, to the year 1699, of which, taken contrary to Law. 341.18 s. 08 d.		
{ The first part of Col. <i>James Kendal's</i> Government amounts to 764 <i>l.</i> 19 s. 02 d. } 16971.191.102. from the year 1699, to the year 1704; of which, taken contrary to Law. 341.18 s. 08 d.		
{ The latter part of the said <i>Kendal's</i> Government amounts to 333 <i>l.</i> 00 s. 08 d. } 16971.191.102. from the year 1704, to the year 1709; of which, taken contrary to Law. 341.18 s. 08 d.		

The above Account amounting to the Sum of Eleven Thousand Eight Hundred and Five Pounds Eleven Shillings and Six Pence, Current Money of this Island, according to a Moderate Computation thereof, taken from the said People, by Unreasonable, Rapacious Marshals, belonging to the several Regiments of the *Militia*, of which Eighteen Hundred and Seventeen Pounds Fifteen Shillings and Six Pence thereof, hath been taken contrary to Law, and they have suffered a great deal more, of which no Account thereof hath been rendered, besides Imprisonments: And it will be too tedious to mention the Frequent Abuses of the said Marshals, with the Unlucky Ends of some of them, as well as the Poverty of them all—And do not Understand that this Government hath been any thing the better, for any part of the great Sums that hath been taken, as aforesaid, unless the Building of a small stinking Prison, by *Thomas Forrester*, Marshal, an Arch Persecutor, who after he had taken from them by Computation from the Accounts thereof, the Sums of Three Hundred Thirty Five Thousand Nine Hundred and Eighty Pounds of Mulcovado Sugar, and Seventy Five Pounds and Eighteen Shillings in Money, and we believe a great deal more; of which we have received no Account; after all which he Died Poor and Miserable.

Barbadoes, the 20th Day of the 4th Month, 1695.

Ed. Wright, Jof. Groves, The Pilgrims.

FIGURE ELEVEN: *An Abstract of the Sufferings... for their not Going, nor Sending to the Militia.* Courtesy John Carter Brown Library, Providence, Rhode Island.

¹⁷¹ *A Short account of the manifest hand of God*, p. 14.

¹⁷² *Ibid.*, 18-19.

¹⁷³ *Ibid.*, 4.

In their continued petitions to local and crown officials, Friends pled for restitution of damage to their material well-being as much as to their religious freedom.

In one petition they argued:

For as the Israelites could not easily make Brick without Straw, no more, as you well know, can we manage well our Estates, when the best of our Negroes and Draught-Cattle are taken from us, and that not for our Debts, or wronging of any Man, but only for Conscience-sake to God as aforesaid.¹⁷⁴

From Edmundson's hopes that West Indian Friends might see themselves primarily as Merchantmen of the Truth and Servants of the Lord, Quakers protesting against financial persecution painted themselves as Israelite slaves. In this interpretation, the real slaves in Barbados morphed from humans with souls into commodities essential for colonists' quest for profit, and local officials became the cruel Egyptian taskmasters who persecuted God's Chosen People where it hurt most – the bottom line.

Community Survival, Discipline, and Punishment

As we have seen from the problems of separatism and the temptation of profit, the need to discipline the community of Friends became increasingly important in the second half of the seventeenth century. Leading London Friends had led the way, offering guidance on how to standardize everyday practice and formalize important points of Quaker theology, sending a regular stream of missionaries to ensure that the group remained watchful and diligent. During this period, Friends everywhere pushed to "perform" their respectability to the outside world; the community of Friends in Barbados were no exception. However, to become a reputable Protestant nonconformist

¹⁷⁴ Petition entitled, "Sundry Particulars relating to the Militia Act, briefly touched, and presented to Edwin Stead, our King's Lieutenant-Governor of the Island Barbadoes, and Council, from the People called Quakers, Inhabitants there," signed by Richard Ford, Thomas Pilgrim, Francis Gamble, Thomas Robins, John Waite, Joseph Harbin and Philip Collins, 17.xii[Feb].1686. In Besse, ii.334.

required suppressing those elements seen as most dangerous in a group's theology. In response, Quaker leaders all over the Atlantic created a disciplinary system—ranging from gentle persuasion to serious threats—to retain control over their community, starting from the ground up, with one's children and household. In the Indies, Quaker patriarchs and matriarchs also demanded obedience from their slaves, especially those who had been welcomed into the Christian community. In trying to regulate the moral behavior of the enslaved and avoid problems of everyday rebellions against authority—expected behavior in the economy of forced labor—men and women dedicated to Friends' principles of humanity and non-violence must have found themselves sorely challenged.

In the first flush of the Quaker mission in Barbados and widespread conversion, Friends came under attack (as they had been throughout England) for challenging norms of secular and religious authority. One tract describes the violent reaction by community officials to Thomas Clarke, one Barbados Quaker who disrupted church services to testify against congregants' "Drunkenness, and all manner of Wickedness, exhorting people to turn therefrom, and repent thereof."¹⁷⁵ Clarke complained that after interrupting a church service in St Lucy parish and testifying for "Truth's sake," church officials angry at Clarke's disrespect knocked off his hat (the Quaker sign of denying deference to one's social betters),

and by the People I was haled to the door, and thrown down three or four steps; and I getting up, they fell upon me, and beat me with Cudgels, until I fell down as dead: and as I lay in that manner, several stood beating me with their Staves, as I was told, after I was recovered; and when my senses were come unto me, it was laid upon me to speak to the People in Love... and desired that the Lord might not lay it to their charge; for which several of them fell upon me again, and

¹⁷⁵ Thomas Clarke, *The Voice of Truth uttered forth against Barbados*, p. 5.

beat me, and punched me with their Sticks very much, and so continued following of me for a good space on my way.¹⁷⁶

From his cell in the “Common Prison in Barbados, 11th. 2d. Month, 1661,” Clarke wrote how when news of the Restoration had reached the island, Matthew Gray, parish priest for St Lucy’s, had shook his whip at him, saying “Tom, you must come no more to my Church, for now (said he) we have got a King.” Clarke’s provocations of another minister, Thomas Manwaring of Speightstown, prompted the divine to threatened Clarke that he would “have a Law made to cut off my Ears”¹⁷⁷ — likely a reference to the public chastisement in Boston of Barbados Quaker John Rous during his mission trip of 1657. The restoration of Charles II to the throne made many Englishmen at home and abroad feel that the disorder and lack of deference to authority that had prevailed during the Civil War and Cromwellian era had finally come to a close.

But many Friends also declared themselves relieved by the Restoration of Charles II, and hoped to temper their own members’ anti-authoritarian displays, most dramatically by publishing a Peace Testimony to assuage fears that Friends would rise up like the Fifth Monarchists. Trying to temper the mutinous disorder of Separatists, Quaker leaders imposed rules and instructions that would help settle the group into a legitimate denomination. Fox and other British leaders worked to “settle” the sect into a denomination from the late 1650s and into the Restoration era by means of discipline, setting out rules for proper behavior, watching and admonishing others who did not live up to rules, and finally, purging undesirables who would not submit to authority. Despite some resistance to the monthly meeting structure that Fox and his affiliates advocated (especially the independence given to women), monthly meetings were

¹⁷⁶ Clarke, *Voice of Truth*, pp. 5-6.

¹⁷⁷ *Ibid.*, p. 6.

established in Barbados by the mid-1670s.¹⁷⁸ London leaders worked to eliminate Dark Spirits who brought dissent to their ranks, and discouraged over-zealous individuals from confronting ministers or prophesying in public. Instead, they tried to channel remonstrance into sober, reasoned petitions to the King and his officials and ministers when they allowed wickedness to thrive or persecuted Friends, perhaps misunderstanding their well-intentioned attempts to build a more godly society. In Barbados, Lewis Morris was one of six leading local Friends that Fox appointed “to hold a Correspondency wth all ye Governors, Major Generalls, Judges & Justices in America” to represent the group’s grievances to civil authorities – especially the Society’s desire to find ways to conduct legal business without swearing oaths. Fox emphasized that these protests be made only through lawful channels, and “in all things be gentle wth out any provoking words, for ye Lamb must have ye Victory, for ye Lamb of God must be gentle.”¹⁷⁹

Since authority in Quakerism’s emerging theology was thought to emanate not from worldly leaders – even those as weighty as Fox and Penn – but from the “unity of the Spirit,” authority took on a different tone among Friends. In practice, though, ideas of the common good were swayed heavily by Quaker leaders.¹⁸⁰ After all, Fox’s preached his sermon on “Gospel Family-Order” at a Men’s Meeting at the home of wealthy planter Thomas Rous, and ordered those patriarchs in attendance to take final

¹⁷⁸ Six women’s meetings on the island, supervised by Ralph Fretwell, received in 1677 “some Serviceable books for the Incouraging of our Women, or Womens Meetinge, which meeting have a good Service in this place...” Letter from R. Fretwell to Rebecka [Travers] 10.30.1677, LSF, Box Meeting MSS, No. 35.

¹⁷⁹ Haverford Special Collections, Richardson MSS, pp. 112-13.

¹⁸⁰ In 1693, Barbados governor James Kendall alleged that Quakers Jacobites and papists in masquerade subject to Wm Penn, “who governs them as absolutely as the King of France does his miserable subjects.” (PRO, CO 28/2, No. 22). James Walvin notes that even on a local level, “Quaker business was from the first dominated by the more prosperous, as poorer Friends lacked the time, opportunity, or necessary social skills to involve themselves in such time-consuming and demanding activities” (p. 30).

responsibility for those in their household. But the group's ethos was that of the ideal collectivity, equal-opportunity democracies of monthly and six-week meetings for both men and women. The collective was seen as a more certain way to preserve order and fidelity to the group than relying on prominent individuals to guide the Society's decisions.¹⁸¹ Disciplining the group was arranged in such a way to mirror Quaker theology, and wills written by Barbados patriarchs and matriarchs clearly illustrate the anxiety and discipline Friends felt that they must maintain in their households, lest their subordinates' sins reflect on themselves.

In Barbados wills, discipline of individual family members was undertaken with the support and participation of the larger community of Friends. In the most typical Quaker wills, a group of three to six established Friends (usually men, although widows and sometimes mothers and close female relatives played a part), were named as guardians of minor children as well as managers of the estate. Many times wills included language stipulating that guardians should "use their utmost care and diligence to bring up my children and that they be educated in the Fear of the Lord with good profitable learning and bound apprentice..."¹⁸² Patriarchs like Ralph Weeks, surgeon of St Philips, demanded that his children respect their guardians as they would himself, writing "it is my fatherly charge & command to all my Children... [to] walke in

¹⁸¹ Captain Henry Gallop of St Joseph (d. 1680) seemed unusual in his dedication to the Quaker collectivity, choosing his children's guardians because they were "in the same faith and Judgment as I am in now." However, he warned those same executors that if any of them "should turn from that which they now profess or should suffer they or my children to transgress the commandments of the Lord whereby the Lord is dishonored," they might be excluded, and if all were to die or turn apostate, "then in such case I desire men and women friends of the Spring Meeting to take the whole and sole care of all my children..." (BDA, RB6/15, 104-10).

¹⁸² Will of Hugh Hall (d. 1698), BDA, RB6/1, 1-4.

truth & that they regaurd and follow ye Christian advice & commands of yr Guardians.”¹⁸³

Some Friends built in procedures similar to Quaker disciplinary practice for what might happen if children were *not* respectful or obedient, especially if they began to “incline to whoredome or drunkenness or cursing or swearing or gaming or such like wickedness...”¹⁸⁴ Dr. Henry Byrch and his wife Temperance had already raised their three children in the fear of God, and set aside part of their estate to make sure grandchildren Temperance and Hannah Newport would receive the same “Christian Educacon [sic] according to ye plain way of ye People of God called Quakers.” But perhaps because of unknown problems with his grandson Richard Byrch, the elderly Dr. Byrch stated clearly that “in case any of my said children shall be so presumptive and disobedient as to give their mother any trouble,” executors were to revoke their bequests, “unless such child or children who shall offend in this particular shall within two months after ye offence committed obtaine a Certificate under ye hands and seale of their sd: mother attested by two or more credible witnesses that she hath remitted or forgiven such disobedience.”¹⁸⁵

Recognizing that substantial wealth was also a substantial temptation, executors were especially diligent in finding ways to maintain “love and unity” among family members who might disagree over the deceased patriarch’s partitioning of his wealth.

¹⁸³ Will of Ralph Weeks (d. 1700), BDA, RB6/43, 130-32. Robert Gretton, gentleman of St Michaels (d. 1674), called on his children to respect their chosen guardians “as they will answer ye contrary before the great God at ye great day of accounting for all things done upon earth...” (BDA, RB6/9, 195-200).

¹⁸⁴ Will of Capt. Henry Gallop (d. 1680), BDA, RB6/14, 104-10.

¹⁸⁵ Will of Henry Byrch (d. 1710), BDA, RB6/5, 411-16. Byrch essentially cut grandson Richard out of the will, allowed to receive only five pounds current money, “in full satisfacon of all manner of Claimes and demands whatsoever.” Richard also had to legally revoke his claim to more of the estate, in writing, to even claim the five pounds due to him.

Instructions to this effect followed Quaker ideals of arbitration by committee and the duty to obediently accept the “general Spirit.”¹⁸⁶ Here again, disobedience to the wisdom of the elders had financial consequences: James Thorpe of St James stipulated that “in case any difference should arise by reason of any ambiguity or doubt in any word or clause therein contained, I doe hereby referr the finall and full determination thereof to my abovesaid friends,” and warned family members who might be unhappy with their share of the estate that “whosoever... shall not stand & abide by their final Determination and Judgments shall forever loose [sic] all benefit or claime to all or any thing bequeathed to him or them...”¹⁸⁷

Children were likely to rebel against patriarchal discipline, and Quaker testators struck back. Barbados merchant Henry Feak’s will gives remarkable detail, providing a window into the methods of godly discipline that must have plagued many patriarchs like him in Barbados. Instead of bequeathing his estate to only son Frederick Feake (or even dividing the estate among his son and two married daughters Fidelia Pulman and Henrietta Knight), Henry unequivocally disowned Frederick “from receiving or having all or any part of my Estate more than what I have...given and appointed unto him.” Beyond the standard marker of disownment (five pounds current money) Henry’s other bequests—“my large eschulchion [sic] of arms, my two seales of arms... one of silver the other of steel... the gold buckles I usually wered [sic] in my shirt, my large bible in folio,

¹⁸⁶ Robert Gretton, gentleman of St Michaels, desired that his executors would “take upon them the authority of arbitrating and settling” any differences regarding his sizeable estate, consisting of a 50 acre plantation in St Michael worked by 35 slaves and a merchandizing house on Cheapside in Bridgetown, in order that “if possible love and unity may be preserved amongst them....” (BDA, RB6/9, 195-200).

¹⁸⁷ Will of James Thorpe (d. ca. 1694-1695), BDA, RB6/11, 272-75. Planter Thomas Earle of Christ Church (d. ca. 1683-1687), directed his executors to see his will “well performed for the good of my children and there may be no diferance [sic] arise amongst them” (BDA, RB6/40, 375-76).

my lattin bible in quarto and my brass ring..." — sent a clear message to his prodigal son. These items would serve as constant visual reminders to young Frederick of his father's lessons, oft told but little heeded — though he might have a storied lineage and luxuries like gold buckles and brass rings, he was lacking in the gospel truth, and thereby wealth would also be denied him.¹⁸⁸

Testators used their last, and perhaps most effective, bargaining chip — their control over their estates — to bring children into line. Numerous wills spell out the doom of disownment for disobedient children, revealed by nominal monetary gifts, usually five shillings or five pounds that would give "full [legal] satisfacon of all manner of Claims and demands whatsoever."¹⁸⁹ John Grove similarly used the threat of disownment when he included a "Fatherly charge & command to all my children to be very obedient and dutiful to their mother." He first used a "stick" to discipline those who "fail[ed] therein" (they would see their legacies "Revoak[ed], disannul[ed] &

¹⁸⁸ Henry Feak (d. ca. 1713-1716) has already been highlighted as one of the local Quakers who remembered slaves in his will and followed through with the most dramatic of Fox's suggestions — manumitting three of his slaves Peter, Bess, and Paralie, and providing Peter with the goods necessary for the family's sustenance (BDA, RB6/4, 95-101). The only suggestion of Feake's aristocratic past is found in the *Dictionary of National Biography*, in the entry for Fifth Monarchist leader Christopher Feake (1611-1683), who was the son of Anne [nee Shaw] and Edward Feake, gentleman of Godstone, Surrey. It is tempting to think of Henry Feake as brother or son of this famous radical Protestant (Sir Edward Feake had four children besides Christopher, and the union between Christopher and Jane Mann had produced eight children by 1653), but without corroborating evidence, the connection remains speculative. At the very least, this Barbadian had received a gentleman's education, owning several "Greeke Latin and French books" which he gave to his grandson; the venerable Quaker made sure that even disobedient Frederick's son should receive money (through his mother) "for his maintenance and scholler like education."

¹⁸⁹ John Hunt, a butcher (d. 1681), bequeathed his son John five pounds sterling "and no more because of his disobedience and rebellion against me his father." The wayward youth was also to be cut off from the comforts of "dyet and washing and lodging in my house" immediately after the legacy was paid (BDA, RB6/14, 258-59). Similarly, John Frank of St Michaels (d. 1719), may have been punishing his daughter Mary Cole for some offense when he cut her out with a bequest of only five shillings, "in lue [sic] of her Portion or what she might pretend to claim of mine" (BDA, RB6/4, 571-72). Thomas Sedgewick (d. ca. 1680-1684), wrote his son James totally out of his will, but said his widow Anne "might (if she pleased)" bestow five pounds sterling on their prodigal son, Thomas himself "not being desirous... yt his said son should have any of his Estate, being very stubborn willful and rebellious and a wicked young man" (BDA, RB6/10, 274).

ma[d]e void..."); however, he also implied a "carrot" in the form of an obedience competition, for Grove instructed executors to redistribute any confiscated portion among the "child or children as shall be most obedient & dutifull."¹⁹⁰

Given the high level of persecution and ostracism that Quakers faced in the decades following the 1670s, it is not surprising that their sons and daughters sought marriage within the establishment church as a way to reclaim respectability and avoid additional hardships in their adult lives. Though unapproved marriages and children's disobedience were general issues for seventeenth-century patriarchs, they were especially problematic for Quaker heads of household because of the danger that the entire community might be weakened in numbers, and their wealth appropriated by sinners. Elisha Mellows, already mentioned as putting great power in the hands of executors to manage his family, wished that they might discipline his son, Elisha Jr., whom he suspected may have been "privately or publicly married unto Sarah Leech daughter of John Leech," whose estate adjoined the Mellows'. The elder Mellows clearly disapproved of such a match, decreeing that if they had married, then his son's right to half of their estate should be revoked, and he be turned out of doors, not to have "abode or residence in my dwelling house or any of my plantations without the consent of my wife and the trustees of this my will."¹⁹¹ Elisha the younger may not have contracted marriage to Sarah yet in 1695, but their absence from Anglican church records suggests that perhaps Elisha convinced his mother and the community of Friends to allow their

¹⁹⁰ Will of John Grove (d. 1717), BDA, RB6/4, 151-52.

¹⁹¹ Will of Elisha Mellows (d. 1695), BDA, RB6/11, 68-72. Sanders, *Barbados Baptisms*, 329. Proximity of estates taken from Sarah's father John Leech's 1705 will (Sanders, *Barbados Wills*, iii.207)

union according to Quaker custom.¹⁹² Friends' concern for Elisha would not be quelled, for in June 1709 "Capt. Elisha Mellowes and Sarah Leach his reputed wife" conformed to Anglican law, coming before the minister of St James parish to baptize their daughter Margaret, who had been born 19 January 1708.¹⁹³

Widows of deceased Friends also posed a threat to the community if they were persuaded to "marry out," handing over the wealth of faithful Quakers to undeserving conformists. Warning his wife Anna that "she will answer at the great Tribunal" if she proved unfaithful, merchant Richard Parker Sr. charged her with paying his just debts before "appropriate[ing] my Estate to herself."¹⁹⁴ Thomas Peters of St Lucy gave his wife Olive "full and sole management of... my Estate during the minority of my son Thomas," but watched over her via his chosen overseers, who were to step in if there were signs that she would "imbezill [or] make any willfull wace [waste]... which may be detrimentall to my Son Thomas..."¹⁹⁵ Underlying many of these clauses is the fear that wives might not live up to their vows of fidelity to family and faith after death. Even John Rous was worried about his portion after returning to Barbados after a trip to England to find his father married, "very contrary to my expectation." Advocates of the new union had been urging the elder Thomas Rous "to secure a maintenance to her in case of his death," and John worried about what this augured for his financial future. He begged his mother-in-law Margaret Fell Fox to write "a few lines" her his father, "to advise him to deal fairly and equally by me, and that though my mother be dead, and he

¹⁹² No marriage record for Elisha and Sarah Leech is in evidence, but records for St James parish only begin in May 1693 (Sanders, *Barbados Marriages*, i.389).

¹⁹³ Sanders, *Barbados Baptisms*, 329. Their son, Elisha Mellowes III was a full participant in Anglican rituals, serving as a godparent in 1729 to the son of Margaret and Alexander Lamplee in St Michaels (Sanders, *Barbados Baptisms*, 90). Elisha III had married a woman named Mary, and the two baptized a son, Elisha, June 1736, in St James' parish.

¹⁹⁴ Will of Richard Parker, Sr. (d. 1682), BDA, RB6/12, 234-36.

¹⁹⁵ Will of Thomas Peters (d. ca. 1688-1689), BDA, RB6/41, 167-69.

hath married another, yet that he would be no ways drawn to diminish that which he hath already settled on me." He asked her to take care in how she broached the topic, though, for he noted that she "hath great power over my father, and a fair carriage among Friends, so that she is esteemed by them beyond her worth."¹⁹⁶

Group pressure, surveillance, and economic threats and incentives were the main methods by which Quakers seemed to have tried to implement the discipline that would help their Society grow and thrive and overcome dangerous challenges to their religious system. The same sorts of tactics were part of the larger island societal patterns, as officials used community pressure and surveillance, as well as fines, to avoid danger. Since slave uprisings and foreign invasion were most feared, the Council's 1676 "Act to Prevent the People called Quakers from bringing Negroes to their Meetings, &c.," and related militia laws were instituted when community pressure seemed to have been to no effect. The steepness of the fines was a message to recalcitrant Quakers, threats to end once and for all their disruptive social patterns, or else sacrifice their financial security.

¹⁹⁶ LSF, Box MSS L15. John Rous to Margaret Fox, Barbados, 7.x.1671. Fell Fox's words must have had the desired effect, for Thomas Rous wrote into his will (9 Jul 1677) that his wife was indeed entitled to 1,000 pounds sterling under an agreement put into force on her behalf by a court order by Col. Lewis Morris, Col. Christopher Lynn and Richard Clarke, but that after his death she should make out a legal document acknowledging that the debt had been satisfied, to avoid "debate stiffe or law suits between my exer and my said wife." John Rous, as eldest son, received the lion's share of the estate and was appointed executor, his father claiming he was assured "that my said executor will be very careful in all things" (BDA, RB6/9, 567-70). John's brother Thomas is an interesting point in case – he does not seem to have converted to Quakerism with his father and brother, and in his will identifies much more with his in-laws, the powerful Allyne family. However his instructions about burial belie strong religious principles – he thinks "that it is great vanity to spend... in pompous funeral for the dead..."; when naming slaves who were to be bequeathed to family members, he makes a point to show family links between slave mothers and their children, although ties to men are completely absent; also left 5 pounds sterling to his old servant Phillip Taylor "to buy plate for him and his family to remember me by..." (BDA, RB6/3, 169-73).

These high stakes also required violence, for many Friends still refused to comply. Major-General Timothy Thornhill was so infuriated by Quakers in his militia rolls who cited liberty of conscience that he was heard to storm, "God Damn your Conscience; if I cannot make your Conscience obey, I'll make your stubborn Dogs Back bend." After this outburst, he tied up one offending Friend "Neck and Heels with his own hands, with that Violence and Rage, that almost deprived him of Life." When war with other imperial powers threatened in the 1670s and 80s, military officials thought they could finally eliminate the weakness that Quaker resistance posed. Quakers reported that Thornhill, still frustrated by Friends' noncompliance, greeted the publication of new Articles of War with glee, saying, "that now he had power, and would put them in Execution, and the first time an Enemy appeared, he would hang up the Quakers..."¹⁹⁷

Such demonstrations of violence were still negligible compared to slavery's everyday spectacles of terror, especially the disciplinary measures reserved for the rebels who faced execution and mutilation for their refusal to accept their enslavement. Published reports of the 1675 slave conspiracy informed readers that "after strict and due Examination of the matter of Fact of their Conspiracy, at first Seventeen were found guilty and Executed, (*viz.*) Six burnt alive, and Eleven beheaded, their dead bodies being dragged through the Streets... and were afterwards burnt with those who were burned alive." In the panic and paranoia following this initial sentence, an additional twenty-five slaves were executed,¹⁹⁸ many of them without much in the way of proof, but their

¹⁹⁷ *A short account of the manifest hand of God*, pp. 22-23.

¹⁹⁸ *Great Newes from the Barbadoes*, p. 11-12. See Vincent Brown, "Spiritual Terror and Sacred Authority in Jamaican Slave Society," *Slavery & Abolition* 24,1 (2003):24-53. Brown's article is particularly relevant in this instance, for reports also showed how those watching the execution spectacle resisted this demonstration of spiritual terror: "the spectators observing, cried out to

executions were nevertheless justified, serving as demonstrations of colonial power. Col. Alexander Ruddock, a member of the Barbados Council, had asked dismissively of such spectacles, "What was it for Barbadoes to put twenty or thirty Negroes to Death yearly for Example-sake?" Barbados Friends, whose religious identity had become firmly tied to non-violence, professed horror at Ruddock's cold calculations of the cost of intimidation.¹⁹⁹

However, even Quakers had to have been concerned with these threats of rebellion. Following on the advice of their leaders, Friends may have believed that slaves could only be kept from rebellion by making them into good Christians. Fox's instructions to the several meetings in Barbados suggested that in "Family meetings among your servants... every Master & Mistress warn, & strictly admonish ym from all Plots, & Conspiracies, w^{ch} is out of ye peaceable Truth of God."²⁰⁰ Quakers concerned with bringing slaves into their Christian fellowship, as with their children, used all the varieties of discipline at their disposal to keep sin from running rampant in their households. In keeping with Friends' dedication to loving persuasions as a first line of coercion, many looked to rewards before punishments. The gift of freedom was probably the greatest reward proffered to slaves, but there were also lesser incentives, such as the stability of home and the opportunity for financial security. Thomas Foster added a codicil to his will in 1684 that protected "One Negroe Mann named Ockro, a Smith by Trade" from being considered part of his general estate. Though he stopped short of manumission, Foster promised Ockro that he and "his tooles... [would] belong

Tony [one of the alleged conspirators], *Sirrah, we shall see you fry bravely by and by*. Who answered undauntedly, *If you Roast me to day, you cannot Roast me tomorrow* (all those Negro's having an opinion that after their death they go into their own Countrey" (*Great Newes*, p. 12).

¹⁹⁹ *Hand of God*, 21.

²⁰⁰ Haverford, Richardson MSS, 136-37.

to the Plantacon whereon I now reside dureing his Life.”²⁰¹ Local Friend John Todd offered a similar reward to his slave, “a Negro man by name Hector, a Potter, who for several years past hath been a profitable servant unto me.” Todd hoped that Hector could attain a measure of economic independence by continuing to work after Todd’s death in the plantation pot-works, and directed executors to pay him 20 shillings out of every 20 pounds he earned.²⁰²

But as the issue of holding children to strict religious discipline had proven, Quaker slaveowners knew that attempts at “gentle persuasion” did not guarantee obedience. Bridgetown merchant and apothecary John Smith echoed language of filial fidelity when he wrote in his will that

in case any of my Negroe or Negroes shall disoblige my said wife Sarah Smith that then in such case I do hereby give her full power and authority to dispose or sell or ship off this Island Each and every such negroe or negroes so offending notwithstanding any clause in this my will seeming to the contrary...²⁰³

Similarly, though John Todd allowed Hector the Potter a measure of autonomy, such independence came at the price of a lifelong demonstration of what we today would call a Protestant work ethic.²⁰⁴ Todd warned this talented artisan that if he did not “follow his trade but is negligent, [and] squanders away his time, Then it shall be lawful for my Executors & I do hereby Impower them to sell and dispose of the said Negro Hector...”²⁰⁵ Alice Baynes demanded motherly love and tenderness from her female

²⁰¹ Will of Thomas Foster (d. 1685), BDA, RB6/10, 349-52.

²⁰² Will of John Todd (d. 1687), BDA, RB6/40, 435.

²⁰³ Will of John Smith (d. 1719), BDA, RB6/4, 523-25. Smith also gave his “strict charge” to his daughter Hannah “that her marriage be celebrated according to the method and forme of the said people called Quakers...”

²⁰⁴ Quakerism, like some strains of Puritanism, developed a deep dedication to a “view of ‘the material world of daily toil and daily bread as God’s world in which men were called to do his Will.’ William Penn denounced monasteries where monks practiced ‘a lazy, rusty, unprofitable Self-Denial, burthensome to others to feed their Idleness’” (James Walvin, *Quakers: Money and Morals*, p. 73).

²⁰⁵ Will of John Todd (d. 1687), BDA, RB6/40, 435.

slave “Emblen the elder,” freeing her on the condition that “she doe not depart from the Plantation but looke after her children.” Baynes made no mention of granting freedom to Emblen’s children as well.²⁰⁶

Such clauses indicate that Quakers were doubtful of their slaves’ capacity or will to adhere to Friends’ strict moral principles, and attest to a persistent consideration of slaves as children who needed to be subjected to constant surveillance. Unlike the children of Friends, who could be persuaded to lead a godly life not only for its spiritual benefits, but also its material rewards, slaves had to wait for their figurative riches in the Kingdom of Heaven. Slaveowners could only use financial and social incentives and penalties in a limited way to press the enslaved to bend to their moral authority — slaves were already excluded from that echelon of belonging. In return, we may be sure that most slaves, already shut out of social acceptance, with no right to wages or personal property, probably also ignored their masters’ definition of morality and rejected their thinly-veiled attempts to relegate them to the status of perpetual children. The unfaithful would continue to be disobedient, and their behavior would have to be corrected with a more physical form of discipline — contemporaries knew as well as scholars today that “subjugation by violence or threat of violence... was the only way blacks could be enslaved.”²⁰⁷

Biblical Ambiguities, Incomplete Evangelization, and the Quaker Slavery Legacy

There is no direct evidence, in wills, missionary letters, or elsewhere, that enslaved or free blacks in Barbados ever became full participants in the Society of Friends during the seventeenth century — though we can come to some conjectural

²⁰⁶ Will of Alice Baines (d. ca. 1685-87), BDA, RB6/42, 1-2.

²⁰⁷ Soderburg, pp. 78-79.

assumptions about a few individuals who responded to the evangelization campaign and came to be at least partly accepted as junior members of their Christian fellowship. Likewise, despite Alice Curwen's reproach to one island widow in the 1670s, no further evidence survives to make historians believe that Quakers disciplined one another for not following leaders' dictates about slave evangelization. These silences, combined with an understanding of the larger context of West Indian Friends' early struggles with faith and fortune, can only suggest that racialized attitudes and economic imperatives kept the Society of Friends from carrying their religious ideals to their logical conclusion.

This chapter has offered a contextual analysis of the Quaker movement in the seventeenth century to help explore the possible trajectories of Friends' thoughts about slavery, their mission to evangelize to all unbelievers, and their participation in the growing slave economy in emerging systems of Atlantic commerce. Beginning with the early Quaker movement, a lack of coherent practice and an infusion of particularly free thinkers offered West Indian Friends flexibility in how they lived out their faith. By the 1660s and continuing into the next several decades, the Society of Friends around the Atlantic began to move in a rather more conservative direction, rejecting radical elements from their group and setting norms for theology and practice. The process of settling this once-radical sect into a respectable denomination was an arduous one that required increased attention to unity and discipline.

The Society of Friends' road to respectability required that members with more radical ideas about the full reach of their religion's mission and the corrupting influence of wealth could reveal their feelings of unease to the group, but they could not insist that their own views take precedence over the "unity" of the group. Even in his old age, Fox

continued to exhort Friends in the Americas to persist in their attempts to bring slaves to the Truth. In 1690 he wrote to Friends in the Americas:

Let your light shine among the Indians, and the Blacks and the Whites, that ye may answer the Truth in them... Keep up your negroes' meetings and your family meetings... Take heed of sitting down in the earth and having your minds in the earthly things, coveting and striving for the earth; for... covetousness is idolatry. There is too much strife and contention about that idol... so that some have lost morality and humanity and true Christian charity.²⁰⁸

However, Fox seems also to have recognized that he could only encourage compliance with these ideals, lest they create oppression and division. In 1674, Fox had asked Barbadian Quakers to send him a black youth to show how he might be made a "free man." When West Indians seemed reluctant to follow up on such a provocative request, Fox did not rebuke them for their hesitation, but rather dismissed it, writing "(it is no matter) I did it but to try them..."²⁰⁹ Fox knew that when it came to forging a strong community, he could not be too overbearing—unity had to take precedence over his more radical ideas on African evangelization.

Because of Quaker leaders' ambitions to be part of the world (though perhaps not of it), they also had to perform a certain image of their Society to the outside world—emphasizing "respect for the king, integrity in business relationships, and... adherence to a high moral code of personal interactions." In England, much of the new public image of the Quakers was about toning down ecstatic prophesy and steering women into more conventional roles.²¹⁰ In Barbados, local Quaker leaders who wanted to avoid alienation must have considered it prudent to abide by laws that limited public

²⁰⁸ Braithwaite, *Second Period*, p. 436.

²⁰⁹ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery in America*, p. 7. Drake notes that this comment was only found in 1939, a segment of Fox's personal papers that had not been published—likely another example of later generations of Friends' discomfort with their leaders' ambivalence on slaveholding.

²¹⁰ Mack shows how this concern for respectability moved Friends to consider making conventional gender roles a larger part of their public image, *Visionary Women*, p. 309.

missionizing to the enslaved population, and to advise individuals strongly committed to the project to act with caution. The movement could not afford to have individuals' private convictions turn into public scandals. The denomination's early internal disputes threatened to unsettle the carefully-constructed image that Fox and others wanted to build to protect the Society from external critique. He wrote of the utmost importance of keeping Friends' private disputes from being made public:

For it Ham had covered his Fathers nakedness in private w[he]n he see it, & not have told it his two Brethren w[hi]ch covered him, but have covered him himself Ham had not been curst, & put under to be a Servant of Servants; & therefore take of Judging one another in Publick Meetings... let none of your weaknesses go out into ye World, yt all yo[u]r uncomely parts may be covered w[i]th the seamless garment of Christ.²¹¹

These concerns help historians understand why West Indian Friends may have been reticent about expressing their support for or discomfort with the evangelization of slaves, for if the group could not be unified in their stance, their religious ideology would be shown as weak and could expose them to ridicule at a time when their reputation was rising in society.

Part of this chapter's purpose has been to show the ambiguity of biblical narratives common to Protestant thought in the context of Quaker settlement and the impetus for an evangelical mission to African slaves. Fox's alternate use of the story of Ham's curse as a critique of those who would spread Friends' dirty laundry to the world shows how easily biblical narratives could be manipulated to create support or censure for a particular religious position. William Edmundson's on-the-ground experience working to encourage Quakers to establish meetings among their enslaved laborers came to quite a different reflection on the same biblical story. Having doubtless heard

²¹¹ Haverford Library Special Collections, Richardson MSS, p. 15.

planters refer to the curse of Ham as reasons for their automatic consideration of

Africans as suited for enslavement, Edmundson challenged them to think more deeply:

And what if they were of Ham's Stock, & was to be Servants of Servants? Hath not [that] been fulfilled upon them? And must [that] yoke all wayes rest upon their bodies, or rather be laid upon Ham's Spirit where ever it is? And doth not Christ take away [that] wall of partition [that] made a difference between people & people?²¹²

In a 1676 letter to Friends in Newport, Rhode Island, Edmundson had asked them to reflect on the Golden Rule and “consider w[i]th your selves if you were in ye same Condition as ye blacks are...,” encouraging them to distinguish themselves from other white colonists in living out their faith in a real way. He closed his letter with a piercing rhetorical question: “And many of you count it unlawfull to make Slaves of the Indians... and if so, then why the Negroes?”²¹³ Hypocrisy was the unspoken answer. Many in the West Indies chose to ignore the obvious relevance of the Golden Rule – like Dr. Henry Byrch who, contemplating death, donated twenty pounds sterling to be taken out of his estate each year “for ye Redemption of Captives out of Slavery” (a reference to Christian captives held in Barbary) but seemed oblivious to the parallels between the plight of those captives and the physical or spiritual redemption of the African slaves of his own household – Dickey, Jack, Nancy, Hannah, Nancy Wood, Rose and Isabell – all held in lifelong captivity by Christians.²¹⁴

Was it then, the very clime of the Caribbean, awash with violence and the demands for profit that made living out the Quaker testimony impossible? Contemporary observers believed climate and environment responsible for human

²¹² Haverford Library Special Collections, Richardson MSS, p. 23. This more radical position was preserved not in print, but rather in internally-circulated manuscript epistles, only one in Americas.

²¹³ Haverford Library Special Collections, Richardson MSS, p. 87; Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, p. 10.

²¹⁴ Will of Dr. Henry Brych (d. 1710), BDA, RB6/5, 411-16.

character – Thomas Tryon wrote that despite the abundance of the tropics, virtues of compassion and charity were “Plants that scarce grow in these Islands; nothing thrives here so fast as poysonous Tobacco and furious Pride, sweet Sugar and most bitter ill Nature.”²¹⁵ A determinist conclusion about profitability and corruption is a tempting one, and has become a truism for many who study the Caribbean – in his study of 18th century Tortolan Friends, Quaker historian Charles F. Jenkins concluded:

Quakerism did not, I will not say could not, flourish under the heated shade of the palm tree and the exotic conditions of the tropics. The undermining effects of slave holding, a certain laxity of morals, the apparent necessity of military participation, the temptations of illicit trading, and ease with which wealth was accumulated, and the unhealthfulness of the climate, all combined to weaken the spiritual life and scatter the membership.²¹⁶

But it is important to consider that in seventeenth-century Barbados, though the spiritual life may have been challenged by the easy accumulation of wealth, among certain individuals, moral values did thrive, did matter. The individualistic streak present in Quakerism kept the potential for even the most radical ideas about slavery and equality alive, as some followed the Inner Light of their consciences and try, as best they might, to avoid falling into hypocrisy.

Many chose to withdraw physically from the Caribbean, fearing the region’s reputation for corruption, sin and greed. Many went north to the continental British settlements where the harshness of intensive sugar production was replaced by a wider variety of labors and range of coercive tactics. Col. Lewis Morris was one of those Friends who removed off the island with his slaves, investing his human and material capital to developing large tracts of land in New York near Flushing and an iron works in East Jersey. At his death in 1691, Morris’ substantial holdings included 66 slaves

²¹⁵ Tryon, *Friendly Advice*, p. 77.

²¹⁶ Jenkins, *Tortola, A Quaker Experiment*, p. 5.

valued at 844 pounds sterling.²¹⁷ Other Friends moved to an area along the Elizabeth River in Virginia, then spread out throughout the region, serving as justices and burgesses there.²¹⁸ Some Friends in Barbados turned their gaze towards the Great Experiment of Pennsylvania, where strict adherence to godly dictates would surely produce a blessed end. When Henry Jones moved to Philadelphia from Barbados, he brought his whole family, including his slaves, to improve their Pennsylvania plantation together.²¹⁹ Though Friends in the northern colonies would deal with slavery (or fail to deal with it) in much the same terms as Barbadian Quakers had, in the eighteenth century, it would fall to those Northern Friends to re-examine the question of slavery and begin to develop a coherent religious stance – not only regarding efforts to Christianize enslaved blacks, but to discourage and eventually prohibit slave-ownership among its ranks. In 1696, Barbadian Quakers received a letter from Friends in Philadelphia (Henry Jones was one of two signatories who had formerly resided in Barbados) with a request that slaves no longer be sold to the mainland, concerned that replicating Barbados' reliance on a slave majority economy "may prove prejudicial several ways to us & our posterity."²²⁰ In 1700, the Philadelphia Monthly Meeting voted to stop slave auctions, but also made meetings for blacks separate from those for whites – seventy percent of the Philadelphia Meeting were slaveowners, and would continue to hinder efforts to ban slavery in the Society.²²¹

The evolution of the first two generations of the Barbados community of Quakers suggests a more complex final conclusion. Though Friends were marginalized by their

²¹⁷ Drake, *Quakers and Slavery*, p. 4; Sheridan, *Lewis Morris 1671-1746*, pp. 2-6.

²¹⁸ April Hatfield, *Atlantic Virginia*, p. 126.

²¹⁹ Will of Henry Jones (d. 1688), BDA, RB6/3, 132-37.

²²⁰ Henry J. Cadbury, "Another Early Quaker Anti-Slavery Document," *Journal of Negro History* 27 (1942): 210-15.

²²¹ Soderland, *Quakers and Slavery*, pp. 148, 34.

refusal to conform to state-sponsored religion, West Indian Quakers were also a part of the colonial establishment, and hoped to be more so, godly examples for the whole English nation to follow. They were also the first wave of colonists to use paternalism as a tool of control and profit, hiding the ugly realities of slavery beneath a benevolent façade. Quakers who tried to restyle African slavery as “Captivated Freedom”²²² by advocating for humane treatment and instruction in Christian morality would be copied in the eighteenth century by institutions such as the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel as the only acceptable model of religious evangelization in the English Caribbean.

²²² Tryon, *Merchants, Citizens*, p. 199.

Epilogue: Commerce and Communication in the Caribbean Crucible

While members of the Society of Friends seem to have preferred to move out of the Caribbean, fearing its negative impact on their attempts to live out their faith without greed, cruelty, or hypocrisy, Europeans and Africans continued to flood into the Caribbean, feeding the colonial machines of profit and racial domination.¹ By the turn of the eighteenth century, Iberian dominance was fading, and Northern European competitors for New World wealth settled into their Caribbean holdings. In 1670, the Treaty of Madrid between England and Spain overturned for the first time the fifteenth-century papal ban on Protestant American settlements. Spain not only recognized the legitimacy of English colonies in the Americas, it also conceded Jamaica to its English conquerors. Although Spanish officials had feared the problem of Protestants in the Caribbean for much of the seventeenth century, it would not be until the end of the century that those fears would be matched by any real substance.

Religious conflict increased with Caribbean competition, and also with new forms of commercial cooperation. By mid-century, the Spanish Crown had begun to award its slaving contracts (*asientos*) to Genoese financiers, who subcontracted the business to Northern European agents, and in 1713 the Treaty of Utrecht gave the lucrative *asiento* to the British. With these changes in trade policy, it was only natural

¹ See Lance Grahn, *The Political Economy of Smuggling: Regional Informal Economies in Early Bourbon New Granada* (Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997); and John Jay Tepaske, "Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America," in Daniels and Kennedy, *Negotiated Empires*, pp. 29-41.

that their factors and merchants would take up at least temporary residence in important Caribbean ports. Cartagena's Tribunal of the Holy Inquisition protested the new realities of this multi-ethnic, religiously-pluralistic commercial Caribbean. In April 1672, Cartagena's Tribunal complained to Madrid about the city's significant populations "of different nations and Religion such as the English and the Dutch, who it is understood guard and follow sects contrary to our Holy Roman Catholic faith." Inquisitors tried to invoke their rights to prohibit these foreigners' communication with "Christian Catholics" to avoid "corrupting" the province with heresy.² In this atmosphere of religious suspicion, foreign merchants learned to follow the adaptation strategies they had learned in continental Iberian trade centers — numbers of "spontaneous" conversions recorded in Cartagena's Tribunals continued to rise over the turn of the century. Although the Inquisition supported these performances of conversion and loyalty, they also stepped up efforts to prosecute foreigners who showed any disdain for their brand of orthodoxy, even if those guilty were important trade partners.³ Inquisitors also wrote vociferous protests against local Spanish officials in Cartagena, Havana, and Portobello who were suspected of smuggling or were on especially good terms with foreign merchants. These profit-minded individuals often

² Informaciones recibidas en la ciudad de Madrid concernientes al comercio de negros y a la introducción de herejes que bajo el pretexto de la trata de esclavos, se internan en la provincia de Cartagena de Indias, 1685. AHN, Inq. Lib. 305, f. 474r.

³ In 1707, Inquisitors complained to Madrid about the various "Heresies and blasphemies" practiced by the administrator of the French *asiento*, Monsier La Riu (AHN, Inq. Lib. 305, ff. 606r-611r). In 1716, eight British factors residing in Cartagena to manage the *asiento* were brought before Inquisitors under charges that they had brought in more English administrators to run their business than allowed by law (AHN, Inq. Leg. 1620, Exp. 22).

protected their Protestant partners from the Holy Office's rules and regulations, actions which Cartagena's Tribunal strongly prosecuted.⁴

Inquisitors also seemed concerned about the morality of allowing the *asiento* contract in particular to reside in the hands of heretics. They knew that Jamaica and Curaçao had become warehouses for English and Dutch slave contractors who re-exported Africans to Spanish territories via officially sanctioned and "illicit commerce." Although Africans were supposed to be brought over as "pure gentiles," Inquisitors wrote to Spain in 1691 with their worries that those slaves had been "instructed and taught in the sects of their [Protestant] masters," and that afterwards it would prove "most difficult to persuade their minds to observe Catholic and ecclesiastic rules because their weakness and inclination conforms better to the expansiveness of the heretics' conscience." From these presumed "weak links," Inquisitors feared that Protestantism could later spread to Spanish Creole youths, perhaps even through the milk of enslaved wet nurses. The Jesuits had fallen on hard times in recent years, leaving only five clerics living in the Colegio to "attend (as they had in the past, with apostolic zeal) to the instruction and catechization of the said Negroes." Without their assistance, Inquisitors believed that Africans' religious misinformation would be almost impossible to correct. They contended that bringing in slaves who had even the slightest ideas of Protestantism could only breed disorder and a breakdown of society, especially "in such extensive and far-flung regions, most of them without political or civil order (*vida*)."⁵ At

⁴ One example can be seen in the Tribunal's complaints about the obstacles raised by one governor of Santa Marta to the *comisario's* visitation of a Dutch ship. "Sobre el alboroto puesto por el Gobernador de Santa Marta, para la visita de una embarcaz[i]on," 19 April 1736. AHN, Inq. Lib. 346, no pagination.

⁵ Gomez Suaro de Figueroa and Don Gollathez de Leon y Serras to the Suprema, May 22 1691 (AHN, Inq. Lib. 1019, ff. 324r-325r). The term "vida politica y civil" referred to the urban model that the Spanish believed helped separate civilized city dwellers from vagabonds living in the

least theoretically, commercial ties with Protestant nations would bring not only corruption and the possibility for growth in heresy, but with those evils, a complete breakdown of the religio-social order.

The fears of Protestant “infection” via the enslaved population was based more in paranoia than reality, for as we have seen, most Protestant nationals did little to include their slaves in any sort of Christian fellowship or instruct them in its tenets. Nonetheless, the Protestant-Catholic divide opened significant opportunities for slaves to exercise new forms of juridical protest. Juan de Rada, a slave who had been raised in London and later brought to Cartagena by his master, a factor for the English *asiento*, approached the Tribunal in 1718 contending that “he wished to be Catholic, and live and die in the Catholic Religion.” When asked

what religion he held and observed, he said he had none, nor did he know which his master followed, although [Rada] had gone with him at times to his church (*su chercha o yglesia*), and heard him read, he had never paid attention... [the interpreter said] that although he had endeavored with great care to find out if he had followed some sect or error, he found that he hadn’t followed any, and that he knew such to be the truth, in respect he knew that the English did not take care that the slaves take one, or another religion, nor baptize them, but rather leave them to live as they wish.⁶

Juan de Rada’s appeal to Inquisitors was likely a skillful negotiation of the power of domination through feigned ignorance, one used by generations of enslaved individuals to subvert European tropes of black racial irreligion and ignorance.⁷ Indeed, we find this specific performance being repeated in other parts of the Iberian Atlantic where

untamed countryside. See Landers, “*Cimarrón* and Citizen,” p. 116-17.

⁶ Case against Juan de Rada, natural of the Portuguese Indies, 1718 (AHN, Inq. Leg. 1623, Exp. 2, Causa 24, ff. 139r-140v.

⁷ See Saidiya Hartman, *Scenes of Subjugation*, pp. 56-57.

resident Protestant merchants and Inquisition officials clashed over rights and jurisdictional precedence.⁸

Free and enslaved Africans and Afro-Creoles who lived in Cartagena and other Atlantic entrepôts (more than those isolated in rural plantations) had the opportunity to learn the importance of religious differences between European societies, and how to play one off another to their personal advantage. They found particularly perfect scripts for performance in the late seventeenth-century laws promulgated by the Spanish Crown, offering religious asylum and a chance at freedom to slaves who ran away from “heretic” lands. Beginning as early as the 1660s and peaking after the 1680s, religious refuge laws encouraged religiously-tinged performances throughout the frontiers of the Iberian Atlantic – from Georgia to Florida, Cuba to Puerto Rico, Venezuela to the Yucatan.⁹ In Matthew Restall’s study of the Yucatan, he found

an African named Richard Dobson... [who] fled an abusive owner in Belize in 1800... he appealed to Spanish laws guaranteeing refuge to slaves of the English, adding that he reviled their heretical religious and sought salvation as a ‘true Christian’ – showing that he not only knew about refuge laws but understood that they were technically laws of religious sanctuary.¹⁰

⁸ James Sweet discusses similar complaints by slaves to Inquisition officials of their English masters hindering them from converting or practicing Cath’ism – his research shows that Portugal’s Inquisitorial preoccupation with Anglicanism began only after the early decades of the eighteenth century (*Recreating Africa*, pp. 96-100).

⁹ For scholarship on these laws and their inducements to runaway slaves throughout the Caribbean basin, see Jane Landers, *Slave Society in Spanish Florida*; Matthew Restall, “Manuel’s Worlds: Black Yucatan and the Colonial Caribbean,” in Landers and Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives*; Linda M. Rupert, “Contraband Trade and the Shaping of Colonial Societies in Curaçao and Tierra Firme” *Itinerario* 30,3 (2006): 35-54; Rupert, “Water of Faith, Currents of Freedom: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in Inter-imperial Trade between Curaçao and Tierra Firme,” in Nora Jaffary, ed., *Race, Religion, and Gender in the Colonization of the Americas* (Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007); David M. Stark, “Rescued from Their Invisibility: The Afro-Puerto Ricans of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century San Mateo de Cangrejos, Puerto Rico” *The Americas* 63,4 (2007): 551-86; James Sweet, *Recreating Africa*; John J. Tepaske, “The Fugitive Slave: Intercolonial Rivalry and Spanish Slave Policy, 1687-1764,” in Samuel Proctor, ed., *Eighteenth-Century Florida and its Borderlands* (Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 1975), pp. 1-12; and John Thornton, “African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion” *AHR* 96, 4 (1991): 1101-13.

¹⁰ Restall, “Manuel’s Worlds,” p. 160.

Such laws were not uniformly honored, however, depending on whether Spanish localities had a greater need for free fighters or enslaved laborers – Restall found that slaves escaping from English Belize were often re-enslaved in the Spanish Yucatan.¹¹

In many parts of the Caribbean, however, imperial forces needed loyal fighters (of whatever race or nationality) to obtain the security necessary for profitable trade with the metropole, and religious affiliations often served to bond unlikely allies. By the latter part of the seventeenth century, Spanish officials began to proclaim freedom and provide arms not only to fugitive allies from English territories, but also to maroon communities that had plagued their security for so many years. Priests were called on to serve as intermediaries in peace negotiations between maroon and Spanish leaders, charged with explaining how freedom came at the price of Christian vassalage.¹² In the hinterlands of Cartagena, priests served in the negotiations with the *palenque* of San Basilio in the 1680s, performing the solemn ritual of Christian baptism to help these former enemies establish an uneasy truce. However, the priest's presence in this black settlement allowed him to discover that its well-organized leadership claimed to have been in communication with other maroons in Santa Marta and Panama.¹³

Lines of communication and exchange between maroons and the enslaved populations of Spanish cities linked these communities together and increased the flow of subterranean knowledge. In the 1690s, maroon leaders of the *palenque* Matadure came

¹¹ Ibid.

¹² In negotiations with one *palenque* in the Sierra de Maria mountains in 1693, a church official conveyed that "those who had not been baptized should be baptized, and live forever more in everything as children of the holy Roman Catholic Church... but if contrary to their obligation they separate from their obedience and subjection to the Church and His Majesty they will be punished severely and treated as apostates and rebellious vassals..." (AHN, Inq. Leg. 1598, Exp. 11).

¹³ Olson, "Negros horros," pp. 59-63; Borrega Plá, *Palenques de Negros en Cartagena de Indias*, pp. 30-33, 123-30.

and went from Cartagena to meet with associates of their “nation” in the Santa Clara convent, where one Manuel Arará worked as a domestic slave. There Manuel allegedly was helping his comrades to hatch a plot to take over the city on Holy Thursday, knowing that the Catholic populace would be distracted with the day’s ritual activities.¹⁴ Although African-style alliances and ethnicities shaped hierarchies and culture in the *palenque*, acculturated African Creoles were often better able to help orchestrate sophisticated and subtle acts of resistance that incorporated their knowledge of European religious norms and which capitalized on their own practice of Catholicism as a marker of political loyalty.¹⁵

Despite Inquisitorial efforts to police religious purity, as inter-European legal and illegal trade increased in the Caribbean, religious intolerance and confessional conflicts seemed to be on the wane, and a sense of practical tolerance (or at least religious indifference) flowered with its multicultural commercial exchange. Many groups marginalized by colonial institutions began to voice their resentment for the way that Europeans tried to control their lives under pretext of religious order. One free black, Augustin de Mesa Balcazar, had been sentenced to work at one of Cartagena’s hospitals after being charged with bigamy. Balcazar soon decided to run away, and when he was caught in 1731, he began to slander the Inquisitors and yelled out “that he crapped on the Holy Office! ... all that about Christian law was just a drug – it was better to live in Jamaica, where each one lived in the law he wished.”¹⁶ Jamaica in

¹⁴ Jane Landers, “Contested Spaces: The African Landscape of 17th century Colombia,” Unpublished paper, pp. 7-15.

¹⁵ Jane Landers, “*Cimarrón* and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean,” in Landers & Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. p. 112.

¹⁶ *Relacion de causas de fe, y criminales de los años de 1728 hasta el de 1730* (AHN, Inq. Leg. 1623, Exp. 4, 1731).

particular took on an utopian character for marginalized individuals of all colors. Stuart Schwartz contends that “the Indies, the Turkish dream had been transformed into a pirate fantasy, and the island of Jamaica, under English control since 1655 turned into the equivalent of Constantinople, a metaphorical land of liberty.” The freebooter’s life, with only those laws conceived of by the Brotherhood, appealed to those who chafed at restrictive colonial Christian institutions.¹⁷

This project has provided evidence of the growth of regional negotiations about the meaning and power of religious identity over the course of the seventeenth century. A look forward into the eighteenth century – an era of ever-increasing competition for wealth and colonial control – suggests that these seventeenth-century seeds took root and quickly flowered in the tropics. Although more work is left to be done on this latter era, a glimpse at current scholarship on maritime culture and the African Diaspora show multiple points of connection between religion and inter-imperial modes of resistance among marginal groups who circulated through the urban and maritime centers of the eighteenth-century Atlantic World. Many studies have already recognized the importance of religious refuge laws for slaves entering the Spanish empire; others have cited the anticlericalism and “irreligion” that characterized the maritime Atlantic world. The Caribbean’s rapidly-expanding networks of communication – the very same transportation and trade routes spawned by colonial profit-seekers – served as pathways for marginalized groups to pass on information about the theories and practices of colonial control, and to share strategies of negotiation and resistance. The widespread

¹⁷ See Stuart B. Schwartz’s new monograph, especially the section entitled the “Caribbean Crucible,” Chapter 8, “From Tolerance to Toleration in the Eighteenth-Century Iberian Atlantic World”; quote on pp. 35-36 of the manuscript copy of the forthcoming *In their Own Law: Salvation and Religious Tolerance in the Iberian Atlantic World* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2007); see also Rediker, *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea*.

association throughout the Caribbean between Catholic conversion and freedom from enslavement or escape from prosecution speaks to the thriving Atlantic networks of oral, informal communication. By examining both the roots of these patterns of resistance and communication in the early and mid-seventeenth century and their flourishing at the turn of the eighteenth century, we can come to a fuller understanding of life in the watery frontiers of the Caribbean and Atlantic worlds.

Bibliography

Archival Sources

AGI	Archivo General de Indias (Seville, Spain) Sección Gobierno (Santo Domingo, Santa Fe); Indiferente; Contratación
AGNB	Archivo General de la Nación (Bogotá, Colombia) Sección Negros y Esclavos; Criminales; Reales Cédulas; Residencias
AHN	Archivo Historico Nacional (Madrid, Spain) Sección Inquisición
BDA	The Barbados Department of Archives (Cave Hill, Barbados) Recopied Will Books, Series RB6; RB3
BL	British Library (London, England) Manuscript Collections: Edgerton, Sloane, Stowe, Additional MSS
BNC	Biblioteca Nacional de Colombia (Bogotá, Colombia) Departamento de Manuscritos y Libros Raros
HSC	Haverford Library (Haverford, Pennsylvania, USA) Richardson Manuscript
BNB	British National Archives (Kew) Colonial Office Series
JCBL	John Carter Brown Library (Providence, Rhode Island, USA)
LSF	Library of the Society of Friends (London, England) Box Meeting, Abraham, Spence Manuscripts
NMM	National Maritime Museum (Greenwich, England) Wynne Papers

Published Primary Sources

- Anonymous. *A Continuation of the State of New England... together with an Account of the Intended Rebellion of the Negroes in Barbados*. London, 1676.
- _____. *Great Newes from the Barbadoes, or, A True and faithful account of the grand conspiracy of the Negroes against the English and the happy discovery of the same: with the number of those that were burned alive, beheaded, and otherwise executed for their horrid crimes: with a short discription of that plantation*. London, 1676.
- _____. *A Short account of the manifest hand of God that hath fallen upon several marshals and their deputies: who have made great spoil and havock of the goods of the people called Quakers in the island of Barbadoes for their testimony against going or sending to the militia: with a remarkable account of some others of the persecutors of the same people in the same island, together with an abstract of their sufferings*. London, 1696.
- _____. *Sir Francis Drake Revived, Who is or may be a Pattern to stirre up all Heroicke and active Spirits of these Times, to benefit their Countrey and eternize their Names by like*

- Noble Attempts. Being a Summary and true Relation of foure severall Voyages made by the said Sir Francis Drake to the West-Indies.* London, 1653.
- _____. *Some Memoirs of the First Settlement of the Island of Barbados and other the Carribbee islands with the succession of the governours and commanders in chief of Barbados to the year 1741. Extracted from antient records, papers, and accounts taken from Mr. William Arnold, Mr. Samuel Bulkly, and Mr. John Summers.* Barbados, 1741.
- Andrade, Alonso de. *Vida del venerable y apostolico padre Pedro Claver de la Compañía de Jesús.* Madrid, 1657.
- Besse, Joseph. *A collection of the sufferings of the people called Quakers from the testimony of a good conscience, from the time of their first distinguished by that name in the year 1650, to the time of the Act, commonly called the Act of Toleration, granted to Protestant dissenters in the first year of the reign of King William the Third and Queen Mary, in the year 1689.* 2 vols. London, 1753.
- Burton, Thomas. *Parliamentary Diary, 1656-59.* London, 1828.
- Castilla, Julian de. "The English Conquest of Jamaica: An Account of what happened on the island of Jamaica, from May 20 of the year 1655, when the English laid siege to it, up to July 3 of the year 1656," ed. Irene Wright. *Camden Miscellany* 13 (1923): 1-32.
- Clark, Thomas. *The voice of truth: uttered forth against the unreasonableness, rudenes and deboistnes of the rulers, teachers and people of the island Barbados.* London, 1661.
- Crisp, Thomas. *Babel's builders unmasking themselves: as appears by the following paper from Barbadoes, (promoted by George for his party, and subscribed by eighty two of them).* London, 1681.
- [Curwen, Alice and Thomas]. *A Relation of the Labour, Travail and Suffering of that faithful Servant of the Lord Alice Curwen.* [London], 1680.
- D'Avenant, William. *The Cruelty of the Spaniards in Peru. Exprest by instrumentall and vocall musick, and by art of perspective in scenes, &c. Represented daily at the Cockpit in Drury-Lane, at three after noone punctually.* London, 1658.
- Edmundson, William. *A journal of the life, travels, sufferings, and labour of love in the work of the ministry of that worthy elder, and faithful servant of Jesus Christ.* London, 1715.
- Fell, Lydia. *A Testimony and Warning Given forth in the love of Truth, and is for the Governour, Magistrates & People inhabiting on the Island of Barbadoes; which is a Call to turn to the Lord.* [London?], 1676.
- Fernández, Josef. *Apostolica y penitente vida del V.P. Pedro Claver, de la Compañía de Jesús. Sacada principalmente de informaciones juridicas hechas ante el Ordinario de la Ciudad de Cartagena de Indias...* Zaragoza, 1666.
- Firth, C.F., ed. *The Narrative of General Venables.* London & New York: Longman & Green, 1900.
- Fox, George. *Gospel Family Order, being a Short Discourse concerning the Ordering of Families, both a Whites, Blacks, and Indians.* [London], 1676.
- _____. *Line of Righteousness and justice stretched forth over all merchants, &c.: and an exhortation to all Friends and people whatsoever who are merchants, tradesmen, husbandmen or sea-men, who deal in merchandize, trade in buying and selling by sea or land, or deal in husbandry, that ye all do that which is just, equal and righteous in the sight of God and man...* London, 1661.

- _____. *A collection of many select and Christian epistles, letters and testimonies, written on sundry occasions, by that ancient, eminent, faithful Friend and minister of Christ Jesus, George Fox.* London, 1698.
- _____. *To Friends in Barbados, Virginia, Maryland, New England, and elsewhere.* London, 1666.
- _____. *To the Ministers, Teachers, and Priests (so called, and so stileing your selves) in Barbadoes.* [London], 1672.
- _____. *A Warning to all the Merchants in London, and such as buy and sell: with an advisement to them to lay aside their superfluity, and with it to nourish the poor.* London, 1658.
- Gage, Thomas. *The English-American, his travail by sea and land, or, A new survey of the West-India's.* London, 1648.
- _____. *Some briefe and true observations concerning the West-Indies, humbly presented to his highness, Oliver, Lord Protector of the Commonwealth of England, Scotland, and Ireland.* London, 1654.
- Godwyn, Morgan. *The Negro's and Indians Advocate suing for their admission into the Church...* London, 1680. Godwyn, Morgan. *A supplement to the Negro's and Indian's Advocate...* London, 1681.
- Hakluyt, Richard. *The Principal Navigations, Voyages, Traffiques and Discoveries of the English Nation Made by Sea or Over-land to the Remote and Farthest Distant Quarters of the Earth at Any Time within the Compasse of These 1600 Yeeres.* London, 1589; 1598-1600.
- Las Casas, Bartolomé de. *Tears of the Indians: being an historical and true account of the cruel massacres and slaughters of above twenty millions of innocent people, committed by the Spaniards in the islands of Hispaniola, Cuba, Jamaica, &c.: as also in the continent of Mexico, Peru, & other places of the West-Indies, to the total destruction of those countries / written in Spanish by Casaus, an eye-witness of those things ; and made English by J.P.* London, 1656.
- Ligon, Richard. *A True and Exact History of Barbados: illustrated with a mapp of the island, as also the principall trees and plants there, set forth in their due proportions and shapes, drawne out by their severall and respective scales : together with the ingenio that makes the sugar, with the plots of the severall houses, roomes, and other places that are used in the whole processe of sugar-making.* London, 1657.
- Penn, Granville, ed. *Memorials of the Professional Life and Times of Sir William Penn, Knt., Admiral and General of the Fleet, During the Interregnum; Admiral and Commissioner of the Admiralty and Navy, After the Restoration: from 1664 to 1670.* London: James Duncan, 1833.
- Penn, William. *Judas and the Jews Combined against Christ and his Followers.* London, 1673.
- Perrot, John. *Glorious Glimmerings of the Life of Love, Unity, and pure Joy. Written in Rome Prison of Madmen in the Year 1660. but conserved as in Obscurity until my arrival at Barbados in the year 1662. From whence it is sent the second time to the Lord's Lambs,* by J.P. London, 1663.
- _____. *To the upright in heart, and faithful people of God. Being an epistle written in Barbados the 3d of the 9th month, 1662.* London, 1662.
- Pinder, Richard. *A loving invitation (to repentance and amendment of life) unto all the inhabitants of the island of Barbados before the Lords fore Judgements came upon them,*

- which is seen to be nigh, and which they cannot escape, except fruits meet for repentance...* London, 1660.
- Rich, Robert. *Abstracts of some letters written by Mr. Robert Rich: treating mostly of spiritual matters and here transmitted to posterity and recommended to the sober and serious enquirer for promoting of universal love amongst all sorts of people without respect of persons, parties, or sects.* London, 1680.
- Rivers, Marcellus. *Englands slavery, or Barbados merchandize; represented in a petition to the high court of Parliament, by Marcellus Rivers and Oxenbridge Foyle gentlemen, on behalf of themselves and three-score and ten more free-born Englishmen sold (uncondemned) into slavery: together with letters written to some honourable members of Parliament.* London, 1659.
- Roberts, G. *Impudency and Ranterism Rebuked; and the Quakers Sincerity Vindicated from a most unjust imputation of prevarication, cast upon them by Robert Rich and R. Bacon.* [London], 1670.
- Rous, John. *A warning to the inhabitants of Barbadoes: who live in pride, drunkenness, covetousness, oppression and deceitful dealings; and also to all who are found acting in the same excess of Wickedness, of what Country soever, that they speedily repent...* [London, 1657].
- _____. *New England, a Degenerate Plant... The Truth of which we are Witnesses, (who by their cruel hands have suffered): John Rous, John Copeland (strangers); Samuel Shattock, Nicholas Phelps, Josiah Southwick (Inhabitants).* London, 1659.
- _____. *The Sins of a Gainsaying and Rebellious People.* London, 1659.
- S., I. *A Brief and perfect journal of the late proceedings and success of the English army in the West-Indies, continued until the 24th 1655. Together with some quæries inserted and answered. Published for the satisfaction of all such who desire truly to be informed in these particulars. By I.S. an eye-witnesse.* London, 1655. Reprinted in *Harleian miscellany*. Vol. III. London, 1801-13.
- Sanders, Joanne McRee. *Barbados Records: Wills and Administrations; Baptisms; Marriages.* Reprinted in *English Settlers in Barbados*, CD-ROM. Marcelane, MO: Walsworth Publishing Co., 1980.
- Sandoval, Alonso de. *De Instauranda Aethiopum Salute.* In *Un tratado sobre la esclavitud*, ed. and trans. Enriqueta Vila Vilar. Madrid: Alianza Editorial, 1987, [1627].
- Scott, Samuel Parsons, Charles Sumner Lobingier, and John Vance, eds. *Las Siete Partidas.* Chicago, New York, and Washington: Published for the Comparative Law Bureau of the American Bar Association by Commerce Clearing House, 1931
- Splendiani, Anna María, José Enrique Sánchez Bohórquez, and Emma Cecilia Luque de Salazar. *Cincuenta años de Inquisición en el Tribunal de Cartagena de Indias, 1610-1660: Documentos inéditos procedentes del Archivo Histórico Nacional de Madrid.* 4 Vols. Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 1997.
- Splendiani, Anna María, and Tulio Aristizábal, trans. and ed. *Proceso de beatificación y canonización de san Pedro Claver.* Bogotá: Centro Editorial Javeriano, 2002.
- [J. Taylor], *A Loving and Friendly Invitation to all Sinners to Repent, and a warning to all backsliders to return unto the Lord, while they still have Time and Space given them, With a brief Account of the latter part of the Life of John Perrot, and his end, &c.* (London, 1683

- Thurloe, John. *A Collection of the State Papers of John Thurloe, secretary, first, to the Council of State, and afterwards to the two Protectors, Oliver and Richard Cromwell*. London, 1742.
- Tryon, Thomas [Philotheos Physiologus]. *Friendly Advice to the Gentlemen-Planters of the East and West Indies*. In *Three parts*. I. *A brief treatise of the most principal fruits and herbs that grow in the East & West Indies giving an account of their respective virtues both for food and physick, and what planet and sign they are under. Together with some directions for the preservation of health and life in those hot climates*. II. *The complaints of the negro-slaves against the hard usage and barbarous cruelties inflicted upon them*. III. *A discourse in way of dialogue, between an Ethiopian or Negro slave, and a Christian that was his master in America*. [London], 1684.
- _____. *The Merchant, Citizen and Country-man's Instructor: or, a necessary companion for all people. Containing, I. Directions to planters of sugar... XX. Other notable and curious subjects ...* London, 1701.
- Whistler, Henry. "A Jornal of a Voaidg from Stokes Bay: and Intended by Gods assistant for the West Inga." Transcribed in *The Narrative of General Venables*. Appendix E. Pp. 144-169.
- Wright, Irene. "The Spanish resistance to the English Occupation of Jamaica, 1655-1660." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*. 4th Ser., Vol. XIII. Pp. 117-147.
- _____. "Spanish Narratives of the English Attack on Santo Domingo 1655," *Camden Miscellany* XIV (1926). Pp. 1-80.

Secondary Sources

- Abrahams, Peter W. and Julia A. Parsons. "Geophagy in the Tropics: A Literature Review." *The Geographical Journal* 162,1 (1996): 63-72.
- Abulafia, David "Mediterraneans." In *Rethinking the Mediterranean*, ed. William V. Harris, 64-93. Oxford University Press, 2005.
- Adorno, Rolena. *Guaman Poma: Writing and Resistance in Colonial Peru*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.
- Alberro, Solange. *La Actividad del Santo Oficio de la Inquisición en Nueva España, 1571-1700*. Mexico City: Instituto Nacional de Antropología e Historia, 1981.
- _____. "Juan de Morga and Gertrudis de Escobar: Rebellious Slaves." In David G. Sweet and Gary B. Nash, eds. *Struggle and Survival in Colonial America*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1981. Pp. 165-88.
- Álvarez Alonso, Fermina. "Herejes ante la Inquisición de Cartagena de Indias." *Revista de la Inquisición* 6 (1997): 239-59.
- Álvarez Alonso, Fermina; Paulino Castañeda Delgado; Juan Pérez de Tudela y Bueso. *La Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias durante el siglo XVII*. Madrid: Fundación Universitaria Española, 1999.
- Amussen, Susan Dwyer. *An Ordered Society: Gender and Class in Early Modern England*. New York: Columbia University Press, 1993.
- Andrews, Charles M. *The Colonial Period of American History*, 3 vols.; Kenneth R. Andrews, *The Spanish Caribbean: Trade and Plunder 1530-1630*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1978.
- Andrews, Kenneth R. *Trade, Plunder and Settlement: Maritime enterprise and the genesis of the British Empire, 1480-1630*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.

- Applebaum, Robert and John Wood Sweet, eds. *Envisioning an English Empire: Jamestown and the Making of the North Atlantic World*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2005.
- Appleby, John C., Karen Ordahl Kupperman, and Mandy Banton, eds. *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial: North America and the West Indies, 1574-1739*. New York: Routledge, 2000. CD-ROM.
- Aptheker, Herbert. "The Quakers and Slavery." *Journal of Negro History* 25 (Jul 1940): 331-62.
- Arcienegas, German. *Caribbean: Sea of the New World*. Translated from Spanish by Harriet de Onís. Kingston & Miami: Ian Randle Publishers, 2004 [1946].
- Aristizábal, Tulio. *Iglesias, conventos y hospitales en Cartagena colonial*. Bogotá: Editorial Centro Iberoamericano de Formación, 1988.
- Armitage, David. "The Cromwellian Protectorate and the Languages of Empire." *Historical Journal* 35, 3 (1992): 531-55.
- _____. "The Red Atlantic." *Reviews in American History* 29,4 (2001): 479-86.
- Arrazola, Palenque, *Primer Pueblo Libre de America*. Cartagena: Ediciones Hernandez, 1970.
- Aydelotte, Frank. "Elizabethan Seamen in Mexico and Ports of the Spanish Main." *AHR* 48,1 (1942): 1-19.
- Bailyn, Bernard. *Atlantic History: Concept and Contours*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- Bartels, Emily C. "Othello and Africa: Postcolonialism Reconsidered." *WMQ* 54,1 (1997): 45-64.
- Battick, John F. "A New Interpretation of Cromwell's Western Design." *JBMHS* 34,2 (May 1972): 76-84.
- Beckles, Hilary McD. "English Parliamentary Debate on 'White Slavery' in Barbados, 1659." *JBMHS* 36 (1982): 344-52.
- _____. "A 'Riotous and unruly lot': Irish indentured servants and freemen in the English West Indies, 1644-1713." *WMQ* 47,4 (1990): 503-522.
- Beasley, Nicolas M. "Wars of Religion in the Circum-Caribbean: English Iconoclasm in Spanish America, 1570-1702." In *Saints and Their Cults in the Atlantic World*, ed. Margaret Cormack. Columbia: University of South Carolina Press, 2007.
- Benedict, Philip. "Religion and Politics in the European Struggle for Stability, 1500-1700." In Benedict and Gutman, eds., *Early Modern Europe: From Crisis to Stability*. Newark: University of Delaware Press, 2005.
- Benítez-Rojo, Antonio. *The Repeating Island: The Caribbean and the Postmodern Perspective*. Trans. James Maraniss. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1996.
- Bennassar, Bartolomé. "Un Dialogue Difficile: Les Inquisiteurs et les Marins Protestants de L'Europe du Nord." *Histoire, Économie et Société* 12,2 (1993): 167-75.
- Bennassar, Bartolomé and Lucile Bennassar. *Los Cristianos de Alá: La fascinante aventura de los renegados*. Trans. José Luis Gil Aristu. Madrid: Editorial Nerea, 1989.
- Bennett Herman L. *Africans in Colonial Mexico: Absolutism, Christianity, and Afro-Creole Consciousness, 1570-1640*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 2003.
- _____. "The Subject in the Plot: National Boundaries and the 'History' of the Black Atlantic." *African Studies Review* 43, 1 (2000): 101-24.
- Berlin, Ira. "From Creole to African: Atlantic Creoles and the Origins of African-American Society in Mainland North America." *WMQ* 53, 2 (1996): 251-88.

- Bermudez Bermudez, Arturo E. *Piratas en Santa Marta*. Bogotá: Tipografía Hispana Ltda, 1978.
- Beier, A.L. *Masterless Men: The Vagrancy Problem in England, 1560-1640*. New York: Methuen, 1986.
- Blackburn, Robin. *The Making of New World Slavery: From the Baroque to the Modern*. London & New York: Verso, 1997.
- Block, Ruth. *Rape and Sexual Power in Early America*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 2006.
- Boubacar, Barry. *Senegambia and the Atlantic Slave Trade*. Trans. Ayi Kwei Armah. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Borja Gómez, Jaime Humberto, *Inquisición, muerte y sexualidad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Santa Fe de Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1996.
- _____. *Rostros y rastros del demonio en la Nueva Granada: Indios, negros, judíos, mujeres y otras huestes de Satanás* Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1998. Pp. 262-67.
- Borrego Pla, María del Carmen. *Palenques de Negros en Cartagena de Indias, s. XVII*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1973.
- Bowden, James. *The History of the Society of Friends in America*. New York, Arno Press, 1972.
- Boxer, C.R. *The Church Militant and Iberian Expansion, 1440-1700*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1978.
- Brathwaite, William C. *The Second Period of Quakerism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1961.
- Braude, Benjamin. "The Sons of Noah and the Construction of Ethnic and Geographical Identities in the Medieval and Early Modern Periods." *WMQ* 54,1 (1997): 103-42.
- Braudel, Fernand. *The Mediterranean and the Mediterranean World in the Age of Philip II*. 2 vols. Trans. Siân Reynolds. New York: Harper & Row, 1972 [1964].
- Breen, T.H. and Stephan Innes. "Myne Own Ground": *Race and Freedom on Virginia's Eastern Shore, 1640-1676*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1980.
- Bridenbaugh, Carl and Roberta. *No Peace Beyond the Line: The English in the Caribbean, 1624-1690*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1972.
- Brinegar, L. Brett. "Radical Politics and Civil Disobedience: Quaker Resistance in Seventeenth Century Bridgetown." *JBMHS* 49 (2003): 150-66.
- Brito González, Alexis D. *Los Extranjeros en las Canarias Orientales en el siglo XVII*. Las Palmas: Ediciones del Cabildo de Gran Canaria, 2002.
- Brooks, George E. *Eurafricans in Western Africa: Commerce, Social Status, Gender, and Religious Observance from the Sixteenth to the Eighteenth Centuries*. Athens: Ohio University Press, 2003.
- _____. "The Observance of All Souls' Day in the Guinea-Bissau Region: A Christian Holy Day, an African Harvest Festival, an African New Years' Celebration, or All of the Above(?)" *History in Africa* 11 (1984):1-34.
- Brown, Kathleen. *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia*. Chapel Hill & London: University of North Carolina Press for the Omohundro Institute of Early America, 1996.
- Burns, Kathryn. *Colonial Habits: Convents and the Spiritual Economy of Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press 1999.
- Butler, Jon. "Magic, Astrology, and the Early American Religious Heritage." *AHR* 84 (1979): 317-346.

- Cadbury, Henry J. "186 Barbados Quakeresses in 1677." *JBMHS* 9 (1941-42): 195-97.
- _____. "Another early Quaker anti-slavery document." *Journal of Negro History* 28 (1942): 210-15.
- _____. "Barbados Quakers, 1683-1761: a preliminary list" *JBMHS* 9 (1941-42): 29-31.
- _____. "Glimpses of Barbados Quakerism, 1676-79." *JBMHS* 20, 2 (Feb 1953): 67-70.
- _____. "Negro Membership in the Society of Friends." *Journal of Negro History* 21 (Apr 1936): 151-213.
- _____. "Quaker records at a meeting of the midwives in Barbadoes II. XII. 1677," *JBMHS* 24,3 (1957): 133-34.
- _____. "Quakers in Barbados in 1687." *JBMHS* 34,1 (May 1971): 53-57.
- Cahill, David. "Popular Religion and Appropriation: The Example of Corpus Christi in Eighteenth-Century Cuzco." *Latin American Research Review* 31, 2 (1996): 67-110.
- Campbell, Mavis C. *The Maroons of Jamaica, 1655-1796: A History of resistance, collaboration and betrayal*. Trenton, N.J.: Africa World Press, 1990.
- Cañizares-Esguerra, Jorge. *How to Write a History of the New World: Histories, Epistemologies, and Identities in the Eighteenth-century Atlantic World*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2001.
- _____. *Puritan Conquistadors: Iberianizing the Atlantic, 1550-1700*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2006.
- Canny, Nicolas. *Kingdom and Colony: Ireland in the Atlantic World, 1560-1800*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1988.
- Carroll, Kenneth L. "Early Quakers and 'Going Naked as a Sign.'" *Quaker History* 67,2 (1978): 83-89.
- _____. "George Fox and Slavery." *Quaker History* 86,2 (1997): 16-25.
- _____. *John Perrot: Early Quaker Schismatic*. London, Friends' Historical Society, 1971.
- Cassá, Roberto. *Historia Social y Económica de la República Dominicana*. Santo Domingo: Alfa y Omega, 1998.
- Castañeda Delgado, Paulino; Pilar Hernández Aparicio and René Millar Carvacho. *La Inquisición de Lima*. 3 Vols. Madrid: Editorial Deimos, 1989-1998.
- Castillo Mathieu, Nicolas del. *Esclavos Negros en Cartagena y sus Aportes Léxicos*. Bogotá: Instituto Caro y Cuervo, 1982.
- Ceballos Gómez, Diana Luz. *Hechicería, brujería e inquisición en el Nuevo Reino de Granada: Un duelo de imaginarios*. Bogotá: Universidad Nacional, 1992.
- Ciappara, Frans. *Society and the Inquisition in Early Modern Malta*. San Gwann (Malta): Publishers Enterprises Group, Ltd., 2000.
- Clendinnen, Inga. *Ambivalent Conquests: Maya and Spaniard in Yucatan, 1517-1570*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1987.
- Cohen, Charles L. "The Post-Puritan Paradigm of Early American Religious History." *WMQ* 54,4 (1997): 695-722.
- Colley, Linda. *Captives: Britain, Empire, and the World, 1600-1850*. New York: Random House, 2002.
- Cope, Douglas R. *The Limits of Racial Domination: Plebeian Society in Colonial Mexico City, 1660-1720*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1994.
- Craib, Raymond B. "Cartography and Power in the Conquest and Creation of New Spain." *Latin American Research Review* 35, 1 (2000): 7-36.
- Crawford, Patricia. *Women and Religion in England, 1500-1720*. London: Routledge, 1993.

- Croft, Pauline. "Englishmen and the Spanish Inquisition, 1558-1625." *English Historical Review* 87,343 (1972): 249-68.
- Cundall, Frank and Joseph Luckert Pietersz. *Jamaica under the Spaniards, abstracted from the archives of Seville*. Kingston: Institute of Jamaica, 1919.
- Daaku, Kwame Yeboa. *Trade and Politics in the Gold Coast: A Study of the African Reaction to European Trade*. London: Clarendon Press, 1970.
- Dailey, Barbara Ritter. "The Early Quaker Mission and the Settlement of Meetings in Barbados, 1655-1700." *JBMHS* 39 (1991): 24-46.
- Darnton, Robert. *The Great Cat Massacre and Other Episodes in French Colonial History*. New York: Vintage Books, 1985.
- Dash, J. Michael. *The Other America: Caribbean Literature in a New World Context*. Charlottesville: University Press of Virginia, 1998.
- Davies, Adrian. *The Quakers in English Society, 1655-1725*. Oxford: Clarendon Press, 2000.
- Davis, Natalie Zemon. *Fiction in the Archives: Pardon tales and their tellers in sixteenth-century France*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1987.
- . "From 'Popular Religion' to Religious Cultures." In *Reformation Europe: A Guide to Research*, ed. Steven Ozment, 321-42. St. Louis, MO: Center for Reformation Research, 1982.
- . *The Return of Martin Guerre*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1983.
- . *Trickster Travels: A Sixteenth-century Muslim Between Worlds*. New York: Hill & Wang, 2006.
- . *Women on the Margins: Three Seventeenth-Century Lives*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1995.
- Davis, Robert C. *Christian Slaves, Muslim Masters: White Slavery in the Mediterranean, the Barbary Coast, and Italy, 1500-1800*. New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2003.
- Dayfoot, Arthur Charles. *The Shaping of the West Indian Church, 1492-1962*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 1999.
- Denings, Greg. "Texts of Self." In *Through a Glass Darkly: Reflections on Personal Identity in Early America*, ed. Ronald Hoffman, Mechal Sobel and Frederika Teute. Chapel Hill: Omohundro Institute and University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Díaz, María Elena. "Beyond Tannenbaum" *Law and History Review* 22,2 (2004): 339-88.
- . *The Virgin, the King, and the Royal Slaves of El Cobre: Negotiating Freedom in Colonial Cuba, 1670-1780*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 2000.
- Ditz, Toby. "Secret Selves, Credible Personas: The Problematics of Trust and Public Display in the Writing of Eighteenth-Century Philadelphia Merchants." In *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George. Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Dean, Carolyn. *Inka Bodies and the Body of Christ: Corpus Christi in Colonial Cuzco, Peru*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 1999.
- Demos, John. *The Unredeemed Captive: A Family Story from Early America*. New York: Knopf, 1994.
- Denbow, James. "Heart and Soul: Glimpses of Ideology and Cosmology in the Iconography of Tombstones from the Loango Coast of Central Africa." *Journal of American Folklore* 112,445 (1999): 404-423.
- Domínguez Ortiz, Antonio. *The Golden Age of Spain, 1516-1659*, trans. James Casey. New York: Basic Books, 1971.

- Donoghue, John. "Unfree Labor, Imperialism, and Radical Republicanism in the Atlantic World, 1630-1661." *Labor: Studies in Working-Class History of the Americas* 1,4 (2004): 47-68.
- Dorta, Enrique Marco. *Cartagena de Indias: Puerto y plaza fuerte*. Bogotá: Fondo Cultural Cafetero, 1988.
- Dousdebés, Pedro Julio. *Cartagena de Indias, plaza fuerte: capítulos de la historia militar de Colombia*. No. 27, Biblioteca del Oficial. Bogotá: Estado Mayor General de las Fuerzas Militares, 1948.
- Drake, Thomas. *Quakers and slavery in America*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1950.
- Dunn, Richard S. *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624-1713*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1972.
- Durham, Harriet Frorer. *Caribbean Quakers*. Hollywood, Fla.: Dukane Press, 1972.
- _____. "Laws of Barbados directed at Quakers 1676-1723." *JBMHS* 34,2 (1972): 73-76.
- Echeverría, Bolívar. *Modernidad, mestizaje cultural, ethos barroco*. Mexico City: El Equilibrista, 1994.
- Eliav-Feldon, Miriam. "Invented Identities: Credulity in the age of prophesy and exploration." *Journal of Early Modern History* 3,3 (1999): 203-32.
- Elliot, John H. *Empires of the Atlantic World: Britain and Spain in America 1492-1830*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press. 2006.
- Escalante, Aquiles. "Palenques in Colombia." In *Maroon Societies: rebel slave communities in the Americas*, ed. Richard Price. Baltimore, MD: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1996.
- Evans, William McKee. "From the Land of Canaan to the Land of Guinea: The Strange Odyssey of the 'Sons of Ham.'" *AHR* 85,1 (1980): 15-43.
- Fajardo Spínola, Francisco. *Las Conversiones de Protestantes en Canarias, siglos XVII y XVIII*. Las Palmas: Ediciones del Cabildo Insular de Gran Canaria, 1996.
- _____. *Las Víctimas del Santo Oficio: Tres siglos de actividad de la Inquisición de Canarias*. Las Palmas de Gran Canaria: Universidad Nacional de Educación a Distancia, 2003.
- Farge, Arlette with Jacques Revel. *The Vanishing Children of Paris: Rumor and Politics before the French Revolution*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1991.
- Featherstone, David. "Atlantic networks, antagonisms and the formation of subaltern political identities." *Social and Cultural Geography* 6,3 (2005): 387-404.
- Finke, Roger, and Rodney Starke, *The Churching of America, 1776-2005: Winners And Losers In Our Religious Economy*. New Brunswick, N.J.: Rutgers University Press, 1992.
- Fletcher, Anthony. "'Men's Dilemma: The Future of Patriarchy in England, 1560-1660.'" *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society*, 6th ser. 4 (1994): 61-82.
- Flynn, Maureen. "Blasphemy and the Play of Anger in Sixteenth-Century Spain." *Past and Present* 149 (1995): 29-56.
- _____. "Taming Anger's Daughters: New Treatment for Emotional Problems in Renaissance Spain." *Renaissance Quarterly* 51 (1998): 864-86.
- Fraser, Antonia. *Cromwell*. New York: Knopf, 1973.

- Frey, Sylvia, and Betty Wood. *Come Shouting to Zion: African American Protestantism in the American South and British Caribbean to 1830*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Friedman, Ellen G. *Spanish Captives in North Africa in the Early Modern Age*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- Fuente, Alejandro de la. "Slave Law and Claims-Making in Cuba: The Tannenbaum Debate Revisited." *Law and History Review* 22,2 (2004): 339-88.
- _____. "Slavery and the Law: A Reply." *Law and History Review* 22,2 (2004): 339-88.
- Fuentes, Carlos. *The Buried Mirror: Reflections on Spain and the New World*. Boston: Houghton Mifflin, 1992.
- Fumerton, Patricia. *Unsettled: The Culture of Mobility and the Working Poor in Early Modern England*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2006.
- Gamboa, Yolanda. "Architectural Cartography: Social and Gender Mapping in María de Zayas's Seventeenth-Century Spain." *Hispanic Review* 71,2 (2003): 189-203.
- Games, Alison. "Atlantic History: Definitions, Challenges and Opportunities" *AHR* 111,3 (2006): 741-57.
- _____. "Opportunity and Mobility in Early Barbados." In *The Lesser Antilles in the Age of European Expansion*. Robert L. Paquette and Stanley L. Engerman, eds. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 1996.
- _____. "'The Sanctuary of our Rebell Negroes': The Atlantic Context of Local Resistance on Providence Island, 1630-1641." *Slavery and Abolition* 19 (1998): 14-16.
- Gaspar, David Barry. "With a Rod of Iron: Barbados Slave Laws as a Model for Jamaica, South Carolina, and Antigua, 1661-1697." In *Crossing Boundaries: Comparative History of Black People in the Diaspora*, ed. Darlene Clark Hine and Jacqueline McLeod, 343-66. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1999.
- Gaspar, David Barry, and David Patrick Geggus, eds. *A Turbulent Time: The French Revolution and the Greater Caribbean*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1997.
- Geertz, Clifford. "Religion as a Cultural System." In *Anthropological Approaches to the Study of Religion*, ed. Michael Banton, 1-41. London: Tavistock Publications, 1969.
- Gerona, Carla. *Night Journeys: The Power of Dreams in Trans-Atlantic Quaker Culture*. Charlottesville and London: University of Virginia Press, 2004.
- Gildrie, Richard P. "Defiance, Diversion and the Exercise of Arms: The several meanings of training days in colonial Massachusetts." *Military Affairs* 52, 2 (1988): 53-55.
- Ginzberg Carlo. *The Cheese and the Worms: The Cosmos of a Sixteenth-Century Miller*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1980.
- Goffman, Daniel. *The Ottoman Empire and Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- Gould, Elijah. "Entangled Histories, Entangled Worlds: The English-Speaking Atlantic as a Spanish Periphery." *AHR* 112, 3 (2007): 764-86.
- Gragg, Larry. *Englishmen Transplanted: The English Colonization of Barbados, 1627-1660*. Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Grahn, Lance. *The Political Economy of Smuggling: Regional Informal Economies in Early Bourbon New Granada*. Boulder, Colo.: Westview Press, 1997.
- Greenblatt, Stephen. *Renaissance Self-Fashionings: From More to Shakespeare*. Chicago & London: University of Chicago Press, 1980.

- Gruzinski, Serge. *The Conquest of Mexico: The Incorporation of Indian Societies into the Western World, 16th-18th Centuries*. Trans. Eileen Corrigan. Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1993.
- _____. *Images at War: Mexico from Columbus to Blade Runner, 1492-2019*. Durham, N.C.: Duke University Press, 2001.
- Hall, Kim. *Things of Darkness: economies of race and gender in early modern England*. Ithaca, NY: Cornell University Press, 1995.
- Handler, Jerome S. "The Barbados Slave Conspiracies of 1675 and 1692." *JBMHS* 36,4 (1982): 312-33.
- Handler, Jerome S., and Robert S. Corruccini. "Plantation Slave Life in Barbados: A Physical Anthropological Analysis." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 14,1 (1983): 65-90.
- Handler, Jerome S., and John T. Pohlmann. "Slave Manumissions and Freedmen in Seventeenth-Century Barbados." *WMQ* 41,3 (1984): 390-408.
- Hanke, Lewis. *Aristotle and the American Indians: A Study in Race Prejudice in the Modern World*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1959.
- _____. *The Spanish Struggle for Justice in the Conquest of America*. Boston: Little & Brown, 1949.
- Haring, Clarence H. *The Buccaneers in the West Indies in the Seventeenth Century*. London: Methuen & Co., Ltd., 1910.
- _____. *The Spanish Empire in America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1947.
- Hartman, Saidiya. *Scenes of Subjection: Terror, Slavery, and Self-Making in Nineteenth-Century America*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1997.
- Hatfield, April. "A 'very wary people in their bargaining' or 'very good merchandise': English traders' Views of Free and Enslaved Africans." *Slavery and Abolition* 25,3 (2004): 1-17.
- Haynes, Stephen R. *Noah's Curse: The Biblical Justification of American Slavery*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2002.
- Herzog, Tamar. *Defining Nations: Immigrants and Citizens in Early Modern Spain and Spanish America*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2003.
- Heyrman, Christine Leigh. *Southern Cross: The Beginnings of the Bible Belt*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1997.
- Higman, B. W. "The Sugar Revolution." *The Economic History Review* 53, 2 (2000): 213-36.
- Hill, Christopher. *God's Englishman: Oliver Cromwell and the English Revolution*. New York: Dial Press, 1970.
- _____. *The World Turned Upside Down: Radical Ideas During the English Revolution*. London: Temple Smith, 1972.
- Holler, Jacqueline. "'More sins than the Queen of England': Marina de San Miguel before the Mexican Inquisition." In *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary E. Giles. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- Horden, Peregrine and Nicolas Purcell. "The Mediterranean and 'the New Thalassology.'" *American Historical Review* 111,3 (2006): 722-40.
- Hsia, R. Po-Chia. *Social Discipline in the Reformation: Central Europe 1550-1750*. New York: Routledge, 1989.
- _____. *The World of Catholic Renewal, 1540-1770*. Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Hulme, Peter. *Colonial Encounters: Europe and the Native Caribbean, 1492-1797*. London & New York: Routledge, 1992.

- Hunter, John M. "Geophagy in Africa and in the United States: A Culture-Nutrition Hypothesis." *Geographical Review* 63,2 (1973): 170-95.
- Incháustegui, J. Marino. *La gran expedición inglesa contra las Antillas Mayores: el plan Antillano de Cromwell (1651-1655)*. Mexico City: Gráfica Panamericana, 1958.
- Isichei, Elizabeth. *A History of Christianity in Africa*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Wm. B. Erdman's, 1995.
- Israel, Jonathan I. *Diasporas within a Diaspora: Jews, Crypto-Jews and the World Maritime Empires, 1540-1740*. Leiden: Brill, 2002.
- James, C.L.R. *The Black Jacobins: Toussaint L'Ouverture and the San Domingo Revolution*. New York: Dial Press, 1938.
- Jenkins, Charles F. *Tortola, A Quaker Experiment of Long Ago in the Tropics*. Supplement No. 13 to the Friends Historical Society, London, 1923.
- Johnson, Walter. "On Agency." *Journal of Social History* 37, 1 (2003): pp. 113-124.
- Johnstone, Nathan. *The Devil and Demonism in Early Modern England*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 2006.
- Jordan, Winthrop D. *White over Black: American attitudes toward the Negro, 1550-1812*. New York: Norton, 1968.
- Juster, Susan. *Disorderly Women: Sexual Politics & Evangelicalism in Revolutionary New England*. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1994.
- Kagan, Richard. *Lucrecia's Dreams: Politics and Prophecy in Sixteenth-Century Spain*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1990.
- Kagan Richard, and Fernando Marias. *Urban Images of the Hispanic World, 1493-1793*. New Haven: Yale University Press, 2000.
- Kamen, Henry. *Inquisition and Society in Spain in the sixteenth and seventeenth centuries*. Bloomington: Indiana University Press, 1985.
- . *The Spanish Inquisition: A Historical Revision*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1997.
- Kamil, Neil. *Fortress of the Soul: violence, metaphysics, and material life in the Huguenots' New World, 1517-1751*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 2005.
- Kea, Ray A. *Settlements, Trade and Politics in the Seventeenth-Century Gold Coast*. Baltimore: The Johns Hopkins University Press, 1982.
- Keitt, Andrew W. *Inventing the Sacred: Imposture, Inquisition, and the Boundaries of the Supernatural in Golden Age Spain*. Boston: Brill, 2005.
- Kiple, Kenneth F. *The Caribbean Slave: A Biological History*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984.
- Klein, Herbert S. "Anglicanism, Catholicism and the Negro Slave." *Comparative Studies in Society and History* 8, 3 (1966): 295-330.
- Klooster, Wim. *Illicit Riches: Dutch Trade in the Caribbean, 1648-1795*. Leiden: KLTLLV Press, 1998.
- Kupperman, Karen O. *Providence Island, 1630-1641: The Other Puritan Colony*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1993.
- Lake, Peter, and Michael Questier. *The Anti-Christ's Lewd Hat: Protestants, Papists, and Players in Post-Reformation England*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Landers, Jane. *Black Society in Spanish Florida*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1999.

- _____. "The Central African presence in Spanish maroon communities." In *Central Africans and cultural transformation in the American Diaspora*, ed. Linda M. Heywood, 227-41. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2002.
- _____. "Cimarrón and Citizen: African Ethnicity, Corporate Identity, and the Evolution of Free Black Towns in the Spanish Circum-Caribbean." In Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson, eds. *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- _____. "Cimarrón ethnicity and cultural adaptation in the Spanish domains of the circum-Caribbean, 1503-1763." In *Identity in the Shadow of Slavery*, ed. Paul E. Lovejoy, 30-54. London & New York: Continuum, 2000.
- Lane, Kris. "Captivity and Redemption: Aspects of slave life in early colonial Quito and Popayán." *The Americas* 57,2 (2000): 225-246.
- Langley, Lester. *The Americas in the Age of Revolution, 1750-1850*. New Haven, Conn.: Yale University Press, 1996.
- Larson, Rebecca. *Daughters of the Light: Quaker Women Preaching and Prophesying in the Colonies and Abroad, 1700-1775*. New York: Knopf, 1999.
- Law, Robin. "Religion, Trade and Politics on the 'Slave Coast': Roman Catholic Missions in Allada and Whydah in the Seventeenth Century." *Journal of Religion in Africa* 21, 1 (1991): 42-77.
- Lea, Henry Charles. *The Inquisition in the Spanish Dependencies: Sicily, Naples, Sardinia, Milan, the Canaries, Mexico, Peru, New Granada*. New York & London: The Macmillan Company, 1908.
- Lepore, Jill. "Historians Who Love Too Much: Reflections on Microhistory and Biography," *JAH* 88,2 (2001): 129-44.
- Lewis, Gordon K. *Main Currents in Caribbean Thought: The Historical Evolution of Caribbean Society in its Ideological Aspects, 1492-1900*. Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1983.
- Linton, Joan Pong. *The Romance of the New World: Gender and the Literary Formations of English Colonialism*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- Lokken, Paul. "A Maroon Moment: Rebel Slaves in Early Seventeenth-century Guatemala." *Slavery and Abolition* 25,3 (2004): 44-58.
- Luna, Lola G. *Reguardos Coloniales de Santa Marta y Cartagena y Resistencia Indígena*. Bogotá: Biblioteca Banco Popular, 1993.
- Lynch, John. *The Hispanic World in Crisis and Change, 1598-1700*. Oxford, UK & Cambridge, Mass.: Blackwell Publishers, 1992.
- Mack, Phyllis. *Visionary Women: Ecstatic Prophecy in Seventeenth-Century England*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1992.
- Mallon, Florencia E. "The Promise and Dilemma of Subaltern Studies: Perspectives from Latin American History," *AHR* 99,5 (1994): 1491-1515.
- Mann, Kristin. "Shifting Paradigms in the Study of the African Diaspora and of Atlantic History and Culture." *Slavery and Abolition* 22,1 (2001): 3-21.
- Marotti, Arthur F. *Religious Ideology and Cultural Fantasy: Catholic and Anti-Catholic Discourses in Early Modern England*. Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 2005.
- Martin, John Frederick. *Profits in the Wilderness: Entrepreneurship and the Founding of New England Towns in the Seventeenth Century*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina, 1991.

- Matar, Nabil. *Britain and Barbary, 1589-1689*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2005.
- Maxwell, Clarence. "Race and Servitude: The Birth of a Social and Political Order in Bermuda, 1619-1669." *Bermuda Journal of Archaeology & Maritime History* 11 (1999): 40-46.
- Maya Restrepo, Luz Adriana. *Brujería y Reconstrucción de Indentidades entre los Africanos y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada, siglo XVII*. Bogotá: Imprenta Nacional de Colombia, 2005.
- McAlister, Lyle N. *Spain and Portugal in the New World, 1492-1700*. Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1984.
- McKnight, Kathryn Joy. "Blasphemy as Resistance: An African Slave Woman before the Mexican Inquisition." In *Women in the Inquisition: Spain and the New World*, ed. Mary E. Giles. Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1999.
- . "Confronted Rituals: Spanish Colonial and Angolan 'Maroon' Executions in Cartagena de Indias (1634)." *Journal of Colonialism and Colonial History* 5,3 (2004).
- . "Gendered Declarations: Testimonies of Three Captured Maroon Women, Cartagena de Indias, 1634." *Colonial Latin American Historical Review* 12,4 (2003): 499-527.
- Medina, José Toribio. *La Inquisición en Cartagena de Indias*. Bogotá: Carlos Valencia Editores, 1978.
- Menard, Russell R. *Sweet Negotiations: Sugar, Slavery, and Plantation Agriculture in Early Barbados*. Charlottesville, VA: University of Virginia Press, 2006.
- Miller, Joseph. *Kings and Kinsmen: Early Mbundu States in Angola*. New York & London: Oxford University Press, 1976.
- Mills, Kenneth. *Idolatry and its Enemies: Colonial Andean Religion and Extirpation, 1640-1750*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1997.
- Mintz, Sidney W. *Sweetness and Power: the place of sugar in modern history*. New York: Penguin, 1986.
- Monter, William. *Frontiers of Heresy: The Spanish Inquisition from the Basque Lands to Sicily*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990.
- Morales Padrón, Francisco. *Jamaica Española*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1952. Reprinted as *Spanish Jamaica*. Trans. Patrick Bryan et.al. Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle Publishers, 2003.
- Morgan, Jennifer. *Laboring Women: Reproduction and Gender in New World Slavery*. Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 2004.
- . "'Some Could Suckle Over their Shoulder': Male Travelers, Female Bodies, and the Gendering of Racial Ideology, 1500-1770." *WMQ* 54, 1 (1997): 167-192.
- Morgan, Ronald J. "Heretics by Sea, Pagans by Land: St. Rosa de Lima and the Limits of Criollismo in Colonial Peru." In *Spanish American Saints and the Rhetoric of Identity, 1600-1800*. Tuscon: University of Arizona Press, 2002. Pp. 67-97.
- . "Jesuit Confessors, African Slaves and the Practice of Confession in Seventeenth-Century Cartagena." In Katherine Jackson Lualdi and Anne T. Thayer, eds. *Penitence in the Age of Reformations*. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2000. Pp. 222-39.
- Morrill, John. "The Religious Context of the English Civil War." *Transactions of the Royal Historical Society* 5th ser., 34 (1984): 155-178.

- Moscoso, Francisco. "Formas de resistencia de los esclavos en Puerto Rico siglos XVI-XVIII." *América Negra* 10 (Dec 1995): 31-46.
- Mujica Pinilla, Ramón. *El Barroco Peruano*. Lima: Banco del Crédito, 2003.
- Mundy, Barbara E. *The Mapping of New Spain: Indigenous Cartography and the Maps of the Relaciones Geograficas*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2000.
- Navarrete, María Cristina. *Historia social del negro en la colonia: Cartagena, siglo XVII*. Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, 1995.
- _____. "La mujer bruja en la sociedad colonial: El caso de Paula de Eguiluz." In *Mujeres latinoamericanas: historias y cultura siglos XVI al XIX*, ed. Luisa Campuzano, Vol. 1, 69-78. Havana: Casa de las Américas; Mexico City: Universidad Autónoma Metropolitana-Iztapalapa, 1997.
- _____. *Prácticas religiosas de los negros en Colombia: Cartagena siglo XVII*. Cali, Colombia: Universidad del Valle, 1995.
- _____. "La vida cotidiana de los esclavos en Cartagena." *América Negra* 7 (1997).
- Newton, Arthur Percival. *Colonizing Activities of the English Puritans: The Last Phase of the Elizabethan Struggle with Spain*. New Haven, CT: Yale University Press, 1966.
- _____. *The European Nations in the West Indies, 1493-1688*. London: A&C Black Ltd., 1933.
- Noonan, Kathleen M. "'The Cruell Pressure of an Enraged, Barbarous People': Irish and English Identity in Seventeenth-Century Policy and Propaganda." *The Historical Journal* 41, 1 (1998): 151-177.
- Olsen, Margaret M. "Negros horros and Cimarrones on the legal frontiers of the Caribbean: Accessing the African Voice in Colonial Spanish American Texts." *Research in African Literatures* 29,4 (1998): 52-72.
- _____. *Slavery and salvation in colonial Cartagena de Indias*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2004.
- O'Malley, John. *Trent and All That: Renaming Catholicism in the Early Modern Era*. Cambridge: Harvard University Press, 2000.
- Osborne, Francis J. *History of the Catholic Church in Jamaica*. Chicago: Loyola University Press, 1988.
- Pagden, Anthony. *The Fall of Natural Man: The American Indian and the Origins of Comparative Ethnology*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1982.
- Palmer, Colin A. *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570-1650*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1976.
- Parry, J.H. *The Age of Reconnaissance*. Berkeley: University of California Press, 1963.
- _____. *The Spanish Seaborne Empire*. London: Hutchinson & Co., 1966.
- Peñas Galindo, David Ernesto. *Los Bogas de Mompox: Historia del zambaje*. Bogotá: Tercer Mundo Editoriales, 1998.
- Pestana, Carla. *The English Atlantic in an age of revolution, 1640-1661*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2004.
- _____. *Quakers and Baptists in Colonial Massachusetts*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Pietersz, J. L. and H.P. Jacobs, ed. and trans. "Two Spanish Documents of 1656." *Jamaican Historical Review* 2, 2 (1952): 11-35.
- Pincus, C.A. *Protestantism and Patriotism: Ideologies and the Making of English Foreign Policy, 1650-1668*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1996.

- Prager, Carolyn. "Early English Transfer and Invention of the Black in New Spain." In Jerry M. Williams & Robert E. Lewis, eds. *Early Images of the Americas: Transfer and Invention*. Tuscon: Univ of Arizona Press, 1993. Pp. 93-107.
- Rabb, Theodore K. *The Struggle for Stability in Early Modern Europe*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1975.
- Raboteau, Albert. *Slave Religion: the 'invisible' institution in the Antebellum South*. New York: Oxford University Press, 1978.
- Rawlings, Helen. *Church, Religion and Society in Early Modern Spain*. New York: Palgrave, 2002.
- Reay, Barry. "The Social Origins of Early Quakerism." *Journal of Interdisciplinary History* 11,1 (1980): 55-72.
- Rediker, Marcus. *Between the Devil and the Deep Blue Sea: Merchant Seamen, Pirates and the Anglo-American Maritime World, 1700-1750*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989.
- Rediker, Marcus and Peter Linebaugh. *The Man-Headed Hydra: Sailors, Slaves, Commoners and the Hidden History of the Revolutionary Atlantic*. Boston: Beacon Press, 2000.
- Reinhart, Wolfgang. "The Counter-Reformation and the Early Modern State: A Reassessment." In *The Counter-Reformation: The Essential Readings*, David M. Luebke. Oxford: Blackwell Publishers, 1999.
- Restall, Matthew. "Manuel's Worlds: Black Yucatan and the Colonial Caribbean." In Jane G. Landers and Barry M. Robinson, eds., *Slaves, Subjects, and Subversives: Blacks in Colonial Latin America*. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006. Pp. 147-174.
- Robertson, James. "Cromwell and the Conquest of Jamaica." *History Today* 55, 5 (2005): 15-22.
- . "'Stories' and 'Histories' in Late Seventeenth-Century Jamaica." In Kathleen E.A. Monteith and Glen Richards, eds. *Jamaica in Slavery and Freedom: History, Heritage and Culture*. Kingston, Jamaica: University of the West Indies Press, 2002.
- Rodríguez Baquero, Luis Enrique. *Indice de Documentos de Archivos Españoles para la historia colonial del Nuevo Reino de Granada*. Bogotá: ICAHN, 2002.
- Rodriguez Demorizi, Emilio. *Invasión Inglesa*. Ciudad Trujillo [Santo Domingo], Dominican Republic: Editorial Montalvo, 1957.
- Rupert, Linda M. "Contraband Trade and the Shaping of Colonial Societies in Curaçao and Tierra Firme." *Itinerario* 30,3 (2006): 35-54.
- . "Waters of Faith, Currents of Freedom: Gender, Religion and Ethnicity in Inter-imperial Trade between Curaçao and Tierra Firme." In *Race, Religion, and Gender in the Colonization of the Americas*, ed. Nora Jaffary. Burlington, VT: Ashgate, 2007.
- Russell-Wood, A. J. R. "Iberian Expansion and the Issue of Black Slavery: Changing Portuguese Attitudes, 1440-1770." *AHR* 83,1 (1978), pp. 35-36.
- Salzedo de Villar, Pedro. *Apuntaciones Historiales de Mompo, 1537-1809*. Cartagena, Colombia: Tipographia Democracia, 1938.
- Sánchez B., José Enrique. "La herejía: una forma de resistencia del negro contra la estructura social colonial (1610-1636)." In *Inquisición, muerte y sexualidad en el Nuevo Reino de Granada*, ed. Jaimie Humberto Borja Gómez. Bogotá: Editorial Ariel, 1996.

- Savitt, Todd L. *Medicine and Slavery: The Diseases and Health Care of Blacks in Antebellum Virginia*. Urbana: University of Illinois Press, 1978.
- Scammell, G.V. *The First Imperial Age: European Overseas Expansion c. 1400-1715*. London: Unwin Hyman, 1989.
- Schmidt-Nowara, Christopher. "Still Continents (and an Island) with Two Histories?" *Law and History Review* 22,2 (2004): 339-88.
- Schwegler, Armin. "*Chi ma nkongo*": lengua y rito ancestrales en El Palenque de San Basilio (Colombia). Madrid : Iberoamericana, 1996.
- Scott, Jonathan. *England's Troubles: Seventeenth-Century Political Instability in European Context*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Seed, Patricia. *Ceremonies of Possession: Europe's Conquest of the New World, 1492-1640*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1995.
- _____. *To Love, Honor, and Obey in Colonial Mexico: Conflicts over Marriage Choice, 1574-1821*. Stanford, Calif.: Stanford University Press, 1988.
- Sensbach, Jon F. *Rebecca's Revival: Creating Black Christianity in the Atlantic World*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 2005.
- _____. *A Separate Canaan: The Making of an Afro-Moravian World in North Carolina, 1763-1840*. Chapel Hill, University of North Carolina Press, 1998.
- Shaw, Mark. *The Kingdom of God in Africa: A Short History of African Christianity*. Grand Rapids, Mich.: Baker Books, 1996.
- Shepard, Alexandra. *Meanings of Manhood in Early Modern England*. New York: Oxford University Press, 2003.
- Sheridan, Eugene R. *Lewis Morris 1671-1746: A Study in Early American Politics*. Syracuse, N.Y.: Syracuse University Press, 1981.
- Sheridan, Richard B. *Sugar and Slavery: An Economic History of the British West Indies, 1623-1775*. Kingston, Jamaica: Canoe Press, University of the West Indies, 1994 [1974].
- Shilstone, E.M. "Some early records of the Friends in Barbados." *JBMHS* 34,1 (1971): 43-52.
- Shoemaker, Nancy. "Kateri Tekakwitha's Tortuous Path to Sainthood." In *Negotiators of Change: Historical Perspectives on Native American Women*, ed. Nancy Shoemaker. New York : Routledge, 1995.
- Silverblatt, Irene. *Modern Inquisitions: Peru and the Colonial Origins of the Civilized World*. Durham, NC: Duke University Press, 2004.
- _____. *Moon, Sun and Witches: Gender Ideologies and Class in Inca and Colonial Peru*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1987.
- Smith, Nigel. "Hidden Things Brought to Light: Enthusiasm and Quaker Discourse" *Prose Studies* 17,3 (1994): 57-69.
- Smith, Samuel Stelle. *Lewis Morris: Anglo-American Statesman, ca. 1613-1691*. Atlantic Highlands, N.J.: Humanities Press, 1983.
- Socolow, Susan. *The Women of Colonial Latin America*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2000.
- Soderland, Jean R. *Quakers and Slavery: A Divided Spirit*. Princeton, N.J.: Princeton University Press, 1985.
- Soulodre-La France, Renée, and Paul E. Lovejoy, "Intercambios transatlánticos, sociedad esclavista e inquisición en la Cartagena del siglo XVII." In *Afrodescendientes en las Américas: Trayectorias sociales e identitarias*. 150 años de la abolición de la esclavitud en

- Colombia. Claudia Mosquera, Mauricio Pardo and Odile Hoffmann, eds.. Universidad Nacional de Colombia, Bogotá: 2002.
- Splendiani, Anna María. "Los Protestantes y la Inquisición." *Anuario Colombiano de Historia Social y de la Cultura* 23 (1996): 5-31.
- Stark, David M. "Rescued from Their Invisibility: The Afro-Puerto Ricans of Seventeenth- and Eighteenth-Century San Mateo de Cangrejos, Puerto Rico." *The Americas* 63,4 (2007): 551-86.
- Stern, Steve J. *Peru's Indian Peoples and the Challenge of Spanish Conquest: Huamanga to 1640*. Madison: University of Wisconsin, 1993.
- Swatos, William H., Jr. and Lutz Kaelber, eds. *The Protestant Ethic Turns 100: Essays on the Centenary of the Weber Thesis*. New York: Paradigm Publishers, 2005.
- Sweet, James H. *Recreating Africa: Culture, Kinship and Religion in the African-Portuguese World, 1441-1770*. Chapel Hill: The University of North Carolina Press, 2003.
- Tannenbaum, Frank. *Slave and Citizen: The Negro in the Americas*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1946.
- Tardieu, Jean Pierre. "La embajada africana de Arda en Cartagena de Indias (1657) y la misión de los Capuchinos (1658-1661)." *América Negra* 10 (Dec 1995).
- Taves, Ann. "Knowing Through the Body: Dissociative Religious Experience in the African- and British-American Methodist Traditions." *Journal of Religion* 73,2 (1993): 200-222.
- Taylor, S.A.G. *The Western Design: An Account of Cromwell's Expedition to the Caribbean*. Kingston, Jamaica: The Institute of Jamaica and The Jamaica Historical Society, 1965.
- Taylor, S.A.G., and David Buisseret. "Juan de Bolas and His Pelinco." *Caribbean Quarterly* 24,1/2 (1978): 1-7.
- Tejado Fernández, Manuel. "Procedimiento seguido por la Inquisición Americana con los herejes extranjeros." *Revista de Indias* 26 (1946): 827-39.
- _____. *La vida social en Cartagena de Indias*. Sevilla: Escuela de Estudios Hispanoamericanos, 1954.
- Tepaske, John Jay. "The Fugitive Slave: Intercolonial Rivalry and Spanish Slave Policy, 1687-1764." In *Eighteenth-Century Florida and its Borderlands*, ed. Samuel Proctor, 1-12. Gainesville: The University Press of Florida, 1975.
- _____. "Integral to Empire: The Vital Peripheries of Colonial Spanish America." In Christine Daniels and Michael V. Kennedy. *Negotiated Empires: Centers and peripheries in the Americas, 1500-1820*. New York: Routledge, 2002. Pp. 29-41.
- Thornton, John K. "African Dimensions of the Stono Rebellion." *AHR* 96, 4 (1991): 1101-13.
- _____. *Kingdom of Kongo: Civil War and Transition, 1641-1718*. Madison: University of Wisconsin Press, 1983.
- _____. *The Kongolese St. Anthony: Dona Beatriz Kimpa Vita and the Antonian Movement, 1684-1706*. Cambridge & New York: Cambridge University Press, 1998.
- _____. "On the Trail of Voodoo: African Christianity in Africa and the Americas." *The Americas* 44:3 (1988): 261-78.
- _____. "War, the State, and Religious Norms in 'Coromantee' Thought: The Ideology of an African American Nation." In *Possible Pasts: Becoming Colonial in Early America*, ed. Robert Blair St. George. Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 2000.
- Tolles, Frederick B. *Quakers and the Atlantic Culture*. New York: Macmillan, 1960.

- _____. "The Transatlantic Quaker Community in the Seventeenth Century." *The Huntington Library Quarterly* 14,3 (1951): 239-58.
- Trouillot, Michel-Rolf. "Culture on the Edges: Caribbean Creolization in Historical Context." In *From the Margins: Historical Anthropology and Its Futures*, ed. Brian Keith Axel, 189-210. Durham & London: Duke University Press, 2002.
- _____. *Silencing the Past: Power and the Production of History*. Boston: Beacon Press, 1995.
- Townsend, Camilla. *Tale of Two Cities: Race and Economic Culture in Early Republican North and South America*. Austin: University of Texas Press, 2000.
- Valencia Villa, Carlos Eduardo. *Alma en Boca y Huesos en Costal: Una aproximación a los contrastes socio-económicos de la esclavitud*. Bogotá: Instituto Colombiano de Antropología e Historia, 2003.
- Valtierra, Angel. *El santo que libertó una raza: San Pedro Claver, S.J. Su vida y su época*. Bogotá: Editorial Santa Fe, 1954.
- Vann, Richard T. "Quakerism and the Social Structure in the Interregnum." *Past & Present* 43 (1969): 71-91.
- _____. *The Social Development of English Quakerism, 1655-1755*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1969.
- Vaux, George. "Friends in Barbados." *The Friend* 60,23 (1887): 178.
- Vidal Ortega, Antonio. "Alzados y Fugitivos en el mundo rural de la gobernación de Cartagena a comienzos del siglo XVII." *Historia y Cultura* 1 (2004): 45-72.
- _____. *Cartagena de Indias y la región histórica del Caribe: 1580-1640*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2002.
- _____. "El mundo urbano de negros y mulatos en Cartagena de Indias entre 1580 y 1640." *Historia Caribe* 5 (2000): 87-102.
- Vila Vilar, Enriqueta. "Cimarronaje en Panamá y Cartagena: El costo de una guerrilla en el siglo XVII." *Caravelle: cahiers du monde hispanique et luso-brésilien* 49 (1987): 77-92.
- _____. "La evangelización del esclavo negro y su integración en el mundo americano." In Berta Ares Queija and Alessandro Stella, eds., *Negros, Mulatos, Zambaigos: Derroteros africanos en los mundos ibéricos*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 2000.
- _____. "Extranjeros en Cartagena, 1593-1630." *Jahrbuch für Geschichte von Staat, wirtschaft und Gesellschaft Lateinamerikas* 16 (1979): 147-84. Reprinted in *Aspectos sociales en América colonial: de extranjeros, contrabando y esclavos*. Bogotá: Universidad de Bogotá, 2001.
- _____. *Hispanoamérica y el Comercio de Esclavos: Los Asientos Portugueses*. Seville: Escuela de Estudios Hispano-Americanos, 1977.
- Villa-Flores, Javier. "'To lose one's soul': blasphemy and slavery in New Spain, 1596-1669." *Hispanic American Historical Review* 82,4 (2002): 435-68.
- _____. "Voices from a Living Hell: Slavery, Death and Salvation in a Mexican Obraje." In *Local Religion in Colonial Mexico*, ed. Martin Austin Nesvig, 235-56. Albuquerque: University of New Mexico Press, 2006.
- Von Germeten, Nicole. *Black Blood Brothers: Confraternities and Social Mobility for Afro-Mexicans*. Gainesville: University Press of Florida, 2006.
- Walsham, Alexandra. *Providence in Early Modern England*. Oxford & New York: Oxford University Press, 1999.

- Watt, Tessa. *Cheap Print and Popular Piety 1550-1640*. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Weber, Karl. *The Protestant Ethic and the Spirit of Capitalism*. Trans. Talcott Parsons. London: Allen & Unwin, 1930.
- Weiss, Gillian. "Barbary Captivity and the French Idea of Freedom." *French Historical Studies* 28,2 (2005): 231-264.
- . "Commerce, Conversion and French Religious Identity in the Early Modern Mediterranean." In Keith Cameron, et.al., eds., *The Adventure of Religious Pluralism in Early Modern France*. Oxford: Peter Lang, 2000.
- White, Richard. *Middle Ground: Indians, Empires, and Republics in the Great Lakes Region, 1650-1815*. New York: Cambridge University Press, 1991.
- Wiesner, Merry E. *Christianity and Sexuality in the Early Modern World: Regulating Desire, Reforming Practice*. London & New York: Routledge, 2000.
- Williams, Eric. *Capitalism and Slavery*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 1944.
- Wood, Kirsten E. *Masterful Women: Slaveholding Widows in the American Southeast from the Revolution through the Civil War*. Chapel Hill: University of North Carolina Press, 2004.
- Worden, Blair. "Oliver Cromwell and the Sin of Achan." In *History, Society and the Churches: Essays in honour of Owen Chadwick*, ed. Derek Beales and Geoffrey Best. Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1985.
- . "Providence and Politics in Cromwellian England." *Past and Present* 109 (Nov. 1985): 55-99.
- Wright, Donald R. *The World and a Very Small Place in Africa: A History of Globalization in Niumi, the Gambia*. Armonk, N.Y.: M.E. Sharpe, 2004.
- Wrightson, Keith. *Earthly Necessities: Economic Lives in Early Modern Britain*. New Haven & London: Yale University Press, 2002.
- Zagorin, Perez. *Ways of Lying: Dissimulation, Persecution, and Conformity in Early Modern Europe*. Cambridge, Mass.: Harvard University Press, 1990.
- Zapatero, Juan Manuel. *Historia de las fortificaciones de Cartagena de Indias*. Madrid: Ediciones Cultura Hispánica, 1979.

Unpublished Papers and Theses

- Carey, Brycchan. "The Barbadian Origins of Quaker Antislavery." Forthcoming in *ARIEL: A Review of International English Literature*, Autumn 2007.
- Cuevas Oviedo, María Fernanda. "Reniego y resistencia de los esclavizados y sus descendientes en la Nueva Granada durante el siglo XVII." Masters' Thesis, Universidad de los Andes, 2002.
- Francis, J.M. "The Muisca Indians under Spanish rule, 1537-1636." Ph.D. Diss., Cambridge University, 1998.
- Guasco, Michael. "The Jamaican Graft: Adaptations and Innovations in the Nexus of Anglo-Spanish Colonialism." Paper presented at the Omohundro Institute of Early American History and Culture, Oct 11, 2005.
- Hiscox, Arthur R. "Oliver Cromwell's Western Design: A Study in the Survival of Elizabethan Strategy." M.A. Thesis, Kent State University, 1973.

- Kopelson, Heather Miyano. "From Sinner to Property: Unlawful Sex" and Enslaved Women in Bermuda, 1650-1723." Paper presented at the 39th Annual Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, Jamaica, May 6-11, 2007.
- Landers, Jane. "Contested Spaces: The African Landscape of 17th century Colombia" Paper presented at the 37th Annual Conference of the Association of Caribbean Historians, Cartagena, Colombia, May 2005.
- Manice, Edward. "George Fox, Quakers, Negroes and Slavery on Barbados, 1671-1675." Senior thesis, Yale University, 1946.
- Patarino, Vincent V., Jr. "'One Foot in Sea and One on Shore': The Religious Culture of English Sailors, 1550-1688." Masters' thesis, University of Colorado, 2002.
- Schwartz, Stuart B. *In their Own Law: Salvation and Religious Tolerance in the Iberian Atlantic World*. New Haven: Yale University Press, forthcoming 2007.
- Shaw, Jenny, and Kristen Block. "Irish Identities and Inter-Imperial Strategies in the 17th Century Caribbean," Paper presented at the NYU Atlantic Workshop, March 28, 2006.
- Winnifred V. Winkelman, "Barbadian Cross-currents: Church-state confrontation with Quaker and Negro, 1660-1689" (Ph.D. Thesis, Loyola University of Chicago, 1976

CURRICULUM VITA

Kristen Block

1994-1998	Beloit College, Beloit, Wisconsin <i>Bachelor of Arts in History and Creative Writing</i>
2000-2007	Rutgers University, New Brunswick, New Jersey <i>Doctor of Philosophy in History</i>
2007-present	Florida Atlantic University, Jupiter, Florida <i>Assistant Professor of History</i>