

The Freedmen of New Amsterdam¹

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Slavery on Manhattan

New Amsterdam was settled in 1626 by a population whose ethnic diversity foreshadowed a permanent characteristic of New York City. The largest and most cohesive of the original groups of settlers were the Dutch, the Walloons, and the blacks. Little has been written about New Amsterdam's black people, and most of that has been concerned with either the morality or the economics of slaveholding. Yet a remarkable number of slaves were freed during the West India Company's administration of the colony, and a considerable body of information concerning some seventy individual freedmen appears in the surviving documents of colony, city and church.²

Initially there were few slaves in New Amsterdam, all of them the property of the West India Company. Most bore Iberian names.³ Originally captured by the Portuguese along the West African coast and on the islands in the Gulf of Guinea, they were being transported to the West Indies on Spanish slave ships when the company's navy had taken them as prizes. Their early quarters on Manhattan were situated five miles north of town; later they were housed in a large building on the south end of William Street near the fort.⁴ The men were employed as field hands by the Company, as well as in building and road construction and other public works projects. The women worked as domestic servants of company officials.⁵

Their servitude was involuntary and unremunerated, but that is not to say that the slaves had no legal rights. Their privileges (and responsibilities) were comparable to those of other non-citizens, such as resident aliens. They could marry; the upkeep of the children was their own responsibility. When they were not at work for the Company they could hire themselves out for wages elsewhere. They could not own real property, but moveable property was allowed and they were permitted to raise their own crops and animals on Company land. They could bring suit in court and their testimony would convict free whites. Each of these rights and duties is important to our study.⁶

Not least of the slave's prerogatives was the right of litigation. On December 9, 1638, a slave known as Anthony the Portuguese sued a white merchant, Anthony Jansen from Salee, and was awarded reparations for damages caused to his hog by the defendant's dog. In the following year Pedro Negretto successfully sued an Englishman, John Seales, for wages due for tending hogs. Manuel de Reus, a servant of Director General Willem Kieft, granted a power of attorney to the *commis* at Fort Orange to collect fifteen guilders in back wages for him from Hendrick Fredricksz. Also in 1639 a white merchant, Jan Jansen Damen, sued Little Manuel (sometimes called Manuel Minuit) and was in turn sued by Manuel de Reus; both cases were settled out of court. By 1643 Little Manuel was having trouble with the aforementioned John Seales, whom he took to court on November 19 and 26; Manuel de Reus and Big Manuel testified that Seales had "cut the cow of little Manuel with a chopping knife, producing a large wound, and that old Jan [Seales] drove many cows and horses into the swamp." Seales was sentenced to pay a fine of 25 guilders and court costs and to pay Little Manuel for damages to the cow. These cases illustrate the rights of a slave to own property, to work for wages, to sue or be sued, and to give testimony in court.⁷

Criminal charges were seldom brought against slaves. Minor infractions were undoubtedly punished by the owner or overseer and simply not reported to the courts. Between 1638 and 1664 there were only three trials of slaves recorded, all for capital offenses. In 1646 Jan Creoly was convicted of committing sodomy upon ten year old Manuel Congo, for which Jan was executed by strangling and his body burned. This is the only recorded instance of a slave execution at Manhattan and was due to the particular sense of horror this crime evoked among the Dutch. Under the law any participant in sodomy, even an unwilling one, could be put to death and it was only Manuel's youth that saved him; nonetheless he was tied to a stake and wood piled around him as a warning, he was forced to witness the death of Jan Creoly, and finally he was caned.⁸ Similarly Lysbeth Antonissen in 1664 was sentenced to death for deliberately burning down the house of her master, Marten Cregier; the sentence was

immediately suspended with the provision that Lysbeth be put through the preparations for an actual execution: she was chained to a stake and subjected to the rest of the preliminary procedure for strangulation and burning. Afterward she was sold at auction.⁹ Yet it is worth noting that in both these cases mercy was granted to a slave who by law could have been put to death.

With this for a background we can examine a third case, involving several persons who will be of further interest. A slave named Jan Premero had been killed on January 6, 1641, by nine other Company slaves. Included among the accused were four persons previously mentioned, Big Manuel, Little Manuel Minuit, Manuel de Reus, and Anthony Fernando Portuguese. The names of the others were Little Anthony, Paolo d'Angola, Gracia Angola, Simon Congo, and Jan from Fort Orange. According to the court records the defendants, without being tortured, freely confessed that they had jointly committed the murder. Further interrogation failed to indicate that anyone had acted as their leader, nor did they know which of them had struck the blow that actually caused the death of Jan Premero. The Director General and Council were undoubtedly perplexed. They found the idea of a mass execution unthinkable (certainly both for humanitarian reasons and for the attendant loss of experienced laborers). Yet all nine could hardly be let off scot-free; the chief malefactor, whoever that might be, should be punished. The court resolved to have the prisoners draw lots, thereby leaving it to "Almighty God, maker of heaven and earth, to designate the culprit." The lot fell to Manuel de Reus who was thereupon sentenced to death. Two nooses were placed around his neck and he was pushed off a ladder. Both ropes broke, whereupon the bystanders called for mercy. Faced with this bizarre turn of events the court reconvened, and after extracting promises of good behavior and willing service, pardoned Manuel and all his accomplices.¹⁰

It is worth noting that in a criminal proceeding slaves were given full rights of citizens including the right to trial and the opportunity to testify. They were not tortured, although testimony so extracted was admissible. Finally, although Manuel had been sentenced to hang, Dutch compassion spared him from facing the ordeal twice.

Freedmen and Landowners

The nine pardoned murderers apparently fulfilled their promises of good behavior and three years later were granted partial freedom, along with two men named

Pieter Santome and Jan Francisco. The reasons given by Director General Kieft and the Council include service to the Company for eighteen or nineteen years, a long-standing promise of freedom, "also, that they are burdened with many children, so that it will be impossible for them to support their wives and children as they have been accustomed to in the past if they must continue in the honorable Company's service."¹¹ Before proceeding to the terms of freedom, which were not absolute, it is worth examining the reasons for the grant.

Rather than the concept of lifetime servitude, the idea expressed here is that the longer one has served, the more deserving he is of freedom. There were no regulations to that effect, so that other records contain examples of slaves being freed after widely divergent terms of service, but the implicit sense of the document is that faithful slaves earned the right to be free. The statement that these particular eleven had long been promised their freedom shows that this was not a sudden whim of the administration, but rather a policy whose intention was known to both master and slave.

The other reason given for the granting of freedom—that these men must be able to earn wages in order to maintain their families at their accustomed standard of living—implies that the maintenance of the family was of greater importance than the perpetuation of the state of slavery. Kieft and the Council did not realize that was what they had in effect said: the point would be brought to their attention.

Under the terms of the grant, the men and their wives were freed "to earn their livelihood by agriculture" on land to be granted them. There were, however, conditions. First, the men were required to serve the West India Company in New Netherland "on land or water, wherever their services are required, on condition of receiving fair wages from the Company," and they were guaranteed that they would not be required to work in any of the Company's other colonies. They were not free from Company service, but they would be paid for it.

A second stipulation was that each man had to pay the West India Company annually thirty *schepels* of grain and a fat hog worth twenty guilders, or forfeit his freedom.¹² In essence the eleven were given lifetime leases to themselves. This requires some explanation, since we must differentiate between two degrees of freedmen in New Netherland. Those such as we have here were often called "half-free" or "half-slave" in the

records. Others were granted absolute freedom extending to their descendants.¹³

The third condition of the grant, certainly the most controversial even at the time, decreed that any children, ". . . born or yet to be born, shall remain bound and obligated to serve the honorable West India Company as slaves." That free parents would be disgruntled, or that the church would protest the enslaving of children of free parents had not occurred to Kieft and Council. Although in fact the government would be under pressure from this time on to free the children of freedmen it never developed a general policy, continuing to deal with individual cases as it found necessary.¹⁴

The Company had promised land to the eleven half-slaves, or rather title to the land they had been allowed to use in the past. In December patents were issued to all but Anthony Portugies, and that omission was corrected in the following year when he was given the land granted to Jan from Fort Orange. Big Manuel and Paolo received second grants in 1645.¹⁵ The granting of land to the freedmen conferred not only a symbol of independence, but also of social stature and a degree of financial security. In an age before banking, one of the sharpest divisions in society was between landed and landless persons. Landowners were responsible people who supported the community and government through property taxes. A landholding was virtually a prerequisite for a young man to seek a wife.

These eleven were not the first slaves to be freed in New Netherland, but the document granting them their freedom is the earliest one that has survived, and it does show the terms that were typically granted. That there were earlier free negroes is indicated by the granting of land in 1643 to Marycke, Manuel Trompeter, Domingo Antony, and Catalina the widow of Jochem Antony. Domingo and Catalina sold their land within a few years to a Dutch neighbor, Jan de Vries. However, Marycke (whom Domingo married) and Manuel held their property for decades. The fact that in two of the four cases recently manumitted slaves were to hold their property for a lengthy period suggests that they were not being retired at an age when they were too old to work. The same must certainly be said of Catalina, who at the time had a two year old child.¹⁶

Another early instance of a manumission occurred in 1646. Kieft and Council at the request of the Rev. Johannes Megapolensis of Rensselaerswijck, "and in accord-

ance with a promise heretofore made by our predecessors," freed Jan Francisco the Younger because of his long and faithful service, provided that he pay an annual acknowledgement of ten *schepels* of wheat.¹⁷ It is worth noting how long it took the government to move on a promise made by the previous administration at least eight years earlier.

More slaves were apparently freed within the next few months since several received small parcels of land. Anna van Angola was granted three morgens (about six acres) in February 1647. Twice widowed, she undoubtedly had a family to support. In March several small house-and-garden lots averaging 200 x 300 paces were granted to persons named Francisco, Antony Congo, Bastiaen, and "Jan Negro who came with the Captain," while in April Pieter van Campen was granted a parcel somewhat in excess of three morgens. Anna and Francisco held onto their land; the others allowed their titles to lapse, although some later acquired other land (Jan's title may have been revoked; it seems to have been for land already leased to Thomas Hall, an Englishman).¹⁸ The above mentioned Bastiaen was undoubtedly freed for his faithful service. In the 1645 church records he is twice called the captain of the Negroes, indicating that he was the supervisor of their work details. Seven months after receiving his land, Bastiaen (Sebastiaen de Britto from St. Domingo) married Isabel Kisana from Angola. Others rewarded for faithful service rather than family hardship would include Anthony Fernando Portuguese, a bachelor when he married in 1642, and one Anthony Matheusz who was granted land in 1655, only a year after he had married Maria Anthony.¹⁹ Others who were widowed at the time of marriage may well have had children and qualified as hardship cases, such as Jan from Fort Orange.²⁰

An early instance of a slave being freed by a private citizen occurred in 1649 when Philip Jansz Ringo manumitted Manuel de Spanje (i.e., from Spain) on condition that he pay 100 guilders a year for three years. Manuel apparently managed to pay this rather heavy price (the annual wage of farm laborers was 150 guilders) and was patented some farmland in January 1651.²¹ On August 21, 1654, captain Pieter Jacobsz from Flushing and pilot Jan de Graue of the prize bark *de Jonge Raven* manumitted Bastiaen d'Angola, aged 28 or 30, whom they had captured at Point de Kackes in the West Indies. No conditions were attached to the manumission, which was granted to Bastiaen "in order to gain a livelihood for himself, as any other free persons may do."²²

Some studies of the black persons in New Netherland have suggested that as the number of slaves in the colony increased, the institution became regularized and increasingly similar to that in the English colonies. Without disputing the tendency in that direction, we should note that manumissions and land grants to half-slaves and freedmen continued into the final years of Dutch administration. Three unnamed women were freed in 1662, the only proviso being that one of them should come each week to do Petrus Stuyvesant's housecleaning. In 1663 an old and sickly woman named Mayken who had arrived in New Amsterdam in 1628 and worked for 35 years was freed.²³

It is obvious from the numerous examples cited that freedom was frequently granted to slaves, although at varying fees and with varying conditions. Although the law made no provision for such action, both private citizens and officials of the West India Company were inclined to free slaves. It should be further noted that unlike the Anglo-Saxon custom of granting freedom to aged slaves in one's will, the Dutch often freed slaves in the prime of life. The Company also provided land. Pasture and cropland of three to ten morgens was enough to keep a couple of cattle, raise wheat for the family bread, and have a garden behind the house. It was at least enough for the bare necessities, and some individuals were able to improve upon their lot.

Marriage and Society

There is more to life than being free and owning land. The manumission of the eleven mentions that [some of] them had many children, and in fact the family tie is an important one in the records. Even in slavery the blacks had been permitted to marry. Six couples were married at the Reformed Church between 1639 and 1643. Although there are no earlier records, the fact that the six couples included two widowers and five widows demonstrates that there had been marriages for several years.

That slave marriages were given the blessings of the established church suggests the possibility of stable family units. Further evidence is the baptism of slave children, which the ministers performed if the parents professed to be Christians and at least came near to a "right knowledge of God." However, we should note that later ministers were more demanding on the issue of doctrinal understanding: consequently the number of baptisms of black persons, both slave and free, dropped from 57 in 1639-1655 to only one in 1656-1664.²⁴

The sense of family is evident throughout the records of the freedmen. Property passed from husband to wife and from parent to child. Parents were held responsible by the courts for the actions of their children. Maria Portuguese was sued in 1660 because her daughter had not completed the term of service for which she had been hired; Manuel Sanders was fined in 1664 because his son had shot pigeons on a Sunday.²⁵

Family responsibility was not only dictated by law. After the death of the parents of Jochem Anthony Robberts, his sister and guardian Susanna, a free Negro, apprenticed him to Wolfert Webber for three years, during which time Jochem was to receive food and clothing and to be taught to read and write. Here we have not only a continuing family relationship, but a recognition of the value of education and work training. The Amsterdam Chamber of the Company in fact encouraged the training of black men at such trades as carpentry, bricklaying, and blacksmithing, but the New Netherland government reported back that they showed no aptitude.²⁶ That, however, was a dubious generalization. Susanna Anthony Robberts was a shrewd individual who held the land of Anthony Portuguese (her father?) from before 1694 until about 1717, as well as a garden plot she had acquired around 1660 for herself in the city. Lucas Pieters, son of Pieter Santome of the eleven, was a churgeon (barber-surgeon), which trade required the serving of an apprenticeship. He perhaps practiced at the Company's hospital for Negroes and soldiers. He may also have been the "Lucas the Negro" who in 1679 was wealthy enough to pay a 300 guilder fine for concealing an escaped prisoner.²⁷

Certainly the earlier administration of Wouter van Twiller seemed optimistic about the aptitudes of black people. Van Twiller and Council wrote in August 1636 to the Directors of the Company's Amsterdam Chamber: "Domine E. Bogardus, minister here, has very earnestly requested us [to secure] a schoolmaster to teach and train the youth of both Dutch and blacks, in the knowledge of Jesus Christ and to serve also as sexton and precentor." In the spring of 1638 Adam Roelantsz arrived in New Amsterdam from the Classis of Amsterdam as the church's schoolmaster, reader, and precentor. In the absence of school records we can only assume that young slaves were given an education as Domine Bogardus intended for them.²⁸

Although the manumission of the eleven specified that their children would remain slaves, in fact many of them

did eventually gain their freedom, usually in response to individual and group petitions. Thus we find Susanna Anthony Robberts and her brother were free, as were Lucas and Salomon Peters. In 1663 Domingo Angola petitioned that Christina, the baptized orphan of Manuel Trompeter and his wife Antonya be set free, and it was so ordered, the sole condition being that she either be replaced with another slave, or pay 300 guilders, which sum was provided by a Dutch merchant, Govert Loockermans.²⁹

A similar case had occurred two years earlier involving the son of Little Anthony, one of the eleven. Little Anthony was still a slave when he married Lucie d'Angola on May 5, 1641. Their son Anthony was baptized on July 30, 1643; Lucie died about four weeks later. The father, Little Anthony, was apparently unable to take care of his son, who was taken in by the godmother, Dorothy Angola. Little Anthony, as already noted, became free in 1644 and received land. He died around 1648 and his son remained with Dorothy. Her husband Paolo d'Angola died, and in 1653 Dorothy married Emanuel Pieters, who is perhaps the same as Little Manuel Minuit of the eleven. In 1661 Dorothy and Emanuel petitioned Director General Petrus Stuyvesant and Council to declare their foster son Anthony free "so that he could inherit by last will and testament." After recounting the circumstances of the child's being orphaned, and how he had been given motherly affection and raised without burden or expense to the Company, Emanuel and Dorothy requested that "he may be declared by your noble honors to be a free person." The petition was approved. Title to the land patent was later confirmed to "Little Antonio son of Little Antonio."³⁰

Land title and the right of inheritance became a matter of importance in another instance. Captain Jan de Vries employed two black people on his plantation, Paolo d'Angola (one of the eleven) and Hillary Creole. De Vries had originally bought Hillary at Maranhão from one Juan Antonio Portuguese, an accused traitor. Since Juan Antonio's property was liable for confiscation, the Director General and Council referred the matter to Company headquarters in Amsterdam, which apparently ruled that the sale was legal. In August 1647 Hillary bore De Vries a son, who was baptized Jan and later called Jan de Vries, junior. When the elder De Vries died in 1651, title to his estate apparently passed to his servants and their families. On March 31, Paolo and Hillary settled a 600 guilder debt of Captain de Vries by signing over title to Paolo's 1645 patent on behalf of themselves,

Paolo's two children, and "the child of the said Vries, named Jan d'Vries, a minor." It thus appears that not only were the adults free to inherit, but also the several children.³¹ Later, a Hilary Criolyo was married on May 29, 1660, to Lovys Angola. Jan de Vries, jr., married Adriaentje Dircks from Albany in 1679. Jan is called a Negro at the baptism of one of his children and in a list of church members; his wife's race is not indicated.³²

It should be noted that no particular prejudice against black persons appears in the records. There are few instances of interracial marriage, but that may only indicate that few blacks had achieved economic parity with any whites. There was no particular prejudice against freedmen hiring white employees, although of course few could afford any employee. However, only a few months after Manuel de Reus had received title to his land, he was sued by one Barent Hendricks for back wages. When Jan Owen was out of the country in 1663 in the service of the Company, his wife contracted to work for a free Negro, Augustine de Capér.³³

There are almost no indications of problems with white neighbors. In an exceptional case in 1654 Willem Beeckman accused Anthony Fernando of letting his hogs run loose, of not fencing his land, and of beating neighbors' hogs that strayed onto his land. In 1651 Anthony had received a lease to the land from Jacobus van Curler, one condition being that he keep free of complaints from the neighbors. A year later the land was sold to Beeckman; Anthony refused to pay rent to Beeckman, who naturally decided to force Anthony off the land. The trouble with the neighbors over hogs was thus a handy excuse, rather than a real problem.³⁴

Relations between the Company's white overseers and the freedmen it hired seem also to have been generally satisfactory. While there are court suits brought by blacks against whites for abusive behavior, none was ever brought against the overseers. Paulus Heymans, superintendent of the Negroes, 1647-1656, and his wife were sponsors at the baptism of Anthony Fernando's son Anthony in 1649.³⁵ As employers, employees, and neighbors, the members of the two races seemed to have had no significant problems.

There were minor problems in having freedmen, slaves, and indentured servants all in relative proximity to one another. They travelled in the same social circles, and despite their differing prerogatives enjoyed themselves together. Masters were undoubtedly aggravated

when servants were a day late returning home, and on rare occasions matters were reported in court. In 1662 the city court heard the case of Andries Jochemsen, a white accused of having his tavern open on Sunday during the hours of divine service. His three customers, Matthew the Negro of Cornelis Steenwyck, Swan of Govert Loockermans, and Frans of Thomas Hall all testified that they had not begun drinking until services were letting out. On the strength of their testimony the tapster was freed. At about the same time Manuel Pieters and Pieter Tambour were called to make a statement on behalf of Domingo Angola, concerning an incident of more than a year earlier. They reported that with the consent of the excise farmer, Domingo had taken a half a barrel of beer and some food to a Saturday night party that lasted into Sunday morning, at which time they had asked the homeowner if they owed him anything, and he said they did not. This testimony was apparently sufficient to obviate the need for a court hearing, although presumably the homeowner had considered suing for payment after all. These episodes show that slaves, servants, and freedmen were all relatively free in their off hours, and a full day could pass before anyone would take serious note of an absence.³⁶

Certainly there was no fear among the Dutch that the blacks might be gathering to conspire against them. On the contrary, at times of danger they were quite in favor of arming black men and letting them share in the risks. Thus in 1641 when Kieft and Council asked the community's elected representatives how to attack an Indian village, the selectmen suggested waiting until the men of the village were off hunting elsewhere and then attack, "and that the honorable director shall employ thereto as many Negroes from among the strongest and fleetest as he can conveniently spare, and provide them each with a hatchet and half-pike." In 1660 when Petrus Stuyvesant was at Esopus during the second Esopus War, he no doubt remembered that during his last military expedition, against New Sweden, several Indian nations had seized the opportunity to attack New Amsterdam. So Stuyvesant wrote back to the Secretary and Council, "Let the free and the Company's Negroes keep good watch on my Bouwery." In both instances armed black men were viewed as a protection and not as a threat.³⁷

The only evidence that not all black people were integrated into the community comes from two documents which refer to the need to have translators in court. One is the case concerning the three slaves having a Sunday drink, Resolved Waldron being called to trans-

late for them at the court hearing. Waldron was often used as an English translator by the colony, but here he was probably translating from Spanish. At least Thomas Hall's Frans would seem to be the Francisco taken in 1652 from a Spaniard, Juan Gaillard, and who in 1658 "is now in the possession of Thomas Hall." The other case occurred in 1666 when Domingo the Negro was called to translate for Jan Angola, Jan's Dutch having failed him in a complicated suit wherein he and Wolfert Webber were accusing each other of stealing firewood. As it turned out the whole incident was due to a misunderstanding, but it had led to a fist fight between Jan and Wolfert's partner, which Wolfert's servant had broken up by hitting Jan with an axe, so that Wolfert was found liable for medical bills. Be that as it may, we presume that Jan Angola was fluent only in his native language, even after several decades in New Netherland, while there is reason to believe that the three in the other case had been in the colony for about ten years. Obviously one could get along without learning Dutch, but of course that was not the way to get ahead.³⁸

It is worth noting that overall the New Amsterdam black population, free and slave, was a rather docile element in an age when instability and violence were the social norm. The records of three decades show fewer court hearings for black people than one finds for the Dutch in a week. There are none of the usual bugbears found in other colonies, or in later New York under the English, such as fears of slave uprisings or fretting about thieving. Perhaps the promise of eventual freedom kept the slaves in line, while the half-slaves may not have felt that their freedom was secure enough to allow for misbehavior. Perhaps a stable family life was a significant factor. But the overall record indicates that there was no prejudice against the blacks, and a good deal of matter-of-fact acceptance of them.

The Last Years of Dutch Rule

In 1659 and 1660 Director General Stuyvesant granted a series of house-and-garden lots along the wagon road (now Fourth Avenue) near his plantation. The recipients included a number of familiar names—Antony Antonysz, Manuel de Reus, Lucas and Salomon Peters, Domingo Angola, Big Manuel, and Pieter Tambour (alias van Campen)—and the heirs of some other familiar persons: Christoffel Santome (husband of Gratia Angola's widow), and Willem Antonys Portuguese (apparently the son of Anthony Portuguese). Other freedmen in the same new neighborhood included Francisco



Fig. 31. Map of Franklin Street to 23rd, taken from Stokes, *Iconography of Manhattan Island*. Courtesy of New York Public Library, Astor-Lenox-Tilden Foundation.

Cartagena, Assento, Claes de Neger, Assento Angola, and Anthony the blind Negro.³⁹ Since several of these people had already received larger patents at some distance from their new house-and-garden plots, it seems likely that they were following a custom still common in much of Europe: living together in a community along the highway rather than in widely separated farmhouses. This offered the advantages of social cohesiveness and mutual defense, but required an extensive trip each day to the fields.

It would be a mistake to assume that because the freedmen were clustered together at some distance from New Amsterdam (which at that time extended only as far north as Wall Street), that the government intended this to be a rural black ghetto. The nearby farmland was quite desirable, much of it on a fresh water lake bordered with the sort of boggy meadowland prized by Dutch farmers. It simply happened that the Company had some good land available in that area which it deeded over to some faithful employees who had need for it, the majority of whom in this period happened to be black. Otto Grim, a Company soldier, was given a lot between Salomon Peters and Francisco Cartagena.⁴⁰ Also living nearby was Director General Stuyvesant.

Concerning this little community, Domine Henricus Selyns wrote in October 1660 that there were forty Negroes at the Bouwery beside household families. The household families would have been Stuyvesant's servants, the forty referring to the members of the fourteen or so families living nearby. Stuyvesant paid the clergyman 250 guilders a year to conduct Sunday evening services at the bouwery for his family, servants, and neighbors. It is said that black people grieved at Selyn's departure for the Netherlands in 1662. That would refer only to the freedmen; he seems to have had no patience with people who sought baptism as a way out of slavery. In 1686 during his second tour of duty in the colony he recorded only seven blacks as actual members of the church at New Amsterdam: Susanna de Negrin (Susanna Anthony Robberts); wife of Thomas de Moor on Prince (now Beaver) Street; Franciscus Bastiaense and his wife Barbara Emanuel beyond the Fresh Water Pond (his father was Bastiaen the Captain, hers was Manuel de Reus), and Salomon Peters and his wife Marretie Anthony in the same neighborhood; and Claes and Jan de Vries, Negroes by the Great Kill.⁴¹

New Netherland fell to the English on September 8, 1664, but under the articles of surrender the previous

government was permitted to complete some of its unfinished business before turning over the books. Stuyvesant and Council had granted partial freedom to eight black persons in December 1663. These "half-slaves," as they styled themselves, had petitioned for full freedom on September 4, 1664, when Stuyvesant was preoccupied with English gunboats in the harbor, but he and the Council on December 21 granted full freedom to Ascento Angola, Christoffel Santome, Pieter Pietersz Criolie, Antony Antonysz Criolie, Salomon Pietersz Criolie, Jan Guinea, Lowies Guinea, and Bastiaen Pietersz. All but the last can be identified from church and land records.⁴²

On April 30, 1665, Stuyvesant and Secretary Cornelis van Ruyven confirmed all the patents of 1659–1660 except those to Christoffel Santome and Manuel de Reus, and in their clandestine haste they may simply have overlooked them. This was acting a bit late in the day and may well have been the land patent case (the records are now lost) for which Stuyvesant and van Ruyven were arrested. However, Governor Richard Nicolls in 1667 confirmed all the house-and-garden patents including those of Santome and De Reus. At the same time he confirmed all the patents to farmland still in the hands of freedmen. Manuel Trompeter's (1643) was confirmed to his children Bernard and Christina (her manumission has been noted), and Maycke's of the same time was confirmed to her and her husband Domingo Angola. Of the patents to the eleven, Big Manuel's went to his widow Christina de Angola; Paolo D'Angola's to his widow Dorothy and her husband Manuel Pieters; Simon Congo's to himself; Pieter Santome's to his sons Lucas and Salomon; Little Anthony, senior's to Little Anthony, junior; and Gratia Angola's to his widow Maria and her husband Christoffel Santomes. Of the 1647 patents, Anna the widow of Andries Angola, and Francisco both received confirmations, while Manuel de Spanje had his 1651 patent confirmed.⁴³ Richard Nicolls returned to England in 1668. Two of his last official acts as Governor of New York were to pardon Petrus Stuyvesant and Cornelis van Ruyven for having granted patents after the surrender, and to confirm the manumissions of the last group of Negroes freed by the Dutch government.⁴⁴

English Subjects

While our focus has been upon freedmen in the New Netherland period, a word might be said about the later careers of some individuals under English administration. Manuel Sanders was successful enough to pay a chirurgeon an annual retainer of 26½ schepels of wheat.

Frans Bastiaens added to the land which he had inherited another four acres deeded to him by Judith Stuyvesant in 1674, and fifteen acres granted by Governor Dongan in 1686. Francisco Cartagena mortgaged his house and land in 1675 in order to buy two horses, and repaid the debt in two annual payments with farm produce. Anthony John Evertse purchased 100 acres of farmland on the Great Kill from Thomas Hall's widow in 1685. Mrs. Hall in her will freed Frans and granted him a small parcel along the same creek. On the negative side, Domingo and Manuel Angola were called into court in 1671 because the free Negroes had been entertaining servants "to the great damage of their owners." Domingo and Manuel henceforth were not to entertain for longer than twenty-four hours, and to tell the others the same, on pain of forfeiting their freedom. This last was an ominous indication that under the English, freedom would be a privilege and not a right.⁴⁵

Perhaps the most successful person was Salomon Peters. In addition to land inherited from his father Peter Santome, he received a patent for thirty acres in 1680 from Governor Andros, and added numerous small purchases thereafter. His children married well. One familiar connection can be found in his son Anthony's marriage to Isabel Frans, daughter of Francisco Bastiaens and Barbara Manuels de Reus. Salomon's and his brother Lucas's children served as sponsors for each other's offspring as late as 1719.⁴⁶ Salomon's estate was inherited by his widow and surviving children about 1716, although his will (written in 1694) was not proved until 1724. The will mentions houses, lands, and household goods, iron tools and implements of husbandry, guns, swords and pistols. If the listing bears any relation to reality, his was not one of the poorer estates of the day.⁴⁷

The community along the wagon road remained in existence for a number of years. A 1673 list⁴⁸ of the Negroes living between the fresh water pond and Harlem names twenty-four: there were two "half-free" Negroes of [the late] Petrus Stuyvesant—Louis Angola and Lucas Peters. The freedmen included such familiar names as Manuel Pieters, Manuel Sanders, Willem Antonissen, Antony Antonisse, Pieter Tambour, Salomon Peters, Louis Guinea, Manuel de Reus, and Manuel de Spanje. The others, some of them sons of the above, were Mincus Poulissen, Evert Andriessen, Claes Manuel, Michael Manuels, Jan Fostranien (perhaps an error for Fort [O]ranien), Swan van Angola, Loures Jansen, Francisco Antonisen, Augustine Fordonck, Jan Virginia, Asent

Caspersen, Dominicus van Angola, and [] Philips. Six years later Jasper Danckaerts wrote of the neighborhood:

We went from the city, following the broad way, over the [marsh] or the fresh water. Upon both sides of this way were many habitations of negroes, mulattoes and whites. These negroes were formerly the proper slaves of the company, but ... they have obtained their freedom and settled themselves down where they have thought proper, and thus on this road, where they have ground enough to live on with their families.⁴⁹

By 1696, however, most of the freedmen had sold out to their white neighbors, and within another twenty years all were gone.⁵⁰ Many of the younger generation left Manhattan for various communities in New Jersey, Long Island, and to the north along the Hudson River. The parcel which remained in one family's hands the longest was that patented to Pieter Santomee in 1644, and sold by the widow and children of his son Salomon in 1716. The land is now part of Gramercy Park.⁵¹

Conclusion

We should reiterate that the material used in this study was selected because it mentioned black persons by name,⁵² and in particular free, landholding blacks in New Amsterdam, and should not be taken as necessarily relevant to all black people in the town, nor to those in other Dutch communities, much less the very different situations which confronted the Dutch in other colonies around the world.⁵³ It does provide a beginning for abolitionist sentiment in New York.

It could be argued that the colony's directors operated on the principal of enlightened self-interest. Instead of terrorizing black workers, they won their cooperation by granting privileges such as family security; when that became too expensive they granted limited freedom, the degree of freedom depending upon the strength of the bargainer's position and upon the political climate and moral pressure at home. Or, it could be argued that a few such tokens would serve to inspire other workers to be docile, cooperative, and hard working. The surviving documents give us little to work with in determining the motives of the corporate mind. The motives of the earlier directors are suspect on any issue except personal self-interest; Petrus Stuyvesant, however, was a Company man through and through and could be depended upon to follow the course he considered in the best interests of his employers. Only in the area of religion was this minister's son sometimes too hardlined for the Company's taste. However, in the matter of freeing slaves he seems to have found a policy acceptable to both

Company and Church, since neither rebuked him for his conduct.

Further comparative study is needed between slavery and manumission in New Netherland and in the English, Spanish, and Portuguese colonies in the New World as to which practices of the Dutch were unique, and which were in essence the same as those found in other colonies with similar economies or at comparable stages of development.⁵⁴ The slaves of New Netherland had several privileges, including the right to own moveable property and to be paid wages for work done in their free time. Families remained together; professed Christians were married in church and had their children baptized. The parents were responsible for the support of their families and were allowed to farm Company land for that purpose. Freedmen and slaves alike were entitled to regular civil and criminal jurisprudence and were treated

fairly, and at times with lenience. At first freedmen were granted limited independence, usually for hardship or in recognition of good service. Under the Stuyvesant administration several slaves and half-slaves were given unconditional and hereditary freedom. Their community along the wagon road remained cohesive for three generations, and was therefore more stable than any of the city wards.⁵⁵ In general the freedmen farmed the land and were quiet, ordinary citizens who for just that reason hardly ever appear in any records, except to acquire land and go to church.

Throughout its history New Netherland was underpopulated and surrounded by enemies. That it survived as long as it did is due to the contributions of all its inhabitants. This has been a survey of the part played by one of the original groups of residents.

Notes

¹This paper should be viewed as a separate work from the related oral presentation with the same title delivered by the writer at the Rensselaerswijck Seminar and published in the *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society*, 5, no. 3-4, 109-18.

²Unfortunately, almost all early records relating to the colony are lacking. The Company's begin only in 1636, the colonial government's in 1638, and the church's in 1639. Of course, later records often refer to much earlier events.

³A note here on the names in the Dutch records will simplify the reader's task. Names were often translated: Francisco = Frans, Antonio = Antony. Dutch nicknames are often formed by dropping an initial unaccented syllable: [Se]bastiaen, [Em]manuel. Marritje and Marycke are diminutives of Maria. Patronymics are formed by adding *s*, *se*, *sen*, or *sz* to a name: Antonys = the son (or daughter) of Antony. Dutch *de* = the (de Negro). Santome is the island Sao Tome.

⁴The first quarters, about 1639, are shown on early maps; the house downtown was built prior to 1643, demolished about 1662. See: I.N. Phelps Stokes, compiler, *The Iconography of Manhattan Island* (6 vols.; New York, 1915-1928), II:186, 207, 297, and plates 41, 42, 42a (hereafter cited as Stokes, *Iconography*).

⁵The only negative comment is also very early. The Rev. Jonas Michaelius in 1628 reported that when he was seeking a maid he was informed that "the Angola (female) slaves are thievish, lazy and useless trash." *Ecclesiastical Records, State of New York* (7 vols.; Albany, 1901-1916), I:63 (hereafter cited as *Ecclesiastical Records*).

⁶Morton Wagman, "Corporate Slavery in New Netherland," in *The Journal of Negro History*, LXV: no. 1 (Winter 1980):34-42, calls the record of the Dutch West India Company a unique example of slavery in the New World, stating that the Company treated its blacks more as employees than as slaves.

⁷Most of the slaves appearing in court had undoubtedly been baptized: Dutch courts gave little credence to non-Christian testimony. The cases cited are from A.F.J. van Laer, trans., Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda eds., *New York Historical Manuscripts: Dutch* (4 vols.; Baltimore, 1974), I:23; IV:35, 53, 60, 62, 208-9 (hereafter cited as van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*).

⁸*Ibid.*, IV:326-28.

⁹E.B. O'Callaghan, ed., *Calendar of Historical Manuscripts* (2 vols.; Albany, 1865), I:258-59 (hereafter cited as O'Callaghan, *Calendar*).

¹⁰Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, IV:97-100. Some

writers have suggested that the hanging was another example of theatrical admonition, and that Manuel "the giant" was chosen to ensure that the ropes would break. There are two things wrong with this scenario: first, when the court engaged in theatrics it said so, but does not here; second, the name of De Reus is derived, not from Dutch *reus* (giant), but from a local Walloon, Gerrit de Reux. Manuel is sometimes called Manuel of Gerrit de Reus.

¹¹*Ibid.*, IV:326-28.

¹²The fee was perhaps intended to approximate a tithe on farm production. The farms of the eleven were from three to six morgens: one morgen of good alluvial soil would produce between 81 and 108 *schepels* of wheat, according to Nicolaas de Roever, "Kiliaen van Rensselaer and his colony of Rensselaerswyck," in A.J.F. van Laer, trans. and ed., *Van Rensselaer Bowier Manuscripts* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1908), 63. No information has been found for hog prices in this period, but certainly a mature adult is intended; presumably a fee of one per annum was not oppressive.

¹³The Portuguese similarly had two classes of freedmen as early as the 1400s: the conditionally free, called *forro* (quit), and real freedmen, termed *livre* (free)—A.C. de C.M. Saunders, *A Social History of Black Slaves and Freedmen in Portugal 1441-1555* (London: Cambridge U., 1982), 140. Philip D. Morgan, "Work and Culture: The Task System and the World of Lowcountry Blacks, 1700 to 1880, in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, XXXIX/no. 4, (Oct. 1982):563-99, discusses a somewhat similar system in the low country of South Carolina and Georgia, which may derive from a Portuguese model by way of the Caribbean. Both Portuguese law and Dutch law are based upon Roman law, and ancient Rome had slaves, half-slaves, and freedmen. It may be that the impulse toward freeing slaves in New Netherland is rooted in Roman-Dutch law, but that question we really must leave for Dutch legal historians to answer.

¹⁴In 1650 the Company was called before a committee of the States General of the Netherlands concerning various complaints received from America. In response to the accusation that "children of manumitted slaves were retained in slavery, contrary to all public law," Provincial Secretary Cornelis van Tienhoven wrote: "These are treated the same as Christians; at present there are no more than three of these children in service; one at the House of the Hope [a blockhouse on the Connecticut River]; one [in a draft copy appears: *which Stuyvesant has with him*] at the Company's *bouwerie*; and one with Martin Cregier, who, as everyone knows, brought up the girl [the draft adds: *from a little child at*

his own expense].” A key phrase in the draft response, “[the slaves] were set free . . . on condition that the children remain slaves,” was changed in the final document to read, “. . . on condition that their children serve the Company whenever it pleased,” concealing the fact of their slavery. E.B. O’Callaghan and Berthold Fernow, trans. and eds., *Documents Relative to the Colonial History of the State of New York* (15 vols., Albany: Weed, Parsons & Co., 1856–1887), I:335, 343, 425 (hereafter cited as O’Callaghan and Fernow, *Documents*).

¹⁵Most of the original grants are lost, but many are described in confirmations of 1659–1660, and again in 1667: “New York Colonial Manuscripts”, X/3:329–32, and “Land Patents”, II:109–14 (New York State Archives). For Anthony Portuguese’s patent and Big Manuel’s second patent see Charles T. Gehring, trans., *Land Papers* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1980), 34, 36; Paolo’s second patent is cited by Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, III:230–31. It is not known why Jan allowed his title to lapse so quickly; he was in the colony at least as late as 1649 as sponsor at a baptism, and might perhaps be the Jan Fostranien mentioned in 1673. That black persons occupied specific lots prior to the granting of title can be seen from two 1643 grants which are described as bordering on land of Anthony Portuguese and Manuel Swager (“brother-in-law”, a nickname of de Reus); “Land Patents”, II:110–11.

¹⁶Domingo and Catalina’s patents are in Gehring, *Land Papers*, 24. Manuel and Marycke’s are confirmed in “Land Patents”, II:110–11. For Catalina’s child see Thomas Grier Evans, ed., *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York: Baptisms* (New York: New York Genealogical & Biographical Society, 1901), 12 (hereafter cited as Grier, *Baptisms*).

¹⁷Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, IV:342. If we identify him with Jan de Negro who performed a hanging for the Rensselaerswijck court in 1646, then we might speculate that he agreed to perform the hanging if a Rensselaerswijck official would plead his cause. This would explain Megapolensis’ involvement on behalf of a Company slave. Van Laer, “Preface,” *Minutes of the Court of Rensselaerswyck* (Albany: University of the State of New York, 1922), 12.

¹⁸Gehring, *Land Papers*, 48, 55–56, 58. See also Stokes, *Iconography*, VI:73. Anna is called the widow of Andries of Angola in her grant; she was a widow when she married him; Samuel S. Purple, ed., *Records of the Reformed Dutch Church in New Amsterdam and New York: Marriages* (New York: New York Genealogical and Biographical Society, 1890), 11 (hereafter cited as Purple, *Marriages*).

¹⁹The grant is confirmed in “Land Patents”, II:108. Family information is from Purple, *Marriages*, 11–12, 14–15, 18; and Evans, *Baptisms*, 18–19.

²⁰He was a widower; his second wife was Marie Grande, who married him ten months after his trial with the others for killing her husband Jan Premero; Purple, *Marriages*, 11.

²¹Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, III:82–83.

²²E. B. O’Callaghan, trans., Powers of Attorney, Acknowledgements, Indentures of Apprenticeship, Inventories, Deeds, etc., 1651–1656, 73–74; manuscript in the New York City Clerk’s office; New York State Library microfilm #A-FM 200-F(4).

²³E.B. O’Callaghan, *Calendar*, I:242, 246.

²⁴For the change in attitude compare in *Ecclesiastical Records*, I:142 with I:548. For the entire period 1639–1664 there were about 400 marriages of which 27 involved black people, and 1600 baptisms, 58 of black children.

²⁵Sanders is in O’Callaghan, *Calendar* I:261, Maria Portuguese in Berthold Fernow, ed., *The Records of New Amsterdam* (7 vols.; New York: Knickerbocker Press, 1897), III:242.

²⁶The apprenticing of Jochem is in O’Callaghan, trans., Kenneth Scott and Kenn Stryker-Rodda, eds., *Register of Salomon Lachaire* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1978), 9. The Directors’ letter is in O’Callaghan and Fernow, *Documents*, XIV:387; the response is discussed in Stokes, *Iconography*, IV:181.

²⁷Susanna’s property is discussed in Stokes, *Iconography*, II:302; VI:105; Lucas is called a physician in VI:75, 140 (the latter reference incorrectly calls him Salomon’s son; the hospital is discussed on II:263 and IV:193. For Lucas the Negro’s fine see Peter R. Christoph, ed., *The Administrative Papers of Governors Richard Nicolls and Francis Lovelace* (Baltimore: Genealogical Publishing, 1980), 96, 98, 100.

²⁸Van Laer, “Letters of Wouter van Twiller and the Director General and Council of New Netherland to the Amsterdam Chamber of the Dutch West India Company, August 14, 1636,” *Quarterly Journal of the New York State Historical Association*, October 1919, I/1:48; Stokes, *Iconography*, IV:86; *Ecclesiastical Records*, I:122.

²⁹O’Callaghan, *Calendar*, I:256; Evans, *Baptisms*, 18.

³⁰Manuel’s petition is in O’Callaghan, *The Register of Salomon Lachaire*, 22–23; it includes such lapses in memory as giving the mother’s name as Louise and identifying her as free; it also gives the baptismal date as August 3 instead of July 30. The patent is confirmed in *Land Patents*, II:113. See also Evans, *Baptisms*, 15, and Purple, *Marriages*, 10, 18.

³¹Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, III:228–31; IV:333–34; Evans, *Baptisms*, 23.

³²Purple, *Marriages*, 26, 46; Evans, *Baptisms*, 191; *Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York*, 1916, 34.

³³Barent's suit is in Van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, IV:256. Mrs. Owen's contact is in Fernow, ed., *Minutes of the Orphanmasters' Court of New Amsterdam* (2 vols.; New York, 1907), 2:46.

³⁴Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, I:155, 258–59; O'Callaghan, Powers of Attorney, 81–82; *Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York*, 1900, 175; Stokes, *Iconography*, VI:90.

³⁵Evans, *Baptisms*, 26.

³⁶Andries' case is in Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, IV:9, 13–14, 22, 33–34, 41–42, 45–46; Manuel and Pieter's testimony is in O'Callaghan, *Register of Salomon Lachaire*, 99–100.

³⁷The first instance is from van Laer, *Historical Manuscripts*, IV:124–25; the other is from O'Callaghan and Fernow, *Documents*, XIII:152.

³⁸O'Callaghan and Fernow, *Documents*, II:31; Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, V:337, 340.

³⁹"New York Colonial Manuscripts", X/3:329–32; "Land Patents", II:102–07.

⁴⁰He was in Delaware following the reduction of New Sweden (Gehring, *Delaware Papers*, 9, 77), and was a sergeant in 1662 (O'Callaghan, *Calendar*, I:238). His patent was confirmed, "New York Colonial Manuscripts", X/3:330.

⁴¹Selyn's biases are recorded in *Ecclesiastical Records*, I:487–89; the list of church members is in "Domine Selyns' Church Records," *Yearbook of the Holland Society of New York*, (1916), 31, 33, 34.

⁴²They were made "half-free" in "New York Colonial Manuscripts", X/2:429, and petitioned for full freedom X/3:317, which was granted X/3:327.

⁴³Stuyvesant's confirmations in "New York Colonial Manuscripts", X/3:329–32, Nicolls' in Land Patents, II:102–15. Marriages of Big Manuel and Christoffel in Purple, *Marriages*, 13, 21.

⁴⁴The manuscripts were lost in the State Capitol fire of 1911. However, a manuscript index by O'Callaghan to the volume "Orders, Warrants, Letters 2" at the State Archives shows that Nicolls pardoned Stuyvesant and Van Ruyven for a misdemeanor in signing and sealing patents after the surrender, and that he confirmed the freedom of certain slaves liberated by Stuyvesant.

⁴⁵Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, VII:11; O'Callaghan, trans., Mortgages of Lots and Tracts of Land in the City of New York and New Orange, 207–08, manuscript at the New York City Clerk's office, New York State Library microfilm #A-FM 200-F(4); Stokes, *Iconography*, V:98–99, 140, 154. Domingo and Manuel called to court in Fernow, *Records of New Amsterdam*, VI:286.

⁴⁶"Land Patents," II:160; Stokes, *Iconography*, VI:318;

Evans, *Baptisms*. A four generation genealogy, "A Colonial Black Family in New York and New Jersey: Pieter Santomee and His Descendants," by Henry B. Hoff will appear in future issues of the *Journal of the Afro-American Historical and Genealogical Society*.

⁴⁷*Collections of the New-York Historical Society*, 1893, 26:293.

⁴⁸"New York Colonial Manuscripts", XXIII:275. Nine of the people on this list also appear on a 1676 list of applicants for land on Manhattan Island: Claus Manuell a Negro, Jon DeFreeze Molatt, William Antonis Molatt, Solomon Peterse, Old Mingoe, Assent Negroe, Michaell Negroe, Old Franciscoc Negroe, and Lewis Smith Negroe; see Peter R. Christoph and Florence A. Christoph, eds., *The Andros Papers, 1674–1676* (Syracuse: Syracuse University Press, 1989), 349–50.

⁴⁹Burleigh James Bartlett and J. Franklin Jameson, eds., *Journal of Jasper Danckaerts*. (New York, 1913), 65. We have changed "valley" to marsh, which is a more accurate translation in this context.

⁵⁰This is not to say that there was any untoward pressure brought to bear. The small farms simply could not support the larger next generation. The limited number of eligible spouses also encouraged mobility.

⁵¹Stokes, *Iconography*, VI:106, 107.

⁵²Historians writing about slaves and freedmen might well reweigh the advantages of the current practice of arranging personal data in statistical groupings against the danger of dehumanizing the subject.

⁵³See Joyce D. Goodfriend, "Burghers and Blacks: The Evolution of a Slave Society at New Amsterdam," *New York History*, LX, no. 2 (April 1978): 125–144. Drawing upon numerical data in the colonial records, she concludes: By the time of the English Conquest in 1664, slavery had already passed from a discrete company institution to a community-wide mode of labor exploitation, regularly reinforced by importations and legitimized as a normal and desirable way of life. The legacy of the Dutch system of slavery in New Amsterdam was perdurable.

⁵⁴Several studies that have appeared since this paper was first prepared have revealed some similarities, both in slave privileges and in manumission practices, in situations widely separated by geography, time, and culture. The following are examples chosen from many important contributions in the field in recent years: Ira Berlin, "Time, Space, and the Evolution of Afro-American Society on British Mainland North America," *American Historical Review*, 85/1 (Feb. 1980): 44–78; Patricia Romero Curtin, "Laboratory for the Oral History of Slavery: The Island of Lamu on the Kenya Coast," *American Historical Review*, 88/4 (Oct. 1983): 858–82; Jerome S. Handler and John T. Pohlmann, "Slave

Manumissions and Freedmen in Seventeenth-Century Barbados," in *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, xli/3 (July 1984): 390–408; Jean Butenhoff Lee, "The Problem of Slave Community in the Eighteenth-Century Chesapeake," *William and Mary Quarterly*, 3d series, xliii/3 (July 1986): 333–61; Bertram Wyatt-Brown, "The

Mask of Obedience: Male Slave Psychology in the Old South," *American Historical Review*, 93/5 (Dec. 1988): 1228–52. See also note 13.

⁵⁵For which see Thomas J. Archdeacon, *New York City, 1664–1710*. (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1976).