CHAPTER 5

Enslavement

Africans experienced a most painful introduction to the New World. The forced march to the sea and the subsequent horrific sea voyage represent the birth of not only the modern African Diaspora but also modernity itself. Europe's rise and expansion were undergirded by slavery; its economic prosperity was fundamentally related to the exploitation of Africans (an argument championed by Trinidadian scholar Eric Williams). The vast wealth, considerable privilege, and seemingly limitless opportunities associated with American elites were all achieved on the backs of impoverished Africans and subjugated Native Americans. To be sure, a peasantry and working class from all points of the globe would eventually find themselves in the Americas, where they would also make contributions under exploitative conditions. Even so, it was enslaved African labor that paved the way for all to come.

Focus on the introduction of Africans as enslaved workers does not reject the possibility of a pre-Columbian African presence. Artifacts, archaeological remains, linguistic evidence, Native American traditions, and European explorer accounts render plausible the idea that Africans crossed the Atlantic at some unspecified point prior to Columbus. Indeed, there are references in West African sources to transatlantic voyages under imperial Mali in the fourteenth century, so the effort was probably made. It would not appear, however, that these earlier Africans achieved a regular correspondence with Native Americans, a steady commerce that for subsequent Africans was eventually established at their very considerable expense.

MAP 6. Latin America, 1828.

Aspects of American Enslavement

A consideration of slavery can begin with Brazil. This vast, Portuguese-claimed territory has a diverse economic history with fluctuating agricultural periods. Northeastern Brazil was the destination of the vast majority of Africans from the second half of the sixteenth century through the whole of the seventeenth, with the captaincies (provinces) of Bahia and Pernambuco receiving the lion's share of a work force

FIGURE 4. Slave market, Pernambuco, Brazil, 1820s. From Maria Graham, *Journal of a Voyage to Brazil* (London, 1824), opposite p. 107. Library of Congress, Prints and Photographs Division, LC-USZ62-97202.

cultivating sugarcane. From the late seventeenth century through the mid-eighteenth, gold and diamond mining redirected as many as two-thirds of all Africans to the captaincies of Minas Gerais, Mato Grosso, and Goiás. However, with the collapse of the mining boom by the 1770s, the majority returned to Bahia and Pernambuco to produce sugarcane and tobacco. Cotton became significant early in the nineteenth century, but from the 1820s coffee was king, resulting in the growth of African slavery in central and southern Brazil, particularly Rio de Janeiro, Minas Gerais, and São Paulo.

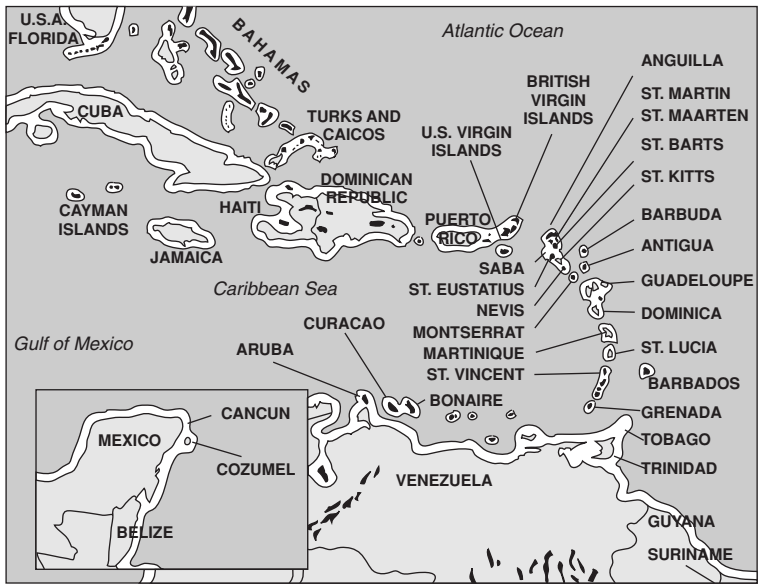
The various agricultural regimes, fluctuating demographics, differing climates, and changing rates of captive importation meant that slavery in Brazil was multifaceted and complex. However, three aspects of Brazilian slavery stand out: First, the number of Africans imported into Brazil was enormous; second, Africans brought to Brazil were overwhelmingly male, in ratios of nearly 3:1; and third, the percentage of children brought into central and southern Brazil was astonishing, accounting for nearly 40 percent of enslaved persons.

Concerning the English-speaking Caribbean, the British arrived in Jamaica in 1655, having established a presence in St. Kitts (St. Christopher) in 1624, Barbados in 1627, Nevis in 1628, and Montserrat and

Antigua in the 1630s. Limited arable land in St. Kitts, Nevis, Montserrat, and Antigua meant that these islands could not compete with Barbados, the wealthiest and most densely populated of English colonies in the seventeenth century. Originally covered by thick tropical growth with neither mountains or rivers, Barbados had a high percentage of cultivable land, and it was cleared for sugarcane within the first forty years of foreign occupation. However, the exactions of sugarcane, combined with territorial limitations, eventually exhausted the soil.

Jamaica was also relatively abundant in arable flat land. The Spanish maintained a minimal presence for 150 years before 1655 and the English incursion. English-speaking Jamaica was "founded in blood," seized from the Spanish by a motley crew of unruly soldiers. For the remainder of the seventeenth century, it was the principal site for buccaneering operations against the Spanish. The end of the century, however, saw a transition from pirating and small-scale farming to large-scale plantation agriculture, in concert with a dramatic rise in the number of black slaves, soaring from 514 in 1661 to 9,504 in 1673. Between 1671 and 1679 another 11,816 Africans arrived, and by 1713 the enslaved population had reached 55,000, larger than that of Barbados. The year 1817 saw the largest number of slaves in Jamaica,

MAP 7. Caribbean map.



some 345,252, but by that time many persons of African descent were no longer slaves. The island developed a reputation as the preserve of Akan speakers from the Gold Coast, but in fact more were imported from the Bight of Biafra. These two regions account for the origins of some 62 percent of all Africans arriving in Jamaica, and they enjoyed considerable cultural and social influence.

In addition to amassing the largest group of slaves in the British Caribbean, Jamaica also had one of the most diversified economies of the region. By 1832, slightly less than one-half of all the enslaved worked on sugar plantations; 14 percent worked on coffee plantations, 13 percent worked in "livestock pens," 7 percent inhabited minor staple plantations, 8 percent lived in towns, and 6 percent performed general labor. Owing to environmental needs, sugarcane plantations were concentrated along the island's northern coast but could also be found elsewhere.

European occupation of Trinidad began in July of 1498, and for the next 300 years the island languished under Spanish domination and neglect. This changed with the *cédula* (decree) of 1783, by which migration and slavery's expansion were encouraged through the offer of land. Any purported Roman Catholic from a nation friendly to Spain could swear an oath and receive free land; additional land was provided for every slave imported. The cédula's terms essentially excluded all but the French, a group that included wealthy planters, the Irish (Northern), and others of various backgrounds, who would later be joined by those fleeing the French Revolution. By 1784, the island was effectively a French colony, with the French outnumbering the Spanish 20:1. Immigrants arrived that year from Grenada, Martinique, Guadeloupe, St. Lucia, and Cayenne, speaking French and Creole languages (mixed African and European tongues). Their numbers would be augmented by Royalist planters fleeing the Haitian Revolution (1791–1804).

In contrast to Jamaica, Barbados, and other Caribbean islands, the arrival of substantial numbers of enslaved Africans in Trinidad was relatively late. The absence of both gold and significant Spanish interest in agriculture meant that Trinidad's pre-1783 population was never more than a few thousand; for example, in 1777, there were 200 enslaved blacks, 870 free "mulattoes," and 340 whites in Trinidad. However, by 1789, the population had increased to 18,918, including 2,200 indigenous people, 10,100 enslaved persons, 4,467 free "coloreds," and 2,151 whites. The African distribution in Trinidad reveals that nearly

63 percent arrived from the Bight of Biafra, followed by 18.2 percent from West Central Africa, 10.4 percent from the Gold Coast, and 4.5 percent from the Bight of Benin.

The British seized Trinidad in 1797, by which time the island had over 150 sugar estates. Sugarcane had become the island's most important crop; by 1832, 90 percent of the total value of Trinidad's exports was provided by sugar and its by-products, requiring some 70 percent of the enslaved labor. The impact of the 1783 cédula was the swift peopling of the island and the emergence of a bustling export economy.

While the sugar industry was important in Trinidad, cocoa, coffee, and cotton were also grown. Cocoa production had continued from the Spanish period, expanding even more rapidly during sugar's spectacular rise. Cocoa, however, was a smallholder's specialty, principally cultivated by the free colored and black populations and therefore not as dependent on slave labor. In 1810, at least 20 percent of Trinidad's population was free and colored, owning 37.3 percent of all estates and 31.5 percent of all the slaves. The large percentage of free persons growing cocoa explains its expansion, but the fact that they were overwhelmingly smallholders partially accounts for cocoa's mere 6.2 percent of the total value of exports in 1832, together with the observation that demand for cocoa only became very significant in the 1860s, when the taste of the drink *chocolat* was improved by the addition of the powderized extract.

Slavery in the Caribbean was distinguished from its North American counterpart by the presence of large plantations and the widespread absence of plantation owners. By convention, a North American plantation was an enterprise of 20 or more slaves, whereas Caribbean plantations had at least 100 slaves and often considerably more than that. Absentee ownership of Caribbean plantations increased toward the end of legal slavery in the British West Indies, and it underscores the relatively small number of whites in the islands. In Jamaica, for example, the black population already constituted 90 percent of the total by 1734.

Captive males were imported into the anglophone Caribbean at twice the rate of their female cosufferers, although early in the histories of Jamaica and Trinidad the proportions were more or less the same. Taking the anglophone Caribbean as a whole, we can see that life and labor were extremely arduous. Early in the history of the Caribbean, the relatively low costs of procuring captives from Africa made it less

expensive to simply replace enslaved workers with new recruits rather than promote stable families and strategies of reproduction in the islands. Imbalanced sex ratios and appalling working conditions resulted in a life expectancy of less than ten years upon disembarkation. In Barbados, for example, the importation of some 85,000 captives between 1708 and 1735 raised the enslaved population from 42,000 to only 46,000.

As was true throughout the Americas, newly arriving Africans, referred to as "fresh" or "saltwater" blacks, often underwent a painful period of adjustment known as "seasoning," lasting up to three years. It was during this time that captives became enslaved, whereas prior to disembarkation anything was possible, including mutiny. Seasoning involved acclimating to a new environment, new companions, strange languages and food, and new living arrangements. Above all, seasoning involved adjusting to life and work under conditions cruel and lethal. As a result of brutal treatment, the shock of the New World, disease, and the longing for home, between 25 and 33 percent of the newly arrived did not survive seasoning.

Slavery required force, coercion, or it could not operate. The whip was therefore everywhere employed, supplemented by an assortment of tortures and punishments in the Caribbean chamber of horrors. The unimaginable included burning body parts with varying degrees of heat, chopping off limbs, placing the slave in stocks, and implementing solitary confinement. Women, many pregnant, were whipped on their bare behinds, after which salt and pepper were often poured into the wounds along with melted wax – a reflection of slavery's sadistic nature.

Throughout the English-claimed Caribbean, women worked in many of the same capacities as men, particularly on large plantations. During harvest between October and March, they worked eighteen hours or more a day in the sugarcane fields and in the sugar mills; by the early nineteenth century, three-quarters of the enslaved throughout the Caribbean were working on sugarcane plantations. These plantations required greater female participation in the fields than did coffee plantations because of the disproportionate use of males in processing the cane, and it was the sugarcane plantation, generally an unhealthy place, that had the highest rates of slave mortality, morbidity, and infant mortality rates (followed by coffee plantations, and then cocoa and cotton plantations). In addition to working as hard as men, women and girls were susceptible to sexual exploitation in ways and at rates that did

not apply to men (the subject of males as victims of sexual assault has received little scholarly attention, with the exception of lynching and its attendant castration ritual). Absentee owners had to rely on managers and overseers, both white and black, who viewed sexual access as their right. Many enslaved children resulted from these unions; the question of how these interactions should be understood is a matter of debate. The rewards of voluntary cooperation could have included an easier life, but avoidance of violation may not have always been possible, especially when enslaved women (and their families) risked serious reprisal for refusing advances. The element of coercion was therefore present in every case, even in romanticized unions of "consent." Enmity between black and white women was a by-product, the latter often as harsh in their treatment of slaves as white men.

The official value of the Caribbean's slave-produced exports to England was fourteen times that of exports from North American colonies north of the Chesapeake before 1765, at which time their value dropped to ten times as great. Indeed, the value of exports to Britain from the anglophone Caribbean led that of commodities from Asia, Africa, Latin America, and the whole of North America from 1713 to 1822, while the same anglophone Caribbean was the principal importer of British goods in comparison with Africa, Asia, and Latin America. Clearly, the British-held Caribbean was of enormous value and importance to Britain, premised on the backs of African labor.

In 1697, Hispaniola was formally divided into Spanish-held Santo Domingo and French-controlled Saint Domingue (later Haiti, which reunited with Santo Domingo from 1822 until 1844, when the latter declared its independence as the Dominican Republic). As important as the British Caribbean was to Britain, the French-held territory of Saint Domingue was, by 1789, the wealthiest of all West Indian colonies. The French national economy benefited from slavery in Saint Domingue as much as did the rich planters, but events on the island, particularly the revolution of 1791–1804, were arguably of even greater significance to the African-descended throughout the Americas, and these were certainly influential in France's decision to cede vast territories to the United States in the Louisiana Purchase of 1803.

Engagés, or white indentured servants of peasant and working class backgrounds from France, were originally called upon to provide labor in Saint Domingue. Under three-year contracts, the engagés were

eventually working alongside small numbers of Africans. The move to indigo production by 1685 was a definitive turn in Saint Domingue's history, as the importation of Africans increased significantly. With the introduction of sugarcane twenty years later, Africans became the overwhelming source of labor, with the engagés acting as the overseers and tradesmen. Between 1680 and 1776, nearly 700,000 Africans were brought to Saint Domingue, producing a population of nearly half a million by 1789. Of that figure, some two-thirds were African born, significant in light of the Haitian Revolution. West Central Africans, following the earlier arrival of small groups from Senegal through Sierra Leone in the sixteenth century, would eventually account for nearly 48 percent of the total number imported, followed by 27 percent from the Bight of Benin.

As was true of places like Jamaica, Saint Domingue's plantations were characterized by increasing absentee ownership, with some owners never having seen the island. Absentee interests were represented by agents or managers, *procureurs*, who acquired a kind of power of attorney and enjoyed all of the advantages of the absentee owner. Both absentee and in-country owners were known as *grands blancs*, as were French merchants and colonial officers in the cities. Other whites were *petits blancs*, many descendent from seventeenth-century engagés, while others were such townspeople as barristers, shopkeepers, carpenters, criminals, and debtors. The petits blancs were sometimes called *faux blancs* and even *nègres-blancs* by blacks, an indication of low esteem. But is this "white trash" characterization convincing as an expression of derision, or does it ultimately rest upon the disparagement of blacks?

The concept of race, the notion that human beings can be clearly differentiated into basic, hierarchically arranged categories based upon certain combinations of shared physical characteristics, developed in tandem with slavery. The concept emphasizes difference rather than commonality, and as a tool of power and privilege it has few rivals. The specifics of race would vary throughout the Americas, but the essence of the idea was consistent: Whites and blacks, as categories of contrasting mythical purity, also represent the concentration of power, wealth, and beauty in the former case and the absence of such in the latter. Native peoples, Asians, and persons of "mixed" heritage were located along the continuum between the black–white polarities; in some societies, mixed groups achieved a stable intermediary status, where in others they shared economic and social disabilities similar

to those of blacks. White elites used race to their personal advantage; poor whites accepted race because it ennobled them, granting them a status that could never be challenged by darker people, with whom they refused to see any similarity of circumstance. On the other hand, some of African descent also came to embrace the concept of race, as they suffered as a group and saw benefit in collective resistance. However, as will be discussed concerning Brazil in the nineteenth and twentieth centuries, race could not only be kaleidoscopic in variation among those born in the Americas, but even the African born did not always accept associations based upon skin color, preferring a cultural and linguistic-based identity instead.

Race was also complex in Saint Domingue. In addition to whites and the enslaved were the *affranchis*, or free blacks, and *gens de couleur* ("persons of color" or mixed ancestry). The affranchis, mostly women, numbered about 27,500 in 1789, equaling the number of whites and owning about 25 percent of the enslaved. Some 15 percent of this group lived in urban areas, including Cap Français and Port-au-Prince, and accounted for 11 percent of the total urban population. Two-thirds of the affranchis were gens de couleur, largely the consequence of liaisons between white slaveholders or their managers and enslaved females, a system of concubinage in which ties between slaveholder or manager and enslaved often carried the understanding that children from such unions would be free. As a result, there developed a sizeable free colored population by the beginning of the eighteenth century, and by 1789 their numbers were greater than their counterparts in the whole of the British- and remaining French-claimed Caribbean combined. Affranchis took advantage of the rapid rise in coffee cultivation, and by the middle of the eighteenth century they were planters in their own right. A few even joined the exclusive grands blancs club of sugarcane planters, but most were excluded by their inability to inherit or own money (or its equivalent in land) beyond a specified amount, thus explaining their concentration in coffee cultivation as well as various trades and commerce.

Because the affranchis were dominated by gens de couleur, they constituted a third racial category and were used as a buffer group between whites and the enslaved masses. Striving to be accepted by whites, the affranchis adopted their tastes and habits, and because many were slaveholders, they identified with powerful, white property interests. However, although at least 300 planters were married to women of color by 1763, there was no reciprocation of policy in kind.

Affranchis could not hold public office, vote, practice law or medicine, or participate in certain trades. By the 1770s, they could not take the names of their former owners, they could not enter France for any reason, and they were subject to sumptuary laws. However, they were required to render militia duty to protect the colony, serving in their own units commanded by white officers. Affranchis exclusively comprised the *maréchaussée*, whose chief function was to hunt down runaway slaves, a role played by poor whites in the United States (where they were called patrollers, or "patty-rollers" by blacks). By making the maréchaussée exclusively colored, the whites in power drove a deep wedge between them and the vast majority of Africans and their descendants. However, by refusing to grant them full rights and privileges, whites denied the affranchis access to full freedom. They therefore became a subject caste, with serious implications for the future of Saint Domingue.

By 1789, Saint Domingue was the site of more than 3,000 indigo plantations, 2,500 coffee plantations, nearly 800 cotton plantations, and 50 cocoa plantations. Such was the island's coffee production that it became the world's leader after 1770. But it was Saint Domingue's dominance in sugar production that distinguished it. By the time of the Haitian Revolution in 1791, Saint Domingue's sugarcane industry was operating at peak capacity, with almost 500,000 enslaved laborers on nearly 800 plantations producing 79,000 metric tons of sugar, compared with the 60,900 metric tons of Jamaica's 250,000 enslaved population. France reexported rather than consumed most of the 1791 sugar crop from its colonies, thereby supplying 65 percent of the world's market in sugar, 50 percent of which came from Saint Domingue. In contrast, Britain consumed most of its Caribbean-produced sugar and only reexported 13 percent to the world market between 1788 and 1792. The divergence between France and Britain is partially explained by wine and rum; the French were far more interested in the former, whereas Saint Domingue sugar was used in the rum production of various colonies as a result of its higher sucrose content and lower production costs.

The riches of Saint Domingue were built on the backs of black suffering. The context for that suffering was a shortened life span, when in the eighteenth century half of all newly arriving Africans lived another three to eight years. As for those born into slavery in Saint Domingue, the so-called creoles, they could expect a working life of fifteen years. As was true of the early British strategy in the Caribbean,

the French determined it more cost-effective to simply replace worn-out, useless, or dead slaves with new arrivals.

By the 1780s, the male-to-female ratio in Saint Domingue stood at 120:100, down from the high of 180:100 in 1730. Both women and men were organized into work groups or *ateliers*, and both sexes performed heavy labor in the fields that included tilling, weeding, clearing trees and brush and stones, digging trenches and canals, and planting and picking. Work days averaged eighteen hours, with some slaves working twenty-four-hour shifts. For those on sugarcane plantations, the grinding season between January and July followed the harvest and was just as arduous, whereas coffee plantation workers labored under a seasonal system that was different yet taxing. Field hands were the backbone of the labor regime, but enslaved workers were also boilermen, furnacemen, carpenters, masons, coopers, wheelwrights, and stockmen. Males dominated such jobs, while women and girls performed most agricultural tasks; in the 1770s and 1780s, some 60 percent of the field hands were female. Females were also dominant as washerwomen, house servants, and seamstresses, tasks that would inordinately feature women of African descent throughout the twentieth century in various parts of the Americas. Most cooks were males, while valets and coachmen were always so. Creoles rather than the African-born filled most domestic jobs; whites were more comfortable with those who could speak their language and who were, in many instances, of partial European descent.

Like their counterparts in the British-claimed Caribbean, the enslaved in Saint Domingue maintained their own provision grounds, small plots of land upon which they cultivated crops for personal consumption. The enslaved had to squeeze in time to attend their gardens, usually on Sundays, holidays, and around noon during the week, when they had a two-hour respite. Surpluses from their provision grounds were sold in nearby towns on Sundays and holidays, an activity dominated by women. Women-controlled markets may have resulted from restrictions placed upon men by slaveholders, but such markets were probably a continuation of West African practices, where women were often in charge of local markets. As West African organizational continuities, the provision grounds and market days of the Caribbean are often cited as features further distinguishing the experiences of blacks there from their cosufferers in North America.

Provision grounds and markets notwithstanding, the enslaved of Saint Domingue were, generally speaking, perpetually hungry and

consistently malnourished. This should not have been the case, since the institution under the French (like slavery in the Islamic world) was regulated, at least in theory, by a body of rules known as the *Code Noir*, first promulgated in 1685. The idea was to minimize the brutality of the slave regime as a whole and the slaveholder in particular by requiring certain minimum standards of treatment. The hours worked by the enslaved, the amount of food they received, and the types of punishment permissible were all covered by the Code Noir. As was true in the Islamic world, however, there was often a chasm between theory and reality. The enslaved were overworked and underfed.

They were also severely abused, and in ways as savage and shocking as could be found anywhere in the New World. In addition to the tortures mentioned as part of the British Caribbean experience, slaveholders in Saint Domingue added such measures as hurling humans into blazing ovens; cramming their orifices with gunpowder and igniting the powder, transforming their bodies into human fireballs; mutilating their body parts (especially the genitalia, male and female); burying victims alive after forcing them to dig their own graves; burying individuals up to the neck, allowing for the slow dismantling of sugar-covered heads by insects and animals; and so on. Could anything concocted in the Western imagination regarding African "savagery" be any more perverse?

Given Saint Domingue's prominence in the production of sugar, the Haitian Revolution instigated a "dramatic transformation" of the world sugar market, occasioning an upsurge in sugarcane production elsewhere. Jamaica and the British isles were the initial beneficiaries of Saint Domingue's demise, with Jamaican sugar production doubling between 1792 and 1805. Jamaica's production continued to be substantial if not quite so prodigious, but it would be replaced as the leading sugar producer by Cuba in the 1820s. Brazil would compete, but its market share was hampered by outdated technology and inadequate transport. Cuba continued to dominate world sugar production in the second half of the nineteenth century, but it suffered a decline in sugar prices from the rise of the French beet sugar industry between 1827 and 1847.

Regarding slavery in Spanish-held territories, Hispaniola was probably the first site to which enslaved Africans were brought early in the sixteenth century, and *ladinos*, or Africans with some command of either Spanish or Portuguese, were the first to be imported. But as early as 1503, Nicolás de Ovando, Hispaniola's first royal governor,

petitioned Spain to stop sending ladinos to Hispaniola because they were suspected of inciting revolt. Instead, de Ovando requested the importation of *bozales*, or "raw," unacculturated Africans directly from West Africa. The governor did not appreciate, however, that ladinos and bozales were coming out of the same region, Senegambia, and that the former's familiarity with European culture was mitigated by their shared cultural ties with the latter, with Islam as an important factor. The revolts therefore continued, and it was not until 1513 that the Spanish began to import Africans from West Central Africa. By 1514, there were some 1,000 ladinos and bozales in Hispaniola, along with 689 Europeans.

Nicolás de Ovando may have also been responsible for introducing Africans in Puerto Rico in 1509, when he brought them from Santo Domingo. By the following year, an unspecified number of Africans were on the island along with 200 Europeans. The 1516 appeal of Dominican friar Bartolomé de Las Casas to prohibit the enslavement of Native Americans and enslave Africans and Europeans instead reinvigorated the African trade. Charles I restarted the shipment of Africans in 1517, an important decision for Puerto Rico, whose *boricua* or native population was in decline, as was its gold supply. Colonists, faced with the choice of either abandoning the island or developing an alternative source of income, chose the latter and planted sugarcane. The first *ingenio* (sugar mill and surrounding lands) was established on the grasslands of San Germán (contemporary Añasco) in 1523. In addition to Hispaniola and Puerto Rico, there was also a Senegambian presence in early-sixteenth-century Costa Rica and Panama.

By 1529, Africans had arrived in Venezuela in small numbers. Initially a "poverty-stricken outpost" of Spanish imperialism, Venezuela by the eighteenth century had become a leading source of cacao. The slave trade, insignificant before the eighteenth century, accelerated between 1730 and 1780, providing labor for the production of cacao, sugar, indigo, and hides. Pearl divers of African descent were also used in Venezuela (and Colombia). The end of the "cacao boom" around the turn of the century led to the eventual cessation of the slave trade in 1810, by which time there were some 60,000 enslaved persons in Venezuela. As for Colombia and Peru, Africans destined for Lima, Santo Domingo, and Puerto Rico in the late fifteenth to early sixteenth centuries arrived initially in Cartagena. Those headed for Peru voyaged another nine to ten days to Portobelo, where they made a difficult two-day crossing through the isthmus. Africans began arriving

in Peru as early as 1529 to work the silver mines (high up in the Andes), and by the middle of the century the African population in Lima was near 3,000. In 1640 there were probably 20,000 Africans in Lima, one-half of the city's population and two-thirds of the Africans in the whole of Peru.

The Peruvian economy in general and agriculture in particular benefitted from the increased African numbers. Olives, plantains, oranges, sugarcane, wheat, and barley were all cultivated by Africans, who also produced sugar and wine. They tended the cart-pulling oxen and mules, and they fulfilled various roles in trade and shipping along the Pacific coast. They were prominent as masons, carpenters, shipwrights, bricklayers, blacksmiths, and tailors, and they were employed as *jornaleros*, or day wage workers hiring out their labor. Africans were also domestics in the urban areas, especially Lima, where they were on conspicuous display. In 1791, there were 40,000 enslaved and 41,398 free blacks and persons of mixed ancestry in Peru; by the time of abolition in 1854, there were about 17,000 slaves in Peru. The 1876 census estimated the black population at 44,224.

Briefly concerning the Rio de la Plata (the estuary formed from the combination of the Uruguay and Parana Rivers), early-nineteenth-century Montevideo (Uruguay) was the port through which southeastern slave trafficking was required to pass before going on to Buenos Aires (Argentina), Paraguay, and Bolivia. Some remained in Uruguay, and from 1770 to 1810 about 2,691 Africans were imported. From 1742 to 1806, perhaps half of the slaves entering the Rio de la Plata came from Brazil, with the other half hailing directly from Africa.

We end the discussion of Spanish slavery with Cuba. Except for Havana, there were no large concentrations of Africans in Cuba prior to the eighteenth century. The slave trade was irregular, and slaves who arrived were used for diverse tasks. The island's planter class would be encouraged, however, by England's transformation of Barbados into a sugar colony, the English seizure of Jamaica in the mid-seventeenth century for the same purpose, and the corresponding establishment of the French in Saint Domingue. The cultivation of sugarcane was unevenly developed until the 1740s, when the Spanish Crown lifted all taxes on Cuban sugar entering Spain at a time when the world market was paying more for sugar. From 1750 to 1761 the number of ingenios (sugar mills and surrounding lands) increased from sixty-two to ninety-six, a portent of things to come.

The period between 1763 to 1838 brought dramatic change to Cuba. In 1763 the English occupied Havana for ten months, effectively ending the asiento system. This intervention, together with Cuban planter initiative, opened up the island to greater numbers of Africans. From 1763 to 1792, some 70,000 entered the island, followed by some 325,000 between 1790 and 1820. The second dramatic increase was in response to several developments. First, the Haitian Revolution created a tremendous void in the production of sugar and coffee, sparking a sharp rise in the price of sugar in Europe. Second, some planters fleeing Saint Domingue resettled in the eastern parts of Cuba, bringing the enslaved with them (their ranks would be joined by planters from Louisiana after the 1803 Purchase). These developments, coupled with technological improvements, led to skyrocketing sugar production in Cuba, with the number of ingenios tripling from 529 in 1792 to 1,531 by 1861. A concomitant rise in coffee production also drew heavily upon enslaved labor, with their numbers swelled by a slave trade officially abolished in 1820 but proceeding unabated through the 1860s. By 1838, Cuba had been transformed from a land of few towns, scattered ranching (*potreros*), and tobacco farms (*vegas*) to a huge sugarcane and coffee complex. By 1862, when there were more people of African than European descent in Cuba, the island held 368,550 enslaved persons, 60 percent of whom were male, working on sugarcane and coffee plantations as well as small-scale farms (*sitios*), ranches, and in tobacco fields.

Taking the slave trade to Cuba as a whole, we see that approximately 28 percent and 23 percent of the captives came from West Central Africa and the Bight of Biafra, respectively, followed by the Bight of Benin (19 percent), southeast Africa (12 percent), and Senegambia (2 percent). Over 80 percent of all Africans imported during the nineteenth century wound up on a plantation as opposed to a town (where they were domestics, tradespersons, or jornaleros). By the late 1860s, nearly 50 percent of all the enslaved worked on ingenios under white overseers (*administradores*) and their assistants (*contramayorales)*, some of whom were black. Whites also occupied "skilled" positions on these plantations, while semiskilled jobs were performed by Asian indentured servants, so-called Chinese coolies, nearly 125,000 of whom entered Cuba between 1853 and 1874 and labored under slave-like conditions.

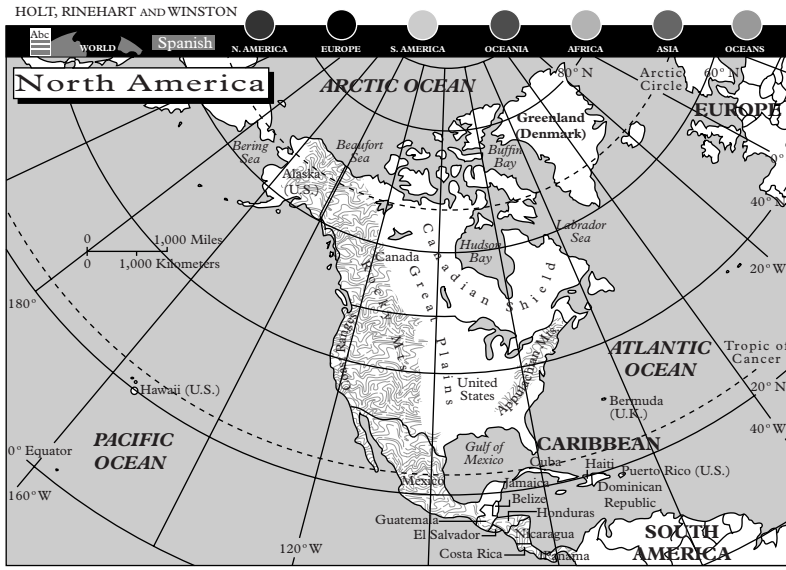
Like other Caribbean societies, Cuba also developed a free mixed race or *pardo* category of individuals; their tally was 33,886 in 1791, a

figure that nearly tripled fifty years later to 88,054, when the number of the enslaved of mixed ancestry is estimated to have been 10,974. Altogether, those of mixed ancestry represented almost 10 percent of the total 1841 population of 1,007,624. The free pardo group, together with free blacks (or *morenos*), were concentrated in the towns and eastern provinces.

Like the French Code Noir, the Spanish had the *Siete Partidas*, a series of regulations originally developed in the thirteenth century that included slave codes. The Siete Partidas served as the basis for slave laws developed in 1680 and revised in 1789, 1812, and 1842, but in many if not most cases the slave codes constituted an exercise in semantics, as either they were not implemented or, in the case of the 1789 revision, not even read in Spanish-held territories.

As was true in the British and French Caribbean, slaves in early Cuba were worked to death and replaced with new recruits from Africa. The *zafra* (crop time) and *tiempo muerte* (dead season) of the agricultural cycle were both regulated by whips, stocks, and shackles. Females, outnumbered by males on the plantations 2:1, were required to return to work forty-five days after giving birth, having labored alongside males into their ninth month of pregnancy. As expected, infant mortality soared. A key indicator of the deplorable plight of those of African descent comes from a decline in their population, from 596,396 in 1860 to 528,798 in 1887, a shift from 43.7 to 32.5 percent of the total population. The decline suggests their inability to maintain their numbers absent a slave trade abolished in the 1860s, a picture inconsistent with the claim that Cuban slavery was more benign than its counterpart in North America.

And North America was no picnic. The proverbial twenty Africans who landed in Jamestown in 1619 are usually cited as the first to step foot in North America, but as early as 1526 a contingent of African captives was brought to South Carolina by the Spanish. Further, the Jamestown Twenty were indentured servants, not slaves. It was only in the second half of the seventeenth century that the fast association between African ancestry and slavery was legislatively achieved. By 1756 the African population had increased markedly, numbering some 120,156 and nearly matching the white population of 173,316. Slavery spread quickly, with Virginia, South Carolina, Maryland, Georgia, and Louisiana serving as its foundational colonies in the South, where the enslaved initially cultivated rice and indigo with women-developed



MAP 8. North America.

skills and techniques brought from Africa and introduced to whites. However, captive Africans were also as far north as New England, though not as numerous. Colonial New England primarily invested in slavery as a commercial enterprise; a number of slavetraders were there, and the slave trade was a major economic engine for New England until 1776. Slavetraders exchanged fish and rum for Africans, molasses and sugar, and while some Africans remained in New England to help build its ports, many were shipped elsewhere, including the Caribbean. Conversely, captives originally enslaved in the Caribbean were often shipped to New England in small parcels. By 1776, Massachusetts had the largest number of blacks with 5,249, but Rhode Island boasted the heaviest concentration, with 3,761 blacks to 54,435 whites. The Mid-Atlantic colonies of New York, New Jersey, and Pennsylvania were also slaveholding, but after the war with England the percentages of the enslaved fell; by 1790 only 28 percent of some 50,000 blacks, half of whom were in the state of New York, were enslaved. Slavery was dying out in New England even more rapidly, so that only 3,700 out of 13,000 blacks were enslaved by 1790. While rural for the most part, the total North American black population of 750,000 in 1790 also featured an urban component, principally in New York City, where there were 3,252 (of whom 2,184 were enslaved), and in

Philadelphia, where only 210 out of 1,630 were in formal bondage. In contrast to New York City, all 761 black Bostonians were free.

Toward the end of the eighteenth century, the South shifted from indigo, rice, and tobacco production to cotton, made possible by the cotton gin and the introduction of the upland, short-staple variety of the plant. The area under cultivation increased dramatically, and with it the demand for servile labor. In contrast to the early pattern elsewhere in the Americas (with the exception of Barbados), North American planters elected to create conditions in which the enslaved could sustain their numbers. The strategy worked, because by 1860 an importation of no more than 750,000 had produced a population of slightly less than 4.5 million people, more than 10 percent of whom were not formally enslaved.

Approximately 48 percent of Africans arriving in what would become the United States originated in West Central Africa and Senegambia (27 percent and 21 percent, respectively). Next came the Bight of Biafra (19 percent), Sierra Leone (17 percent, including the Windward Coast), the Gold Coast (12 percent), and the Bight of Benin (3 percent). Those from the Bight of Biafra were numerically dominant in Virginia, whereas West Central Africans were the majority in South Carolina and significant in Georgia. Senegambians were numerically superior in Maryland and Louisiana, followed (in Louisiana) by those from the Bight of Benin and West Central Africa. Senegambians were substantially represented everywhere, as were those from Sierra Leone (except in Louisiana). Of those imported, males constituted 68.7 percent and prepubescent children 19.6 percent.

The legal importation of captive Africans ended in 1808, but a clandestine trade directly from Africa, together with transhipments from the Caribbean (especially Cuba), continued until the outbreak of the Civil War. The domestic slave trade became very important, facilitating the westward expansion of white settlers and their enslaved workers by 1815. Planters relocated from the seaboard states to Alabama, Mississippi, and Louisiana, and then on to Texas. Manifest Destiny came at a high price, paid largely by Africans, Native Americans, and (later) Asians.

Although there were 8 million white Southerners in 1860, only 384,884 were slaveholders. This would suggest that the vast majority of whites had no relationship to slavery, had no vested interest in it, but just the opposite was true. Particularly after 1830, the vast majority of whites supported slavery, and the regional economy was entirely dependent upon it. The large white population was in stark contrast

with the demographic picture in the Caribbean, as was the fact that some 88 percent of slaveholders in 1860 held less than twenty of the enslaved, with the vast majority of slaveholders living on their plantations. While blacks may not have been concentrated on large, Caribbean-style plantations, over 50 percent lived on holdings of twenty-five slaves or more, and some 25 percent lived on properties with fifty or more. They furthermore tended to be "clustered" on farms and plantations along rivers, in the Tidewater of Virginia, in the Georgia–South Carolina Low Country, and on the Gulf Coast, representing veritable "black belts" of people and soil. Within such concentrations, individuals from different holdings maintained a regular commerce, so that the physical configuration and frequency of interaction allowed the enslaved to somewhat approximate the intimacy of the larger Caribbean setting. Clustering not only characterized the South, but also New England as well, helping to explain significant African influences in its culture.

Unlike Spain with its Siete Partidas and Saint Dominque with its Code Noir, neither the British Caribbean nor North America developed a single system of laws governing slavery. What emerged instead was a hodgepodge of rules and regulations developed in each of the slaveholding states and colonies, in North America collectively known as the Slave Codes, which were in many ways complementary. As opposed to the French and Spanish notions of providing protections for the enslaved, the Slave Codes were more concerned with protecting the rights of the slaveholder. The enslaved were considered to be chattel, property to be bought and sold like cows and horses. As property, the enslaved could not participate in legal proceedings (unless those deliberations involved other blacks), make a contract, defend themselves against whites, buy or sell, and so on. Punishments included the infamous whip. But of course, all of this assumes an application of the law, such as it was, to cases involving slaves, when in fact whites often were a law unto themselves, treating black folk as they saw fit.

In 1850, there were 3.2 million enslaved persons in the United States, of whom 1.8 million worked on cotton plantations; others performed a variety of tasks, including raising cane in places like Louisiana. The calculation in general was that one slave was needed for every three acres of cotton. During harvest, adults were expected to pick 150 pounds of cotton per day, sunup to sundown. Given the emphasis on the cash crop, little time was available for subsistence farming. In contrast to parts of the Caribbean, some of the larger

plantations featured a central kitchen where food was prepared for all, and even when there was no central facility, many received regular rations of meal and salt pork, supplemented at times with peas, rice, syrup, sweet potatoes, and fruit. It is possible for one to venture some interpretive comparisons between this North American distribution system and the provision grounds of the Caribbean, and one could assert that the different arrangements engendered docility and passivity in the recipients of the former while encouraging independence and entrepreneurship in the participants of the latter. A difficulty with such an analysis is the "collapsing" of history, or the failure to consider intervening periods of time that also affected later developments. The postemancipation period in the United States, for example, saw freedpersons more self-reliant than ever. Furthermore, many slaves in North America maintained gardens and livestock and regularly hunted and fished. North American slave gardens did not approach the scope of the Caribbean provision ground, but too much can be made of the differences.

In addition to cultivating cash crops, the enslaved in North America were carpenters, coopers, wheelwrights, painters, seamstresses, tailors, shoemakers, masons, and the like, and they were hired out by slaveholders to earn additional income. The hiring out process, more vigorous during the "lay-by" period between harvest and new planting, was similar to the Spanish *jornal* system, although the latter appears to have afforded more autonomy. In urban areas there were other uses for slaves, such as working on the docks as porters. While most of the enslaved in the various towns were used in domestic capacities and as common laborers, others built southern railways; some found themselves in the iron and lead mines of Kentucky or in textile mills from Florida through Mississippi.

The issue of nonagricultural, vocational skills raises the question of literacy among the enslaved. Through the nineteenth century, many people, white, black, and red, could not read or write in the American South (or anywhere else, for that matter). Given that the overall rate of literacy was low, it comes as no surprise that the Slave Codes often included laws against educating the enslaved; the ability to read and write could be used against slaveholder interests. Despite these concerns and the overall abysmal level of literacy among slaves, there are numerous instances of their learning to read and write. In fact, slaveholders themselves sometimes taught those they claimed to own; Frederick Douglass, for example, was taught by his mistress. But

beyond the realm of the exceptional experience, and contrary to expectation, there were even a few schools in the South established for the education of black children, or in which a few black children were enrolled along with white children.

Literacy among the enslaved did not exclusively depend on receiving an education in American schools or at the feet of a slaveholder. Many slaves, perhaps thousands, entered North America already literate, some having learned Portuguese or Spanish or French, and others Arabic. Recent research has shown that the number of Muslims entering North America from West Africa was much higher than formerly believed. Individuals such as Umar b. Said (d. 1864), who wound up in North Carolina, and Bilali, who lived on the Georgia sea island of Sapelo during the early nineteenth century, were just two of a number of individuals who left written documents and represent the many literate in Arabic.

Differing skills and varying sorts of responsibilities meant that, while most were enslaved, not all experienced the institution in the same way. While too much can be made of the divide between so-called field and house negroes, as there are many instances of cooperation and collaboration between the two categories, they nevertheless represented different levels of material comfort, exposure to abuse, and even status, however relative. In the same way, the enslaved who were hired out in urban areas, or who enjoyed skills beyond the agricultural, had the potential to pass through enslavement in a fashion less brutalizing than the average field hand. Such distinctions provided one of the bases for eventual class distinctions within the African-derived community. Another basis was color differentiation, but this factor had to be teamed with some vocational distinction to make a difference. Stated another way, there were plenty of lighter-complexioned persons who remained field hands and who made common cause with their darker-hued brethren, but those who were selected to learn other trades, or who were put to work as domestics, were disproportionately lighter-skinned persons.

Those who acquired additional skills were in instances able to save money and purchase their freedom. Likewise, those whose fathers were white (the 1850 census states there were 246,000 mixed race persons out of 3.2 million enslaved) were in better position to acquire their freedom, although this was far from guaranteed. As a result, the acquisition of freedom was another basis for eventual class divisions within the black community and was related to vocational training. In 1790

there were 59,000 free blacks in the United States, with 27,000 in the North and 32,000 in the South. By 1860 there were 488,000 free blacks, 44 percent of whom lived in the South. Of course, the concept of a "free" black in a slaveholding society has many limitations, and there were any number of laws issued for the purpose of inhibiting such freedom, in the North as well as the South. Nevertheless, in spite of heavy repression, those of African descent were able to register modest gains. In 1860, black folk owned over 60,000 acres of land in Virginia, with urban properties worth $463,000; in Charleston, 359 blacks paid taxes on properties valued at more than $778,000. In Maryland they paid taxes on properties exceeding $1 million in value. New Orleans represented the pinnacle, as blacks in 1860 owned properties worth more than $15 million.

One of the more interesting anomalies of North American slavery was the black slaveholder. He or she was usually someone who purchased his or her spouse, or some other relative, to deliver the person from slavery. However, there were blacks who were clearly slaveholders in the grandest sense, such as Cyrian Ricard of Louisiana, a slaveholder of ninety-one persons. It can be observed in his personal, written communications with neighboring white planters that he fancied himself a peer. As such, Monsieur Ricard joins the company of many in places like Trinidad, Saint Domingue, and Brazil, who also saw no contradiction in the observation that they, as descendants of Africans, claimed to own others of similar descent. In the long annals of history, Europeans have held other Europeans in bondage, as have Asians and Africans. That the Ricards of North America appear an oddity underscores the degree to which slavery in the New World was racialized. But the example of Ricard, as unsavory as it seems, cannot be interpreted to mean that anyone in America could have become a slaveholder (assuming the desirability of such a goal). Does the example of Cyrian Ricard have any implications for contemporary society, where success stories of African Americans are often employed as an argument against the existence of systemic barriers over which so many of African descent have yet to vault?

Although scholarly debate continues, the essence of the thesis raised by Eric Williams concerning the relationship between slavery, the transatlantic slave trade, and the economic development of Europe and North America remains viable. While scholars may bicker over the profitability of the slave trade, there can be little doubt that participation in it provided a boost to such port cities as Lisbon, Nantes, Liverpool, and Bristol, stimulating a commercial expansion that

resulted in the rise of such related industries as shipbuilding, port expansion, the establishment of businesses to service the ports, and so on. These secondary and tertiary economic benefits were important and are not unlike the central role played by slavery and the slave trade in the economy of the United States. The tentacles of both the trade and the institution were far-reaching, touching if not enveloping the lives of many. Even leading universities such as Brown, Harvard, and Yale were the beneficiaries of the nefarious enterprise. Brown University was founded in part by slavetraders John and Nicolas Brown, while the founder of Harvard Law School endowed the school with money from slavetrading in Antigua. As for Yale University, its first professorship was endowed by one of the most notorious slavetraders of his day, Philip Livingston, and the school's first scholarships came from the profits of slaveholder George Berkeley's New England plantation. We could go on.

By 1840, the American South was cultivating some 60 percent of the world's cotton, representing more than 50 percent of the value of all exports from the United States. This means that goods and capital imported to develop the United States were largely paid for by slaves. Ports such as Charleston and New Orleans were not only paid for with cotton grown by slaves but also were literally dug out of the earth by the enslaved, as was true of a significant proportion of the country's colonial and antebellum infrastructure. New York City, for example, was a major and direct beneficiary of enslaved labor, as cotton was distributed and exported from there in exchange for fees and services connected to insurance, interest, commissions, shipping and handling charges, and so on. Thus, it is not at all surprising that Wall Street, site and symbol of the world's leading financial markets, was originally the site of a slave market. The argument can even be extended, as 70 percent of the cotton grown in the American South was used by Britain's textile industry, and it was by means of textile exports that Britain financed its empire. The statement, "We built this country," commonly heard in African American casual conversation, is no groundless assertion; indeed, not to take anything away from the millions of European and Asian immigrants who also labored in the United States, the statement is more accurate than not. In fact, it leads to the following query: Just who were the founding fathers, and what about the founding mothers?

A bloody apocalypse would bring the institution of slavery to an end in the United States. But neither did that war, nor myriad emancipatory actions throughout the Americas, simply materialize out

of thin air. Rather, all such actions developed out of a context of long and bitter struggle waged by people of African descent, a struggle to which the next chapter turns.

Suggestions for Further Reading

The literature on slavery in the Americas is massive, examining general trends and specific regions and locales; the treatment, cultures, and societies of the enslaved; the lives of slaveholders; relations with other societal components, the economies affected, the role of ideologies; and so on. One could begin with Eric Williams, *Capitalism and Slavery* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina, 1944), for a discussion of its impact on capitalist development, and contrast it with David Eltis, *The Rise of African Slavery in the Americas* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge U. Press, 2000). David Brion Davis's *The Problem of Slavery in Western Culture* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 1996) and *The Problem of Slavery in the Age of Revolution, 1770–1823* (Ithaca, NY: Cornell U. Press, 1975) remain valuable contributions, although they are not so much concerned with the slave experience as with the implications of slavery for Western society.

As for Caribbean slavery, Carolyn E. Fick's *The Making of Haiti: The Saint Domingue Revolution From Below* (Knoxville: U. of Tennessee Press, 1990) is a wonderful introduction to Haitian slavery and is a response to the pioneering contribution of C. L. R. James, *The Black Jacobins; Toussaint Louverture and the San Domingo Revolution* (New York: Dial Press, 1938). Both of these works inform the next chapter of this book. Another highly useful compilation is Verene Shepherd and Hilary McD. Beckles, *Caribbean Slavery in the Atlantic World: A Student Reader* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle; Oxford: James Currey; Princeton, NJ: Markus Weiner, 2000). Others include Orlando Patterson, *The Sociology of Slavery: An Analysis of the Origins, Development and Structure of Negro Slave Society in Jamaica (*London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1967); Richard S. Dunn, *Sugar and Slaves: The Rise of the Planter Class in the English West Indies, 1624–1713* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1972); B. W. Higman, *Slave Populations of the British Caribbean, 1807–1834* (Baltimore, MD: Johns Hopkins U. Press, 1984); James Millette, *Society and Politics in Colonial Trinidad* (Curepe, Trinidad: Omega, 1970); Gabriel Debien, *Les esclaves aux Antilles françaises, XVIIe–XVIIIe siècles* (Basse Terre: Société d'histoire

de la Guadeloupe, 1974); Sidney Mintz, *Sweetness and Power: The Place of Sugar in Modern History* (New York: Viking, 1985); Carl Campbell, *Cedulants and Capitulants: The Politics of the Coloured Opposition in the Slave Society of Trinidad, 1783–1838* (Port of Spain Trinidad: Paria Pub. Co. 1992); and Bridget Brereton, *A History of Modern Trinidad, 1783–1962* (Port of Spain, Trinidad: Heinemann, 1981). For the cocoa industry in Trinidad, see Kathleen E. Phillips Lewis, "British Imperial Policy and Colonial Economic Development: The Cocoa Industry in Trinidad, 1838–1939" (PhD dissertation, University of Manitoba, Winnipeg, Canada, 1994).

Works focusing on women and gender in the Caribbean include Verene Shepherd, Bridget Brereton, and Barbara Bailey, eds., *Engendering History: Caribbean Women in Historical Perspective* (Kingston, Jamaica: Ian Randle and London: James Currey, 1995); and Hilary McD. Beckles, *Natural Rebels: A Social History of Enslaved Women in Barbados* (London: Zed, 1989). Darlene Clark Hine and David Barry Gaspar, eds., in *More Than Chattel: Black Women and Slavery in the Americas* (Bloomington: Indiana U. Press, 1996), expand the scope of the discussion.

For Latin America and Brazil, see Gonzalo Aguirre Beltrán, *La población negra de México: estudio ethnohistórico* (Mexcio, DF: Fondo de Cultura Economica, 1972), 2nd ed.; Frederick P. Bowser, *The African Slave in Colonial Peru, 1524–1650* (Stanford, CA: Stanford U. Press, 1974); Colin Palmer, *Slaves of the White God: Blacks in Mexico, 1570–1650* (Cambridge, MA: Harvard U. Press, 1976); Leslie B. Rout, Jr., *The African Experience in Spanish America: 1502 to the Present Day* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1976); Franklin W. Knight, *Slave Society in Cuba During the Nineteenth Century* (Madison: U. of Wisconsin Press, 1970) and *The African Dimension in Latin American Societies* (New York: Macmillan, 1974); Rolando Mellafe, *La introducción de la esclavitude negra en Chile: tráfico y rutas* (Santiago, Chile: Editorial Universitaria, 1984); Laird W. Bergard, Fe Iglesias García, and María del Carmen Barcia, *The Cuban Slave Market, 1790–1880* (Cambridge: Cambridge U. Press, 1995); Stuart Schwartz, *Sugar Plantations in the Formation of Brazilian Society: Bahia, 1550–1835* (Cambridge and New York: Cambridge U. Press, 1985); Mary C. Karasch, *Slave Life in Rio de Janeiro, 1808–1850* (Princeton, NJ: Princeton U. Press, 1987); and Katia M. de Queirós Mattoso, *To Be a Slave in Brazil, 1550–1888*, trans. Arthur Goldhammer (New Brunswick, NJ: Rutgers U. Press, 1986).

For what becomes the United States, there are myriad studies. For the experience of slaves, John Hope Franklin and Alfred A. Moss, Jr., *From Slavery to Freedom: A History of African Americans* (New York: McGraw Hill, 1994), 7th ed., is a helpful place to start. Among the more beneficial monographs are John W. Blassingame, *The Slave Community: Plantation Life in the Antebellum South* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1972); Ira Berlin, *Many Thousands Gone: The First Two Centuries of Slavery in North America* (Cambridge, MA: Belknap of Harvard U. Press, 1998), or his more accessible *Generations of Captivity: A History of African-American Slaves* (Cambridge and London: Belknap of Harvard U. Press, 2003); Eugene D. Genovese, *Roll, Jordan, Roll: The World the Slaves Made* (New York: Pantheon Books, 1971); Kenneth M. Stampp, *The Peculiar Institution: Slavery in the Ante-Bellum South* (New York: Knopf, 1956); Kathleen M. Brown, *Good Wives, Nasty Wenches, and Anxious Patriarchs: Gender, Race, and Power in Colonial Virginia* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1996); Brenda E. Stevenson, *Life in Black and White: Family and Community in the Slave South* (New York: Oxford U. Press, 1996); Nathan I. Huggins, *Black Odyssey: The Afro-American Ordeal in Slavery* (New York: Pantheon, 1977); and David R. Roediger, *The Wages of Whiteness: Race and the Making of the American Working Class* (London and New York: Verso, 1991). A classic remains Winthrop D. Jordan, *White Over Black: American Attitudes Toward the Negro, 1550–1812* (Chapel Hill: U. of North Carolina Press, 1968).